Library of Congress

Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Volume 17

GILLES HOCQUART, INTENDANT OF NEW FRANCE From Sulte's *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*

apr 12

COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D. Secretary and Superintendent of the Society

VOL. XVII The French Regime in Wisconsin—II 1727–1748

MADISON PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1906

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS 472626 SMITHSONIAN DEPOSIT

Published by Authority of Law

2,500 COPIES PRINTED

DEMOCRAT PRINTING CO., MADISON, STATE PRINTER

iii

Contents and Illustrations

page

Portrait of Gilles Hocquart, Intendant of New France *Frontispiece*

Officers of the Society, 1905–06 ix

Preface xi

THE FRENCH REGIME IN WISCONSIN—II DOCUMENTS

1727: Concerning the Foxes 1

1727: Post to be established among Sioux 7

1727: Missionaries for the Sioux desire Astronomical Instruments 9

1727: Articles of the Trading Company for the Post among the Sioux 10

1727: Commandants for the Sioux Post and Green Bay 15

1727: Complaints of Louisiana 17

1727: Amariton rescues an Illinois woman 18

1727: Officers for the Posts 20

1728: War upon Foxes determined 21

1728: The Expedition arrives among the Sioux; Fort Beauharnois built 22

1728: News from the West; Expedition against the Foxes 28

1728: Further News from the West 29

1728: The Foxes at Home 30

1728: Lignery's Report of the Expedition 31

1728: Conditions at Detroit 35

1728–29: Narrative of De Boucherville; Captivity among the Kickapoo; Hostility to the Foxes 36

1729: Montbrun's Escape; Fate of the Captives 58

1729: Kickapoo and Mascoutin declare War upon the Foxes 59

1729: Western Indians at Montreal 62

1729: The Foxes sue for Peace 65

1729: The Foxes in extremities 67

1729: List of Officers serving in the Companies in Canada with the strength of the Troops composing them 71

1729: Expenses of Expedition of 1728 73

1729: Importance of Post among the Sioux 77

1729: Foxes attacked by their Neighbors 80

1729: Expenses of De Boucherville 82

1729: Copper Mine on Lake Superior 86

1730: Continued Attacks on the Foxes 87

1730: Marin aids the Winnebago against the Foxes 88

1730: French and Indians gather to attack the Foxes 100

1730: River of the West rises near Lake Superior 103

1730: Copper mines near lake superior 105

1730: Lignery acquitted of Misbehaviour in 1728 106

1730: Services of De Noyan 107

1730: Dubuisson reports Condition of the Foxes 108

1730: Victory over the Foxes 109

1730: Foxes seek Allies among the Iroquois and Loup 118

1730: De Villiers defeats the Foxes 119

1731: Project of War against the Foxes 121

1731: Report of Defeat of the Foxes 129

1731: Rivalry of the English; Conditions at Upper Posts 131

1731: Treaty of the New Sioux Company 135

1731: Tranquillity in the Upper Country; Posts among the Sioux and at Green Bay to be re-established 139

1731: Post of Detroit 141

1731: Conditions in the Upper Country 142

1731: Illinois Attack Remnant of the Foxes 148

1732: Iroquois and Huron attack the Foxes 148

1732: The King's Memoir 154

1732: Sale at Mackinac in 1728 160

1732: French Indians incited to attack Foxes and Chickasaw 161

1732: Expenses of the Indians urged to War 163

1782: La Ronde seeks to exploit Copper Mines of Lake Superior 165

1732: Fate of the Foxes; Linctot and the Sioux Post; Re-established Post at Green Bay 167

v

1732: Speech of the Illinois and Responses 169

1732: Conditions at Detroit; Officers for the Posts 170

1733: Foxes attacked in their Fort at Marameg; Smallpox spreads 172

1733: Letters from Upper country intercepted; Ravages of Smallpox 175

1733: Memoir of the King. 176

1733: News from the West; French Indians attack the Hostiles 181

1733: The Remnant of the foxes to be utterly destroyed 182

1733: The Illinois attack Wisconsin Indians. 183

1733: Indians of the Upper Country; Foxes; Shawnee; Illinois 184

1733: La Ronde and St. Pierre at Chequamegon 187

1733: Sauk defend Foxes and kill the French 188

1734: The Calumet Dance; Foxes intrigue with Abenaki 191

1734: Explanation of the Affair with the Sauk 200

1734: Detroit; Need of Soldiers to garrison Upper Posts 204

1734: Punishment prepared for the Sauk; Conditions among Indians of the Upper Country 206

1734: Miami in the French Interest 213

1735: Ordinance on Fur-Trade 214

1735: De Noyelle's Expedition against the Sauk and Foxes 215

1735: Copper Mines on Lake Superior 233

1736: Garrison needed at Detroit 240

1736: Reports from the Upper Country 242

1736: Census of the Indian Tribes 245

1736: La Ronde sends Specimens of Copper 252

1736: Pension for a Habitant wounded in the Fox Wars 254

1736: Condition of the Foxes and Sauk 255

1737: The King's Orders for the Upper Country 260

1737: Copper Mines; Indian Conditions 262

1737: Detroit; The Garrison should be increased 264

1737: The Sioux; Detroit 267

1737: The Sioux Post Abandoned 269

1737: Coureurs des Bois at Mackinac; Peace for the Sauk and Foxes 274

1738: War between the Chippewa and Sioux 277

1738–41: The Huron of Detroit desire to migrate 279

1738: New Commandant for Detroit 288

1738: Report of Copper Mines 290

1738: Arrangements for Detroit 291

1738: The Beaver Trade 298

1739: Memoir of La Ronde 299

1739: New Mines near Lake Superior 306

1739: Marin pacifies the Upper Country 315

1740: The Sioux Repentant 323

1740: Wisconsin Indians at Montreal 324

1740: Conditions at Detroit 326

1740: The Detroit Huron 328

1740: Indians at Montreal; Hostilities between Sioux and Foxes; Disposition of Foxes; Shawnee Migration Detroit, Huron, and Ottawa; Beauharnois to remove the Huron; Iroquois at Montreal; Onondaga and Têtes Plates 329

1740: Petition of La Ronde 335

1740–41: Conditions in the Upper Country 335

1741: Secret Project concerning the Foxes 338

1741: Huron and Têtes Plates 339

1741: Council with the Huron of Detroit 340

1741: Indian Council at Detroit; Huron Removal 345

1741: Instructions to Chevalier De Beauharnois 346

1741: Huron of Detroit 348

1741: New Settlement for Ottawa at Mackinac 351

1741: Chevalier De Beauharnois at Detroit; Huron Removal 353

1741: De Noyan's Grievances; Improved Conditions at Detroit: English Influence; Beauharnois's Visit; Removal of Hurons 356

1741: Ottawa refuse to remove 359

1741: Indian Wars in Upper Cuntry; Foxes and Winnebagos to return to Green Bay; Marin's Abilities; Indians seek the English 360

1741: Removal of Ottawa of Mackinac 367

1741: Removal of Detroit Huron 369

1741: Chevalier De Beauharnois's Negotiations with the Detroit Huron 370

1742: Ottawa at Montreal 373

1742: Beauharnois and three Huron Chiefs 377

1742: Other Western Indians at Montreal 380

1742: Posts to be auctioned 409

1742: Settlement of Detroit Hurons; Jesuit interference 412

1742: Official Reports of Conditions in the Upper Country 416

1742: Blacksmiths at Mackinac 423

1742: Latest News from Western Posts 424

1742: Marin requests Leave of Absence 430

1742: Jesuits and the Detroit Huron 431

1743: Commandants of Western Posts 432

1743: Mining in Wisconsin 433

1743: Lead-mining in Wisconsin 433

1743: Policy toward Foxes and Sioux justified; Illinois and Chickasaw 435

1743: Expenses for the Foxes and Sioux, Marin's Services 439

1744: Tranquillity in the Upper Country; Evils of Leased Posts 440

1744: Arrangements for Western Posts 444

1744: Bad Results of Leasing System at Green Bay 445

1745: Disaffection of the Indians at Detroit 446

1745: Western Indians on the Warpath; Scarcity of Goods 447

1746: Difficulties at Western Posts occasioned by War 450

1747: Lease for the Post at Green Bay 451

1747: Revolt of Indians of the Upper Country 456

1747: Trade at the Western Posts Disarranged 470

1747: Salary of Commandants of Western Posts 473

1747: Coureurs des Bois injure Trade 473

1747: Memoir on English Encroachments 474

1747: Post at Chequamegon 477

1747: Revolt in the West Spreads 478

1748: Punishment for Conspirators 492

1748: Importance of Illinois Settlements 493

1748: Post at Chequamegon 498

1748: Recommendations for adjustment of Western Posts 499

1748: Trade at the Western Posts; Lease System 502

1748: Western Conspiracy Disintegrates 505

1748: Relations between Louisiana and Illinois 512

Illustrations

PAGE

Portrait of Gilles Hocquart, Intendant of New France. From Suite, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, ii, p. 112 *Frontispiece*

Carte Tracée par le Sauvage Ochagach et autres, laquelle a donné lieu aux découvertes des Officiers François representées dans la Carte cy aprèl. Reduced facsimile from original MS. in Library of Dominion Parliament, Ottawa 102

Bronze Sun-Dial found near Portage, Wis., 1903 278

Portrait of Charles le Moyne, Second Baron de Longeuil. From suite, *histoire des canadiens-français*, ii, p. 72 292

Map of Kaskaskia Settlements. Adapted by Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S. J., from Thomas Hutchins's map in *Topographical Description of Virginia*, etc., drafted in 1764–1775 428

OFFICERS, 1905–06

Library of Congress

President

William Ward Wight, A. M. Milwaukee

Vice Presidents

Hon. John B. Cassoday, LL. D. Madison

Hon. Emil Baensch Manitowoc

Lucius C. Colman, A. B. La Crosse

Hon. John Luchsinger Monroe

Hon. William F. Vilas, LL. D. Madison

Hon. B. F. McMillan McMillan

Secretary and Superintendent

Reuben G. Thwaites, LL. D. Madison

Treasurer

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks Madison

Librarian and Assistant Superintendent

Isaac S. Bradley, B. S.

Curators, Ex-Officio

Hon. James O. Davidson Governor

Hon. Walter L. Houster Secretary of State

Hon. John J. Kempf State Treasurer

x

Curators, Elective

Term expires at annual meeting in 1906

Henry C. Campbell, Esq.

William K. Coffin, M. S.

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks

Rev. Patrick B. Knox

Hon. Robert L. McCormick

George Raymer, M. L.

Hon. Arthur L. Sanborn, LL. B.

Hon. Halle Steensland

Hon. E. Ray Stevens, LL. B.

Hon. Nils P. Haugen, LL. B.

Hon. William F. Vilas, LL. D.

William W. Wight, A. M.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1907

Hon. Robert M. Bashford, A. M.

Hon. John B. Cassoday, LL. D.

Hon. Jairus H. Carpenter, LL. D.

Lucius C. Colman, A. B.

Hon. Henry E. Legler

Hon. B. F. McMillan

Dana C. Munro, A. M.

William A. P. Morris, A. B.

Hon. Robert G. Siebecker, LL. B.

Herbert B. Tanner, M. D.

Frederick J. Turner, Ph. D.

Charles R. Van Hise, LL. D.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1908

Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.

Hon. Emil Baensch

Charles N. Brown, LL. B.

Hon. George B. Burrows J.

Frederic K. Conover, LL. B.

Alfred A. Jackson, M. A.

Hon. Burr W. Jones, A. M.

Hon. John Luchsinger

Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, D. C. L.

Howard Palmer, Esq.

John B. Parkinson, A. M.

Hon. N. B. Van Slyke

Executive Committee

The thirty-six curators, the secretary, the librarian, the governor, the secretary of state, and the state treasurer, constitute the executive committee.

Preface

Our volume xvi was devoted to the documentary history of the French regime in the region of the upper Great Lakes, from 1634 to 1727. The present volume is in continuation thereof, being composed entirely of documents of like character, bearing dates 1727–1748, Englished from their French originals. The period herein treated was that in which the French possessed the most complete control of Western territory, and dictated every step of policy for the fur-trade posts and their aboriginal allies.

Having for a generation past been trained in subserviency to French traders, the savages of the “Upper Country” had become economically dependent on the latter, both for food

and clothing. Their finery, formerly simple and of domestic make, now came from Paris, in the form of silver, bronze, and copper ornaments; they dressed in cloths, not skins; they pursued game and their enemies with fire-arms, rather than with arrows and spears; no longer did primitive agriculture and manufacture meet their desires; they cultivated their fields with hoes of iron, discarding those of wood, stone, or bone; their currency was no longer clam-shell wampum, but artificial beads of French porcelain; and they had acquired a passion for the white man's brandy—which in Indian parlance was the “milk” furnished by their nourishing father, the governor of Canada.

In return for all these French goods, the traders demanded peltries. To obtain these, as game fast receded before increased slaughter, the Indians must range farther and farther into the Western woods. The greed of their European masters was inexorable. Not content with the trade that came fresh supplying the ordinary needs of their customers, the latter were xii urged and even forced to increase the stock of furs; a full exploitation of the resources of the wilderness was demanded, and it was not long, under this regime, before the aborigines had quite lost their independence.

No longer could they enjoy their free life of the past. At the commands of French officers, they abandoned their old-time villages, and clustered their huts and tepees around the fur-trading posts, which were established at centres of influence throughout this vast territory. The chief of these were at Detroit and Mackinac. The latter, a natural entrepôt, was the earliest settlement in the Upper Country. Detroit was of later date, and intended not only as an agricultural station but as a bulwark against the machinations of the English. Of subsidiary posts, those at Green Bay (La [Baye), and Chequamegon (L'a [Pointe), in Wisconsin, were upon strategic trade routes, as well as in the midst of large masses of Indians. The posts of St. Joseph's River, Quiatanon, and Miami, commanded important portages and were in close relation with populous tribes of barbarians. Without the authority of the governor of Canada, nevertheless in close connection with the interests

of the Upper Country, were the Louisiana posts of Vincennes on the Wabash, and [Port Chartres in the Illinois.

At these several Wilderness fortifications—crude but stout strongholds, either of logs or of stone, as situation, needs, or materials warranted—the Jesuit missionary (or “black robe,” as the savages called him) zealously shepherded his flock of dusky neophytes, baptized their infants, married their young, counselled the wayward, and buried their dead. All might have been harmony among them, had it not been for the one recalcitrant tribe of Renards (]Foxes), who, refusing submission to French paternalism, had for upwards of fifteen years embroiled the security of the Upper Country.

The volume opens with a document “Concerning the Foxes,” giving a brief summary of the various rebellious and punative expeditions up to 1727. The Foxes are shown to be now intriguing with the yet unsubjected tribes of the Sioux on the xiii west, and the English-sympathizing Six Nations on the east—thus linking in one confederacy savages dwelling throughout the vast stretch from Lake Ontario to the trans-Mississippi regions; and threatening by their superior numbers to overwhelm the French Indians. Orders were therefore dispatched from Quebec to detach the Sioux from the Fox alliance on the one side; and by blocking the road to the Iroquois on the other to isolate the Foxes, and then crush them at leisure.

The first step in this programme was to be the erection of a post among the Sioux. Officers and missionaries were carefully chosen, the equipment being furnished by a mercantile company formed to exploit the trans-Mississippi. A site upon Lake Pepin was selected, and the construction of Fort Beauharnois begun amid showers of fireworks, of which it was written: “When these poor people saw the fireworks in the air, and the stars falling from heaven, women and children took to flight, and the most courageous of the men cried for mercy, and urgently asked that the astonishing play of this terrible medicine should be made to cease.”

With the Sioux thus awed into submission, an expedition designed to crush the Foxes in their villages was sent out under the command of Marchand de Lignery. We present his official report, made to the French ministry, wherein he admits that his army of twelve hundred Indians and four hundred and fifty French succeeded merely in burning a few deserted cabins and retiring ingloriously to Mackinac. Messengers were sent forthwith to Fort Beauharnois, which was hastily abandoned, part of its garrison, while on their way to the French fort in the Illinois, being captured by hostiles. La Baye (Green Bay) was likewise evacuated, and for the time being the Wisconsin wilderness was free from European domination.

The only recourse now left to the defeated French was to turn loose upon the victorious Foxes the enmity of all the neighboring tribes, who by gradually harassing the insolent rebels and cutting off stragglers, might wear away their powers of resistance. This policy proved successful from the military point of view, but disastrous to the fur-traffic; for small bands of trappers xiv and traders were no longer safe, and energy and ammunition formerly used in tracking beaver were perforce employed in hunting human Foxes. However by the year 1729, the Renards were suing for peace, and the succeeding year saw them brought to bay. After a fierce campaign in the Lake Winnebago country, lasting for more than a month, the retreating tribes were discovered entrenched near “le Rocher,” in the Illinois, attempting to cut their way eastward through hostile territory to an asylum among the Iroquois. Messages to the Illinois, to Fort St. Joseph, and to Ouiatanon brought out a formidable war party of French and Indian allies, which for twenty-nine days besieged the fugitives in their stronghold. Reduced at last to the verge of starvation, the Renards sallied forth in the darkness of a storm, only to be overtaken, many of them being massacred during the following days. It was reported to the French governor that “not more than 50 or 60 men Escaped Without guns and Without any of the Implements for procuring Subsistence.”

This staggering defeat appears to have aroused a sentiment of pity among the savages hostile to the Renards. “Our tribes were very anxious to spare the renards' lives;” “Meanwhile it was Found that the Sakis were betraying us;” “the Ouiatanons entered with reluctance upon the siege”—these are the significant reports of the French commandants. The succeeding year Governor Beauharnois writes that although the blow inflicted on the Renards was “a heavy one, and caused the destruction of the majority of that nation, The Slaves whom those savages had succeeded in withdrawing from the Natives. with whom they Were had enabled them to make up a Village of 45 Cabins.”

Despite the covert sympathy of the attacking tribes, and the efforts of the Foxes to secure allies as far removed from their territory as the Mahican and the Abenaki, the French cause again triumphed in the far West; the Sioux post was re-established, and a detachment sent to re-erect that at Green Bay. During the progress of this later event, occurred the unfortunate encounter—which has until now been known only through the tradition learned from the Langlade family—wherein a xv prominent French officer was killed at La Baye. De Villiers, the victor in the campaign at Le Rocher (1730), being sent to command at La Baye (1733), incautiously and without a guard went to the Sank village to demand some refugee Foxes; a musket-shot killed his son at his side, whereupon De Villiers. fired promiscuously into the crowd of savages, who in the mêlée shot him down. Even the French reports lay the blame for this mischance upon the rash officer himself.

This affair had two important consequences: First, the confederating of the Sauk with the Renards; second, the removal of the allied bands beyond the borders of Wisconsin. While frequently sympathizing with and secretly aiding their kinsmen the Foxes, the Sank had up to this time ostensibly remained French Indians. Stung by a sense of injustice, and by the dread of not being able to expiate the death of so prominent a French official, they now united their fate with that of the Foxes. Becoming thus more formidable, they withdrew from their old habitat at Green Bay, and sought refuge in the land of the Iowa, beyond the Mississippi. There they continued to harass French fur-traders, to cut off bands of French

Indians, and to pursue the timid Illinois to the very gates of the French posts. Finally, after De Noyelle's unsuccessful land expedition against them (1734), they grew more insolent, killed stray French voyageurs, and compelled the abandonment (1737) of the post among the Sioux.

Although foiled in their exploitation of the trans-Mississippi region, the French were, under the lead of the venturesome La Vérendryes, discovering new territory and building new forts in the far Northwest, beyond Lake Superior and out towards Lake Winnipeg and its great tributary valleys. These explorations not being within our field, we have omitted reports concerning them, save where they bear upon the history of Wisconsin and the struggle of the French with the Foxes and the Sioux.

During all the difficulties along the great Fox-Wisconsin portage route through Wisconsin, Sieur de la Ronde, a French officer of long experience, had succeeded in keeping in order the xvi Chippewa, resident near his post on the Bay of Chequamegon, and in preserving a trade route to the Mississippi by way of Lake Superior and the interlacing rivers Bois Brulé and St. Croix. Information was here secured concerning masses of copper ore along the southern shore of the great lake. Specimens sent to France assayed satisfactorily, and La Ronde was ordered to exploit the mines. Lacking expert advice, he succeeded in securing through the agency of the home government two German miners, who tested the lodes at Ontonagan, Black, and Iron rivers and reported favorably upon their richness and availability, Thereupon La Ronde presented an elaborate memoir, detailing his past services, and proposing certain grants from the king to work the mines and build barques for the transport of the metal down the Great Lakes. These plans had, however, no permanent result. War breaking out between the Sioux and Chippewa, the entire upper region was embroiled, and La Ronde died before he could secure results.

Meanwhile an officer appeared in the West who proved himself able to command the recalcitrant tribes and restore tranquility in the Upper Country. This was Sieur Marin, who figures largely in this period of Wisconsin history. The sources of his influence are

not clearly discernible, but probably were due to his tact and intimate acquaintance with aboriginal characteristics. He was out of favor at court, so that only by repeated expostulations and asseverations of his usefulness could the governor maintain this valuable official in his command. Never the less he succeeded where all others failed, bringing Sioux, Fox, and Sauk chiefs to Montreal to sue for peace, and finally persuading a portion of the rebels to return to their ancestral seats on the upper waters of Fox River.

But prolonged defiance by this one obstinate tribe had had its effect upon the loyalty of the subservient. After the strain of hostilities between French and English in King George's War (1744–1748) had continued nearly three years, the spirit of revolt began to arise among all the allied tribes, and on every side the vast Indian empire of New France threatened to fall in ruins. A new system of leasing the posts to the highest bidder xvii was now inaugurated, which, while replenishing the depleted colonial treasury, maintained a governmental monopoly of the Indian trade, extorting extravagant prices for the supplies that had become necessary to aboriginal existence. This caused much dissatisfaction among the natives and embarrassing comparison with the freedom enjoyed by English traders, who in consequence could offer better prices and better goods. For some years the Miami had been secretly dealing with Pennsylvanians who descended the Ohio, A large band now boldly departed from the French fort on Maumee River and established a new village at Pickawillany, on the Great Miami, where they openly traded with the English who flocked thither.

The Detroit Huron had long been restless under the enmity of their Ottawa and Potawatomi neighbors. The band of chief Nicolas settled at Sandusky in order to approach more nearly the English settlements, and here was laid the plot for a formidable conspiracy which was to surprise and massacre the French garrison at Detroit. The Ottawa at Michilimackinac were likewise intriguing—none but the Potawatomi could now be trusted. However, the threatened revolt collapsed before doing serious harm. A premature uprising warned the Detroit garrison. Among the Miami, a few French were killed and the fort partially burned, but a detachment of soldiers from Detroit restored order and authority.

A strong convoy was shipped both to Mackinac and Detroit, and this show of force, coupled with news of the prospect of amity between England and France, thus bringing cheaper prices, drove the savages into a reluctant peace. The volume closes with the re-establishment of French control in the Upper Country, supplemented by plans for a more extensive exploitation of the posts, and for a closer affiliation with the Louisiana colony of Illinois.

The entire series of documents, now for the first time published in their sequence, lays bare French paternalism both at its best and its worst. The unity and harmony obtained by a central administration, with power to throw forces to the weakest spot, secured certain military and governmental advantages; on the other hand, the corruption and inefficiency of the officers, xviii each throwing blame upon the shoulders of others, the dependence upon distant orders, the lack of initiative, the timidity of military movements, strew the paralyzing effects of over-centralization. The savages became in turn fawning and subservient, emasculated or sullen, reckless or rebellious. The system was held together simply through the energy of the governors-general, two of whom were administrators during our period—the Marquis de Beauharnois and the Comte de la Galissonière, both of them able and incorruptible. When, in the final years of New France, corruption was everywhere evident, the frailty of this vast continental empire became apparent; the posts of the Upper Country, now proved a source of weakness rather than strength, in the life-and-death struggle with the English for the dominion of North America.

Like those contained in its predecessor, the documents published in the present volume are for the most part transcripts made for the Society from the several French archives in Paris. In making a selection of papers to be copied, we have been obliged to rely chiefly upon the calendars thereof prepared by Joseph Marmette, commencing in 1883, with a supplement by Edouard Richard (1899), and published in the *Reports on Canadian Archives* edited by the late Douglas Brymner. But these calendars, while useful as far as they go, are sometimes incorrect and certainly not exhaustive. Patient search throughout the various archives, by a scholar versed in the history of the Middle West,

would undoubtedly reveal the existence in Paris of many other documents appertaining to the French regime on our upper lakes.

The Paris material is supplemented by some of the same nature already printed in the *New York Colonial Documents* and the Macalester College *Contributions* ; we also give a few documents Englished from Pierre Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements de Français* , and several appearing in early Canadian periodicals. While not claiming to be absolutely complete, it is thought that the existing material for the region of the Northwest during the hundred and fifteen years included xix within volumes xvi and xvii has now largely been exploited, as well as for the first time given to the public in connected form.

We have made considerable effort to secure documents emanating from such part of Louisiana as comes within our historical domain. But until a calendar has been prepared of material in French archives bearing upon the district of the Illinois, such an attempt is bound to be impracticable; which still further illustrates the necessity for a much closer examination of these archives, so far as they bear upon Western historical problems, than has heretofore been possible.

The Editor wishes to express his earnest appreciation of the faithful and sympathetic translations made for the present volume and its predecessor by Mr. Crawford Lindsay, of Quebec, a widely-recognized authority on early French-Canadian terms. In the work of annotation and of indexing, the Editor has had valuable assistance throughout from Louise Phelps Kellogg, P.h. D., editorial assistant on the Society's staff.

This volume was due, in regular order of publication, some eighteen months ago, but congestion in the office of the State Printer has delayed its appearance until the present time. It is hoped that volume xviii, containing the remainder of such French papers as we have been able to obtain, together with other documentary material having an important bearing on the history of the state, may appear within the present year.

R. G. T.

January, 1906.

1

The French Regime in Wisconsin—II

1727: CONCERNING THE FOXES1

1 A translation of this same document is printed under date of 1726 in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xvi, pp. 463–468, taken from a copy in the Quebec provincial archives. We have since that publication secured a transcript direct from the Paris archives, which is here given as more exact and complete than the former version.— Ed.

[Resumè of French relations with the Foxes, from 1715 to 1726. MS, dated April 27, 1727, in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 49, c. 11, fol. 564.”]

The nation of the Renards has from all times been the Enemy of the other savage Nations of the upper country. Those Savages have killed Frenchmen on various occasions. In accordance with representations made in 1715 on this subject by Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil2 that it was absolutely necessary to take steps to destroy them, Orders were issued by the Court to act in such a manner as to maintain peace with them—without, however, compromising the honor of the nation—and at the same time to act as if preparations were being made for war; and, to that end, to gather the coureurs des Bets at Missilimakinac by granting them an Amnesty.

2 For sketch of Vaudreuil, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi. p. 220.— Ed.

Those savages having been guilty of disorders again the following year, the Sieur de Louvigny was sent from, Montreal on the first of May 1716 with 425 Frenchmen to proceed

against them. He drove them into their fort and forced them to sue for peace on onerous conditions which he believed they would not accept, the chief articles whereof were: That they should 2 make peace with all the savage nations tributary to the King; That they should by force or by friendly counsel induce the Kicapous and the Mascoutins, their allies, to do the same; that they should give up the captives of all the Nations,1 etc.

1 For these events, see documets in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi.— Ed.

Upon notice being given in 1722, by Monsieur de Vaudreuil and by the Commandant of Louisiana that these Renards were re-commencing the war, that they had attacked several Frenchmen and were waging war against, the Ilinois, orders were given Monsieur de Vaudreuil in 1723 to take suitable measures with the Sieur de Boisbriant, the Commandant of the Company of the Indies in the Ilinois country,2 to compel the Renard nation to make amends for those offences and to compel them to live in peace;

2 For sketch of Boisbriant, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 429.— Ed.

That, on his part, he was to incite the other savages, the allies of France, to wage war upon the Renards and destroy them; also to send some soldiers thither and to choose an experienced officer to go and command at la Baye and put a stop to their disorders.

Monsieur de Vaudreuil sent the Sieur de Lignery, a Captain.3 That officer, according to the report of Monsieur de Longueuil who was Commandant in Canada owing to the death of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, assembled the Chiefs of the Renards and those of the Sakis and Puants, their allies, at la Baye on June 7, 1726, and told them on behalf of the King that they must lay down the Tomahawk they had lifted against the Ilinois. To this they replied that they gave their word to keep the peace; that they knew the King had pity on them inasmuch as he held out his arms to them. The manner in which their answer was given convinced him that they had spoken sincerely, and that there was reason to hope for a real and lasting peace.

3 For sketch of Marchand de Lignery, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 113–115.— Ed.

It was necessary to take measures to make such peace sure, and the Sieur de Lignery promised to give them an answer from the King in a year.

3

The Sieur de Lignery wrote at the same time to the Sieur Desliettes, the Commandant of the Company in the Ilinois country1 inform him of what he had done.

1 Charles Henry Desliettes de Tonty, nephew of La Salle's lieutenant, Henri de Tonty, was commandant at Fort Chartres in Illinois from 1726–30. Other relatives by the same name (the maternal family of de Tonty) were prominent in early French Illinois. See Wallace, *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule* (Cincinnati, 1893); also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, index.— Ed.

That letter states, amongst other things, that the Chiefs of those three Nations are well-intentioned and are fully aware that they can hope for no further mercy unless they obey; that it is necessary to detach the Scioux nation from its alliance with the Renards by leading them to expect some presents; finally to bar the Renards' passage by the River St. Joseph and Detroit in the event of their seeking to join the Iroquois who have offered them an asylum.

He says that this is what he had in view in proposing peace to them in order the better to overcome them should they not keep their word; because, if they failed to keep it, it would be necessary to take the surest means to destroy them by force of arms, uniting the troops of both Colonies.

He remarks that these savages are now convinced that this will certainly happen, and that Ouachala, the great Chief of the Renards, and the other Chiefs have made their

countrymen Understand it clearly, saying: “We still hold the Frenchman by the hand, but if he escape us we are lost.”

He notifies the said Sieur Desliettes to send back the captive Renards, having told their Chiefs to do the same with such Frenchmen as they might make prisoners.

And he adds that If all goes well in a year he will agree to have, at Chicagou or at le Rocher of la Baye,2 a meeting of the Canadian tribes, those of Louisiana, the Ilinois and the nations of la Bare whom he will notify of the date of the rendezvous;

2 Chicagou was an Indian site, about the same place as the present city of Chicago. Le Rocher is the famous rock of that name on the Illinois river—the document is here defective; “le Rocher de la Bare” should be “le Rocher de la Bare,” la'Baye being the ordinary French designation for the post at Green Bay. Three places would thus be designated as the place for the rendezvous—Chicago, le Rocher, or la Baye.— Ed.

4 that it will be necessary to be the first on the spot, to erect a fort and, at the same time, determine the number of the French and of the savages who are to assemble there.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois confirms the news of this peace, and says that it will be advantageous to make it permanent in order to avoid a war which, however successful it might be, would be very Costly to both Colonies; That his opinion, shared by the Sieurs de Longueuil and de Lignery, is that the war between the Renards and the Ilinois should be terminated by means of alliances between those two nations; that it is not necessary for that purpose, to abandon the project of detaching, if possible, the Scioux from the interests of the Renards, and that he will take measures with Monsieur Dupuy to send Missionaries to the Scioux.

He has learned through Monsieur de Lignery that since the promise given him by the Renard, Saki, and Puant Chiefs at la Baye to wage war no longer on the Ilinois, two bands of young Renards set out to avenge the death of one of their relatives;' that the strongest of those two bands, consisting of 10 men, was completely defeated, 4 being killed and 4

wounded and captured by the Ilinois; that, nevertheless, no untoward consequences will result from this affair if the latter send back to the Renards' Village the captives they have taken, with presents to cover the dead, according to custom; and by that means they will disarm the Renards and prevent the formation of other bands. This the Sieur de Lignery wrote the Sieur Desliettes it was advisable to do.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois sends a Memorandum respecting the most suitable means for making the peace a lasting one.

He proposes to grant the request privately made by Ouachala, the great Chief of the Renards, for a French Chief to help him to restrain the young men of his Village and to prevent them from thinking of evil designs. He suggests that it would be 5 necessary for the French officer in command at la point do Chagouamigon, on his part, to strive to get the Scioux to draw off from their alliance with the Renards, and to detach them from the latter by presents; also to lead the Scioux to hope that they will have a Missionary and some Frenchmen amongst them, as they have asked. He requests that the same should be written to the officers in Command at the Posts of Detroit and River St. Joseph in order that the savage nations in the vicinity of their Posts may be detached from the Renards through their efforts and may, in the event of war, bar their way and prevent their seeking an asylum amongst the Iroquois and other Nations whither they might wish to retreat.

The Sieur Desliettes, who commands for the Company of the Indies in the Ilinois country, has written to the Sieur de Lignery that the Renards are suspicious and fear treachery and that the surest method would be to destroy them; that he has proposed this to the Superior Council of New Orleans, and has given information of it to the Company of the Indies.

Monsieur de Beauharnois writes that this Would be the better expedient, but that it would be dangerous, because, if unsuccessful, there would no longer remain any chance of surprising the Renards and keeping them shut up in a fort as in the last War, and, if they should flee to the Scioux or to the Ayouets, they would attack the French in the upper

country and it would be impossible to go from one Colony to the other without running the risk of losing one's life or of being pillaged.

Nevertheless, if after the measures that are being taken to establish a lasting peace with them, they should again break their word, it will then be necessary to take measures conjointly with the nations of both Colonies to destroy them by force of arms.

Meanwhile, it is advisable that the Sieur Des Liettes should make the Ilinois restore to the Renards such captives of that nation as they may have in their hands; and that he should not follow the example of the Commandants who have preceded him, and who thought they would intimidate the Renards by burning the prisoners of their nation,—which served only to irritate them and to make the war rage more bitterly.

6

If, with such circumspection on the part of the Ilinois, the Renards can be kept quiet for a year, a conference may be held with the Sieur Des Liettes at Chicagou or at the Rocher where the Chiefs of the nations of the Ilinois country and of la Baye may be assembled and the number determined of the French and of the savages—both from the Ilinois country and from Canada—who will be posted in a fort to be erected at the spot selected for the Rendezvous. Then, after the Treaty of peace with the Renards and their allies has been renewed, Ouachàla, the great Chief of the Renards and the war-Chiefs of the Sakis, Puants, Kicapoux, Maskoutins and Scioux—one from each of those Nations allied with the Renards—may be sent down to Montreal the following Summer to be questioned regarding their dispositions and to be informed at the same time of the King's intentions.

It would then be advisable that, in the presence of those Chiefs and of those of the Sauteurs, Poutouatamis, Outaouais and other nations of the Lakes—from each of which it would also be advisable to send a Chief and in addition a Chief or two of the Ilinois to be witnesses of what shall be agreed upon with the Renards and their allies—Ouachala should publicly ask for a French Chief. There will be no difficulty in giving him one,

although such is not the desire of the Commandants of the Post of la Baye who are no doubt opposed to this Establishment solely through motives of private interest which should always yield to the welfare of the service and of the Colony.

Messieurs de Beauharnois and Dupuy have learned through the Sieur de Lignery, Commandant at Michilimakinac, that the Renards are asking for a Commandant and a Missionary; they told him that they were the only ones neglected and that a Commandant and a Missionary would give them sense like the others and would help them to restrain their young men.1

1 The letters and documents of which this is a summary, were translated and printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 148–161. The spelling of the proper names can be corrected from the above.— Ed.

Father Chardon, the superior of the Missions of the upper 7 country,1 writes that, in order to compel the Nation of the Renards to keep quiet and in awe of us, it would be advisable: first, to deprive them of the refuge they have secured amongst the Scioux, and, to that end, prevent their being given any of the goods they procure in the upper country, especially at the posts established at la Baye des Puans and at the River St. Joseph, and, to do this effectively, it would be necessary to suppress those two pests where trade both in Brandy and in merchandise is notorious, as the Commandants have bought those posts. Secondly, to bar their passage to the Iroquois. Thirdly, to let loose all the Savages that may wish to wage war upon them; this will exhaust them to such an extent that, having nothing wherewith to defend themselves, they will be compelled to submit to everything, and when we shall have an establishment amongst the Scioux the Renard will be obliged in spite of himself to keep quiet. Thereby, we shall be spared the expense of a costly War, whose success is very uncertain, inasmuch as the Renards have an: assured refuge amongst the Scioux.2

1 For sketch of Father Chardon, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 206.— Ed.

2 Marginal note on MS.: “Approved, what is proposed to secure peace and render it stable.”

1727: POST TO BE ESTABLISHED AMONG SIOUX

[Memorandum about the Sioux, dated April 29, 1727, based on reports from Canada. The original MS. of this document is in the archives of the Ministère des Colonies, Paris, where it was transcribed for the Society, in whose collection the transcript is preserved. Pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 49, c. 11, fol. 576.”]

It was recommended to Messieurs de Beauharnois and Dupuis3 by the King's Memorial that they should do all in their

3 Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois, was governor of New France from August, 1726, to Sept. 19, 1747. He was reputed to be a natural son of Louis XIV, was born about 1670, and trained for the French navy. After his service as governor of New France, he returned to France, and was made lieutenant-general of naval forces, a position he held but a short time, dying in June, 1749. For his instructions when appointed governor of New France, see O'Calaghah ed., *N. Y. Colonial Documents* (Albany, 1856–58), ix, p. 956. The first husband of Josephine, empress of the French, was descended from this family.

Claude Thomas Dupuy was appointed intendant of New France when Beauharnois was made governor. They became involved in disputes, and Dupuy having antagonized both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities was recalled in September, 1728.— Ed.

8 power to Make an Establishment among the Scioux, who have asked for Missionaries, and to send there a Commandant who would suit them.1 However such an Establishment seemed difficult to found because news was received from there last year that a head of Renards had killed two Frenchmen who were on their way thither, and that those Savages

had declared that they would not let a single Frenchman pass to the Scioux since it would diminish their Trade.2

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.* xvi, pp. 441, 442.— Ed.

2 This information is to be found in the following extract from a letter of de Longueuil and Bégon to the French ministry, dated Quebec, Oct. 31, 1725: “We have been informed by a letter of the 21st of July last, from the Reverend Father Chardon, missionary at la Baye, to the Reverend Father La Chasse, superior of the Jesuits, who had designed that the former should begin the mission among the Sioux, that in addition to the five Frenchmen killed two years ago, two others were slain last spring, by a party of Kikapous and Renards; that the latter say that they will not permit *the French to go to the Sioux*, since the trade that they will carry on will considerably diminish their own; that the allied Renards and Sioux have made an attack on the French established among the Illinois, and that they are so exasperated against the Illinois, that they cannot be deterred, nor even the Sakis who live at la Baye, from waging war upon them; and that all these reasons indicate the difficulty and postponement of the enterprise to establish a missionary and a commandant among the Sioux.” Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français 1614–1754* (Paris, 1876–85), vi, p. 543.— Ed.

They write3 that it is now easier than formerly to Establish a Post among the Scioux. That the Sieur do Lignery who commands

3 Marginal note on original MS. gives date 14th October, 1726, referring to a previous letter of the governor and intendant.— Ed.

9 at Michilimakinac has reported that the chiefs of the Sakis, of the Puants, and of the Renards have promised him not Only to put an end to the war that they were waging against the Ilinois, but also to induce their allies to do the same. So that by sending an officer in the Spring to La pointe on Lake Superior, we may prepare to Establish a pest where we have already occupied one.1 And he by means of a few presents, and by

opening a Trade with the Savages of that Quarter, will form connections, and gradually dispose those Savages [the Renards] to abandon. the War against the Ilinois, and divert them from going to detroit as they had intended to do to seek an asylum among the Iroquois.

1 For the previous occupation of a post at “La Pointe,” in Chequamegon Bay, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 410, 411; xvi, p. 380.— Ed.

* * * * * * * *

1727: MISSIONARIES FOR THE SIOUX DESIRE ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS

[Letter from Marquis do Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Apr. 30, 1727. Translated from a document in Quebec provincial archieves, transcribed from a MS. in Paris archives.]

The Reverend Jesuit fathers who are to go among the Sioux, ask for mathematical instruments. Those which are in their establishment, and which belong to the King will serve their purpose until His Majesty sends others for Quebec, namely: a case of mathematical instruments, a dial plate of universal astronomy, a graduated semi-circle with the degrees indicated, a spirit level, a chain with stakes, and a telescope six or seven feet long, (this telescope does not belong to the king, but they take one from their establishment, and request another from the king to replace it)

It would be well, Monseigneur, if they could receive these 10 instruments by this year's ships, if this letter arrives in time for that.1

1 Margry, *Découv. et établ*, vi, p. 544, note, says that in a letter of Sept. 23, 1727, the governor calls to mind this request of the Jesuit fathers who departed in the spring for the Sioux, and that since then they have again asked him to request a compass with a graphometer. — Ed.

I have the honor to be etc. etc.

Beauiharnois .

1727: ARTICLES OF THE TRADING COMPANY FOR THE POST AMONG THE SIOUX

[This agreement between the governor of Canada and certain merchants for exploiting the fur-trade, and providing expenses for the post among the Sioux is translated from a document dated June 6, 1727, in Margry, *Découv. et établ.* , vi. pp. 547–552.]

Charles, marquis de Beauharnois, knight of the military Order of St. Loomis, governor and lieutenant-general of the King in the whole of New France .

In virtue of the orders addressed to us by the King's Memorandum of May 14, 1726, respecting the establishment of a commandant and two missionaries amongst the Sioux, in compliance with His Majesty's instructions, we—in the presence of Monsieur de Longueuil, governor of this town of Montreal;2 of

2 Charles le Moyne, second of the name, and first baron of LongueuiI, was the eldest of the famous sons of the first Sieur de Longueuil, a Canadian colonist ennobled by the king. His most noted brothers were Bienville and Iberville, connected with the founding of Louisiana. Charles, as the eldest, remained in Canada. He was a man of ability and esteemed by his contemporaries; was adopted among the Iroquois and had great influence with them. He was born at Montreal, 1656; sent to France to be educated; served as an officer from 1687–91, when he went to France to recover from a wound. Returning to Canada he served efficiently the remainder of that war, and in that of 1702–13; was made governor of Montreal, and served as acting governor of Canada 1725–26. He died in 1729.— Ed.

11 Monsieur d' Aigremont, commissary-general; and of Monsieur de La Come, lieutenant of the King, at Montreal—have settled and determined the articles of engagement demanded of the undersigned interested in the Sioux Company as follows, to wit:

First Article .—That the trade of the whole Sioux country shall be granted and permitted to the undersigned purely and simply for three entire and consecutive years to the exclusion of all others whomsoever, so that nobody shall be permitted to go or to send one or more canoes thither without the consent of the said Company. And if any person, of whatsoever quality or condition he may be, should go there to trade, the commanding officer shall be at liberty and is even ordered to have his goods confiscated and distributed in accordance with the orders we may deem advisable to give, and that one half of the goods so confiscated shall belong to the said Company.

That the said interested parties shall not trade nor hunt in the direction of Point Chagouamigon, elsewhere than in the hunting grounds whither the Sioux go, and that on the side of la Baye, they shall likewise go only in the Sioux hunting grounds, they shall not, be permitted to trade on the Ouisconsin nor on the portage by which they must pass to reach the Sioux, which shall serve as the boundary for both territories.

Second Article .—That they shall not build forts nor houses equivalent to the same in the hunting grounds, but only in the place where the commanding officer shall establish his post.

Third Article .—That the said interested parties shall have permission to send up to the Sioux country during the next two years such number of canoes as they may deem advisable. Should the prospects of the profit to be gained in the trade become greater, in order to induce them to increase the quantity of goods and the number of canoes to be sent thither, the share at present owned by each of the associates shall be increased in the same proportion as general increase of the whole trade. Thus, if the trade which at

present employs nine canoes should afterwards employ twelve, each one may increase what he had at the beginning by one fourth.

Fourth Article .— That at the expiration of three years they 12 shall be given the preference over the highest and last bidder. If the trade be given to the highest bidder, or if we should deem advisable to fix the price ourselves, they shall have the preference over all others if they wish to accept.

Fifth Article .— Should they be stopped on the way in the country of the Renards or beyond, or should they, when they reach the Sioux country, be compelled by superior force to return this year, they shall he permitted to trade their goods wherever they think proper, under the orders of the commanding officer, who shall have power to decide the destination of each one in such manner as he may deem most expedient for the welfare of the King's service and that of the Colony.

Sixth Article .—That all of the said interested parties who may be compelled thereto through illness or domestic reasons, shall be at liberty to abandon the trade and to return to it before the expiration of the three years, in such manner nevertheless that no one shall leave the Sioux country without the express permission in writing of the commanding officer.

Seventh Article .—That no associate shall transfer his share either wholly or partially except to persons of good character, free from scandal of every kind and who will not interpose any obstacle to the establishment. of Religion amongst that great number of barbarous peoples, so that God's blessings may rest on their persons and trade.

Eighth Article .—That all the associates without exception and all persons in their employ shall be forbidden to absent themselves from the fort that is to be built, for the purpose of hunting, without the express permission of Monsieur the commandant.

Ninth Article .—That the said interested parties bind themselves to leave in the fort next spring two men per canoe, making eighteen men not including the servants of Messieurs the officers; and those of the missionaries, and that they may employ the other voyageurs in conveying their furs to Montreal and in bringing back goods therefrom; this shall likewise apply to the last two years.

Tenth Article .— That when they shall leave the said post they 13 shall be at liberty to sell the houses they may have built for themselves and on their private account.

In return for the above concessions the said interested parties undertake:

1. To build a fort of stakes, a chapel, a house for the commanding officer, and one for the missionaries in such place and in such manner as may be ordered by the commanding officer, whom they promise to obey and listen to in everything he may command them for the King's service, the discipline of the post, and the welfare of the Colony.

2. They further undertake to have conveyed free of cost from here to the Sioux country whatever may be given them either for the commanding officer or for the missionaries to the extent of 600 pounds weight per canoe, namely: 300 pounds weight for the commandant and as much for the missionaries; this shall be so construed that the canoe carrying the officer shall not be included, for this year only, in the number of those that will have to carry 600 pounds weight, neither shall the canoe in charge of the officer second in command, and the two canoes carrying the two missionaries with their provisions, chapel, and beds shall each carry 300 pounds weight;

3. During the following years, they shall he absolutely bound to cause to be conveyed into the said Sioux country, to the fort to be built there, and to the house of the commanding officer provisions and other necessary and useful articles to the extent of 1,350 pounds weight for each of the last two years. But should the trade not be successful and should it

be possible to send down only a small number of canoes, then and in such case they shall be bound to carry only 1,000 pounds weight for the commanding officer;

4. They likewise undertake to cause to be conveyed from Montreal to the said Sioux country, to the missionaries' house, whatever may be given them for the latter in each of the said years to the extent of 1,000 pounds weight, whether many canoes come here or not;

5 They further undertake to purchase three or four extra canoes when they reach Michilimakinak in order the more easily 14 to traverse the River of the Renards and that of Ouisconsing, and to carry in such canoes 600 pounds weight for the missionaries, and also to convey the said goods to the weight of 600 pounds from Missilimakinak to the Sioux country, not including the sacks of Indian corn which they undertake to carry for the subsistence of the said missionaries, not only in this first year but in those following.

Finally it is agreed with one of the associates, named Franéois Campeau, that he shall be at liberty to work at his trade of blacksmith for all who may wish to employ him and pay him therefor; in consideration whereof the said Campeau undertakes to give to the said Company for each of the said three years, the sum of 400 livres in furs or in coin at his option and in addition to provide free of charge thirty screws. [Fr. *vices* ; vis?] or the equivalent thereof in primers [Fr. *grain*].1

1 Vices. Phonetically, this would be *vis* (screws). All whom I have consulted agree on this. If the word be *vis*, I should say that it means the special screws required for the flint-locks of the guns of the period. In that case, *grains* would mean *primers*. However, this is merely conjecture.— Crawford Lindsay, translator.

All the associates have agreed to everything above set forth and have consented that if any of them shall infringe any of the above articles he shall be severely punished and deprived of all his rights.

And, after reading the articles of demands and undertakings above set forth the said associates of the Sioux Company have consented to carry out everything therein contained, and have accepted and agreed to all the charges and conditions therein stipulated, for the fulfilment whereof they have all signed with us, and also the above named.

Done at Montreal, this sixth day of June one thousand seven hundred and twenty seven.

Signed : Beauharnois, Longueuil, La Come, d' Aigremont, Saint George Dupré, Youville, Pierre. Daillay,2 Marin, Etienne Petit, Garrau,3 François Campeau, François du May, Pierre

2 Given as Dumay, in *Supplement to Canadian Archives*, 1899, p. 132, where this document is calendared.— Ed.

3 Garreau, *Ibid*.— Ed.

15 Richard, Jean Baptiste Boucher de Montbrun, François Boucher de Montbrun and Jean Garrau.1

1 Most of these men were natives of Canada, and inhabitants of Montreal. The two Bouchers de Montbrun seem to have been the leaders in the enterprise. They were sons of René Jean Boucher, seigneur de Montbrun, and in 1729 commandant of the militia for all the “southern coast” of New France. It is probable that Marin was the man of that name who played so conspicuous a part in the Fox War. See p. —, *post*.— Ed.

1727: COMMANDANTS FOR THE SIOUX POST AND GREEN BAY

[Extract of a letter from the Marquis de Beauharnois and Monsieur Dupuy2 to the French Minister, translated from a document published by Margry, *Découv. et établ.* , vi, pp. 545, 546:]

2 So in Margry, but internal evidence proves it to be from Beauharnois only.— Ed.

Quebec , September 25th, 1727.

You recommend me also, Monseigneur, to give great care to sending one or two missionaries among the Sioux. The Reverend Jesuit Fathers, of whom I have requested two for this purpose, have assigned them, and they departed last spring.3 It was necessary, on account of the condition of affairs with regard to the Renards (which we have had the honor to report to you,

3 These were Guignas and De Gonnor. Michel (or Louis Ignace) Guignas was born in 1681, and entered the Jesuit order in 1702. Fourteen years later he came to Canada, and was sent to the Ottawa mission at Mackinac. Chosen by his superiors to undertake the new mission to the Sioux in 1727, several accounts of his adventures are extant (see post). The fort being abandoned in 1728, on account of the Fox war, Guignas was captured by Wisconsin Indians, and narrowly escaped death at the stake. He was again at the Sioux post (1732–37), and returning to Quebec in 1740, died there in 1752.

Nicolas (or Flavin) de Gonnor accompanied Guignas to the Sioux fort. He returned to Quebec with La Perrière in 1728, and was afterwards stationed at the missions of Sault St. Louis and Lorette, dying at Quebec in 1759, aged 68 years.— Ed.

16 Monsieur Dupuy and myself, in reply to a Memoir of the King) to have these two missionaries accompanied by a certain number. of Frenchmen, both to put them in a position to defend themselves in case of war, and also to work with more diligence upon the pest, which it is necessary to make for the safety of these missionaries.

I made an agreement with the voyageurs who conveyed them, according to which they are charged with all the expenses, as you will see by the copy of the agreement, which I have the honor to send you.

It was necessary, also, Monseigneur, for discipline and good order, to place at the head of this detachment a wise and disinterested interested officer. The Reverend Jesuit Fathers urgently requested Sieur de la Perrière-Boucher,1 whom I had appointed, in conformity with the orders that you had addressed to Monsieur le baron de Longueuil, to go to la Baye instead of Sieur de La Noue.2 whom you had designated to relieve Sieur Amariton. I could not send Sieur de La None to this post for the reasons which I have formerly written, and because of the representations made to me since my arrival by the Jesuit Fathers, who assured me that this officer, although a very capable and worthy subject, had the misfortune not to be acceptable to the Nations of that post, and to be distrusted by the tribe of the Renards, their allies. Neither could I refuse the request of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers for the sieur de la Perrière to undertake

1 René Boucher, Sieur de la Perrière, one of the sons of Sieur Pierre Boucher de Boucherville, governor of Trois Rivières, was born in 1668, and died in 1742. He was a noted French officer, and commanded one division of the expedition that attacked Haverhill, Mass., in 1708. In 1715 he had been sent among the Sioux to try and detach them from the Renard alliance. The two leaders of the trading-company, the Montbruns, were his nephews.— Ed.

2 Zacherie Robertel, Sieur de la None, born in 1665, was in command of the post at Kamanistigoya, north of Lake Superior, from 1717–21. Possibly the reason he was so unacceptable to the tribes at La Baye was, because he had instigated the Cristinaux and other northern tribes to attack the Sioux, allies of the Foxes. See also, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 440.— Ed.

17 the Sioux establishment. Under these circumstances, I was obliged to send sieur Duplessis1 back to la Baye, where he had been stationed by Monsieur de Longueuil, before he had received your orders, but I count on being able to relieve him next spring, he himself having requested of me permission to return to his garrison.

1 François Lefebre, Sieur Duplessis-Fabert, was in command at La Baye in 1726. In a list of Canadian officers drawn up in 1736, he is thus described: “Age, 45 to 50. Precise. Clever. Few friends. Cadet, 1698; Ensign, 1700; Lieutenant, 1714; Captain, 1727.”— Ed.

1727: COMPLAINTS OF LOUISIANA

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Sept. 25, 1727. MS, in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 49, c. 11, fol. 132.”]

Monseigneur —I believe that it is my duty to have the honor to inform you that every year there come into this Colony people from Missisipy, who descend to Montreal and Quebec in order to go to France, and likewise the French of Canada pass to the Mississipy, of whom there is no mare information, both classes Without passports. This gives rise to great abuses and rascalities on the part of those who pass from one colony to the other, without paying the merchants, who have lent them merchandise, in good faith and who hear nothing more of them; It is to remedy these abuses that I have undertaken, Monseigneur, to beg you to give orders to the commandant of Louisiana to arrest all the French of Canada who go to the Missisipy Without being furnished with a Passport, and to give me notice of it; I only Hope that you will find it satisfactory that I shall do the same for the French of the Missisipy, who come to this Colony without a Passport;

I have the honor to be with a very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very. obedient servant

Beauharnois .

Quebec , September 25th, 1727. 2

18

1727: AMARITON RESCUES AN ILLINOIS WOMAN

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated, Oct. 24, 1727, with an enclosure dated Oct. 15, 1726. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 49, c. 11, fol. 164 ff.”]

Monseigneur —the Sieur Amariton1 has brought me an Extract from a letter of Monsieur de Liette, which will be added to my packet, whereby you will see, Monseigneur, that that officer incurred considerable expense in ransoming an Ilinois woman who was tied to the stake to be burned. I had given Monsieur the Intendant a Statement of the expense and the certificates of the Missionary fathers to be annexed to the Joint letter. I told the Sieur Amariton to see Monsieur Dupuy to have the joint letter made out thereon. He came to tell me that Monsieur the Intendant would write privately and that I should do the same on my part. I have read, Monseigneur, the original of Monsieur de Liette's letter.

1 François Amariton, captain in the colonial troops, had been commandant at Green Bay, 1723—26. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, for his career at this place.— Ed.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Beauharnois .

Quebec , October 24th, 1727.

As we have no news of the Sioux detachment everybody believes that it has passed.

Extract from a Letter written by Monsieur de Liette, captain and commandant at Fort de chastre2 in the ilinois country, to Monsieur de Lignery, captain in Canada and commandant general of the savage countries, dated October 15, 1726 .

2 Fort Chartres was originally built in 1720 by Boisbriant as a centre for defense in the Illinois country, on a site a mile east of the Mississippi, and about sixteen miles northwest

of Kaskaskia. This first fort was of the ordinary stockade kind, replaced (1753–56) by an immense stone fortification which cost nearly $1,000,000. This latter was surrendered to the English in 1765. Nine years later, Fort Chartres was undermined by the Mississippi, and had to be abandoned. See “Old Fort Chartres” in Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History* (Chicago, 1901).— Ed.

19

I represented with praise to the illinois nation the kindness displayed by monsieur Amarition in Ransoming the Illinois woman who passed as The wife of michel aco,1 and the large quantity of goods it cost him to save her from the fire, but it was in vain. Those savages are ungrateful beings who think one is obliged to do what one does for them. It is nevertheless a sad thing that that captain should have incurred so heavy an expense. It should be paid by The company, to which I have written. I hope it will produce some effect but I have difficulty in believing it. It is harder to obtain repayment from The company than from the king.2 If peace were concluded, I think that monsieur damariton might be able with The certificates of the reverend jesuit fathers and of the French, to obtain some repayment. I should like, with all my heart, to be of some use to Him in this. If he thinks I can be, let him tell me in what manner and I will do everything in my power.

1 Michael Accault (Aco) accompanied Hennepin on his voyage of discovery in 1680, probably as chief of the party sent out by La Salle. He settled among the Illinois, and married the daughter of a Kaskaskia chief; their child was baptized in 1695. This woman rescued by Amariton was evidently the same person.— Ed.

2 Desliettes refers to the Company of the Indies, for whose history see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 440. note.— Ed.

True copy of the original which is in my hands,

De Ligneri .

20

1727: OFFICERS FOR THE POSTS

[Extract from a letter from the French minister to the Intendant Dupuy, dated May 14, 1728. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 50, c. 11, fol. 464.]

Monsieur —

* * * * * * * *

If he [Beauharnois] has not consulted you in regard to the recall of some Officers from the posts and to the choice of those who were to replace them, it is because he alone has the power to order such changes and destinations. I am nevertheless convinced that had the accord between you been such as his Majesty had ordered, lie would not have failed to communicate such Views to you, not only as regards the trade at those posts but also in order to have your advice.1 You would have acted as he has done in similar circumstances, and it is not without reason that His Majesty had recommended you to live on good Terms, inasmuch as discordant conduct is always opposed to the good of his Service and the welfare of the Colony.

1 Beauharnois and Dupuy were not in accord, and the latter was recalled in September of this same year.— Ed.

With Regard to the Sieur de la Ronde, I am writing to Monsieur de Beauharnois to recall him from the post where he is and not to give him any other under any pretext whatsoever. I am also sending him a Copy of the two documents which you have discovered in connection with his conduct during his journey to Boston in 1723, without informing him by whom that discovery was made.2 You will be pleased to send me the two Originals on the return of Monsieur the Comte Des Gouttes who commands the store-ship l'Elephant.

Should you, in the future, make any similar discoveries respecting other Officers, you will be careful to inform me of the same.

2 For this expedition of La Ronde, see his memoir, *post*. He succeeded in clearing himself of the charges, since Beauharnois appointed him to La Pointe de Chequamegon, a post which he held for many years.— Ed.

You will see, by what his Majesty writes to Monsieur de 21 Beauharnois and you jointly, what his views are regarding the farming of the posts, which must be carefully considered.

You will also see by the same despatch what his Intentions are with reference to the post established by the English at Choüegan [Oswego].

* * * * * * * *

I remain, Monsieur, Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Maurepas .

Versailles , May 14th, 1728.

1728: WAR UPON FOXES DETERMINED

[Extract of a memoir from the king to the governor and intendant of New France, dated at Versailles, May 14, 1728. *N. Y. Colon. Docs.* , ix, pp. 1004, 1005.]

* * * * * * * *

According to the intelligence his Majesty had received respecting the negotiation of peace between the Illinois and Fox Indians, he had reason to believe that it was on the eve of being concluded, and has been much surprised to learn, not only that it had been broken off, but still more, that Sieur de Beauharnois had determined on making war on the Foxes.1 His Majesty is persuaded of the necessity of destroying that Nation, as it

cannot keep quiet, and as it will cause, so long as it exists, both trouble and disorder in the Upper country; but he should have wished that such a step, the success whereof is problematical, had been postponed until his orders had been received. It is even to be feared that the project may not have been so secret as that the Indians have not been informed of it. In this case, if they foresee their inability to resist, they will have adopted the policy of retreating to the Scioux of the Prairies, from which point they will cause more disorder in the Colony than if they had been allowed to remain quiet in their village.

1 For Beauharnois's change of plan, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 161–165. — Ed.

22 Possibly, even the other Nations, who have been apparently animated against the Foxes, will be touched at their destruction, and become more insolent should we not succeed. As the expedition is apparently organized at present, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to allow the 60 m. li demanded by Sieurs do Beauharnois and Dupuy,1 for the expenses of that war, news of the success of which will be expecting [expected] with impatience.

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 476, 477.— Ed.

1728: THE EXPEDITION ARRIVES AMONG THE SIOUX; FORT BEAUHARNOIS BUILT

[Relation of the voyage by Father Guignas, in a letter to Beauharnois, dated at the mission of the Archangel St. Michael, Fort Beauharnois, in the Sioux Country, May 29, 1728. Translated from a transcript made in Paris for St. Mary's College, Montreal. Also given in Margry, *Découv. et établ.* , vi, pp. 552–558.]

The convoy for the Sioux departed from the end of Montreal Island, last year, on the 16th of the month of June, toward eleven o'clock in the morning, and reached Michilimakinac on the 22nd of the month of July. This post is 251 leagues from Montreal, almost directly west, in 45° 46# North latitude. We spent the rest of the month at this post, hoping from day to day to receive some news from Montreal, and for the purpose of strengthening ourselves against the pretended extreme difficulties of securing free passage through the

country of the Renards. Finally, as nothing was seen, our journey was resumed on the first of the month of August; and, after 73 leagues of prosperous navigation along the Northern shore of lake Michigan, running towards the Southwest, we reached la Baye on the 8th of the same month, at half past 5 o'clock in the evening.

That post is in 44° 41# north latitude; a halt of two days was made there, and on the morning of the 11th we embarked, as we were very impatient to arrive among the Renards.

23

On the third day after the departure from la Baye, very late in the evening, even somewhat far into the night, the chiefs of the Puants1 came out three leagues from their village to meet the French, with their peace calumets and with refreshments of bear's meat. On the next day, the French were received by this nation, now very small in numbers, to the sound of several discharges of musketry, and amid great demonstrations of joy. They asked us with so good grace to do them the honor of spending some time among them, that the rest of the day was granted them, from noon until the following night. There may be in this village 60 or 80 men in all; but all, both men and women, are very tall and well-built. They are upon the borders of a very pretty little lake, in quite an agreeable place, both for situation and for the good quality of the soil, at 14 leagues from la Baye and 8 leagues from the Renards.

1 French name for the Winnebago Indians. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, index.— Ed.

Early the next morning, the 15th of the month of August, the convoy set out in fairly good weather to continue on its way, but a storm having arisen in the afternoon, we arrived quite wet and while the rain was still falling, at the cabins of the Renards, a nation so dreaded and really very little to be dreaded, to judge from all appearances. It is composed of 200 men at the most; but there is a nursery-garden of children, especially of boys between ten and fourteen years old, well made and sturdy.

Their cabins2 are upon a little eminence on the banks of a small river which bears their name, very winding or sinuous, so much so that one is continually making the entire turn the wheel of the compass there. It is, however, quite broad in appearance, lying between a chain of hills upon each side; but there is only one miserable little channel amid this apparent extent of bed, which is a kind of swamp filled with rushes and wild rice of an almost impenetrable density. They have only simple cabins of bark without any sort of palisade or other fortification. When the French canoes touched their shores,

2 For the location of the Fox village, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 39, note.— Ed.

24 they ran down with their peace calumets lighted in spite of the rain, and everybody smoked.

We sojourned among them the rest of this day and all the next, to learn their intentions and sentiments regarding the French establishing themselves among the Sioux. Sieur Reaume,1 interpreter of the languages of the Indians at la Baye, acted with zeal and devotion to the King's service. Even if my testimony, Monsieur, should not be deemed impartial, I must have the honor of telling you that; the Reverend Father Chardon, an old missionary, was of very great service there; and the presence of the three missionaries, who were there, reassured these cut-throats and assassins of the French more than all the discourses of the best, orators would have done. A general council was called together her in one of their cabins; we spoke to them civilly and amicably. On their part they gave us some rather fine sides of dried meat.

1 Pierre Reaume was Fox interpreter in 1718. *Ibid*, p. $77.— Ed.

Early in the morning of the following Sunday, the 17th of the month of August, Father Chardon departed with Sieur Reaume to, return to la Baye, and the company of the Sioux, greatly rejoicing at having passed with so much ease over this obstacle that had been everywhere represented as so formidable, got under way to try and reach their destination.

Never was there a more tiresome voyage made than this that followed on account of the uncertainty regarding the route. No one knew it, and we were continually going astray both by water and by land for lack of guides and pilots. We continued to grope our way, as it were, for a week; for we did not arrive until the ninth, towards three o'clock in the afternoon, by pure chance (believing ourselves still far away) at the portage of the Ouisconsin, which is forty-five leagues from the Renards, counting the length of the turnings and windings of this wretched river. This portage is half a league long, the half of it being only a sort of swamp full of mud. The Ouisconsin is quite a pretty river, but far inferior to what has been said of it; probably whose who gave a description of it in Canada had only seen 25 it at high water in spring. It is a shallow river upon a bed of shifting sand which forms banks almost everywhere, which often change place. The shores are either bare and rugged mountains or low points with a foundation of sand. Its course from the portage is from North East to South West. To its discharge into the Mississipi I have estimated the distance at thirty-eight leagues. The portage is in 43° 24# North latitude. The Mississipi from the mouth of the Oüisconsin upwards flows from the North West. This beautiful river is spread out between two chains of high mountains, barren and very sterile, regularly distant from each other one league, three quarters of a league, or half a league where it is the narrowest. Its centre is occupied by a chain of islands well wooded, so that in looking at it from the top of the heights, one would imagine that one was looking at an endless valley watered on right and left by two immense rivers. Sometimes also one does not see any river, for these islands are overflowed every year and are suitable for raising rice. At 58 leagues according to my estimate, from the mouth of the Oüisconsin, in going up the Mississipi, is lake Pepin, which is nothing else than this river itself stripped of islands in this place, where it may be half a league wide. The part of this river that I have traveled over is not very deep, and has shallow water in several places, because its bed is of shifting sand like that of the Oüisconsin.

On the 17th of September, 1727, at noon, we reached this lake, which had been chosen as the end of our voyage. We established ourselves towards evening about the middle of

the Northern shore upon a low point whose soil is excellent. The woods were very dense there, but they are already thinned on account of the rigor and length of the winter, which has been severe for the climate for we are here in latitude 43° 51#.1 It is true that the difference in the winter is great compared with that of Quebec and Montreal, whatever certain poor judges may

1 Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi* (Albany, N. Y., 1861), has 43° 41#, but all other authorities give 51'. The true latitude is about 44° 31#.— Ed.

26 say of it. The day after landing axes were applied to the trees and four days later the fort was entirely finished.1 It is a plat of ground a hundred feet square surrounded by stakes twelve feet high with two good bastions. For such a small space there are large buildings, detached and not crowded, each 30, 38 and 25 feet long by 16 feet wide. All would go well there if the place was not subject to inundations; but this year, on the 15th of the month of April, we, were obliged to, go and camp outside and the water rose, in the houses to the height of two feet eight inches; and it is useless to say that it was the quantity of snow that fell this year. The snow about the fort was melted a long time before; and there was certainly not more than a foot and a half from the 8th of February until the 15th of March; all the rest of the winter one could not have used snowshoes. I have good reason for believing that this place is inundated every year. I always had the same opinion of it; but they were not obliged to believe me, because old people who said they had lived here fifteen or twenty years asserted that it was never inundated We could not re-enter the rather dilapidated houses until the 30th of the same month of April, and even today the damages are hardly repaired.

1 For the location of Fort Beauharnois, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 302. 371.— Ed.

Before the end of October all the houses were finished, and furnished; and everyone found himself lodged peacefully in his own home. Nothing was thought of then but to go and reconnoitre the neighboring districts and rivers, to see those herds of fallow-deer of all species of which they tell such tales in Canada. They must have disappeared or

have greatly diminished since the time these former travelers left the country. They are no longer in such great numbers, and it is hard to kill any.

After having wandered about the country for some time everybody returned to the fort, and only thought of enjoying for a little the fruits of their labors. On the 4th of the month of November it was not forgotten that this was the fête day of 27 Monsieur the General. Holy Mass was said for him in the morning, and we were much inclined to celebrate the holiday in the evening; but the slowness of the Pyrotechnist, and the changeableness of the weather caused the celebration to be postponed until the 14th of the same month, when some very fine rockets were fired off and the air was made to resound with a hundred shouts of “Long live the King,” and “Long live Charles de Beauharnois.” It was on this occasion that the wine of the Sioux was made to flow, and it was most excellent, although there are no finer vines here than in Canada. What contributed much to the amusement Was the terror of some cabins of Indians who were then around the fort. When these poor people saw the fireworks in the air and the stars falling from heaven, women and children took to flight, and the most courageous of the men cried for mercy, and urgently asked that the astonishing play of this terrible medicine should be made to cease.

As soon as we had arrived among them they assembled in very few days around the French fort to the number of 95 cabins, which would amount in all to 150 men, for there are at the most two men each in their portable cabins of dressed skins, and in many there is only one. These were all that we have seen, except a band of about 60 men who came on the 96th of the month of February and were of those Nations that are called the Sioux of the Prairies. At the end of November the savages departed for their winter quarters. It is true that they did not go far away and that there were always some to be seen during the winter. But since the 2nd of last April, when several cabins of them repassed here to go to their spring hunting, none of them have been seen. One canoe of ten men, detailed to go and find them, looked for them in vain for a week even for more than sixty leagues up the Mississipi; it arrived yesterday without hearing any tidings of them.

Although I have said that the Sioux were alarmed at the rockets, which they took for new phenomena, it must not be supposed from that [that] they are less intelligent than other Indians we know.

They seem to me more so, at least they are apparently much 28 gayer and more open and far more dexterous thieves, great dancers and great medicine men. The men are almost all large and well made; but the women are very ugly and disgusting, which does not however check debauchery among them, and is perhaps an effect of it.1

1 The last two paragraphs are wanting in the Montreal MS and the one in Margry, vi, pp. 552–558, which were both transcribed from the Colonial archives in Paris. They are supplied from Shea's translation (op. cit.), who says that this letter was preserved “among the papers of the Geographer Buache, and now in the possession of Mr. Brevoort.” The preceding paragraph in Shea, is mutilated and imperfect; either he translated incorrectly, or the MS he used was an imperfect transcription.— Ed.

1728: NEWS FROM THE WEST; EXPEDITION AGAINST THE FOXES2

2 This expedition, determined on by Beauharnois, left Montreal June 5, 1728. The standard account is that of Crespel, the French chaplain of the expedition. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 86–91; x, pp. 49–53. For the result of the expedition, see letters of Lignery and Beauharnois, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 92–95.— Ed. [28]

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Aug. 4, 1728. MS. in archives of ministére des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 50, c. 11, fol. 132.”]

Monseigneur —i have the honor to Send you Extracts from several Letters written from the upper country (respecting the Renards), which I have received since my return to quebec. They will Show you, Monseigneur, the dispositions of those savages toward the French and that the News they have had of the war that is to be waged against them

has not made Them abandon their village as was At first stated. I augur very favorably, Monseigneur, for that Undertaking, having received News that they were divided into Two parties one of Which claims never to have killed any French and those of the other, according to appearances, have Convicted themselves. Their forts are said to be at a distance of a League from one another.

29

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois .

Quebec , August 4th, 1728.

The fact of the Scioux having been killed is an important item in this matter. This news is all the more welcome since among them was the asylum whither it was thought they would withdraw.

Monsieur Desliettes1 had not Yet on April 12, received News Of the co-operation [desired of him] but As The delay in sending my Letter was due solely to the Illness of Monsieur de Vincennes who was not among the Ouyatanons,2 There is some appearance of his having been notified of it before the end Of the same Month; They will in any case have plenty of time to effect the Junction.

1 For the letter of Beauharnois requesting the co-operation of Desliettes, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 163. Ed.

2 François Margaue de la Valtries, Sieur de Vincennes, was born in 1672, and in 1719 succeeded his uncle, Jean Baptiste Bissot as the seigneur of Vincennes, also in his position among the Miami Indians. For this reason the identity of the two men is often confused. The junior Vincennes founded the post on the Wabash, called by his name,

probably about 1727 at the instigation of Perier, governor of Louisiana, in order to counteract English influence among the Miamis. Vincennes led the Miami contingent in the unfortunate Chickasaw expedition in 1726, being captured and burned to death at the stake. The Ouiatanon (Wea) Indians were an important tribe of the Miamis. For a description of their villages see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 376. A French commandant was sent among them between 1715 and 1718.— Ed.

1728: FURTHER NEWS FROM THE WEST

[Letter from the governor to the French Minister. Source, same as that of preceding document, but vol. 50, c. 11, fol. 135.]

Monseigneur —I have the honor to Send You an Extract from the News received from the upper countries. Monsieur 30 De La perrière and Reverend Father de Gonnor have arrived at Montreal from the Scioux. They passed through the country of the Renards whom they found very quiet In Their village.

There is Reason, To hope, Monseigneur, that The affair will be concluded to The advantage Of the King's army, which is a Considerable one and which started With the Intention of absolutely Eating up the three Villages of the Renards who had sowed a great extent of land This year. I expect Reverend Father de Gonnor at any moment to obtain all the particulars of his Journey. Monsieur De La perrière who has been very Ill and who has not Yet recovered his health, is at present unable to Come down to Quebec.

Our Settled Iroquois, Monseigneur, to whom I had Said (In a Council that I held with Them) that they must speak proudly to the Outawais of Missilimakina, have done so for a Wonder. They reproached them in the presence of The hurons with all the Evil things that they knew about them and they warned them to open their eyes on their Conduct And that if they did not They, the Iroquois, would Go to Their country to Avenge the French without calling the latter there.

I have the honor TO Be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble And very obedient servant,

Beauharnois .

Quebec , August 18th, 1728.

1728: THE FOXES AT HOME

[Extracts from letters of La Perrière and La Fresnière, dated respectively, Sept. 10, and Sept. 13, 1728, being those referred to by Beauharnois in the preceding document. Macalester College *Contributions* (St. Paul, 1890), 1st series, No. 7, p. 188. Cited in *Canadian Archives* 1886 (Ottawa, 1887), p. lxxix.]

La Perrière wrote from Montreal, There is every reason to think that Monsieur de Lignery will find the Foxes at home. On my return I called at their village, which seemed to be very 31 quiet. They invited me to stop, but I told them never could I stay in a place stained with French blood.

Monsieur de La Fresnière wrote: Nothing had been done to the Sioux, The French there having been well enough treated. Monsieur de La Perrière called on the Foxes, who wished him to stop and camp with them, but he said that he could never sleep on a mat dyed with French blood. The chief replied: “We are dead men since our Father will not stop one night with us. Come! if you will take me in your canoe, I will carry my body to Montreal.” Monsieur de La Perrière said that he would willingly take him.

1728: LIGNERY'S REPORT OF THE EXPEDITION

[Copy of a letter, dated la Baye, Aug. 30, 1728, from Lignery to Beauharnois, being the official report of his expedition. MS.1 in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Collection Moreau-St. Méry, vol. 9, f. 11, 1727–31, fol. 152.”]

1 This is the letter referred to in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 92; but apparently the original has never before been published in full.— Ed.

Monsieur —I Avail myself of The opportunity presented by Monsieur de Cavagnial's2 departure to assure you of my Respect and to tell you in a few words what occurred on our journey. I reached Michilimakinac on the 4th of August and found the nation of the Detroit; the folles avoines to whom I spoke in passing and who followed me to the number of a hundred

2 This was Pierre François Rigault, Marquis de Vaudreuil, later governor of Louisiana, and of New France. He was born in Canada in 1698, son of the former governor of the same name. On entering the military service he soon attained the rank of major, and was known as the Chevalier de Cavagnal. In 1733, he was governor of Three Rivers; 1743–53 of Louisiana; when he was appointed governor of New France, which office he held until the conquest by the English. He died at Quebec in 1793. He appears to have accompanied Lignery's expedition as commissary.— Ed.

32 men; the outaouas of Michilimakinac; the saulteurs and other Savages of Lake huron, making nearly three hundred men. In a word, Monsieur, our army was composed of nearly twelve hundred savages and four hundred and fifty French, including those whom I enlisted at Michilimakinac. I proceeded to la Baye where we arrived about midnight. I posted a Detachment of Savages on one side of the river and one of French on the other. With the help of some sakis whom I had with me, our French captured three Puants and a Renard, whom I gave to the tribes that they might drink of their Broth. They put them to death on the following Day. On The second day of our march, a poulx Settled among the Puants came to meet us with a flag followed by four men of the village in order to ask if their lives might be spared, the latter did not appear for I would have stopped them. I sent back the poulx tell them that I had come to Listen to all the Nations, even the Renard in order to keep them there; but the poulx did not return. We continued our march towards the village of the puants, but they had left two or three days in advance

of us owing to our having been delayed by the rapids of the river in which most of our canoes were broken. We left shortly afterwards and camped between two villages of the Renards. It was too late to go there. I sent out Scouts and on the Following morning we reached the first, village, where we captured an old woman and a young girl whom we questioned: They told us that, their people had left in great haste three days before. From there we went to the second village where we captured an old Renard who told us the same thing. We continued on our way and slept at a third village, where we found no one. I summoned all our savages to a Council. Having learned from some scouts that they had found a wide trail, I told them that the nations must make up a large party to follow it for at least two days to See whether they could not discover something; but two things prevented this. Five or six hundred Savages had remained behind at the second village of the Renards, which delayed The matter, moreover the savages asked me for at least two hundred Frenchmen. These were found unfit to 33 start by the inspection I had had made by Monsieur the Major and his assistants; as the men had no Shoes and no other food than Corn. Matters remained in that position. Moreover, it would have been useless to Continue the expedition in, the Condition in which we found ourselves, whereof Monsieur the Major will inform you, Monsieur, and I also when I shall have the honor of seeing you, unless we wished to Expose all the French of our party to perish. I returned to the middle village where I found an old Slave woman whom the Outaouas had captured. I had her questioned by Ouilamek and she stated that the Renards had departed four nights before and that they had more than a hundred canoes in which they put the old men, the women and children while all the warriors followed on foot on the banks to protect them. Consequently, Monsieur, the nations no longer spoke of going after them and some even told me that it would be useless. At the time I thought of nothing but bringing back the army which—the savage portion at least—had obtained ample supplies of Indian Corn. I caused fire to be set to the four villages, and all the scattered Cabins to be Burned, also all the Corn to be cut of which there was so great a quantity that one could not believe it without seeing. I also had the village of the Puants burned. Thus, Monsieur, terminated our Expedition which will be no less advantageous to the glory of the King and the welfare of

both Colonies, inasmuch as one-half those people will die of hunger. I have the honor of informing you, Monsieur, that before leaving the Renards' country, I sent five Frenchmen through the Woods to the scioux. I gave them as guides two folles avoines who had come from there this year. They have been well paid, and I trust they will take our Frenchmen to their destination in safety, I informed Monsieur de Boucherville and Reverend Father Guignas of all that we had done, and I told them to strive to win the scioux to their interests by assuring them that if they gave the Renards refuge amongst Them, they would bring upon themselves a War with all the nations; also to consider what was the best thing they could do, to remain or to return by la pointe; that they were to be 3 34 guided by the interest the scioux might take in them, and that next spring we might go and join them by la pointe; that they were to try to send news concerning themselves during the winter to the French in this post, that I would tell Monsieur do Clignancourt,1 who is to winter here, to give them news about himself in exchange and finally not to Expose themselves unnecessarily. Such, Monsieur, is The mission I have sent to the scioux. The two folles avoines are to return to their village in thirty-five days at the latest. I told Monsieur de la Noüe to send news about himself early in the spring to Michilimakinac, and I ordered my son to Forward the same to Montreal at once, in order that steps may be taken to send off the convoy that is to go to the scioux; I Send herewith, Monsieur, a letter from Monsieur Déliette which informs you of what he has done. Had he marched toward the Oüisconscink with the southern people, the Renards would have been surrounded, but I have had the honor of telling you that those people could not be relied on, after what had already happened. Monsieur the Major will inform you, Monsieur, of many other slight details. We have incurred Expenses at Michilimakinac for canoes, Indian corn, and beads and for repairing arms, and other things. He will also tell you of the unwillingness of the Canadians. I have never been more alive to the necessity of having troops in this country. I beg you, Monsieur, to honor me with your protection with the minister. I may perhaps come down late. I flatter myself that you will be good enough to Write him in my favor. I have never had so much trouble in my life as during the past four months, and I foresee that I shall have a great deal of trouble at Michilimakinac in getting all our French

sent down owing to the mutinous spirit and the unwillingness of the voyageurs, together with the fact that most of our canoes are worthless and there are no provisions. I will do everything for the best.

1 This was probably Louis Matthieu Damours, Sieur de Clignancourt, born in 1699, married 1730, and dying in 1753. He was present at a council held at Green Bay in 1726. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 150.— Ed.

35

I have the honor to remain with very deep respect, Monsieur, Your most humble and obedient servant.

Delignery

1728: CONDITIONS AT DETROIT

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. geén., vol. 50, c. 11, fol. 205.”]

Monseigneur —The Sieur Deschaillons,1 captain of a Company, whom I sent to Detroit as commandant there, has begged me to have the honor to inform you that he would Not go to That post to serve in lieu of his promotion, as he prefers the honours of the Corps to everything. You are Aware, Monseigneur, that he is an Excellent officer and enjoys a great reputation.

1 Jean Baptiste Saint Ours Deschaillons was born in Canada in 1669; married one of the La Gardeur family; commanded a detachment for the upper country in 1715; later held command at Fort St. Joseph; and in 1727 at Kaministogoya, whither he was removed to Detroit in 1728. In 1736, he was in command of Crown Point, and is thus characterized (*Can. Archives*, 1899, p. 26): “Age 60. Bright witted, loved by the troops. Has given grounds

for talk as to his morals. In command at Pointe à la Chevelure. Ens., 1692; Lieut., 1710; Cap., 1718.” Deschaillons died in 1747.— Ed.

I have the honor to Be with very profound respect, Monsiegneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois .

P. S. I was Astonished, Monseigneur, that Monsieur Dupuy should have ventured to Write you that he had decided not to have Delivered to Monsieur Deschaillons the 2000 sacks of powder that were given to Monseiur Tonty, knowing that that officer had not asked it from him, But from Me, who had promised it to him subject to your good pleasure; and that he should also have stated that the Other Commandants are charged With the expense of Their Posts, as there is no other post In the whole 36 Colony but that of Detroit where matters are on That footing, in consequence of the contract that Monsieur de Tonty had entered into for the Exclusive Trade of Detroit.

It is to be Feared, Monseigneur, that Monsieur Deschaillons who has made himself liked by all the rations wherever he has been and who had undertaken to pay all the expenses of That post on the Same Conditions as Monsieur de Tonty, will Ask to return to his garrison as soon as he Learns that he is not given the two Thousand sacks of powder his predecessor had.

Beauharnois

1728–29: NARRATIVE OF DE BOUCHERVILLE; CAPTIVITY AMONG THE KICKAPOO; HOSTILITY TO THE FOXES

[This relation of the adventures of Monsieur de Boucherville,1 of his return from the country of the Sioux in 1728 and 1729, followed by “Observations on the manners, customs, etc., of those Savages” was published in *La Bibliothèque Canadienne* , Michel

Bibaud, editor and proprietor (Montreal, 1826), iii, pp. 11, ff. The manuscript was evidently in his hands. The following translation is from the printed transcript.]

1 Pierre Boucher, sieur de Boucherville, third of the name, was born 1689, and died in 1767 at Montreal. He was captain of infantry, chevalier de St. Louis, and commandant at Niagara in 1740. He was ensign at this time, and apparently left in command of the garrison at Fort Beauharnois, when his uncle, La Perrière, returned to Montreal.— Ed.

After the failure of the expedition against the Renards, Monsieur De Ligneris sent seven Frenchmen and two *Folles-avoines* 2 to inform me of all that had happened in order that I might take proper measures for our safety, and that I might induce the Scioux to refuse their protection to the Renards.

2 The French appellation for the Menominee Indians. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 411.— Ed.

On September 9, 1728, two days after the arrival of the seven Frenchmen, I sent six of our people to conduct to the Scioux at *Sault St. Antoine* 3 two Folles-avoines who had acted

3 Falls of St. Anthony, at the present city of Minneapolis, Minn.— Ed.

37 as guides to Monsieur Do Ligneri's envoys, and who were commissioned on behalf of all the sarans living below to exhort; the Scioux to take sides against the Renards, or at least to refuse them an asylum in their country.

These envoys returned to the Fort some days afterwards, rather dissatisfied with the result of their negotiations. After accepting their presents and amusing them with fine promises, the Scioux soon let them see that they had renard hearts. Nevertheless Ouacautapé accompanied them on their return, and assured me that the Renards would never secure a refuge amongst the Scioux.

But, seeing that. it would be unwise to confide in these inconstant tribes, I gathered all our French together on September 18, in order to come to a final decision. All were of opinion that the pest was no longer tenable; that the remaining provisions would not suffice for our subsistence until the arrival of the convoys; that the fugitive Renards would employ their usual stratagems to seduce our allies, and that—to comply with the order of Monsieur De Ligneris who forbade us to expose ourselves ill-advisedly by keeping so unsafe a post it was better to depart at once and to take advantage of our enemies' difficulties. After coming to this decision, all withdrew and each one made his preparations for the departure.

On the following day several told me that they had changed their minds and would be unable to sell their goods elsewhere. In vain I represented to them, that the king's service and the welfare of the colony should prevail over private interests; their minds were made up and I was compelled to, leave without them.

We took three canoes and started on October 3, to the number of twelve amongst whom were the Reverend Father Guignos and the Messieurs Monbrun. Although the waters of the Mississippi were low, we deemed it advisable to a attempt that route in order to reach the *Illinois* country and proceed thence to Montreal.

Hardly had we arrived opposite the *Ouisconsin* than we discovered traces of a party of *Renards* ; and after three days' journey, we found their canoes, which they had left at the river 38 of the *Ayous* in order to penetrate more easily into the depths of the surrounding country.

On October 12, somewhere near the river of the Kikapous,1 we found other camping places, traces of men, women, and children; and on the fifteenth, we saw a number of animals running along the shore who seemed to be flying from hunters. Great fires that were lighted and the noise of some gun-shots led me to believe that the enemy was not far

off. For greater safety I deemed it expedient to travel at night; but, as the waters were very low, our birch-bark canoes were in danger of being broken at any moment.

1 The river of the Ayous (Iowas) and the river of the Kikapous, simply mean the rivers on which those tribes dwelt. The former was that now called Wapsipinicon River in Iowa. The river of the Kickapoos was Rock River, Illinois, upon which was a large permanent village of that nation.— Ed.

On the 16th, at eight o'clock in the morning some *Kikapous* discovered us and, leaving their pirogues, they ran to the village situated on a small river three leagues from the Mississipi. As we approached the mouth of this little river2 we saw a number of savages coming by land and in canoes with the apparent intention of barring our way. We at once loaded our twenty five guns, resolved to defend ourselves stoutly. They called out to us from afar: “What fear ye, my brothers ? The Renards are far from here. We are Kikapous and *Mascoutins* and have no evil design.” I sent two Frenchmen and the interpreter to whom they said that their village was only three leagues from where we were; that they were in want of everything; that they

2 There seems to be no basis for the identification of this “little river,” other than that it was known as “Rivière aux Bœufs” and was three days below Rock River. Possibly it was the present Skunk River in Iowa, just above the Des Moines. In the official report of the expedition of 1734, the Fox fort on the Wapsipinicon River is said to be not far from where De Boucherville and Guignas were captured. Ferland, *Cours d' Histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1865), ii, p. 141, identifies this “Rivière aux Boaufs” with Buffalo Creek, Jones County, Iowa. This could not have been the spot where the French were arrested, since Buffalo Creek does not reach the Mississippi River.— Ed.

39 would be glad to have us stay a day or two with them and to trade with us. But seeing that in spite of their fine promises we were making ready to proceed on our way, they surrounded us with their twenty-five pirogues, calling out as loud as they could: “Frenchmen, do not resist; we have no evil design in stopping you.” At the same

time numbers of them embarked in our canoes although the chiefs cried out: “Gently, young men” They dragged us to their village where we thought the greatest favor we could expect would be to be plundered. Far, however, from taking away our arms, they requested us on our arrival to salute the fort with a discharge of musketry which we did with fairly good grace. Afterwards they held a council and came to the conclusion to lodge us in the cabin of Ouiskouba whose relatives had just been killed by the French acting with the Illinois. All our baggage was carried into this cabin; Father Guignas was placed upon a mat and upon a very fine bear skin;1 an equally honorable place was prepared for me opposite the Reverend Father; we were regaled with deer flesh. We had no lack of company throughout the night as a great many of these barbarians had never seen a Frenchman and were attracted by curiosity. Ouiskouba and several chiefs who were hunting in the neighborhood were sent for.

1 An Indian mode of showing honor.— Ed.

On the following day the elders entered our cabin and spoke to Father Guignos as follows: “ *You Black gowns* 2 used formerly to maintain. peace amongst the nations; but now you are greatly changed. Not long ago one of your comrades was seen leading a party and waging a bloody war against us.” These elders referred to Father Dumas, the chaplain of Monsieur Desliettes' army.3

2 This was the Indian appellation for the Jesuit missionaries, who wore their black cassocks into the wilderness.— Ed.

3 Jean Dumas was born at Lyons, France, Sept. 10, 1696, and entered the Jesuit order at the age of fifteen. In 1726, he was sent to Louisiana, and in 1727 assigned to the Illinois mission. Some time before 1740 he returned to France, and taught Hebrew at Lyons. He died in 1770.— Ed.

Father Guignos replied, “You know not the Black gowns; it is not their custom to fight and to steep their hands in blood. They follow the army solely for the purpose of helping the sick and ministering to the dying.”

The dispute would have lasted longer had not the young men—wiser in. this than the elders—imposed silence on them. “Be silent, old babblers,” they said to them: “Are not the French sufficiently in trouble and is it proper for you to add affliction to affliction?” These words put a stop to the invectives for a while; but as soon as Father Guignos began to read his breviary, the rubrics printed in red ink caused a fresh quarrel about nothing to break ont. “Those drops of blood,” they said to one another, “warn us to be on our guard against this dangerous man.” To appease those suspicious minds, the Father dosed his book for some days and we had an interval of peace.

Seven days after this first upbraiding, a chief delivered a harangue in favor of the Father and said: “Of what are you thinking, my brothers, and why should you forbid the Black gown from saying his accustomed prayers? Know you not that amongst all the nations these Fathers have full liberty to pray in their own manner?” This speech was applauded and the Father obtained permission to read his red-lettered book in public.

On the same day, Ouiskouba returned from hunting and spoke. to us as. follows: “My father the Black gown, and thou my father, the French chief, I have just learned that you have been put in my cabin and that I have been declared the arbiter of your fate to repay me for the loss of my wife and children whom the French, acting with the Illinois, have just taken from me. Fear not; my heart is good. Our father Ononthio,1 whom I saw two years ago, gave me wisdom. His arm governs my

1 The Indian title for the governor of Canada, later extended to all governors, and also to the king. This savage had evidently been down to Montreal on one of the yearly expeditions. For a description of these gatherings see Parkman, *Old Régime in Canada* (Boston, 1874), pp. 303, 304.— Ed.

41 thoughts and my actions. Rely on my word and no harm will come to you.”

We thanked him and presented him with a brasse1 of tobacco; and we promised that all the good he would do us would be repaid a hundred fold.

1 A French linear measure, equivalent to 5.318 English feet. The tobacco was twisted into a sort of rope, and measured off by this standard.— Ed.

The *White robe* , a famous orator, paid me a visit the following day. “Thy face,” I said to him, “is not unknown to me. Did I not see thee at Detroit in Monsieur De Lamotte's2 time? Thou wert then considered a wise man and I am delighted to see thee.” The savage was charmed with my compliment and the tobacco I gave him and expressed his regret at our detention; he advised me *to be wise* , that is to say to get myself cleverly out of the difficulty by giving presents to the young men.

2 Consult documents in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 204–208, 242–247, 251–256, 292, 379. — Ed.

Chaouénon, a man of credit and respected above all by the young Kikapous, was also profuse in his offers to serve me, and I won him to my interest by great promises. Everything being thus prepared and the chiefs being all gathered together in the village, I caused the council to be assembled.

Word of Monsieur De Boucherville accompanied by 4 barrels of powder, 2 guns, a 30 pound kettle, 7 pounds of vermilion, 12 hatchets, 2 dozen large knives, 7 braided coats, 2 cloth blankets, 2 white blankets, 7 bags of shot;, etc., etc.

“My brothers, children of Ononthio. I learned from six Frenchmen and two Folles-avoines that the French and their allies had driven the Renards from their country to punish them for having deluged the earth with blood, and having last spring reddened the waters of the Mississipi with the blood of many Frenchmen. Perfidious people that they are, when

we passed through their land a year ago, they promised us to remain quiet and atone for the past. We declared to them that they had everything to hope from the clemency of their new father Ononthio; and that we, on our part, would strive to pacify the 42 land and urge the Scioux to peace. I have kept my word and stopped several bands of *Sauteux* 1 and of Scioux who breathed naught but war. I left my fort to inform our father Ononthio of all this and to learn his intentions. That is the object of my journey. Today I ask you by these presents that my road may be clear. I would be very sorry to leave you without relieving your wants by sharing our goods with you. I have reason to fear the Renard; I know he is not far from here. He would cause trouble to you and to us likewise were he to take into his head to come to this village. I therefore beg you, Kikapous and Mascoutins, not to refuse me so reasonable a request."

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 8.— Ed.

Their reply was that our presents would be set apart, and that they would give me their answer by the following day.

In fact, a great meeting was held on the morrow. Reverend Father Guignas, myself and some Frenchmen were invited. On a white beaver robe was placed a slave, seven or eight years old, who was offered to us with a little dried beaver flesh.

Word of the Kikapous

"To our father Ononthio we offer this word, this little slave, and this small quantity of beaver flesh, to beg him not to be displeased with us if we keep the French chief, the black gown and their companions. After the flight of the Renards, the burning of their cabins, and the ravaging of their fields, we were warned to withdraw to the banks of the Mississipi because our father Ononthio is angry with us, and because all the nations that winter in our neighborhood will soon fall upon us. It is therefore for the purpose of saving our children's lives that we stop you; you will be our safeguard.

“You say that you fear the Renards! Well, my brothers, what have you to fear? The Renards are far from here; you will not see them. Even should they come to seek you, do you think they could succeed? Look at these warriors and at these brave young men who surround you; all promise to die with you and their bodies will serve you as ramparts. Prepare yourselves 43 therefore to spend the winter with us and begin to build cabins for your use.”

“Have you pondered well,” I replied, “on what I represented to you yesterday. Do you realize that you will have to answer for us, body for body, and that if any accident should befall us you will be held accountable?”

“We know it, we think of it,” they answered; “We have come to our decision after mature deliberation.”

It was therefore necessary to attack the forest with our axes, and with the assistance of the young Kikapous we finished our houses in a week. We were already beginning to settle down; we had no further quarrels to endure; we were living on good terms. But, on November 2, a Kikapou informed me that ten Renards had arrived in the village. A moment afterwards Kansekoé, the chief of these new comers, entered my house, held out his hand to me and said: “I greet thee, my father,” and the better to deceive me, he assured me that he had an order to lodge in my dwelling. I put a good face on the matter in spite of my surprise; and offered food to my treacherous visitor. Our faithful Chaouénon told me that Kansakoé was endeavoring to seduce the Kikapous by means of presents. But fortunately I had already won the young men by a barrel of powder, 2 blankets, 2 pounds of vermilion, and other presents.

The Kikapous, after refusing the calumet and porcelain1 of the Renards, were nevertheless intimidated by their threats and urged me to help them by presents to cover the last Renards who had died.2 I gave them two braided coats, two cloth blankets, 50 pounds of powder, 50 pounds of lead, two pounds of vermilion, etc.

1 This was the Canadian term for the wampum Pelts, which were used as a pledge of an alliance.— Ed.

2 An indian phrase for appeasing the wrath of the relatives of a murdered man by presents. Compare the “wergeld” of the early Germans.— Ed.

On the following day, a great council was held at which I was present with Father Guignas; this gave me an opportunity of preparing a present to be sent to the Renards in my own name.

44

Word of the Kikapous and Mascoutins by a barrel of 5 pounds of powder, 5 pounds of lead, 2 pounds of vermilion, 2 braided coats and a blanket.

“My brothers, for a long while we have not seen the sun—

* * * * * * * *1

1 Two pages are missing here from the manuscript from which this is copied. This accounts for the hiatus.— Bibaud.

“Fear nothing,” I said to them, “my cousins2 will do you justice and will appreciate the services you have rendered us.” This promise reassured them and they resolved to save us at all costs. “For if they perish we are dead men,” they said to one another; “and since we are too much exposed here to the attacks of the Renards, let us go and establish ourselves on the neighboring island on which they will not be able to land unless we choose.” This was a very wise decision. By means of presents I urged the young Kikapous to shift the camp as quickly as possible; and as soon as we were settled on the island couriers were sent out to notify the Kikapous scattered in the woods.

2 The hiatus apparently contained an account of the escape of the brothers Montbrun, who were cousins of De Boucherville; and of the subsequent fear of the Kickapoo. This escape saved the rest of the party from being delivered to the Foxes. See *post*, p. 60.— Ed.

About that time we were informed of the barbarous design of Pechicamengoa, a Kikapou chief, a great warrior, redoubtable through the credit he had gained, and the great number of his brothers and relatives, and of young Kikapous subject to his orders. As he had married a Renard wife, Kansekoé and his companions had no difficulty in inducing him to assassinate Reverend Father Guignas, and they made him promise that he would not go to the village of the Renards without bringing the father's scalp with him.

In order that he might not fail in striking his blow, he concealed his wicked design for sense days. One fine night he invited two of his young men to keep him company in a sweating lodge, not so much for the purpose of sweating as of cleverly allowing his secret to ooze out according to the custom of the savages in, those sweating lodges, and of inducing those 45 young men to help him. God did not permit the treacherous plotter to succeed. The sweating over, the young Kikapous, who were indignant at such treachery told the well-disposed chiefs of it.

The alarm caused in the village by this conspiracy may be imagined. “What!” they exclaimed, “We thought we had only the Renards to fear; now our own brothers betray us and wish to stain our mats with blood by a massacre of the French ! What is to be done under the circumstances? Had a Renard made an attempt on the father's life we would have settled the matter by breaking his head; but the guilty man is a chief of our nation! … Let us endeavor to appease him with presents.” These were offered him; he accepted them, and promised to abandon his cowardly design.

But, in order to avoid similar acts of treachery, we were ' lodged in less suspected cabins where ten men watched night and day over our safety. We remained eighteen days in that state.

Kansekoé and his nine colleagues, three days after their departure, encountered a hundred Renards who were coming for us. They had orders, in the event of refusal, to threaten the Kikapous with the coming of six hundred warriors, both Renards and *Puants* , fully resolved to be revenged for the insults offered them. Kansekoé perceived in the band the father of the young Renard whom the French had killed at la Baie not long before. He said to him: “I see well, my father, that thou will ask for a Frenchman in the place of thy son; but return with us to the village; come and listen to the words addressed to thy dead child, and refuse not the presents offered thee.” The old man, touched by this mark of distinction, allowed himself to be won over. “I am quite willing,” he said, “that you should restore my disturbed mind. I will follow you.” Many thought as he did; others said they must continue their march and compel the Kikapous to deliver up the French. Finally, after many disputes, seventy Renards returned home and thirty came to the banks of the Mississipi. When the Kikapous saw them in such small numbers they considered that they could without danger 46 allow them on the island; but they reinforced the guard watching over safety. On entering the village, a Renard was inspired with the idea of delivering a harangue, contrary to the custom of the savages who harangue only in cabins. This insolent man spoke to us as follows:

“We are unfortunate, my brothers; we have been driven from our lands by the French. The sorrow caused us by our misfortunes has brought us here to beg you to wife away our tears. You are our relatives; refuse us not the favor we ask. You will give us as many Frenchmen as you choose; we do not demand all of them.”

They entered the cabin of our friend Chaouénon, being convinced that if they could win him over they would easily persuade the other chiefs. All being assembled, the Renards began to weep for their dead, making the air resound with their cries, and spreading out a bloody robe, a shell all reddened with blood, and a red calumet with feathers all dripping blood. Such a dreadful spectacle was calculated to produce an impression, and all this blood called most eloquently for ours. A tall young renard warrior, much painted,

arose, lit his calumet and presented it to Chaouénon, to, *Bœuf noir* (Black Bull) and to the young chiefs who barely deigned to touch it with the tip of their lips, and drew but a puff or two. The old chiefs smoked heartily and emptied the renard's calumet to show that their sentiments were in accord with his. The young Renard took back his calumet, and presented it once more to the young chiefs with as little success as at first. Finally after again weeping for their dead, they left their presents and were told that the answer would be given on the following day. The young Kikapous passed the whole night without sleep. The Renards roamed about unceasingly and tried to intimidate them by great threats, but all in vain.

On the following day, the savages assembled and the Kikapous replied as follows: “My brothers, you are not unaware that we had no evil design in stopping the French. We wish them to live. And what would become of us if they perished 47 while in our hands? Return in peace, accept our present; we will die together rather than give up a single one of these Frenchmen.”

The Renards, angered at this reply, arose with fire in their eyes; they threatened vengeance, made up their bundles and crossed the river, and having met at a distance of three days' journey from the Renard village a Kikapou and a Mascoutin who were hunting, they massacred them without pity, and carried their scalps home with them.

This murder caused much disturbance amongst the Renards. “We are lost beyond hope,” the old men exclaimed. “What, you foolish young men, it is but a slight thing in your eyes to have raised up against us all the nations that have sworn to destroy us; you must likewise massacre our kinsmen! What shall we do to atone for this murder?”

They at once dispatched five men to go and weep for the two dead ones, and to offer themselves as expiatory victims to the bereaved old man who was not far from the renard village. As soon as they appeared before him they spread out a white robe on which two Renards stretched themselves quite naked. “Revenge thyself, my brother,” they

said to him in this humble posture. “Thy children have been killed but we offer thee our bodies; vent thy rage and thy just indignation upon us.” The old man replied: “Our village is informed of your crime; the matter is no longer in my hands; the decision rests with the young Kikapou chiefs.” At these words the prostrate Renards arose and returned home.

Two young Kikapous arrived shortly afterwards on the bank of the river, and uttered death-yells at night. A pirogue was sent for them and they related the sad event to their comrades. The news spread consternation throughout the village. Nothing was heard everywhere but weeping, lamentations, and horrible yells. Couriers were at once sent to warn the Kikapous scattered in the woods to quickly take refuge on the island. The elders aid not fail to come and reproach me with the death of their young men. “You are the cause of our being massacred,” they said, “and we are paying very dearly for the pleasure of 48 having you.” I replied to them: “Had you wished to believe me, to accept my present and consent to our separation, this misfortune would not have happened to you. Did I not warn you of this.” “Thou art right,” they replied, “but what are we to do in the present predicament? We are between not fires; the Renard has killed us, the Illinois has killed us,1 the Frenchman is angry with us. What are we to do?”

1 The Kickapoos and the Illinois had been at war since 1718. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 377.— Ed.

“Your affair,” I answered, “are not so difficult to arrange as you imagine. Give me two chiefs to accompany me; I will start for the Illinois country, and I pledge myself to make your peace with those tribes.” “That is a very good idea,” they said. But the trouble was to find people brave enough to accompany me. After much discussion a Kikapou and a Mascoutin, born of illinois mothers, offered themselves. One of them had lost his son in the war.

We started on December 27, notwithstanding the unendurable severity of the season;2 and, after many hardships and much fatigue which can be appreciated only by those who

endure them, we arrived on the ninth day amongst the Péoaria on the river of the Illinois, twenty leagues from the Mississipi. Several tribes were gathered together in this village, keeping always on the watch and anxious for news of the Kikapous.

2 The winter of 1728–29 was one of unusual severity throughout all Canada and the Northwest, and recalled the winter of 1708–09 in France. See Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire* (Quebec, 1865), ii, p. 435.— Ed.

Two hunters perceived us and, reassured at the sight of the flags held up by my people, they approached us. One of my companions who spoke the illinois language, told them that we came to treat for peace; that the French detained amongst his people wore well; that the Renards, in revenge for the refusal to deliver up the French to them, had killed two Kikapous.

As soon as the Péoaria heard of our arrival, they sent thirty young Illinois to meet us. My two savages waited for them, and after weeping for their dead, and having had their tears wiped away, and having been ceremoniously offered a 49 great red calumet which all smoked, we were relieved of our baggage. We were conveyed to a large cabin through so great a crowd of spectators that we could hardly make our way. We were seated upon a fine new mat, and on a bear skin. Two young Illinois, adorned with many ornaments, came to remove our shoes and grease our feet. We were given the most palatable food to be had in the village. The Kikapou accompanying me, who had lost his son, wept for him a second time; all the chiefs arose in turn to wipe away his tears, and after hearing all that had occurred, they said: “Take courage, my brothers, we will help you to avenge your dead.”

On the morrow at break of day they came to conduct us to a feast; and throughout the day we went without stopping from cabin to cabin, from feast to feast. These poor people could not find any food good enough for me so pleased were they at the good news I brought.

It was my intention to proceed as soon as possible to the French village four days' journey from the Péoarias;1 but I had to abandon the trip owing to a swollen foot caused by a long march through exceedingly cold water. I therefore sent Reverend Father Guignas's letters by a special messenger. I wrote' to Monsieur Desliettes, the commandant, and sent him the presents from the Kikapous. These consisted of that famous bloody calumet, and of the two brasses of bloodstained porcelain which the Renards had offered in order to have us delivered up to them.

1 This was the village of Kaskaskia, Illinois, founded in 1700, and erected into a parish in 1719.— Ed.

Word of the Kikapous and Mascoutins accompanied by the presents above mentioned:

“1st, Our words and our actions are guided solely by the arm of Ononthio to whom we are attached.

“2nd, We have been killed, my father, by the Renards because we supported the French. If thou wouldst sent us some Frenchmen to help us, thou wouldst please us. 4

“3d, We ask for peace with the Illinois and with thee; and that in future we may smoke from the same calumet.

“4th, We have stripped ourselves by giving what we had to the Renards to appease them. We should be obliged to thee, if thou wouldst send us goods and especially powder.

“5th, We flatter ourselves that our flesh has been preserved; and we beg thee to induce the Illinois to give back to us those of our kin who are slaves in their midst.”

Word of Monsieur Desliettes by a red calumet and some ells of cloth.

“1st, I am, sorry that the French chief and the member of your nation have not come thus far. They have sent me your Word; I have received it with joy, because you assure me that you are attached to the arm of Ononthio.

“2nd, I smoke your calumet with pleasure. While smoking it I will think of all you say to me; and I shall see by the proofs that you will give me of your sincerity whether I shall send you some Frenchmen.

“3d, You already have some Frenchmen amongst you, and none of your people sit here on my mat. If you wish sincerely, as you say, to live in peace with us, I invite you to bring back here the Black gown and the other Frenchmen. By this I shall know that you are children of Ononthio.

“4th, If you do this, I answer that I will give you Frenchmen who will escort you back; and you will be well received by the Illinois and the French.

“5th, I would willingly send you some goods at once but I have only very little; I expect a great quantity in two moons.

“6th, If the Renards have killed you as you assert, you see that they no longer look upon you as their kin. I exhort you to avenge yourselves. You may rest assured that that wicked nation can live no longer. The King wishes their death.

“7th, When you arrive with the Black gown and the other Frenchmen, we will take measures together; meanwhile we, the Illinois and ourselves, are preparing to avenge ourselves for all their insults to us. They shall not always escape the vengeance of the French by cowardly flight.

“8th, Behold the Frenchmen who start tomorrow to entry your words to Ononthio from the lower Mississipi. I write him that they are sincere. I beg you, Mascoutins and Kikapous, not to make me tell a falsehood.

“9th, You sent me your calumet; I send you mine. While smoking it think of what I say to you.

“10th, When yon arrive here with the Frenchmen, I will speak to the illinois who will give you back your kinsmen whom they have had since last summer; for they have no others from an earlier time.

“11th, Ononthio will not forget what you have done for the Frenchmen, whom you have refused to deliver up to the Renards. Continue to take good care of them; respect the Black gown. When he is here we will not forget the care you have taken of him, of the chief, and of the Frenchmen.”

Our couriers returned on the seventh day from their departure and brought me letters from Monsieur Desliettes, from some officers, and from the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, who advised me not to go back to the Kikapous, where things had perhaps taken a different aspect on our behalf since my departure.

The Illinois had already begun to chant their war-song with all their hearts; two hundred young warriors had already prepared their arrows. But Monsieur Desliettes told them to wait until the spring, because it would be unwise to rely upon the Kikapous, who had so often failed to keep their word.

I was therefore given only two illinois chiefs and eight young men. I was loaded with tobacco and other presents for the Kikapous. We started rather late, and slept at a spot five or six leagues from the village.

At night two couriers brought me a letter from Reverend Father D'Outrelo,1 a jesuit, who begged me to wait for him as he wished to consult with me on the means to be adopted for

1 Etienne d'Outreleau was a Jesuit missionary, born in 1693, who came to Louisiana in 1727. He was assigned to the Illinois mission, and was in the Mississippi valley for about twenty years. In 1730, he narrowly escaped massacre at the hands of the Yazoo, and in 1737 was chaplain of a hospital in New Orleans.— Ed.

52 saving Father Guignas. I therefore returned to the village to the great satisfaction of the Illinois. I remained there eleven days; but, as our two Kikapous were becoming impatient, I left without waiting for the Reverend Jesuit Father, who had lost his way and arrived in a pitiful condition at the village a few hours after my departure. He sent three couriers after me, who unfortunately took a different road from ours, and caught up with us only when we were 20 leagues from the village. I gave them a letter for the Reverend Father in which I begged him, to excuse me if I did not return to the Péoaria, as I was suffering from a pain in one of my thighs; and I told him that the proper way to save Father Guignas and us was to induce the Illinois to come to the Kikapous and conclude a lasting peace. I continued my journey, and we encountered thirty Kikapous who were coming to meet us, and who told me that all was well. As soon as the news of our approach reached the village, joy spread everywhere, and the French who no longer hoped for my return, took courage once more. The chiefs came to meet us and were very attentive to our Illinois, although he was alone, as the nine others had postponed their journey to another time.

On the morrow I gathered the chiefs together and announced to them the words of Monsieur Desliettes and of the Illinois. They seemed to me well pleased. I afterwards by means of presents induced two war-chiefs to make up two bands of 25 men. The first party, commanded by a chief whose son had been killed not long before, was to go to the winter camping place of the Renards; but he returned at the end of eight days without having done anything.

The other band was commanded by the brother of *Bœuf noir* (Black Bull), who said to him: “Do not return without bringing us some Renards, dead or alive.” After marching some days, this band encountered 30 Renards, who asked them who they were and whither they were going.

“We are Kikapous,” they answered, “and our elders have sent us to get news of you.” The Renards, suspecting nothing, replied: “You are welcome; we will take you to our cabins 53 which are not far from here.” The Kikapous stopped first at the dwelling of Pémoussa1 who had married a Kikapou woman. His cabin was about a quarter of a league from the 30 others and there were about 25 persons in it, namely: eight men and several women and children. In order to kill them all, our warriors placed themselves at night one on each side of every Renard capable of defending himself; and their design would infallibly have succeeded if, unfortunately, some other Renards had not came in during the night, which upset all their plans.

1 Pemoussa was the Fox chief who led his tribe in the battle at Detroit, in 1712. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, index.— Ed.

The chiefs of the 30 cabins assembled on the following day and said to the Kikapous: “What do your countrymen think of the murder of your people?” “They think,” replied our warriors, “that it was a misunderstanding or, at the most, the crime of some individuals; they are careful not W hold the entire Renard nation responsible for that accident?” “You are right,” answered the Renards, “for the murderer, the son of Renard noir (Black Fox) has fled to escape death with which he was threatened. We are going to die in our village; we have not found an asylum anywhere; the *Ayous* and the Scioux have refused to give us a refuge. We have three bands of warriors in the field: one amongst the *Saulteux* , the two others amongst the Folle-avoines, while a fourth will soon go amongst the Illinois. What has become of your Frenchmen?” “They went away on the ice,” replied our people, “to go amongst the Illinois.” “So much the better,” said the chiefs; “nothing remains to be done except to cover your dead. We will send two chiefs to you.” Pémoussa and Chichippa,

the great war-chief, offered to go and they were entrusted with a calumet and some other presents.

During the second day's march, our two chiefs said to one another: “What! we came to avenge our dead and these Renards who follow us are coming to speak of peace! We must give them food at our first stopping place and fire two gun- 54 shots at them.” This plan was carried out in all its details and their scalps were taken to the village.

The news of this deed gave rise to many mutterings, cries, and lamentations; because Pémoussa, who had married a Kikapou woman, had a great many relatives or kindred amongst that nation. This led the thirty Illinois who had just arrived to fear that they would be killed to avenge the death of Pémoussa. And yet they had come with presents; they had brought back a Kikapou woman and two children whom they had captured. They left at night and were escorted back; both sides parted good friends and the Kikapous were invited to go, in the Spring, to the Illinois who were well disposed to receive them.

The warriors who had killed Pémoussa reentered the village on the following day, but very quietly and without ceremony to avoid reviving the sorrow of Pémoussa's relatives.

On March 1 (1729), the ice disappeared and the. Mississipi became navigable to the great satisfaction of all the French who awaited only that moment. to withdraw. The Kikapous invited the Father and myself to a great assembly: “Here,” said they, “are two roads: one leading to Montreal and the other to the Illinois. Tell us which one we should choose.” “Yea must,” said I, “go to the Illinois and conclude a lasting pease with them, so that the Illinois may no longer doubt your sincerity; you must offer them the scalps of the Renards.” Our chiefs approved my idea and I was delighted to have contributed towards obtaining so desirable a peace, for the French and Illinois had no more dangerous foes than the Kikapous and Mascoutins, who killed their people up to the very doors of their village.

Reverend Father Guignas left some days before I did, accompanied by two mascoutin chiefs; and he promised to await me on the road. I started on March 7, with two French

canoes and seven Kikapou pirogues. On the twelfth we reached the river of the Illinois; and three days afterwards, 80 Illinois pirogues with their families and provisions advanced to meet us. Two young Illinois, adorned with many ornaments, came with their calumets lighted to make the Kikapou chiefs smoke. 55 We were regaled with turkeys and buffalo tongues. A thousand attentions were lavished upon the Kikapous as soon as they had presented the scalps of the Renards. By this unequivocal sign it was understood that the Kikapous really wished for the peace so greatly desired by the Illinois.

I left on the fifteenth, and journeyed 40 leagues to reach the French fort where Monsieur Desliettes and the officers received me courteously. Reverend Father Guignas had arrived seven days before with the two mascoutin chiefs, to whom. Monsieur Desliettes gave presents to induce them to maintain peace and union.

A detachment of 20 Frenchmen was told off under an officer to escort the Kikapous and Mascoutins to their village.

It is estimated that there are about 200 men amongst the Kikapous and 600 men in the three illinois villages. There are two French settlements of very considerable size, containing nearly 200 French some of whom are married to Illinois women and others to French women from New Orleans. They sell flour and pork on the sea coast, and bring back goods from there.

Eight days after my arrival, I started for Canada by way of the *Ouabache* ;1 but, after proceeding 20 leagues always against the current which is very rapid, the hands of our men became so badly blistered that we were compelled to return to *Kaskaskias* . In going down we went over in one day the, distance that it had taken us eight days to pass over while ascending, Reverend Father Boulanger,2 the missionary amongs the *Mixik-Illinois* , told me that ten of his people were going by land to the *Oüyas* [Ouiatonons]. I decided to follow them and promised to pay them well if they took good care of me.

1 The Ohio River, which was, at the time, usually called the Wabash below the entrance of the latter river.— Ed.

2 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 455.— Ed.

I started from the Illinois country on May 2, with a young Kikapou, a nephew of the great chief, and a little slave for Monsieur the governor-general of Canada.

56

The distance from the Illinois to the *Pêanguichias* 1 is about 120 leagues and 15 leagues from the Péanguichias to the Oüyas; 60 leagues from the Oüyas to the *Miamis* ; 120 leagues from the Miamis to Detroit; and 300 leagues from Detroit to Montreal; making 615 leagues in all.

1 Called By the English Piankashaw, a kindred tribe to the Ouiatonon. — Ed.

Observations on the Scioux by Monsieur De Boucherville; being a continuation of the Relation of his adventures in 1728 and 29 .

The Scioux are very numerous. They have ten villages very far apart. Their language is very difficult to learn, all the more so that there are few opportunities of conversing with these wandering people, who are ever engaged in hunting.

The men are of quite fine appearance but are indolent; consequently they fast often. The women are ugly, but laborious. Necessity has taught them the knowledge of a quantity of roots which contribute to their subsistence. There are two kinds of Scioux, namely: the Prairie Scioux, and the River Scioux who make use of very small bark canoes suitable for the frequent portages they have to make.

They are greatly addicted to theft; otherwise they are rather mild and docile, fearing and respecting their chiefs. But little reliance is to be placed in them because they are

suspicious and jealous of their women, whom they murder without scruple on mere suspicion. They are never allowed to enter the fort; they would be too importunate. Fortunately the dearth of provisions compels them to separate from the French after seven or eight days. They are very fond of singing and dancing. They are superstitious beyond anything that can be said. They have a number of jugglers and charlatans, who know how to win their confidence and abuse their stupid credulity.

Although they have had firearms but a short time, they can use them perfectly well. They are very generous and when we 57 go to see them they often make their wives and children fast so as to have something wherewith to regale the French.

Polygamy is practised to such an extent amongst them that they sometimes have as many as ten wives, whom they marry only after buying them from their fathers, according to the custom of the savages; consequently they treat them as slaves.

The young men are not obliged to go hunting; they dance and that is their sole occupation until they are married.

The best road that can be taken to go to the Scioux country is to pass by *la Baie* ; by the River of the Renards; then the portage of the *Ouisconsins* is made and then one enters the Mississippi, which one ascends to *Lake Pepin* , where we have built our fort.

From Montreal to the Scioux country the distance is not more than 600 leagues. Going down from the Scioux to the Illinois country on the Mississipi I count about 300 leagues, and from the Illinois to the sea 400 leagues. The Mississipi can float great vessels for 750 leagues without coming to a waterfall. In ascending this great river from the mouth of the Wisconsin to Sault St. Antoine (which is a distance of a hundred leagues) we find a number of islands, and on beth sides are mountains which prevent the waters of the Mississipi from overflowing.

We, the undersigned, who have been witnesses of all that is mentioned in this relation, certify that it is accurate and true and that we owe our lives to the author through his labors, fatigues and experience.

In testimony whereof we have signed: Campeau , *blacksmith* ; Ménard , *interpreter* ; Dumais , *captain of militia* ; Réume *interpreter* ; Boiselle , *voyageur* .

58

1729: MONTBRUN'S ESCAPE; FATE OF THE CAPTIVES

[The first is a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 122.” The second is an extract from a letter of Tilly1 to the French Minister, dated Apr. 30, 1729. MS. in Quebec provincial archives, transcribed from the Paris archives.]

1 Pierre-Noel le Gardeur, Sieur de Tilly, son of Charles le Gardeur. Sieur de Tilly, belonged to one of the most prominent of the old Canadian families. He was born in 1652, married in 1680 Marie Madeleine Boucher, aunt of Montbrun, and De Boucherville. He was a member of the royal Council of New France, lieutenant of the marine, and appears to have acted as intendant during the brief interim between the departure of Dupuy, the death of D'Aigremont, and the arrival of Hocquart. Subsequently he was comptroller of the marine. — Ed.

Monseigneur —i have just been informed by the Sieur de Montbrun who arrived in this Town the day before yesterday, of the unhappy Fate of twelve Frenchmen who had resolved to return to Canada because they could not procure Sufficient Food to enable them to pass the winter in the fort that they had built in the Sioux country On the shores of Lake Pepin. These twelve Frenchmen, among whom Are the Reverend Father Guignas, a missionary of the Society of jesus; the Sieur de Boucherville, an Ensign in the King's troops; And the Sieur de Montbrun, who Escaped with His brother and an employee

of the Montreal government, were met in the Mississipy country at the mouth of the Riviere aux Bœufs, by a band of Maskoutins and Quicapoux on a hunting expedition, who stopped them and Took them to their Village. There is reason to fear that those Savages who quarrelled two years ago with the Renards (their former allies), will Sacrifice these Frenchmen in order to make peace with the Renards, to whom they sent notice, and who had already come to their Village before the Sieur de Montbrun's Escape that they might take the French to the Renards. But as they were only ten of them they Went back [without the French] and stated to a Quicapoux, — from whom Those Gentlemen Learned it,— that they would return to the number 59 of 300 to take the captives to Their country. I shall have the honor of informing You of the Fate of our Frenchmen as soon as I get news. It may also be presumed that the Renards will take advantage of This opportunity to make peace with Us.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , March 24th, 1729.

I ought to inform you, Monseigneur, that eleven Frenchmen and Father Guignas Jesuit, who had left fort Pepin to descend the Mississippi trivet as Far as the Illinois country in order to reach Canada by that route, were stopped by the Mascoutins and Quicapous and taken to the riviere au bœufs with the purpose of surrendering them to the Renards; and that Sieur Montbrun and his brother with another Frenchman escaped from their hands the evening before they were to be delivered to those savages. The said Sieur de Montbrun left his brother ill among the Tamaroids,1 and has come to bring this news to Monsieur the General; having warned such of our posts as were on his route to be on their guard against the said Mascoutins and Quicapous.

1 The Tamarois were an Illinois tribe located near the village of Cahokia.— Ed.

1729: KICKAP00 AND MASCOUTIN DECLARE WAR UPON THE FOXES

[Letters of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated May 16 and May 19, 1729. MS. of the first, in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 50, c. 11, fol. 130; vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 132; vol. 50, c. 11, fol, 131.” The parts of this letter were separated, and have been reunited by our transcriber. MS. of the second, in the Quebec provincial archives.]

Monseigneur —the son of the Sieur Deschaillons, commandant at the fort of Detroit, arrived in this town yesterday 60 About six o'clock in the evening with letters from Reverend Father Guignas and from the officer commanding at the river St. Joseph, by means of which I have learned that the Quicapoux and Mascoutins have refused to deliver the French (whom they detained last autumn) into the hands of the Renards, who Came on two different occasions into the village of the Quicapoux and Maskoutins to demand them; That the Renards were affronted by that refusal and (on their way home) had entered three Quicapoux cabins and had killed two young men,—one a Quicapoux and the other a Maskoutin; That, after this attack, the Quicapoux had sent to the Ayowetz1 to request them not to give shelter to the Renards in their territory And that they had, at the same time, Sent some Quicapoux with Monsieur de Boucherville to the Ilinois in order to sue for peace with the French and the savages of that quarter, to assure them of their rupture with the Renards, and to take together the necessary steps for Avenging themselves on that common Enemy.

1 The Iowa, a Siouan tribe, living in Minnesota when first known to the French. In 1736, they numbered perhaps 400 to 500, with 80 warriors.— Ed.

It appears, Monseigneur, from the Letters of Reverend father Guignoss (Extracts wherefrom I have the honor of sending you) that the Escape of the Sieur de Montbrun and

of the two Frenchmen who fled with him prevented the Maskoutins and Quicapoux from delivering the French of whom they were masters into the hands of the Renards, and led them to give them kind treatment, in a manner which Reverend father Guignoss and the French who remained with him did not in the least expect. The Sioux for their part have treated the French who remained in their fort very well and guarded them throughout the entire winter in the fear that they might be attacked by the Renards. This news which re-assures us as to the Fate of our French, leads us to think that the nations in the upper country, both of the Mississipy and of Canada, are about to form a league for the purpose of waging war in Earnest against the Renards. It seems important to foster these favorable 61 dispositions by presents, And we cannot avoid giving some to the Maskoutins and Quicapoux to confirm them in the resolution that they have taken to wage war against the Renards. I have gathered also from all that has been written to me by the commandants of the posts in the upper country, that I shall be obliged to furnish the assistance of some Frenchmen to the nations who are about to go to war against the Renards; but this I shall always do with much caution on account of the expense that will have to be incurred. The rupture of the Maskoutins and Quicapoux with the Renards will constitute a strong barrier between the Ilinois country and that of the Renards.

Although the army sent against the latter has not produced all the Result expected from it, it has nevertheless made a great impression on the Winds of the tribes who seemed to Wish to despise us, and we have all the more reason to believe that the step now taken by the Maskoutins and Quicapoux against the Renards is due solely to the Example of what has been done among their Neighbors, and to the fear that we might wage war against them.

The Frenchman who is said to have been killed by the Puants, is a young man thirty two years old, who had remained with the folles avoines, the eldest son of Monsieur de la Noue, a Captain of the troops.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , May 16th, 1729.

P. S. I also append a copy of the letter written to me by Reverend father Guignoss previous to his departure from the Sioux country. It will show you, Monseigneur, what danger there would be in farming out the posts of the upper country to merchants for the purpose of exploiting the same as has been proposed to you, because the sole object of those persons is their own particular interest (as you will see by reading that Letter) and the interests of the King would always suffer considerably.

62

May 19, 1729.

You will see, Monsieur, by all the documents Accompanying this packet containing agreeable news for the two colonies which I believe will give pleasure to Monsieur the Comte de Maurepas, theft the army of the King sent last year against the Renards was not useless. It made such an impression upon all their neighbors that the Kikapous and Mascoutins are about to declare war against them. They have, at the same time, sent two of their people with Monsieur Boucherville among the Illinois to make their peace with the French and Savages of that region, to assure them of their rupture with the Renards, and to take measures together to avenge themselves on this common enemy. They have also sent orders to the Scioux not to give the Renards any refuge; the Scioux have promised our people not to give them any asylum whatever. As the Renard's country has been laid waste, they are placed in a situation where they can be easily destroyed, toward which end we, on our part, should work.

I have the honor to be very completely, Monsieur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois

P. S. Enclosed is a letter for the gentlemen of the Company of the Indies. I send them congratulations on the good news for the two colonies. I shall be greatly obliged if you will forward it to them.

1729: WESTERN INDIANS AT MONTREAL

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated July 21, 1729, giving a report of an annual gathering of Indians. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 125.]

Monseigneur —it gives me much pleasure to have the honor of Informing you concerning all matters affecting the welfare of this Colony; And those thai have been dealt with in the deputations that most of the Savage nations have Sent to me Are too favorable to allow me to defer the honor of giving you an Account of the same.

63

I have never before seen so many savages from different Places as have come down this year to Montreal. The Outawacs and Sauteux from Missilimakinac1 Came here two days after my arrival to inform me of what had passed among the Renards and to Know what I wished them to Do.

1 These were the Chief tribes about Mackinac, hostile to the Foxes and loyal to the French. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, index.— Ed.

The Sakis and Poutéouatamis of the river St. Joseph Came with the same object.2

2 The French had been endeavoring for some time to detach bodies of Wisconsin Indians from too close neighborhood with the Foxes. The Potawatomi (Poutéouatami), and the Sauk (Sakis, had gone in large numbers to the post at St. Joseph. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 94; xvi, pp. 393, 397, 399.— Ed.

The Hurons, Poutéouatmis, and Outawacs of detroit also came down for that purpose.

The Miamis and Ouyatanons [blank space in MS.]

The nipissingues and Tabitibis of the post of Temiscamingue3 have also Come to offer me their services.

3 This was a post on an upper tributary of the Ottawa River, established for the benefit of the Nipissings (Nipissinques), and Abittibis (Tabitibis) of the river of the same name flowing into Hudson Bay. The former tribe were first visited by Champlain in 1613; they fled No the North before the Iroquois. At present they occupy a reservation of 64,000 acres on the north shore of Lake Nipissing, and in 1897 had a population of 200. See Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures* (Bain's ed., Boston, 1901), p. 30, note.— Ed.

The Testes de boules4 who dwell on the height of land toward the shores of the northern Sea, have sent three of their people to assure me of their attachment to the French.

4 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 114, 115, note 2.— Ed.

The Renards who have attacked the Quicapoux, Mascoutins, folles avoines, and sauteux have So irritated the nations of the upper country against them that there is not one of these who is not disposed to wage war on them. The Sioux and ayowets have refused to give them shelter in their lands; so that they have been obliged to return to their former Village where they Are surrounded by all these nations who are at war with 64 them. The sioux accompanied the French who were obliged to return, as far as Sault St. Antoine,1 and nothing more favorable could be expected from all the nations of the upper country;

but it seems to me that in order to maintain them in these good dispositions it Will be necessary also to Send some French next Spring with the Nations who are preparing to wage war against the Renards. The Example of the French will animate them, and will Prevent them from having contempt for the French upon whom they have not looked favorably since the last affair.

1 This was a portion of the party at Fort Beauharnois, who evidently went back By the Lake Superior route, the Fox-Wisconsin route being unsafe on account of the return of the Foxes.— Ed.

Three days ago there arrived three chiefs of the Villages of the Chawanons,2 whom we have been endeavoring for several years to draw closer to Canada. I have not yet been able to give them an audience because I am having a search made for interpreters who know their language.

2 The Shawnee (Fr. Chaouanon), “people of the South,” when first known were living in Western Kentucky; they made frequent migrations, and in the latter part of the xvii and early xviii centuries were in western Pennsylvania and Ohio. They intrigued with both the English and French.— Ed.

I shall have the honor of writing more at length to you on this subject by the King's ship.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois

Montreal , July 21st, 1729.

Since my Letter was written Ten Nontagués3 have just come who have informed me that the chiefs of the other Iroquois villages will arrive Shortly.

3 The Onondaga (Nontaés, Nontagués) were one of the five nations of the Iroquois.— Ed.

I must not forget to Inform You, Monseigneur, of the reconciliation that I have effected Between the hurons of Detroit and the Miamis. The latter were greatly Irritated Against the 65 former because they had made peace with the Testes plates, without saying anything to any one. I Listened to all their reasons and when I saw that they were going too far, I made them put a stop to it, And told them to Listen to the word of their father. Everything passed off very well, and they departed good friends.1

1 For the Huron see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, index. The *Testes plates* ("Flat-heads") was the Iroquois appellation for the Southern tribes, Cherokee, Chickasaw, etc. This arbitration of differences between neighboring tribes is a good illustration of the functions of a Canadian governor in relation to his red "children."— Ed.

1729: THE FOXES SUE FOR PEACE

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Aug. 17, 1729. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 131.]

Monseigneur —i have the honor of Sending you annexed to this the Extract from a letter that Monsieur de la Corne2 has written to me since my arrival in Quebec, by which you will see the steps taken by the Renards to sue for peace. Though these savages have not adhered to that which was granted them in the past, and have always broken the word that they have given, It is to be presumed, Monseigneur, that in the present position of their affairs they would remain quiet If their request were granted. They formerly had resources which they no longer have and since they find Themselves abandoned by all the nations and even by their allies (as I have had the honor of writing to You) There is every reason to believe that they will keep quiet. If they come down with the Sieur de la 5

2 Jean Louis de la Corne, Sieur de Chapt, was a noted French officer, captain, and governor of the town of Montreal. He was thus characterized in 1732: "an excellent man,

active, vigilant, loving the service”—(*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix, p. 1033). He died in 1734, leaving several sons who were prominent officers in the colony.— Ed.

66 Jesmaraye1 as I Hope, I shall Listen to the proposals that they may Make to me, and shall give them only such answers as may be suitable to the good of the service and of the Colony. You may honor me, Monseigneur, with Your orders On this subject via new England for, from all appearances, those people will be unable to return before next year.

1 Christophe Dufros, Sieur de la Jemerais, was born about 1708, son of a French officer at Montreal and Marie Renée Gaultier, sister of La Vérendrye. La Jemerais was apparently left in command of Fort Beauharnois, when De Boucherville's party abandoned it. He afterwards joined his uncle on his explorations for the Western Sea, and shared all the hardships and adventures of that search, until, worn out by fatigues, he died in the northern wilderness in 1736, only thirty years of age.— Ed.

To prevent our Neighbors from knowing what You may have the honor of writing to me on the matter, in case they should Intercept Your Letters in order to read them, the Expedient that I have thought of, Monseigneur, would be for You to do me the honor of writing A Letter to me treating only of trivial and unimportant matters, dated the 20th December, which would mean that His majesty approves of the peace asked for by that nation; and In case his Intention should be that matters are to remain in their present Condition, the Letter should be dated the 31st December. These two different dates would have their meaning for me and would enable me to Carry out the Intentions of the Court in connection with a matter so deserving of attention. And I trust, Monseigneur, that you will be pleased to have that Letter sent to me by as safe a means as possible.

I shall have the honor of writing You by the King's Ship what the Renards may say to me on their behalf.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient, Servant,

Beauharnois .

Quebec , August 17th, 1729.

67

1729: THE FOXES IN EXTREMITIES

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Sept. 1, 1729. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 135.]

Monseigneur —the Sieur de la Jemeraye, a cadet in His [Majesty's troops, one of the French who wintered among the sioux, arrived in this Town yesterday without bringing with him the Renard chiefs who were expected and who had Induced the Sieur de la Jemeraye to accompany them from the Sioux Village to the river St. Joseph. When those Renards arrived there they said that they feared to fall into the ambushes of Enemies who would lie in wait for them everywhere if they should go down to Montreal, and they returned to their homes. I have the honor, Monseigneur, to Send You a copy of the report that the Sieur de la Jemeraye Ms made to me respecting what occurred on the part of the Puants and Renards, About sixty cabins of whom were Camped at a gun-shot from the fort that the French built among the sioux On the shore of Lake Pepin. The Renards took advantage of the absence of the sioux (who were all away hunting) to speak to our French about their affairs. You will see, Monseigneur, that they know not what means to adopt to obtain the friendship of the French. The proposal that they made to the Sieur de la Jemeraye (when they left the sioux country) that he should accompany them to their Village, and there detach some of their Chiefs to go with him to the river St. Joseph and render an account to the commandant of their good behavior toward the French with whom they had wintered; and The words sent to me by that commandant on behalf of one of the Renard chiefs (a copy whereof I have the honor to send you); are proofs of their docility and of their desire to be at peace with us. But as they have not come down, and as the lateness of the season does not permit us to send any word to them Respecting their request, I

Hope, Monseigneur, to be in a Position next Spring (if you will have the kindness to send me your orders On this matter via New England) to comply with the Intentions of the Court, and with 68 what His Majesty may decide in Connection with the peace that they ask. The French who have remained among the sioux write me that they will not abandon the fort where they are unless they receive orders to do so. Thus as I have sent them tidings by some Frenchmen among those who made the treaty respecting the Establishment of the post among the Sioux, who asked me this Summer for permission to go up there, I think that they will hold their fort and will remain there. On the other hand The sioux will protect them still more when they see that we continue to Send them what they need, notwithstanding the fact that it seemed impossible to do so this year. These Frenchmen were met by the Sieur de la Jemeraye in the vicinity of Missilimakinac.

I have received word from the Commandant of that Place that a band of fifty Outawacks had started to strike a blow at the Renards; that out of these fifty, thirteen had returned; but that they proposed to start again in the Spring with the folle avoines to go to the country [of the Renards]. There is reason to believe that that nation will decrease every day, for all its Neighbors are its Enemies.

The Sieur de la Jemeraye has told me that during His Stay in the Renard Village, the folles avoines came to strike a blow at them, and killed one man and one woman; That the Renards made up a band of thirty men to fall on the folles avoines who were only twelve in number; but they came back with three men wounded without having killed or wounded any of the folles avoines. I must not omit, Monseigneur, to inform you that the cries1 are to start forthwith from their Village loaded with presents to make peace with the sauteux of la pointe de Chagoüamigon, with whom they were at war for a long time. I had advised the Commandant of that post to urge the Savages as much as he could to do so and to strengthen the Peace between those Nations.

1 Cree or Christinaux Indians. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 189, note 2.— Ed.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant

Beauharnois .

Quebec , September 7th, 1729.

The King's Ship has not yet arrived. We received news 2 days ago she was at Bic.1 I Hope she will soon arrive.

1 This ship, *l'Elephant*, was shipwrecked on this same day, but fortunately no one was lost. Hocquart, the new intendant, was one of the passengers.— Ed.

[The following, evidently the enclosure spoken of in the body of the document, is a translation from a French transcript in the library of Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn., and is published in Macalester College *Contributions* , 1st series, No. 4, pp. 135, 136.]

The Sieur de la Jemeraye, cadet in the forces of His Majesty, and who comes from the Sioux village, reports that the Foxes have arrived to the number of sixty lodges, as many Foxes as Püants, to lodge near the pickets of the fort which the French had built there. That the Foxes sent word to the French that they wished to lodge near them in order to make friends with them, but the French told them that they did not desire at all to associate with them, and that they would open fire on them if they did not retire; this obliged them to draw off from the fort a gun shot, where they camped.

Some days later a Chief Püant came to the fort of the French to see a man named Gigner who was there; he invited him to come and see him at his lodge, which he did, in spite of the representations of the other Frenchmen, where he was hardly come with a trap which he had with him when the Püants seized it, when he would have run at the risk of his life if some Foxes had not hindered him. Finally he had to make a bargain and give presents to get it back again.

On the news that the Foxes and Püants had from a Fox who came from St. Joseph's river, that the commandant of that 70 place had told him that their business was going well, showing even some presents which he said the French had made him, the Püants and Foxes asked from the French a man of the Sioux fort to accompany them to their village, and from it they would take away several chiefs with him, to go to the St. Joseph's river to ascertain the news from the commandant; and because he thought their Father has their respect, and in order that he might bear witness that they had not in any way molested them, Le Sieur de la Jemeraye proposed to go with them; and left the Sioux village with the Foxes and Püants in order to go to their village, where they had no sooner arrived than they detained him twenty-one days without his being able to find out what would be his lot; finally at the end of the time he left them with fourteen Foxes in order to proceed to St. Joseph's river. When they arrived there they told the commandant that they had brought the Sieur de la Jemeraye without doing him any harm whatsoever, for they hoped he would speak in their favor to their Father and that he would obtain pardon for them. It was proposed to them to go as far as Montreal, but the fear they had of meeting some of their enemies decided them to return home after three days' tarry at St. Joseph's river. The Sieur de la Jemeraye adds that during his sojourn at the Foxes' village the Folle Avoines came there to give battle, and killed a man and a woman. The Foxes sallied from their village to the number of thirty to fight the Folle Avoines, who were only twelve; there were three of their men wounded and the others returned to the village.

1729: LIST OF OFFICERS SERVING IN THE COMPANIES IN CANADA, WITH THE STRENGTH OF THE TROOP (MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, corresp. gén., vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 2”

Captains Lieutenants Ensigns Second Ensigns Lieutenants on half-pay Sergeants Corporals Mr. de Blainville Herbin La Cher d'Espervance Dusablé St. Michel 2 3 de La Ronde Dormicourt Dugué Desgly Laperade 2 3 de Repentigny La Valterie Repentigny fils Niverville Langy 2 3 de Montigny Linctot Boucherville Rouville Persillon 2 3 de St. Vincent Dufiguier Duburon St. Vincent fils fransur de Viller 2 3 de Deschaillons Cournoyer Moras Normanville 2 3 de Beaujeu de Ramezay Dumont Bercy 2 3 de Devivier Desnoyelles

Devivier fils Vincennes 2 3 de Perigny Cabanac Laisné Montcour Lorimier 2 3 de Dubuisson Croysil Chastelain St. Pierre 2 3 de Beauvais Joannes Clignancourt Malespine 2 3 de Cavagnial de Meloise Le Gardeur Montmidy 2 3 de Sennerville Varenne Senneville fils Richarville 2 3 d'Amariton St. Michel Chartrain Le Verrier fils 2 3 de St. Ours Joncaire Cher de Cabanac Sicard 2 3 de Longueüil Laplante Celoron de Plaine 2 3 de Budemont Largenterie Le Cher de la Corne Marin 2 3 de Pean d'Amour La Martiniere Herbin fils 2 3 de Rigaud fonuille Bailly Remond 2 3 de Lanoue Bailleul la Veranderie Sermonville 2 3 de Lagauchetierre Verchere Philbert Demuy 2 3 de L'Entagnac Rigauville ferriere Mouchy d'Oquincourt 2 3 de la perriere Sabrevoys Belleval de Joncaire fils 2 3 de Duplessy Bragelogne Cher de Cabanac Douville 2 3 de Contrecœur Villiers Beaulac Contreœur fils 2 3 du Cher de Longueüil Lafresniere Lusignan Lignery fils 2 3 de Boishebert Grandval Darnaud Laperade 2 3 de Noyan Belestre Pommeroy Lamorendiere 2 3 Total of the troops

Quebec , October 15th, 1729.

Tilly .

Indorsed: “Approved Hocquart.”

[71, 72]

73

1729: EXPENSES OF EXPEDITION OF 1728

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 25, 1729. This is evidently in reply to accusations against Lignery for extravagance in his expedition of the previous year. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 41.”]

Monseigneur —

We have communicated to Sieur de Lignery what you were pleased to write to us respecting the Goods that he has left at Missilimakinac. For his justification he says that he had not charge of the Goods and munitions delivered from the King's magazines on Monsieur Dupuy's order; That there was a Commissary Appointed to Follow the army who

had charge of those things; That he Knew that munitions had been delivered from the magazines to effect Purchases of Food and that they were nearly all Employed either in buying provisions or were distributed among various savage tribes in order to Induce them to follow the Army; That they did not Suffice by a good deal to purchase the necessary Provisions for three hundred savages brought by the Sieur de Noyan1 to Missilimakinac to join the army, who arrived twenty days before the Sieur de Lignery; That none or at least a very small quantity of the goods destined for the purchase of Indian corn and grease went to Missilimakinac as you may See, Monseigneur, by

1 Pierre Jacques Payan de Noyan (Noyau), Sieur de Chavois (Chanoy), was a nephew of Longueuil and Iberville. Born in 1695, he served with distinction in both Canada and Louisiana. An official report of 1726 (*Can. Arch.*, 1899, p. 28) says of him: “35 to 40 years. A good officer, quick-witted and intelligent. Steady. Adopted by the Iroquois. Ensign, 1712; lieutenant, 1722; captain, 1729.” He served with Bienville in Louisiana, being second in command of the ill-fated expedition against the Chickasaws in 1736. During the English wars he commanded several posts, was governor of Trots Rivières, and very influential with the Iroquois. In 1758 he was with an inadequate force placed in command of Fort Frontenac, being obliged to surrender to the English. Later he was exchanged for Col. Peter Schuyler, whom Montcalm had captured at Oswego.— Ed.

74 the two annexed Statements marked one and two; That if he left the munitions mentioned in those Statements at missilimakinac he could not avoid doing so owing to the loss of twelve Canoes whose Crews were placed in the others; moreover a portion of those munitions served to pay the garrison of Missilimackinac who had received no payment. This amounts to the sum of 1384 livres, 6 sols, and 3 deniers.

According to the annexed Extract which Shall be taken in special account, The Sieur de Lignery also adds that, as neither he nor the Officers were able to restrain the Savages, nor even the habitants on their return from the Village of the Renards, he Was unable to have such order observed as would be expected from a Body of disciplined troops. He falls back upon the written order of the Sieur de Beauharnois commanding him, for fear

that the army might suffer from want of provisions, to have some purchased wherever there might be any, to be paid for at Quebec on the certificate of the Sieur du Laurent, the commissary in charge of the Provisions, countersigned by the Sieur de Lignery.

It seems, Monseigneur, that he took it literally and acted accordingly. It is true that it was not Explained, but neither was there any question of buying Provisions after Fifty days marching while he had enough for four months, and these Purchases were to be Effected only on returning from the country of the Renards. Moreover, the Goods destined for purchasing provisions for the Savages (in case there was a dearth of the same) should have been more than sufficient if not Needlessly consumed. Neither was there any order to Induce the Savages to Follow him or to give them presents to Incite them to do so. He should Merely have received those who offered Themselves Willingly without incurring any expense therefor. Had he acted on these principles the purchase of Provisions would not have exceeded the quantity of Goods assigned for that purpose, nor would he have found himself compelled to cause goods to be given him on the certificates of the Sieur du Laurent as he has done. But with respect to this 75 Item as well as to His entire Statement, there seems to have been great abuse, which should necessitate Explanations and Information which it is almost Impossible to obtain. The Sieur de Lignery contents himself with stating that everything was consumed with the exception of the little that remained at Missilimakinac; and establishing this by the Statement of the expenditure reported by the Commissary accompanying the army, which shows in Reality many purchases of Provisions, many presents to the savages, and other expenses, a considerable portion whereof he could have curtailed had he acted with all the economy that he should have displayed, and had he Considered his majesty's Interests alone. Such is the prudence which he should have observed, and which the Sieur de Beauharnois could not Explain in the order that he gave him for the purchase of Provisions, because it was impossible to foresee the various circumstances that might arise during a Campaign of Four or five months' duration. We admit however that if every officer had been placed in charge of the munitions in His Canoe there would have been less waste. Monsieur Dupuy ordered

otherwise and committed the Goods to the charge of the Sieur du Laurent, a Willing Young man but Without Experience, who Was Unable to Control the consumption of the same, for the canoes of the Army were distributed by brigades and were formed into one body only at la Baye.

All these reasons have determined us, Monseigneur, to await further commands from you respecting the Sieur de Lignery. The Sieur Hocquart will give orders to sell the remainder of the munitions and Effects left by the Sieur de Lignery, the younger, at Missilimakinac with the Sieur Dubuisson,1 the present commandant at that Post.

1 For biographical sketch of Dubuisson, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 118; xvi, index.— Ed.

We shall continue, Monseigneur, to devote all our attention to Preventing the English from coming to carry on any Trade in the Colony, and to the Execution of the Letters Patent of the month of October 1727. And notwithstanding any representations 76 that may be made to us under pretext of payments of debts between the English and the French, we shall manifest no complaisance, and we shall punish severely all who may infringe his Majesty's orders.

We have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servants

Beauharnois

Hocquart .1

1 Gilles Hocquart was intendant of Canada from Oct. 1, 1728 to Sept. 1, 1748. During his long term of office he acquitted himself with unusual ability, managed Canadian finances with integrity, and attempted to develop the resources of the colony.— Ed.

[Enclosure with the preceding document. Source the same, but fol. 47.]

The following effects were also embarked in the said Canoes for the purchase of Provisions in the upper Country for the said party:

108 ells of doth in 6 pieces

124# ells of molleton2

2 A kind of treble-milled cotton cloth.— Ed.

4 dozen Morlaix3 shirts for men

3 Morlaix is a Breton town, near the English Channel, noted for its linen manufacture.— Ed.

4 dozen ditto for women

9 dozen ditto for boys

400 Pounds of fine powder

8 barrels for the powder

600 Pounds of ball

400 Pounds of lead

20 double Sacks containing 6 and # ells.

Made out at Montreal on the Thirtieth June one thousand seven Hundred and twenty eight. Signed: Roebert. And lower down: Examined, daigremont.

A True Copy Hocquart .

Quebec , October 25th, 1729.,

77

1729: IMPORTANCE OF POST AMONG THE SIOUX

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 25, 1729. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 22. An abstract of the same is given in *N. Y. Colon Docs.* , ix, pp. 1016, 1017; also in Margry, *Deécouv. et établ.* , vi, pp. 559–565.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

It is true that the fort built by the French among the Sioux on the shore of Lake Pepin seems to be in a bad situation on account of the overflow of the Waters, but really in 1797 They rose higher than they have ever done before, according to what the savages say, and this may be relied on, for this year They have not approached the fort.

When the Sieur de la Perriere, placed the fort at that Spot, he had previously caused the savages to be asked whether it would be safe from Inundations, and the answer received was that the Waters did not rise to that height. He considered at the same time that he could not place it in a better Spot, both as regards the quality Of the land suitable for Cultivation and on account of the abundance of Game. These two reasons, one being as necessary as the other (added to what the savages had told him Respecting the Inundation that he feared), induced him to decide upon placing the Fort at that Spot after considering all its advantages. But as it may happen that the Waters will rise as They did in 1727, the fort might be placed four or five Arpents from the shore of the Lake Without this Removal being prejudicial to the Views that caused it to be built at the Spot where it now is.

It does not seem probable, Monseigneur, that either the Settlement or the fort should have given any Umbrage to the sioux, who had themselves asked for it, and the good reception that they gave the French on their arrival among them seems to contradict what has been written to you on the subject. It is quite true that shortly after the arrival of the French those Savages started on their hunt, as they are in the habit of doing 75 for their Subsistence and that of their families who have no other means of Livelihood, since they sow nothing. I have just been informed that their absence was due solely to their meeting (on arriving at their Hunting grounds) a number of the prairie sioux who Asked them to join them in their war against the Mahas;1 they agreed to do so and that is the reason why we had no news of them by the Canoe that the Sieur de la Perrieère had Sent with ten men to ascertain what had become of them, for they returned only in the month of July Following.

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 100, note.— Ed.

When you did me the honor of writing to me that I had said nothing to you on the design that I had had of Establishing the post among the sioux, it was solely, Monseigneur, in Execution of the article of the King's memorial of one thousand Seven hundred and twenty six ordering me to neglect nothing to carry out His Majesty's Views respecting an Establishment at that Place, and to Induce two missionaries to go with the commandant whom I sent there. I Felt the necessity of this too much not to give all my attention to it. The welfare of the service, that of the Colony, and of Religion, were at stake, and what you have done me the honor of writing to me about it seems to contain these three principles. Moreover, it seemed all the more necessary to have. Established that post since there is no doubt that the Renards (in their defeat) would have found refuge among the sioux had not the French been established there. And at present we attribute the docility and submission manifested by the Renards solely to the attentions and to the advantageous offers made by the Sioux to the French of which the Renards are fully aware.

The post would therefore be necessary in order to Maintain the sioux in these happy dispositions, to keep the Renards in cheek, and to frustrate the steps that they might take

to win the hearts of the Sioux, who will always reject their proposals so long as they see the French among them, and so long as the post that we have Established there shall exist. But although all the advantages that I, have just had the honor of pointing out to You 79 in connection with the Importance of maintaining that Establishment seem to me to be indispensably necessary, I cannot however come to any decision until I have received news of the French who asked me leave to go up there this Summer with a Canoe loaded with Goods, and who expect to pass by way of the sauteux of la pointe; and until I am sure that the French who have wintered there have not abandoned the fort, And that the sioux are in the same Dispositions. Moreover it does not seem very easy in the present juncture to maintain that Post without having a lasting peace with the Renards. On the other hand, the majority of the Company that made the treaty of which I have had the honor of Sending You a Copy, have renounced it and no longer Wish to send there. The rupture that we have had with the Renards, through whose country one must pass to go by Canoe to the Sioux, have Induced them to think of it no longer. But in either case a remedy might be applied. There is every probability that the Renards will come next year to sue for peace, or that they will Send on their behalf. Thus by granting it to them on fair conditions, there will be nothing to fear in going to the Sioux. Another Company might also be formed less Numerous than the first, with which a new treaty could be Made; or it might be made with some good traders who could undertake the advances. These difficulties would thereby soon Be removed. There is but one, Monseigneur, which I deem it my duty to unite with Monsieur Hocquart in taking the liberty of Pointing out to You. It is that of sending up an officer as commandant and another as second in command with some Soldiers, whom it Would be absolutely necessary to Send there to maintain order at that post, and the Missionaries Would not go there either without a Commandant. As this matter affects the service and the Expense thereof would have to be defrayed by His Majesty, this leads us to take the liberty, Monseigneur, of asking your orders on this point. We shall Induce as many traders of that post as we can to undertake that expense (which may amount to a thousand or Fifteen hundred livres per annum for the commandant and for the second in command, pro 80 rata). But inasmuch as at the beginning of an Establishment There

are more expenses to be incurred than profits to be received, we do not believe that the associated merchants will undertake it. And, in such case, we beg you to honor us with his majesty's orders on this point, and to let us know what he thinks of the necessity of preserving for ourselves so Advantageous a Post, and a nation that has already given us proofs of its faithfulness and of its attachment. You might, Monseigneur, communicate to us his majesty's Intentions On the subject by the Isle Royalle, or by the first merchant vessels sailing for this Colony. The time necessary for obtaining news of what may have occurred among the sioux since the spring will also give us leisure to await his majesty's orders before doing anything. The Sieur de Beauharnois will neglect nothing calculated to keep the Sioux favorably disposed toward the French as they are at present (pending his Majesty's decision) and he will devote his whole attention to it.

He Will Inform the Sieur Deschaillons of what you are pleased to notify him in connection with the Allowance of two thousand pounds of powder that he asked for his Post [at Kaministigoya].

We have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

Beauharnois .

Hocquart

Quebec , October 25th, 1729.

1729: FOXES ATTACKED BY THEIR NEIGHBORS

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 25, 1729. Source. same as preceding document, but vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 164.]

Monseigneur —I have the honor to. Send You the extract from a Letter written to me by Monsieur de la Corne respecting the attack by the Outawacs of Missilimakinac, the folles

avoines And the puants Upon a Renard Village. The news was brought 81 to him by three nipissingues who stated that they had received it from some sauteux of Lake huron who were returning from there.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur seigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Beauharnois .

Quebec , October 25th, 1729.

[Enclosure in the above, dated Oct. 12, 1729. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 166.]

I have just learned from three nipissingues who come from the Lake of that Name, where they went to Seek their father, that the band of Outawax that was formed there This Summer, had joined The folles avoines And some Sauteurs, And that after gathering together a rather large party, they went to attack The Farthest of the three Renard villages, thinking that they would be less on their guard than the two nearer ones, and that they killed one hundred persons, of whom thirty Were men And seventy women or Children; And that they lost ten men, Namely: three Outawax, three folles avoines And four puants, who Were on our side (These are those puants who came This Summer to Michilimakina). These people assure me that the news is true, And state that they received it from some Sauteurs of Lake huron who were returning from the war members Of that same party. They assert that they have Many prisoners And that the scalps have Been divided among the Tribes of the said Lake.

82

1729: EXPENSES OF DE BOUCHERVILLE

[Letter and accounts during captivity, sent the French Minister by Beauharnois and Hocquart, dated Oct. 25, 1729. MSS. in Ministère des Colonies, Paris; Dress-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 51, c. 11, fols. 88–92.”]

Monseigneur —We have the honor to Send you herewith a memorial handed Us by the Sieur de Boucherville to be addressed dressed to you, concerning the presents he was obliged to give during his detention amongst the Quicapoux with Reverend father Guignass and other Frenchmen who were with him. It seems to us, Monseigneur, that this expense was all the more necessary under the circumstances in which he was placed, that it was the only way in which he could save himself, and that the danger that threatened them could only be Evaded by Winning over the Savages by presents as he did. We Hope, Monseigneur. that you will be pleased to approve the same and order that he be reimbursed for this expense that he could not avoid incurring. It is indeed fortunate that he should have had those Goods which contributed to their escape from the peril in which they Stood.

We have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur. Your very humble and very obedient servants

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 25th, 1729.

As that officer has incurred such a heavy expense, We have caused Four hundred livres to be given him on Account Pending your orders.

B. H.

Memorandum of Goods which Monsieur de Boucherville Was obliged to give for the King's Service from the time of his detention Amongst the quikapoux on October 12, 1723, Until his return to Detroit in the month of June of The year 1729:

Prices in Montreal Profit at one Hundred per cent [livres] [livres] On reaching the village of the quikapoux He gave a present to all The Young men to Induce Them to oppose the designs of some evil-Intentioned old men 6 6 two Barrels of powder, each containing fifty Livres, costing at Montreal prices The sum of one hundred & Fifty Livres 150 300 A Hundred Livres of lead and Bullets amounting to The sum of 50 livres 50 100 four Livres of vermillion at Twelve francs per livre amounting to The sum of 48 livres 48 96 four Braided Coats at twenty francs per Coat, 80 livres 80 160 six dozen knives at four francs per Dozen 24 livres 24 48 four Hundred gun-flints, one Hundred Ramrod-screws, two Hundred fire-steels, one Hundred and Fifty awls, The whole Estimated, at invoice prices, at ninety Livres 90 180 When the Quikapoux Had refused us to the Renards, They wished to Console Them by other civilities and I was compelled to give Them the following which served to weep for and to cover The renard dead. 6 84 two Braided coats at twenty francs each, amounting to 40 livres 40 80 two Cloth Blankets at 15 livres each making 30 livres 30 60 Fifty Livres of powder at 30 sols, making 75 livres 75 160 Fifty Livres of lead at 10 sols, amounting to The sum of 25 livres 25 50 two Livres of vermilion at Twelve francs per livre, amounting to 24 livres 24 48 Also given to the renards without the knowledge of the Quikapoux, in order to Cover Their dead and request Them to remain Quiet in Their Village, to which I added a few words leading Them to Hope for peace. Fifty Livres of powder amounting to seventy five Livres 75 150 livres one Hundred Livres of lead at ten sols amounting to fifty francs 50 100 two Livres of vermilion at 12 livres making 24 livres 24 48 two Blue Blankets at 15 livres each, making 30 60 two other White ones at 10 livres each, making 20 livres 20 40 four men's Shirts at 6 livres each, making 24 livres 24 48 four pairs of mitasses1 at 6 livres each, making 24 livres 24 48 four dozen knives at 4 livres per dozen, making 16 livres 16 32 Ramrod-screws, fire-steels, awls and gun-flints Estimated at 40 livres 40 80

1 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 124.— Ed.

85 given for the purpose of Inducing The Kicapoux to Establish themselves on a neighboring Island to secure them from the Treachery of the renards which we had Every Reason to fear. four Cloth Blankets at 15 livres each making 60 livres 60 120 livres four pairs of mitasses at 6 livres per pair, making 24 livres 24 48 two Livres of vermilion at 12 livres, making 24 livres 24 48 four dozen Butcher's knives at 6 livres per dozen, making 24

livres 24 48 During The winter a large party was got together for the purpose of attacking The Illinois and I did All I could by words and presents to stop It, which I succeeded in doing: Given at that time: two Cloth blankets at 15 livres each, amounting to The sum of 30 livres 30 60 four pairs of mitasses at 6 livres per pair, making 24 livres 24 48 four shirts at 6 livres each making 24 livres 24 48 four dozen knives at 4 livres per dozen, making 16 livres 16 32 The renards having Betrayed And Killed their brothers The quikapoux I took advantage of this favorable opportunity and induced the latter to avenge themselves. To that end I gave them: twenty five Livres of powder at 30 sols, making Thirty seven Livres ten sols 37.10 75 86 Twenty five Livres of lead and Bullets at 10 sols, making 12 livres 10 sols 12.10 25 2 guns at thirty Livres each, making 60 livres 60 120 Half a Livre of vermilion at 6 livres 6 12 Gun-flints, Ramrod-screws and knives 20 40 When the Illinois came to the village of the quikapoux, I fed them at my expense and gave them presents of powder, Bullets and Shirts, The whole Estimated at 50 100 And when I left The quikapoux, I gave the village The remainder of my Goods to thank Them for Their Good Treatment— Estimated at eighty francs. 80 160 1431 2862

1729: COPPER MINE ON LAKE SUPERIOR

[Letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated October 25, 1729. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén, vol. 51, c. 11, fol. 69.”]

Monseigneur —We have received the Letter you did us the honor of writing us on May 22, last, on the subject of the copper mine on the west point of Lake Superior. The Sieur de Cavagnial,1 to whom the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois had ordered a specimen from the mine to be given in order that it might be presented to you, did not inquire closely into the cost of expressly sending a Canoe there when he told you that it would amount to a Thousand Livres only for the food and wages

1 See note on Pierre François Rigault, Marquis de Vaudreuil, *ante* p. 31.— Ed.

87 of three men; nor did he consider the difficulties that would be encountered in conveying Five thousand livres weight of the ore in Bark Canoes that would inevitably be

wrecked if struck by a squall on that Lake while approaching shore—as ore cannot be landed as easily as packages of Furs.

We will neglect no steps, Monseigneur, to procure information as to the quality and quantity of the ore in the mine, And to that End, the Sieur de Beauharnois will send orders next spring to the officer commanding at the point of Chagoüamigon to instruct some voyageurs who may pass by that Spot to bring as much ore as they can from the mine with a detailed Report on its situation and Extent, which we shall have the honor to send you when we receive it. It is impossible to get information about it, otherwise, since you do not deem it advisable to send an especial Canoe thither.1

1 Marginal note on MS., added at Paris: “They will send a detailed report next year on the Copper Mine. It is expected that they will omit no explanations.”

We have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 25th, 1729.

1730: CONTINUED ATTACKS ON THE FOXES

[Letters of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated May 6 and June 25, 1730, detailing further attacks made by the French Indians upon the Foxes, and the preparation of an expedition under Dubuisson, commandant at Mackinac, are in *Wis. Hist. Colls.* , v, pp. 104–107. Transcripts of the original letters from the Paris archives are in the collections of the Society. The word in the first letter translated “flatboats” should be “cabins.”]

1730: MARIN AIDS THE WINNEBAGO AGAINST THE FOXES

[Extract of a letter from Marin to Beauharnois, dated in the country of the Folles-Avoines, May 11, 1730.1 MS., in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Collection Moreau-St. Méry, vol. 9, f. 11, fol. 288.”]

1 This is the enclosure referred to in Beauharnois's letter of June 25, 1730, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 100.— Ed.

On my arrival at the Village of the folles avoines I was very well received with some Calumets, according to custom, by the old men who Had remained in the fort. They said to me: “My father, we will let you rest today and tomorrow we will speak to you.”

On the following day they began by Spreading a mat, and, by Collar, they spoke to me as follows: “Here is a mat, my father, on which we beg you to rest and to be pleased to kindle your fire here and never Extinguish it; for we are resolved to Listen attentively to your word, which is that of our father Onotiô, who no doubt has pity on us since he has Sent you to assist us. Have pity, therefore, my father (they said to me) and look upon us as the faithful and true children of Onontiô. We need your help in the sad position; in which we are placed.” This I granted them, assuring them of your protection, Monsieur, and of mine if necessary.

Afterwards, I attentively considered the best place I could find whereat to build a fort capable of protecting all my people and myself against the Enemy's assaults in case of attack, according to the orders which you, Monsieur, did me the honor of giving me, at my departure. But, as I found nothing more suitable than the fort already built, I decided to establish myself in it, after repairing it, both by replacing the portions of the palisade that were missing, and by roofing the French houses with Bark instead of with the straw that covered them, in order to Avert the danger of fire. I also had the ground cleared of 89 trees and everything in the Vicinity removed that might give any advantage to an assailant.1

1 De Lignery having destroyed the fort at Green Bay, which was not rebuilt until 1732 (see *post*), Marin appears to have repaired a French trading post at the Menominee Indian village on the west side of Green Bay, near Menominee River.— Ed.

On the tenth of September, the puants returned from a Hunting expedition, and at once came to tell me that they would again repeat the same promise they had already given to their father Onontiô last year, and that they would add a second by a few words, which they explained to me at the time by three Slaves, saying: “We all come here, my father, to make thee understand clearly that the blow we have just struck at the renard in concert with our brothers, the folles avoines and Outaouoys, is a convincing proof of the fidelity we have promised our father Onontiô, as his submissive and obedient children, and that nothing can change our Hearts.”

They also presented me at the same time, with three other Slaves whom they told me they had intended to give Monsieur The Commandant of Missilimakinac, as one of their nearest fathers, that he might have pity on them in the pressing need in which they were of all things in general and, in particular, of powder, Bullets, hatchets, guns, and knives; but, inasmuch as they saw in me a man Sent by Onontiô, their true father, to govern and assist them in their necessities, they begged me to accept the slaves from them and at the same time to Consider the state of Extreme penury in which they Were, being in need of everything. To this I replied at once by giving them what they most needed.

Some days afterwards, the puants went to la Baye with their families to live, and Left them there while they proceeded to find out whether the renard was not in their country, and to ascertain whether he had ravaged their Corn-fields. They found, that everything was in almost the same Condition that they had left It, and that the Renard had withdrawn. This Induced them to come back to la Baye for their families, and return to 90 Settle in their own country. They camped on a small island at a distance of About an arpent or two from the island on which their former Village Was situated,1 being quite confident that the Renards Had gone away permanently. But they were not left long in peace, for the

Renards came to infest not only them and all their families, but also a number of Saquis who Were with Them, and Camped in two different forts below the island on which their former fort Stood, so as to attack them on all sides, Being at a distance of an arpent and a half at the most, and the River being easy to cross as the Water was only knee-deep. They began first by attacking two puants, who were fishing with spears. These they killed, and one of their own people was killed also. They fought thus for nearly forty eight hours without speaking to one another. At the end of that time the Puants, being the first to begin the address, called out to the Renards: “What does this mean, my brothers? We are Surprised that you should attack us today without saying anything. Know you not that we are always your true brothers, since we have always been so from The olden times of our forefathers. It is true (they added) that you have to reproach us with having dipped our hands in your blood, by Delivering two of your people to the Outaouoys and folles avoines. But If we did, it was because we were forced to do so, and could not help it. Nevertheless, we are now filled with regret at having done so, and we will show you that we are still prepared to give you proofs of the Sincere affection we have always had for you. We have here four folles Avoines whom we will deliver into your hands to do with as you will in payment and compensation for the loss of the two [Renards] just mentioned.” They at once led out two of them bound; and, after cutting off the heads of the two others, they immediately carried these to them, begging the Renards to cease to be angry with them and to have pity on

1 The island on which the Winnebago village had formerly stood, was that now known as Dory Island, and a part of Neenah, Wis. A small island below this, in Little Lake Butte des Morts, would appear to have been the site of the fort where the events described in this document occurred.— Ed.

91 them. But the Renards replied that they had not yet had time to taste the broth they had given them to drink; that there was not enough to satisfy so many as they Were; that they must also deliver into their hands the four of their number who had been cowardly enough to give up their people to the Outaouoys and folles Avoines, their Enemies; and that when

they had drunk the broth, they would see Whether they were sufficiently satiated to be able to grant their request. This proposal seemed too great an insult to the Puants to allow of their consenting to it; they therefore prepared to sustain the siege and defend themselves as well as they could, having food for a couple of mouths.

During the interval of the Fight that lasted nearly a month and a half, the folles avoines became uneasy at not seeing the Puants walking about in their midst as usual, or any of their people who Were with Them, and six of their number went within sight of the Renards' forts which they saw distinctly, to find out whether their tribesmen Were with the Puants. Being unable to enter their fort without risking their lives, they retraced their steps, and hastened to give information of what was going on to their people, who, at the time, Were at a distance of a short day's journey from my fort; they were pursued by the Renards who Had perceived that they were on the march but who were unable to overtake them.

The folles avoines at once deputed one of their chiefs, to beg me to be good enough to have pity on Them, by placing myself at their head to extricate their people from the perilous position in which they were placed, and, at the same time, to bring aid to the puants who, judging from what they had seen, were greatly in need of it, as they were almost at the mercy of the Renards, unless succor were brought them. I replied that as I had been sent by you, Monsieur, to be a father to them in their needs, I Was ready to help them in war as well as in other things, being convinced that this could but be agreeable to you, and that I would march alone at their head because I could not make up my mind to leave my fort undefended, and that I had to leave the French who Were with me to guard it. Two or three days afterwards, 82 they came and begged me to counsel them as to what they should do: whether to leave their women and Children in a fort at the place where they Were, or to bring them out on the Lake shore. I told them that I Left the decision to them and had no advice to give them. Thereupon they finally decided to bring them to my fort, after considering for a long while Whether they would have sufficient time to do so, fearing that the delay would be fatal to the Undertaking they had in view

of going to free their people from the hands of the Renard. In fact they took a very long time to start, and afterwards they again begged me to remember the promise I had given them to march at their head; and to be good enough to allow their women and Children to remain in my fort under the protection and guidance of the Frenchmen whom I should Leave there and of some of their old men who Were not in a Condition for such a march. I answered that, as I had given my word, I Was not desirous of withdrawing it, provided that they would always do what I wished, and await my counsels; I also told them that, after seeing the Renard and doing what I Wished to do, I would go no further, but would return. When matters had been thus arranged and as I was about to start, being the only Frenchman with them, my people who Were with me, came and begged me, as a favor, to allow them, to accompany me, saying that they would be delighted to benefit by the advantages they already promised themselves to gain with me over that cursed nation of the Renard, and that they positively could not reconcile themselves to the idea of seeing me start on such an Undertaking without Freely and heartily offering me the services they owed to their prince, and that they would even be in despair were I to refuse to accept them. Although I had intended to not Expose to danger, a single one besides myself, I could not refuse young men who seemed full of Spirit and Courage, and I chose Five of them to accompany me, representing to the four others that I could not avoid showing the savages the interest I took in them, by placing their women and Children under their guard during the Campaign.

93

We set out therefore, on the following day, to the number of forty persons in all, taking all the precautions I considered necessary to prevent our approach from being discovered. On the sixth day of our journey, the 19th of March, we reached Coulimy,1 where we had to make a portage, a league and a half from the fort of the Puants, whither we proceeded somewhat slowly to avoid being discovered by anyone as I feared that, If the Puants were the first to perceive us, they might make some demonstration that would bring on an attack by the Renards before we Had time to place ourselves in slight entrenchments; neither

did I wish to throw myself rashly into their fort, without informing them of the reason that had Induced me to come to them, because they would be sure to distrust us owing to their having delivered to the Renards the brothers of those for whom I Was prepared to fight although they were not aware of this nor was I myself aware of the other fact. Moreover, I was unable to reach them without running a risk, because I could not do otherwise than land at one of the Places on the island where the Water was deepest, The Renards Being camped where it was shallowest, and (as I have already had the honor of informing you, Monsieur) watching The fort of the Puants in such a manner as to allow nobody to approach it without opposition. I therefore decided to have a slight entrenchment thrown up at once, forbidding our people to use their axes to cut wood lest they should Be Heard by the Renards, who Were not very Far from us, while I Went a little to one side to observe their movements. As we Had arrived About ten o'clock in the morning, I resolved to wait until night to inform the Puants that we Had come to their assistance and to ask them to Send some Canoes in case we should need them. But our people, not heeding my orders, struck some blows with their axes which were Heard by the Renards, who issued from the two forts in which they Were posted, and attacked us with some violence before we had time to finish our small redoubt. When I saw

1 This is probably a corruption of the text for Cacalin (Kakalin), the rapids of the Fox River, where Kankauna now stands.— Ed.

94 them approaching I called out to our people to take courage and show the Renards what we Were, and we attacked Them without Mercy, Forcing them back to the gates of their fort. When they reached there, they stopped fighting for a while, and called out to me that they were surprised that I should, with such Ardor, take the part of a nation who, not Long before, had Delivered four of my Children to them to be put into the Kettle to replace those of their own people whom they had Delivered to the Outaouoys and folles Avoines The previous Summer. When the latter Heard this they tried at Once to Induce me to avenge the treachery of which the Puants had been guilty towards them by committing So foul a deed, without having Been forced to do so, after they themselves

had United with the Outaouoys and folle avoines to eat the Renards. But, foreseeing the reportable consequences that might result from such a Step, I said to them: “My Children, I admit that the treachery of the puants towards you fully deserves your resentment, and that you cannot too deeply regret your brothers. You must however remember that I consented to place myself at your head to come and kill Renards and not Puants. Although I do not tell you what is in my mind for the present, let us continue what we have begun and be very careful not to let the Puants find out your hatred of Them if you do not wish to excite distrust in them which may take away the courage they need to defend Themselves properly. On the contrary I Exhort you to put on a good Face before them and to Encourage them to sustain what they have already so Vigorously kept up until our arrival; for If, at first, we behave otherwise towards them, the Renards will not fail to take advantage of such a division to win from us all the advantages we might give them on this occasion.” It was not long before we Were attacked a second time by the Renards, who endeavored to surround, and capture us, and when night came, they Deputed two of their number to speak to me in order to ascertain our position in our slight entrenchment. They stated, usa pretext, that they wanted the night for rest that both sides might sleep; that, in order to do so without distrust, one of them would sleep with us while one of our people should go and sleep with the 95 other at their fort. They thought thereby to banish all suspicion from our minds. I Was, however, informed by a fol Avoine who had Overheard what one of the Renards had said to his Comrade, respecting the steps they were to take during our sleep, telling him that as soon as he found us Asleep, he would slip away and warn the Renards, who would at once attack us. Being aware of their design, I took no steps, and told them at once to withdraw and that before the night was half over, they would find me nearer their fort than they expected; that I Was in no humor to receive their compliments, after they had insulted me as they had done on my arrival. It is true that those two Renards had chosen that time solely for the purpose of watching what we might be doing during the night, to Prevent us from working at our entrenchment. We Had received a reinforcement of ten Puant warriors who Had crossed over to our assistance when they saw that we had come to defend them. Meanwhile, the Renards

had already asked beforehand to speak to me and begged me to Hear them before going further, and the folles avoines, Being anxious to know their thoughts, urged me to Hear them for a moment. But I replied: “What do you wish to Hear from those evil men? They are capable only of betraying you and me also. Therefore I refuse positively to Listen to their evil speeches.” The folles avoines persisted in asking me to Listen to them since they addressed themselves to me only, and finally I consented, making Them understand that If I did so, it was solely through regard for Them, and because they urged me to it. Then the Renards spoke to me as follows: “We Know that thou hast come here solely to protect those dogs whom, without thee, we should have eaten. They are cowards who have already sacrificed us not long ago to our own Enemies, and who have outraged thee thyself in the tenderest spot thou couldst expect, by delivering into our hands thine own Children that we might drink their Mood. And we are surprised that thou shouldst display such Ardor, on behalf of people who are so little worthy of thy protection.” I replied at once that I had resolved to help the Puants, solely because I still believed them to be true children of onontio, their father, 96 to whom they had promised fealty last year and that, having Been warned of the Renards' wickedness and treachery on all occasions, I could not rely on their word, adding that I could not Trust them, after all the treacherous acts of which they had been guilty Towards the French whom they had betrayed on several occasions; that If it Were true that the puants had acted as they (the Renards) said they had, I would Avenge myself on Them Without requiring the Assistance of anybody, but that, before doing so, I wished to ascertain the whole Truth. While I was holding this Conversation with them, they were posting two parties in Ambush About an arpent from my position. I noticed this at the time, and as I already had some Wounded, I was somewhat at a Loss as to how I should save them because it was impossible for them to walk. I nevertheless ventured to Attempt to reach the fort of the Puants who, in the darkness, Bad Sent me three canoes to facilitate the removal of my Wounded. This was effected with the greatest precautions; I myself went to beguile the Renards with many threats, while my Wounded were Embarked in the canoes. That night, Being the second from the day on which I arrived, I also gained the fort of the Puants; shortly afterwards, in

spite of all the shots fired at us by the Renards while crossing, against which we protected ourselves quite easily in the darkness of a night that seemed given us to favor our retreat.

On entering the fort, I found only people mourning and ashamed at the Sight of their Deliverers. I therefore hastened to call out in a loud voice, “What are you thinking of, you puants who are our brothers, and why are you in Such deep sorrow, at a time when you should rejoice at Seeing one of the elders of onontiô, your father, coming to your assistance, for it is true that I Am here solely for the purpose of saving your lives and of delivering you from the hands of those evil men who seem anxious to destroy you without sparing a single one of you? Arm yourselves, therefore, with joy and courage and act like those whom I have brought with me and who are your brothers, thinking of nothing but defending your Lives and those of your wives and Children and of all your allies.”

97

A fol Avoine, an Old man, and a woman who Were then the only members of that tribe amongst the Puants, were the first to present themselves to me and they told me and their people, that they begged me to take revenge while it was in my power on the Puants, whom they considered their chief Enemies, after the cowardly deed they had committed by Handing over their brothers to the fury of the Renards, and they added that, without my assistance, they could not have Hoped for four hours of life, from the thorough knowledge they had of the evil hearts of the Puants. When our people, the folles avoines, Heard these words, they were On the point of forgetting what they had promised me, to keep silent on the Subject as I had requested them, and of asking me almost positively to Promise to allow them to take their revenge in the fort itself. I diverted their attention at the moment in order to induce them to think that the only thing to be done then was to try and win a victory over the Renards, Their cruelest Enemies, and I told them that I would afterwards think of the steps I would take with regard to the Puants. When day came the puants, who were somewhat reassured by what I had said to them, thought of nothing else but of fighting together with us Without any apprehension, for the Renards never ceased firing at us continually without interruption. On the third day, the Renards asked for speech with

me and for a cessation of hostilities for a time, that they might reseat to me what they had already said to me concerning my taking the part of the Puants, adding that If I would visit their fort it would afford them a real pleasure; that their young men would receive me with open arms, in the Hope that I would inspire all with good sense. But, although they seemed sincere, judging by the manner in which they gave me to understand this, I nevertheless placed no reliance on what they said and considered that they wanted to set a trap for me in order to take me easily. But, as I did not wish them to see at Once that I fathomed their designs, I Contented myself with telling them that I could not consent to their proposal Without alarming my Children who would perhaps be afraid of losing their father through such an act of Folly; that, so far as I was 98 concerned, Were I Alone, I would willingly visit them without fear of death, all the more so that I had never feared it, and before they could kill me I should probably kill several of their number; but that as I Was at the head of a small band of the faithful Children of onontiô, The father of all the Nations, I must be careful not to abandon them and that, far from doing so, I could assure them that they would always Find me at their head to encourage them; that I merely asked them to resist this paltry Attack, as I myself would, without fear. It is true, Monsieur, that in order to give the Renards reason to Dread that we might in the future inflict a disastrous blow on them (not knowing when we might be able to get away from there), I added that, as my flag Was planted in their Sight, it would never be taken down until my death, and that they might expect to see a similar one before long. I Considered that the famine from which we already suffered would continue; the Puants had suffered from it for nearly four or five days before I entered their fort, being reduced to eating bear skins and similar things, while I myself and all my people were obliged to follow their Example for five Days. About seven o'clock in the morning of the fourth day of our Fight, The Renards, seeing that we were determined to resist Them for a long while, asked me whether I had lost many of my Children; they said they Knew very well that they had seen several fall On the spot and that if I would tell them the Truth they would do the same in this Respect. I replied that, although I had no Account to render them in the matter, I was willing, in order to Satisfy them, to let them know that I was no weaker on that day than on the first day of

the fight; that the fact of their having killed five or six of m;y people, and having Wounded as many more would not Prevent my vanquishing them. In Fact I had lost one Frenchman who was killed On the spot, while two others were wounded, one dangerously; three folles avoines also had been killed and seven wounded. They admitted that fifteen had been killed and wounded on their Side; we Were sure of Seven whose heads we had cut off. I Know not, Monsieur, whether at that moment terror did not take possession of the hearts of that wicked Nation, 99 for from that time they secretly sent out of their forts, The old men, the women, and the Children that they might fly in advance of them, the warriors only remaining to face us until night, of whose protection it was natural for us to presume that they also took advantage to withdraw. On the following day, which was the fifth of our Combat, we observed Ravens alighting in their forts; this left us no doubt that they Were no longer there, and Induced us at the same time to go there without distrust. We found that they had fled somewhat precipitately, inasmuch as they had left behind them a portion of their effects and all their *apakois* (of which they generally make their Cabins).1 I at once resolved to retire to my post, Taking with me all the Puants, whom I left on the Way at la Baye, where they Established themselves in a fort.

1 The *apaquois* were mats made of reeds, which most of the Wisconsin Indians used in making cabins, and for many other purposes. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 366, 368, 369, 374.— Ed.

Some time after my return, the folles avoines came to speak to me with a Collar and some branches of porcelain, saying: “My father, thou Knowest that we have always kept our mouths closed until now Regarding the cowardice and black perfidy displayed against us by the puants in Delivering our brothers to the Renards to be eaten, because thou hadst begged us not to take revenge for it while we Were in their country and in a position to do so; but today we ask thee as a favor to permit us to destroy them while they are here near us.” I told them at once that I would willingly consent were it not that the Matter seemed to me to demand considerable attention and that, as I was About to start for Missilimakinac for the purpose of diligently informing their father Onontio of everything that Had happened

from the day of my arrival among Them to that of my departure which would shortly take place, I begged them to defer the destruction of the Puant until their father onontio had himself decided it; and that by doing so they would convince me of their good dispositions and perfect obedience.

They also told me, Monsieur, that after the Blow they had 7 100 struck At the Renards with the Outaouoys last Summer, they had been invited by the latter to accompany them once more and that thus If they Came to ask the same thing of them this year they would go with pleasure and requested me to place myself at their head.

1730: FRENCH AND INDIANS GATHER TO ATTACK THE FOXES

[Letter of commandant at Detroit (Deschaillons) to Beauharnois, dated Aug. 22, 1730. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 53, c. 11, fol. 207–214.”]

Monsieur —I have the honor to inform You that a Savage has just arrived from the river St. Joseph who reports that two days previous to His departure two Mascoutin couriers had arrived in haste to ask Monsieur devilliers for Assistance and for powder; that they had taken only two days to come from their country. Such is the news told me by the Savage who has arrived here that the mascoutin couriers had given at the river St. joseph, Namely, Monsieur, that the renards were fighting with the illinois, between le rocher1 and the ouiatanon. When the poux,2 mascoutins, and quiquapoux Learned this, they marched thither, and while they advanced by slow stages because they had with Them a wounded man whom they were obliged to carry, A couple of young men pushed ahead; but, after marching a short distance, those two young men saw in a plain the renards fighting against the ilinois; they at once came back to warn the main body of Their troops, who fell Upon the renards. Consequently the renards found themselves by this attack hemmed in By the ilinois on one side and on the

1 For location of this Illinois landmark, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 100, 373. Also Parkman, *La Salle* (Boston, 1879), p. 156.— Ed.

2 The Potawatomi.— Ed.

101 other by the poux, Quiquapoux, and mascoutins. But hardly Had the last mentioned tribes attacked the renards, trusting that the ilinois would keep them in cheek on the other side, when, on the contrary, the ilinois took to flight. In this first attack Seven poux were wounded, one of whom has since died; two quiquapoux of the river St. Joseph who Had Settled among The Sasquis [Sauk], were also killed. This will have a very good Effect because the Sasquis Are said to be excited against the renards which was far from being the case before. Several renards were wounded also, and some are even believed to have been killed. The renards cried out to the quiquapoux And to the Mascoutins that they would make their Supper off them, but mandiché, the great chief of The poux replied to them that it was they who would Serve as food for all the tribes. The renards cried out some Time afterward that they were not far from the ouiatanons, but that they Would be dead before reaching there, because they had just observed the approach of men on horseback. It is believed that these are Monsieur de Vincenne with His people. The French of cahosquia also told the Ilinois not to go To war because they Knew not how to fight And because they Were women; but that they were Going to start with their negroes to Help their people who were attacked And to defeat the renards. They Are already a party of considerable numbers, for the Ilinois who had fled Have come back and Have joined the poux, quiquapoux, and Mascoutins. They have all dug pits in the ground wherein to shelter Themselves, and the renards Are on a wooded Islet; but If they remain on it there is every appearance that they may be defeated for the Savage who has arrived from river St Joseph says that Monsieur de villiers is to start with all his people, who this time appear to be fairly Willing. He adds also that Monsieur de Villiers has done me the honor of writing to me to ask for the Aid of Our Savages; but those letters have not yet arrived, and until they come our Savages will not start for they are a little Suspicious of the news. Father Richardy told me however that he had received yesterday Evening a letter from father

102 Messager,1 the Missionary at the river St Joseph, giving him the same news that The Savage has brought me with the exception of a few details. This leads us to believe that the thing Is true. The poux here seem very determined to go, and so are a party of oütawas; but only a few of the hurons, because eighty remained of the party who marched in the Spring. Nevertheless five of them arrived eight days ago who brought a scalp from the Chicachias;2 but it is hoped that the others may rejoin the army because they are supposed to be now near the ouiatanons According to the route by which they said they would Come. It Would be a good And sure Reinforcement. The renards have also Said that they expected shortly a strong party of Iroquois, who were coming to join them to facilitate the passage and to enable them to Withdraw into the Iroquois country. They have perhaps said this to Frighten the other tribes, but it is very Certain, Monsieur, that the iroquois Are great scoundrels, and that they daily Scatter collars among all the tribes who Are Stirred up by the English and who Are very much opposed to us. If our people start I find myself obliged to give them powder and ball as they have already given me to Understand; but I shall do so with all the discretion in my power. If the news turns out true, and should any fight of any consequence occur, I shall take the liberty of sending a special messenger to give yon news of it, for I think that this is the last courier who will leave from here this year.

1 Armand do la Richardie, Jesuit missionary to the Huron at Detroit, was born in 1686, came to Canada in 1725, and in 1728 was assigned to the Huron mission, where he remained until about 1753. He died at Quebec in 1758. For sketch or Father Mesaiger (Messager), see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 446.— Ed.

2 The Chickasaw, a Southern tribe, whose villages were in what is now Tennessee and northern Mississippi and Alabama; they were hostile to the French and to the French Indians.— Ed.

MAP ADAPTED FROM CHART DRAWN FOR THE FRENCH BY THE INDIAN OCHAGACH Reduced from original MS. in Library of Dominion Parliament, Ottawa

1730: RIVER OF THE WEST RISES NEAR LAKE SUPERIOR

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 15, 1730, accompanying a map designed to endorse the project of La Vérendrye.1 MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 52, c. 11, fol. 218.”]

1 Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, was the son of a Canadian colonist and Marie Boucher, sister of Perrière and Montbrun. He was born in 1685, and crossing to Europe served in the War of the Spanish Succession, and was severely wounded at Malplaquet. In 1726 he was again in New France, serving at a small post north of Lake Superior: There he met Indians, whose description of a great river to the west fired his zeal for exploration. He sent two memorials to the governor on this subject, the second of which is printed in Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens Français* (Montreal, 1882), vi, pp. 145–150. In this he speaks of a map made by the savage Ochagac, to which Beauharnois alludes in this document, and which we here present in reduced facsimile. For the later history of Vérendrye's explorations, see Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1892), ch. 16; Winsor, *Mississippi Basin* (Boston, 1895), ch. 10.— Ed.

Monseigneur —I have the honor to Send you a Copy of a Map of the course of the river of the west, made by the savage Ochagac and others.

If the account of these savages is accurate that river must discharge above California. The Sieur Chaussegros has traced, from the Sieur de l'Isle's2 map on a flying sheet, the course of that river reduced according to the map. He finds that the River discharges toward the Entrance discovered by Martin Daguilar.3 He has also reduced the Savages' map on which there are three Scales while his is drawn to one only and shows

2 Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry was a noted engineer, who built the walls of Quebec. The Delisles, Claude and Guillaume, father and son, were the most noted French

cartographers of their day. In 1703 they issued their first map of New France, of which there were numerous re-issues, corrected to date.— Ed.

3 Martin Aguilar was a Spanish discoverer, who explored the California coast early in the 17th century. An inlet toward the north (possibly the mouth of the Columbia) was called by his name in the maps of the period.— Ed.

104 the whole course of the river from the height of land beyond Lake Superior to above california. The savages have traced on the map the upper portion of the Mississippi river which takes Its rise to the South of Lake Ouinipigou,1 and according to the Sieur de l'Isle's map the river Rio Colorado would take its rise about the same, Spot.

1 Lake Winnipeg.— Ed.

I observed with the Sieur Chaussegros that this country is traversed by two great rivers which take their rise about the middle: one flows toward the East which is the St. Lawrence, the other to the south which is the mississipy. There would remain to the west an Extent of territory from Seven W eight hundred leagues in width, without any large river in it. This would be contrary to all the knowledge we have of countries that are known in the world; where in so vast an Area there is always some great river that traverses it; which leads me to think that the savages may tell the truth, for it is not natural that in so vast an Extent there should not be a great river; and it seems that the river of which the Savages speak discharges into the southern sea. We know the rivers indicated on the Sieur de l'Isle's map and according to the course that the Savages give to the river of the west, it flows to the Entrance recently discovered by Martin Daguilar, where we know of no other river above or to the north.

I hate the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec, October 15th, 1730.

105

1730: COPPER MINES NEAR LAKE SUPERIOR

[The first is a letter dated Oct. 18, 1730, translated from a transcript from the Paris archives, in Macalester College library, St. Paul, Minn., and published in Macalester College *Contributions* , 1st Series, No. 4, pp. 112, 113. The second is a letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 22, 1730. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 52, c. 11, fol. 103.”]

We cannot as yet write anything positive as to the situation, extent, and richness of the copper mine in the neighborhood of the bay of Chagouamigon. The officer whom Monsieur de Beauharnois sent to find out about it, has not been able to enlighten us on the subject, as has been desired. He contented himself with bringing us a piece of copper weighing eighteen pounds, which has the odor, color, and weight of ordinary red copper. This ingot was given him by a savage from that locality, without his being able to learn from him the situation of this mine, in order to go there. The savages are superstitious about these sorts of discoveries. They feel they would rather die than reveal them. If we can get any more precise knowledge concerning this mine, we will have the honor of rendering you an account of it, and the measures necessary for transportation. We will neglect no means of ascertaining.

Monseigneur —We have received the letter that you did us the honor of Writing to us on the 28th of March last. Monsieur de Beauharnois sent orders in the spring to the officer commanding at la pointe de Chagouamigon to obtain all the necessary Information respecting the situation, the extent, and also the quality of the Copper mine in the Neighborhood of that post. He has not yet received news from him. We Hope to be in a Position to give you information on this matter next Year. Monsieur de Beauharnois has

recommended the officers and Voyageurs to notify him of all the discoveries that they may make and which may affect the welfare of the Colony.

Monsieur hocquart informs us, Monseigneur, by a private 106 Letter of the Position of affairs of brother Chrestien with his creditors.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants

Beauharnois Hocquart

Quebec , October 22nd, 1730.

1730: LIGNERY ACQUITTED OF MISBEHAVIOUR IN 1728

[Letter of Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 23, 1870. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 53, c. 11, fol. 174.”]

Monseigneur —I have received the Letter that you did me the honor of Writing to me on the 25th of April last. We have had the honor of rendering you an account jointly, Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois and myself, of what occurred respecting Monsieur de Lignery's affair, and we Sent you the proceedings and the judgment rendered by the Court Martial assembled for that Object. It did not appear to the officers composing the Court that there was any proof that the Sieur de Lignery had misbehaved either as regards the expedition under his charge and the purchases of Provisions that he caused to be effected at Michilimakinac, or the munitions that he left at that post. He was acquitted and relieved of every charge. For my part, I did everything in my power to throw Light upon the Sieur de Lignery's conduct. I caused the Sieur Dulaurent and Martel, the Storekeeper or Commissary of Supplies who Followed the detachment, to be heard. I Wrote early in the spring to the Sieur Dubuisson to sell the remainder of the munitions left at Michilimakinac.

That officer answered me on the 10th of July that he had offered them for sale, but that there were so few articles and these were in so wretched a Condition that the voyageurs would barely condescend to look at them; that the articles will always remain in the Condition 107 in which they were left with him with the exception of 2 or 3 pounds of vermilion, a little black tobacco, and three pounds of thread of which he has made use to give some presents to the savages. Such is the account given me by the Sieur Dubuisson. I had the honor, Monseigneur, to inform you last year that of these goods, some to the amount of 1384 livres, 6 sols, 3 deniers, were taken and Used in paying the garrison during the year 1728, the Special account of which has Been established and included in the Statement of the sales made to the troops.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Hocquart

Quebec , October 23rd, 1730.

1730: SERVICES OF DE NOYAN

[Extract of a letter from Hocquart to the French Minister, dated, Oct. 23, 1730. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 53, c. 11, fol. 167.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

Messieurs de Longueuil and de Noyon are going to France on the ship la Marguerite belonging to the Sieur fleury. The latter seemed to me thoroughly well-informed regarding The upper country and detroit in particular. He communicated to me the project he sent you last year. He is particularly anxious about The construction of a bark on Lake Erie for the conveyance of furs; and his suggestion that the Commandant of detroit should

not carry on any trade, seems to be in the interest of the service. But it would not be advisable at present to abandon any of the posts where the French are established. That officer passes for an intelligent man, thoroughly disinterested and zealous for The service. He spent only 24 hours in Quebec and I had not 108 time to obtain from Him all the information which he will communicate to You, Monseigneur, in detail.

* * * * * * * *

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Hocquart

Quebec , October 23rd, 1730.

1730: DUBUISSON REPORTS CONDITION OF THE FOXES

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 28, 1730. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 52, c. 11, fol. 222.]

Monseigneur —Monsieur Dubuisson, who has returned from Michilimakinac, has given me no other news than that which I had the honor of writing to you by the King's ship with this difference, Monseigneur, that the opinion of all the nations is that it is impossible for the Renards not to die of hunger for they have Been harassed on all sides, they are burdened with a very large number of women and Children, and have not had time to Sow anything.

That officer, Monseigneur, has been deeply affected at not finding Himself among the number of those who have been fortunate enough to obtain The Cross of St Louis. He has received three wounds on his Body: two from gun-shots, and the third from an arrow. He is one of the greatest Warriors here. He left the Post of Michilimakinac solely because there is no other food there but Fish which entirely disagrees with persons who are Subject to

nephritis. He has had a very severe attack of it. He has a son who is tall and well formed and very well suited for War.

The movement, Monseigneur, that has taken place at all the Posts against the Renards has had an excellent effect by putting a stop to the too bold Discourses of the savages against the French.

109

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 28th, 1730.

1730: VICTORY OVER THE FOXES

[A letter of Nov. 2, 1730, from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, giving news of De Villiers's victory, is to be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.* , v, pp. 107, 108.

The two following circumstantial accounts are translated from transcripts of MSS. in the archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris, Collection Moreau-Saint Méry, vol. 9, f. 11, 1727–1731. There are in that volume five documents describing this defeat; but on examination these prove to be but two different accounts. The first, which is evidently from an Illinois source, is found in folios 140 and 322. The former is wrongly dated 1728, having been inserted by an ignorant archivist, who noted that date near the beginning of the document. That found in folio 322, bears date, Sept. 9, 1730; but as that was the day after the Foxes' sortie, as appears by the document, it seems probable that the latter portion was written some days later. The second document is a letter from De Villiers to Beauharnois, dated Sept. 23d, 1730; it is from folio 314. That in folio 324 is identical, and that of folio 312 an extract.]

The Renards, in Conjunction with the Maskoutins and quikapous, had waged open war upon us and our Savage allies for many years; they Surprised our detachments, carried off our Voyageurs, frustrated all our plans and Harassed us Even in our settlements, which we could Cultivate only with weapons at hand. Attempts had been made on several occasions to destroy them; But lack of Concert, the Spirit of self-interest, and the bad Management of those who at various times were Entrusted with That undertaking, always caused it to miscarry. Finally an event occurred that Brought about their disunion and the destruction of the renards.

In the month of October of The year 1728, A band of Quikapous and Maskoutins captured on the Missisipy seventeen Frenchmen who were going down from the Sioux to the Illinois. 110 They deliberated at first as to Whether they should Burn them or hand them over to the Renards who demanded them. But father Guignas, a Jesuit, Missionary, who was among the prisoners, won their Confidence, and finally Succeeded in detaching them from the Renards, and in inducing them to sue for peace with us. He himself, after Five months Captivity, Came with them to the fort Chartres where peace was concluded According to their Wishes.

The Renards, weakened and disconcerted by This division, thought of taking Refuge, by way of the Ouyatannons, with the Iroquois, the friends of the English. The quinkapous and Maskoutins found out their designs and notified all The French posts of Louisiana and Canada. Their Good faith was doubted for some time and Monsieur De St Ange, the Commandant of fort Chartres,1 could not induce the French settlers to take the Field.

1 For biographical sketch, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 443.— Ed.

Meanwhile, the Illinois of the Village of Cakokias Came, in the month of July 1730, to tell us that The Renards had taken some of their people prisoners and had Burned the son of their great Chief near le Rocher on the River of the Illinois. In consequence of This news, added to the warnings received from elsewhere, an expedition set out; the Savages were

assembled; Monsieur de St Ange placed himself at the head of the French and on the 10th of August the Latter Joined the three or four Hundred Savages who had preceded them by a few Days, bringing up our army to a strength of 500 men.

The quikapous, Maskoutins and Illinois of le Rocher had Made Themselves masters of the passes on the North east side and this probably compelled the Renards to build a fort at le Rocher, A league below them, to Protect Themselves against their Attacks. We had news of the enemy on the 12th, through One of our scouts who told us where their fort was situated; that he had Counted a Hundred and Eleven Cabins, and that we were at a Distance of only two or three Days' journey from them. We therefore continued our march through a Wooded 111 country, and on the 17th at Daybreak we came in Sight of The enemy. We met a band of 40 men who were out Hunting and whom we Compelled to Regain their fort.

This was A small Grove of trees surrounded by a palisade Situated on a gentle slope Rising on the West and North west Side on the bank of a small River, in such manner that on the Past and South east Sides they were exposed to our fire. Their Cabins Were very small and Excavated in the earth Like the Burrows of the Foxes from which they take their name.

At the sound of the first gun-Shots the Quikapous, Maskoutins, and Illinois who had frequently come in contact with their bands, and who had been waiting for Aid for A month, Joined us to the number of 200. Our men were posted, By order of Monsieur de St Ange, so as to, Blockade the renards, who made two unsuccessful sorties that Day. Trenches were dug the Following night and Every man worked to fortify Himself in the post assigned to him.

On the 19th, the enemy demanded a parley; they offered to Restore the captives they had formerly taken from the Illinois, and in fact they Gave up some. But it was found that they

were Seeking only to Deceive us, and we Recommenced our fire Against them on the Morrow.

During the following Days we were Joined by 50 or 60 Frenchmen and 500 Poüatamis and Sakis savages brought by Monsieur De Villiers, the Commandant at the River St Joseph, Oüyatannons and Peanguichias.1 A fresh Parley took place. The Renards begged for their Lives with presents in their hands. Monsier De Villers seemed inclined to consent but His Party was not The most numerous, and he could not Conclude anything without the Consent of the French and of the Illinois Savages who Would not agree to any compromise.

1 This is either an hiatus in or a corruption of the manuscript. See De Villiers's account, for the conduct of these two tribes.— Ed.

Meanwhile it was Found that the Sakis were betraying us. Being the kindred and allies of the Renards, they dealt in an underhand manner with them, supplied them with munitions 112 and took steps to favor their escape. Our Savages, who discovered this on the 1st of September, rose in a body and were about to fall On the Sakis, when Monsieur de St. Ange at the head of 100 French Advanced to close all avenues leading to the fort on the Side of the Sakis, and Restored order.

We feigned not to notice This Treachery Until the arrival of Monsieur de Noielle,1 the Commandant of the Miamis, who came to our Camp the same Day with 10 Frenchmen and 200 Savages. He was the bearer of an order from Monsieur The Governor of Canada forbidding the making of any treaty with the Renards. A General Council was held at which the Sakis were put to shame and it was unanimously decided that The enemy should be destroyed.

1 Nicolas Joseph des Noyelles, Sieur de Fleurimont, was one of the best known officers in the Canadian service. Born in France (1694), he was ensign in the colonial troops at the early age of sixteen, a lieutenant in 1721, and captain in 1732. During the last war with the

English, Des Noyelles was lieutenant-colonel in command at Trois Rivières. His earliest known service in the West was among the Miami; his unsuccessful expedition against the Foxes in 1734 is detailed in the present volume. This aid not prevent his appointment to command at Detroit in 1736, where he served about two years. In 1743, Des Noyelles was appointed to succeed La Vérendrye in pursuing Northwest explorations, and for four years, with but little success, he pushed toward the Rocky Mountains. In 1747, he was made commandant at Mackinac, where, for two years, his son had been second in command. Des Noyelles died before 1767, when his eldest son was living in France, and the younger at Quebec. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 121, for brief biographical note.— Ed.

But we, as well as the Renards, had Long been Suffering from hunger; our Savages, being Reduced to Eating their dressed hides, became Discouraged; 200 Illinois deserted on the 7th of September. This bad example had No Consequences; the Renards were pressed more and more closely; the troops under Monsieur de St. Ange Built, at a distance of two pistol-shots, A small fort destined to Cut off their Communication with the River and everything seemed to presage A complete Victory in our favor.

113

But, on the 8th of September, A Violent storm with dreadful thunder and Continual rain Interrupted our work. The was Followed By a night as Rainy as it was dark and very cold. The renards seized The opportunity and issued in Silence from their fort. This was at once perceived through the Crying of the children. But what could be done and how was it possible to Recognize anybody in Such Obscurity? There was as much Fear of killing our own people as of Letting the enemy escape. Nevertheless all were Under arms and the Savages advanced On both flanks of the fugitives to be ready to attack them as soon as Day broke. Daylight came at last and All set out in Pursuit. Our Savages, who were fresher and more Vigorous, Soon Overtook them.

The women, children, and Old men walked at the head, and the Warriors posted Themselves in the rear to Protect them. Their ranks were at once Broken and defeated.

The number of those killed and captured was about 300 Warriors, besides the women and children. It is Agreed on all sides that not more than 50 or 60 men Escaped Without guns and Without any of the Implements for procuring their Subsistence. The Illinois of le rocher, the Maskoutins, and quikapous Are now in pursuit of this small Remnant of fugitives, and the first news we shall get will tell us of the total destruction of That Wretched Nation.

We do not yet Know How many Warriors the Nations of Canada have killed nor how many prisoners they have taken.

Letter of De Villiers

Monsieur —I Had the honor of sending you a report on my first journey to le rocher, with the nations to prevent the renards from passing over to The Iroquois.

The first step I hasten to take on my arrival here, is to despatch to you a canoe, in which I send my son,1 in order that he

1 This was, doubtless, Louis Coulon de Villiers, who afterwards attacked Washington at Fort Necessity. For a biographical sketch, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 118, 119.— Ed.

114 may have the honor of informing you of the blow inflicted by me, at the head of the French and savages, upon the renards, who were going to join The Iroquois and who were stopped by The poutouatamis, mascoutins, quikapoux, And The illinois of le rocher.

On the 6th of August two mascoutins came to us here, who had been Sent expressly by their chiefs, to inform me that the renards had struck The poutouatamis, quikapoux, mascoutins, and jllinois, And the Latter, in revenge, had pursued them and found them marching in a body with Their women and children in the direction of the jroquois; and had come to blows with them. Our people then numbered only About Two hundred men, as one Hundred had been allowed to depart on the previous day. The attack began at Ten o'clock in the morning. They defeated The renards and put them to flight, But the latter

rallied and gained renewed vigor; they fought until nightfall. In this affair Our people had Six men killed, and three wounded. One of our Bravest war-chiefs, named Okeia, was among the dead, and Pindigaché, another chief, was Wounded. The renards had seven men killed And thirty wounded. During The night, The poutouatamis posted themselves on a hill in the prairie and dug holes in the earth by way of a fort. On their side, The renards with their families took possession of a small grove of trees and fortified themselves. On The following day, they parleyed with one another to gain time and to obtain assistance. During these parleys, the Pouatouamis sent Papissa, with a young man to the oüyâtanons to ask aid of the tribes and the French at that post. The mascoutins sent to ask me to join the poutouatamis and to likewise come to their assistance.

The jllinois in the same manner, sent messages to the caokias. As soon as I heard the news I notified the Sieur Denoyelles, and sent two Savages to Detroit, but they did not reach there in time.

I started from my post on the 10th of August, with the French Who were then in a condition to March, and with all the savages here, including Poutouatamis, Myamis, and Saquis 115 and proceeded to the place where the renards were. On the way I took with me The quikapoux and maskoutins, making about 300 men in all. Monsieur de St. Ange was already there with 100 Frenchmen and 400 savages, including Kaôquias, missouris, and Peôrias, and The 200 of our savages who had already fought with them. The Ouyatanons and péanguichias also arrived on the same day as I did, so that in a short time we numbered About 1400 men. I was about to forget one particular circumstance, Monsieur, While Papissa was among the ouyatanons, the renards also sent two men there with a Collar and calumets to ask their aid against the Poutouatamis, maskoutins, and quikapoux, against whom they had just fought, and who were watching them; at the same time they asked them to leave the road open to enable them to go in peace with their families to the jroquois. The ouyatanons replied that they would assist them; that they would remain where they were and fortify themselves and that they would soon see them.

The renards' fort was in a small Grove of trees, on the bank of a little river running through a vast prairie, more than four leagues in circumference, without a tree, except Two groves about 60 arpents from one another. Monsieur de St Ange had camped with His savages on the left bank of the river and had built redoubts to prevent their obtaining Water, but they had excavated underground passages leading to the River. I camped, with my savages and the Frenchmen who had joined me, on the right of their fort, where I erected two others, with a Cavalier in each to beat them back into their own And prevent them from descending into the ditches they had outside. I had a trench opened to approach them more closely, without risk to anybody and had an attempt made to set fire to their fort This trench made them uneasy, and caused them to move about more than usual. As soon as they saw that the earth was being excavated, a shower of gun-shots fell in good fashion.

The ouyatanons who apparently were unwilling to completely break Their promise to them, asked me to allow them to call a man who was their ally; saying that thereby they might get some illinois women whom they held in captivity. I allowed 8 116 them to do so, on condition that I should see no other meat Come out of that village than my own. This they promised, but, on the contrary, that man came out, with four Slaves and a Collar, which he presented to me on behalf of the renard. I would not listen to him. I said that it was Illinois flesh that I asked for, and that I would have no other. He returned and in several trips brought me what I wanted. The Saquis took advantage of this delay, and approached the fort in spite of the French, who were on guard there. They got out a number of children and gave food to the renards, so that I was obliged to open fire on the fort, to compel them to retire.

Our tribes were very anxious to spare the renards' lives, and proposed an act of treachery to me. Their design was that I should promise Them their lives, that I should make them come out And that they would fall on them. It was in nowise their intention to do so; their only object was to secure captives. I opposed this, seeing that it could only result in sparing the lives of those wretches, who would undoubtedly Continue on their way to The

jroquois. Every day they Sound fresh subjects on which to speak to me. They came back twice with their children and with collars, to move me. But although they had been pale, I made them turn as if painted red, by telling them that all their words were in vain And that they were not to come back again. They addressed themselves to Monsieur de St, Ange, who listened to them no more than I did. Nevertheless, We fired some shots at them as they re-entered their fort. They suffered much from hunger because, for four days previous to Their flight, they lived only on *apichimonts* .1 Monsieur de Noyelles arrived with the nations of His post, which gave us a reinforcement of a hundred men; these would have been very Useful to us, had the Savages been willing to mount guard night and day, but as soon as the least bad weather set in, they not come out of their cabins and we were not enough Frenchmen to man the entire contravallation.

1 Note on original manuscript: “these are Their coverings made of Skins.”

117

The Renards held out for twenty-three days. On the 8th of September, we had the finest weather in the world until an hour from sunset, when a Terrible storm of wind and rain arose which lasted until the night, which was very dark and Foggy, so that, in spite of all I could say to our Savages, I was unable to make them guard all The outlets. The Renards took advantage of this to come out of their fort and flee. We perceived this at first from the crying of the children which we heard, and we learned it from a Sauteux woman who came into the trench to surrender. I at once prepared to pursue them at day-break. We followed them with Our Savages and routed them, and more than 200 warriors were killed. No other chief Escaped except Licaouais, of whom, however, we have no information. The others were made prisoners and placed in The hands of the Kaôquias, who will assuredly not spare their lives. Those who escaped from us threw away all they had, even to their powder-horns in order that they might escape; but few remain. The prisoners told us that they had fought against The Scioux in the spring and very likely this is true. I Found their village very small, although I do not refer to that in which they were shut up, But to two Of their Camps which I saw in the prairies where they had lived during The summer. Our

Quicapoux and mascoutins did wonders on this expedition, and all did equally well, vying with one another. Had it not been for The desertion of 300 Kaôkias who had only just abandoned Monsieur de St. Ange, and for the absence of 100 men from my camp who had gone Hunting to supply ns with food, not a single Renard would have escaped. I can assure you, Monsieur, that we made The renards fast, but that we fasted almost as much as They. My son, who has just come out of The action, will give yon whatever details I may have omitted. I take the liberty, Monsieur, of begging your protection for Him. I have had no more urgent desire, than to Send Him to you that he may have The honor of bringing you this News.

All our nations are preparing to go in the spring to pay you their homage, and, at the same time, to tell yon of their dead, Especially Louis Lamech; they are Oüeyénamégousy, Pindigaché, 118 oüeataouaségo and Ouéfigué, who kept the Renards in sight all summer Without abandoning them, with the quikapoux and mascoutins.

The sieur de Villiers, the younger, adds1 that the nations returned home well pleased with the compliments they had received from Monsieur His father, each one in particular and all in general, so that it was impossible to say who had done best on that occasion, all having displayed uncommon ardor and courage.

1 What follows is an addendum to the letter of De Villiers, set down from the oral account of his son, the messenger.— Ed.

That in order to thank Monsieur The commandant and the officers, all the chiefs of the nations, at the head of their troops, had sworn and protested that if ever any Nation were rash enough to attack the French, they would shed the last drop of their blood to avenge them; that they came to give them a tangible proof of their friendship and attachment for Them, after destroying their enemies; That this memory would never be Effaced from their hearts And that they would Carefully impress it upon Their descendants.

1730: FOXES SEEK ALLIES AMONG THE IROQUOIS AND LOUP

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Nov. 9, 1730. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 52, c. 11, fol. 226.”]

Monseigneur —I received yesterday a Letter dated the fourth of October from the Sieur de Joncaire, whom I sent to pass the winter among the souontouans,2 to watch their Actions and to tell them my Opinion respecting the rumors in circulation

2 For biographical sketch of Joncaire, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 228. In 1736 he was thus characterized: “Aged 60. A braggart, but rendered good service in treating with the Iroquois by whom he is adopted.” The Souantouans are the Seneca Indians, most westerly of the five nations of the Iroquois.— Ed.

119 that they were to give an asylum to the Renards, and that if they did so they would expose themselves W see The storm burst on their heads. They have Sent me, in this connection, two hatchets that were addressed to them by the Renards to request them to go and meet the latter, and to strike everywhere.

The Sieur De Joncaire writes me that the Renards had Sent presents to the Loups, who are Settled within the Governments of manhate1 and of Carolina to Induce the latter to join them. This confirms me in the opinion that they did not wish for Peace and that they sought only to divert us until such time as they could strike their blow. They are now well punished for their treachery.

1 The Loup (Wolf) Indians were an Algonquian tribe, branch of Mahican, who lived originally in the valleys of the Connecticut and Hudson. By the 18th century they had moved to the West, and were wanderers on the frontier of the English settlements in New York (Manhate) and southward.— Ed.

I Remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , November 9th, 1730.

1730: DE VILLIERS DEFEATS THE FOXES

[Letter of Hocquart to the French Minister, dated, Nov. 14, 1730. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 53, c. 11, fol. 207.]

Monseigneur —Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois the honor to inform you of the defeat of Renard Savages, whereof The Sieur De Villiers, the Commandant at river Joseph, has given Him The particulars in the letters that he written to Him, extracts from which he sends you, Monseigneur. That officer has sent his son here with the Sieur Réaume, his interpreter, to bring us The news and from The notes of the latter whom I have questioned On all the facts, I 120 have drawn up the annexed relation which contains perhaps some details omitted by Monsieur Devilliers. I have even retained the expressions of the Sieur Réaume which are according to Canadian usage.

From the information that the Sieurs Devilliers the younger, and Réaume have given us respecting the situation of the Renards' fort and the Camp of the French and of our allied Indians, Monsieur Chaussegros de Léry has drawn up a plan of the Same with a note accompanying It, which is addressed to you, Monseigneur, by Monsieur De Beauharnois.

The Sieur Devilliers was obliged to incur some expense under the circumstances in which he was placed. He has Merely notified us that it was not considerable. This is a Second advantage. Monsieur The Marquis de Beauharnois has deemed it advisable to Despatch the Sieur Coulon de Villiers, the younger, to carry you the News of the defeat of the Renards. He Embarks on the Ship *le Beauharnois* which sails for la Rochelle. He

is charged with the duty of handing over to Monsieur de Belamy a Renard Slave who has been Sent to Monsieur the general by Monsieur des Noyelles on behalf of the Miami Nation where that officer Commands.

The Sieur Belamy will await your orders on the subject, Monseigneur.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant

Hocquart

Qeubec , November 14th, 1730.

121

1731: PROJECT OF WAR AGAINST THE FOXES

[This memorial of De Noyan is endorsed “1731,” probably the date of its reception in France. It was doubtless draughted before news was received of the victory of 1730. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 56, c. 11, fol. 340.”]

Plan of War for Canada Against the Renard Savages

If there were reason to believe that the Renard Nation could Be Kept in a state of tranquility and obedience, And if we could Rely upon their faithful observance of the articles of a treaty of peace, I should enter into the Considerations that seem to call for gentle means, such as: the excessive expense of Such expeditions; the uncertainty of success And the disadvantage that would accrue to the Colony through the Misfortune of a war of That nature being unsuccessful; and I would Consequently Conclude with This general axiom: that peace is the wisest policy to be adopted. But the proofs We have of the little Confidence that can be placed in the deceitful protestations of These men who are independent of all laws; and the danger that lies in confiding in the word of

These Savages, who are restricted by no rule of subordination, who are restrained by no government, And who See no shame in unfaithfulness and treachery; do Not allow of our taking anything into Consideration except the general interest of the Colony, in which I Include the shame east upon the French Nation in connection with the last war;1 for the Savages frequently impute to a mistake Events which chance alone renders Unfortunate. I Include the Necessity of putting an end to their insolent speeches on This subject, which are Calculated to give Rise to the greatest evils; the aid that we are obliged to Give our allies; the obligation that we have imposed on ourselves of putting an end to a war into which we have urged them, and the Evil that would result if our allies should succeed in destroying Those Renards without

1 De Noyan accompanied Lignery in the expedition of 1728. See pp. 21–35, *ante*.— Ed.

122 our assistance—an Evil that would doubtless be still greater than it is to day.

I also include the Good of the Trade which the Savages interrupt, And finally the precautions that must be taken to Prevent their joining the iroquois, who have offered them a refuge; and as they would have common interests, they would not fail to make use of one another to glut the hatred they bear us.

To what would we then be reduced, And what ruinous wars would we not be compelled to wage?

It is Heedless to explain How These English would work more effectively to deprive us of all our advantages, and How the insolence of the Iroquois would thwart the most judicious Steps that we might take. To these Considerations, I might add the revolt of the indians near Mobile1 that has remained unpunished; the manner in which our allies among the ilinois are continually disturbed; the fact that Those of lake Erie, take huron And Michigan are weary of bearing alone the burden of the war; And finally the disgust that our settled savages feel at our Conduct; these are Matters Calculated to make Us rightly Fear that we may be completely abandoned by all those Nations.

1 This probably refers to the uprising of the Natchez, and the massacre at Fort Rosalie, in 1729. Incidently, also, it helps to date this document, since it must have been written after Nov. 29, 1729, and before January, 1731, when Perier, the governor of Louisiana, severely punished these Indians.— Ed.

Imperceptibly Contempt takes the place of the esteem we have enjoyed; and all the Nations which hold men in Regard only in so far as they know how to carry on war, will end by insulting us, when they are at last Convinced that they can do so with impunity.

Since 1728 our allies have been waiting for orders from the Court to march once more Against the Renards. The hurons and the Outawas of detroit, whom I Commanded, have caused father de la richardie to write to me several times that they Were ready to follow me. The Iroquois settled at Montreal have come to see me many times about This matter. They do not ask to have a large Number of French at their head; they will be content with seeing a few. And it would be right to 123 take advantage at this moment of this willingness with which we shall not find them animated at another time.

Nevertheless, however Well established may be the Necessity of destroying the Renards for the honor of the French And the Preservation of the Colony, I feel that my plan would not be supported by all the authority that it Needs, if I did not indicate the means of carrying it out at slight expense, And with almost certain prospects of success.

In the first place, we must bear in mind that the savages are so firmly Convinced of the greatness And power of the King that when the government Induces them to go to war, it will be Obliged to supply them with arms, with food, And with transportation, And Consequently that the expense of This will always be very great.

This leads me to say that in order to succeed with very little expense, it will be necessary, after the Court has selected a competent officer, that such officer should; under the authority of an Order, carry the Same porcelain Collar that was used in the last expedition

of 1728 to our settled savages and, after the Ceremonies observed On such Occasions, he should speak to them In the following terms:

“My brothers, I have never forgotten the chiefs of Your Villages killed by the renards. Your mats are Still Dyed with their blood, And their loss is ever felt by me As much as it is by you. I know that you have long been seeking an opportunity of Avenging their Death. But hitherto we have been Unfortunate enough not to give you satisfaction. This does not discourage me. As, you have often taken up our quarrel I now take up yours. I am about to start And I come to notify you of it. I do not ask you if you will follow me. I observe from your countenances that you are possessed with the same desire with which I Burn. This is to me a Pledge that I shall not go alone. I am taking with me only a few soldiers And Canadians, picked men, who have equipped themselves at their own expense, to take part in our Expedition. The governor from whom I have asked permission to undertake this journey, has generously made me a present of swords, of powder, And of Bullets, which I shall willingly share with you. I take with me 124 only indian Corn And fat for provisions. That is the food of warriors, and I do not intend to live differently from You. You have canoes Or you can Easily make them. Therefore I have no doubt, my brothers, that you are ready to follow me. If anything could cause you to hesitate It would be the Fear of coming back without wreaking vengeance on the Renards. But rest assured on that point. I promise you that we shall not see Our land again without being loaded with the spoils of Our Enemies.”

But this discourse must not be delivered until we are ready to March so that the Route may Be kept secret.

I am sure That this word carried by an Officer who is beloved and esteemed by the savages, will have all the effect that can be desired. And thus the heaviest item of expenditure in the last Campaign against the renards will be reduced to a trifle. Perhaps we may have to incur some expense in connection with certain chiefs, But I promise that it cannot be Considerable.

Thus the expense, as far as the savages are concerned, is reduced almost to nothing. Let us now see what it may Amount to for the Remainder of the party.

As it is advisable to pass by the lakes, both for the purpose of Inviting the Nations who are well disposed to join us, and owing to the Advantage of using the armed Canoes both for fishing And hunting and in order to Show ourselves In arms to the iroquois, it is also Advisable in order to make use of our soldiers in preference to the settlers.—who are not so well disciplined and who would Cost Much more—to take this easier Route on which all the men may be of use.

One hundred soldiers selected from among all the troops to whom, if deemed expedient, 50 settlers may be added, would be sufficient for That expedition.

But let us suppose 150 soldiers 150

From the villages of saut St Louis and saut des recollets 300

nepissingues or Algonkins, fifty 50

hurons from detroit, one Hundred And Fifty 150

Outowas and poutwatamis from the same place 200

850

125

Thus we have over 800 men of whom I am sure, without Counting the iroquois of the Villages And some Missisagués1 if Needed. Even this number is excessive in my opinion And there is a greater Fear of there being too many rather than too few owing to the pleasure that those Nations would have in taking part in the destruction of the Renards.

1 An Algonquian tribe inhabiting the northern shore of Lake Huron, and the peninsula of Upper Canada.— Ed.

I Think that to Command that party five or six officers would be Better than a larger number, and it would avoid trouble And expense. There should also be a chaplain, a surgeon, and two interpreters. The bulk of the cost of the armament would consist of this.

As for the soldiers, it would only be necessary to give each man an additional ration of half a livre of flour, And a quarter of a livre of pork; ten livres of tobacco; to each two livres of powder And lead; four pots of brandy; with lines and hooks.

Half a livre of flour per diem for 150 men makes per month 2325 livres of flour

And for five months 11625

A quarter of a livre of pork per diem for 150 men pork makes per month 1162

And for five months 5812

This may Amount In all to 3 livres more per month for each soldier, making for 150 soldiers

And for five months 2250

But, inasmuch as provisions of That kind are too bulky And for the Reasons above Set forth, There would be supplied to each soldier In the place And stead of his bread and pork, the following, Namely:

for each month a Minot2

2 For these measures, “livre” and “minot,” see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 195 and 252.— Ed.

of indian Corn 2 livres 10

a Minot of peas idem 2 “ 10

ten pounds of fat at 6 sols 3 livres

which is equal to the Ordinary 8 livres

rations with the supplementary allowance, And Consequently the Extra expense will be only two thousand two Hundred and twenty Five livres 2225

for the Five months for 150 soldiers. Add to this 4 pots1

1 Concerning this measure, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 424.— Ed.

of brandy making 600 pore at 1 livre 600

Also ten pounds of tobacco for each at 6 sols per pound making for 150 men 1500 pounds at 6 sols 450

also 300 pounds of powder at 1 livre 12 deniers 480

also for lines and hooks 50

Making the sum of 3805

Cost of Transport

25 Canoes will be needed with 6 men per Canoe; The bark Canoes will come to 150 livres each making the sum of 3750

which amount will be reduced if the Wooden Boats at Montreal belonging to the King are used

Cost of the outfits

20 ells of linen are needed for each Canoe for sails, with a tarpaulin to Cover the provisions

And 40 ells for sacks, making 60 ells

And for 25 Canoes fifteen Hundred ells at 1 livre 10. per ell, 2750 2750 livres

The surplus will be given to the Savages

also 25 kettles or Boilers at, 15 livres 375 livres

also 25 axes at 4 livres 100

also 150 paddles at 10 sols 75

127

also 50 Barrels at 30 sols 75 livres

also 10 Brasses of rope per Canoe 150

Expenses of 6 officers; A chaplain, A surgeon And 2 interpreters

Five tents at 30 livres each 150

Five Casks of wine 400

three Casks of brandy 300

for provisions, one thousand livres 1,000

A Medicine Chest 500 livres 500

the Surgeon's pay 600

repairing the arms of the savages 1,000

thread and making of sails, tents, tarpaulins, and sacks at 300

Other war expenses

for 6000 livres of powder at 1 livre 12 deniers 6,600 livres

for 6000 livres of Bullets and 4,000 livres of lead 3,000 livres

400 swords at 2 livres 800

400 daggers at 1 livre 400

six coats laced with imitation gold with hats And plumes 1,500

Also 500 pairs of savage shoes 250

twenty suitable guns at 30 livres 600

twenty shirts at 3 livres 60

10 livres of vermilion, awls, gun-screws, and gun-flints 500 livres 500 livres

One Hundred and Fifty Collars to be given away at 2 livres 300

total expenditure 29,340

from which everything deemed superfluous may be struck off.

It will be easy to repay in two years the advances made of 128 That sum by the Court both by means of the Permits for the upper country that are sold and that sometimes amount to 25,000 livres per annum, and of the produce of detroit which is not Included.

The poorest families will be able to do without it for The time being, and they will derive a greater benefit therefrom through That derived by the Colony.

It but remains for me to speak of the line of Conduct to be followed in order to ensure success.

The matter must be kept secret until the spring when we start, so that the renards may not Know of it.

It will be time to notify our settled Savages when they return from hunting, and to start at the end of the Month of May; But we shall send a Canoe when the ice breaks up to detain the savages of detroit Until the arrival of the army.

When the junction is effected at the post, We shall leave it by land and the army will be posted, in accordance with the information we may have of the renards' retreat, Between river St Joseph And them so as to cut off all Communication between them and the savages of That post, all of whom are their friends and allies, And also with the French traders who sell them ammunition.

We shall refuse the services of the said savages of river St Joseph if they should wish to join Us, Convinced as we must be that their sole design is to save the Renards By betraying our interests.

When we shall have carefully approached the enemy to within a distance of a few day's march, they laden with the old men, the women, and the Children, will no longer be In a position to fly, before light and fresh troops; besides which they cannot fly and live on their hunting at the Same time.

We shall find the Renards unprovided with arms and Munitions And food, And no Nation will dare to give them refuge when they see at their heels a party determined to destroy them.

Thus when it shall be decided, As it Should be, to spend the winter in their country Where they will not dare to Scatter because they will have to keep their wives And Children, they 129 must perish by hunger, or come and east themselves under the Blows of their Enemies.

Particular care must be taken In the selection of Officers suitable for this expedition who should be Young, Vigorous, And Willing; on whom reliance can be placed in unforeseen Events; And who have had Experience in Managing savages.

We should be able to leave the other Measures that may have to be taken To Him who will be honored by the choice of the Court, for it is impossible to foresee or to enumerate in a Memorial all the Circumstances that may call into play the skill, the Vigilance, And the wisdom of an Officer, especially with Nations to whose character One is often Obliged to Conform.

Noyan

1731: REPORT OF DEFEAT OF THE FOXES

[Extract of a letter of Hocquart to the French Minister. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 55, c. 11, fol. 5.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

I have no doubt, Monseigneur, that you have learned, by way of the Mississipi of the defeat of the Renard savages thai happened on September 9th last, in a Plain situated between the River Wabache and the River of the illinois, About 60 Leagues to the south of The Extremity or foot of Lake Michigan, to The East South East of le Rocher in the Illinois Country.1 150 French both from Louisiana and from Canada, and

1 J. F. Steward, of Chicago, in an address delivered before the Illinois Historical Society, Jan. 24, 1902, endeavors to identify this fort of the Foxes with a place on Fox River, in Kendall County, Ill., and has erected there an inscription to that effect. This place, however, is north of “Le Rocher” (a well known appellation of a place on the Illinois River, see *ante*, p. 3), while according to this document, the battle ground was “East South East.” Mr. Steward's identification possibly corresponds to the Fox fort on “Lake Marameek,” which was attacked in 1732. See *post*, p. 173.— Ed.

130 many savage Tribes, to the number of 8 or 900 men, stopped them, blockaded them in their fort and compelled them to issue from it through press of hunger; And they pursued them, killing 200 warriors; 200 women or Children met the same fate, and the remainder to the number of 4 or 500, also women and Children, were made Slaves and scattered among all the Nations. Messieurs de Villiers, the Commandant at the River St Joseph; des Noyelles, the commandant among the Miamis; and Messieurs de St. Ange, Officers in Louisiana, behaved with all the bravery and Prudence that could be expected of Them. Monsieur de Villiers, Lieutenant of the Troops, who was the senior officer, had the Command of this Expedition. We Were greatly mortified, Monseigneur, at not being the first to convey Information of this happy success to you. Monsieur the general had despatched the Sieur Villiers, the younger, who was present in The action; to convey The news to you; But The accident that happened to the Ship, *le Beauharnois* , Prevented His doing so.

I have the honor to send you by this ship, Duplicates of several of my Letters, the first whereof relates to Monsieur de Lignery's affair.

* * * * * * * *

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Hocquart

Quebec , January 15th, 1731.

131

1731: RIVALRY OF THE ENGLISH; CONDITIONS AT UPPER POSTS

[Memorandum, dated Feb. 13, 1731, on projects for checking the English trade with the Indians, submitted to Beauharnois and Hocquart, with their replies thereon. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 56, c. 11, fol. 294.]

A letter1 was written to Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart, on May 2, 1730, respecting the importance of breaking off the Trade relations between the savages and the English, as it was to be feared that frequent intercourse between them might detach the savages from us through their taking their furs to the English. [It was suggested] That the post of Detroit was Established partly with that purpose. That, nevertheless, the Miamis and Ouyatanons, amongst whom we maintain garrisons,2 take the greater portion of their furs to the English. This is due to the difficulty experienced by the French Voyageurs in going to those Nations on account of the various 9

1 This letter, of which a summary follows, would seem to have been due to the instigation of De Noyan, and his plan for the Detroit post. See *ante*, p. 107.— Ed.

2 The French post among the Miamis was erected about 1712, when these Indians migrated eastward and settled on the river that beam their name (Maumee). The fort was on the right bank, at the site of the present city of Fort Wayne, Ind. In the Indian revolt of 1748, the post was partially burned. After its surrender to the English (1760–61), Fort Miami was garrisoned by a small detachment, whose commander, Ensign Holmes, was massacred at the beginning of Pontiac's Conspiracy (1763), by being decoyed without the walls. The fort was not rebuilt until the Americans placed a garrison here, after the battle of Fallen Timbers (1794), named in honor of the victor, Fort Wayne.

The Ouiatanon post was on the site of an earlier trading-house at the mouth of Wea River. It was established as a military garrison between 1715 and 1718, being located on the north bank of the Wabash, about four miles below the present city of Lafayette, Ind. No English garrison was maintained here, after its capture by Pontiac's warriors (1763). Relics of the old French fort have been found at this place. See Craig, “Ouiatanon,” Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, il, No. 8.— Ed.

132 portages.1 That therefore it might be advisable not to continue those two posts, That of Detroit being sufficient, since the savages, to whom the trouble of transportation costs nothing, could go thither.

1 The route from Detroit followed the shore of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Maumee. On that river was a long portage at the rapids, near the entrance of the Au Glaize River. The length of the portage from the headwaters of the Maumee to those of the Wabash depended upon the season; in dry times it was nine miles long, in wet seasons being sometimes reduced to two miles. See “Journals of George Croghan” in Thwaites *Early Western Travels* reprints (Cleveland, 1904), vol. 1.— Ed.

That, in order to derive from the post of detroit all the advantages that were expected therefrom, it might be expedient to take away the trade of that post from the Commandant, so as to make his authority respected. To order him very expressly to prevent all Frenchmen from ranging the forests under the pretext of trading or Hunting as this makes the savages despise them and leads to quarrels between them and the voyageurs.

That, to compensate the Commandant for the loss he may suffer through Trade being made free, it would be necessary that every Canoe be required to bring him without charge a certain weight of goods for his subsistence; that he be also granted something by License, a portion whereof might be set apart for the expenses of the almoner, and of the Interpreter, and for presents to be given the savages. This could not fail to be productive of good results, since, instead of giving Permits for the posts amongst the Miamis And

Ouyatanons, they would be given solely for detroit, and a certain reduction should also be made in order that the Voyageurs may be able to give these goods to the savages at better prices.

That it appears that the same might be done for the post of Missilimakinac. That they were to communicate their observations thereon.

They reply, That, in order to break off that Trade completely, it would be necessary that the posts of Niagara and fort de frontenac be always well supplied with trading Goods, which 133 would be very easy when the King's Ship arrives early as it did this year.1

1 Marginal notes on MS.: “What is asked for is being sent regularly.” “Monsieur Hocquart can well supply these two posts.”

That, as regards the post of detroit and in order also to prevent the English from Trading with the savages, it would be important to carry out the views that prevailed when the fort was first Established, beginning by putting a strong garrison there to enable the Commandant to maintain order and make himself respected by the French and by the savages.

That the proper way to prevent intercourse between the savages and the English would be to compel the Miamis and Ouyatanons to go to detroit for what they need by not allowing the Voyageurs to take the same to them. But, they think, it is to be feared that the English may go to the savages, who would receive them, in the belief that the French had abandoned them; and it is beyond a doubt that if we abandon a single one of our posts, the English will at once establish themselves there. Thus, they think it more expedient to strengthen those we have than to weaken them by compelling one Nation to go to another for what it needs, all the more so that it seems to them dangerous to gather the various savage nations together in one spot lest they might disagree.2

2 Marginal note on MS.: “Approved.”

The Ouyatanons were brought into the Government of Louisiana by the Sieur de Vincennes who has completely removed himself from the jurisdiction of the Government of Canada. In order to force that Motion to return to the Miamis to obtain what it needs, Monsieur de Beauharnois had at first proposed to allow no Voyageur to go in that Direction. This would have been carried out had he not been compelled to grant such permission to certain Frenchmen to induce them to convey Missionaries to the Tamarois who took a quantity of Goods which they will trade at the old post in the usual way.3

3 Marginal note on MS.: “Approved.”

The Sieur de Boishébert, who went up to Detroit last Summer to take command, carries on no Trade whatever there and 134 would not enter into partnership with anybody by means of the permits he sells for that post.1 He has assumed all the expense, both of the almoner, of the interpreter, of the presents to be given the savages, and of the garrison. This has pleased all the Voyageurs, of whom a greater number than usual have gone up this year; thus goods will be cheaper. This is one of the best means of attracting the savages there, and making the place flourish.

1 Marginal note on MS.: “Good that he has been placed there.” Louis Henri (or Charles) Dechamps, Sieur de Boishébert, was born in 1679. In 1721, he married Louise Genevieve de Ramezay, daughter of the Canadian governor. His term of service at Detroit, beginning in 1730, redounded to his credit, and he was later placed in charge of Indian affairs for the entire colony. In 1754, he was in command in Acadia, and served there throughout the French and Indian War (1754–63). A contemporary account thus characterizes him (1761): “Very rich. Reported to have abused his commandership in Acadia.”— Ed.

Monsieur do Beauharnois will make no change without receiving fresh orders, all the more so that, inasmuch as the Sieur de Boishébert carries on no Trade, this seems in accordance with Monseigneur's intentions.

Another way to make detroit flourish would be to maintain a garrison of 50 or 60 men there.2 The Commandant would then be in a position to make himself respected by the French and by the savages. This would make it, an important establishment at the head of the country which would keep the nations in awe and frustrate the plans of the English. The same might be done for Missilimakinac which, nevertheless, would not possess the same advantages as Detroit, and which would be on a firm footing only when the latter is thus established.

2 Marginal note on MS.: “Cannot be done.”

135

1731: TREATY OF THE NEW SIOUX COMPANY

[Document in Margry, Découv. et Etabl., vi, pp. 563–567.]

Quebec , June 6th, 1731.

Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois, Knight of the military order of Saint Louis, governor and lieutenant general of the King in the whole of New France .

In virtue of the orders addressed to us by the King's Memorial of May 14th, 1726, respecting the establishment of a commandant and of two missionaries in the Sioux country, to comply with His Majesty's intentions, We, in the presence of Monsieur La Chassaigne,1 governor of this town of Montreal, of Monsieur Michel de La Rouvillière, commissary general of the Marine in the said town, and of Monsieur de La Corne, King's lieutenant in the said government, have settled and determined the articles of engagement, and the demands of the undersigned interested in the Sioux company as follows:

1 Jean Bouillet, Sieur de la Chassaigne, was born in 1659, and entered the service in Canada. In 1690, he was in command at Lachine; in 1698, was the governor of Montreal.

He married a sister of Longueuil, Iberville, and Bienville, and died at Montreal in January, 1733.— Ed.

First Article .—That the entire trade of the Sioux country shall be granted and permitted to the persons hereinafter named towit: one canoe to the sieur de Portneuf,2 the officer second in command at the said post; another to one Campeau, working for the Reverend Jesuit Father, the missionary at the said post; another to the sieurs Mouet,3 the younger, and Coulonge; another to Giguiàres and Toussaint; another to Richard

2 This was probably Pierre, son of René Robineau, Sieur de Portneuf. The latter was a French officer of distinction in King William's War (1689–97), being second in command in the attack on Salmon Falls, N.H. (1690). Since he died in 1726, this must be his son, Pierre, born in 1708. In 1740, Pierre was engaged in the Chicasaw expedition, and in 1760, was sent on a mission to the Shawnee.— Ed.

3 The Sieurs Mouet were Didace Mouet, Sieur de Moras, born in 1701, died in 1763; and Augustin, Sieur de Langlade, famous as the first settler of Wisconsin. For biographical notice of the latter, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 124.— Ed.

136 and Dubau; another to Pierre and Charles Le Duc; another to Guyon Desprez and Saint Michel du Chesne; and the last to Antoine Lanouette and Joseph Joliette;1 for three full and consecutive years, to the exclusion of all others so that nobody shall be permitted to go there or to send one or more canoes without the consent of the said Company; and if anybody of whatsoever quality and condition he may be should go there to trade, that the officer commanding shall be at liberty and he is even ordered to have the goods confiscated, one half thereof shall belong to the King, and the other half to the said Company.

1 Of these Canadian traders but little is known; Guyon *dit* Desprez belonged to the family of Dubuisson; Antonie Rivard *dit* Lanouette was born in 1693 and died in 1762; Joseph

Jolliet, born in 1710, was a grandson of the famous explorer, being the son of his son, Jean Baptiste.— Ed.

That the said interested parties shall not trade nor hunt in the direction of Point Chagouamigon nor anywhere else except in the hunting grounds whither the Sioux go, and that on the side of la Baye they shall likewise go only into the Sioux hunting grounds without their being permitted to trade on the Ouisconsin or at the portage by which they must pass to reach the Sioux, which shall serve as the boundary for both parties.

Second Article .—That they shall not build forts nor houses equivalent to the same in the hunting grounds, but only in the place where the commanding officer shall establish his post.

Third Article .—That the said interested parties shall have permission to send up to the Sioux country during the next two years such number of canoes as they may deem advisable. Should the prospects of the profit to be gained in the trade become greater, in order to induce them to increase the quantity of goods and the number of canoes to be sent thither, the share at present owned by each of the associates shall be increased in the same proportion as the whole trade generally; and the preference as regards such post shall be granted them at the expiration of the said three years at such price as we may deem proper to fix.

Fourth Article .—Should they be stopped on the way in the 137 country of the Renards or beyond, or should they, when they reach the Sioux country, be compelled by superior force to return this year, they shall be permitted to trade their goods wherever they think proper, under the orders of the commanding officer, who shall have power to decide the destination of each one in such a manner as he may deem most expedient for the welfare of the King's service and that of the Colony.

Fifth Article .—That all of the said interested parties who may be compelled thereto through illness or domestic reasons, shall be at liberty to abandon the trade and to return

to it before the expiration of the three years, in such manner nevertheless that no one shall leave the Sioux country without the express permission in writing of the commanding officer.

Sixth Article .—That no associate shall transfer his share either wholly or partially except to persons of good character, free from scandal of every kind and who will not interpose any obstacle to the establishment of Religion amongst that great number of barbarous peoples, so that God's blessing may rest on their persons and trade. The associates must obtain the written permission of the commandant to transfer their shares.

Seventh Article .—That all the associates and all persons in their employ are forbidden to absent themselves from the fort to be built there, for the purpose of returning to Montreal or of going anywhere else, or even for the purpose of hunting, when it is necessary to sleep away from the post, without the express permission of Monsieur the commandant.

Eighth Article .—That the said associates bind themselves to leave as a guard for the fort two men per canoe, not including the servants of messieurs the officers and missionaries, and that they may employ the ethers in conveying their furs to Montreal and in bringing back goods therefrom, and that at all times twelve men shall remain in the fort and shall not go out of it under any pretext whatsoever.

Ninth Article .—That when they shall leave the said post they shall be at liberty to sell the houses they may have built foe themselves and on their private account, as well as the grain that may be growing on the lands they may have cultivated.

138

And in return for the above concessions the said interested parties undertake:

First Article .—To build a fort of stakes, properly strengthened, one hundred and twenty feet square with four bastions, and they shall supply 1032 stakes and more if needed; a chapel, a house for the commanding officer, and one fear the missionaries,—the whole

in such place and in such manner as may be decided upon by the commanding officer, whom they promise to obey and listen to in everything he may command them for the King's service, the discipline of the post, and the welfare of the colony.

Second Article .—They undertake to have conveyed free of cost from this town whatever may be given them as provisions for the commanding officer and the presents for the Savages which His Majesty shall send to the said place, and in addition the said sieurs Mouet, Linctot the younger, and Coulonge, Giguieres, and Toussaint, Richard, and Dubeau, Pierre and Charles Le Duc, Guyon Desprez, and Saint Michel du Chesne, with Antoine Lanouette and Joseph Joliette promise and bind themselves to pay the sum of 2,400 [livres] in each of the said three years when the canoes reach the sieur Linctot,1 the commandant of the post in the Sioux country, on condition that the said sieur Linctot shall not carry on any trade at the said post either directly or indirectly. Done with the agreement and consent of Monsieur the Governor general and in the presence of the said messieurs de La Chassaigne, Michel de La Rouvilliere and de La Corne.

1 For biographical notice of René Godefroy, Sieur de Linctot, who was born in 1675 and married to Madeleine Lemoyne, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 380.— Ed.

Third and last Article .—And, in addition, the said interested parties bind themselves to leave in the said post when they shall start from it in the spring at least four good canoes, w avoid accidents that might arise in case of necessity, and for such purpose they shall be bound to buy a sufficient number of the same in passing by Missilimakinak.

The said associates have agreed to everything above set forth and have consented that if any of them should infringe any of 139 the above articles he shall be severely punished and shall forfeit all his rights.

And after reading the articles of demands and undertakings above set forth, the said interested parties have consented to carry out everything therein contained, and have accepted all the charges, clauses, and conditions above stipulated; and for the fulfilment

thereof they have signed with us, with the exception of Giguières and Toussaint, Pierre and Charles Duchesne and Dubau—who declared that they were unable to write and sign their names—and the sieur Linctot, the commandant, has with our consent signed on behalf of the sieur Coulonge who is absent.

Done at Montreal the 6th of June, 1731.

1731: TRANQUILLITY IN THE UPPER COUNTRY; POSTS AMONG THE SIOUX AND AT GREEN BAY TO BE RE-ESTABLISHED

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 1, 1731. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gen., vol. 54, c. 11, fol. 360.”]

Monseigneur —I have the honor to Send you herewith the words brought me by the two new chiefs of the Renards, who came down this Summer to Montreal, on behalf of the remnant of that nation. I have kept one and sent back the other to bring me next year four of the principal men and to tell the others what is set forth in the answer I gave to those two chiefs. This is annexed to the words of those savages, who are at Last reduced to begging for the lives of those who remain; this I have granted them on the condition that they Carry out what is set forth in that answer.

The joy the defeat of that nation has caused to all the others has been so great that this Summer savages from all parts came to Montreal to express the satisfaction they felt, and to assure me of their fidelity to the French. In fact they gave Proof of 140 it by their conduct Toward the Renards against whom they Had all declared themselves; and the majority of them took part in the Blow struck them by the Sieur de Villiers. Tranquillity, for so many years disturbed in the upper country, will now reign, and Enable us to continue our Establishments there, I thought first of all of that amongst the Sioux, that had to be abandoned owing to the proximity of that nation (the Renards) through whose territory it was necessary to pass to reach the former; and I sent back a party there this year under

the same conditions of the arrangement I had made when the post was first Established amongst those savages (as you will see, Monseigneur, by the Copy we have the honer to append to the answer to the King's memorandum).

It seemed to me no less important to think of the post of la Baye which we had been compelled to abandon for the same reasons as in the case of that amongst the Sioux. To that End I sent Monsieur de Villiers, on his return from his Expedition, to restore that Post as it had been prior to its Evacuation, in the event of his finding the Sakis likewise disposed to rebuild their Village. I deemed it advisable to provide at first for the re-establishments of those two posts, all the more so that, inasmuch as the Obstacles caused by the Renards to that amongst the Sioux no longer existed, we should be in a Position to derive therefrom all the advantages we expected. On the other hand, this was needed for the success of the Undertaking of the Sieur de La Veranderie, in so far that it is absolutely necessary that that nation be in our interest, to allow of our trading with the Assiniboils and Cristinaux, through whose country one must pass to proceed to the discovery of the western sea. The latter [Cristinaux] have had an affray with the Sauteux of the point of Chagoüamigon, and killed some of their men. But I consider the affair settled and will see that those savages live in peace in future. Quarrels between those nations would greatly prejudice all our Enterprises, for the success whereof it is necessary to have tranquillity, which, I am pleased to see, reigns throughout the upper country, and which I will maintain as far as lies in my power.

141

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 1st, 1731.

P.S. Although I have had the honor to Send you the details of the defeat of the Renards, I append a Copy to this Letter.

1731: POST OF DETROIT

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated, Oct. 1, 1730. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 57, c. 11, fol. 227.”]

Monsieur de Beauharnois Sends the Plans of Detroit drawn up by the Sieur de Boishébert, the Commandant of that Post. They are annexed hereto.

That officer reached his post about the end of the month of October, 1730. He found the Establishment but little advanced considering that it was commenced over 30 years ago. He made a Map of it from Lake Erie to Salute Claire. He also made a plan of the settlements and by means of that Map and of that Plan we are in a position to know that quarter and what can be Done there.1 The Climate is fine, the Lands are very good and can produce everything that grows in France in the province of Guienne. After his arrival he had nothing more at heart than to induce the French to till the Soil. They have sowed much more seed than usual and the harvest will be at least double what it has been in former years.

1 Marginal note on MS.: “Good we are convinced that this officer will do his best to place this Establishment on the footing on which it should and must be.”

Those who had charge of this Establishment at the beginning reserved, in the locality where they placed it, only a small piece of Land for the French and even that is the worst part, and they ceded the best land to the Savages; so that if this 142 Colony increases, it will be necessary for the settlers to divide up in various places.

As soon as the Savages have gone to the Woods for their winter hunting he will Make a voyage in Lake Sainte Clair and in Lake Huron and will draw up a Map of the same which he will send next year.1

1 Marginal note on MS.: “Approved.”

1731: CONDITIONS IN THE UPPER COUNTRY

[The following extracts from the yearly official report of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated, Oct. 12, 1731, are those portions that relate to the upper country. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 136–176.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

The Sieur de Beauharnois has observed with pleasure the satisfaction that his Majesty has had at the defeat of the Renards. He has had the honor of sending him the particulars of this affair2 via isle Royale and new england. As the Sieur Lefevre's ship by which he had at first sent them, was compelled to put back, although he is convinced that his Majesty is at present informed of the matter, he appends a Copy3 to which I take the Liberty of adding the news written to Him by The Sieur De Boishébert,4 the Commandant at Detroit respecting the blow inflicted by the Illinois on the remainder of the Renard nation, since the attack made by the Sieur Devilliers.

2 Marginal note on MS.: “Extract with the memorial annexed to the private letter.”

3 Marginal note on MS.: “Annexed to a private letter.”

4 See preceding document— Ed.

The Sieur De Beauharnois has the honor to write you in a private letter what has occured since that affair, and the steps that he has taken to restore tranquillity in the Upper Country. He has seen what is written to Him with respect to the action 143 taken by the Sieur du Buisson against That nation, of which his Majesty seems to disapprove by recommending him to expressly forbid the Commandants of Posts to take such steps in any Case. His majesty's intention will be observed in future, but he ventures to take The liberty of remarking to him, that after the failure of the expedition against the Renards in 1728, there seemed to Him no better way of destroying them than to give orders as he did to the officers at the posts to watch their actions, and to take advantage of the dispositions in which they might find the nations with regard to attacking the Renards; while he nevertheless explained to those officers that they were not to attempt anything unless there was rome prospect of success, and that they were not to cause his Majesty to incur any great expense. It was in obedience to these orders that the Sieur de Villiers acted, and that we have succeeded in almost totally destroying that nation. Moreover, This affair that his Majesty entrusted to the Sieur De Beauharnois had to be carried out as he has done in order to comply with his Majesty's Designs of utterly destroying those savages, and to neglect nothing to attain that end. There seems to be no moro suitable or less costly methods than those adopted by the Sieur de Beauharnois and he ventures to hope that his Majesty would always approve Him in such cases.1

1 Marginal note on MS.: “Extract with private letter.”

The Sieur De Beauharnois has deemed advisable not to await his Majesty's orders to have the Post re-established among the Scioux, which we had been obliged to abandon owing to its proximity to the Renards, through whose country we had to pass. The necessity of preserving the friendship of a nation which has given us proofs of its attachment by its conduct Toward the Renards, has led Him to forestall his Majesty's intentions in the Matter And to benefit by the advantages offered Him by the defeat of the Renards.

The Sieur De Beauharnois has the honor to submit to you, Monseigneur, the reasons that determined his action by a private letter to which he appends a note respecting the journey of the 144 Sieur La Verandérie who also asked for the re-establishment of that Post, in order to place us in a position to Establish a Trade with the assiniboels and the Christinaux1 through whose country we must pass to discover the Western sea. Moreover, As this Post occasions no fresh expense to his Majesty, The Sieur De Beauharnois came more readily to the determination of re-establishing it and the reasons that led Him to hasten this re-establishment are in accordance with what You do him The honor of writing to him on the subject.

1 For the origin and location of these tribes, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 189.— Ed.

We append to this a copy of the agreement made by the Sieur De Beauharnois with the Voyageurs who have undertaken to convey the Commandant and The missionary there, and which is similar to that entered into when the post was first established.

[In a document (Archives of Ministëre des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 57, c. 11, fol. 231”) which is a copy of this year's report for the use of the government, with answers annexed, this additional matter is found: “Of the first October, 1731. Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois writes that those voyageurs represented to him that as the trade of that Post is given to them only for 3 years, they cannot indemnify themselves for the expenses they are obliged to Incur in connection with that Establishment, *if they are not allowed* the privilege *for a 4th year* . As he did not wish to change anything in the first agreement, he contented himself with telling them that he would ask for orders On the subject. He observes that those traders Are about the same as those who commenced this Establishment and that the compulsory evacuation of that post caused them great loss, for which they might be indemnified by granting their request.” On the margin of both portions relating to the Sioux, is written: “Approved.”]

* * * * * * * *

The Sieur de Beauharnois has also the honor to assure his Majesty that the latter will Continue to be satisfied with his efforts in keeping savages who are allies of France in his interests and in maintaining peace and tranquillity between those Nations. He observes with pleasure that both now reign in 145 the upper Countries and, that the care that he has taken to obtain this result since he has been in The Colony has had the success that he hoped. Tranquillity at the Posts could be secured only by reducing The Renards to the extremity in which they now are. Their defeat not only procures peace for all the other Nations but it will also serve to restrain the latter and cause the French name to be respected among them.

The Sieur De Beauharnois has ascertained this year, from the submission and resignation of all the savages to the King's will, the impression produced upon their minds by That war. The Change that he has found in their thoughts has confirmed his opinion as to the necessity that existed of destroying a nation as wicked as it was pernicious to the Colony. He will always make it his Duty to second his Majesty's intentions and to watch over everything that may tend to secure The welfare and the tranquillity of the Colony.

* * * * * * * *

It is not at Niagara alone that the retrenchment of brandy has caused The falling off in the Trade; it has also diminished at detroit. Many savages of the upper Country are in the habit, of coming down in The hope of getting brandy there. The Voyageurs fearing the penalties set forth in the order of Monsieur The Coadjutor, have ceased to sell any, although it was distributed wire the discretion that we recommended to the Sieur De Boishébert who Commands at that post. With regard to the more remote posts the Sieur De Beauharnois has allowed the Voyageurs to take only the quantity that they need for their Journey: four pots per man.

While the Savages were at Montreal we caused The prohibitions hitherto enacted to be renewed. But we venture to admit to his Majesty that if we had acted too severely in

enforcing them, all the savages would have gone away without buying anything, and would have taken The greater portion of their furs to the English.

* * * * * * * *

The Sieurs De Beauharnois and hocquart have seen what is written to them with respect to the retrocession to his Majesty 146 by the Company of the Indies of the Province of Louisiana and of the Illinois Country.1 We consider, Monseigneur, that it is right that the Illinois savages should be subject to this Government, because the Governor-general is in a better position than the Governor of Louisiana to give his orders there, and to be informed of what is going on in connection with the nations. Moreover those savages who came down to Montreal this Summer have asked it of the Sieur De Beauharnois as you will be pleased to see by the copy of the words2 that we have the honor to append hereto and to which we take the liberty of adding that, by means of our establishments among the Miamis and Wiatanons, it is easier for The Illinois to procure what they need from those Posts than from Mississipi owing to the difficulty that the voyageurs of that place encounter and The time that they take in going five or six hundred Leagues up a rapid River to reach those savages, who ask The Governor-general to be Their father as he is to the other nations, because they hope in future to obtain from this quarter the aid that they cannot easily receive from the Mississipi. The Pianguichias have brought words to detroit to be sent to the Sieur De Beauharnois which you will receive by a private despatch.

1 Marginal note on MS.: “Extract with private letter of Monsieur de Beauharnois.” For the memoir of the king announcing this transfer, requesting information about the location of the Illinois country, whether it should be annexed to Canada or Louisiana; and requesting co-operation with the governor and intendant of the latter colony, see *N.Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, p. 1025.— Ed.

2 Marginal note on MS.: “Monsieur de Beauharnois appends it to one of his despatches.” On the copy of this document, prepared for the ruse Of the government (Canada, Corresp.

gén., vol. 58, c. 11, fol. 229), is written: “There is reason to believe that when the Savages took this step they were not aware that the King had taken back Louisiana.— Ed.

The Islinois went back very well satisfied with the promise given them by the Sieur De Beauharnois to look upon them as upon his other children; and we hope that his Majesty will change nothing in this respect. The Sieurs de Beauharnois and hocquart will, moreover, act in concert, as much as the distance 147 will permit, with the Sieurs Perrier1 and Salmon in everything that may procure the mutual advantage of both Colonies. The former have already begun to place themselves in communication with the latter, and the Sieur De Beauharnois has accordingly written to the Sieur De Vincennes, who commands among the Wiatanons, and has recommended him to devote all his attention to frustrating the attempts that the English might make to prevent communication between that Province and Canada, and to prepare those Savages to second Monsieur Perrier in case he should take any action against the Chicachas, whom he points out to the Sieur De Beauharnois as being the instigators of the attack by the Nachez upon the French of the Mississipi. The Wiatanons are in a better position to harass The Chicachas and to give the Sieur Poirier The aid that he asks in this quarter in case his Majesty should order Him to punish that nation.2

1 Perier was governor of Louisiana from 1726–33. He was an officer of the marine, and knight of the order of St. Louis. When he was relieved of the governorship by Bienville, he returned to France, being promoted to a lieutenant-generalship. Later, he served in a campaign in St. Domingo.— Ed.

2 On the question of the Illinois country, and whether it should be joined to Canada or Louisiana, on a copy prepared for the use of the government (Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 58, c. 11, fol. 228), is endorsed: “Await the reply of Messrs. Perrier and Salmon.” This proved convincing enough to retain the Illinois under the Louisiana government.— Ed.

* * * * * * * *

We are with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servants,

Hocquart Beauharnois .

Quebec , October 12th, 1731. 10

148

1731: ILLINOIS ATTACK REMNANT OF THE FOXES

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister. MS. in the archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén, vol. 54, c. 11, fol. 419.”]

Monseigneur — have the honor to Send you hereunto annexed an Extract from a letter addressed to me by the Sieur de Boishébert to whom It was written, respecting the Attack recently made by the Ilinois Upon the remnant of the Renards. Although I have granted them their lives on the conditions that I had the honor of mentioning to you, The savages appear to me to be inclined to wipe out the race, and I shall Maintain them in that disposition If the Renards fail to do what they promised me.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient Servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 10th, 1731.

1732: IROQUOIS AND HURON ATTACK THE FOXES

[Extract from an account sent By Boishébert to Beauharnois, dated Feb. 28, 1732. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, corresp. gén., vol. 57, c. 11, fol. 298.”]

Forty Seven Iroquois from the Lake of two Mountains1 who were Invited by laforest, the first Chief of the hurons, came here last autumn for the purpose of going to war with the hurons against the Renards. When they reached this Post nearly all the young men of the Outaouacs and Poutouatamis had started for their winter hunt. Some Chiefs gave Collars to the hurons to detain them until the Spring, promising them that all their young men would Follow them. The hurons replied

1 These were the mission Iroquois, settled in Canada, at the Lake of Two Mountains (a widening of the Ottawa River near its mouth). This mission was founded in 1717, and had drawn together a village of converted Iroquois.— Ed.

149 that it was impossible for the Iroquois to wait so long and to return to their Village Without first going to seek their common Enemy. As the Iroquois were unprovided with Munitions of war, they asked me for some; these I deemed advisable to supply, as well as the instructions which they begged me to give them Respecting the Route they should Follow, so as not to be mistaken with regard to the Nation they were to attack. They started on the 17th of October to the number of 124, Namely: 74 hurons, 46 Iroquois, and Outaouacs. This small army reached the River St. Joseph after a few days' march and found that the Poutouatamis had left for their winter Hunt. They passed on and went to Chicagou, and as they had some sick men with them, they built a fort there, and left some of their people in it to guard them. Some Poutouatami Chiefs came to them during their Stay there to beg them to wait until the Spring when they would march with them; but they would not listen to their proposal and Continued their Route as far as the Kicapous, who were frightened at first on their arrival, and made the same proposal to them that the Poutouatamis had made. They would not agree to it and pushed on to the Mascoutins who were pretty badly frightened. The hurons reassured them and tried to Induce them to join their party; But they replied that it Would be too risky and that even if they joined together they Would not be able to destroy the Renards who were very numerous. The hurons and Iroquois, who found themselves at a distance of more than 250 Leagues from home and almost In the Enemy's country, asked the Maskoutins for 10 men to guide them

to the Boundaries that enclosed the Children of Onontio.1 This was granted to them and they proceeded toward the Ouisconsin. The guides told our savages that they were On the Enemy's Soil; that they had only to march straight before them Without Deviating, that they would meet nothing but Renards; and then these guides returned to their Village. The hurons and Iroquois marched some days more, When as many among them and

1 That is, the tribes friendly to the French.— Ed.

150 especially the Old men suffered from hunger and fatigue caused by the deep Snow which compelled them to Use Snowshoes, they held a council and several of the Old men thought that they should turn back. The young men were not of the same Opinion, and stated that they had not come So far for the purpose of returning Without striking a blow and one of them added that he would perish rather than go back to His Village Without having killed some men. Two of the most notable among the huron Chiefs said that they were in good health and that, although they were Old men, they Felt strong enough not to give up the undertaking. The little army Broke up; the Old men, both hurons and Iroquois, went back toward Chicagou; while the others, Namely 40 hurons and 30 Iroquois, Followed the Route that led to the Ouisconsin. After several days' march, About 11 o'clock in the morning, they perceived in a prairie three men who were coming to meet them. These were three Renards who took to flight as soon as they saw them. Our people pursued them thinking that they Same from 4 or 5 Cabins of which they had been told; but they were greatly surprised when they reached the top of a Hill to see 46 Cabins in a valley on the bank of the Ouiscousin (This was the principal village of the Renards). The Chiefs Encouraged the young men, telling them that they had nothing to fear; that they had to deal with dogs who did not acknowledge the master of life. The Renards who had been warned by the three men and had had time to seize their Weapons, came out to the number of 90 to attack our people who Received their volley and replied to it by two volleys in succession. The Chiefs told the Young men not to amuse themselves by shooting; they made them lay down their guns, and with a tomahawk in one hand and a Dagger in the other they forced the Renards back into their Village; they Pursued them

so closely and so great was the Carnage that 70 of the Renards were killed On the spot, and 14 were made prisoners; 80 women and Children were also killed, and 140 of them were captured, Besides 10 Renards who Escaped quite naked and who died of cold. The hurons hurl men killed and several wounded. Finally, after this Attack 151 they unbound a Renard Chief who was wounded in the thigh and after dressing his wound, they Sent him with 6 women to tell the remainder of His Nation that the hurons and Iroquois had just eaten up their chief Village where they would remain for two days; that if the Renards wished to Follow them they were free to do so but that as soon as they would see them they would begin by breaking the heads of all their women and Children; that they would make a Rampart of their dead bodies and afterward would endeavor to pile the remainder of the Nation on top of them. The Renard Chief proceeded to a small fort of nine Cabins On the bank of the Mississipy. As soon as he arrived there those who were in the fort Sent word to three Cabins that had detached Themselves from it some time before to warn them of the blow that had been struck. The Sieur Dorval and two other Frenchmen who had left Montreal with Monsieur De Linetot for the post among the Seioux, were at those three Cabins at the time. Monsieur do Linetot who had been unable to reach His destination the previous autumn, had built a fort On the Mississipy at a Place called the Mountain whose foot is bathed by the Water (la Montague qui trempe dans l' Eau),1 About 30 Leagues above the mouth of the Ouisconsin, where finding Himself short of Provisions he had been compelled to disperse a portion of His people to live among the savages.
A Renard chief of these three Cabins told the said Sieur Dorval that it Was their Father Onontio who caused them to be killed, because the hurons and Iroquois never rose from their Mats except upon His command. He replied that the hurons belonged to Detroit and that No doubt they had started from there Without their Father being informed of their expedition. “Well,” said the Renard, “since thou assurest me that the French have nothing to do with it, make them give me back three of my Children whom they are taking away.” The Renards disarmed the Frenchman and Led him to their fort, and thence to the Place where their people had been killed. The Chief proposed to him to Follow

1 Mount Trempealeau, near the village of Trempealeau. Wis.— Ed.

152 our warriors to redeem His three Children, and he gave him a Robe and 17 Beaver skins for their Ransom. The Frenchman accepted the errand and was led by that chief to the place where our Warriors had kindled their last fire and whither he was told to return when he had ransomed the Children. The Sieur Dorval started and overtook the hurons with whom he came to Detroit, well pleased with the Errand with which he had been entrusted. It is estimated that the Renards have lost 300 persons, both killed and prisoners. The Warriors brought 100 and some Slaves to Detroit and they have assured me that the number of the killed and of the prisoners was 300, besides 13 women and 2 men whom they state to have been killed while endeavoring to Escape on the Road. From the report of these Slaves there would remain of this nation, at the most, 30 True Renards, some women and Children, who Would be vert happy, they say, to take refuge among other Nations. They added that they were going down to place themselves at their Father's mercy.

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, enclosing the preceding document. Source, the same, but fol. 296.]

Monseigneur —monsieur de Boishebert has just Sent me news which I have the honor to communicate to you and which is all the more welcome that it tells us of the almost entire rout of the Renards who had Escaped from the attack Made on them by Monsieur de Villiers. Although I had the honor of informing you last year that I had granted the remnant of that nation their lives on the conditions that I mentioned to you, I also had the honor of observing to you that the huron Savages of Detroit had asked me for permission to raise A party for the purpose of Attacking them, and of exterminating their race; and they stated that they would carry out that undertaking on their own account. My answer Was, Monseigneur, as you may have seen, that I could not give them such permission because I had granted the Renards their lives; but that I would, nevertheless, remain neutral in the disputes that might arise between 153 them—for I fully believed that if I did not Expressly

forbid them, they would Carry out their design. This they did ca their arrival at their village, as you will See, Monseigneur, by the Extract from the report on the matter sent me by Monsieur de Boishebert which I have the honor to append.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant

Beauharnois

Montreal , May 23rd, 1732.

[The following document, containing additional details, is endorsed: “Appendix to the Relation of the defeat of the Renards, Respecting what gave the advantage to the Hurons and Iroquois.” Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 320.]

The Snow being very deep at the Spot where the hurons and Iroquois attacked the Renards and put them to flight, it was Easier to destroy them, because the latter are not, in the habit of wearing snow-shoes and are not as skillful in their Use as the hurons and Iroquois. This gave our warriors, a great advantage Over them, and greatly contributed to the success of the Expedition.

It has already been stated in the relation that there were 45 Cabins of Renards Together, which our savages attacked, but it would be Surprising that, there should have been so many after the blow inflicted by Monsieur de Villiers, and the others that had previously been struck at them, were not this Explained by the fact that they had found the secret of withdrawing their Slaves from all the other Nations Except the Ilinois who have given no quarter to any who were among Them.

We must relate here a circumstance which is as singular to some as it is a matter of faith to others and especially to the Savages. Shortly before the action, the hurons made medicine.1 This was disapproved of by the Iroquois, who added that they

1 Marginal note on MS.: “The warriors are in the habit of rubbing themselves with a kind of grease which they claim, preserves them from the Effects of Bullets and of Arrows.”

154 should place all their reliance in the master of Life. The hurons retorted that the others had too much. But at the first volley the chief medicine-man was killed with 4 or 5 of his nation who had like him made use of the medicine. The Iroquois did not lose a man in the whole battle. They were all very assiduous in saying their prayers night and morning throughout the journey.

The Iroquois a to see their Father Onontio on their return from the Expedition, on June 5th. They told him that out of the 148 prisoners mentioned in the relation, The hurons had killed 56 on the way back, owing to the difficulty they experienced in leading so great a number, and through fear that they might Escape; And that there might remain About thirty True Renards whom they would have destroyed had they been in the Village that they attacked; but they were in the nine cabins that we have mentioned. It is presumed that the Puants or other nations which are Their Enemies, have destroyed them; they have been informed of the Blow inflicted by our settled savages.

1732: THE KING'S MEMOIR.

[Extract of the yearly instructions of the King and Minister to the Governor and Intendant of New France. MS. in archives of Ministàre des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Collection Moreau-St. Méry, vol. 10, f. 12, fol. 33.”]

Versailles , April 22nd, 1732.

His Majesty, having obtained information respecting the matters whereof the Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart, Wrote last year in regard to the affairs of the Colony, has decided to explain to them His intentions Concerning certain portions of that administration.

* * * * * * * *

Defeat of the Renards. Nothing can add to the Satisfaction felt by His Majesty on receiving the confirmation of the news of the almost Total defeat of the Renards in the battle fought against that nation by the detachment 155 Under the Command of the Sieur de Villiers and of the Sieur de St. Ange. This defeat, added to the losses previously Inflicted on those Savages by the allied Savages, and to those since Inflicted on them by the illinois, must have reduced them to such a Condition as to remove all fears of their rising again.

Approves what has been done with regard to them. His Majesty approves of the Sieur de Beauharnois's having kept near him one of the two chiefs who came down to Montreal to ask pardon for the remnant of the nation, and of his having sent back the other to get four of the principal warriors of the Nation and bring them down to Montreal next Summer. He likewise approves of his having told them that Otherwise they could not Hope for mercy. The Sieur de Beauharnois will be Careful to report everything that occurs in connection with this. His Majesty is convinced that he has taken the proper measures to reduce that Nation to such a condition that it no longer will be able to trouble the Colony.

Nevertheless, as the allied Savages seem Have the remainder of the Renards destroyed by the allies. disposed to destroy the remainder, he of must Encourage them in this disposition, in order that he may be able to make use of them when occasion offers. It must not be imagined that that Nation will restrain itself when it Shall be in a Condition to rise; and the best way to prevent its causing the same trouble to the Colony in the Future that it has done in the past, is to disperse those who remain among the other Nations. His Majesty has no doubt that he as acted in that Spirit.

Scioux — Approves the re-establishment of the post. His Majesty approves of the Sieur de Beauharnois's having, with the view profiting by the advantages of that defeat, Taken steps to re-establish the post of the Scioux which had to be abandoned on account of the war with the Renards. He also approves the Contract made with the Voyageurs who

Have undertaken to convey the Commandant and Missionary there, and would consider it advisable that, in addition to the three years enjoyment of that post allowed 156 those Voyageurs by the Contract, they Be allowed a fourth year to compensate them for the loss they suffered by being compelled to Evacuate the post when first Established.

Reasons for maintaining the said post. Moreover, the Sieur de Beauharnois is aware of the importance of that post, Both with the view of fostering the friendly feeling so often manifested by the Scioux, And of establishing trade with the assiniboëls and the Christinaux.1 His Majesty is therefore convinced that he will devote all the Attention in his power to the furtherance of that Establishment. His Majesty also approves of his having Sent the Sieur La Baye de Villiers to re-establish the post of la Baye which had to be abandoned owing to the proximity of the Renards; He is convinced that that officer will have found the Sakis disposed to rebuild their former village there also. The Sieur de Beauharnois will report Later.

1 The solicitude for the trade of these two tribes was due to the pressure of the Hudson's Bay Company. For their location and affinities, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 189, 190, 408. — Ed.

* * * * * * * *

Chaouanons. His Majesty has learned with pleasure that the Chaoüanons came down to Montreal last Summer to ask the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois to indicate the place where he wished to place them. He also approves of his having, with the view of bringing them nearer to the Colony and of detaching them from the English, Sent the Sieur Joncaire with them to, place them on the North Bank of the River Oyo. He recommends him to foster carefully the favorable disposition of that nation so as to derive all the advantages that were expected in the event of a rupture with the iroquois. It is to be hoped that they will persist in the resolution, to which they appeared to have come, not to Endure the English; the Sieur de Beauharnois must be Careful to see to this.

* * * * * * * *

157

Illinois, Natchez Choctas Chicachas. His Majesty has taken cognizance of the reasons for which the Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart consider it advisable that the country of the illinois Savages Should Be a dependency of the general Government of new France. When he shall have considered those expressed on the Subject by the Sieurs Perrier and Salmon, Governor and commissary-general of Loüsiana, He will decide what is most expedient, and Signify His intentions. But, in any case, whether that post be retained or detached from the Government of Louisiana, it Will be Equally a dependency of the general Government, and the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois must devote the same attention to it. The Sieur Perrier, Governor, must have informed him that the Natchez Nation has not been so thoroughly destroyed as was believed, and that there still remained two or three hundred warriors who, Supported by the Chicachas, Endeavored to induce the islinois to rise; that the latter sent their three ambassadors to the Sieur Perrier at new Orleans where the Choctas, whom he induced to declare against the Chicachas went and Burned them; that the English are making every effort to conciliate those two Nations and that it is most important to prevent this for the peace and preservation of that Colony. His Majesty recommends the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois to Consider what measures he may adopt to further this. If he could succeed in getting some Nations to join the illinois and the French in that quarter and induce them to strike the Chicachas, the latter would be destroyed or at least compelled to keep quiet and Remove to a distance from the Colony. But, in order that this may be more Surely effected, it Should be done in concert with the Governor of Louisiana who might cause them to be attacked at the same Time. His Majesty leaves everything to the discretion of the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois, convinced as He is that he will devote the same attentioN to Louisiana as to Canada. He recommends him not to lose sight of this object, being careful nevertheless to see that it does not entail too great an expense.

* * * * * * * *

158

With regard to the Trade in Brandy with the Savages, His Majesty has approved of the act of the Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart, last Summer, in repeating Giving Brandy to the Savage. the prohibitions on the Subject and in giving orders to the posts that liquor Be given to the Savages only with great Circumspection, and by making them Understand that distribution, the French are actuated more by a desire to please than by their own inclination. By acting in this Spirit be possible to avoid the abuses that might occur In such Trade, and would lead His Majesty to prohibit it, were He not convinced that the Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart are devoting to this matter all the attention he has recommended them to give.

Moreover, His Majesty has had the Order Examined Sieur Co-adjutor of Quebec1 has issued on the Subject, and, from the report made to him thereon, He has Mandement concerning brandy. found that that Order contains nothing contrary to Royal authority her to public order. nevertheless wishes him to observe that, in addition to the difficulty that will be experienced by those who are Far away in having recourse to the Bishop the case he has reserved2 for himself, the provisions of such order may cause alarm to those who have charge of the Working of the posts on His Majesty's account, and who by orders distribute Brandy to the Savages with all the discretion and circumspection that can be desired; Drawbacks in connection with the reserved case and it Is to be feared that, inasmuch the rescued case prevents their approaching the Sacraments, it would degenerate

1 Pierre Armand Dosquet, Sulpitian priest, first came to Canada 1721, returned to Europe, and was consecrated at Rome, being thereupon appointed coadjutor of Monseigneur Mornay, the old bishop Quebec. On the resignation of the latter. Dosquet became bishop 1734.— Ed.

2 *Cas reserve* = Certain cases where the bishop alone or somebody specially deputed by him can grant absolution.— Crawford Lindsay.

159 found by Monsieur Dosquet. Means of avoiding it. into a habit, which would be productive of a greater evil. His Majesty is convinced that he will find a middle course by which this drawback may be avoided. The Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart will report what may happen in this respect.

On the request made by the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois for some distribution to the Savage chiefs who may deserve the same by their good conduct, His Medals for Savages. Majesty has given orders to send him twelve of those struck on the occasion of the birth of Monsieur le dauphin; and he recommends him to distribute them only with full cognizance of the facts, to those who, when the opportunity offers, may. give proofs of their attachment to the interests of the Nation. This is the best way to maintain them in this Disposition and to make them look upon this mark of honor as a reward.

* * * * * * * *

Done at Versailles the 12th of April 1732

Louis Phelypeaux 1

1 Jean Frédéric Phelypeaux, Comte de Maurepas, was minister of the marine (including the colonies), 1723–49.— Ed.

1732: SALE AT MACKINAC IN 1728

[Report of Hocquart, dated Sept. 1, 1732. MS. in archives of Ministers des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 58, c. 11, fol. 27.”]

Statement of the sale made by Monsieur Demontigny, Commandant of Michilimakinac,2 of certain munitions and goods remaining there, in 1728.

2 Jacques Testard, Sieur de Montigny (called La Marque), was one of the most noted Canadian officers during the forty years following 1690. He was born in 1663, and while an ensign took part in attack upon Schenectady (1690), where he was wounded, and thereupon was promoted to a lieutenancy. In 1695 he commanded in Acadia, and the following year distinguished himself in Iberville's expedition to Newfoundland. In this latter place he led the Abenaki allies in 1703–06, making his name a terror to the English inhabitants. Montigny surrendered at Port Royal in 1710, and was sent to France, soon after receiving the cross of St. Louis. When Charlevoix journeyed to the West, he accompanied this officer as far as Green Bay, where he was commandant, 1721–23; promoted to the command at Mackinac, he served from 1730–33 at this post, and died in battle in 1737. His son, Jean Baptiste, was a noted officer in the French and Indian War (1754–63), and their descendants are still prominent in Canada.— Ed.

160 To wit: Five guns 19 livres Three mattocks 10 One plane 4. 15 One coat and two Capotes 28 Nine shirts at 40 sols 18 Four ropes # (inch) at 3 livres 10 sols 14. 8. 9 Deduct for costs 4. 14 Total 89. 9. 9

Hocquart

Made out at Quebec, September 1st, 1732.

[Accompanying this document in the archives are the following:

Letter from Monsieur Hocquart to the minister—Quebec, October 1732—respecting the sale of munitions left at Michilimakinac.

Extract from a letter of Monsieur de Montigny to Monsieur Hocquart, —April 2, 1731, on the same subject.

Roll of those whom I paid for the year 1728 at Michilimakinac.

Statement of what I did with the King's Goods remaining at Michilimakinak from the Campaign against the Renards.1]

1 The two last documents are signed by Lignery.— Ed.

1732: FRENCH INDIANS INCITED TO ATTACK FOXES AND CHICKASAW

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated, Oct. 1, 1732. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Collection, Moreau-St. Méry, vol. 10, f. 12, fol. 5.”]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

The Sieur de Beauharnois has the honor to inform you, seigneur, by a private letter, of the condition to which the Renards are reduced, and of the attack made upon that nation by the hurons and the iroquois of the Lake of two, Mountains, since That of the sieur de Villiers. He ventures to hope that his Majesty will be satisfied with his action on this occasion, and with the line of conduct that he followed in making the savages act without leading the other Nations to think that was through his orders, or, at least, that he had any knowledge of the action of the hurons and Iroquois. This policy seemed to him to be all the more necessary that after granting the remnant of the Renards their lives on the Condition that they should send him this Summer four of the most notable persons among them, he was very well pleased to show that he kept his word while waiting for them to keep Theirs. They failed to do so and this induced The Sieur De Beauharnois to send back to them The hostage in his hands, whom he ordered to tell the remainder of his nation that as they had not kept their word, he left them to the mercy of the savages who are in the Field, and resolved to exterminate their race.

* * * * * * * *

The Sieur De Beauharnois wrote this year to the Commandants of fort de Chartres in the Islinois country, of the Ouiatanons, of the Miamis, to urge their savages to attack the Chicachas whom they were to consider as the common enemy of all the nations. He also, through the sieur De Boishebert, gave the same notice to The hurons of Detroit who raised a band to attack the remnant of the Renards—as he did not wish a single one to be left alive—that they might also turn their arms 162 against the Chicachas. Although the Sieur De Beauharnois was not informed of his Majesty's intentions with respect to the steps that had to be taken to destroy that nation and to obtain tranquillity for that Quarter, he considered that one of the necessary means to be employed was to cause a diversion among The nations as he has done.

It is certain that the small parties that from time to time will attack the Chicachas will greatly harass them, and reduce them to such a Condition that they will be compelled to remain quiet, Moreover, as they will be harassed on the other Side by the people under Monsieur Perrier, to whom the Sieur De Beauharnois has communicated the steps that he was taking on this side, they will be more easily subdued; and there seems to be no better expedient for succeeding in this. That of causing The savages to march and attack at the same time as Those who would be sent by Monsieur Perrier, would be a good one, did not the culty of assembling these nations in one Spot prevent its being carried out. Another Reason is that the savages do not behave like disciplined Troops, and moreover if it were possible to adopt this plan, it would entail great expense upon his Majesty, and it would probably have no better effect than if the Savages were allowed to act.

The sieur Perrier wrote this year to the sieur de Beauharnois that there remained only about one Hundred men of the Natchez nation who had sought refuge among the Chicachas. It would appear, Monseigneur, that he is mistaken; but though there may be a larger number, we may succeed in subduing them if the assistance which he informed the sieur do Beauharnois that he expected, be sent to Him, and if the orders despatched

by the sieur De Beauharnois to the Posts be executed. He will, however, devote all his attention to this matter and will carry it in The least expensive and most suitable way for the object we have in view—the subjugation of that nation.

* * * * * * * *

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servants,

Beauharnois Hocquart

Quebec , October 1st, 1732.

163

1732: EXPENSES OF THE INDIANS URGED TO WAR

[Extract from a statement of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 76.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

We have received the statements of the funds appropriated this year both for the marine and for the Domain Which will be expended in accordance with their destination.

With reference to the sum of 21,749 livres, 12 sols, 6 deniers, it is true that The Statement that was sent you concerning the same last year was very summary. Monsieur hocquart was unable to make it any more complete as The last Ship was about to sail.

We have the honor to forward you a mere detailed statement. This expenditure has not been effected out of the Magazines. The munitions of which it consists were delivered to the Savages by the French Voyageurs by command and on The written orders of

the Officers commanding the various posts, which orders were countersigned by the missionary, When one happened to be there.

It has always been the custom—And it is unavoidable—to give provisions and other munitions to the Savages, When we ask Them to go to war. When they are at Montreal or in the other places where the King has Magazines, then this expenditure is included with that incurred for presents. But everywhere else, as at detroit, at Missilimakinac, at River St joseph, and at the other places, it is just that the Voyageurs should, on their return, be repaid The price of the munitions that they have taken to the upper country for their Trade, and that they deliver on The orders of the Commandants for exceptional occasions, such as those connected with war. Otherwise the Officers commanding in the upper Country could not carry out The commands sent them by the General.

When our savages go on the war-path of their own accord without the General's participation, such as Those who are setting out against the testes plates, that is their affair and it costs 11 164 the King nothing. But in The matter of The Renards, they were urged mad solicited by us, and at Last when Monsieur The Marquis De Beauharnois gave orders to the Commandants of the various posts to execute his Majesty's commands; to urge The savages to march and to raise bands against the Chicachas, they could not be induced to, do so without giving Them on the spot some munitions and provisions to enable them to take the field. This is the sole expense that these wars Entail.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur Your very humble and very obedient servants, Beauharnois Hocquart

Quebec , October 9th, 1732.

P. S. The statement of the expenditure in connection with the last expeditions against the Renards which we had The honor to send you last year, amounted to 21,749 livres, 12 sols. Those we send you this year, to the number of three, hereunto annexed, exceed that

sum by 234 livres, 8 sols owing to the omission therein of a receipt for an expenditure of like amount.

The first and second of these Statements form part of the expenditure set forth in the account of 1730, to which The vouchers are annexed; and As there is a surplus for the said year, we do not ask you for the money for the same which would amount to 7,391 livres 5 sols. You will Observe, Monseigneur, in The third statement how the various items of expenditure composing it are vouched for. This cannot be done any better in connection with expenses of that nature. We could not at The time avoid paying The voyageurs and others who are mentioned therein: after, however, examining and even reducing Their bills according to the value of the goods at the posts where they were supplied.

You are moreover aware, Monseigneur, that The only way to get The savages to act is to give them food and to equip them.

165

1732: LA RONDE SEEKS TO EXPLOIT COPPER MINES OF LAKE SUPERIOR

[Letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated, Oct. 11, 1732. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 95.]

Monseigneur —You asked us in one of your despatches year for information respecting the copper mine in Lake Superior, a specimen of the ore from which was sent you by Monsieur De Beauharnois in 1728. All the Information that we have hitherto been able to obtain consists in the continued assurance of The savages that the mine is in The Tonagaun River and in the Rivière Noire,1 and there is a constant tradition among them that one of the islands in the Lake 25 Leagues from land, is full of this metal; That the Meek of this mineral lying on the shore of the Lake to The West. comes from, one of those islands, and was carried there by the ice.2 To venture on the discovery of those islands in bark Canoes is too dangerous. Lake Superior is a sea and stronger vessels with decks would needed to go from the main land to the said islands. Some savage Canoes

attempted to cross over and were lost; probably only one succeeded in reaching there and in coming back, and this has given Rise to the tradition that is preserved among the savages that one or more of those Islands are full of a substance suitable for making kettles (this is their expression) which has been reported to us both by Monsieur de la ronde3 who spoke to the savages at The time when he commanded at Chagouamigon, and by The sieur De saint Pierre, an ensign, who lived 9 years in that quarter, and who Knows the savage Language better than the savages, as they themselves admit.4

1 The Ontonagon River and the Black River of the upper peninsula of Michigan, both of which are indicated by these names on Bellin's map of 1745.— Ed.

2 For details of this tradition, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 72–76.— Ed.

3 For biography of Louis Denys, Sieur de la Ronde, see his own account written in 1739, *post*. He died in 1741.— Ed.

4 Jacques le Gardeur, Sieur de St. Pierre (born in 1701), was the grandson of Jean Nicolet, and son of Paul le Gardeur, Sieur de St. Pierre, who commanded at Chequamegon in 1718. Jacques doubtless remained as a trader in this region, and thus acquired his great familiarity with Indian languages. He became one of the most noted officers in the service of New France. He was with Lignery in his expedition of 1728, and the next year made a peace between the Sioux and the Cree; from 1734–37 he commanded at Fort Beauharnois. In 1739–40, he commanded against the Chickasaw, and built a small fort in their territory. In 1745, he was in command at Niagara, and the same year relieved the French garrison on Lake Champlain. In 1746, he campaigned in Acadia, and in 1747, was sent to command at Mackinac during an uprising of the Indians, which he skillfully allayed, and made peace in the upper country. In 1750, he was promoted to a captaincy, and being sent to continue the explorations of the Vérendryes, penetrated as far as the Saskatchewan River. He arrived in Canada late in 1753, and was at once sent to the post in Western Pennsylvania, where he was encountered by Major Washington,

messenger from Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia. He joined Dieskau's expedition to Lake George in 1755, and was slain in the first battle.— Ed.

166

On this Information which is more than mere conjecture, Monsieur De la ronde proposes, in the memorial which we have The honor to annex hereto; to build two barks at his own expense: one on Lake Superior and the other on Lake huron or Michigan; in order that, by means of these barks, he may discover the islands in question, lead them with copper from the mine and transport the same to Niagara, whence it can easily be taken to Quebec.

We consider The Sieur La Ronde's project a bona fide one, all the more so that if he does not set to work The same year to build a bark on Lake Superior, he will be deprived of the Command and trade of the post of Chagoumigan, which he asks for 9 years to indemnify Him for the expense of his undertaking in which he associates with himself The sieur De St Pierre an equally prudent and intelligent Officer.

There is no doubt of his good faith nor of that of Monsieur De la ronde, for they will be obliged at an early date in the Spring following the receipt of your orders, to fit out at treal 3 or 4 Canoes loaded with the rigging and the appliances. most deeded for building and navigating the vessels in question— 167 an Expense which they would be careful not to incur if they were not sure of the Success of this undertaking in which his Majesty runs no risk.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur Your very humble and very obedient. Servants.

Beauharnois Hocquart

Quebec , October 11th, 1732.

1732: FATE OF THE FOXES; LINCTOT AND THE SIOUX POST; RE-ESTABLISHED POST AT GREEN BAY

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct, 15, 1732. Source, same as preceding document, but fol, 328.]

Monseigneur —i have received the Letter that you did me the honor of writing to me on The 22nd of April last; and I am greatly flattered at the Satisfaction given to His Majesty by the Blow that the Sieur de Villiers has inflicted Upon the Renards. Although it was a heavy one, and caused the destruction of the majority of that nation, The Slaves whom those savages had succeeded in withdrawing from the Nations with whom they Were, had enabled them to make up a Village of 45 Cabins near Ouisconsin in which were ninety men, besides nine other Cabins at a Distance from the former. It is upon these 45 Cabins, Monseigneur, that the last blow was struck by our Iroquois from the Lake of the two Mountains and by the hurons of Detroit, who have won Over the Renards a victory as brilliant as the prudence and bravery they had displayed in everything that preceded it. You will Judge of it, Monseigneur, from the relation that I have already had the honor of Sending You viâ l'Isle Royalle, and which I have the honor of forwarding you the return of the King's Ship with an appendix respecting that which gave our Savages the advantage. We may now hope the Total destruction of that nation; for, according to all the Letters sent me from the upper country and from the Places where they are in a position to be thoroughly informed, the remnant of that, tribe are said to consist merely of Fifty or sixty 168 men who beg for mercy on all sides, and who make up, Say ten Cabins, which have come to la baye to east themselves into the arms of Monsieur de Villiers and in which were 20 men and 30 or 40 women and Children; 4 other Cabins, two of which have gone to the Kikapoux and Maskoutins who would not receive them lest they might break their word given to their Father, and the two others to the river St Joseph where they were told the same thing; while Six others are Wandering about. These are all that remain I think, Monseigneur. Moreover if there were any others, besides the fact that they are no longer

in a Condition to cause us any Anxiety, there will be no question of them before very long because All the other nations are actually in the Field to exterminate the race as they have been Informed that the Renards had failed to keep the promise that they had given me to send down four of the most notable Among them this year. I sent back the Chief whom they had left me as a hostage, and through him I informed them that I had relied on the word that. they had given me, I had not Requested the Nations to destroy them; That the attack just made Upon them by the hurons and the Iroquois was apparently the sequel of the old quarrel that they had had Together; that had not been informed of their expedition; but that as they had failed to observe the conditions that had Induced me to grant them their Lives, I left their fate to the discretion of the saw ages. We may consider that it is in good hands judging from the ardor they display, and I do not think there will be a question of any Renard next year.

The Sieur de Linctot who has been charged with the Reestablishment of the post among the scioux, wrote to me that he was unable to reach there before last spring, and that he was compelled to pass the winter at a Place called La tagne qui trempe dans I'Eau, thirty leagues from that post. Through that officer I learned that fourteen Renards (who had Escaped from the attack of our hurons and Iroquois) had come to his Camp to beg for their lives. But that through fear of the Puants (who were Camped near the Sieur de Linctot) they had not long remained there, and I suspect 169 they must be among those who came to throw themselves into the arms of the Sieur de Villiers. The Sieur de Linctot adds that there were sixty-two Cabins of Scioux at the Place where he Established His post, And that he expects a still greater number when these savages (most of whom were away hunting) are Informed of his arrival; That those whom he met there had expressed great Satisfaction at seeing the French again; And that the chiefs of that nation, were to come down next year to see me.

I shall Inform the traders of that post that his majesty has granted them the fourth year's Privilege, that I had taken the liberty of asking from you for them; but at the same time I beg you, Monseigneur, to permit me to allow them to enjoy it only so long as they fulfil the

conditions of their Agreement (as they have Pledged themselves). This will also induce them to pay more particular attention.

The Sieur de Villiers, whom I had Sent to re-establish the post at la Baye, has written to me that the Sakis had rebuilt their old Village at that Spot and that they were there with their families. I have permitted the Voyageurs to go to that place this year to supply their wants, and I shall continue this post when it is Established, as it was before being Evacuated.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur Your very humble and very obedient servant, Beauharnois

Quebec . October 15th, 1732.

1732: SPEECH OF THE ILLINOIS AND RESPONSES

[Enclosure in Beauharnois's annual report to the French Minister; no date on document, but probably Oct. 15, 1732. Speeches of other Indians and the governors' replies accompanied this. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 57. c. 11, fol. 354.]

Words of the Ilinois.

My Father, I have come to see you with my Brothers, The Quicapoux and Maskoutins and to Fan you with this Calumet. 170 I find that the weather is Clear since I see you. This is our manner of presenting a Calumet which means peace.

I open my heart to my Father, and it will be glad when I shall go away after hearing his word. You know that we were The first to attack the Renards who killed us, which reduces us to a pitiable Condition. Therefore, My Father, we ask You to have the same Consideration for us, as You have for your other Children and that You will take care of us who wish to Listen to no other word but yours.

Reply to the Words of the Ilinois

It affords me much pleasure, Ouabichagana, to See thee united with the Quicapoux and Maskoutins and that you Live together as good brothers. The weather is always fair when I See my Children well-disposed as thou seemest to me to be.

I am convinced that thou openest thy heart to me, and that thou answerest to me for that of thy young men who are but one with thee. Thou assurest me that thou wilt be glad when thou wilt have heard my word. Here it is: Thou and all thy village may rely upon my kindness and protection, so long as you behave as you have hitherto done. In future I will show You the same consideration as I have to your Brothers with whom I Exhort you to be united and to have but one heart as you have but one Father who will take care of You.

1732: CONDITIONS AT DETROIT; OFFICERS FOR THE POSTS

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 15, 1732, with endorsements of the government, Jan. 20, 1733. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 58, c. 11, fol. 237.]

The Sieur de Boishebert's occupations in connection with the action of the Hurons and Iroquois against the Renards have not allowed him to send the maps that he was to Make of Lake Sainte Claire and Lake Huron.1

1 Endorsement of the Minister: “It is hoped that they will be sent this year.”

171

He has always recommended that officer, as he has Done in the case of his predecessors, to devote every attention to the settlement of Detroit and to the general welfare of the post.1 But though they have not been deficient in care On these two Points, it is impossible for this Settlement to become at all considerable so long as we do not send a sufficient number of troops there to whom lands would be conceded, whose value they

might improve. And they would Afterward Become good settlers.2 About one hundred salt-Smugglers might also be sent there to whom advances would be made at first.

1 Endorsement of the Minister: “To continue.”

2 Endorsement of the Minister: “This can be done only in the event of the number of the troops being increased. What can be done will be decided hereafter.”

By these means the post would soon become a considerable one, and by its Strength it would restrain all the nations of the upper country.

He will, however, continue to recommend the officers commanding there to induce the settlers to till their Farms and to maintain order.3

3 Endorsement of the Minister: “Good.”

He will distribute the 12 Medals that have been sent to him only to the Chiefs whose attachment and Services Are known to him. As there are many in this position and as the expedition of our Iroquois and Hurons against the Renards places him under the necessity of giving some to the principal Chiefs of the band, he Asks that others be sent to him.4

4 Endorsement of the Minister: “Good. Write to Monsieur de Cotte to send 12 other similar to those he sent last year.”

He asserts that he will be careful In the selection of the officers whom he will send to the posts. He adds that his attention in this respect excites jealousy but that he considers solely the capability of those whom he employs, the good of the Service and of the Colony.5

5 Endorsement of Minister: “He cannot be too careful.”

He intends to send the Sieur do Noyan this year to command at Missilimakinac.1

1 Endorsement of Minister: “Good. He is a person to be employed.”

For the past two years he has been recommended to Avail himself of that officer's services.

1733: FOXES ATTACKED IN THEIR FORT AT MARAMEG; SMALLPOX SPREADS

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated May 1, 1733, enclosing letters from commandants in the Upper Country. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, corresp. gén., vol. 59, c. 11, fol. 4.”]

Monseigneur —i had the honor to write to you last autumn that, owing to the Renards having found Means to withdraw some Slaves from the Nations, they were able to make up the Village which was Attacked by our Iroquois of the Lake of two Mountains and the Hurons of Detroit, as You may have seen, Menseigneur, by the relation that I had the honor of Sending You, which was annexed to my Letter, and in Which I added that Notwithstanding the Blow that. our Warriors had struck At Them, it was asserted that there still remained fifty or sixty Men of that tribe who were Wandering about and whom the Nations wished to destroy utterly; And that Among others the tribes at Detroit had raised a band to kill them wherever they might find them assembled.

I received Letters last Winter from the Commandants in the upper Country and from the Sieur de Boishebert who wrote to me that the Hurons, Outaouacs and Poutouatamis of Detroit started at the end of last autumn to carry out their design. I append hereto, Monseigneur, the relation of what happened on that Occasion, which has been sent me by the Sieur de Boishébert and by the Commandants of the River St Joseph and of the Miamis.

I had the honor of informing you, Monsieur, of the ravages caused by small pox among the Villages of the Five iroquois 173 Nations. From the News I have received I learn that It is decreasing there But that It has spread among all the nations, and that the Miamis and Poutouatamis Among others have lost many Persons. Brandy which they went to get from the English, has also contributed to their ruin, And I must, Monseigneur, Communicate to You what the Commandant of the Miamis has written me Respecting the extraordinary Effects of that liquor.

I have the honor to be with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Beauharnois

Quebec , May 1st, 1733.

[Enclosure in the above: extract of a letter from Boishébert, commandant at Detroit, to Beauharnois, dated Nov. 7, 1732. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 57, c. 11, fol. 345.]

After our warriors had marched 22 days, they came upon the Renards on the shore of Lake Marameek1 in a stockade fort with an earthen rampart inside to the height of a man, with a watch-tower or block-house above it. This fort is situated between the lake and an Impassable swamp so that it can be approached only by means of a tongue of land. This is the description given by all the huron, Outaoüac and Poutoüatami Chiefs.

1 The location of this lake is a vexed question. It probably has some relation to the “Maramech” of Franquelin's map of 1684, and the river called there “Pestekouy,” now known as Fox River of northern Illinois. The nearest lake is Pistakee, in Lake County, Ill. This may be the ground identified by J. F. Steward, in the township of Little Rock, Kendall County, Ill. See *ante*, p. 129.— Ed.

The Savages who had divided into two bands, did not reach the fort together. All the hurons and eight or ten Outaoüacs arrived there three days before the others. After carefully Reconnoitering the fort and its position, they made an attempt to Induce the Renards to come out and they succeeded; for when they sent five or six men dose to the palisade at daybreak, a woman came out whom they killed. As soon as the 174 Renards perceived this, they made a sortie, and fell into the ambush of our savages who pressed forward too much, and this Prevented the Renards from advancing far enough to be surrounded. Some volleys were fired on both sides. The Renards lost four men and some wounded and they retreated into their fort.

After this first attack, the hurons made them a proposal to surrender, promising them their lives. They replied that they consented; but it was necessary to await the arrival of the other nations. The Outaouacs and Poutouatamis who had gone to the Maskoutins, arrived on the following day with the Ilinois of le Rocher, and there was no longer any thought of making proposals. They made a second attempt, which met with no more success than the first one. The Renards made another sortie, volleys were fired on both sides by which three hurons were killed and some of the other savages wounded. After this affair, a council was held in which it was resolved that a Poutoutami Chief should enter the Renards' fort to propose that they surrender. He entered it, and when he made the proposal, They told him that they would have surrendered as they had agreed to do at the first summons, but that they saw very well that our savages wished to deceive them for attempts had been made to take them unawares during the parleys; that they had no other answer to give except that the Nations should withdraw; that they would remain quiet in their fort, and that in the Spring they would come to Detroit or to the river St Joseph. The matter ended there, but as the hurons have lost three men on this occasion, if the Renards do not forestall them by surrendering as they have promised to do, the former will not fail to return to attack them.

One of the huron chiefs is to come to Montreal this summer to Invite our Iroquois, and the Lorette hurons1 to Join them in order to completely end The matter.

1 The Lorette Hurons were a village of the Christian Indians of that tribe, established (1697) at the Jesuit mission of Lorette, eight miles from Quebec. These mission Indians were much employed in the Canadian wars. The village and mission still exist.— Ed.

175

1733: LETTERS FROM UPPER COUNTRY INTERCEPTED; RAVAGES OF SMALLPOX

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated May 3, 1733. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 59, c. 11, fol. 6.]

Monseigneur —I am unable to give you any news of what is going on in the Mississipi Country owing to an Accident that happened to those to whom Monsieur de Boishebert had entrusted the letters from that country. Two of our French who had resolved to return last winter on the ice, had an affair with the savages in which one of the latter was killed. He deserved his fate. As several of their comrades took part in it, our Frenchmen retraced their steps to Detroit. They were Robbed of all they had, and the letters that were in their packs were seized. I Hope, Monseigneur, that Monsieur de Boishébert has taken steps to have them found, and I shall act in accordance with the news I receive. The difficulty will I think, Monseigneur, be to create a diversion in that country so long as our savages are determined to utterly destroy the few Renards who are left.

I relied to a great extent on the Miamis, the Ouiatanons and the Peanguichias but the mortality among them may disturb my plans. They are nevertheless Requested to assist them. They must feel very well that their disaster is entirely duo to the Brandy of the English.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , May 3d, 1733.

I Had The honor, Monseigneur, of Writing you last year that smallpox had caused great ravages among the Iroquois. It Spread everywhere. Our savages who are settled at sault St Louis And the Lake of Two Mountains suffered from it. It afterwards extended to Montreal where it was very severe. There is no longer any question of it, But it is very prevalent here though Less Virulent.

176

1733: MEMOIR OF THE KING

[Extracts from the instructions of the King and Minister to the Governor and Intendent of New France. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Collection Moreau-St. Méry, vol. 10, *f* . 12, fol. 131.”]

May 12, 1733.

Acknowledges receipt of our letters. His Majesty has had an account rendered to him of what the Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart Wrote last year respecting the affairs of the Colony; And in order to enable them to Continue the administration thereof with the same Zeal and Attention they have Hitherto displayed, He has decided to explain to them His Intentions Regarding the various matters within their jurisdiction.

* * * * * * * *

Copper Mines. He has Noticed all that they have written with Reference to the Copper Mines near Chagoüamigon. And, After Examining the Memorial of the Sieur de la Ronde

denis, the Captain whom they Sent, He has approved the proposition made by that officer to Undertake the discovery and Working of those Mines, And, to that end, will approve of the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois' granting him the [Post of Chagoüamigon for nine years, as he requests, on the conditions proposed by him, Namely: that he Shall be bound to build two Vessels at His own expense, one of Twenty-five Tons on Lake Superior and another of fifty Tons on the Lake of Sault Ste Marie, in order to transport the Ore taken from the Mines to Niagara, whence he shall send it down every year to Quebec in large flat Boats, And that, in the spring of the following year, he shall send up Canoes for the conveyance of the rigging and other things required for the two Vessels, together with the carpenters and Sailors he may need.

Copper . It is upon such conditions that His Majesty Expects the Sieur de la Ronde to undertake the discovery and working of the Mines in question; And Should he not fulfil them the very first year, it is His Majesty's wish that 177 he shall pay, as he has offered to do, the rental of the Post of Chagoüamigon At the rate to be determined by the Sieurs Marquis de Beauharnois and Hocquart, to whose decision His Majesty leaves the Matter, and that, Moreover, he shall be deprived of the permission His Majesty is pleased to grant him. They shall obtain a Tender from him in accordance with the above and see that he Fulfils the same, rendering an account of the execution thereof.

* * * * * * * *

Renards— The conduct of the general approved. He has also learned with complete Satisfaction of the Condition to which the Renards are reduced by the Blow inflicted On that nation, by the hurons and iroquois of the Lake of two Mountains since the action of the Sieur de Villiers. According to the special Report thereon made by the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois, there is reason to Hope that that nation is at last in such a condition that it will no longer cause anxiety, Especially If the other nations have carried out their design of Exterminating the race.

Moreover, His Majesty, in view of the fact that this same Nation has failed to keep the promise it had made to the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois to send him, last Summer, four of its principal chiefs, has approved of his having sent back the hostage he had in his hands, with orders to tell His people that such failure to keep their promise Induced him to leave them at the mercy of the Savages who had taken the Field to attack them. His Majesty has no doubt that he has maintained the latter in the same dispositions they manifested in this respect, and that he has taken all the steps in his power to secure the complete destruction of that nation which there is no hope of restraining so long as it is in a Condition to move. To report. He is to report whatever May occur in this Regard.

Post of the Scioux. His majesty was also pleased to learn that the post of the Scioux has been fully established, and that those Savages have received the French 178 with evidences of Satisfaction; It is to be desired that the Sieur do Linctot, whom the Sieur Marquis do Beauharnois has placed in charge of that Establishment, should maintain that nation in its present dispositions. The Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois is Aware of the importance of propitiating them, and His Majesty is convinced that he will always take the most suitable measures to derive all the benefits that can be expected from them. He will continue to report on the progress of that Establishment.

Re-establishment of the post of la Baye approved. The re-establishment of the post of la Baye has given His Majesty no less pleasure, And as the Sakis Have returned thither, He approves of the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois' having sent up Voyageurs last year to supply their needs. Tranquillity being no longer disturbed in that quarter, it will be easy for him to send there every year, as His Majesty recommends him to do.

* * * * * * * *

Le Sieur Joncaire. Chaouanons. Their being in the neighborhood of the Miamis and Ouiatanons His Majesty has also learned with pleasure of the Success of the expedition of the Sieur joncaire to the Chaouanons. The manner in which the Hurons, Miamis,

and Ouyatanons have consented to have those savages become their neighbors gives reason to hope that great advantages may be derived therefrom, Especially If harmony and accord continue to reign between those Nations. The Sieur de Beauharnois must contribute to this, all the more so that it is one of the Surest means of maintaining them in their attachment to the French and of keeping them away from the English, who Will be compelled to abandon the project they had of Establishing posts in the direction of the Oüabache River when they meet with opposition on the part of those Savages. This consideration, added to the Assistance that may be obtained from that nation in case of a rupture with the jroquois, must lead the Sieur de Beauharnois to Realize how important it is to propitiate 179 them. His Majesty is convinced that he will give His entire attention to this.

* * * * * * * *

Country of the Islinois united to the Government of Louisiana. With regard to the Report His Majesty has had made to Him concerning what the Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote last year, and what was also written him by the Sieurs Perrier, the late Governor, and Salmon, the Commissary general of Louisiana, respecting the country of the jllinois Savages, He has decided to leave that country a dependency of the Government of Louisiana, and has ordered the Sieur de Bienville, whom he has appointed to that Government, to make suitable provision for the Command of that important post, and the Sieur Salmon to send the necessary Munitions there. He, nevertheless, recommends the Sieur Marquis do Beauharnois to give that post all the attention in his power.

Measures of Monsieur the General against the Chicachas approved. His Majesty has approved of his having caused the Nations which are in a position to harass them, to declare against the Chicachas; of his having again written to the Commandants of the posts of the Miamis, the Ouitanons, and the jllinois to induce their Savages to strike a blow At that nation, and of his having also sounded the Hurons with the same object. There is

no better way of subjugating them than to make a diversion from Canada, while the Sieur de Bienville will take measures to harass them from Louisiana.

The Natchez and Chicachas near their destruction. The Sieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart have had reason to believe that the defeat of the Natche's has not been so complete as had been proclaimed. Their movements since thee have only too clearly proved the contrary, but, inasmuch as that nation has since experienced various defeats in which it has lost many of Its warriors, there is reason to believe that it Would not be in a Condition to give any trouble, were it not supported by the 12 180 Chicachas. And this makes the subjugation of the latter all the moro important. According to the last news received from Loüisiana, All the Nations seem to be in arms against both the Natchez and the Chicachas, and there was reason to hope that blows were to be inflicted against either one or the other of those Nations that would not fail to subjugate them. His Majesty has given His orders in consequence to the Sieur de Bienville,1 and, judging from His Zeal and ability, he expects him to succeed in restoring peace and tranquillity in the Colony. He has ordered him to take advantage of every opportunity to inform the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois of everything that may occur. The Sieur do Beauharnois must do the same with Regard to Him, in order that both may Be in a Position to lay their plans in concert According to the information they may give one another.

1 Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, at this time governor of Louisiana, was Canadian born (Montreal, Feb. 23, 1680), and younger brother of Iberville, the founder of the Mississippi colony. He served with Iberville on his expedition to Hudson Bay (1797), when but a youth of seventeen, and two years later accompanied him and was his trusted lieutenant in establishing the new colony, as whose Virtual governor he acted from 1702–04. Again (1718–24), he was governor-general of the colony, and after the administration of Périer served for ten years longer (1733–43), when he retired to Paris, where he died in 1768. To Bienville is due the honor of having founded New Orleans.– Ed.

* * * * * * * *

Twelve medals to be given to those who deserve them. His Majesty is Satisfied with the assurances of the Sieur Marquis de Beauharnois that he will distribute the twelve medals, Sent him by His Majesty last year for the Savage chiefs, only whoa the latter shall be deserving of the same; And On his request for a similar number of such medals, He has given orders that they be sent to him, recommending him to exercise the same care in their distribution.

* * * * * * * *

181

1733: NEWS FROM THE WEST; FRENCH INDIANS ATTACK THE HOSTILES

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated May 30, 1733. MS. in archives of Ministére des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 57, c. 11, fol. 8.”]

Monseigneur —I have just received Letters from Detroit, from the Miamis, and from the Ouyatanons where small-Pox and a Malignant Fever have continued to Cause great ravages.

I repeated in these Posts, Monseigneur, the orders that I had given last year to Form Bands to join the Jlinois and to attack the Natchez And Chicachas. By a Letter of the 14th of March from the Post among the Ouyatanons, I am informed that the Chicachas attacked during the night a Detachment of one Hundred and Fifty Men who were coming from New Orleans; that fifteen French were wounded, the Sieur Chevalier de Tonty1 being among the number, and that the Chicachas withdrew with the loss of Some of Their men.

1 See *ante*, note 1, p. 3, on Desliettes de Tonty.— Ed.

I am also informed that seven Frenchmen who had been among the Jlinois, have been killed or captured while ascending the Ouabache, fifteen Leagues below the beautiful river (Oyo).2 This news is confirmed by the fact that a pirogue has been found with Sacks of

Corn On the Bank of the River, and a Chest that had been broken open, which belonged to the Master of the Canoe, in which were two letters for Private Individuals among the Ouyatanons. As no news had been received when they wrote to me, it is conjectured that these had been taken by the Chicachas.

2 For an early description of the Ohio River, and its name, “the beautiful river,” see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 364, 365.— Ed.

I am waiting every Day for the result of the Truce between the Hurons and the Renards, for the latter have promised that they would come this spring to the River St Joseph or to Detroit.

Monsieur de Boishebert writes me that several Bands of outaouais and Poutouatamis from Detroit attacked the Chicachas 182 and that last Summer he had Caused four Bands of outaouais who were going to the Testes plattes to change their route; that he had barred the road to them and Made them turn their arms against the Chicachas, from whose country they returned in The autumn with several Scalps and Slaves Without any other Explanation.

I Remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur Your very humble and very Obedient Servant,

Montreal , May 30th, 1733.

BEAUHARNOIS.

1733: THE REMNANT OF THE FOXES TO BE UTTERLY DESTROYED

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated July 1, 1733. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 10.]

Monseigneur —The Renards have at last abandoned their fort in which there remained only Fifty of them in all: (Forty Warriors and 10 Boys from twelve to thirteen years of age). They went to la Baye to beg Monsieur de Villiers to ask their Father to have mercy on them. He has brought here four of the principal men among them, Two of them being Former Chiefs. The instigator of all their misdeeds whose name is Kiala is among these. The chief who had remained as a Hostage two years ago and whom I had sent back, has also returned. I am sending the Sieur de Villiers at once to return to la Baye with orders to take every proper precaution, by Means of the Nations which Are faithful to us, to bring all the Renards to Montreal or to destroy them. If we succeed I shall disperse them among our Villages of settled savages. I think, Monseigneur, that to send them to France with the view of distributing them among the islands would Be the most advantageous for the Country because here they could always desert to the English. I am Having the three others taken to Quebec with two women and I send back The hostage with the Sieur de Villiers, as he may be of use to us.

The Sieur de Villiers also has orders, If that Wretched Remnant 183 will not obey, to kill Them without thinking of making a single Prisoner, so as not to leave one of the race alive in the upper Country If possible. If he is obliged to exterminate the Men, the women and Children who remain will be brought here, Especially the Children. I Hope, Monseigneur, that if this step meets with the success that I expect from it, we shall be in a Position next year to make all our Nations of the Lakes attack the Chicachas. As I have written to Detroit and to all the Posts in the Neighborhood of the Mississipy to go there, I expect that there will be a number of Bands in the Field. Thirty Men from sault St. Louis and from the Lake of two Mountains have gone there lately.

The Village of the Sakis, Monseigneur, has been restored to its former Condition.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very Humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois

Montreal , July 1st, 1733.

1733: THE ILLINOIS ATTACK WISCONSIN INDIANS

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 1, 1733. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 54, c. 11, fol. 377.]

Monseigneur —The Sieur de Muy,1 the Commandant at River St Joseph, wrote me on the 5th of June that the entire Village of the Jlinois of le Rocher was in great consternation. Last Spring thirty of their young men, while on the road of

1 Jacques Pierre Daneaux, Sieur de Muy, was the son of a noted French officer, who came to Canada in 1685, married Marguerite Boucher, and after serving with distinction in King William's War (1689–97), died on his way to Louisiana to assume the governor, ship. The son was born in 1695, commanded at River St. Joseph in 1733, served as captain in King George's War (1744–48). He was appointed commandant of Detroit in 1755, dying there in 1757. His superior officer reported in 1747 that he was a “prudent, wise, and sedate man, and a very exact officer in all that appertains to the King's service.”— Ed.

184 the Sioux toward the Wisconsin, Fell upon the Saulteurs, Folles avoines, Sakis, and Nepissingues, killing three Men, three women, and a Child in the cradle, and capturing two little girls whom Four of the principal Chiefs brought to him and whom he sent to Monsieur de Montigny, the Commandant at Missilimakinac, to restore to the saulteurs. Those four Chiefs, Monseigneur, gave him a Collar to be sent to me with words. By that Collar they beg me to have pity on Them and to speak to the nations to induce them to forget the evil Deed that their young Men have Done. I At once, Monseigneur, sent orders to all the Commandants to Prevent the nations from Attacking Them until this matter can be settled. I shall inform you next year, Monseigneur, of what happens with reference to this.

I Remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 1st, 1733.

1733: INDIANS OF THE UPPER COUNTRY; FOXES; SHAWNEE; ILLINOIS

[Extract of the official yearly report of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated, Oct. 14, 1733. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 59, c. 11, fol. 163.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

Extract with everything relating to the savages. The Sieur de Beauharnois is highly flattered at the satisfaction that His Majesty has felt respecting the Condition to which the Renards are reduced. From the Account that he had had the honor of giving you, Monseigneur, in his letters of the 1st of July and loth of October last, it does not appear that this Nation will cause us any anxiety. The step they have taken in sending down four of the most notable among them to Montreal in the name of the remainder of the Nation has not prevented the Sieur de Beauharnois from giving orders to the Sieur de Villiers to return to la Baye and to take 185 the necessary precautions, by means of the Nations that are faithful to us, to bring the remnant of the Renards to Montreal, or to destroy them if they refuse to submit to it. The decision taken by the Sieur de Beauharnois in this Regard is not based upon any anxiety that the few remaining Renards may cause; but as they are all assembled at la Baye and so slight a matter occupies the attention of all the nations which are desirous of Exterminating the race, the Sieur de Beauharnois has thought that it could easily be effected through the Sieur do Villiers; all the more so that the Nations up there can lye more usefully employed in attacking the Chicachas, without Allowing them to

prolong a war against the Renards, of which there will probably no longer be any question, and which might have lasted a long time had the task of putting an end to it Been left to the savages. The Sieur de Beauharnois ventures to hope that His Majesty will be pleased to approve of his conduct and that He will be no less satisfied with what he will do Regarding the Chicachas.

He has the honor to call your attention, Monseigneur, to what is pointed out to him by the King's memorial Respecting the Chawanons. He Was greatly flattered on learning that His Majesty Was satisfied with the accord that reigned between this Nation, the hurons, the Miamis, and the Ouiatanons. He has the honor to communicate to you, Monseigneur, the reasons that compelled him, to send the Sieur Desnoyelles to the Miamis—a party of whom had Established themselves at the Riviere blanche and two others: one on the upper part of the Kiéepigon River and the other between the River St Joseph and the Miamis—to bring them back to their Village,1 and to Induce the Chawanons to kindle their fire there in accordance with the

1 This village of the Miami was situated upon the Maumee River, and known by the name of Kekionga. “Rivière blanche” was a title bestowed by the French upon several clear rivers. This was either the Sandusky, or the Little Miami, both of which are called by this name on early maps; more probably, it was the former. The Kiepigon was probably the present White River, of Indiana; on the earliest edition of Franquelin's map, this is named “Orapigianing;” later it was known as River St. Anne.— Ed.

186 request made by the Miamis to the Sieur de Beauharnois. There is Reason to believe that the union of these two Nations will Thwart the intentions that the English might have of Establishing posts for the purpose of attracting them; and there is every reason to believe also that the Chawanons will accept the Miamis' proposal, for they informed the Sieur de Beauharnois of their desire to form but one Village with their brothers. The Sieur Desnoyelles has orders to get the Wiatanons to join him in inducing the Miamis to return

to their Village which they have abandoned solely in consequence of the ravages of small-pox; at least that is the pretext they have alleged.

* * * * * * * *

The Sieurs de Beauharnois and hocquart have observed, Monseigneur, what is written to them regarding the dependence of the Jllinois country which his Majesty has been pleased to include in the Government of Louisiana. They are not aware of the reasons that have induced His Majesty to do this. The request made by these savages to the Sieur de Beauharnois to be dependents of this Government, owing to the difficulty they would have in supplying their needs from the Mississipi, seemed to be worthy of some consideration with regard to Them. In any case, the Sieur de Beauharnois will continue to devote all the attention in his power to that post and to send the necessary orders to it.

The Sieur de Beauharnois has the honor of communicating to you, Monseigneur, those notices that he has given to all the posts to Induce the Nations to attack the Chicachas, and to the Governor of Louisiana to have them harassed on his side. The means that he has taken to create a diversion among all the Nations which are in a position to molest them seem the surest and the most suitable for their subjugation; all the more so that the War with the Renards in which the savages Were engaged is ended, and larger bands will be available for attacking the Chicachas; and there is reason to believe that we shall be able to destroy them in a short time.

* * * * * * * *

187

The Sieur de Beauharnois has received the 12 medals that His Majesty has had the Kindness to send him for the purpose of decorating the savage Chiefs who may have deserved them. He will be very careful to distribute them only in this case. The Result of the war with the Renards and of that with the Chicachas has entitled to that mark of distinction many who have not yet received it and to whom it is necessary to grant it. The

Sieur de Beauharnois will devote to this object those he has received, the greater portion whereof he has already promised.

* * * * * * * *

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 14th, 1733.

1733: LA RONDE AND ST. PIERRE AT CHEQUAMEGON

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 15, 1733. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 59, c. 11, fol. 219.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

We have communicated to Monsieur Delaronde the favor conferred on him by His Majesty in granting him the privilege of working the copper mines with the post of Chagouamigon. We have explained to Him his Majesty's intentions on the subject, and we will see that he complies with them. He has, as associate in that undertaking, The Sieur Le Gardeur De St Pierre, Ensign, who possesses much Wisdom and intelligence and knows the language of all the savages of the upper Country. We will report next year on the progress of that establishment.

* * * * * * * *

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 15th, 1733.

188

1733: SAUK DEFEND FOXES AND KILL THE FRENCH

[Letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Nov. 11, 1733. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 60, c. 11, fol. 297.]

Monseigneur —Monsieur Do Beauharnois had the honor by his letter of the first of July last to inform you of the orders that he had given to the Sieur De Villiers whom he had sent back as Commandant at la Baye, and of the manner in which he was to act regarding the Renards. The result has not fulfilled our expectations.

The Sieur De Villiers, the younger, an Ensign in the Troops, who has succeeded to the Command of that Post through the death of his Father, has sent one of his brothers and The Sieur Douville1 with Letters giving us the particulars of what happened in the month of September last at the Post of La Baye.

1 The ensign was probably Louis Coulon de Villiers, called " *le grand Villiers;*" for his biography, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 119. Alexandre Dagneau, Sieur Douville, was married to Marie Coulon de Villiers in 1730.— Ed.

Monsieur De Villiers, the Commandant of that Post arrived there on The 16th of the said month of September alone in his Canoe. He had left at a distance of half a League from there The Sieur De Repentigny,2 a Lieutenant, who was Commandant at Missilimakinac, together with 200 Savages; Outawacs, folles avoines, and sauteux, and about 60 French. The Sieur De Villiers had given Him orders to be ready to march as soon as he heard The

signal of 3 gun-shots and he had also detached his son, The Ensign, with 10 Frenchmen and 50 Savages to the petit Cacalin,3 a passage by which the Renards might escape.

2 Probably the elder son of Pierre de Gardeur de Repentigny, who accompanied Duluth (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 119, 123); and elder brother of the Repentigny who later commanded at Mackinac.— Ed.

3 Now called Little Kaukauna, in Brown County, Wis., about ten miles above the present city of Green Bay, on Fox River.— Ed.

When Monsieur De Villiers arrived at the French fort, he at once sent for The Saki Chiefs to inform Them of Their father's 189 Intentions. The chiefs came to Him and he explained to Them that their father had granted the remnant of the Renards who were with Them, their lives; But on the condition that they should submit to his orders and go to Montreal. After a Council which lasted some time, as the Sakis Chiefs gave no positive answer, Monsieur De Villiers sent 4 of them back to Their fort1 to tell their tribe that if within a certain time they did not send The Renards to him, he would go and get Them Himself. When the specified time had elapsed without the Renards appearing, and when Monsieur de Villiers, whom the sieur De Repentigny had joined, saw that The Sakis were not coming back, he resolved to go to their Fort in person accompanied by two of his Children, by the Sieur Douville, the younger, his son-in-law, and by 7 or 8 French to ask Them to Deliver up The Renards to Him. He had just given orders to the Sieur De Repentigny to guard The approaches to the Sakis' fort with The remainder of the French lest the Renards should escape. When Monsieur De Villiers arrived at the Door of the fort he asked the Sakis for the Renards. Pie found there some armed Sakis who told him to withdraw, And when he tried to enter a Savage approached Him with uplifted Tomahawk and at The same moment three gun-shots were fired, one of which killed one of the Sieur De Villiers' sons at his side. The Father and the French discharged their pieces and this was followed by other volleys from the Sakis by which Monsieur de Villiers was killed, and three French were wounded.

1 This appears to have been situated on the lake shore, opposite the French fort, on the east side of Fox River, near the present city of Green Bay.— Ed.

Monsieur De Repentigny who guarded The aproaches on the side of the woods, ran up and was killed a moment afterward in a sortie that the Sakis made against Him. The Sieur Duplessis, a Cadet in the Troops, and six other French met the same fate. 200 of our Savages who had remained in the French fort went to the Assistance of the others and when the Sakis saw 190 them coming they withdrew into Their fort. 3 of them were killed.1

1 For the tradition preserved among the Indians and French of this event, see “Grignon's Recollections.” *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 204–206. The name there given as “De Velie,” is doubtless De Villiers. Another form of the tradition, is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii. pp. 207, 208. Dr. Draper dated this 1730, because of his knowledge of De Villiers's attack of that year, and not of this embroilment in 1733. The Sieur Duplessis was a son of the former commandant at La Baye, and son-in-law of De Villiers.— Ed.

Three days after this action The Sakis evacuated Their fort during The night and The Ensign, Sieur Do Villiers, who had returned from le petit Cacalin, assembled all the French and Savages—Outawacs, folles avoines and Sauteux—and pursued The Sakis and overtook them about 4 o'clock in the evening 8 Leagues from the post.2 He attacked them and fought Them until night. 20 Sakis and 6 Renards were killed in this last fight; 9 were mortally wounded besides others who were wounded and whose number is not known. On the side of the sieur De Villiers, his brother, a Cadet with aiguillettes, received a gun-shot wound in the arm; The Sieurs Daillebout, the des Musseaux brothers,3 and 8 other French were also wounded while two others were killed.

2 This is about the distance of Little Butte des Morts, near the present city of Appleton, and thus would coincide with tradition.— Ed.

3 The Sieurs Daillebout, and the brothers Des Musseaux were all relatives, descendants of Charles D'Aillebout, a prominent judge at Montreal during the 17th century, and Catherine le Gardeur. Thus they were also relatives of De Repentigny.— Ed.

The Outawacs lost 9 men, the grand Chief of The nation being among the number; The folles avoines 6; The sauteux and 4 wounded in all.

Monsieur De Beauharnois will at once give the necessary orders to attack The Sakis and The remainder of the Renards to avenge The Mood of the French that has been shed, and he will concert with Monsieur hocquart regarding The expense that will have to be incurred. He has The honor to submit to you by a private Letter the Names of the officers who are to 191 replace those who have been killed. We unite with him in asking you for their promotion which they deserve, and a pension for Madame De Villiers, to provide for her subsistence and that of her numerous family, Since she is a widow with 10 children. The Sieur De Villiers who was Wounded and the Sieur Douville, the younger, arrived this evening form Montreal. Fortunately The Vessel *Le Saint Joseph* of L'Isle Royale which sailed this morning, had been compelled to put back in consequence of a leak. It will sail tomorrow at daybreak And we have barely time to write you this Letter.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble And very obedient servants.

Beauharnois Hocquart

Quebec , November 11th, 1733.

1734: THE CALUMET DANCE; FOXES INTRIGUE WITH ABENAKI

[Memoir by the Jesuit missionary, Le Sueur, from MS. preserved in the archives of the Mission of St. François du Lac,1 translated from an apograph in the archives of St. Mary's

College, Montreal. Published also in *Les Soirces Canadienes* (Quebec, 1864), iv, pp. 111–135.]

1 Father Jacques Eustache (or François) Le Sueur came to Canada in 1716, and having studied the Abenaki language, was assigned to the mission of those Indians, called St. François de Sales, near Three Rivers, Quebec. He served there nearly all of his life, having lived in Quebec and Montreal at short periods, dying at the latter place in 1760. He left a dictionary of the Abenaki language, and a MS. volume on the savages, which contains this account of the calumet dance.— Ed.

History of the Calumet and of the Dance

While all the nations of this continent dwelt in profound peace and while the English, ever watchful of their Interests, Imperceptibly took possession of the abenakis' lands and succeeded much better by negotiations and through the medium of a very advantageous trade than they could have done by open 192 war and by the report of cannon, and when their progress alarmed the French, the latter strove to embroil the two nations and spared no effort to induce the Abenakis to compel the English to leave their Country.1

1 The original home of the Abenaki was in the present district of Maine and New Brunswick.— Ed.

At that time and in the year 1719, the Renards sent a message to the Abenakis.2 This was expressed by a Picture, one side whereof represented several very large and very populous Villages, men and women of tall stature, well-fed children, very fertile fields, woods full of Elk, moose and other wild animals, and finally Rivers teeming with beaver and fish; on the other side of the Picture were represented some small Villages barely visible; the persons observed in them were so emaciated that they could hardly stand; neither fields producing corn could be seen, nor woods full of wild Animals, no Rivers capable of supplying beaver and fish; but only a great Dragon, one-half of which showed

out from the side of the Picture and whose open jaws threatened to swallow the wretched little villages.3 The following is the explanation of the Picture:—

2 For an account of these overtures, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp 431–436.— Ed.

3 For an account of picture writing, see Garrick Mallery's “Picture Writing of the North American Indians,” in U.S. Bureau of Ethnology *Report*, 1889–90.— Ed.

“My Brother, thou seest that my country is of vast extent; that it is very fertile in producing grain of all kinds; that my woods mad my Rivers supply me abundantly with all sorts of wild animals and with fish. Consequently see how well off I am ere. I learn with regret that thou art reduced to a small area of barren and sterile Land wherein all things necessary for thy subsistence are wanting; that this is the cause of thy leanness and of the death of thy children whom thou canst not rear. But the compassion I feel for thee is greatly increased at the sight of that great Dragon with gaping jaws, ready to devour thee and whose fury thou canst escape only by prompt flight. As I take an interest in everything that concerns thee, 193 and as I cannot suffer my fellow-man (whose Flesh is dark like my own) to perish miserably for want of succor, I offer thee my Land; thou wilt find it vast enough to settle in; fertile enough to abundantly supply all fay needs and, finally, sufficiently remote to enable thee to live in safety and far beyond the reach of thine enemies.”

The Abenakis gave information of this message to their missionary,1 and explained it to him quite naturally. The only thing respecting which they were lacking in sincerity was in giving him to understand that the Dragon represented the English alone. The missionary, continuing to rely on the long standing attachment of the Abenakis to the French nation, considered that he had ample reason for congratulation on seeing that the former seemed to enter with pleasure into the project of the Answer which he suggested that they should send to the Renards. This was to put the Renard and the Abenakis Villages on two sides of a Picture; at the top of the Picture would be a Crucifix from which would issue brilliant rays shedding an admirable light over the Abenakis' villages; and to represent the villages

of the Renards covered by a black cloud casting dense darkness over all their lands. The explanation of the Picture would be:—“My Brother, I am very grateful to thee for the sentiments of compassion which touch thee at the sight of my wretchedness. It is true that I feel it as thou representest it. I must, however, confess that if I am not altogether insensible to my poverty I, at least, endure it patiently and even with joy. I have the happiness of living here with the Frenchman who has taught me to know the Author of my Being, and what I should fear and hope for after this short and miserable life. I prefer the advantages of an immortal life to all the Riches and pleasures thou offerest me. I cannot better express my gratitude to thee than by begging thee to open thine eyes to the light that the Frenchman has brought into this country,” etc.

1 This was Father Joseph Aubrey, for biographical sketch of whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 337.— Ed.

This proposal was therefore received apparently with 194 applause. Nothing else was thought of except the presents that were to be sent in exchange for those that had been sent them, and of deputing the persons who were to bear them. All this was done, but what has been the result? Have the Abenakis rejected the word of the Renards? Have the Renards accepted that of the Abenakis? Why lose time in seeking to investigate this latter point? The continual hostilities that have been carried on for many years between the French and the Renards show clearly enough that the latter were not touched by the word of the Abenakis, even supposing that it had been carried to them. But did the Abenakis, after having at first received the word of the Renards, reject it afterwards? The following facts will enable a safe judgment to be formed thereon.

About two years after these messages two thirds of the Abenakis nation were on the verge of departure to take refuge in the country of the Renards, and this was at the beginning of the time when war was about to break out between the Abenakis and the English. When the Missionary learned the plot that was secretly formed, he promptly warned the late Monsieur de Vaudreuil, then Governor general of this country, who fortunately warded

off the blow. Not *five years* have elapsed since the Abenakis made a second attempt to carry out their original design. The Chief of the St François Mission, who was hostile to the French, had taken his measures so well that his plans would inevitably have succeeded had not God removed him from this world by a death as sudden as it was tragic. I know not who gave notice to the Court of the Alliance of the Abenakis with the Renards; I know not in what light that alliance was represented nor the proofs that were adduced. All that has come to my knowledge is, that the Court—which does not act without being fully informed—paying no heed to the former devotion of the Abenakis to the French people, nor relying in any way upon the benefits it had conferred upon that barbarous Nation to the extent almost of prodigality, has forbidden their being employed on the expeditions that are being sent against the Renards.

A year after the message of the Renards was brought to the 195 Abenakis, the Calumet Dance made its appearance. The Calumet was kept hidden for a whole year and not a word was said of the Dance. He who had charge of it had reason to fear that neither the one nor the other would be well received. He was aware that eighteen years previously they had been brought in unavailingly under Father Vincent Bigot1 who energetically and successfully opposed the reception of that Calumet and of that Dance, because he knew everything connected with them. It was therefore necessary to choose a favorable time, and this was when he found that the late Monsieur de Vaudreuil had been informed of all his doings and had administered a severe reprimand to him. Then he raised the mask and in order to revenge himself and to manifest his resentment, he at last brought forth. the Calumet and the Dance. When the missionary of St François, who had been a witness of what had occurred in Father Bigot's time, saw this Dance suddenly make its appearance, he was surprised at its novelty, and heard some savages say that Christians could not amuse themselves with such diversions. He, therefore, carefully inquired into the matter and this is what he learned:—

1 Vincent Bigot arrived in Canada in 1680, and in 1694 founded the Abenaki mission at Pentegöt. From 1704–10, he was superior of the Canadian missions. Returning to France in 1713, he was made procurer of these missions, and died in France in 1720.— Ed.

1st. That this Dance was really a religious ceremony not only amongst the Renards but also amongst all the nations of the upper country; that it was called the Spirit Dance; that they did not say: “dance with the Calumet,” but “dance in honor of the Calumet;” in other words that it was the God of those Nations.

2nd. That the words used in the song of that Dance are an invocation of the Spirit.

3d. That when the Calumet is smoked in the Councils, a man. whose wife is pregnant must abstain from smoking it, because his wife would not be safely delivered of her child and the latter would inevitably die.

4th. That this Dance is used to call the souls of those against 13 196 whom war is to be waged, and by this means to kill their enemies without fail.

5th. To conciliate foreign and hostile Nations and make a lasting peace with them.

6th. To obtain fine weather or rain, according to the needs of the soil.

7th. To have favorable winds while navigating.

8th. Finally, that it is a specific for warding off evil and for obtaining benefits of all kinds.

In consequence of the above statement a missionary asks whether he can permit his new Christians to perform the Calumet Dance, as an indifferent matter. And this is how he puts his question. Can we permit our new Christians to take part in that which, from the words of the song and the features of the dance, is a Religious ceremony amongst the idolatrous nations whence this song and this dance have been brought? The Reasons for doubting

this are derived from the nature of the thing itself, from the character of the new Christians, from the circumstances, and finally from the following considerations:

1st. That this Dance amongst idolatrous nations is used for all the purposes above set forth is a fact proved by the testimony of all the French who have travelled in the upper country; all our savages admit it, and I do not think that a single missionary doubts it. But that the words of the song are an invocation of the Spirit is not easy to prove by a large number of witnesses, because one must have a thorough knowledge of the language of those Nations to be able to judge of it; and this is what Father Chardon formerly asserted.

This summer, 1734, the Abenakis asked Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois that they be allowed to perform thai Dance; they made use of all their eloquence to convince him that it was a mere trifle; but, nevertheless, they admitted to him that they looked upon this Dance as a flag, a standard, a symbol. They thought they could deceive Monsieur the Governor's wisdom by making use of a word that might escape his penetration; but the Answer they received from him convinced them 197 that they could not easily mislead him. Therefore let attention be paid to the meaning of the word flag, standard, symbol. Everbody knows the Savages well enough to be aware that they are fond of expressing themselves in figurative language and that they perfectly understand all the meanings of the words which convey some image to their minds. The Abenakis have received the Calumet Dance from the Renards; this Calumet Dance brings about union and peace between nations; the Abenakis wish to retain this flag of the Renards; therefore they wish to live on good terms with the Renards. If that inference be correct, will this one be less so? The Calumet Dance is a Religions Ceremony amongst the Renards; the Abenakis wish W retain this Dance as a flag, a standard, a symbol. The Abenakis therefore desire to appear, at least outwardly, to have the God of the Renards' Religion. Consequently the Missionary was not surprised when—on the Return of the Abenakis from Montreal and on his declaring to the Leader of the present Conspiracy that the Christian Religion and this idolatrous Dance could not exist together and that a choice must be made between them

—he heard the savage reply coldly and firmly: “Since these two things are incompatible, the Calumet Dance must therefore be retained in preference.”

* * * * * * * *

3d. The levity and inconstancy of the Savages, their training which makes them averse to labor, to control, and to restraint; the love of independence and freedom; dissoluteness in the young men; unfaithfulness in marriages; their intemperance and excesses while intoxicated; all these defects are but so many vices of mankind. The Gospel has infallible remedies for repressing them as it effectively represses them in all the other nations of the world. But here is a sin of a special nature and which is peculiar to all the Savages; it consists in sifting this same Gospel through the Sieve of the Councils. Accustomed as they are to hold Councils to deliberate on matters of the slightest importance, they do the same with respect to the word of God that is announced to them. If they hear the 198 Missionary speak of a particular virtue and demonstrate its necessity, a Savage will shortly afterward say in his cabin or at an assembly, that what has been heard in the church is, in truth, very fine but that assuredly God does not ask it of Savages. If they hear a strong denunciation of certain vices, somebody will soon apply a corrective and say: “Oh! surely God will not call us to amount for thaw and will not judge us for it; surely God will not damn a Savage for such a thing.” The decision is pronounced; an Eider has spoken; the judgment is final and without appeal. In vain will the Missionary thunder in the church and protest that he announces the word of God purely and simply; the opposers, like unto the venerable magistrates of our courts who are insensible to the insults of the persons against whose suits they have decided, let the missionary call out, and will not abandon the opinions they have advanced.

* * * * * * * *

This year1 our Chiefs were dispersed in various directions: two went to carry messages to the Aniers,2 another to the Misisakis. During their absence, our young men supported by

their partizans won over the young Chief who remained. They persuaded him both by their fine words and by the flattering hope that he would be the only Chief in thin mission owing to the thorough devotion that the young men would have for him. The temptation was too great for a Savage to resist.

1 Date on margin of MS., 1734.— Ed.

2 French appellation for the Mohawk Indians.— Ed.

The missionary can truthfully assert that of all those who are most outspoken in favor of this Dance, some are very dissolute lute in their morals; the others have no religion, and not one of them is attached to the French. Even if this Dance had no other drawbacks than all the other dances, should it be permitted under the circumstances?

* * * * * * * *

If there were amongst the Christians any upholders of the Calumet dance, they could merely allege the protestation of the 199 Savages that they mean no evil. The following facts will over-rule this plea:

1st fact—He who brought the Dance here about fifteen years ago, gave it to be understood that its reception would be a protection against all the baleful consequences of war, while its rejection would result in sure destruction by the enemy. In all the attempts that have since been made to establish the Dance in this Mission, the following words have been heard a hundred times to fall from the lips of the supporters of the Dance: “We are dead; we are being killed; the only means we have for our preservation are taken from us.” These words have been heard by the missionary, uttered by an Elder in the middle of the Village while the people were coming out after mass.

2nd fact—An Abenakis who is distinguished in, his Nation through his exploits and who is the chief upholder of the Dance, despairing of being able to establish it at St. François

through his own credit, withdraws in disgust in the direction of la Baye in the upper country. He falls ill and finding himself at death's door, he sends for Father Chardon; he makes his confession; he has not been a Saint but in his present condition, nothing troubles him more than all he has done to have the Dance admitted in St Francois; he acknowledges all the evil connected with it and begs his Confessor to inform the missionary of St François of his regret for the harm he has done in his Mission and that he makes reparation for it as best he can at death.

3rd fact—Young men in this Mission who were preparing for the Dance have been heard to say to those who warned them not to do so: “Why do you wish to prevent us from doing what we do ? It is as if we took part in the procession of the Blessed Sacrament.”

4th fact—The Calumet feathers were brought here again two years ago. They were distributed secretly amongst all the cabins of this Mission to receive them. In every cabin the choice fell upon the persons who could be relied on. One was addressed to a newly converted woman from Orange. In vain was it represented to her that these feathers had been received 200 in all the cabins; that hers would inevitably be destroyed if she took not that feather; she persisted in saying that when she was baptized she renounced all the Savages' superstitions. And this good woman, who has not yet attained the age of decrepitude (she may be about 45 years old), when her missionary gives her advice, is very well able to reply that her cabin is the only one in the Mission where Idolatry is not practised.

5th fact—The Chief of whom I have spoken and who perished so miserably 3 or 4 years ago, before going out hunting for the last time, placed the Calumet feathers in his niece's hands recommending her to keep them very carefully in her box as the sole safeguard of the Village, and the infallible means of preserving it. The niece obeyed her uncle. Some time afterward she fell ill. Seeing that she was about to die, she called in her missionary and informed him of the sin she had committed by taking charge of so abominable a thing, which was looked upon as the protecting Deity of the Village.

The Calumet Dance being what we have shown it to be; the Christians who have received it being such as we have defied them; the circumstances needing only some other detailed facts to show all its grievousness; the consequences being inevitable; and, finally, the Abenakis retaining this Dance with the same views and the same ideas with which it was established or at least with which it was performed amongst idolatrous Nations, can it be authorized, permitted or tolerated?

1734: EXPLANATION OF THE AFFAIR WITH THE SAUK

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, justifying his connection with the Green Bay fiasco, dated Oct. 5, 1734. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 61, c. II, fol. 287.”]

Monseigneur —you do me the honor of informing me by your letter of the goth of April last that his Majesty causes an explanation to be given me, by his despatch to Monsieur Hocquart 201 and myself jointly of his intentions Regarding what concerns each nation. I have seen what His Majesty is pleased to point out to me on this Subject, and I venture to assure him that this matter has always received my chief attention since I have Been in this Colony. You will Observe, Monseigneur, by our reply to the King's memorial, the measures that I continue to take to restore tranquillity in the upper Country.

It would have been difficult for me to forestall the events that gave rise to the troubles there in connection with the Sakis and Renards, and after having had the honor of informing you By our joint letter of the 11th of November last of what had caused the unfortunate affair of la Baye, I would add that it should be attributed less to the remnant of the Renard nation, than to the slight precautions observed by the Sieur do Villiers on that occasion. What I had had the honor of telling you, Monseigneur, in the preceding years, respecting the condition to which the Renards were reduced, was authentic; and there was no reason to think that so small a number as those that remained and implored mercy on all sides, could cause any trouble in the upper Country, especially after the assurance I

had received, as I had the honor of informing you, that the Remainder of that Nation, after trying in vain to effect an alliance with all the other nations, who had refused them, saw no other way of saving their lives than by coming and throwing themselves on their Father's mercy. Nevertheless, although this information came to me from all sides, and, moreover, appearances gave me no reason to suspect anything else, still, the inconstancy of the savages and the little reliance that can be placed in their promises led me to think of the measures that should be taken to prevent the consequences that might result from that affair, in the event of the Renards succeeding in corrupting some nations, and in finding a refuge among them.

To that end I had ordered the Sieur de Villiers by special instructions to take every proper precaution, through the nations that are faithful to us, to bring in the remainder of the Renards, or to destroy them if he could not succeed in doing so. I had expressly recommended to him before attempting anything, 202 to make sure of the Sakis (as being Those who seemed to me the most to be suspected) for the success of the undertaking, And with that object I had given him a large collar, accompanied by presents and two medals for the two most noted chiefs of that Nation,—a Course that seemed all the more suitable since these savages had Until then manifested naught but Hostility toward the Renards and had also refused their alliance. The precautions that I took were calculated to strengthen the resolution they had taken, and to estrange them more and more from the Renards. If those measures, Monseigneur, had been Followed as I had arranged them, I can assert that Matters would not have reached such an extremity. As far as I was concerned, they were the Best measures that I could take, and They seemed to me all the more safe since I entrusted their execution to an officer who had always displayed great prudence in his actions. Monsieur de Villiers's conduct on that occasion gave a different aspect to the affair. That officer, who was ordered to act with the most gentle means, and to send word to the friendly nations to deliver up the Renards to him or to destroy them utterly, began by talking of war at Missilimakinac; and without heeding the commands that had been given him, he marched straight to la Baye with thirty French and a hundred folles

avoines Savages, whom he gathered on the way; and he ordered the Sieur de Repentigny to follow him with thirty French whom he also had with him and a hundred Outaüacs. On approaching the post of la Baye, the Sieur do Villiers left the Sieur de Repentigny with his party half a league from the fort of the Sakis with orders to proceed there on hearing the signal of three gun-shots; and after embarking in his canoe to continue his route, he despatched his eldest son with ten Frenchmen and fifty savages to the petit Cacalin, a place by which the Renards might escape from the Sakis' fort, and he kept with Him only sixteen men, whom he divided into two parties to blockade the fort. To say nothing of the fact that all these manœuvres were contrary to the orders that be had received to adopt only the gentlest measures to secure the Subjugation of the Renards, and that for the Carrying out of 203 his design, he had with Him but those sixteen men (for the savages of his party had asked him to allow them time to hold a feast), he acted in this affair with still less prudence and circumspection since—in addition to the fact that there was no question of coming into conflict with the Sakis or with any other nation to secure the Renards—the Very objection of the Sakis at the outset to deliver up the remainder of that nation, and their request to Him not to use violence to get them because it was not yet time, should have induced him to have had some consideration for the Sakis, and to have attempted to win them by means of the presents that I had entrusted to him, especially as his forces were not yet assembled. The Sieur de Villiers, not heeding all these considerations and guided solely by rash Bravery and courage, brought on the misfortune that happened, which it was impossible for me to foresee owing to the measures that I had taken. He tried to enter the Sakis fort, He being the tenth, to force and tear down the barrier, in the hope that such boldness would overawe them. Some Chiefs told him to withdraw; that their Young men had no longer any sense and that if he persisted he would be a dead man. Nothing stopped that Officer. A gun-shot Was fired by a Sakis or by a Renard, and killed the son of the Sieur de Villiers who was at his side. The Father fired his gun at the first who presented himself, and this Was followed by a volley from the warriors of the Village and he was killed. I would have had the honor, Monseigneur, of giving you these particulars last year in our joint letter on the subject of this affair, had I been informed of

them. But the news only reached me last Summer, and I was all the more surprised at it, since the orders I had given to the Sieur do Villiers were very different from the manner in which he acted. In any case he had engaged in this affair which would, in truth, have done honor to the French, had he (although Without orders) employed his forces judiciously.

You will observe, Monseigneur, in the reply to the King's memorial the measures that I have taken to prevent the Consequences of this affair and to put an end to the same, if possible by conciliatory means as far as the Sakis are concerned. I 204 have occasioned as little expense as possible to His Majesty, and he will not be able to hear of the Success of our efforts before next year.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Quebec , October 5th, 1734. Beauharnois

1734: DETROIT; NEED OF SOLDIERS TO GARRISON UPPER POSTS

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 6, 1734. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 61, c. 11, fol. 292.]

Monseigneur —I have received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me on the 20th of April last. I noticed what you were pleased to tell me respecting the establishment of Detroit and the garrison whose increase I had the honor to ask of you, which you were pleased to report to His Majesty. You will Observe, Monseigneur, by a joint despatch from Monsieur hocquart and Myself, the means we are taking to contribute to the establishment of that post by the grant of the concessions requested by the habitants; and by the care I have taken in the selection of the Commandant whom I sent thither. I acknowledge, Monseigneur, that such precautions may be useful for the progress of that settlement, His Majesty's Intention being that we should confine ourselves to it for the present. I should have nothing to add did not the affair of the Ouyatanons, whereon we have the

honor to report to you in the memorial to the King, show the necessity of having strong garrisons in the posts to protect them against the attacks of the savages to which they are exposed, and against which it is always good to be on one's guard. This is still more necessary in the case of the post of Detroit as it is the entrepot for and the connecting link with Louisiana and the other neighboring posts. The return of the Ouyatanons and the repentance they have manifested, can be attributed solely to their fear of the force sent against Them by the Commandant of Detroit. These considerations, Monseigneur, and the necessity of having garrisons of sufficient 205 strength to enable the Commandant to make the King's authority respected, have induced me, every year, to beg yea to His Majesty to order a larger number of troops to be sent to country to enable me to supply garrisons to the posts without weakening below Their present strength the companies stationed in the towns. Although I have sent to the posts only the number of soldiers that was strictly necessary, I would nevertheless not have taken the liberty of addressing fresh remonstrances you on the subject, had not the reasons that influenced me in previous years, seemed to me deserving of more attention, especially in our present state of uncertainty as to the course our neighbors [the English] may pursue. This matter, Monseigneur, seems the strictest of the obligations imposed on me and, although you have done me the honor of informing me that His Majesty could not bring himself to order aa additional number of troops to be sent, as I had taken the liberty of asking, I have considered that present circumstances might justify me in repeating my request, as the good of his Majesty's service, and the welfare of the Colony are at stake. I venture to flatter myself, Monseigneur, that you will be pleased to take this into consideration, especially after I have had the honor to assure you that such increase is indispensable for strengthening posts of the upper Country, and retaining the necessary garrisons in the towns.

I had the honor to inform you last year that, inasmuch as the Sieur Peau1 had incurred great expense in proceeding Detroit, That Officer would have been completely ruined had I brought him back the same year. At the same time I flattered myself, Monseigneur, that

His Majesty would appreciate these reasons. But, although the Sieur Péae was greatly needed at

1 Jacques-Hughes Péau, Sieur de Livaudière, was born in Paris in 1682, and came to Canaan as crater in the king's troops. He was commandant at Fort Frotenac in 1724, and at Chambly in 1727. After his service at Detroit (1732–36), he returned to Quebec, and was maria town major of Quebec, where he died in 1747. His son was the tutor, whose wife was mistress of Bigot, the last intendant of New France.— Ed.

206 that post owing to the various occurrences that had happened there and with which he is thoroughly familiar, I will not show the same consideration in future and he will be relieved next spring. I had made arrangements for this prior to the receipt of your orders. However, his service as Town Major has not been injuriously affected thereby.

* * * * * * * *

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant.

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 6th, 1734.

1734: PUNISHMENT PREPARED FOR THE SAUK; CONDITIONS AMONG INDIANS OF THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Extracts from the yearly report of Beauharnois and Hocquart, in reply to the King's memorial, relating to affairs in the upper country, dated Oct. 7, 1734. Source: same as preceding document, but fol. 65.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

Since the blow Struck by the Sakis and Renards jointly at la Baye on the 16th September 1733, and their precipitate flight after evacuating their fort, pursued by the Sieur Coulons de Villiers, the Younger, Those Savages, after Wandering about for some time, asked In vain for a refuge among the sioux and ayoüais who refused it to them. The last news that the Sieur de Beauharnois has received, shows that they have Established themselves in a fort on the River Wapsipinikam,1 two or three days' journey below the Oüisconsin in the East part of the Mississippi, near the rivière aux Bœfs where Father Guignas, a Jesuit Missionary, and the French Were stopped when they Evacuated the post among the sioux in 1728.2 The same news adds that the Sakis have fortified themselves and that they have compelled the Renards to build a fort for themselves so as to be separate from them, but nevertheless in their

1 The present Wapsipinicon River, Iowa.— Ed.

2 See *ante*, p. 38.— Ed.

207 neighborhood. It may be considered from the conduct of the Sakis since the affair of la Baye, that they do not intend to persist in supporting the Renards, and in undertaking their defence; That, on the contrary, they wish to obtain peace and pardon for themselves; And the reason we think so is that all the Letters from the Officers at the Posts say the same thing, which they have heard from Savages Upon whom nevertheless we cannot otherwise Rely. The report that may be considered the most reliable comes from a very friendly Nepissingue savage who was hunting with them, and who said the same thing to the Sieur do Beauharnois.

The Sieur de Celoron,1 the Commandant at Missilimakinac, writes that he has been informed by Poux Savages that the sakis regret that they have become mixed up in this unfortunate affair of which they openly say the Renards Were the cause, and that they Intend to separate and detach themselves from them in order to obtain forgiveness.

1 There seem to be no data to determine whether this was the father or son. Jean Baptiste Céloron, Sieur de Blainville, was born in Paris in 1664; came to Canada as a lieutenant in the troops, and died in Montreal, June, 1735. His son, Pierre Joseph, was born in 1693, and was eminent for his services in the Western country. In 1739 he led the northern troops against the Chickasaws; from 1742–43, and again from 1750–54, he was commandant at Detroit. He commanded at Niagara, 1744–46, and at Crown Point, 1747–49. He was probably the leader of the famous Ohio expedition of 1749, although possibly the commandant was his younger brother, Jean Baptiste. In the Seven Years War (1754–63), he was on the staff of the commander-in-chief, with the rank of major. In 1760, he was characterized as “poor and brave,” and died about 1777.— Ed.

The Sieur Linctot, the Commandant among the sioux, writes that the Savages at his Post and a portion of the Puants have promised not to abandon him, and that, on the contrary, they were ready to attack the Sakis and Renards. But that officer keeps ever On His guard, because from the 30 Cabins of Puants that were at his post, 8 or 10 detached themselves last winter to go and join the Sakis, but they have since then returned to their Village.

208

The Outawacs of Missilimakinac came down last Spring to the number of thirty two. Their word was to weep for the dead and to ask their Father's opinion regarding the affair at la Baye. But when the Sieur do Beauharnois discovered that they were deputed by their Village to present him with a large Black Collar—which Meant that, inasmuch as the French had been killed as well as They, it was impossible for them to go and avenge their dead unless they had some French with them—he replied to them that he would not abandon them, that he wished to chastise and take vengeance upon the Sakis and Renards for their treachery; that he would give them aid in men and in the necessary munitions to enable them to act with us. On receiving this reply, the Outaüacs went back satisfied to Missilimakinac. The Sieur Celoron, who commands there, Encouraged them in

the Hope that the Sieur de Beauharnois had given them, and they seemed to be disposed to march and to strike on the arrival of the Aid that Would be Sent to them.

The Sieur de Beauharnois had already been Informed by the Sieur Peau, the Commandant at detroit, of the Impatience felt by the hurons, the Poutoüatamis and Outaüacs at that post to see some French arrive for the purpose of attacking the two Hostile nations. The Savages at the other posts have asked the same thing. Moreover, the bad Impression that would have been produced On the Minds of the savages by refusing to Send any French, and the dangers to be dreaded in future from the Nations of this continent if the deed committed at la Baye remained Unpunished,—All these circumstances, and the honor of the French name have determined the Sieur de Beauharnois, after conferring with the Sieur hocquart and the most Experienced officers in the Colony, to detach a party of 84 French, consisting of seven officers and the remainder of Cadets, Sergeants, Soldiers and some settlers.1 Not Only have the officers and Cadets Eagerly volunteered for this Service, but

1 In a letter dated Oct. 10, 1734, Beauharnois writes: “In the entire colony there are actually only seven hundred and fifty soldiers, one hundred and sixty of whom are in the different posts, and sixty with M. Desnoyelles' party.” *N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, p. 1040.— Ed.

209 the remainder of the detachment have also expressed the greatest Willingness, as well as our settled savages (to the number of two hundred) who have asked to be allowed to march even if no French should go.

The Sieur de Beauharnois has selected the Sieur de Noyelles to command the party. That officer is very Efficient and is greatly loved by the Savages, And he Adds to these qualities a Constitution capable of Enduring the fatigues of an Expedition which can be undertaken only in a very inclement season, for it will be necessary to proceed a very great distance on foot and on Snow-shoes. The other officers and the remainder of the detachment are Capable of Following him.

The Sieur de Noyelles left Montreal on the 14th of August last with his detachment. He is ordered by his Instructions to proceed in the first place to detroit, and there to concert with the Sieur Peau, The other officers, and the nations at that post regarding the proper action to be taken on arriving at the spot whiter the Sakis and Renards have retired; to direct his route by Missilimakinac or in a straight line overland according to Circumstances; and, in the latter case, he is to agree upon a rendezvous with the Sieur de celoron, the Commandant at Missilimakinac, where the latter may join him with the Savages of his Post, and a party of our settled Algonquins And Nepissingues who have started And who are to proceed to the said post by the way of the great River.1 He has also been strongly recommended to keep On His guard to Avoid All Ambuscades and not to Expose his forces except when very necessary.

1 The route by the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing, through Georgian Bay and Lake Huron to Mackinac.— Ed.

The Sieur de Beauharnois should Also inform His Majesty that inasmuch as a considerable portion of the Outaüacs Missilimakinac who are one of the nations most Interested in the matter, are of Opinion and they have stated that they would like to have the matter settled by conciliatory measures with the Sakis upon the latter giving up the Renards, whom the Outawacs look upon as the sole cause of the troubles in the 210 upper country, The Sieur de Noyelles has orders to act accordingly, and to grant peace to the Sakis if they consent to give up the Renards; If not to destroy both nations And to let our Savages eat them up.

He will also take at the various posts the officers, cadets and Soldiers whom He may need to strengthen His party and other Willing French Voyageurs who may volunteer to serve under him on this Expedition. We have reason to believe that there will be no lack of these as His Majesty may see by the Account we are to give him of what has happened among the Oüiatanons.

Such, Monseigneur, are the best and the least expensive measures that the Sieur de Beauharnois could take for securing the punishment of the Sakis and Renards, and which he had already taken, as being absolutely necessary, before he received his Majesty's orders. His Majesty cannot learn of their success before next year.

With regard to the two Renard chiefs who were at Quebec, one died and We have sent the other, named Kiala, an intrepid man, to Martinique. We have given notice of it to Messieurs de Champigny and d'orgeville. The hurons of Lorette asked the Sieur de Beauharnois last winter for The wife of the latter savage and they adopted her. Her quiet conduct had Led them to believe that there was no risk in letting her go with other huron women to the Neighborhood of Lake St Peter1 to gather maiden-hair Ferns. The woman escaped, and the Sieur de Beauharnois has given the necessary orders for her recapture. If she can be caught we shall Send her to the Islands on the first opportunity.

1 An enlargement of the River St. Lawrence, above the town of Three Rivers.— Ed.

The Sieur de Beauharnois Also Sent the Sieur de Joncaire, the Elder, to the choüanons to continue to Watch their actions and to Maintain them in the favorable dispositions that they Felt in previous years. We have received no news concerning them that can lead us to suspect their faithfulness. That officer is charged with the duty of maintaining them in it and of Inducing them to form a Village with the Miamis or hurons so 211 as to keep them away from the snares that the English might set for them.

The Sieur do Noyelles has faithfully Performed the task with which the Sieur de Beauharnois had entrusted him of once more gathering the scattered Miamis in their Village. They Are there at present, And the Sieur Darnaud1 who commands the post, has excellently seconded him in this matter.

1 Nicolas-Marie Renaud (d'Arnaud) Davenne, Sieur de Desmeloises, was born in 1696, the son of a wealthy Montreal merchant, who had many dealings with the coureurs de bois

at Mackinac. In 1722 he married Angelique Chartier, daughter of Lotbinière. In 1742 he was in command at Fort Frontenac, and died the following year.— Ed.

An event occurred in the Village of the Oüiatanons, where the Sieur de l' Epernanche2 commands, which at first gave rise to considerable disorder. Two young men—one a Frenchman, the other a Savage, fought together. The Frenchman had the advantage. The Savage went for his comrades who assembled tumultuously, struck some blows with their knives, and pillaged all the French at the Post, without however any murder being committed. The Sieur de L'Epernanche who was 2 or 3 arpents from there, was informed of it, but he was unable to remedy the matter, and when he saw that he was not in a Position to Overawe the savages, he Sent Expresses to the Sieur Peau, the commandant. at Detroit, to inform him of what was happening and to ask for assistance. On the arrival of these Expresses, the Sieur Peau assembled the French of detroit, who all asked to be allowed to go and obtain satisfaction for this Insult. There were one hundred and Twenty of them. One hundred and fifteen hurons joined them with a large number of outawacs. The Sieur Darnaud who was then at detroit whither he had come for Supplies, was given the Command of the party which consisted of 324 men when it reached the Miamis. But as he was preparing to proceed to the ouiatanons with his detachment He received a Letter from the Sieur de L'Epernanche informing him that everything was 14

2 François de l'Espervanche, Sieur de Villemure, a cadet in the troops. He also served under Jumonville in 1748.— Ed.

212 amicably settled; That he had smoked with the Ouiatanon Chiefs And that the young men had given back to the French the things they had Pillaged from them; That these same chiefs had assured him that they bound themselves to restore to the French whatever might be wanting in what their young men had taken; That, at the same time, he was no longer in need of the assistance that he bad asked of the Sieur Peau And that all was Quiet at His post. On receiving this Letter the Sieur Darnaud resolved to remain

among the Miamis where He was in command and he sent back the Sieur Duburon with the French and Savages of detroit.

This action has had a very good Effect upon the nations which It has inspired with Dread and leads to the belief that they will in future restrain themselves much more than they have hitherto done.

The Sioux have not yet come down and it seems as if they will not do so before next year.

* * * * * * * *

The Sieur de Beauharnois was informed only by His Majesty's memorial of the expedition of the 1,000 Chactas whom Monsieur de Bienville was to send on The sixteenth September 1733 against the Chicachas, And that he was to put at their head the Sieur Lesueur, a Lieutenant,1 with two Ensigns and a detachment of 35 soldiers. Thus it was impossible for the Sieur de Beauharnois to concert with the Sieur Bienville to set in motion at the same time some nations of this colony to harass the chicachas. Moreover, The affair of la Baye has become the sole object of all our Savages' attention. Nevertheless, If It should be brought to a conclusion by the conciliatory means that we have reported to his majesty, The Sieur de Beauharnois will Urge the Savages of detroit and the other nations of the Lakes to continue to harass the Chicachas. They

1 This was probably a son of the explorer, Pierre Charles Le Sueur (for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 173). He settled in Louisiana, and had several children. Le Sueur, the younger, is called “the Canadian.” He led the Choctaw against the Natchez in 1730.— Ed.

213 are all disposed to do so and they would have started to go there had it not been for the affair of the Sakis.

The Sieur Dartaguet,1 the commandant among the Illinois, informed the Sieur de Beauharnois that his savages have greatly changed in their disposition since Monsieur Bienville has sent one hundred men to Garrison that post; That those savages have

become much more submissive and docile And Finally that a party of two hundred Warriors of that nation have gone down to attack the Chicachas. He adds that it is a month's journey and we do not yet know the Success of that Expedition.

1 Pierre d'Artaguette, son or younger brother of Diron d'Artaguette, was appointed commissary of Louisiana in 1708. Pierre being sent to command at Fort Chartres in 1733, perished at the hands of the Indians in 1736 while leading the ill-fated expedition against the Chickasaw.— Ed.

* * * * * * * *

We have Notified Madame de la Chaesaigne and the widow of the Sieur de Villiers of the pensions that His Majesty has been pleased to grant them.

We Remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servants,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 7th, 1734. Hocquart

1734: MIAMI IN THE FRENCH INTEREST

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 7, 1734. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 61, c. 11, fol. 299.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

The Sieur Darnaud, Commandant in the Miamis country, wrote me in the month of June last that the savages had given him their word to attack the Sakis and Renards on the first order they should receive from their Father, but, as they thought such order would come

only very late, All the Miamis, 214 with the exception of six old men, had gone on the war-path against the Chicachas, and that they hoped to return soon enough to carry out their Father's Intentions. The Ouyatanons and other Nations of this continent are all disposed to march against the Chicachas, and a number of bands would have set out had not the affair that happened at la Baye kept them all in suspense owing to their uncertainty regarding the orders I shall have to give to avenge the treachery of the Sakis, whereon I have the honor to report to yea in the reply to the King's memorandum.

* * * * * * * *

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 10th, 1734.

1735: ORDINANCE ON FUR-TRADE

[M.S. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; “Collection Moteau-St. Méry, vol. 10, f. 12, 219.”]

Charles, Marquis de Beauharnois, Commander of the military order of St. Louis, Governor and lieutenant-general for the King In new France and in the Province of Louisiana.

Gilles Hocquart, Chevalier, Councillor of the King in his councils, Intendant of justice, police and finance in the said countries.

With regard to the information given us that the Traders of fort Ponchartrain, of detroit and of Missilimakina, Under pretext of securing their Credits for the loans they make to the Savages, take from the said Savages as security English Brandy and goods, which tends directly to favor foreign Trade, and to ruin that of the Colony And, in particular, the

trade of those two posts, contrary to the provisions contained in the declarations and ordinances of the King rendered on the Subject of foreign Trade: It Being Necessary to remedy the same. We Forbid all private traders at detroit and at Missilimakinac 215 to receive from the Savages Any English Brandy or Goods as security for any loans they may make to them, on penalty of being deemed to have carried on foreign trade, and as such, punished by the confiscation of the said Brandy and goods in favor of the informers and of the persons Seizing the same, and of being further condemned to a fine of five hundred livres. We Order the Officers commanding the said posts to have searches, perquisitions, and Seizures effected by such persons as they may select, of such foreign Brandy and goods, and to have minutes thereof drawn up and Sent to us, that Monsieur The Intendant may order the confiscation of the said Brandy and goods, And the fine If there be occasion therefor.

Done at Quebec the Twenty third of August, one thousand Seven hundred and thirty five.

Beauharnois

Hocquart

1735: DE NOYELLE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SAUK AND FOXES

[Extract from a letter of Father Luc François Nau, Jesuit missionary at the Iroquois mission of Sault St. Louis, dated at that place Oct. 2, 1735. In Jes. Rel , lxviii, pp. 275–277.]

The Iroquois of Sault St. Louis are looked upon as the most Warlike of all the american tribes; but this is no proof of their Valor. Their mode of warfare is but stratagem and surprise. Their encounters are mere attempts at assassination. They fight bravely then only when they know that the sole alternative lies between victory or death. Our people have a war on their hands this long time with A Savage tribe called the renards. It has been in a very slight degree successful through the impossibility in which our troops are of ever overtaking Them in sufficient numbers to destroy Them. Last year ninety of

our young men joined the french expedition against the renards; but after inconceivable hardships and a journey of more than seven hundred leagues, Their guides led them astray, and they 216 were obliged to make their way back without having caught sight of The enemy save in one instance. A party of twentythree savages, nearly all of our mission, and seven frenchmen had somehow become separated from The main body when they found themselves suddenly surrounded by a war party of two hundred renards. Our men would have been destroyed, had it not been for The resolution of the Iroquois Captain. “We are all dead men,” he said, “if we surrender. There is no help for it; we have to sell our lives as dearly as we can. Let us show these renards that we are Iroquois and frenchmen.” Whereupon he led his Warriors to the attack. The enemy could not withstand the first onslaught, but retreated precipitately to their fort. Thirty renards were laid low and ten taken prisoners; our party lost but two frenchmen and one savage.

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 9, 1735. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 63, c. 11, fol. 226.”]

Monseigneur —I have received the letter that you did me the honor of writing to me on the 19th of April last. I had the honor of informing you by my despatch of the 17th of June last (which I sent viâ l'Isle Royalle), of what had happened during the Sieur de Noyelle's Campaign, and of the conduct of the hurons and Poutouatamis of Detroit. I Append hereto a detailed journal sent me by that Officer in which you will see, Monseigneur, that the slight success obtained by this expedition (which was entirely due to the manœuvres of the Savages) is confined to the promise given by the Sakis to the Sieur de Noyelle to separate from the Renards and to return to la Baye, in accordance with the word that I sent them to forget the unfortunate affair that had occurred there. This, Monseigneur, was the most suitable step that the Sieur de Noyelle could take in the situation in which his party found itself when it reached the Renards. Had this affair been carried out as it had been planned, there is no doubt that they would have succeeded 217 in totally destroying them. The success of the measures I had taken for inflicting the punishment they deserve

seemed certain but, in addition to the fact that the Savages of the party completely refused to obey, the Outawacs of Missilimakinac—who were to Join the Sieur de Noyelle under the Command of the Sieur de Celoron to whom I had sent orders accordingly with a convoy of Thirty Nipissingues and Algonkins to Join the French and Outawacs, and who had, moreover, come expressly to ask me to avenge the blow struck by the Sakis and Renards at la Baye—completely changed their minds when they returned home, and told the Sieur de Celoron that they did not wish to war against the Sakis, whom they looked upon as their brothers; that their thoughts were not as They had told me; and finally that they were of opinion that the Sakis should be granted their lives on condition that they would induce the Renards to come and place themselves at the mercy of their Father as They had promised Him; that they begged him to forgive the Sakis; that for Their part they wished to Live in peace and to hunt for the subsistence of their wives and Children. This Unexpected change in the Savages, and the conduct of Those who went with the Sieur de Noyelle proves how little reliance can be placed on minds so variable and so wanting in docility.

The ardor they displayed at first and the particular interest that the Outawacs took in the affair of la Baye, were motives that seemed powerful enough to prevent any change taking place in these savages; but I have found by experience that it is difficult to bring any matter to a conclusion when the bands of Savages are superior in number to the French. This Drawback, Monseigneur, and the Insubordination of the Savages of the party that followed the Sieur de Noyelle against the Renards, compelled that officer to have recourse to conciliatory means with the Sakis, as he was not strong enough to subdue them, and he had no Provisions. Nevertheless his attitude after compelling the Sakis and Renards to retire into their fort, and the words that he said to the former on my behalf respecting the pardon that I granted them on condition that they separated 218 from the Renards, did not betray the evil plight in which He was, nor that his forces were Inferior to Theirs. The Sakis, after firing some shots asked for a suspension of hostilities, and received with much satisfaction the word that I sent them that I was willing to forgive them provided they separated from the Renards and returned to la Baye. They replied that they could not start

at once owing to their wounded, but they promised to proceed to the Place indicated to them by their Father as soon as they could separate from the Renards, who, on the other hand, threatened to eat up their women and Children if they left the fort. The last news is to the effect that a party of 400 Missouris and Kansés1 had attacked the Sakis and Renards, after the Sieur de Noyelle's withdrawal, but that when the latter left the fort in which They were, the former pursued Them into The prairies where They did not venture to attack them, and they returned without doing anything. It is also stated that the Sakis had taken advantage of their defeat by the Missouris to separate from the Renards; that Thirty had withdrawn to the River St Joseph, and the remainder to their former Village at la Baye. This news was brought me by five of our settled hurons who, after the Sieur de Noyelle's retreat, went among the Chicachas from whom They took two Scalps as well as one from a Renard. It is true that this news may require confirmation as it comes from Savages who often disseminate false reports, but the Interest that the Sakis have in separating from a nation harassed by all the others in general, and Against whom the hatchet of all the Savages is lifted, will not make them hesitate, I think, to accept the proposal made to them on my behalf by the Sieur de Noyelle, which they appeared to receive with much satisfaction. As to the Renards it is not known

1 The Missouri and Kansas Indians were tribes of the great Siouan stock, living and hunting upon the rivers to which their names have been given. The former were powerful and numerous, when the French first encountered them; but by the beginning of the 19th century were so reduced by smallpox and the Sauk and Fox wars that they had been obliged to unite with the Oto, by whom they were treated as inferiors.— Ed.

219 what decision They have taken nor the place they have selected for their retreat. It is certain that they can find no asylum among any nation either in the Mississipi country or in this. The Ayowais to whom They looked for help have taken a scalp from them. Thus There is reason to presume that when left to the mercy of all the Savages, this nation will be completely exterminated without its being necessary to incur any other expense than that occasioned by the Parties sent against those Savages, which were absolutely needed

to make the French name respected among the savages. Though the expedition of Sieur de Noyelle has not succeeded for the reasons that I have had the honor of explaining to you, his brilliant action has produced a very good effect on the minds of the savages who admit that the courage of the French is able to overcome every obstacle, and that they would seek the enemy at the extremity of the world. Moreover if the Sakis have separated from the Renards and are at la Baye and the River St Joseph, as we have to believe, this is what the Sieur de Noyelle had orders to carry out, and it is in accordance with what you did me the honor of writing to me to employ conciliatory means if possible to induce them to leave the Renards. Had he been compelled to use force, it would have been all the more dangerous that there seems to be no reason to doubt that the alliance of the Sakis with the majority of the savages of the Upper Country would have kindled a war that would have been difficult to stop, and that would have greatly disturbed trade at the pests, and have caused great injury to the Colony.

Such, Monseigneur, is all the information that I can give you respecting the Sieur de Noyelle's expedition. I hope next year to be in a position to tell you of the various attacks that will be made against the remnant of the Renards both by the nations of the Mississipi and by the Savages of this Country. I have urged them all to do so and They seem disposed to exterminate the rate. I shall take care to reward the Chiefs of the bands that may go there by honorable presents which, nevertheless, will not be costly, But whose value I shall cause to be appreciated, and which will stimulate the ardor and emulation 220 of all. This, Monseigneur, is at present the only means to be adopted to utterly destroy this nation which, from all appearances, is now wandering about and cannot cause much trouble to the posts of the upper Country owing to its dread of all the other nations.

I have observed, Monseigneur, what His Majesty is pleased to write me in the King's memorial with regard to the Chicachas. I have received no letter this year from Monsieur de Bienville, but Monsieur Dartaguiette has written me that the Pianguichias have brought in ten slaves of that nation, two men's Scalps and one of a Woman; that the Chactas had taken 295 men's scalps without counting the Slaves; and that several nations had gone

to attack Them. He adds that the Natchez have separated from Them, for Fear that they might surrender them to the French to secure peace; that one half had gone to Carolina and The other to Louischitas.1 His Majesty may rest assured that I shall, as far as may be in My power, urge the nations of this country to harass the Chicachas, and to unite with those of the Mississipi. I have had the honor of informing you, Monseigneur, in one of my despatches that forty or Fifty of our Settled Iroquois had gone thither. The Hurons who abandoned the Sieur De Noyelles and who set out to Join him when they recognized their error, were also to go and attack that nation. The Miamis and the Ouyatanons have also raised some bands, And as the destruction of the remnant of the Renards will not be the sole object of the savages, especially if the news of the Sakis' Return be true, I shall continue to incite the Savages to create a diversion and to attack both the Chicachas and the

1 After the unfortunate affair with the Natchez at Fort Rosalie in 1729, and the punishment inflicted on that nation by Perier in 1731, the remainder of the Natchez took refuge with the Chickasaw, upon whom the French began a war lasting several years, as disastrous for Louisiana as the Fox wars were for Upper Canada. The Choctaw acted as French allies, but in a half-hearted fashion, little to be depended upon. Louischita or Ouischitas was the Washita or Black River of Louisiana, where the Natchez fortified themselves near the present Trinity, Catahoula Parish, La.— Ed.

221 Renards. Moreover the small number that remains of the latter cannot occupy the attention of all of them for very long.

The Poutewatamis have avenged the blow struck at Them by the Outawacs of Saginau.1 They had met five of Them, but They sent back the two others whom They told to say to their Nation that they were avenged as they had returned blow for blow. The Ontawacs sent me a word to beg me to restore peace between them and to say that they would abide by what I told them. I therefore gave orders to the Commandants of those places to completely quiet the matter. I do not think that it will have any other Consequences, for

these two Nations seem to be mutually satisfied, and moreover that is the way in which the Savages put an end to their disputes.

1 Saginaw Bay, Mich.— Ed.

I have received, Monseigneur, the Twenty four Medals that His Majesty has been pleased to give orders to send me. I venture to assure you that I shall comply with what he prescribes in connection with the manner in which I am to distribute them and that I shall give them only to the Chiefs of bands who will have deserved them by important services.

I Remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 9th, 1735.

[Enclosure in the above. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 236.]

Copy of the Relation of the Journey of the Sieur de Noyelle Commanding the Wa-Party against the Renards and Sakis, sent to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois .

Monsieur —As I have already reported my march to you from the time of my departure Until my arrival among the Ouyatanons,2 I have the honor to send You the account of what

2 For the French post among the Ouiatanon see *ante*, p. 131.— Ed.

222 occurred after the 2nd of January, when I left that place, Down to the present date, the 23rd of April.

When I arrived among the Ouyatanons, I went to see several Kikapous who were Six Leagues from there, and asked them where the Renards might be found. They replied,

laying a red calumet at my feet: “They are in that direction” (turning round); That if I wished to obtain more positive Information about them I had only to go to Masanne; that I would find their principal village there and their People knew where Renards dwelt. When I went to Them they told me that the Renards were not far away and that they would take me to them. This, Monsieur, was at the time when the Hurons and Iroquois began to give me Trouble notwithstanding all my complaisance toward Them, and all the promises they had made me to listen to your word of which I was the bearer. They told me that they wanted to go and eat up six cabins of Sakis who had taken refuge at the River St Joseph. I gave them to understand that your intention, Monsieur, was not to strike the Sakis if they asked for their lives, and if they wished to unite with Us by delivering up the Renards; that most of the Nations who are allied with them had asked us for their pardon on that condition; That if they went to Kill People who had taken refuge among the French in order not to be included in the number of the Rebels, it would have a very bad effect in the upper Countries, and would deprive all the Nations of the confidence that they have in Us. All these discourses, Monsieur, were of no avail. Seventy Hurons started with ten Pouteoüatamis of troit, saying to me that they wished to eat up those six cabins. I know not what they have done in connection with this. You Perceive, Monsieur, how this Action weakened our forces.

I found among the Kikapous a Missoury chief who was about to return. I presented him with gifts and recommended Him to inform his Nation of our march. I gave Him a letter for the Commandant of the pest, in which I begged him to urge the Savages of his post to march and join me, and to forward another letter that I wrote to Monsieur Dartaguiette whom I 223 had already informed of my march When I left the Ouyatanons.

I had resolved, Monsieur, after holding a Council with the French and the savages, to pass by the Ilinois as I had received no news from Monsieur de Celeron, although this took me a good deal out of my way. But having been detained by the ice for 22 Days; being moreover without Provisions And unable to obtain any from anywhere, I was compelled to take the route that I followed. When I left the Kikapous, I detached the Sieurs de la

Perade and St Ours1 with several Iroquois and Kikapous to reconnoitre. They caputred five Sakis (one of whom was a chief). There was a Renard with Them who escaped. They ran after Him, calling out in the Ilinois tongue so that he might say in his village that he had been pursued by Ilinois. The Prisoners told me that they were proceeding to the River St Joseph to speak to their People and ascertain whether it was true that their Father Onontio intended to grant them their lives; that they had been assured of this by a Nepissing with the Chat blanc,2 their chief, who had come to Them and had gone to the Scioux to ask Monsieur de St Pierre3 whether They could trust that news. They told me that the Renards were no longer at la Pomme de Cigne and that they had withdrawn to the Riviàre sans fourche.4 I have the honor

1 Charles François Xavier Tarieu, Sieur de la Pérade, de la Naudiàre, was born in 1710. In 1743 he married Geneviàve Deschamps, daughter of Boishébert. He was ensign, 1724–41; lieutenant, 1742; captain, 1750. In 1747 he commanded at the Ouiatanon post, and served at the siege of Quebec in 1759. He went to France after the capitulation of Quebec; but returned in 1763, and was a member of the first legislative council under English domination in 1775, dying the same year. One of his sons was killed in the. battle of Monongahela, 1755. St. Ours was either a son or nephew of Deschaillons, ensign in 1733, lieutenant in 1744, and captain in 1748. If the son of Deschaillons, he was later the brother-in-law of Pérade, marrying Charlotte Deschamps in 1745.— Ed.

2 For account of this noted chief who lived at St. Joseph, and his embassy to the Illinois, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 448, 453–463.— Ed.

3 St. Pierre was commandant of Fort Beauharnois, 1734–37.— Ed.

4 La Pomme de Cigne, or “swan-apple,” is the French form of the Indian name for the Wapsipinicon River, so called from a species of roots that grow plentifully on its banks. The “river without a fork” (Riviàre sans fourche) is the Des Moines, as is evident from the succeeding document. This river called the *Moingona*, from an Indian tribe of that name found near it by the explorers of the 17th century, is prominent on early maps, where it is

laid down with a straight course, without affluents, and frequently identified with Lahontan's “Riviàre Longue.”— Ed.

224 to assure you, Monsieur, that without the Prisoners, we should never have seen the Renards, because none of our savages knew what part of the Country They were in, And because the Kickapous their allies who had Followed me to the number of 40 had caused Us to lengthen our journey so that we had our backs turned to them. Our Savages perceived this and warned me. I caused the Prisoners to be told that if they did not lead me straight to the Renards, I would have them tied to the Stake to be burned.

We crossed the Mississipy. I told the Iroquois that we must procure provisions. The Prisoners thought the same because the Buffalo were moving away and we ran the risk of undergoing a long fast. Our savages would not lead themselves with dried meat so that they might advance better, for they thought that they were close to the Enemy. On the following day, we began to take only one meal per Day—and a very inferior one at that. On the 12th of March, we reached the Renards fort where we found Nobody, and we were kept there by the intense cold without any food for two Days. I sent out. a reconnoitering party who reported that they had seen four recent Camping-grounds and had followed the tracks. Two Days afterward They came to tell me that they had seen smoke. I sent them back to make sure that they had not been deceived. They assured me that the Report was true. We marched during a portion of the night and crossed several Rivers with the Water Up to our Waists. We stationed ourselves behind a hill while waiting for Daylight, wrapped up in our robes, greatly fatigued, wet through, and very hungry. At Daybreak we reached a Wood bordering on a River. The Savages who wished to have the glory of arriving first and of attacking these four Cabins 225 made Us run four or five Leagues as fast as we could. They were greatly surprised on seeing 55 cabins on the other side of a very wide and rapid River full of floating ice. The son of Nontagarouche, the war-Chief of the Lake of two Mountains told me that we must All swim across. I replied that this was imprudent And that it was Impossible to cross such a River while the cold was so great; That Many of the French and even of their own People might be unable to swim and moreover that

they would wet their arms and ammunition; That as only 60 men of ours, both French and Savages, had arrived, for All Their people were scattered on all sides thinking they would find only these four cabins whose tracks we had followed, it would be more advisable (as we had not yet been discovered) to reassemble and go higher up where we would construct Rafts at the most suitable point for crossing, And then we should be in a position to attack the Enemy with our arms in our hands; While, by following his Advice, the Enemies would be able to kill us as fast as we Landed, even supposing that we should be able to cross. He replied that I was not a man. I could not, Monsieur, restrain my anger nor help saying to Him: “Dog If thou art so brave, swim over and let us See what Thou wilt do.” He did not answer me. I requested him to send some of his People to meet Those who were left behind. All was in vain. He left me with several French who were with Me and he took away his band consisting of about 40 men. When we had marched nearly a league we heard Death-cries and we saw one of our Savages who made signs to us that our People were lighting. We ran toward this man as fast as we could and he told us that one of our French was wounded. I followed the tracks of my people to gather them together. I found several who were crossing the River at its greatest width by means of a jam of drift-wood and of two large logs that the Renards had arranged to enable them to cross and re-cross the River when they went to hunt. We passed over the River like the others and went to the Cabins where we found Nobody as The Enemy had withdrawn to place their women and Children in safety. 226 Seven French and 23 Savages who were the first to arrive found themselves face to face with the Enemy. A Savage chief from Sault St Louis, named Onorakinguiak, called out: “My French and Indian brothers, we are dead men, but we must sell our lives very dearly and not let ourselves be captured.” They fought so fiercely that they pushed the Enemy back into the, Wood where They had taken refuge. When the latter saw only 30 men, They retraced their steps and tried to surround them so as to take them prisoners. Our people perceived this and fell back, fighting all the time. On this occasion the Sieur de Croisille1 received the wound from which He died. When I arrived with the Sieurs de Lignery, Chevalier de Chaillon and Chabert,2 a chief from the Lake of two Mountains, several of us French and Savages, marched upon the

Enemy to surround them. One of the 30 men came to report their situation to us. I at once sent All Who were with Me to their assistance, and told them that I would join them as soon as the main Body of the party which I expected should arrive. I started about half an hour afterward with the Sieurs de la Perade and St Ours, several French trod savages. I dispersed Those who were with Me, some to the right and some to the left, to attack the Enemy. On my side I surrounded seven against whom two shots were fired. I learned at that time that the Sieur Chabert was mortally wounded. About two hours afterward they called out to me that the Enemy were going toward the Wounded to scalp them and this was where the Reserve body was posted. This compelled me to decide to tell our People, as night was approaching, to fall back and seek a place where we could fortify ourselves, secure protection for the wounded, and defend ourselves against the Enemy who were Superior in numbers and quite fresh. I feared with reason, that the Kikapous might side with the stronger, for I saw them On an Eninence and they

1 Sieur de Croissele was a nephew of Pierre le Gardeur de Repentigny, the elder, and cousin of the one who was killed at La Baye in 1733.— Ed.

2 A relative of De Joncaire, for whom see *ante*, p. 118.— Ed.

227 looked upon us as beaten. It was very difficult for us to fortify ourselves on a prairie, as the Enemy had seized the Only Island at that place on which their women and Children had made a fort while they were fighting. Through lack of wood, I was obliged to divide my people into two bands, and while I was endeavoring to fortify myself I detached 50 men both French and savages to fire on the Enemies' fort and keep them from attacking us, while we worked.

On the Following morning the Iroquois asked me to go to Them to hold a Council respecting what was to be done. I went without any hesitation to see them. They told me that they had with Them a Savage who could speak every language (this was one Beauvais, a half breed residing at Sault St Louis) who had conversed throughout the night with the Sakis Chief and with one of the Renards who had been captured in the fight. As

soon as I arrived I saw a Kikapous who had married among the Renards, enter with a white flag; he said that we had called out to them to come, and that he came to see what was wanted and to listen. I said everything I could to Him to induce the Sakis to abandon the Renards and return to la Baye. He replied that if we really meant what we said we should give up one of their people who was a prisoner. The Iroquois told me that we must send their Chief back to them and that this would induce them to come out of their fort and to abandon the Renards. I consented and this Same Chief returned with presents and porcelain beads and informed me that if we had not attacked Them and if our party consisted solely of French they would not have hesitated to surrender, but that, as the French were not Superior in numbers to the Iroquois to be able to control them, They had every reason to fear that when they were separated from the Renards and a distance, the Iroquois would put them in the Kettle; That nevertheless on the word of the French They would come out whenever we liked. I said to Him: “Thou mayest come forth in the Daytime and fear nothing, because if the Iroquois wished to act treacherously toward thee, I would oppose it and although we are but few they 15 228 would not play with Us.” He represented to me that it was very late, that the women and Children had not had time to camp, and that it was too cold. On the following day the other Sakis Chiefs sent me word that they could not come out, because the Renards had said to. them: “Dogs that ye are, if you abandon us, we will eat your women and Children as soon as you have gone out. We will then fight against you and afterward against the French.”

The Sakis sent me a Young saulteur with two of his Sisters, and an Ilinois woman whom they had captured last autumn; and I sent them in exchange a Young Saki whom I had with me.

For four Days, Monsieur, our Party had had nothing to eat but 12 Dogs and a Horse that was killed at night near the Renards' fort. Several Soldiers were obliged to eat their mocassins. They All asked me to lead them to the assault. When I saw that we were suffering from hunger and had no hope of obtaining provisions, I proposed to the Iroquois to send some of their People to hunt for our subsistence and enable us to attack the

Enemy again. They replied blusteringly (as you will see) that we must Fast and work four or five Days more. They afterward asked me to let them go away. I can positively assure you, Monsieur, that they needed food as much as We did, And as we could not hold out any longer, I sent a collar to the Sakis to convince them that their Father had instructed me to tell them that he would grant them their lives on condition that they would abandon the Renards, As they had previously promised Him, and return to la Baye. They promised me that they would do so.

In this encounter we lost two French and one Huron; four or five savages were wounded. The Enemy had 30 men Killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. I proceeded, Monsieur, to Monsieur Dartaguiette's post to march against the Chicachas according to your orders. Nearly All our Savages left me add went on the war-path in one direction or another. Most of them told me that they wished to return home to provide for the subsistence of their families.

229

Monsieur Dartaguiette asked me whether I would go back, saying that a party of 400 Missouris and Kansés with several Frenchmen was about to march Against the Renards and Sakis; that we might unite our forces and destroy them; and that he would give me food and men. I said that I was quite ready to march if he would take upon Himself the responsibility of the expense that this new war would cost. He replied that he would take no responsibility. I did not venture, Monsieur, to take it on Myself in view of the uncertainty of success. Neither could I march against the Chicachas on account of the band that the Missouris had levied against the Renards and the defection of our savages. I have nothing, Monsieur, wherewith to reproach myself and I venture to hope that you will not address any reproaches to me when I have done my best. You would hardly believe all that I have been through, and the fatigues I have endured. I would count them as nothing, had I succeeded. The savages Are the Sole Cause of our ill success and They could not help admitting to me that Nontagarouche had made us miss our opportunity.

I take the liberty, Monsieur, of representing to you that on expeditions of this kind It is necessary that the French should be stronger than the Savages so as to be able to dominate them; otherwise They dominate us, and I have experienced this only too well, notwithstanding my complaisance and attention to Them. There was one from the Sault who was bold enough to beat one of our Soldiers in my presence. I pretended to turn my head away as if I had not seen it, for we expected every Day to be abandoned by those people at the first word that we might say to them.

The Kikapou who was married among the Renards, and who followed Those who were with Me was shot dead two leagues from the Renards by an Iroquois who scalped Him in my presence. Never were Savages more surprised. They trembled like leaves, for they dreaded, with reason, that they might All meet the same fate for the Iroquois said: “We have come to seek Enemies; here are some already found since by their conduct they are as much Renards as the others.”

230

[Letter of Hocquart to the French Minister, dated October 26, 1735, enclosing a letter to the comptroller-general of finance. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 64, c. 11, fol. 159.]

Monseigneur —I take the liberty of placing under Your [eyes] The letter that I write to Monsieur the Comptroller general of finance. In answer to That which he did me the honor of writing to me respecting the Trade of the Company of the Indies.1 As he asks me for Information respecting the Sieur Desnoyelles's Campaign because it affects the hunting of Beaver, I have thought, subject to your good pleasure, that I could not avoid entering into some details with him. My Letter to Monsieur the Comptroller-general is not sealed.

1 This was the famous speculative concern known first as the Mississippi Company, formed by Law in 1717. In 1719 it was reorganized under this title. The company retroceded Louisiana to the King in 1731, but retained commercial rights in the colonies.

About this time the company began its famous career in India. It went into liquidation in 1770.— Ed.

I remain etc.

Hocquart

[Enclosure in the above.]

At Quebec the 26th of October. 1735.2

2 Note on the original MS.: “L. P. ‘Le President’ of the Council of the Marine to Monsieur The, Comptroller general Accounts for the number of Beaver skins received. Of the Campaign of Monsieur des Noyelles, relative to the interests of the Company of the Indies. Beaver to Be replaced on the same footing as before the ordinance of the 4th of January, 1733. *Note*: After the present letter is That forwarding the same to the minister.”

Monseigneur —I have received the letter that You did me The honor of writing to me on the 10th of March last.

The receipts from Beaver skins have been considerable this year, notwithstanding the Troubles And the war expeditions in the upper Country, because The Post among the scioux and the new posts Established for the discovery of the Sea of The west have secured nearly 100 thousand very good skins. The total receipts amounted to 178 thousand livres

231

Monsieur Des noyelles left Montreal in the month of August 1734, with 80 French and about 130 of our settled savages to pursue the Sakis and Renards. He took with him on his way, both at Detroit and at the Ouiatanons, about 100 hurons and Poutouatamis. After 7 months' journey both by water and by land, he arrived on the bank of the River Mongona [Des Moines] 60 Leagues from the spot where that River falls into the Mississipi,1 to which

place they had been guided by 40 Kikapoux. The savages and French set to work to cross The River to fall on what they took for 4 Cabins of Renards whose Camping places they had traced. But when 27 savages and 3 French had crossed that River before the main body of The little army had assembled, and as they were about to rush, hatchet in hand, on those 4 cabins, they found themselves surrounded by nearly 250 Sakis and Renards who formed 55 Cabins, and against whom these 30 men fought so well that they compelled them to fall back and to retire into a fort built by the women And Children while the Warriors were fighting; so that when the main body of our small army made its appearance The enemy had retreated, and the Sakis asked Monsieur Desnoyelles for a suspension of hostilities in order to hold a parley. That of officer who had been ordered to use naught but conciliatory means to detach the Sakis from the Renards, had recourse to the same and without letting them know the sorry Plight of his army, which consisted only of 240 men—for The Hurons had left at Quiatanons, and moreover they had no provisions to allow of their sustaining a siege. He nevertheless spoke to the Sakis as a superior, And told them that their father had sent him solely to tell them that he would forgive them for the affair at la Baye on condition that they separated from the Renards and returned to kindle at that spot the fire that they had abandoned. These savages received the Sieur Desnoyelles's message with much satisfaction, and replied to him that, on account of the men who had been wounded in the

1 Probably in the vicinity of the present city of Des Moines, Iowa.— Ed.

232 skirmish with our 30 men, they were unable to follow him but that he might assure their father that they would return to their old village as soon as they could. 5 of our Settled hurons who had been on the war-path against the Chicachas have reported that 30 of These Sakis were at the River St Joseph, and the remainder at la Baye. This news lacks confirmation; But if It be true, tranquillity will be restored in the Posts, and the remnant of the Renards who are said to be wandering about in the regions of the Mississipi will gradually be destroyed and will not give our savages enough occupation to keep them from hunting. I shall have the honor of writing moro particularly about this next year.

Moreover, as regards the sieur Desnoyelles's Campaign, I cannot better describe to You the fatigues and the hardships that the long journey on foot and hunger caused him and the party under his command to endure, than to say that I am surprised that Frenchmen should have been able to undergo them. In the skirmish that took place on the 19th of April last, we lost two French and one savage. The enemy had 80 killed, wounded and taken prisoners. Had not the Hurons abandoned Monsieur Desnoyelles and had the Outawacs of Missilimakinac been able to join him, there would no longer be any question of the Renards at present. No other reason can be assigned for the defection of The hurons except their spirit of independence, in spite of their attachment for the French; And the desire they had to go and eat—thus they speak—other Sakis Established at River St. Joseph who are attached to us, but who displeased the Hurons merely because they bear the name of Sakis. It required all the wisdom and all the prudence of the sieur Demuy, the officer Commanding at the River St Joseph, to restrain the hurons and prevent them from attacking Those Sakis. That the Campaign met with no better success did not depend upon the sieur Desnoyelles. This expedition has in any case shown the savages, And they have acknowledged it, that the French are as capable as they of undertaking Marches and of seeking The enemy at the extremities of the Colony.

The Company of the Indies has done well in relaxing the 233 excessive severity of the ordinance that I promulgated on the 4th of January 1733 for the reduction of the price of Summer Beaver which was 10 sols The livre, both green and dry, on condition that it be burned, because the Hatters of the Kingdom could not make use of it as the company wrote to me. since it has heeded the representations made to It that such reduction might injure its Trade by inducing the savages and even the French to take to the English not only this kind of Beaver, which they accept, but also That of good quality, It has therefore sent orders to its agent to forward to France the Beaver taken in summer, as was practised previous to my ordinance. It has also begged me to raise the price of the same. I considered that it was in its interest to restore matters to their old footing. The Company of the Indies carries on its Trade in good faith, and it would not be proper to suspect it of

having asked for The reduction of the price of the Summer Beaver on condition that it be burned, solely in order to obtain it in the future at about the same price. as the reduced rate without being obliged to burn it, Moreover, This is a matter of so little consequence that it otherwise deserves no Consideration.

I remain etc.

Hooquart

Indorsed: “Given an answer the 8th of May, 1736.”

1735: COPPER MINES ON LAKE SUPERIOR

[Letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 11, 1735. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 63, c. 11, fol. 58.]

Monseigneur —We have received the letter that you did us the honor of Writing to us on the 15th of May last, to which was appended the report handed you by the Director-General of the mint in France on the assay that yon caused to be made in Paris of the copper of Lake superior, a piece of which we sent you last year.

In the King's memorial we Informed you of the subsequent 234 discoveries of the sieur De la Ronde, and of the measures he adopts for prosecuting that Undertaking. The Information that we gave you is nothing else than extracts from the Letters that He and his son have written us. We send you copies of those Letters.

The Sieur La Ronde might have given us more detailed information, but from what he writes to us There is hardly any reason to doubt the advantages to be derived from that Undertaking both for himself and for the Colony; at least He engages in it in a manner that leaves us no doubt.

On Examining The Ingot of copper that we sent last year, one might be inclined to believe that it had been cast; And If it has been acknowledged by Monsieur Grassin as a work of nature, the pieces we send this year will convince him still more, Independently of the certainty we have that these specimens were cut with hatchets from larger pieces of the same quality. We consider that the whole difficulty in the Working of these mines, supposing that the ore is as pure as it seems to us to be, Consists at present in finding means to divide into portable pieces, the masses of Copper on the banks of the river Tonagan, and that which will no doubt be also found at other Places on Lake Superior; for if They are as enormous as the Block lying on the shore of the Lake which we Reported to you in 1782, when we sent you the Sieur de la Ronde's proposals regarding this Undertaking, the iron or steel Implements that would be Used in separating them might be Insufficient, And although the copper is pure, this method of mining it might be very costly. We can expect from the Sieur de la Ronde nothing but great activity in seeking for these mines, and beth from him and from the Workmen and voyageurs whom he has with him nothing but mere natural Industry, without the slightest Idea of the art [of mining], which will not be conducive to An easy Exploitation of these mines. This is doubtless the reason which has Induced the Sieur de la Ronde to write us to beg you to procure a skilled workman for him to show them how to Work these mines, which, he says, consist only of a Mass of ore. He asked Monsieur hocquart for a certain Chambellan, a 235 gold and silversmith in Quebec. This workman has, in truth, some Ability and Skill. On hearing the account that we gave him of the quality of these mines, He finds less difficulty in their Working than we do. He claims that when the mine is uncovered it will be easy with Iron Wedges well tempered and with iron Sledges to divide a Block of Copper of any size into portable ingots, especially if there are any flaws in it, as in the largest of the three pieces of copper which we send to Monsieur de Beauharnois to be Forwarded to you. We cannot warrant success until the Experiment has been made. The said Chambellan will start next Spring to join the sieur De la Ronde, and at all Events He will Take with him the rods he may need to work according to the proposed method, the mine that has been found, if the Sieur de la Ronde does not discover others easier to work in the course of the explorations

that he is to make on Lake Superior. It seems to us that he really intends to prosecute this Undertaking. Perhaps he may obtain further assistance from the workman for whom he asks you. If it be possible to find One He offers to defray the expense, and we beg You in that case, Monseigneur, to give your orders to have one sought for and sent out by the first ships from St. Malo which sail for 1' Isle Royale, so that he may proceed thence to Quebec in time to Embark in the sieur De la Ronde's Canoes and arrive during the open season at the on Lake superior.

That officer has also Sent us another small piece of Copper which was given to his son by a savage of that quarter, and which he claims to have been raked from another mine situate on a branch of the same Tonagan river. It is in the same box as the 8 other pieces.

We received the last Letters of the sieur De la Ronde dated the 22nd July in Time to be able to answer them, and to ask him for further Information On the situation,—the Extent, and everything relating to the Tonagan mine. We Hope that he will give us this information in a more detailed and more satisfactory manner, and we shall Report the same to you next year. We shall send him in the Spring a Copy of the memorial 236 that you have sent us, in order that he may derive Information from it, and also to encourage him to pursue his discoveries. Father Piscot, a Recollet,1 who has some knowledge of metals, has written a paper on these mines, some ore from which he tested at Montreal by order of Monsieur de Beauharnois. We take the liberty of sending it to You. We penal the report made by one Corbin, a carpenter,2 to Monsieur Hocquart on what he saw of those Mines.

1 Etienne Piscot was superior of the Recollects at Montreal. See Tanguay, *Répertoire Gén. du Clergé Canadien* (ed. 1868), p. 98.— Ed.

2 Probably the Corbin who made the canoes at Michilimackinac for Louvigny's expedition. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p.

We remain etc.

[Beauharnois Hocquart]

[Letter of Hocquart to the French Minister. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 64, c. 11, fol. 59.]

At Quebec the 14th of October. 1735.

Monseigneur —Since The description Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois and Myself have given to you together respecting Monsieur De la Ronde's discovery, one Corbin, a Carpenter who built the bark on Lake Superior, has come down to Quebec and has reported to me what he has seen of the Copper mine that is on the Tonnagane Ever. I have drawn up this report in words almost as simple as those which That Workman employed in explaining himself to me. It is Appended hereto. I shall urge the sieur De la Ronde's partner to send next Spring to Lake superior with one Chambellan several hardy and skillful worsen to endeavor to mine the Copper beds on the bank of that River with crowbars, Wedge, sledge-hammers and other tools that they may need to clear away the Soil and break up the metal if possible into portable pieces. But if we can obtain from France a workman who is a good craftsman and able to give information, and to devise expedients for working the mine, this will greatly facilitate 237 the work. The sieur De la Ronde asks for one whom he offers to pay. You alone, Monseigneur, are able to procure one for him and in case you should be unable to find one, he begs you, Monseigneur, to have an instructive treatise drawn up which will teach the easiest and least expensive Manner in which such a mine can be worked, And which will consequently mention the implements and tools to be Used as well as The precautions to be taken as a protection against the noxious gases that the metal may exhale when mined.1

1 Marginal note on MS.:

“Respecting the Tonnagane Copper Mine. Appends The report of one Corbin. Will send next spring one Chambellan, And some Hardy men with suitable implements for mining

the ore. Asks the Minister on behalf of the Sieur Le Ronde, who offers to pay him, for a person well skilled in such matters, or in default of such a workman a good instructive treatise in order that these mines may be more easily worked also suitable implements and tools. L.P.”

I remain etc.

Hocquart

[Enclosure in the above. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 61.]

Report made to Monsieur hocquart by one Corbin, a Carpenter, An Employee of the Sieur De la Ronde, respecting the, copper mines of Lake Superior and the River Tonnaganne.

The said Corbin left Sault Ste. Marie, The place where the sieur De la Ronde is building his Vessel,2 on The [blank space in MS.] May last with two men named Vaudry and Le Beau who were going to meet the Sieur do la Ronde's son. The latter was returning after spending the winter at life embarked with Them, and they were followed by two others

2 In a letter written about this time (see Macalester College *Contributions*, 1st series, No. 4, p. 114), it is said of La Ronde: “He has constructed at his own expense, a bark of forty tons on Lake Superior, and was obliged to transport in canoes, as far as Sault Ste. Marie, the rigging and materials for the vessel. The post Chagouamigon was given him as a gratuity to defray expenses.” See also Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1894, pp. 87, 88.— Ed.

238 named fell and Gobin. They took on board a savage at the place called The cove [L'anse] near the point of Kiénon,1 , who asserted that he had a thorough knowledge of the Mines and of the Copper in the said River of Tonnagane. They travel led thither, And after entering the said River,2 which they ascended for a distance of about 8 leagues from the shore of Lake Superior, they Found a mine about 15 arpents in length ascending the said river, 30 feet from the water's edge and which may be at a height of 60 feet in the

Cliff. This Nine consists of layers or beds 5. or 6 pouces3 thick. There are about Fifty these layers one above the other nearly to the top of the Hill, and they are intersected or Bound together by a Sandy soil without Stones. There does not appear to be any break at any Part of their Length. At the first Layer near the water, there is a Sort of Stone which is easily broken And which detaches taches itself from the Copper without being mixed with it. All these Beds or layers of Copper run about The Length of 15 arpents following the course of the River. Corbin adds that they cut some of this Copper with a hatchet at The place where there was a seam; that it appeared to him quite pure, and that at every place in these 15 arpents where they bored they found it similar to this; that on being taken from the Mine it can be forged and worked as easily as lead; that a Spit And several small tools were made cut of it Such as knife-Handles, braces for the Carpenters, foot-rules And other Articles, without taking any other trouble than hammering it while cold just as it came out of the mine.

That after examining this mine, The savage wanted to take them into three branches of that same River where he assured them there was as much copper at each Place as they Saw before them; but that as they had no provisions and, moreover no tools

1 L'anse is the usual designation on maps of the period, for what is now known as Keweenaw Bay, at the base of Keweenaw Point, upper peninsula of Michigan.— Ed.

2 Marginal note on MS.: “A vessel of at least 40 tons could enter that River.”

3 For this measure, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi,

239 suitable for cutting a quantity of the metal, they came away.

The said Corbin likewise saw in the bottom of Lake superior a mass of virgin copper which be thinks must weigh from 8 to 10 Thousand livres, and he says that there is another on the bank of the said River Tonnagane at the foot of the mine which seems to have rolled down from the Cliff, and which is from 6 to 7 feet in Diameter and the same in height; that

it is surrounded by Reeks which are easily detached by striking them, or by building a fire against them.

He thinks that in order to remove the layers of Copper from this Mine it will be necessary to use strong iron crowbars to dislodge and lift them when cut in pieces by means of Wedges driven in with Sledge-hammers, and ales mounted like saws for sawing the layers in the Cliff. He says that this is also the opinion of Monsieur De la Ronde.

He also adds that the outer face of these copper beds or Layers is covered with Verdigris and that the metal shines only when scraped with an iron implement; that it is perhaps this Verdigris that prevents the breaks in the Length of these beds from being seen; that the sandy Soil between the beds of copper falls away as easily as bad Dry mortar. This he ascertained by striking it with the back of his hatchet and by scratching it with the Blade. He observed that this Soil is very dry, and consists of three different kinds of substances; sand Predominates and it is mixed with clay and a sort of Mineral dust that seems to be of copper; it is shining And reddish; That: each of these layers of sandy soil is covered with Verdigris like The beds of copper; that they have all fallen away so that the copper beds project 9, 3, and 4 pouces, and the layers of soil are indented to the same extent.

The Cliff is perpendicular and almost Equally so throughout the length of the 15 arpents, at the end of which it is easy to ascend to the summit of the Cliff. This Corbin did, and scraped away The earth in several places with his hatchet; he observed that it is reddish in some places, grey in others, dry everywhere, and easy to remove, without being mixed with any stones. The surface of this Soil is denuded of trees and 240 even of grass with the exception of a few small hollows where there are some; that is a few scattered tufts of grass and stunted fir-trees 3 and i feet high; That there are trees only at a distance of 12, 15 and 20 arpents in the valley, and they are only as thick as one's leg and scattered in clumps. The Country is level. Corbin saw no spring of water, not even the Trace of one, for 15 arpents fronting on the River. He thinks that a Land-slide has taken place at this last Spot, and he bases his opinion on the fact that at various points on The bank of the trivet

there are mounds of earth, The appearance whereof resembles That of The soil at the top of the Cliff.

From The mouth of The River Tonnagane to the spot where the mine is situated, there are 7 or 8 small rapids which will not prevent Canoes carrying six thousand livres from ascending the river. These Canoes will go down even more easily. The first of these rapids is three Leagues up the River; the seven others are at varying intervals from one another.

This Report has been made to me by Corbin, carpenter, at Quebec, This [blank space in MS.] October, 1735.

Hocquart

1736: GARRISON NEEDED AT DETROIT

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 5, 1736. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 65, c. 11, fol. 55.]

Monseigneur—

* * * * * * * *

We cannot toe strongly represent to you, Monseigneur, the Necessity of strengthening Detroit. We see no other means of attaining this object than by posting a strong garrison And granting Lands there. But this project can only be partially carried out until His Majesty is pleased to increase The number of his Troops.

The Concessions which We have granted to various inhabitants for some years past have Induced them to Work more assiduously than they had hitherto done in cultivating the Soil. 241 In 1735, from 1300 to 1400 Minots of wheat were harvested, And Monsieur Peau who has just returned from there estimates that wheat will not be worth more than 3 livres The minor This year at Detroit. At present there are at that Post a garrison of 17 soldiers,

40 families, And 80 men capable of bearing arms. We have recently granted sixteen More concessions to inhabitants of that place who asked us for them, And we append Copies thereof which We beg you, Monseigneur, to get ratified by His Majesty. The 3 or 4 inhabitants who hold concessions from the Sieur Lamothe Cadilloc can be Disturbed in the possession of Their Lands solely by The King's officers, which will not happen. They feel no anxiety on that account.

We have to inform you that—upon the request made last Summer to Monsieur Péau, then the Commandant, to have a person appointed to whom The said inhabitants might pay the *Cens Et rentes* 1 for their Lands—Monsieur Hocquart appointed One Navarre, a young man of acknowledged integrity, residing at Detroit, to act as Receiver of His Majesty's Domain, and he allowed him a commission of four sols in the Livre on the moneys collected by him. Some years ago Monsieur Hocquart granted that Individual a License as Notary, an office he fills to the satisfaction of the inhabitants.2

1 The French land taxes were summed up by the term “cens et rentes,” the first being a feudal tax usually paid in kind to the seignior. At Detroit, the commandant of the post had certain rights for which he received a yearly sum, but Detroit was not a seigniory; the term “cens et rentes” is here doubtless employed in a collective sense, for what the English would call “quit-rents” due to the Crown. This tax was usually one or two sols (sous) per front foot. See Burton, *Cadillac's Village* (Detroit, 1896).— Ed.

2 Robert Navarre was born in France in 1709, of an illegitimate branch of the royal house of that name. Soon after his arrival in Canada, he was sent to Detroit as royal notary (1728 or 1730), where in 1734 he married Marie Lothman de Barrois. Thus was founded one of the most important families among the French habitants. See Hamlin, *Legends of Le Detroit* (Detroit, 1884); also Denissen, *Family of Navarre* (Detroit, 1897). The founder, Robert Navarre, died in 1791.— Ed.

When Monsieur De Beauharnois appointed the Sieur Desnoyelles Commandant of that Post, he notified that Officer that The pay And The clothing of the soldiers of the Garrison to be stationed there would be at his charge. But if such Garrison exceed 30 men, as it is necessary that It should, We doubt whether any officer wishing to do his duty can undertake it. We will await The orders you may give us on the subject.

If The affair of the copper mines should have as advantageous results as We have Reason to Hope, this Country will become more and more worthy of his Majesty's attention and of the jealousy of our neighbors. The Post of Missilimakinac And That of Rivière St Joseph, will require the same precautionary measures as that of Detroit. This will at first entail considerable expense upon his Majesty, But there is every Reason to believe that he will be amply compensated in future.

* * * * * * * *

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 5th, 1736.

1736: REPORTS FROM THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Extract from the annual report of Beauharnois and Hocquart, dated Oct. 12, 1736. Transcript from *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 1050–1051.]

Sieur de Beauharnois reposed last year the cause of the ill success attending Sieur de Noyelles' campaign against the Foxes and the Sakis. He has the honor to inform you, My Lord, by a private letter, of resolution adored by these Indians, and of the dispositions of

the Sakis, according to the news he has received from the commandant at the River St. Joseph.

Sieur de Joncaire, commandant among the Chaouanons, has written Sieur de Beauharnois that his Indians continued to 243 reject the evil advice of the Iroquois, and were disposed to follow their Father's pleasure; that they were about sending Deputies to Detroit to visit their Brothers the Hurons, and that they would come down to Montreal next Spring, to hear Sieur do Beauharnois' word and obey it. They have added that as he had located them on the Beautiful [Ohio.] river, they would not, without his orders, abandon the fire he had lighted for them at that place. Therefore, although the transmigration of these Indians to Detroit has not yet taken place, it is to be presumed from the dispositions they continue to entertain, that Sieur de Beauharnois will succeed in engaging them to do so. The maxim of the Indians in negotiations of this nature, is to have frequent talks together, and nothing is terminated among them until after divers interviews. This has been the cause of the delay manifested by the Chaouanons. As for the rest, M. de Beauharnois flatters himself that the business will be terminated next year; he will not lose sight of it.

As regards the Miamis, they appear yet quiet in their village, and M. de Beauharnois has not heard that any of them have dispersed.

In the answer to the King's Memoir of 1734, Mess rs de Beauharnois and Hocquart have explained the reasons which had prevented M. d'Arnaud, who commanded the party sent against the Quiatonons proceeding beyond the Miamis, and the motives which induced M. de Beauharnois not to push that affair any

He will add, in regard to its probable consequences, that agreed the more readily to be content with the pardon the Ouiatanons have solicited of him, inasmuch as there is no doubt, had Sieur d'Arnaud continued his march, but these Indians would have been advised thereof by the Miamis, their allies, and have retired to the Peanguichias or Islinois, who are equally their allies, so that, besides being unable to wreak vengeance

on the Ouitanons, it would be declaring war against the other nations, among whom they would certainly have an asylum, and stopping the path to the Mississippy on ourselves. The peace we have for some time been endeavoring to establish 16 244 in the Upper countries, and the condition of affairs required mild and moderate means to be preferred on an occasion involving neither the honor of the French nation nor the King's arms, and arising merely out of a simple fray between some drunken young Ouitanons and two or three Voyageurs, in an affair of trade. The proceedings and resolution of the French of Detroit to wreak vengeance for the insult perpetrated on these Voyageurs, have not been unknown to all the Nations, and may, in like manner, help to restrain those of that quarter. In fine, it has not been until after having weighed all these considerations and the unfortunate consequences this affair might involve, which M. de Beauharnois has just explained, that he deemed it prudent, and of infinite importance to the good of the Colony, to grant the Ouitanons the pardon they asked of him, rather than aggravate the troubles of the Upper country, by acting in direct opposition, to the views he entertains of reëstablishing peace, the object so strongly recommended to him.

In regard to the Scioux, Sieur [St.] Pierre, who commanded at that post, and Father Guignas, the Missionary, have written to Sieur de Beauharnois on the 10th and 11th of April last, that these Indians appeared well intentioned towards the French, and had no other fear than that of being abandoned by them. Sieur de Beauharnois annexes an extract of these letters; and although the Scioux seem very friendly, the result only can tall whether their fidelity is to be absolutely depended on, for the unrestrained and inconsistent spirit which composes the Indian character, may easily change it. They have not come down this summer, as yet, but M. de St. Pierre is to get them to do so next year, and to have an eye on their proceedings.

* * * * * * * *

M. de Beauharnois gave an account last year of the affair of the Chicachas, and since that time has not received any news from M. de Bienville.

We are with most profound respect, My Lord, Your most humble and obedient Servants,

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 12th, 1736.

1736: CENSUS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES

[Extracts from an enumeration given by an unknown person,1 dated Oct. 12, 1736. Transcribed from *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., 1052–1058.]

1 The authorship of this enumeration has been variously assigned. O'Callaghan says it has been supposed to be Joncaire; but he was on the Ohio at this date, and not at Mackinac. Schoolcraft (*History of Indian tribes, Phila*., 1847, iii, p. 558), says there is a note on the original MS., that the compilation is supposed to have been made by Monsieur Chauvignerie. We think it probably the work of Céleron the younger, who was commandant at Mackinac at this date, and well acquainted with Indian tribes.— Ed.

Enumeration of the Indian Tribes connected with the Government of Canada; the Warriors and Armorial bearings of each Nation . 1736

* * * * * * * *

The Têtes de Boule or Tribes of the Interior

These are wandering Savages who have no knowledge either of the order or form of villages, and evince the least intellect; they inhabit the mountains and lakes in the interior, from Three Rivers to Lake Superior. Their armorial bearings are unknown, if any they have.

At Missilimakinak

The Outawas of this village amount to one hundred and eighty warriors; the two principal branches are Kiskakons (1) and Sinago (2); the Bear (1) and Black Squirrel (2),2 180

River Missisagué

2 For the Ottawa clans, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 119, 120— Ed.

The Missisagués on the river number thirty men, and twenty men on the Island called Manitouatim of Lake Huron. They have for device, a Crane,3 50

3 For location and history of this tribe, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, 13, 371. The island is the Manitoulin, at the entrance of Georgian Bay.— Ed.

246

Lake Superior—At the Mouth

At the walls of Saint Mary are the Sauteurs,1 number of thirty; they are in two divisions, and have for device, the Crane and the Cat fish, 30

1 For the history of the Chippewa (whom the French called Sauteurs), see *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v.— Ed

Michipicoton—At North of this Lake2

The Papinakois and those of the interior; the first are twenty warriors, and have for device, a Hare, 20

2 There was a small French post on the Michipicoton [River, a dependency of the larger one at Nipigon.— Ed.

River Ounepigon

The Oskemanettigons are domiciled there to the number of forty warriors. They have for device, the bird called the Fisher 40

The Monsonis,3 who are migratory, estimate themselves two hundred men, and have for device, [*Original*], 200

3 The fort on the Nipigon River was found to draw the trade from the English at Hudson Bay. It was resorted to by a number of roving tribes. The domiciled tribe is probably the loon totem of the Chippewa. See Warren, “History of the Ojibways,” *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, ch. 2. The Monsoni were a wandering Algonquian tribe north and east of Lake Nipigon.— Ed.

The Abittibis and the *Têtes de Boule* come there also. Some have informed me that the first have for arms, the Partridge with the Eagle. I have already stated that they are in all one hundred warriors.

The Namewilinis have one hundred and fifty fit to bear arms. They have for device, a Sturgeon,4 150

The tribes of the Savannas, one hundred and forty warriors strong, have for armorial device, a Hare, 140

4 Probably the Sturgeon clan of the Chippewa.— Ed.

247

Gamanettigoya1

1 The post of Kamanistigoya was founded before 1718, to command the portage of Pigeon River, called “the Grand Portage.” The Ouacé may be the same as the tribe referred to in

1697 as “Les Gensappelés de L'Outarde (people of the bustard) otherwise Ouikaliny.” See Margry, *Déouv. et établ*., v, p. 7.— Ed.

The Ouacé are in number sixty men, and have for device a Cat fish, 60

Tecamamiouen,2 or Rainy Lake

2 This post was founded by La Vérendrye in the fall of 1731, and named St. Pierre.— Ed.

These Indians are thee same as those who come to Nepigon. They are about this lake to the number of one hundred men, 100

Lake of the Woods

The Cristinaux are scattered hereabout, to the number of two hundred warriors. They have for device, the Wild goose, 200

Lake Ounepigon

The Cristinaux are around this lake to the number of sixty men, 60

Assenipoëls. See Scioux.

South of Lake Superior

Kiouanan [Keweenaw]. In this quarter there are domiciled forty Sauteurs who have for device, the Crane and the Stag, 40

The Sauteurs of Point Chagouamigon are one hundred and fifty warriors, 150

The Scioux, at the head of this lake, in the woods and along the lakes, though scattered, are computed at three hundred men, 300

The Scioux of the Prairies are, in the opinion of Voyageurs, over two thousand men, Their Armorial devices are the Buffalo, the Black Dog and the Otter, 2000

The Assenipoëls, or Pouans can, according to others, vie with the Scioux, from whom they formerly sprung. They number one hundred and fifty to the south of Lake Ounepigon, and hard for device, a Big Stone or a Rock, 150

The Puans have retired, since 1728, to the Scioux to the number of eighty; they have for Armorial bearings, the Stag, the Polecat (*Pichoux*), the Tiger,1 180

1 The word “pichou” was commonly used for the Canadian lynx or loup cerrier; the “tiger” was a catamount.— Ed.

The head of Lake Superior

The Ayowois are settled at the south of the River de Missouris, at the other side of the Mississipi. They are no more than eighty. They have for device, a Fox, 80

Lake Michigan and its dependencies

The Folles Avoines, north of this lake, number one hundred and sixty warriors, 160

The most considerable tribes [have] for device, the Large tailed Bear, the Stag, a Kiliou—that is a species of Eagle (the most beautiful bird of this country,)—perched on a cross.

In explanation of a Cross forming the Armorial bearings of the Indians, it is stated that formerly a Chief of the Folles Avoines finding himself dangerously sick, consented, after trying the ordinary remedies, to see a Missionary, who, Cross in hand, prayed to God for his recovery, and obtained it from his mercy. In gratitude for this benefit, the Chief desired that to his arms should be added a Cross on which the Kiliou has ever since been always perched.

Pouteouatamis. In 1728 there was a small village of this nation retired on an island to the number of 20

The Bay [La Baye], at the head of this Lake is the sojourn, or rather the country of the Sakis. This nation could put under arms one hundred and fifty men. Others do not count but one hundred and twenty. They have for device, a Crab, a Wolf, and a She-Bear, 150

Fox River

The river of the Foxes discharges into this lake. This nation now migratory, still consists, when not separated, of one hundred men bearing arms. They have for device, a Fox, 100

The Kickapous, formerly their allies, may be eighty men. They bear for device, the Pheasant and the Otter, 80

The Maskoutin has for Armorial device, the Wolf and the Stag. This nation is estimated at sixty men, 60

River Saint Joseph, south of Lake Michigan

The Pouteouatamis, who call themselves the Governor's eldest sons,1 compose the village of the River Saint Joseph, to the number of one hundred warriors. The principal tribes bear the Golden Carp, the Frog, the Crab, the Tortoise, 100

1 It is probable that they called themselves the “eldest sons” because they were the first of the nations at La Baye to make an alliance with the French, and to visit Montreal. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 34–50.— Ed.

There are in the village about ten Miamis who bear as their arms a Crane, 10

Also, eight Illinois Kaskakias, whose device is a feather of an arrow notched; or two arrows [???] supported one against the other (x) in *saltier* [like a St. Andrew's cross.]

These are the nations best known to us as well along Grand River of the Outawas as north and south of Lakes 250 Superior and Michigan. I propose now proceeding again from Montreal by way of the Lakes to Missilimakinak.

* * * * * * * *

Lake Erie and Dependencies; South Side

The Chaouanons towards Carolina, are two hundred men, 200

Flatheads. The Cherakis, Chicachas, Totiris,1 are included under the name of Flatheads by the Iroquois, who estimate them at over six thousand men, in more than thirty villages. I'm told they had for device a Vessel (*un* Vaisseau.), 6000

1 The Totire (Tutela) were a small western Virginia tribe, identified by Powell as of Siouan stock. See U. S. Bur. Eth. *Report*, 1885–86. The English writers speak of them as on Big Sandy River in the latter years of the 17th century; and say that, about that time, they moved into North Carolina near the Southern tribes. Later, they Joined the Tuscarora and were incorporated into the Six Nations.— Ed.

The Ontationoué,2 that is those who speak the language of Men; so called by the Iroquois because they understand each other—may be fifty men. I know nothing of them, 50

2 The Tionnontate or Tobacco—Huron (more properly, Wyandot). In 1703, a remnant of this once important tribe dwelt near the Miami. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 224.— Ed.

The Miamis have for device the Hind and the Crane. These are the two principal Tribes. There is likewise that of the Bear. They are two hundred men, bearing arms, 200

The Ontationoué,2 that is those who speak the language same Nation, though in different villages. They can place under arms three hundred and fifty men. The devices of these Indians are the Serpent, the Deer, and the Small Acorn,3 350

Illinois. The Metchigamias at Fort Chartres, number 250 men, 250

3 For a description of these villages, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 376.— Ed.

251

The Kaskakias, six leagues below, have a village of one hundred warriors, 100

The Peorias at the Rock, are fifty men, 50

The Kaokias, or Tamarois, can furnish two hundred men, 200

All these Indians comprehended under the name of Illinois, have, for device, the Crane, the Bear, the White Hind, the Fork, the Tortoise.

* * * * * * * *

Lake Erie; Detroit

The Hurons at present are two hundred men, bearing arms. They mark the Tortoise, Bear, and Plover, 200

The Ponteouatamis have a village there of one hundred and eighty men.1 They bear for device the Golden Carp, the Frog, the Crab, the Tortoise. (See *River Saint Joseph, south of Lake Michigan* ,) 180

1 Note appended to text: “Instead of 180, only 100 men must be counted.”

The Outawas have two villages there, composed of one of the tribe of Sinagos; the other of Kiskakons, and may count two hundred warriors, 200

They have the same devices as those of Missilimakinak; that is to say, the Bear and Black Squirrel.

Lake Saint Clair, which leads to Lake Huron

At the end of the little Lake Saint Clair, there is a small village of Mississagués, which numbers sixty men. They have the same devices as the Mississagués of Manitouatin and Lake Ontario; that is to say, a Crane, 60

Lake Huron .

I have spoken before of the Mississagués who are to the North of this Lake. On the South side, I know only the Outawas, who have a village of eighty men at Saguinan, and for device the Bear and Squirrel, 80

252

Remark.

All the Nations have this in common; that a man who goes to war denotes himself as much by the device of his wife's as by that of his own tribe, and never marries a woman who carries a similar device to his.

If time permitted, you would, Sir, have been better satisfied with my researches.

I would have written to the Interpreters of the Posts, who would have furnished me with more certain information than I could obtain from the Voyageurs whom I questioned. I am engaged in the history of the Scioux, which you have asked of Monsieur de Linerot [Linctot].

Missilimakinak .

1736: LA RONDE SENDS SPECIMENS OF COPPER

[Letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 14, 1736. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 65, c. 11, fol. 81.”]

Monseigneur —we have The honor to inform You that Monsieur De la Ronde who was instructed to work the Copper Mines on Lake Superior, came down from there in the month of August to report on his discoveries, and brought with him About 500 pounds of ore taken from two large masses of copper, one of which is at the Tonnaganne River, and the other on the Shore of Lake Superior near the Piouabic River.1 We have drawn up the annexed memorandum from what he has told us

1 Now Iron River, in northern Michigan. The word Piouabic (Pewabic) signifies iron, the terms being in the 18th century used interchangeably. Alexander Henry, in his *Travels and Adventures* (Bain ed., Boston, 1901), p. 187, refers to this as the “Piwatic or Iron River.” Foster and Whitney, “Report on Copper Regions of Lake Superior,” in United States Land Commissioner's *Report*, 1849, suggested Pewabic as the name of a town at the mouth of this river, and so laid it down on their map. A small village of that name is now in Houghton County, near the Pewabic mine.— Ed.

253 respecting the situation of those mines, and everything connected therewith. From this You will be able to judge, favorable Hopes to which this first attempt gives Monseigneur, of the rise, and of the advantages that may be expected from the working of those mines. Although, until now, there is nothing absolutely certain beyond the discovery of those two masses, there is every reason to believe that they are not the only ones And that, by digging at the Cape of the Piouabic River, similar Masses will be found. All the savages assert that Copper is to be found at a great many Places on Lake Superior; from time to time they have brought pieces which they have given to [Frenchmen and in particular to

Father St. Pé a Jesuit Missionary at Missilimakinac.1 We consider that these discoveries cannot be too carefully followed up. But, in order to do so at present And with success, it is necessary to have The workman and The artificer asked for by Monsieur De la Ronde. We beg, you, Monseigneur, to give orders that one be found.

1 Jean Baptiste de Saint Pé was born Oct. 21, 1686, entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of seventeen, and later joined the Canada mission. His first station was among the Miamis, whence he was transferred to Mackinac, 1735–36. After this he returned to Montreal, where he was resident superior (1748–54). Twice he served as superior of all Canada (1739–48, and again in 1754).— Ed.

Annexed hereto is The Statement of the specimens of Copper from Tonnaganne And Piouabic which We will put on board the King's Ship and which Monsieur Hocquart will be careful to deliver to you, Monseigneur.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servants

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 14th, 1736.

Statement of the specimens of Copper Sent to Monseigneur The Comte de Maurepas by The King's ship.

N o 1 Three small pieces from the Tonnaganne Mine.

N o 2 Another small piece of ore of two colors, red, and white, from the said Tonnaganne River.

N o 3 Another small piece of Copper, or metal of some other 254 kind which detached itself from the ore placed in the Crucible, and flew out of it during the melting, while an assay was being made by Monsieur De la Ronde. This small Ingot comes from the same Place aforesaid and from the same block of Copper mentioned in the memorandum of the said Sieur De la Ronde.

N o 4 several specimens of the Soil or kind of Soil adhering and contiguous to the same block aforesaid.

N o A A large piece of ore, weighing About 110 pounds, marked A. on one of the faces, from the Piouabic River.

Another *Idem* , weighing 65 pounds, also marked A, from the same Place.

Several other Pieces, large and small, also from the Piouabic River, without any number.

The Copper is in two cases, N o & N o 8, which Monsieur de Beauharnois, Intendant, is to take out in order to Send them to Monseigneur.

1736: PENSION FOR A HABITANT WOUNDED IN THE FOX WARS

[Letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 16, 1736. MS. in archives of Miniatère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 66, c. 11, fol. 77.”]

Monseigneur —we have the honor to send you the List of the soldiers and other Subjects who have presented themselves last year and this year also to obtain the half pay.1 We beg you to procure it for them. These are old soldiers who have done good service and who are all unable to subsist without that aid. With respect to Jacques Réel, a habitant, as he is Crippled from the effects of the Wound that he received in 1733 in the war against the Renards and sakis, We trust, Monseigneur, that

1 Marginal note on MS.: “Propose only the number necessary to replace those who died in previous years. Letter of May 2nd, 1735 to Monsieur Hocquart.”

255 you will be pleased to allow him 10 livres per month to help him in providing for himself. Moreover, such a reward will be an encouragement to the other habitants whenever warlike expeditions are undertaken.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 16th, 1736.

Indorsed: “Received the 15th of April, 1737. The 16th of October, 1736. Invalid Fund. Monsieur Hocquart.”

1736: CONDITION OF THE FOXES AND SAUK

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 17, 1736. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 65, c. 11, fol. 142.]

Monseigneur —I have Received the letter that you did me the honor of writing me on the Seventeenth of April last with Reference to The affair of the Renards and Sakis.

I fully expected, Monseigneur, that the ill Success of that Expedition would not be agreeable to the King. Nevertheless, you Know that I took every Care to ensure a Successful result, and yon were even pleased to write me on the nineteenth of April of last year that His Majesty had approved the orders that I had given to the Sieur Denoyelle, and the measures I had taken.

When I Informed you of The Condition of the Renards after the Attack made On Them by the Sieur do Villiers, I stated Nothing, Monseigneur, beyond what Had been written to me from all the Posts of the upper country;1 and I have since

1 Father le Boullenger, Jesuit missionary among the Illinois, wrote to the Minister in 1736: “The court was deceived when it was informed that the Renards were destroyed. 1st. In the colony of Canada they have incurred more expenses than are necessary to destroy the Renards; but they have treated them too gently, and this management has only served to augment the expenses, and to render this nation more insolent. 2nd. In order to succeed, the natives of the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana must be united. 3d. Nothing must be concealed from the savages. If the Iroquois had known, that it was desired to pardon the Sakis, they would not have marched; or they would not have been the cause of a division such as that which caused Monsieur de Noyelles's enterprise to fail. 4th. Soldiers are in no wise suitable for a march of six months by land. Incapable of providing their own subsistence, they are a charge upon the savages, which gives rise to complaints. For such expeditions, only Canadians, accustomed to this kind of journeys, should be employed.”—Ferland. *Cours d'Histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1865), ii, p. 441.—Ed.

256 learned that The increase in the number which I Had the honor of mentioning to You as being that of the Renards Remaining at that time, Was due to the fact that all the Savages who had Renards Slaves, had Returned them, and that the tribes supplied them with guns and ammunition.

You may imagine, Monseigneur, that the Savages have their policy as we have Ours, and that they are not greatly pleased at seeing a nation destroyed, for Fear that their turn may come.

They manifest. Much ardor towards the French, and act quite differently We have had a Recent proof of This among the Outawois, who have begged for mercy for the Sakis,

although they Had an Interest in Avenging the death of their people and of their great chief.

The Savages as a rule greatly fear the French, but they do not love them. All that they manifest towards them is Never Sincere.

You will Observe, Monseigneur, in the Reply to the King's Memorial of one thousand Seven Hundred and thirty four, that the Sieur Denoyelle had orders to pass by Detroit to levy the hurons and other Savages at that post; and that I had ordered him, in His Instructions respecting the request of the Outawois, to grant the Sakis their Lives if they delivered up the Renards to him. He had also orders to consult there with Monsieur Peau, the other Officers, and the tribes, respecting the measures to be taken in accordance with the information he might have. He was extremely Embarrassed by the question put to him at the Council, by the Hurons asking whether he had orders to destroy the Sakis with the Renards, and saying that otherwise they 257 would not march. He told them Without other Explanation, that he had orders to Eat up both nations. He Detached two canoes to Send word to the Sieur De Celeron who commanded at Missilimakinac, and to indicate a Rendezvous to Him. He left Detroit to go to the Miamis, and Afterward to the Ouyatanons in order to Keep the Savages away from the River St Joseph where Six cabins of Sakis had taken Refuge. As soon as the hurons arrived among the Kickapoux they held a council with the Iroquois, and said to the Sieur Denoyelle: “Thou hast told us that We should eat the Sakis and the Renards. There are Sakis at the River St Joseph; we will begin by destroying these.” In vain did he Remonstrate with the hurons, and tell them the orders he had received; they Would listen to nothing and departed from him in that, fashion.

It was not, Monseigneur, the Passage through the country of the miamis that caused the hurons to abandon Him. The Sole reason was that which I have just had the honor of giving You; for it was our settled Savages who asked that they might pass by the lakes that they might more easily procure Food along the Road. The Provisions that we give

them previous to their departure when they go to war, are left by them at the Village for the Subsistence of their families, and this cannot be Prevented. Moreover, before leaving la Chine, they had agreed to pass through the country of the miamis in order to induce them to join the expedition. They chanted the war-song with Them at that Place, and it was the miamis whom the Sieur Denoyelle had brought with him to Montreal who were the first to strike the Post at that feast.

If the Sieur Denoyelle did not induce the Savages to march with him, it may be due to the Voyageurs, who no doubt Secretly dissuaded them from it for their own Interests, as has happened several times.

This Affair does not appear, Monseigneur, to have had any regrettable results. On the contrary, the Collar given to the Sakis on my behalf by the Sieur Denoyelle, has had all The effect I could have Hoped.

258

The Sieur De St Pierre, the commandant among the Scioux, and Father Guignas, the missionary of that Post, Wrote me on the tenth and eleventh of April last that Ouabasseban or le Chat blan, the great Chief of the Sakis, Had Come to tell them on the first of the same month that the Renards Were about to divide Themselves into several war parties, and attack on all sides, since they had no longer any Hope of their Lives; that all that he could obtain from them Was that they should suspend Their Expeditions Until his returns; that afterward they would act according to the good or bad tidings he might bring them; that as for Him and His people, they had Resolved to separate from that desperate nation.

The Sieur De St Pierre Replied to him: “Since the Sakis Are the cause of the Renards Still Being in a Condition to give trouble because they have not abandoned them, you should now Prevent Them from Carrying out their evil design, and Induce Them to remain quiet Until Onontio, to whom I Shall Write, has made Known His Intentions.”

A proposal was made to the Sieur De St Pierre to let them form Villages partly with the Puants in whom they had confidence and partly with the Sakis, that then there would no longer be any question of the Renards. Le Moyne, the Sakis chief who is faithful to the French and Onnontaté, a Nipissingue chief, Came down to bring me this News. They asked me what my plans were and I sent them Back saying that I Was a good Father who forgave his Children when they asked for mercy; that I Willingly granted the Sakis Their Lives, because I Was informed that what they had done was solely through the solicitation of the Renards; that I also Wished to have pity on the Renards And to grant them their Lives, since the Sakis asked me to pardon Them, but only on condition that they should disperse among the nations, and that no mention should Ever be made of the name of the Renards, who had so often Disturbed the earth. This, Monseigneur, was the best line of conduce that I could follow with respect to that post, which the Sieur De St Pierre had written to me they would be obliged to abandon, and that there Was danger in driving

the Renards to despair because the Scioux intended to give them an Asylum. The unfortunate affair of Monsieur Dartaguiette, which has made All the Savages still more Insolent than they were, has contributed, in no slight degree, to induce me to take this decision.1

1 Beauharnois here refers to the defeat and capture in March, 1736, of a French detachment from the posts of the Wabash and the Illinois, who were on their way to second the expedition of Bienville from Louisiana against the Chickasaw. Pierre D'Artaguette was the leader of the northern division of the army, which having failed to make a junction with the main body, attacked the Chickasaw with disastrous results. Twenty-two French were taken prisoners, among others the commander, the Jesuit missionary Sénat, Vincennes, one of the Sieurs de St. Ange, and other officers, most of whom were tortured and burned at the stake.— Ed.

The Sieur De Lusignan,2 the commandant at the River St Joseph, Wrote me on the eighth of July last that the Sakis with their women and Children Had started on the first of the Same month to Come to his post to beg for their lives. By another Letter of the same Date, he informed me that he had learned from His Savages that the Renards had entered into an alliance with some of the Prairie Scioux on The other side of the Mississipi. I have Had the honor of conveying this information in the King's memorial.

2 Paul Louis Dazenard, Sieur de Lusignan, was born in 1691, and being made ensign in the colonial troops in 1724; served long and arduously, obtaining a lieutenancy in 1735, and a captaincy in 1744. After commanding at River St. Joseph, 1735–39, he was among the Sioux in 1745; in charge of Fort Frederic, 1755; and at the post of danger, Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), 1757–58. Later (1759), he commanded at Isle aux Noix, and was at St. John in 1760.— Ed.

I think, Monseigneur, that when they Learn the Reply that I gave to le Moyne and to onnontate they will leave the Scioux (if they Are with Them) to form villages with the Puants and the Sakis.

By a third letter of the twenty fifth of July, the Sieur De lusignan informs me that the Sakis came to the River St Joseph on the nineteenth of the same month; that they came to His 17 260 fort, quite naked and in tears, to offer him a Calumet and to beg for their Lives; that they Were Followed by the Chiefs and elders of the Poutouatamis, Jlinois, Miamis, And Outawois who had Gone to meet Them and take them Food, because one of their People had come to tell them that they had none. He adds that they have Established themselves at The Place that he pointed out to them, Between the Poutouatamis, Miamis and Jlinois Villages, and that they asked him leave to go down to Montreal next spring to beg for mercy. He has Sent me their Words and His Answers.

The Nations Established On the bank of the Missouris who last year Joined five or Six hundred Savages And French Voyageurs, have all Gone home Without having done anything.

I Remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 17th, 1736.

1737: THE KING'S ORDERS FOR THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Extracts from the yearly memorial of the king in reply to the report of the governor and intendant. Transcript from *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 1059, 1060.]

* * * * * * * *

His Majesty has learned with pleasure that Captain Desnoyelles' expedition against the Foxes and Sacs in 1735 has not been attended by any bad consequences. As he causes his intentions regarding those Indians to be fully explained to the Marquis de Beauharnois, he will content himself here to recommend him to conform thereto.

He hopes to learn that the Chaouanons will hake kept the promise they gave Sieur Joncaire, the commandant in their country, to come down this spring to Montreal, to hear the Marquis de Beauharnois discourse on their migration. It is probable that, should they determine on that course, they will easily he persuaded to settle at Detroit; and that it is very 261 desirable, so as to protect the fidelity of these Indians against the insinuations of the English. But the delay they interpose to that movement induces his Majesty to apprehend that the Marquis de Beauharnois will meet with more difficulties than he had anticipated, and that the English, with whom his Majesty is informed they trade, had

made sufficient progress among them to dissuade them therefrom. However that may be, Sieur de Beauharnois should neglect nothing to accomplish that removal; and this object deserves now the moro attention by reason of the settlement which a party of Cherakis and Chickachas has made on the river Oio, as Sieur de Beauharnois must be aware.

His Majesty is satisfied with his explanations respecting his determination in 1734 not to press the affair that occurred among the Ouiatanons, and to be content with the pardon these Indians demanded of him. A mild and moderate policy is always preferable, when it can be pursued without affecting the honor of the Nation and the glory of His Majesty's arms. But there are occasions when it may be absolutely necessary not to stop short, and when such policy may be accompanied by very unfortunate consequences. It is for Sieur de Beauharnois to decide on the course he is W adopt in occurring circumstances, and his Majesty cannot but rely on his zeal and prudence. As respects the Scioux: according to what the commandant and Missionary at that post have written to Sieur de Beauharnois, relative to the dispositions of these Indians, nothing appears to be wanting on that point. But their delay in coming down to Montreal since the time they promised to do so, must render their sentiments somewhat suspected, and nothing but facts can determine whether their fidelity can be absolutely relied on. But what must still further increase the uneasiness to be entertained in their regard, is the attack on the convoy of M. de la Verandèrie,1 especially if this officer has adopted

1 The Sioux attacked on June 8, 1736, a party of twenty-one French sent by Sieur de la Vérendrye, in charge of his oldest son, to convey the Jesuit missionary, Aulneau, to Mackinac, and massacred the entire party. This took place on an island in the Lake of the Woods, seven leagues from Fort St. Charles. For the life and letters of Father Aulneau, see *Jes. Rel*., lxiii.— Ed.

262 the course he had informed the Marquis de Beauharnois he should take, to have revenge therefor. His Majesty will wait impatiently Sieur de Beauharnois' report of what shall have been done on that subject, and is, meanwhile, persuaded that he will have

adopted such measures as will have appeared to him the most suitable for the public service.

Versailles , May 10th, 1737.

1737: COPPER MINES; INDIAN CONDITIONS

[Extracts from the yearly report of Beauharnois. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 67, c. 11. fol. 139.”

Copper Mines. This year we have no Interesting Report to make to His Majesty with reference to the copper mines. The son of the Sieur de la Ronde merely wrote to the Sieur de Beauharnois that he had endeavored to approach the alleged Island of copper in his batteau, But that stress of Weather had compelled him to put into port, his Sail having been Torn by a Squall.

The Sieur La Ronde, the Elder, who left for his Post in the month of may, wrote us from sault Ste Marie at the Entrance of Lake superior that he was waiting for the miners that are to be sent him and he promises that if they arrive we shall receive Information next year of everything connected with the Mines. A few Days after the arrival of the King's Ship we sent the Forsters, father and son, to Missilimakinac. They will pass the winter at that Post and next Spring They will be in a Position to proceed to the point of Chagoüamigon under the orders of the Sieur La Ronde. We have written that officer to make a profitable Use of them, to make them inspect the various Places where he has discovered copper mines and to 263 Confer with them in regard to what is proper to do for the success of His Undertaking. At the same time we Explained to him how greatly It was to his Interest to act promptly. If the Tonnagane mine can be Worked, the peace just concluded between, the Cristinaux and the Sauteux of la pointe is of the greatest advantage as regards the peaceful exploitation of the mines. But with respect to this circumstance as well as to all others connected with those Mines, We hope that the Sieur de la Ronde will, next year, place us in a Position to send An accurate Report thereof to his Majesty. We cannot at

present compel him to build a second Bark at Detroit, as he bound himself to do, Until he is more certain of the success of his Enterprise. He would thereby be forced to incur Expense which he would be unable to meet and which, moreover, would be absolutely Useless should his success not equal his Hopes.

* * * * * * * *

The Sieurs de Beauharnois and hocquart have received the Edict his Majesty has been pleased to issue in favor of the Coureurs de bois. This Edict has been Amnesty for the Registered in the records of the Council Coureurs do bois . and published in the usual manner. They have sent Copies thereof to all the Posts of the upper country so that all who are interested may be informed of the same. They will be careful to see that the new prohibitions against the contours do bols Are Enforced.

* * * * * * * *

The Renards and Sakis have not struck a blow since the affair of the Sieur Des Noyelles. On the contrary they have always begged for their lives since Then and Renards and have again asked the same this year through the Sakis . Outaouacs, sinayes, Kiskacons,1 the Poutoüatamis of the river St Joseph, the folles avoines, and the Puants who came down to Montreal.

1 These belonged to Ottawa clans; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 30, 120.— Ed.

264

The Chaoüanons must have gone on an embassy to Detroit this year. Their departure was delayed solely owing to the fact that they were waiting for the Kiliskouakis, Chaoüanons Their allies, who were bringing them Porcelain.1 They caused themselves to be announced by means of two branches of Porcelain whereof Mekinac, the great chief of the Outaouacs was the bearer.

1 Probably this was one of the Shawnee tribes, which is ordinarily called Kiskapocke.—Ed.

Oüiatanons The Sieur de Beauharnois has nothing to add to the report he made last year with regard to the Oüiatanons . Gentle measures have had a good Effect as that nation has not ceased to wage war against the Chicachas.

The post in the sioux country has been Evacuated by the Sieur de St Pierre. The sioux struck the sauteux of the point of Chagoüamigon in the month of May. The sauteux Sioux raised a band to avenge the Blow struck at them. They Induced the puants to take part in their quarrel; this compelled the Sieur de St Pierre to abandon his Post and to burn the fort.

The Sieur de la Verandeire has come down to Montreal and reports that the Cristinaux , assiniboils and Cristinaux, Monsonis savages started at the melting of Assiniboils, etc . the Snows to Avenge the blow struck at the French last year.

Iroquois The sonontouans are to come down to Montreal next Spring.

1737: DETROIT; THE GARRISON SHOULD BE INCREASED

[Letter of Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 7, 1737. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 308.]

Monseigneur —i am replying alone to the Letter you did us the honor of writing to us jointly on April 16 last with reference to Detroit. Monsieur de Beauharnois will do likewise and we have made an, agreement to that effect. I have 265 communicated to him all the contents of this Letter which I had drafted as a Joint Letter.

The concessions granted at that post are in Truth an Inducement to the habitants to till the Land better than they have hitherto done, But, Monseigneur, you cannot expect any

marked progress unless a strong garrison is posted there. At the beginning it should consist of at least 60 men with a stationary commandant, a second in command, a third officer, a fourth officer to act as Adjutant, so that there may be some regularity in the service. This is the only way to make ourselves respected by the savages whose Minds are being turned every Day through their frequent communications with the English to whom they are attracted by the cheapness of the Goods for which they trade with them, and by the Brandy which is abundantly distributed to them. On the other hand, the beaver trade, which for a long time to come will still be the most valuable source of profit, will be destroyed unless we endeavor to control the savages by fear, to which should be added presents, the better to attach them to us.

Of those 60 soldiers in garrison some will settle on the Spot every year and become good habitants. And they, with such voyageurs as may likewise settle there, will in a few years constitute a good militia force capable of Overawing the Savages and opposing the Enterprises the English might some day Attempt against that Post—which is the central point of the upper country, and will be capable of rendering assistance to all the posts, and of preventing interruption of communication between this Colony and that of Louisiana. We have jointly represented the necessity of increasing the number of troops to form fresh Garrisons and to strengthen the old ones. Such increase is of the greatest importance both as regards the safety of the country and the Interests of good order, the maintenance of authority and strict police in the Interior of the Colony.

It is true that there are but few regular troops in new England, but Insubordination and Independence reign there, an evil to be foreseen and Avoided in the [French] Colonies especially in this one where the population is beginning to be 266 numerous and has been allowed to live with a little too much liberty.

The proposed plan, according to what you write us, would for the present consist merely in Placing a stationary commandant there. To me it seems certain that the officer appointed on that footing and for whom you would obtain some favor from the King might to some

extent contribute to the increase of that Establishment by his Example, his care and his efforts to urge the people to till the Soil; But he will not succeed in increasing the number of families or at least he will experience very great difficulty in doing so. Soldiers alone began the Establishment of Detroit when Monsieur de La Mothe Cadillac commanded there, and they alone can maintain it at present. The majority of the Voyageurs are too busy and too fond of Trading to allow us to hope of their settling there and devoting themselves to the cultivation of the Soil.

A commandant at Detroit as that Post is at present Established could not live there unless he carried on some trade. We cannot help permitting him to do so and in such case he extends it according to his industry.

We might farm out Detroit and even derive a profit of from 3000 to 4000 livres per annum by allowing the farmer to sell all the Brandy he wished. In such case he would undertake to pay all the present expenses of the past. But such step would entail other Drawbacks Equally detrimental to the growth of Detroit. The farmer would be at liberty to put such price upon goods as he might think proper; the aid residents who are beginning to cultivate their Lands would soon decide to abandon them, And it is certain that they would not be replaced by others. For the same reason the Savages would take a dislike to trading with the French. Finally freedom of Trade is absolutely necessary at the beginning of Establishments of that Kind, and the one proposed herein is the only plan I deem suit able for the carrying out of your Intentions.

At present the garrison of Detroit consists of 17 soldiers; the Sieur De Noyelles has to carry thither their pay and uniforms 267 and is bound to defray the ordinary Expenses of the Post.

It devolves upon Monsieur de Beauharnois to submit to you the name of the officer whom he deems most suitable for the appointment as well as the rank that should be given him. I had spoken to him, of Monsieur Peau who commanded at Detroit for three years to the

satisfaction of the savages and of the French, and to whom His Majesty should g lye the rank of King's Lieutenant.

You will see, Monseigneur, by this plan that it would cost the King 6250 livres per annum for the proposed establishment, while the Commandant and officers would be forbidden to carry on any Trade.

There is one consideration that may become of Importance as regards the savages if the plan be carried out It would be advisable to send a reinforcement of ten soldiers only to Detroit the first year; of ten more in the second, and so on in the following years until the number of 60 is reached so as not to cause Uneasiness amongst the savages established at the Post who are naturally suspicious. In that case there would be a reduction in the item of 3000 livres shown in the draft in connection with the Transport of the pay and uniforms of the Garrison.

I remain with the most profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Quebec , October 7th, 1737.

Hocquart

1737: THE SIOUX; DETROIT

[Extracts from a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 14, 1737. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 169.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

On his arrival the Sieur De St Pierre handed me a Report on what has happened at the post in the scioux country.1 I

1 See next document.— Ed.

268 take the liberty, Monseigneur, of Sending It to you. You will see that there is no likelihood of its ever being possible to have any Trade with that Nation and that he acted properly in abandoning his fort; they [the garrison] would have Been Exposed daily to danger of perishing. It would be a great boon if we could destroy them [the Sioux] because they occupy the finest Hunting grounds. That officer assured me that if the Cristinaux, Monsonis, and Assiniboils had waged War Against Them last winter they would have defeated them all; that they expected this, and nearly died of hunger because they were afraid to hunt.

The Sieur De St Pierre told me that all the Attentions shown Them by the scioux in the swing of last year and The Eagerness they displayed to have Frenchmen amongst Them to supply their wants, Were intended solely to divert suspicion from the blow they were meditating.1 He added that when the Sieur De la Verendrye, the younger, Was at the head of the Monsonis, Cristinaux, and Assiniboils, after he had refused to lead them those Nations Went Against the Scioux of the woods instead of the Maskoutins Poüanes, in order to Bring the French into their party.2

1 The reference here, is to the attack on La Vérendrye's men at the Lake of the Woods.— Ed.

2 Two years before the massacre (1736), the younger La Vérendrye had joined a war-party of the Cree and Assiniboin against the Sioux. In the council he was proclaimed leader, an honor which he refused, and took no part in the hostilities. It was thought, nevertheless, that his massacre was an act of revenge on the part of the Sioux. The “Maskoutins Poüanes” were the Prairie Sioux (Maskoutepoels). See Jones, *Aulneau Collection* (Montreal, 1893), pp. 76, 94.— Ed.

* * * * * * * *

I am greatly mortified, Monseigneur, at your not approving my nomination of the Sieur De Noyelles to the post of Commandant of Detroit. Had I known your intentions sooner I would have Sent another. I cannot however, Monseigneur, Refrain from representing to you that that officer is generally liked by all the French and savages, and that I have reason to 269 Be very well satisfied with the reports he sends me. In addition to his zeal for the service, he possesses an Eminent quality, that is disinterestedness,—a quality so necessary, especially at that Place, that I thought I could not do better.

I have Considered, Monseigneur, what you have been pleased to write me regarding tits Majesty's views with reference to that post. I will take the Liberty of expressing my Ideas in a private Despatch.

I will continue, Monseigneur, to give my best attention in the Selection I shall make of the Commandants to be Sent to the Posts.

* * * * * * * *

I remain etc.

Beaurnois

Quebec , October 14th, 1737.

1737: THE SIOUX POST ABANDONED

[Letter of St. Pierre to Beauharnois. Translated from a transcript in Margry, Découv. et établ., vi, pp. 575–580.]

Relation of the sieur de Saint Pierre, commandant of the post in the Sioux country, appended to the letter of Monsieur, the marquis de Beaharnois.

14th October, 1737.

On the 6th of May, 1736, fifty four Sioux warriors passed in front of the fort, where a portion of them stopped. The sieur de Saint Pierre asked them whither they were going. They told him that they were taking back a female slave belonging to the Puans, who had sought refuge amongst them. He said that it did not require so many men to take charge of one woman. They replied that they were going to hunt turkeys, in order to get feathers for their arrows. The Puans did their best to stop them. They continued their route, and meeting two Frenchmen at the little River of the Illinois in the Mississipi country, they killed and scalped them. While the sieur do Saint Pierre was erecting another fort about 25 leagues 270 higher up than the first, they passed on their way back and danced the scalp dance for four days without saying to what nation the men belonged whom they had killed. The Puans found it out and notified the French in the fort.

They heard of the defeat of the French of the post of de la Verenderie1 on the 23rd of August 1736, by two canoes of Saulteux of la Pointe who brought letters from the sieurs Nolan, Legras, and Bourassa.2 They told them that the majority of those who had struck the blow were Sioux of the woods and that only five Sioux of the Prairies were with them. When the French heard this news, they kept on their guard.

1 See *ante*, pp. 261, 262.— Ed.

2 These were well-known voyaguers and Indian traders. Jean Baptiste Nolan was a merchant of Montreal, who had two sons; probably this one was Charles, born 1694, died 1754. Daniel Legras, the son of Jean, was interpreter for the king; he was born in 1698, and married at Kaskaskia, Ill. There were a number of voyageurs by the name of Bourassa, but the most noted was Réné, born in 1688, who settled at Mackinac, and whose daughter Charlotte was the wife of Wisconsin's first settler, Charles Langlade. Bourassa brought news of the massacre of the French to Quebec. See Jones, *Aulneau Collection*, pp. 93, 94.— Ed.

On the 16th of September, the Sioux came to the fort to the number of ten men, three being chiefs with a Flag, two little girl slaves, 57 livres of dried beaver flesh, and nine deer-skins, which they delivered to the sieur de Saint Pierre saying that they had not taken any part in the attack on the French at the Western post, and by that word they begged him to continue to give them what they needed for the subsistence of their families. He replied that he would grant their request until he had news from the great Onontio; that he had nothing to say to them, except that he would inform Onontio of the step they were taking in sending him their word; that he could not rely on them after what they had done. He also spoke to them of the two Frenchmen whom they had killed on the Mississipi.

On the following day, there came with three young men a chief who had a silver seal hanging from his ear. The sieur de 271 Saint Pierre perceiving it, asked him where he had got it; the chief did not reply, and began to laugh. The officer tore *off the seal with the ear* , telling him he was very hold to appear before him with such a thing, and had him turned out of the fort.

On the 18th of December, they [the Sioux]arrived to the number of thirty six men with their families. The young men went ahead, and set fire to the fort of the Puans. The sieur de Saint Pierre asked Ouakantapé whether he was not content with having struck two foul blows at the French, without also coming to insult them in their fort by burning that of the Puans, their brothers. He replied that what he was doing was done after reflection and designedly. Then they pulled up the stakes in Reverend Father Guignas's garden, burned them, and went away.

On the 24th of January, 1737, at eight o'clock in the morning while the gates of the fort were open to allow of wood being carried in, forty Sioux entered all at once. Although he had no previous knowledge of this, when the sieur de Saint Pierre was informed of it, he had the gates dosed and said to them: “How came you to enter here in such great numbers without warning, and what is your design? You must remember that I told you last autumn I would not receive more than ten of you at a time. If you have anything to

say to me I will not listen to you until you have sent out all your young men." This they did; after which they proposed to him to urge the traders to give them credit. Pie replied that he would not do so, because he could not forget the foul blows they had struck; that, nevertheless, if the traders wished to be so good to them, he would not prevent them. The Sioux said amongst themselves: "We are forty to twenty; all we have to do is to pillage." On hearing this, he had them put out, and they all went away.

On the 18th or 20th of March, the Sioux, to the number of thirty men, encountered in the interior at the head of Lake Superior a Salteaux with his wife and two children all of whom they killed and scalped. When the Saulteux heard of this, 272 they raised a band to attack them, and arrived at the sieur de Saint Pierre's post on the 21st of May. They went to the Puans to engage them in their quarrel. The sieur de Saint Pierre did all he could to prevent their attacking the Sioux, saying that they exposed the French to be massacred because, as they had come to the fort, it would look as if the latter had induced them to make the attack; that if, on the contrary, they had all taken a roundabout way, the Sioux might have thought that the attack was made by warriors who had started from their village for the purpose of avenging themselves. They promised him that they would go back the next day. They did not do so, at the request of the Puans who stopped them. During their stay five Sioux arrived, and entered the French fort to trade. The French warned them that a band of Saulteux had come to avenge the blow inflicted on them. At night they asked to escape, and the gate of the fort was opened for them. The Saulteux, who were aware of this, lay in ambush for them on the way. One of the band who spoke Sioux, asked: "Who are you?" A Sioux recognizing the Saulteux's voice, fired a gun at him, and broke his wrist. They escaped through the woods.

On the following day, the Saulteux started early in the morning to return home. Two hours after their departure, twenty five Sioux arrived, who were informed by the Puans of what had occurred. The Sioux wished to run after the Saulteux; the sieur de Saint Pierre opposed it. A Saulteux who had married amongst the Puans started to go and warn them of the arrival of the twenty five Sioux. The Saulteux retraced their steps, went to

the Puans and they all resolved to destroy them. Le Grelot, the chief of the Puans, told a Frenchman who was in their village to warn the sieur de Saint Pierre of what was going on; but the warriors had already started, and he could not frustrate their design. He notified seventeen Sioux, who were in his fort of the plot that was being hatched against them, and told them to put their canoes in safety, and to warn the eight men who were outside. Four issued from the fort to go to their people and to the canoes; they found the 273 Puans and Saulteux breaking them up. After this act, they fired on the Sioux, broke the thigh of one who fired a gun-shot through the body of a Saulteux and killed him. The Saulteux cut him to pieces. The Sioux fled through the woods. The Saulteux came to the fort and asked the sieur de Saint Pierre for the thirteen Sioux who were there. He replied that he did not give up people who took refuge with him. He kept them for two days, and then had them escape at night. The Puans came to tell the sieur de Saint Pierre that they could no longer remain near their enemies; that the Saulteux had urged them to commit this evil deed, and at the same time they all left with the Saulteux.

After the departure of the Puans the sieur de Saint Pierre held a council with the sieur de Linctot, his second in command, Reverend Father Guignas,1 and the French in the post to decide what they should do. They told him that there was nothing else to be done but to abandon the post, burn the fort, and escape, because they ran the risk of being any day massacred by the Sioux. tie said that his advice was to stay; and that he could not think that after the favor they had done the nation in preventing those who were in the affray with the Puans and Saulteux from being killed, they would be evil-minded enough to do them any harm; and moreover thai it was their interest to remain. They replied that they would rather sacrifice their

1 The fate of Father Guignas had for several years been a cause for anxiety among his Jesuit brethren. Father Nau wrote in 1734: “The war is still carried on against what remains of the Renard nation, and against the other tribes which have taken them under their protection. Father Guignas was not taken, as it was feared, but he has had much to suffer, for nothing can be sent him safely. For two consecutive years the provisions

sent him have fallen into the enemy's hands." Aulneau in 1735 wrote: "We are much afraid that father Guignas has been taken and burned by a tribe of savages called the rénards; but in this unfortunate country we should set little value on our lives which are so Often in peril." And again some weeks later: "We received, a few days ago, news of father Guignas; since 1732 he had not been heard from. He is in a helpless state. The hunger he has had to endure, the imminent danger to which he has been continually exposed, of being massacred by the sakis and the renards, and numberless other hardships, borne heroically, have brought him so low, that even the savages, who have little pity for us, are forced to look upon him with feelings of compassion. We are, however, in the impossibility of attempting anything for his relief, owing to the scarcity of missionaries." Father Nau wrote Oct. 2, 1735: "Father Guignas is in the Sioux country at a little french fort with but six men with Him. Scarcely a month ago The marquis de Beauharnois, governor-general of new france, sent twenty-two men in four canoes with supplies of which he stood absolutely in need, for The Sioux refuse to provide for Him. It is not at all certain that The relief-party will reach him without molestation, their route lying close to the country of the renards." *Jes. Rel*., lxviii, pp. 233, 255, 257, 281.— Ed.

274 goods than their lives; and this compelled the said sieur de Saint Pierre to evacuate the post on the goth of the month of May.

1737: COUREURS DES BOIS AT MACKINAC; PEACE FOR THE SAUK AND FOXES

[Extract from a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 16, 1737, giving news of the conditions at the various posts. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 67, c. 11, fo1. 180."]

Monseigneur —

The Sieur De Vercheres,1 the Commandant at Missilmakinac, Wrote me on the 27th of last June that in the Vicinity of his fort there were nearly thirty coureurs de bois armed with Swords, guns, and Pistols wherewith to fight those who might

1 Jean Jarret, Sieur de Verchères, was born in 1687, and must therefore have been a child when his sister Madeleine so bravely defended her father's fort against the Iroquois (1696). He was ensign in 1710, and in 1747 had earned the following enconium: “A worthy officer, who has often commanded in the upper posts, and has acquitted himself so well that he has always been employed by the General, whenever his services were required.” He was sent at that date to command at La Baye, and to assist in putting down the rebellion at Mackinac. In 1750 he was given the cross of St. Louis; and in 1752 was in command at Fort Frontenac, dying the same year.— Ed.

275 oppose their passage; that those people had many Savages on their side, and that as he Is not strong enough to stop them, he causes a careful watch to be kept. He writes that nothing that he could say would represent the Fact as bad as It is.

I Had determined, Monseigneur, to ask you for an Amnesty for Them, solely in consequence of what you had done me Tiao honor of writing to me last year, that His Majesty was to Send Troops to this Colony. I intended to garrison the Posts with them, and to have these Coureurs de Bois sent down after the Proclamation. I think however that many will Return, when they Hear of the pardon that His Majesty, has Granted them.1

1 The coureurs de bets were a standing menace to the colony and its fur-trade monopoly. Illicit traders, they ranged among the Indian tribes, securing furs, and frequently selling them to the English. From necessity, amnesties were granted them in 1682, 1703, and 1716. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*., xvi, index. Compare the rebellion of their descendants under Louis Riel, in Manitoba, in 1869 and 1885.— Ed.

The Outawais, Sinagos, and Kiskacous, with the folles avoines, Poutouatamis, and Puants, came down this Year. The Outawais asked that the lives of the Sakis be spared, and so did a Chief whose brother had been killed by that nation. The Poutouatamis made the same request of me, and the folles avoines for the Renards, although they have always Been their most Cruel Enemies, saying to me that all the Evil Hearts Had been

destroyed. The Puants joined with them in this request. I assembled them all in a Council, and said to them: “My Children, since you ask me for the Lives of the Renards and Sakis, and assure me that all the Evil hearts have Been destroyed, I am willing to grant this out of consideration for you, to prove to you that I Desire to see you tranquil on your Mats, and that I am glad to give you the means of hunting in peace so that you may provide subsistence for your families.” I sent them all away happy. I think that I shall have the Satisfaction of seeing them United, for they have so promised me. Those who wished to be Revenged yielded to my arguments.

The position of Affairs did not permit me, Menseigneur, to hesitate for a moment to grant them what they Urgently asked 276 of me, all the more so that it Accorded with the interests of the Service and of the Colony. And as the Renards and Sakis had done nothing wrong since the Sieur de Noyelle's affair, despair might have seized them. They are to come down next year to thank me for the pardon I have granted them, accompanied by all who craved Mercy for Them. I considered it a good stroke to have restored peace among all these Nations, who some time before Were far from being in accord. This cannot but be productive of much good in the whole country.

I Sent, Monseigneur, their Words And my Replies with the necessary Instructions to the Sieur de Vercheres, to the Sieur De La Martinière,1 the Commandant at la Baye, and to the Sieur Du Lusignan.

1 Claude Antoine de Berman, Sieur de la Martinière, was the son of an eminent judge, councillor, etc., of the same name, who died in 1719, The younger was born in 1710; was made lieutenant, later captain of troops; received the cross of St. Louis; and retired on half pay in 1759. He married an English girl, Catherine Parsons, by whom he had ten children, and died at Quebec in 1761.— Ed.

* * * * * * * *

The affair of the Santeux of the Rivière aux Sables2 who killed a Maskoutin by mistake, was Patched up by the Sieur do Noyelles.

2 Sable River, Michigan, flowing into Lake Michigan.— Ed.

A party of hurons who went last year on the war-path Against the Chicachas, came back with four Slaves and one Scalp. They gave one of the captives to the Sieur de Noyelles to Replace the Sieur De Vincennes.3 He gave him to the Villages of his Post and they burned him, so angry Were they against that Nation.

3 Vincennes was captured and burned by the Chickasaw in D'Artaguette's unfortunate expedition. It was an Indian custom to “replace” a victim of war by a prisoner of the same nation.— Ed.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 16th, 1737.

277

1738: WAR BETWEEN THE CHIPPEWA AND SIOUX

[Extracts from two letters of La Ronde, commandant at Chagouamigon, to Beauharnois. MS. in archives of MinistÈre des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gÉn., vol. 69, c. 11, fol. 105.”]

Letter of June 28th

Monsieur —i inform you of what has occurred at my Post, War has raged very bitterly, and the Scioux have killed more than thirty persons. They nevertheless have Sent two Sauteux

women where they had made prisoners to sue for Peace. I at once sent off ten Sauteux with two Slaves, and I loaded them with over two thousand Ecus' worth1 of presents in order to have Peace concluded. 50 days Had passed since their departure, when I embarked to go and visit the various Places on the Lake, And I think that Peace will be made Between Them, all the more since they are allied with one another. I am pressed for time owing to the departure of the courier, and this prevents me from giving you further details which I shall send by the first opportunity.

1 An Écu was an old French coin worth about sixty cents of our money.— Ed.

Letter of July 22nd

Monsieur —I had the honor of writing to you about The attack of the Sauteux Upon the Scioux last year. I now have the honor of informing you, that when I reached Chagoüamigon, I greatly blamed the Sauteux for having struck the Scioux of the Lakes, because it Was the Scioux of the prairies who had killed their Chief and moreover they had killed some of their kindred. They replied that it Was true, but that it Was the Lake Scioux who had killed the 22 Frenchmen in the North, and that they wished to Avenge their death. What the Savages said Was quite true, for we have Had Sun-dials and several other things belonging to the Jesuit Father; there was only 278 the chalice which a woman had thrown into the River because her Child Had died.1

1 For a photograph of a French sun-dial of this period, see accompanying plate, and another of more elaborate make in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 64. In reference to the relics of Father Aulneau, Father Du Jaunay wrote to Madame Aulneau from Mackinac in 1739: “Finally the portable chapel, and, namely, the chalice, which was plundered, had fallen into the hands of a widowed squaw, who had several grown-up sons, the pride and wealth of the tribe. In a remarkably short lapse of time, all or nearly all of them perished in her sight. This she ascribed to the chalice, which her sons had given her; so she rid herself of it by throwing it into a river.” Jones, *Aulneau Collection*, pp. 95, 96.— Ed.

I told the Sauteux that they must make Peace, for that Other wise they would Expose Themselves to die by hunger next winter. Eight days afterward the Scioux sent back a Sauteux, whom they had made prisoner, to tell his people that though they Had Been Killed they asked for Peace, and that if the Sauteux would Send Five of their Chiefs, the Scioux would meet them half-way. But only one resolved to go at my solicitation, and he, moreover, did not venture as far as the rendezvous, but passed the winter at, a place thirty Leagues from Chagouüamigon.

In the month of March, two Young men came and told me that their Father had killed a moose 15 Leagues from my Fort, and requested that I should Send for It. I despatched my son with seven men to bring It in. He did so; and four hours afterward a Band of 100 Scioux fell upon three Cabins of Sauteux who Were at that place, Killing four men and losing five of their own, among whom Was the Chief.

On the 15th of April, the Scioux sent back two women, whom they had captured in the Raid, to ask the Sauteux why they Had not gone to the rendezvous as they had been asked to do; and to tell them that it Was this that had Led the Scioux to attack Them; that they asked once more for that Interview, and named the same Chiefs. I at once sent eight sauteux And I gave two Slaves. They marched 60 days through the prairies

BRONZE SUN-DIAL FOUND NEAR PORTAGE, WISCONSIN, 1903

279 without meeting the Scioux. They Merely found their cache1 of Beaver skins and they are to leave their mark to show that they have Been there. I have no doubt that I shall be able to restore Peace as soon as I return.

1 For descriptions of the methods of making caches, see *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Thwaites's ed., N. Y., 1904–05), ii, pp. 136, 137.— Ed.

1738–41: THE HURON OF DETROIT DESIRE TO MIGRATE

[MS. in archives of Ministére des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 75, c. 11, fol. 130.]

Memorandum of what occurred in The Affair of the hurons of Detroit with the Outaouacs, Poutouüatmis, Sauteux and Mississagués of that Post from the 12th of August, 1738, to the 12th of June, 1741.

By a word of the hurons of the 12th of August, 1738, addressee to their brothers of the Sault, of the Lake, and of Lorette,2 to Be repeated to Monsieur The General, they say that Sastaretsy3 tells them that the Outaouüacs have, as it were, raised the hatchet against Them and have asked all the Nations of their language who dwell on the Lakes to help them to Exterminate them [the Hurons].

2 These were the Jesuit mission colonies of Sault St. Louis, or Caughnawaga, Lake of Two Mountains, and Jeune Lorette near Quebec. For their history see *Jes. Rel*., index. These were the well-known “praying Indians” of Canada.— Ed.

3 This appears to have been the hereditary title of the principal Huron chief, as the Jesuit fathers in their Relation for 1659–61 speak of a chief of the same name. The chief mentioned in the text died at Quebec, Aug. 4, 1747, and was succeeded by another with the same title. See N. Y. *Colon. Docs*., x, pp. 141, 162.— Ed.

Monsieur The General replied to that word on the 21st of September following and Sent Collars and presents to Monsieur De Noyelle to quiet this affair and stay the Tomahawks.

The 29th of January 1789, Father de La Richardie writes that he Knows their Minds; that it does not seem easy to reassure 280 them; that he has a well-founded reason to fear that —although the hurons have apparently acquiesced in the Orders of Monsieur the General to remain at Detroit—they may at the first alarm go either to the Sonontouans, as they have been asked to do, or beyond the belle Riviè.1

1 The Sonontouan (Seneca) were the most westerly of the Iroquois confederacy. By this time they had begun to remove to the Allegheny River, and there was one village within the present state of Ohio. “Belle Rivière” (beautiful river) was the French appellation of the Ohio.— Ed.

The 1st of February Monsieur de Noyelle Writes that the Savages Have been in fear of one another throughout all the winter; that the hurons all Went to winter in the interior contrary to their custom; that they abandoned their Searings and a portion of their Indian Corn; that there was a rumor they were to go to the Têtes plates; that they told him they could not calm the Minds of their wives and children and that they would always be in a state of dread at that Post.

Orontony, the great Chief of that Nation,2 gave him branches of Porcelain to be Sent to His Father Onontio on behalf of the whole village, by which they begged him to grant them permission to go and Settle near him, as they could no longer live in peace at that Place, because whenever the Têtes-plates might make an Attack on the Nations of Detroit they (the Hurons) would always be accused of having a share in it; and to Avoid being some day reduced to cruel Extremities, they reiterated the request they had made.

2 Onontony (baptismal name, Nicolas) was the leader of the band of Huron who removed to the Sandusky, and after making an alliance with the Iroquois and English rebelled against French authority (1747), and plotted to form an inter-tribal conspiracy to destroy Detroit. Failing in this, he removed the next year to White River, and later to the Ohio. By the year 1751, he appears to have been no longer living. For his negotiations with the English, see Weiser's “Journal,” in *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), i, pp. 28–38. — Ed.

The First of May Monsieur De Noyelle Writes that he Sends two Collars on behalf of the hurons. By the first they beg their Father to grant them a tract of land near him so that

their 281 wives and Children may be in safety, as they are not at Detroit; that if he had not [shown] such Kindness to Them they would go and die in some Remote Spot.

By the second, they also beg their Father to give them an officer to go down with them to protect them from attack.

The Sieur De Noyelle adds that they are not less Fearful than they Were at the Beginning of the affair, that nothing could re-assure them; that eight Had come at night to see if their fort Was burned down; that they Had concealed themselves in Father de la Richardie's dwelling whence they had sent him word asking him to go and speak to them.

The 10th of May 1739, Father de la Richardie Writes that the Threats of one Entatsogo, a Chief of the Sault, uttered in connection with the Peace made by the hurons with the Têtesplates seemed to have made them give up all idea of going to Settle down below, [i.e. in the South]; that they requested him to beg their Father to Excuse them if they did not go down to Montreal as he had ordered the Elders to do, because it Was the people of the Sault who had asked them to do so; they charged him to say that it Was not the Custom amongst savages to beg for protection or for an asylum in their fright, but that if compassion were felt for them it was the duty of those who had pity on Them to come and console them on their Mat, or even to light a fresh fire for them in some place where they might be considered safe.

The 15th of June, Father de la Richardie writes that he Was obliged to make every effort to influence their Winds which Were Fully made up to Listen to nothing but their fear and the words of the English and Iroquois, which seemed to have some effect especially from what an elder told him in private, assuring him that the English and Iroquois were taking advantage of the hurons' alarm to attract them to one of those two Nations; that he Was compelled to make Use of the old women's influence to put a stop to this, and was obliged to tell them that he would die rather than follow them amongst the Enemy. He begs Monsieur the General—the event of his granting the hurons' request to be settled on

his land, and of Monsieur his Nephew coming 282 to place himself at their head to Lead them to the place of their destination, to be allowed to pass the winter with Them and go down early in the spring. [He writes] That Detroit would in no wise suffer by their Removal because a number of Sauteux, to say nothing of the Chaouüanons, would willingly Settle there if the huron Were to go away.

The 1st of October 1738 answered in 1739.

Words of the hurons addressed to Monsieur The general. By the first [collar], they say that it is very Important.

By the second, that they received at Missilimakinac an Embassy from their brothers of the Sault, and of the Lake by which they sent them word to come and live near Them, and as a reason for this they said: “My brothers, in this Place you are in the Midst of a Multitude of Nations that like you not.”

That, at the time Monsieur de Vaudreuüil Urged them to leave as soon as possible Nations that hated them and he said to them: “come and live near Me; you will find a safe Asylum, a Father and a Protector.”

By the Fifth word they said that they assured their Father they would some day Carry out what he had just Advised them to do, and would seize the first pretext that should arise to go to him; that they had long been seriously Thinking of fulfilling their promises and of withdrawing.

By the seventh word, they said that the chief reason that induced them to take that step was that they wished to calm the Minds of their wives and Children which were so disturbed that they could live in safety only near their Father Onontio; that everybody in their village Was of that opinion and they spoke in their name; that only three persons opposed the step but they Were not Listened to.

By the twelfth word, they say that if their Father does not grant their request, the regret they will feel will compel them to take another step; that their resolution is taken and they will go and die in the first place they may come to rather than live in that country where their wives and Children could not venture to go to their Work without Fearing that they might never return at night to sleep in their Cabins.

283

By the Fourteenth, they say to their Father that as they have always Been obedient to his Orders they will be in a better position to Carry them out when near him.

By a Narrow Collar, they beg their Father not, to refuse their request, holding it by one end and asking him to hold the other so that he may have the kindness to bring them near him and thereby calm the Minds of their wives.

By a Wide Collar, they ask their Father to give them some one to lead them to the land where he dwells, that they may travel in safety Through the Nations they fear.

The 13th of June, Words of Sastaretsy, Tayatchatin and Orontony to be Sent, to Monsieur the General.

By the second word, they say that they have made their intention known in the Hope that by their Father's answer he will have compassion on their condition, and if he has pity on the huron, will bring him near him.

By the Fourth, that their thought Was supported by two Collars to obtain a prompt answer to the prayer addressed their Father to be allowed to dwell near him.

By the Sixth, they say in these terms: “My Father, we have always had the intention of drawing near you and nothing can Change it.”

By the Seventh: My Father, the huron Knows not what it; is to break his word, nor to have a second thought succeed a first one he has considered reasonable. Thus, My Father, I do not Conceal from you that he might take a step you would not approve of if you reject his word.

By the Ninth, they say that they will never be thoroughly firm in their Religion unless they separate themselves from the Nations that are not Christian.

By the tenth, they ask to Be put alone in the Place their Father may deem suitable, and that the black Gown may be with Them to soothe their Minds, as he has already done when they were afraid.

By the Fourteenth, they say that [they] speak in the name of the whole Nation and that no evil deed can be done amongst; all the Nations without its being imputed to the hurons. This leads 284 them to believe beyond a doubt that if their Father defers Bringing them near him, they will despair of their lives, for they Are threatened on all sides and they regret that Compassion has not been promptly Felt for Them that they may be protected.

By an additional word, they ask Monsieur De Noyelle and the three Black Gowns to so strongly support their words with their Father that their request be not refused; they also ask that their words be reduced to Writing and that Nicolas1 alone be admitted to the private Room of Monsieur the General.

1 Note on original MS.: this is one of the three Chiefs. His savage name is Orontony.”

The 9th of July, Another word of the hurons by which they ask Monsieur De Noyelle to Write on their behalf to their Father Onontio to thank him for his kindness in granting their request and to assure him that their Nation will never forget this proof of the protection he gives their wives and Children.

Then they beg their Father Onontio—in the Event of Nicolas who has charge of their affairs, allowing himself to be won over to Prevent their going down—not to alter anything of what he has granted them to have them dwell near him, and that they have fully reflected on the step before taking it.

The same Day, Father de la Richardie Writes Monsieur the general that his words have Been received by the hurons with great acclamations of gratitude; that they await the return of Nicolas to settle all matters.

The 13th of the same Month, Monsieur De Noyelle Writes that he has delivered to the hurons the words addressed to him by Monsieur the general and that they Were greatly flattered by them, saying that he continued to be always kind to them. He added that they had not altered their design in any way.

The 26th of July, 1740, Monsieur De Noyan Writes that the Ontaouacs etc. and the hurons continue on the qui vive, and that he will strive earnestly to reconcile them.

The 97th of the same Month, He Writes that since his last letter he has seen the Chiefs of the hurons and Ouataouacs; that 285 he is convinced nothing can allay the uneasiness in which the former live; that the Outaouüacs were taking steps that gave rise to much Suspicion amongst the weaker ones; and that the hurons Had good reason to ask their Father for an asylum where they could live in peace; that to Induce them to remain at Detroit was to Expose them to the vengeance of the others; that not to bring them to Montreal was to cause their destruction; that the Iroquois would take advantage of this and enter into an alliance with Them; that whatever precautions were taken amongst the Iroquois and the Outaouacs to conceal their Intrigues, their plots nevertheless betrayed themselves on both Sides and suspicion was growing.

He represents that the migration of the hurons towards Montreal will secure their Preservation, and strengthen the Colony Against the Nations that might oppose its growth;

that the Evil has become aggravated, As always happens when Minds are filled with Distrust, and that he can no longer flatter himself that he can succeed in reconciling them.

That Detroit will lose nothing because the Chaouüanons are ready to take their place and that all the huron Chiefs Were determined to leave, Knowing the Risks they ran.

The First of August, Father de la Richardie writes that the hurons are always on the qui vive concerning the Ontaouacs and Sauteux; that News circulated by the very people of those Nations continually keeps up their alarm, not that they fear for Themselves, they say, because such an admission would be inconsistent with their pride, but all their solicitude is for their wives and Children whom they do not consider Safe in a neighborhood such as that of Detroit.

That Nicolas said he Was proud of the fact that to the huron Nation alone belonged the glory of never having shed French blood; that he hoped to excite his Father's Compassion to Induce him to put him under his wings.

Father de la Richardie adds that their Reluctance to go down is due solely to the fact that they are not Removed with savage formalities from the Place where they now are and settled elsewhere.

286

The 4th of August, Monsieur De Noyan writes that the hurons still persist in their intention to remove their fire elsewhere; that they beg him to follow them and go and live with Them on the tract of land Monsieur the General has granted them; that he expected the Chaouüanons at the end of the month who intended to take their place, and that they were asked to do so by the Outaouacs who would be delighted with this Exchange.

The 26th of August, Father de la Richardie writes that the hurons have in nowise changed their minds about Settling near Montreal; that the only thing that Hinders the Carrying out of the plan is savage vanity that does not wish to seem to flee, and seeks to conceal

its fear by saying to the neighboring Nations that they are being Taken from their fire in order that another may be kindled for them; that they daily urge their Commandant and their Missionaries to Induce Monsieur The General to Send a word by which he will Remove them from Detroit and settle them near him; that the reason and the truth are that they wish to be Removed by the people of the Sault and of the Lake, and that they be their agents to exercise the gentle pressure they desire; that Angouüirot alone, with three or four other Cabins, are opposed to this Migration, and it will not be difficult to Urge them to it if the plan be Carried out; that they have another in view which is to Establish themselves on grosse isle;1 but he thinks they will hardly live in peace there more than at Detroit.

1 Grosse Isle, the large island at the mouth of Detroit River, still keeps this appellation.— Ed.

The 16th of September, Monsieur De Noyan writes that the third Chief of the hurons, named Angouüirot, had just arrived from Sandoské2 where he had left nearly all his brothers cutting down trees to extend their Fields; that this news had greatly

2 The location of the village, and what was later Nicolas's fort, in the marshes of Sandusky, is not fully determined. Probably it was on the shores of Sandusky Lac (or Lac Junandott), at Venice. The old French Fort Sandusky was destroyed by Indians May 17, 1763; but was later rebuilt, apparently on the same site.— Ed.

287 afflicted him because it strengthened him in the conviction that that Nation would soon lose the benefits conferred on them by Christianity unless Monsieur the General had pity on them and brought them near him and that such removal could not but Be beneficial to the Colony.

The 17th of September, Father de la Richardie Writes to Monsieur the general that he Had vainly flattered himself that he had brought back the hurons who Had established themselves at the little Lake;1 that most of them Had gone to Detroit on the approach of

the great feasts, and Had decamped as soon as they Were over, without its Being possible for him to keep them there; that he could obtain no other reasons from Them except that they would settle down as soon as their Father would have the goodness to put them in a place of Safety, for they could find none at that Spot in sight of the Outaouüacs and Sauteux; that if their village Were near the French they would not be afraid of their Enemies attacking them; that their Father's Protection would shield them from every attack; that it had happened that two Outaoüacs and, Poutoüatamis had devastated all the field of a huron woman, that one of them had fired at her and killed her dog in front of her; that on the same day an Outaouac, knife in hand, pursued two Children thirteen years of age as far as a cabin in the field; that all this confirmed their just fears.

1 “Little Lake” was the French name for Sandusky Bay, now Rondeau Harbor, on the north shore of Lake Erie. The reference is probably to some temporary settlement.— Ed.

The 20th of April 1741, Monsieur De Noyan Writes to Monsieur the General that the hurons are still awaiting a Collar that they Hope he will Send them to bring them near him with savage formalities; that they are divided in opinion, some wishing to Establish themselves on grosse isle, while the others will Hear of nothing but Montreal; but that all are in favor of leaving Detroit, and that it is to be feared under the circumstances they will abandon their Country and their Religion; that they will be lost unless their Father saves them from that shipwreck, 288 and that they will soon be lost if he does not hold out his hand to them. He adds that that Nation is not one to be neglected.

The 22nd of the same Month, Father de la Richardie writes to Monsieur the General that there is no change as Regards the hurons, Except that their Desire to go and Settle at Montreal has diminished without having passed away, and that, to speak without equivocation, they are convinced they are not wanted there; that only an urgent word from their Father Onontio, with a similar one from their Praying brothers can draw them thither, and even then he would not guarantee that all would go, although he thinks that those who would remain at Detroit would gradually join the others.

The 12th of June 1741, Monsieur De Noyan Writes that some presents would be needed for the three Nations that have to Be reconciled, and that the chief item is a collar from Monsieur the general to grant the hurons a dwelling place near him; otherwise he foresees that that Nation will be completely lost to us owing to the jealousy the others have of it; that Detroit is alarmed because it is alleged that two large bands of Têtesplates have set out on the war-path.

1738: NEW COMMANDANT FOR DETROIT

[Letter from Noyan to the French Minister. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 70, fol. 180.]

Montreal, October 5, 1738.

Monseigneur —I have received with all possible respect and gratitude the Fresh Marks of Kindness wherewith Your Grace is pleased to honor me by appointing me commandant at Detroit.

I am aware, Monseigneur, that the honor of Such Confidence should incite Me to seek the Means of justifying it with Your graco; And in Spite of My slight Capacity, I hope that my desire to be Deserving of so Marked a favor will enable me to do what you expect from Me.

I am unable, Monseigneur, to propose anything to Your grace in connection With the establishment of that post. I am still 289 ignorant of the means you intend to make use of and of the Steps you order me to adopt, as Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois has not done me the honor of communicating them to Me.

That post is greatly disturbed in consequence of a quarrel that Arose between the hurons and the outaouas. The blood that was shed in it leads me to fear lest all the Savages are concerned in it, for, Monseigneur, those two languages interest all the Nations of that

country. This year again those two Nations had asked Me to command them; the outaouas had come down for That purpose. Here is a suitable opportunity to put their friendship to the test, and I flatter Myself that Your grace will have sent peace there when I reach the place. Hitherto, Monseigneur, attempts have been made to find in the flood of brandy that has Poured through that Wretched post, reasons for concealing under the pretext of the interests of the Colony the avidity of Sordid lucre gained by the Commandants in opposition to the laws of honor and of religion. I beg Your grace to give Me orders to the contrary, authorizing me to punish the guilty and which may keep me Myself in Check should I be so Wretched as to endeavor to make My fortune by Such shameful Means. By this Alone, Monseigneur, shall I be able to maintain order, to make Myself feared and esteemed by the French and the Savages, and succeed in placing on a firm basis the establishment your grace orders me to begin. I will send you an accurate and faithful Report every year if God be pleased to grant me My Health that has been Greatly weakened by three most painful operations Performed since the Month of April. My zeal for the service has not Suffered from this, and I feel that I have still sufficient strength to Withstand the unavoidable fatigue and trouble.

I remain with the most profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your grace's most humble and most obedient servant

Noyan

290

1738: REPORT OF COPPER MINES

[Extract from a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 5, 1738. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 69, fol. 222.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

The precautions I had taken to enable the two Miners to reach the Copper Mines have Been unavailing, owing to the Voyageurs who conducted them having been obliged to put back through stress of Weather, And to the Season Being too far advanced, which compelled them to winter in Montreal. They proceeded Early last spring to Chagouüamigon And the Sieur de La Ronde Wrote me on the 28th of June and 22nd of July that, as he was returning from Navigating the Lake, he made an Attempt to approach the island that is said to Be of Copper but a Terrible Squall prevented him from reaching it. On his arrival at Sault Ste Marie (on the 24th of June) he learned that the Miners had passed 14 days previously under the guidance of the Sieur Guillory. He Hoped to meet him along the Lake shore. He wrote that this mishap had caused him chagrin, inasmuch as the Sieur Guillory did not know the Places as he did; that Nevertheless he Was assisted by a Savage who Undertook to take him to one of the Mines where the Sieur de la Ronde had Been. He adds in his Letter of the 28th of July that when the Miners returned to the Sault Ste Marie, he asked them what they thought of that mass of Copper (which is doubtless La Roche [the Rock] already mentioned).1 They replied that it Was a Mass that had been carried by the ice to that spot on the shore. Thereupon when the Sieur de La Ronde told them he would showy them similar masses more than fifty

1 Since the earliest exploration of Lake Superior, the French had knowledge of a large mass of copper near the mouth of the Ontonagon River. It is described in the Jesuit *Relation* for 1666–67 (Thwaites's ed., 1, p. 267; liv, p. 161) and was popularly known as “La Roche.” In 1843 this mass, weighing between 6,000 and 7,000 pounds, was transported to the Smithsonian Institution, where it was found to be 95 per cent pure copper.— Ed.

291 Leagues from there, they admitted that this might Be so, and that the masses might have been detached from some mountains. The Sieur de La Ronde Then proposed that they Embark with him in order that he might Take them to the Places where the Mines Were situated And Amongst others to those in the Tonnagane River. At first they raised some difficulties because their engagement Expires on the first of May 1739, And they

would be unable to get Home by that date. But the Sieur de La Ronde having disposed of all objections by promising to pay them for the extra time they would be with him, they agreed to go whither he might wish to take them. The idea of the Sieur de La Ronde is to make them Inspect generally all the Places on the Lake where he knows of Copper Mines being situated and to take advantage of the stay of the miners at that Place to obtain all the Information he can from them so that when he communicates the same to me I may be in a Position to Report to you thereon. Monsieur hocquart And I have the honor to Send you the report made by one Guillory, the younger, who arrived from that Country on the 14th of the month of August last.

* * * * * * * *

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 5th, 1738.

1738: ARRANGEMENTS FOR DETROIT

[Letter of De Noyan to the French Minister. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 70, fol. 190.]

Montreal , October 18, 1738.

Monseigneur —Hitherto I had flattered Myself that Monsieur The Marquis de Beauharnois and Monsieur hocquart would have added to the favor your grace has conferred on Me that of communicating to Me Your Lordship's Orders Respecting The Establishment of detroit. 19

After Writing on two occasions to Monsieur de Beaucours1 that he would send him the court's intentions with Regard to Me, Monsieur the Marquis De Beauharnois instructed Monsieur de longueuil2 at Quebec to write Me that he had not Carefully examined Your Lordship's letter when he wrote to Monsieur de Beaucours; that he had received no orders to send Me to detroit But Merely a project proposed by Your grace to which he would send an answer, and therefore that the matter was not settled. Thus, Monseigneur, it has been sought to deprive Me of the honor I should have had in proving that I was fit for the position, and in justifying Your grace's choice of me as a disinterested Person. In truth I am unable to reply because I am equally ignorant Both of Your Lordship's plan and of the objections to it.

1 Josué Dubois de Berthelot, Sieur de Beaucourt, came to New France as an engineer in the troops. He assisted at the fortifications of Quebec in 1691, and again in 1712. He became a famous partisan leader. heading expeditions against the Iroquois in 1693, and in Queen Anne'S War (1702–13). In 1730 he was governor of Three Rivers, and later of Montreal, which latter office he held until about 1748.— Ed.

2 This was Charles Le Moyne, second baron de Longueuil; see *ante*. D. 10, note 2.— Ed.

Nevertheless, it is easy to see that Your Lordship's Kindness toward me causes Much embarrassment and jealousy here. Monsieur de Noyelles finishes His three years in the Month of May next, and the appointment of a New commandant is under consideration. If Monsieur the general intended that I should be the person, he would do me the honor of notifying Me. Arrangements have to be made to obviate expense; I have therefore reason to think that, he is at Least Surprised that Your Lordship should have east your eyes On Me.

It Seems to Me that Your grace's project, whatever it may Be, should not occasion any trouble; and that the person whom you have honored with Your confidence should be sent there: Either giving him the post as it stands until Further orders, directing him to keep

account of the emoluments in order to render an exact account thereof to the Court; Or, Messieurs de

CHARLES LE MOYNE, SECOND BARON DE LONGUEUIL From Sulte's *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*

293 Beauharnois and hocquart would receive the proceeds of the licenses and other emoluments of the post, have the officer conveyed there and supply His Needs until Further orders from Your grace.

It has not depended on Me, Monseigneur, for I have had the honor of writing to them and of assuring them that I would be ready at any time to carry out Your grace's orders and theirs.

I have learned indirectly that Messieurs the Marquis de Beauharnois and hocquart found that the post of detroit would No longer Be of any advantage to the commandant. I do not think, Monseigneur, that they had such anxiety with regard to Me. I flatter Myself that My disinterestedness is Known to them; But how can a post where one Serves the King Well cease to be an advantageous one, when the King rewards Services and Your Lordship is the dispenser of favors.

All such posts will ever be advantageous ones to Me, And I venture to offer Your grace the Heart Least affected by interest and the most Sensitive to honor.

Nevertheless, convinced as I Am that it is Your Lordship's intention, while promoting the public Welfare, to Allow or to give the officer sufficient for an honorable livelihood, I crave Your grace's permission to enter into details regarding That post.

The sum of 500 livres is paid for each license, 10 or 12 of which are issued yearly besides those of the Missionaries and of The officer Second in command. This yields at least 5,000 livres

The King has always given to the commandant the powder Required for the whole post, and which he has always caused to be sold to the French and Savages. This favor is Worth, per annum 1,500 livres

Hitherto, for the maintenance of Good order, it has been enacted that the Commandant should have a Bureau where he has caused all the wine and brandy Required by the French to be sold. This also brings him in, per annum 2,000 livres

8,500 livres

294

Here we have eight Thousand five hundred livres that can be obtained from the post Without engaging in trade. In some years as many as 14 and 15 canoes go there, But their Number is always uncertain.

If it be Your Lordship's intention to lower the price of the licenses with the object of settling the post, it Will be easy to do so by making it Known that every voyageur who takes up a lot of land at detroit, shall, in Consideration of the sum of 950 livres per canoe, have the exclusive right of going down to Montreal for Merchandize; and I shall See, Monseigneur, that the conditions in this respect Be complied with. When the habitants of the place shall Trade alone and by them Selves it will Be profitable to them, and the Savages will get what they Teed at a Much Cheaper Rate.

Nevertheless, Similar licenses might be granted at the same price to the voyageurs of Montreal, when the residents do not want them.

According to this plan the licenses will not yield more than 2500 or 3000 livres for it must, be observed that Trade is ruined when more goods go up than can be disposed of.

for license 2,500 livres

profit on the powder 1,500 livres

profit from the Bureau 2,000 livres

I believe, Monseigneur, that discipline and good order require that the Commandant should Alone have the distribution of and the profits from the two last mentioned items, which Are not included in the trade. Such, if I may venture to express My Opinion to your grace, is the Surest and easiest way of settling detroit.

But if Your Lordship wish that the Same price be charged for the licenses, and that everything the post can yield be derived from it in order that, after the officers are paid, the Surplus Be remitted to be employed as Your grace may deem best, I will keep So accurate an account thereof that you Will be Satisfied with my obedience.

I Also hope, Monseigneur, that Your grace will, for the first 295 year, Leave matters on the present footing in order to Meet My Travelling expenses And the cost of conveying such Necessaries as Might Be charged for—with this difference that I will have no Goods for trading taken up, And that I will account to Your Lordship, both for the expenses and for the revenues of the post so that Your grace may dispose of the surplus.

The officer Second in command has two licenses or 1,000 livres

The interpreter has one license or 500 livres

The Missionary of the French has 500 livres

The Missionary of the Hurons has two licenses 1,000 livres

3,000 livres

They always dispose of their licenses to Voyageurs, and Neither the King Nor the Commandant have any expense to incur in That respect.

The presents the commandants are obliged to give Are very considerable, But if Your Lordship will have the powder given Me at the price it costs the King in France, and will have the Goodness to allow me room for four tons of freight on the King's Ship for the conveyance of the wine and Brandy I shall Need, I will ask no compensation for all the presents I Shall be obliged to give the Savages with the exception of some extraordinary occasions in connection with which I will take the liberty of submitting My representations.

Thus, Monseigneur, If Your grace grants Me 8000 or 2500 livres On the licenses with two or three Thousand pounds of powder at the price His Majesty pays for it in France, and the right of the Bureau [sales-room] which Seems to Me essential to the Commandant who must be responsible for His post, I will find the sum of five or Six Thousand livres both for my Living expenses and for presents to the Savages which mount to more than 1500 livres a year.

I ask no other Obligation from the voyageurs than to bring Me 200 pounds weight for every canoe carrying 5000 pounds.

Moreover, Monseigneur, I Am but too highly honored by Your grace's selection of me. I Shall always be content with whatever you may be plied to order Me. When My disinterestedness 296 and My zeal Become known, to you I shall Be moro than amply rewarded. Whatever may Be Your views Respecting that post, I hope to carry them out on all points that may depend on Me. There remains but one thing more for Me to desire and that is that Your Lordship should believe Me incapable of doing anything contrary to Your orders, to My honor and to My duty, Even were the most Brilliant fortune to depend on it. And what fortune, Monseigneur, can compare in My eyes with The honor of Your confidence.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your grace's very humble and very obedient Servant

Chauoy De Noyan

[Letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 22: 1738. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 69, fol. 63.]

Monseigneur —We have received the letter you did us the honor of Writing to us on the 23rd of April last with reference to the Post of Detroit.

Of the plans that each of us individually submitted last year to you, Monseigneur, you approve only the Appointment of a Stationary Commandant; you reject all the rest and you are pleased to Explain to Us a third project that has been proposed to you which you Deem more Suitable and which you order us to discuss together and to Report thereon. This we do.

We both agree with regard to the Stationary Commandant who is to have no interest whatever in the Trade carried on at the Post, and to whom a suitable remuneration will be accorded out of the proceeds of the Licenses. There would be no objection to allow all indigent families to go and Settle at that Post if the free permits to be granted them for conveyance there with goods did not on the other hand diminish the number of Permits that are bought and the proceeds whereof barely suffice to meet the ordinary expenses of the Post, The same difficulty arises as regards taking from the proceeds of the Licenses the 297 assistance and facilities to be granted those families for their Settlement.

The right to Trade that it is proposed to give the Residents at the Post in Preference to the voyageurs of Montreal Is a privilege those Residents have never asked. The number of permissions to go and Trade at Detroit is not absolutely limited and whenever those same Residents have applied for Permits these have always been granted them on the same footing as the voyageurs from Montreal. But to Further compel the Residents when they take out Licenses to have a certain number of arpents of land cleared and cultivated every year, would be to impose an additional burden on them and indirectly to give the

preference of the Trade to the voyageurs from Montreal. We would Also observe that if it Be proper for the growth of the Post to send families there, it Is Equally important that such families Should devote themselves to the Cultivation of the land the produce whereof will enable them to procure what they need from the voyageurs of Montreal who will supply their wants.

Here is a fourth project, Monseigneur, which we consider approaches Your views the most closely, since there can be no question of an increase of the garrison.

In the present State of affairs the proceeds of the licenses granted amounts every year to the sum of 6650 livres on an average, including 500 livres paid by the two Gunsmiths, And 150 livres by private individuals who reside within the Inclosure of the fort. This sum of 6650 livres will, if you order it, be Employed in paying the expenses set forth in the annexed Statement wherein Is Included a sum of 3000 livres for the gratuity to be given the stationary Commandant; in consideration of that amount he shall be forbidden to carry on any Trade.

The cost of transporting the pay And uniforms of the Garrison is not included in the Statement and to meet that expense Monsieur de Beauharnois might grant 2 or 3 free permits to Voyageurs of Montreal who would undertake such transport.

It will also be Advisable to oblige the other Voyageurs or persons in Charge of Canoes to carry Each 150 pounds Weight of provisions, utensils or implements for the Commandant as is 298 done at present. The custom will also be continued of granting a free permit for a Canoe or half a Canoe to the Missionary of the Savages, the Chaplain, the Interpreter, the Surgeon And the Sub-delegate. By this arrangement the Trade that the Commandant has hitherto been allowed to carry on will inure to the benefit of the general Trade of that Post, and it may happen that a larger number of Voyageurs will apply for the purchase of licenses. This will increase the actual proceeds of the Post and in such Case the Surplus will be Employed in facilitating the transport of some families, in providing for their

subsistence And in assisting them at the Beginning of their Settlement at Detroit either for carrying on Trade or for the first clearing of the Lands that will be Granted to them.

The Sieur Noyan Wrote to beth of Us separately from Montreal a short time ago. He claims to be cured of the operation performed last spring on his left Breast, and he Considers himself in fit Condition to proceed to his destination at Detroit next spring. Monsieur de Beauharnois will give him orders to that effect. He will therefore Appoint him Commandant on the footing We propose to you, pending the receipt of your orders.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 22nd, 1738. Hocquart

1738: THE BEAVER TRADE

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 69, fol. 147.]

Monseigneur —The Syndics And Directors of the Company of the Indies have Written to me that you had caused Reproaches to be addressed to them in Connection with the falling off in the Beaver trade which you deemed to be due to them. They begged me to write you that they were not responsible for this as they had ever striven to promote it. I can assure you, 299 Monseigneur, that the falling off Was due to the bad quality of the Scarlet cloth, And to the low price of Beaver skins. As soon as I Represented this to them they Sent out better cloth And raised the price of that Fur; this has contributed not a little to increase this year's Receipts.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 20th, 1738.

1739: MEMOIR OF LA RONDE

[MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 65, c. 11, fol. 173.”]

Statement of the services rendered to his Majesty by Monsieur de La Ronde Denis, Knight of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, first Captain and Commandant of the Troops of the Detachment of Marine, from 1687 *to the year* 1739.

1687 He was made a guardsman in the Marine1 and served in the Department of Rochefort until 1689. He served with Vice-Admiral Monsieur de Gabaret, Chief of the Squadron,

1 Equivalent to midshipman.— Ed.

1689 in the “St Michel” on board of which he took king james to Ireland, and in the same Campaign, he was present at the [Battle of Bantry,2 and at the capture of an Ostend privateer, mounting 18 Guns, which we took with Beats commanded by Monsieur Du Taré

2 James II landed at Kinsale, Ireland, March 12, 1689. The English Were defeated by the French in the naval battle of Bantry Bay in May of the same year.— Ed.

1690 He served in the “Courageux,” Commanded by Monsieur Reale; and was at Brest with Monsieur the Marquis do Sevigny Montmeron; he was also present at the Battle of la Manche.3

3 The battle of “la Manche” is known to English historians as that of Beachy Head, in which a French fleet of ten vessels defeated the allied Dutch and English fleet of fifty-six ships.— Ed.

1691 In the “Excellent” with Monsieur Du Rivan huet, on which he cruised in rim Channel throughout the winter, and served during the Cruise on the high seas.

1692 In the “Envieux” with Monsieur Bonaventure, doing duty as Ensign during the Cruise to Canada, and thence along the Coast of new England.

1693 In the “Suzanne Françoise” with Monsieur Bonaventure on a voyage to Acadia, during which he served as first Lieutenant.

1694 In the “Entendu” with Monsieur Duquesne, when we went to the Mediterranean Sea and captured Palamos and Girone.

1695 In the “Envieux” with Monsieur Bonaventure, on board of which he ranked as Ensign, and went to Acadia where they fought an English frigate, and thence to Placentia. Here he found Monsieur Belair, a post Captain, who commanded the “fourbe” and whose Lieutenant had been killed in an engagement that took place during the voyage from France. He therefore took Monsieur de la Ronde Denis in his place, and during the Run home he took an English Ship mounting 16 Guns, the Command whereof was given him. On approaching the French coast, he met an English Squadron, which captured him and took him a prisoner to ireland.

1696 He remained thirteen Months in the prisons of ireland.

1697 He sailed in the “Vespre” Commanded by the Chevalier de Chartrier in Monsieur d'Iberville's Squadron, which sailed for Hudson's Bay. He held the rank of Lieutenant.

They captured the fort, sank the admiral's ship; took one ship and put the remainder of the Squadron to flight.1

1 This feat of Iberville's Is well desbribed by Garneau, *Histoire de Canada* (Montreal 15882, i, pp. 368–371.— Ed.

1698 In the “Envieux” on board of which he held the rank of Ensign. They went into all the harbors of Acadia, and thence to Placentia.

1699 In the “Nieuport” with Monsieur de Courbon St. Leger, cruising along rite Coast of Acadia against freebooters. 301 He held the rank of Ensign, and had Charge of the Ship by the King's orders, owing to his thorough Knowledge of that coast.

1700 In the “Renounce” with [Monsieur d'Iberville, sailing to the Mississipi. He held the rank of Ensign, and for five months he was in the river engaged in surveying it in obedience to Monsieur d'Iberville's orders.1

1 This was Iberville's second voyage to the Mississippi. He arrived at his colony at Biloxi, Dec. 12, 1699, and spent the next five months exploring the Mississippi River.— Ed.

1701 His Majesty gave him the Command of the “Enflamé” to sail to the Mississipi with Munitions.2 The Cruise occupied 17 months.

2 The “Enflammé” arrived at Biloxi colony with provisions, etc., the last of May, 1701.— Ed.

1702 In the “Loire,” Commanded by the Chevalier de Gabaret, on board of which he was second in command, sailing to Canada, to take Monsieur de Beauharnois,3 the intendant, there; and during the Voyage they captured an English Ship at night. He was dangerously wounded in the Shoulder, and was compelled to remain in Canada, as he was not cured when the Ship sailed.

3 Francois de Beauharnois, intendant of New France from September, 1702, to September, 1705.— Ed.

1703 He returned in the “seine” commanded by Monsieur The Chevalier de Beauharnois doing duty as second Lieutenant during the Voyage.

1704 In the “seine” with Monsieur The Chevalier de Meaupou, sailing to Canada on board of which he was second Lieutenant. During the Voyage they met the Virginian fleet consisting of five war-ships which attacked us and after an Engagement lasting 17 hours, as our rigging was all shot away, and we had six feet of water in our Hold, we were captured and taken to England.4

4 The “Seine” was a store ship of 40 guns, and had on board 20 officers, 2,000 small arms, and much ammunition. The English colonists were rejoiced at its capture.—E4.

1705 In the “Profond” with Monsieur Cauvet sailing to Acadia, on board of which he was second in command 302 during the Voyage, and on his arrival he took Command, by His Majesty's order, of a frigate mounting 14 Guns that the King had caused to be Built for the purpose of cruising Along the Coast of new England.

1707 While in Harbor on board the King's frigate the “Biche,” ready to sail on a cruise, an English fleet sailed into Port Royal to besiege it. He was Compelled to run the frigate aground beneath The fort, and was detached by Monsieur de subercasse at the head of 130 men to oppose the passage of the little River which the Enemy, to the number of 1500 men, were to cross. He repulsed them twice, but was compelled to give way to superior force, and he Retreated to the fort, fighting every foot of the ground. Throughout the siege, he commanded the Royal Bastion, which faced the Enemy, and when the siege was raised, he embarked on the frigate to carry the news to the King.1

1 This was the expedition commanded by Colonel March, which sailed from Boston, May 13, 1707, and made a fruitless assault on Port Royal.

Daniel d'Auger de Subercasse came to Canada in 1687, and after military service in various parts of the colony, received the appointment of governor of Acadia in 1705. In 1710 he surrendered Port Royal to the English.— Ed.

1708 He Commanded the “Venus'” which sailed in the depth of the winter to Acadia with Munitions of war, and he arrived there at the Beginning of April. Thence he went to Cruise along the coast of new England where he captured several prizes, and went to Placentia to dismantle the vessel.

1709 He served under Monsieur de St Ovide De Brogliand with the rank of second Commander. He had 100 men to go and capture the English coast. They succeeded very well for on the first of January they took fort St John where they found more than a thousand men under arms, both Troops and settlers. In the Spring they blew up all The forts; they held the Coast to ransom, and conveyed all the artillery in the “Venus” to Placentia.2 He took to Quebec the governor, the officers,

La Ronde was a volunteer in this Newfoundland expedition, which was planned by St. Ovide, king's lieutenant at Placentia, and nephew of the former governor, De Brouillan. The expedition is described by Charlevoix, *History of New France* (Shea ed., New York, 1871), v, pp. 212–215.— Ed.

303 and soldiers of the garrison of St John, and handed them over to Monsieur The Marquis de Vaudreuil, by whom he was detained during the whole Summer to Command the Marine for the Defence of Quebec, which was threatened with an attack. Aster this he conveyed provisions to the Garrison and Colony of Placentia, which without that succor would have died of hunger during the winter. All these voyages were performed in very bad weather, and nearly caused his death several times.

1710 e sailed on the “Loire” for Acadia. When he reached Placentia, he learned that Acadia was taken, and this compelled him to remain at Placentia by order of Monsieur de Costebelle.

1711 He was sent by Monsieur de Costebelle, the governor, to Boston for the purpose of secretly securing neutrality between its people, and that of Canada in order thereby to diminish the aid that new England night give for the Conquest of new France; and he would have succeeded in this had it not been for the Mishaps that occurred, and whereof his Majesty was fully informed by the Said Sieur de Costebelle, who several times placed His life in danger.

1712 He received an order from, the King to settle L'Isle Royale;1 he went in the “Samezelac” with Monsieur de St Ovide de brogliand.

1 After the loss of Acadia, the French tried to replace that colony by another on Isle Royale (now Cape Breton Island). Costabelle was the first governor, but was replaced in 1713 by St. Ovide.— Ed.

1713 During the winter he was engaged in roaming the depths of the forests and the Lakes o.f that island a Map whereof, made by the sieur de Couhaigne sub engineer, he gave to the Commandant of Louisbourg. After this, he was ordered to go to Port Royal, to les mines and Beaubassin on the coast of Acadia to Prevent the settlers from submitting to English domination, because those places do not form part of nova Scotia or Acadia according to the Former Limits defined by the treaty of Utrecht. 304 He succeeded so well that these people there agreed to never take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to remain faithful to the King of France, their sovereign.1

1 After the treaty of Utrecht, the French claimed that the clause ceding Acadia “with its former limits” meant only that portion of the peninsula upon which Port Royal stood. Minas and Beaubassin were by that interpretation still on French soil. For further description of

this embassy, see documents cited by Richard, *Acadia* (New York 1895), i, pp. 83–87. This frank avowal by La Ronde of the purpose and success of his embassy undoubtedly lessens the weight of the contention that the British authorities treated the Acadians with undue severity, even at this early period of English sovereignty.— Ed.

1714 On his return from Acadia in the Month of January, he was ordered to go to France, to carry despatches from Monsieur de Costebelle to the Court. He was unfortunately wrecked on Reaching the Coast of Brittany, whence he posted to Versailles. There he found that he had been appointed Commandant of the port of Toulouse, where he arrived after encountering great difficulties, and continued to serve unil 1720.

1720 He received a command from the King to go and serve in Canada. As he was about to start, he was Ordered by Monsieur de St Ovide de Brogliand to follow the sieur de Godeville, the officer Commanding the fleet of l'isle St. Jean, to help to settle that island. This resulted in his remaining there by

1721 the King's Order during 1721, to act as second in Command in the said island.2

2 Isle St. Jean (now Prince Edward's Island) was in 1719 ceded to a French nobleman, who formed a company to settle it. After a brief trial, the enterprise proved abortive, and a permanent settlement was not made until after the fall of Louisburg.— Ed.

1722 He was Ordered by the King to replace the sieur do Godeville in the Command, which he was unable to do as Monsieur do Beaucourt, the Lieutenant of L'Isle Royale, had received a similar order.

1723 Monsieur The Marquis de Vaudreuil thought proper to send him by land to Boston on the 5th of October to represent to the governor of that place the injury that he did to the 305 Abenakis by taking possession of all their lands.1 He had great trouble in reaching there, owing to the season which was far advanced, and he carried out the orders and instructions that he had received to the satisfaction of Monsieur the Marquis de

Vaudreuil.2 But that journey and most of those that preceded it were very costly to him, for his Expenses were never reimbursed, and he never received any allowance either from the Court or from the governors who, sent him.

1 This was connected with the war between the Abenaki and Massachusetts (1721–25), the most dramatic feature of which was the killing of Father Rasle, the Jesuit missionary. See Charlevoix, *History of New France*, v, pp. 206–282, for the French side of this event; and Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1875), iv, pp. 434–444, for the English.— Ed.

2 See evidence in regard to this, *ante*, p. 20.— Ed.

1727 He was appointed by Monsieur The Marquis de Beauharnois Commandant at Chaoüamigon, 600 Leagues from Quebec. On arriving at that post he withdrew from the tribe of savages there, who are the Sauteux, a Collar which they had received from, the jroquois by the hands of an Outaois Chief called Le feu bleu, and by which they had agreed to destroy the entire French nation. On handing me that Collar, they begged me to carry it myself to their father, which I did; but I was unable to bring them the answer, as they had requested me to do, because Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois did not deem it advisable.

1728 He remained on garrison duty in the town of Quebec, which he would no; have done had he not received orders to that effect, for during the whole time that he has served the King he has sought every occasion to make himself deserving of promotion.

1734 He went to discover the Mines of Lake superior and of the other Lakes, and he remained there until 1736, as may be seen by the journal Sent by him to Monseigneur the Comte de Maurepas.

[The remainder of this memoir is a duplicate of the succeeding report of La Ronde (pp. 309–311), entitled, “Continuation of the Discovery 306 of the Mines,” as far as the

sentence “I brought them back in my vessel to sault Ste. Marie,” when the memoir closes as follows:]

1736 Whence I took them to Quebec where they made their report to Monsieur the general and Monsieur The intendant on what they had seen.

1739: NEW MINES NEAR LAKE SUPERIOR

[Extract of a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 71, c. 11, vol. 38.”]

You will see, Monseigneur, by the Extract from the Letter of the Sieur De la Ronde dated the 17th February last which I Had The honor of Sending you on the 14th August, by the report made to me by the Sieur Charly See Ange which I also Had the honor of Sending you on the 4th September with the private declaration made to me by the Miners And by what Monsieur Hocquart And I have the honor of Writing to you, that four Copper Mines have Been found in the Tonnagane River and the Rivière Noire, which they state to contain an abundance of ore. They are to have the honor, Monseigneur, of Reporting to you thereon And of bringing you some marcasite from those mines.

Annexed hereto is a Statement of the distribution of the licenses.

I remain

Quebec , October 4th, 1739.

Beauharnois

[Extract from a letter of La Ronde, commandant of Point Chequamagon, to Beauharnois, dated Feb. 17, 1739. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 71, c. 11, vol. 102.”]

Monsieur —I have Sent to Conduct the Miners to the Tonagane River, with orders to explore all those that Issue from that Region, and empty into Lake Superior. They found in the fork of the river Masses of Copper in clayey and Sandy Soils, and 307 they said that these Masses Were only fragments that had come from the Mountains. They found three Mines of this Metal in the Rocks, of which two are on the River St. Anne, which is Seven Leagues distant from the Tonagane, to The west-south-west. They said that they Were similar to those in their own country, that is to say, good and rich; and that there is one of the two in which they believe that silver can be found, though they do not guarantee This; even if there is none, the Copper will prove good.1 They say that these Mines are better than Mountains of pure Copper, because the furnace will be run constantly, bee.aura the expense of Cutting the Copper is Considerable, and they Will produce marcasite2 in melting it; The Mines, they say, are at the end of the Lake;3 the country is fine, the woods very favorable, and the Waterfalls in the River are very well adapted to furnish power for their furnaces.

1 This appears from the location to be the present Iron River, although no early maps have been found with this designation; but in one authority Iron River is spoken of as the “river where silver may be found.” The reports of the early geologists, also, indicate that some silver was found in this region. See Foster and Whitney (*op. cit*.)— Ed.

2 This word appears several times in connection with the copper mines. It means iron pyrites. La Ronde, as lie says, not being familiar with minerals, has probably used this word without knowing its meaning. It has been translated into “ore.” “mineral,” etc., according to the sense of the sentence. Monsieèur Oboltki, our [Quebec] mining engineer, has kindly looked over my translation of the part regarding the mines.— Crawford Lindsay, translator.

3 The expression here, “an bout du Lac,” means where the lake ceases and the river begins; that is, at the mouth of the river.— Ed.

The Third mine is on the Black River, right on the shore of the Lake, where they have found the same advantages as on the other River. It is fifteen leagues from Tonagane, toward the same Point of the compass.

I have had the Miners take specimens of Ore in several sacks, which they are to show you. They wish to Carry them off to their country, saying that we have no one in Canada Capable or Assaying them. 20

308

When the ice melts, I will Send my son to Tonagane with the Miners to explore the right branch, where there is a Cliff which has a Vein of Copper of which I have gotten a Piece. I am persuaded, Monsieur, that this News will give you pleasure.

[Letter of La Ronde to the French Minister, dated Oct. 18, 1739. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 65, c. 11, fol. 166.]

Monseigneur—I thought that I could not avoid leaving my post of Chagouamigon to bring back to Quebec the German Miners whom you were good enough to send me for the purpose of seeking the Copper Mines that were thought, beyond a doubt, to exist around Lake Superior and in other places, for, previous to their arrival, several masses of almost virgin Copper were found in various Places, such as have already been presented to you.

You will observe, Monseigneur, by the continuation of my journal, which I have the honor of sending you, the careful searches that I caused them to make and the Description of the four different Mines that we have found, specimens of Ore from which I have handed to Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart to be sent to you with the Labels indicating the Places where they were found, so that you may, Monseigneur, order Assays to be made to ascertain which are the richest, in order that I may thereby decide upon the steps that I should take to have them thoroughly Worked, If they be worth the trouble. These Miners assure me that they are as good as any of those that are Worked in Germany. They will

also have the honor of Describing them to you themselves, for I am sending them back to France with that Object, after having fully remunerated them; but Experience will always be the best test.

I take the liberty, Monseigneur, of sending you a statement of all my services since 1687. If I am fortunate enough to secure your kind attention to them, you will observe, Monseigneur, how painful it is for me that I should have been completely overlooked. If my continual application to the faithful performance 309 of my duties during 53 years has not profited me, I implore you, Monseigneur, to take, steps to enable my present long service to benefit my Children, who will always make themselves worthy of the honor of your protection, whenever you may be pleased to confer advancement on them. The eldest is a man 27 years of age who is a second Ensign; the second is 23 years old,1 a Cadet with aiguillettes since that rank has been established in Canada, and who left last spring for the war.

1 These were Philippe and Pierre François Paul. The elder son was still ensign in 1748, and returned to Chequamegon in that year. Apparently, he retired as ensign on half-pay. The younger was made ensign in 1742, and lieutenant in 1753, being killed at Quebec in 1760.— Ed.

All these just reasons lead me to hope, Monseigneur, that you will listen favorably to the requests of a father who is still prepared to shed the last drop of his blood in the service of the King and who has always inspired all his Children with the same sentiments.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

La Ronde Denys

Quebec , October 18th, 1789.

Continuation of the Discovery of the Mines by Monsieur de la Ronde Denis.

1736 On my arrival at Quebec, I reported my discovery to Monsieur The Marquis do Beauharnois, and I begged him, jointly with Monsieur The intendant, who was going to France, to ask Monsiegneur, The Comte de Maurepas, to send out skilled Miners from the Mining country to find the main lode for we found only masses of virgin Copper in rich, red, and sandy soils. Monsieur The intendant took with him about 500 pounds in the King's ship, and Monsieur the general sent a piece weighing about 80 pounds by a ship that sailed for havre do grace.

1737 I went back to my post, pending the arrival from France of the Skilled Miners whom I had asked for. This did 310 not prevent my making searches for mines on all the Rivers, during the Autumn, winter and spring. I found nothing but masses of Copper. Had I had any knowledge of Minerals, I should certainly have had no need of Miners.

1738 I returned in my vessel to Sault Ste Marie, and I intended during The Voyage to land on The island where the virgin, Copper is said to be [Isle Royale]; but I encountered a gale from the West south West, which veered round to West North West, and the sea was as high as on the banks of New Foundland. I decided to scud under my Foresail, for I could carry no other Sail. I certainly ran 250 leagues in two days and a half. When I reached Sault Ste Marie, I was never more surprised than when I learned that eight days before two German Miners, father and son, had passed through there on their way to join me at Chagouamigon, so that I might take them to the places where I had found those Masses of Copper. I remained quietly at sault ste Marie awaiting their return.

I was nevertheless uneasy for I saw no one who could take them there. When they returned at the end of a month, I asked them what they had seen and they told me that they had found nothing but nodules of Copper (this is what we call Masses), but no main lode. I told them that they must reembark with me. Thereupon they said that Copper was not found in earth but in Reek. I replied that they had come from too great a distance to

allow of their returning so soon; that I would find Rocky bluffs for them in the neighborhood where we could certainly discover the main lode; which I did.

When I reached Chagouamigon I found war raging more fiercely than ever between the sauteux of my post and the sioux of the Lakes. I decided to remain at my post to endeavor to restore peace between those two nations, and I sent my eldest son with six Frenchmen and two savages in a good Canoe propelled by eight paddles to take the Miners to the Tonagane River. They found in the bottom of that River some more Nodules of Copper, but no Mines.

On leaving this River they entered the River Ste Anne six leagues to the West of Tonaga. At its entrance they found two 311 Copper Mines; one to the right, the other to the left, which they state to be as good as any mines in their country, and that the waterfalls are very good for supplying the motive power for the furnaces; that the land is very well fitted for Cultivation and the timber very suitable for Building forts, Houses, Magazines, and forges; while the stone is excellent for furnaces.

On their return they found, six leagues farther to the west in the Rivière noire [Black River], a mine that they report to be very good; and they returned to pass the winter at the fort.

1739 Early in the spring a savage named l'Esperance, the bastard son of a Frenchman, showed me a piece of copper that he had taken from a Rock at the Tonagane River about a gunshot from the great Mass of Copper that lies there, and which the Miners saw.

When the ice had melted, I sent my son with a Canoe Manned by six French and two Savages to examine the said Rock. They reported that this Rock was a very good mine. Consequently this makes four that they know of. I brought. them back in my vessel to sault ste Marie.

I sent my vessel back to Chagouamigon under the command of my son, with a cargo of provisions, and I put on beard of it twelve Carpenters and Sawyers to erect Buildings at

the River Ste. Anne, where there are two mines, one to the right and the other to the left of the River. The miners claim that they join under the bed of the River. I ordered my son to go there with his workmen as soon as he reached the post of Chagouamigon and to build a very strong fort with Barracks, good Magazines, and a suitable forge at the place where the Miners said that this should be done to. take advantage of the water-Falls, and I also ordered him to collect stone for the furnaces.

He also has men for the purpose of making Charcoal, and they are likewise to make Flumes in order to carry water to the furnaces to make blast furnaces of them on the German System. After this I resolved to return [to Quebec] in my Canoes with the Miners.

They told me that all along the grand River they had found several veins of ore which they call mother lodes. They say that 312 there is a very good one at the Chaudières 40 leagues from Montreal, and, there is no portrage to be made throughout that distance. There is only the Long saut1 up which the canoes have to be taken by Tracking and poling, and in going down the loaded canoes run the rapid in the middle of the river. There are Nepissing savages who live on the spot and who act as pilots. But without making use of that tribe we have very good Frenchmen who are just as skilful as they at this work. I think that a settlement should be established on the River Ste Anne, and that it would be advisable to bring out miners from Germany, founders, Carpenters, and blacksmiths; of these we shall need eight Miners, two founders, a Carpenter, a mason, and a blacksmith, and they must come from the Mines of Germany so that they may be thoroughly conversant with what they have to do, and all should be for the River Ste Anne. With regard to the Charcoal-burners and wood-Cutters we shall find enough of them in Canada. We shall also require two Additional Miners to be stationed at the Chaudières with four good men from among those salt-smugglers1 who come from France, and they should be put at the spot where the lode is to strip it and if it should be a good one, as there seems no reason to doubt, it would be easy to Work it at less expense than that

on Lake superior, and we could have as many men there as we would wish owing to the facility with which Provisions could be sent there from the Montreal government.

1 The Grand River is the Ottawa,. then the usual route from Canada to the West. The Chaudières and the Long Sault are localities thereon—the latter, about 45 miles above Montreal, and six miles in length, navigation around it is now secured by means of the Grenville canal.— Ed.

1 Salt was a government monopoly, and those who were detected smuggling it into France were transported to Canada, and used in manual labor. Nau describes the wretched condition of these transported convicts, in *Jes. Rel*., lxviii, p. 229.— Ed.

313

I must now speak of the Steps to be adopted for Working the Mines of Lake Superior, which are near one another. I shall have to Build a vessel of 80 tons at Detroit, and freight it with provisions and cattle for the Colony at the Mines. I shall bring the said vessel to the foot of the saut Ste Marie, and I shall re-embark the Effects and cattle in my vessel which is above the saut, at a distance of half a league from the other, which I can do both by land and by water.

I have already at that place a mare and two good Horses which are now working at the Mines establishment, and when the cattle arrive The Colony will be flourishing; for there are no better lands nor meadows throughout Canada, and there is an abundance of the same, while the Climate is very mild, the place being on the 46th degree of Latitude.1

My intention would be on starting from saut Ste. Marie to go to a River near Machidache, which call be ascended for a distance of about five Leagues and in which there is sufficient water for the vessel of 80 tons that I shall build. In this River there is neither current nor rapid. After this we go by land about eight leagues. The Road is quite practicable for Carts and close to the village of the Missisagués we come to Lake odontario; the barks on this lake go to la galette where you take Bateaux du Gent to go down to Montreal, and

by this means avoid a portion of Lake Huron, Lake St. Clair, and Lake Herié, which is very shallow and has no harbors.2 Starting from the Niagara portage at a distance of six leagues there is a Rapid called the

1 In reality, it is about on the 47° of latitude.— Ed.

2 La Ronde is here describing the Toronto portage from Georgian Bay, by way of Matchedash Bay, the Severn River, Lake Simcoe, and the land route to the site of Toronto, where there was a Mississagua village. David Boyle, of the Provincial Museum at Toronto, thinks the river without current or rapid must be Holland River, but that the whole passage is obscure. La Ronde probably reported this from hearsay, rather than actual observation. La Galette was at the exit of Lake Ontario. The phrase “Batteaux du Cent” has given rise to various explanations: Benjamin Sulte thinks that without doubt it meant boats that would carry packages of one hundred pounds weight, the ordinary birch bark canoe holding “pieces de cinquante”—that is, of fifty pounds weight. Crawford Lindsay thinks it is probably intended for “Bateaux des Cente,” or “Bateaux de descente”—those for descending the rapids.— Ed.

314 Rapide plat which is not navigable for vessels. We shall also avoid the Niagara portage, which is four leagues in length and in which there are three hills not practicable for Carts. Therefore I see no other Road for bringing down the products of the Mines than by the River I have mentioned, and the said portage may be called Torontaux as there are three on that tongue of land; and by this means a long Journey will be avoided and we shall be saved the necessity of building vessels and consequently considerable expense.1

1 Considerable interest was awakened in Canada by the discovery of these mines. Father Nan wrote to Madame Aulneau, Oct. 12, 1739: “An inexhaustible mine of copper has been discovered on the shores of lake Superior, 700 leagues from here; but the profits will never be very great, owing to the immense expense of transporting the copper.” *Jes. Rel.*, lxix, p. 39.— Ed.

[The following “Relation made by John Adam Forster, father and son,” dated 1739, is translated from a transcript in Macalester College library, published in Macalester College *Contributions* , series 1, No. 4, p. 114.]

1st. They have been to the Tonagua river to visit the rich copper mine from which specimens have been sent, but they found only one piece of rock from said mine which could truly contain a thousand pounds weight of copper; besides, there did not seem to be any absolute indications of a mine at that place; but in returning toward Lake Superior, at a distance of a league and a half from there, they found a vein or lode from which this piece could have been taken, as the vein contained a little pure copper, in the matrix, from which they cut and carried off as much as they could, without the proper tools.

One could never see a mine, apparently finer, and it is certain that if one wished to start in the business and invest money there, a great return in copper might be hoped for.

2nd. At Orinial river, five leagues from the first place, they found a fine appearing slate mine where were five layers, one above another, and many signs of a copper mine, from which specimens have been sent your Highness, which will show by assaying whether it is good or not.

315

In the same place is found a vein or lode where copper can be recognized in the matrix and which is very hopeful.

3rd. At Black river, nine miles from there, in the same direction, is found a good mine of coppery slate in, one layer only, but a foot and a half deep, which would pay being worked.

4th. At the Lake Nepucin portage there are six veins or lodes, which are magnificent, and although no mine has been remarked, it is highly probable that in working there it would be, found.

1739: MARIN PACIFIES THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Letters from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated June 30, and Oct. 12, 1739. MSS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press-mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 71, c. 11, fol. 35, 52–58.”]

Monseigneur —The Sieur Marin1 arrived here on the 25th of this month, with two Sçioux And a Puant. He reports that the Renards And Sakis have not dared to go and Establish themselves

1 There appears to have been more than one French officer of this name, and the sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 116, 117, has confused two different persons. Pierre Paul, Sieur Marin, was born in 1692, and married Marie Josette Guyon in 1718. In 1727 he was one of the trading company at the Sioux post, and in 1730 among the Folles Avoines in Wisconsin. After spending 1739–40 at Rock River and La Baye, he made application in 1741 to go to France, and to secure an ensigncy for his son. In 1745, he commanded an expedition against Saratoga and in 1747 was in command at St. Joseph River. In 1750, he was sent to re-occupy the post among the Sioux, and remained there until 1752, when he was summoned to take command of the Ohio country, and led a large force thither to build Fort le Bœuf. He died at this latter place in 1753, and was succeeded by St. Pierre. His son Joseph, ensign in 1748, lieutenant in 1756, was also a “noted French partisan.” In 1749 he was in command at Chequamegon; in 1752 be relieved his father among the Sioux and at La Baye; made an attack on a convoy from Fort Oswego in 1756; and the next year displayed great valor at Fort William Henry. He was taken prisoner at the fall of Quebec, and went to France to live. The Marin (Morand) reported living in Wiconsin after 1763—Wis. *Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 211—was probably a half-breed.— Ed.

316 at la Baye, because some ill-disposed French had told them that I was Sending a large body of soldiers to Eat them up. He reassured them By telling them that this Was for the purpose of destroying the Chicachas.1 They answered that, if they did not see the war club coming down Upon Their heads, they would no longer Listen to evil speeches. The

Sçioux, in the name of Six villages and of all their young men, begged Him to forget the Bad Actions committed by their Warriors, assuring Him that this would not happen again, and that they wished to come down to bring their Bodies to the Father of all the Nations, and to ask his Mercy.

1 This was the Canadian expedition, commanded by Baron de Longueuil, which left Montreal June 30, 1739, to go to the assistance of Bienville, governor of Louisiana, in his attack upon the Chickasaw. They proceeded by way of the Ohio to Fort Assomption (Memphis, Tenn.), where they rendezvoused with the southern wing; the western, commanded by Céloron and St. Pierre; and that from Illinois, commanded by Buissonière. For a graphic account of this expedition related by a participant, see Claiborne, *Mississippi* (Jackson, 1880), p. 64–85.— Ed.

The Sieur Marin has, Monseigneur, restored Peace and tranquility in all those quarters, which is very favorable for the Security and re-establishment of the Posts.

I am with very great Respect Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Beauharnois

Montreal , June 30th, 1739.

Monseigneur—I Had The honor of informing you, in a communication of June 30th test—of which I subjoin a Duplicate—of The arrival of the Sieur Marin at Montreal, on the 25th of the same month, with two scioux And a Puant. Monsieur Hocquart And myself have Had the honor of reporting to you, in the Royal memoir, various items relating to his expedition And his departure.

You will find enclosed, Monseigneur, the words of the Scioux to the Sieur Marin, at the River of the Swan on the Mississippi; 317 those which have Been addressed to me by the chiefs who came down; My Replies; The Words of the Puants; those of the Renard Chiefs

on The other Side of the Mississippi; those of the Sakis, and of a Fox Chief In private with four Warriors; And these of the Sakis and Renards Together.1 By these you will be able to judge, Monseigneur, what we may expect from all the Nations.

1 The first three are missing from the speeches that follow.— Ed.

The Affair of the Renards, who killed a Frenchman in Ilinois, I found a very delicate one. The Sieur Marin has told me that it was a mistake, And that he expected that that Nation would Deliver up the murderer to him, to be brought to Me this Spring. I left him free to act, within his Instructions, according to The circumstances of the Case, And the furtherance of the service. You are aware, Monseigneur, that in the present conditions no other decision was possible. I have Been informed that this Frenchman Was a Soldier, who had deserted from Fort Chartres, and was making his escape. The Sieur Marin has assured me, Monseigneur, that he would bring with him next Summer several scioux Chiefs, as the favorable reception accorded by the Nations among whom they passed to the two who came down would Induce The others to descend.

The Sieur Do Celoron Writes me, June 18 last, that the two Scioux, whom the Sieur Marin brought with him, were extremely well received in the village of the Outaois, who said that they would do with pleasure everything that their father Onontio might desire, in order to give tranquillity to the country. He adds that the Scioux were much delighted by this Reception.

If it is possible, Monseigneur, to succeed in making this Nation obedient again, it Will be a great advantage to the upper Country, And to the colony. I am sure that the Sieur Marin will do all in his power to succeed in this, And I have enough Confidence in him to believe that he will accomplish it.

As Regards the Renards And Sakis, the Matter appears to me a more difficult one, became La Baye is no longer as fertile as it Was, And because they regard the Place with suspicion on 318 count of the Things that have happened there. If we absolutely can not

bring them to the decision to re-establish themselves there, we will Choose a Place for them in the vicinity, where they can live. I have, however, given orders to the Sieur Marin to make every Effort to Induce them to do as we desire, And to make them come down with the Scioux And the Puants. Next spring, I shall have The honor, Monseigneur, of giving you an Account of everything.

I am with the greatest respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , Oct. 12th, 1739.

Words of the Puants to the Sieur Marin, assigned to Rock River on the Mississippi, November 17, 1738 .

My Father, we have learned that you Had arrived, which has Led us to Tell you what Has happened in the Course of The Summer.

While we Were down at Montreal, The Renards with some Sakis made War on the Ilinois and killed a Frenchman. The Chief of the Band Is a Renard.

We have come to tell you, that if we did not wait for you at the Rock River, it is because we fled in, the direction of the Ilinois, for fear that the Scioux might come and attack us.

We have learned that our Kinsmen, the Sakis and Renards, had a design to effect a reconciliation with Them, And that they did not want peace with us. This is what forced us to go so far to escape them.

My father, this does not Prevent us from Listening to your words And from doing everything that our father Onontio desires of us.

Words of two Retard Chiefs of the Band which is on the other side of the Mississippi, November 28, 1738 .

My Father, we have come to Inform you of the mischief which our people have done to the French of the Ilinois: they 319 have killed one of Them, which causes us much grief and Embarrasses us greatly.

I will tell you, my Father, that we have no share in this wicked affair, And that none of our young men were concerned in it. All were of the Band of Mekaga, who has gone down to Montreal, to see our Father Onontio.

We have learned that he Is not pleased with our Being here; but we are not, however, doing any wrong here, as we have only come here to provide for our families who would meet with hardships elsewhere.

You have perhaps been told, my Father, that we see the Scioux,—this is only for the purpose of Keeping them from attacking the French And our allies. They have told us that they Were very sorry because of the bad things which their young men have done, And that if they believed that you would be willing to Listen to them they would come to see you.

My Father, we are ready to do the will of Onontio, And to return to our former Territory, but we have not, as he has, the same authority over our young warriors. We are going to Labor with them, And I hope that this Spring you will have reason to Be satisfied.

Words of the Sakis, on January 22, 1739 .

My Father, we have not failed, on our arrival, to say to all our people that our Father Onontio wished that we should re-kindle our fire at La Baye, our former Village. The majority would not Like to go there, as they say that the Puants, who passed The Summer there, Had great difficulty in subsisting, and that there are no longer any Crops, fishing or

hunting to be had there, because it is a soil that can no longer produce anything, Being Stained with French blood and with our own. However we are going to try to Persuade them to move this Spring, And to Listen to the word of Our Father.

Words of Mekaga, a Renard chief with four warriors, on January 31.

My Father, if I have so long delayed in coming to see you, it is because of the shame And grief that I feel because our young 320 men have killed a Frenchman in the Ilinois, while I Was at Montreal, to see Our Father Onontio.

When I arrived at my village, I became very angry, And if I had not Been restrained, I do not know what I should have done. I said to my people: “You Are dogs; while I go to beg for your lives, you kill a Frenchman.” They told me that they did not Know him, as they had shot from a great distance, And that it Was a mistake.

I will tell you, My Father, that I did not fail to make known to all my village that Our Father wished that we should re-kindle our fires at La Baye. Some are opposed to this, but Hope in the Course of The winter to persuade them to go there.

Words of the Sakis and Renards at Rock River on May 10 .

My Father, you know in what manner we spoke to you this winter. We Had resolved to do what Our Father Onontio Demanded of Us, to go and re-kindle our fire on our Former land at La Baye, But to-day we see clearly that we are dead. We await the Thunder which hangs above our heads ready to Crush us. We have been wanted of this by many French and savages, who have told us that, our Father wished to kill all of us, And that he was Sending a Considerable Army Composed of French And of all His Children the Iroquois, Abenakis, hurons, Algonkins, And Nepissingues.

There is, my Father, a folle-avoine named Ouoilechase, who has assured us that we Were dead, And that you had come to take us to La Baye, while waiting for The amy to arrive;

And that, if you had not Wished to Destroy us all Together, Mekaga and the others who went down to Montreal, Would not have returned.

My Father, it is in vain for you to deny this thing, it is impossible to get It out of The Minds of our young men, and we expect every day the Blow of the war-club. In spite of this, we remain. You leave us in great anxiety. If this does not happen, we will no longer Listen to Evil speeches; And we will Hereafter do everything that our Father Onontio wishes.

321

[Monsieur do Bauharnois to the Minister.]

[Quebec , 6th November, 1739.]

The Sieur Douville de la Saussaye1 charged with my orders amongst the Chaouüanons for The Execution of my Project which I Had The honor of communicating to you in my despatch of the 9th of October last, arrived here yesterday afternoon bringing the News of the Wreck of the Bark, on the 5th of October While returning from Niagara.2 He Was fortunately able to assist all the ship-wrecked party whom he brought to fort Frontenac.3 It is believed that nothing will be lost. As he cannot return before next spring owing to the Season Being too far advanced, he has sent an Express to Them (the Chaouanons) to inform them of his having put back. I have, through this opportunity, received several Letters from the upper Country.

1 Philippe Dagneau Douville, Sieur de la Saussaye, was born in 1700, and entered the colonial army, holding several appointments in the upper country. He was especially employed among the Shawnee until 1743, and later in the councils at Quebec. In 1759, after abandoning Toronto (Fort Rouille), where he was commandant, upon the loss of Fort Niagara, he retired from the service. One of his sons was killed on the Ohio in 1757.— Ed.

2 Note on original MS.: “Extract with the King's memorial of what it states regarding the wreck of the bark.”

3 Fort Frontenac was built by the governor of that name in 1673, and two years later granted as a seigntory to La Salle. During King William's War (1689–97), it was abandoned and partially destroyed (1689), being restored in 1695. After this it was maintained until captured by the English in 1758. The site of the fort—sometimes called Cataraqui, from its Indian name—was the present city of Kingston.— Ed.

Monsieur do la Buissonnière Writes me on the 2nd of July last that, he had just received the Letters I had sent him for Messieurs De Bienville And Salmon and that he had at once despatched an officer to bear my packages to New Orleaus.4 He tells me that Monsieur De Bienville has changed the date of the Rendezvous, And that he was to start from the French river,

4 Alphonse de Buissonière succeeded the unfortunate D'Artaguette as commandant at Fort Chartres, in Illinois, which was a dependency of the Louisiana government, where Jacques Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, was governor, and Salmon intendant.— Ed.

322 a supply Post where goods are stored, on the 15th of October at the latest.1

1 The rendezvous here mentioned was for the army about to set forth on the second expedition against the Chickasaw. The temporary fort was at the mouth of St. Francis River (not Rivière des Français, as the Paris MS. has it), where that river flows from Arkansas into the Mississippi.— Ed.

Monsieur De Celoron writes me from the Kiakiqui2 on the 12th of August that his party consisted of 143 picked men, 40 of whom were French, And that he expected to increase it by more than 80 men In passing through the Maskoutins.

2 This was Pierre Joseph Céloron, commandant at Mackinac (1737–42), for whom see *ante*, p. 207. The Theakiki (Kiakiqui) River was the present Kankakee, south branch of the Illinois. There was an important portage to this river from Lake Michigan and St. Joseph

River, near the present South Bend, Indiana. Céleron had probably started from Fort St. Joseph, near the site of Niles, Mich.— Ed.

The Sieur De Noyelle writes me on the 26th of August that all Is quiet at detroit; that he had reason to flatter himself that this would continue And, for his part, he would spare no effort.

The Sieur de Blainville Writes me from Missilimakinac3 on the 28th of September that everything was Equally quiet at that Post, And The Sieur de Tonty writes me that the Folles Avoines are to go down to Montreal next year.

3 This was the younger Céleron, Jean Baptiste, Sieur de Blainville, for whom see *ante*, p. 207. He commanded at Mackinac in his brother's absence.— Ed.

This, Monseigneur, is a ship-wreck that causes great trouble to the Sieur de la Saussaye in his affairs. He says that the loss will amount to at least three thousand Livres. He is deserving of all your kindness on this occasion.

He has reported to me that the Sieur Douville, his brother,4 Had started from Niagara toward the end of September to take the presents for the Outaouais to Detroit

I remain etc.

Quebec , November 6th, 1739.

Beauharnois

4 This was probably the Dagneau Douville, who commanded among the Miami in 1747–48, and was sent out from Fort Duquesne in 1756 on a foraging expedition. He attacked a blockhouse fort on the Cacapon, in Hampshire County, Va., but was slain in the assault.— Ed.

1740: THE SIOUX REPENTANT

[Speech of the Sioux to French commandant. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Corresp. gen., vol. 74, c. 11, fol. 85.”]

Words of two Sioux Chiefs, Ninsotin, or two-hearts, Ouabachas,1 and eight Warriors. To the Sieur Marin at Rock River, March 9, 1740 .

1 This is the earliest known mention of Wabashaw, the first of throe Sioux chiefs Of the same name. He was leader of the largest band of that tribe, and had a village near the present site of Winona, Minn. He was a devoted adherent of the British in the Revolutionary War, who spoke of him as a chief of “singular and uncommon abilities.” Receiving a commission nominating him as general, he took part in the expedition against St. Louis in 1780, and went several times to Quebec, there being given flags and medals. His coming was always recognized at Mackinac by a salute of honor. His son Wabashaw succeeded him, taking Dart on the British side the War of 1812–15, and joining the Americans in the pursuit of Black Hawk. He died in 1835. A grandson of the same name was prominent in 1848.- Ed.

My Father, we Have Come in the name of our Chiefs and old men, to inform you of the mischief which our people, who Were waiting for you at the portage of the Ouisconsin, have done to the Outaouacs.

My Father, this outrage was committed only on account of the bad News which the Renards brought us. They told us that our people, whom you had taken last year to Montreal to ask their lives of our Father Onontio, and to ask him to receive us among the number of his Children, had been put to death On arriving there. In spite of this, My Father, our people waited a week Longer to learn if this report Was true. After that, there came an Outaouac Canoe, in which there was a man and a woman who landed peaceably. Our people asked them if they had not some news of you and of those who Had gone

down with you to see oar Father Onontio. The Outauac woman answered that they had no other news to tell them except that their people had been burned on arriving at Montreal. Immediately three or four of their 324 young kinsmen arose, and crushed the Outaouacs with blows of their war-clubs. This, my Father, is the manner in which this outrage came to pass. We have not come here for the purpose of hiding anything from you, nor to Excuse those of our people who have done this grievous deed. We have come here to deliver up our Bodies; we are ready to undergo all the penalties that we deserve. We beg you to inform Our Father Onontio of this. This is all that we have to say to You.

1740: WISCONSIN INDIANS AT MONTREAL

[Speeches of the Foxes, Sauk, Winnebago, Ottawa, and Menominee, to Governor-general Beauharnois, June 20, 1740. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 86.]

Le Moine speaking for the Sakis and Renards through a Slave.

My Father, I am Hired by the Sakis and Renards. What I am going to say, does not come from me.

My Father, it Is true that there are ill-disposed Men in our Village. This has not Prevented me from coming to see you. I have Listened to none of their speeches.

My Father, when, I resolved to come and see you, I said to Monsieur Marin that I had no conveyance; I begged him to give me passage.

My Father, I have always Listened to you, and I have not doubted for a moment all thai you have formerly said to me. Monsieur Marin told us, last summer, that we Had gone too Far away from our Lands, and that we must go nearer.

My Father, I told Monsieur Marin that we had chosen a Place where Food Was Abundant.

My Father, I trust always to You, and I do not See any others upon whom I can count, since it is you who give us life.

My Father, I come here to ask our lives of you. You Are the master. We put our wives and our Children under your protection.

325

My Father, we can ask of you nothing that is more precious than life. We ask it of you to-day In promising to Be faithful to you.

Protect us in order that we may live in Peace.

My Father, what I have just said to you Is said in the name of the Sakis and Renards. I beg you to Listen to what I say through this Slave.

Words of a Puant, by a String of Porcelain

My Father, I have come with my Kinsmen, the Sakis and Benards. Our Chiefs Were ashamed and did not dare to Come among you. But I have come to tell you that I have Been killed by my allies who are here. I have not a bad Heart, however, and I leave everything to your justice.

Words of an Outaouac

I do not come here, My Father, for anything bad but for something good. I was killed and my sister and my brother likewise, last autumn, On Entering the Lands [of the Sioux].

My Father, I have always Had a Desire to go and avenge myself for the Outrage done me. At the very time that I was thinking of this, Monsieur Marin arrived, who told me to remain quiet, to weep over my dead, and to await from, you, My Father, the justice that is due me.

After Monsieur Marin Had calmed me, I remained quiet waiting until I Should see you.

How should the Scioux have done otherwise than kill us? They strike everywhere. They killed four Renards last fall. In spite of this we have had no evil thoughts, And we wish to do the will of our Father.

Our brothers, the Sauteux, always traverse our country when they go to make war On the Scioux. This displeases us. They Sow Terror and fear in our villages. 'They have a shorter road from Their country without passing through our Territory.

Words of the folles-avoines

It is without any purpose, My Father; that we come here. It is only in order to see you, as well as our young people who are 326 here. We Are glad to have Heard what our brothers have just said, and will report it in our village.

My Father, if all that has just been said is sincere, it pleases us greatly, because it can lead only to good Results.

My Father, it gives us great pleasure to Have come to see you and to Listen to your words, although we Are destitute of everything.

My Father, all of us, both old and young, have great joy in seeing you. We Hope that your breasts will flow In our favor.

1740: CONDITIONS AT DETROIT

[Letter of De Noyan, commandant at Detroit, to the French Minister. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 89, c. 11, fol. 194.]

Detroit , August 6, 1740.

Monseigneur —It would be useless for me to undertake to give Your Grace a fair and accurate report on the condition of this post, on the advantages that might be derived from

it and the measures that should be taken to have a considerable settlement here. I have not been here long enough. One hundred resident families can be counted here both in the town and in the country, that is to say about as many traders as farmers. The latter till the soil, But the small market they find for their produce compels them to be content with harvesting what suffices for their needs. The former, who are certainly too numerous, far from making Trade flourish, ruin themselves owing to the low price to which they have reduced their goods which are sold at the prices they cost in Quebec. They try and see who can sell them cheapest to get more Furs from the Savages. Nevertheless, the cost of transport is considerable. Hence it follows, Mon Seigneur, that as they cannot meet their engagements to the Montreal merchants who supply them; their goods and houses are sold every day for the benefit of the latter who have more mortgages in detroit than detroit is worth. Outside, the Savages threaten to withdraw; the hurons live ever in distrust 327 of the Outavas. And, as the latter are Much name numerous, the former have taken a firm resolution to retire to Montreal; detroit with lose nothing by this as the Chaouenons are to take their place. If I cannot prevent this migration of the hurons, I hope at least, Monseigneur, to avert the consequences of the proximity of two nations hostile to one another and to make them live in peace.

Your grace was good enough to grant me a concession between Madame dargenteuil and the Gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary.1 Monsieur Hocquart alone finds objections to it which I do not very well understand and which Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois has not raised. Permit me therefore, Monseigneur, to repeat my application, to you.

1 Madame d'Argenteuil (Marie Louise Denys) was the widow of Pierre D'Ailleboust, Sieur d'Argenteuil (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 253, 263), brother-in-law of Claude de Ramezay (see *ibid*., p. 300). The seigniory of Argenteuil was granted (1680) to Charles Joseph d'Ailleboust, Sieur de Musseaux, Pierre's father; it extended along the Ottawa River, below the Sault, in the present county of Argenteull. Pierre died-of apoplexy in 1711, and the title to the seigniory passed to his wife's family.

The Quebec seminary, established by Laval, first bishop of Quebec, for the training of young men for the priesthood, was richly endowed with lands; among these was the island of Jesus, which is probably referred to here.— Ed.

I took the liberty last year of asking Your grace for a Cross of St Louis. Monsieur the marquis de Beauhornois was good Enough to support my request, and I hope, Monseigneur, you will not refuse me That mark of distinction in the position in which you were pleased to place me amongst nations that hold in consideration only those who wear a decoration. Such a favor will leave me but little to desire, will crown all the Kindness your grace has shown me, and carry to the highest degree the infinite gratitude, the most submissive devotion, and the profound respect with which

I remain, Monseigneur Your Grace's very humble and very obedient servant

Noyan

328

1740: THE DETROIT HURON

[Extract from a letter of Father de la Richardie, Jesuit missionary at Detroit, to Father St. Pé, dated Detroit, Aug. 26, 1740.1 Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 74, c. 11, fol. 268.]

1 For sketch of Father Richardie, see *ante*, p. 102. Saint Pé was at this time superior of the Canadian missions, with headquarters at Montreal. See sketch, *ante*, p. 253.— Ed.

Reverend Father —An Outaouacs who goes to Choueghen [Oswego] for Brandy gives me an opportunity of sending this letter which I address to Monsieur de Boucherville, the Commandant of Niagara.2 Perhaps I shall Write you another in a few days. I shall do so if a party of Bandits from the Sault come back from the Chicachas with some captives. I

expect their arrival from day to day. As the Affairs of the hurons are those respecting which you are anxious for the fullest details, I will give them.

2 For sketch of Boucherville, see *ante*. p. 36.— Ed.

There is no Change in their project of going to Settle near you. The only thing that Hinders the Carrying out of the project, is Savage vanity that does not wish to appear to flee, and seeks to Conceal its fear, by saying to the neighboring Nations, that they are being Taken from their fire, in order that another may be Kindled for them. I am urged daily to Induce Monsieur the General to Send a message by which he will Remove them from here and settle them near him. This is but a pretext. The Truth is that they wish it to be the people of the Sault or of the Lake. The latter are no friends of mine as you may imagine. Thus, if Monsieur The General wishes to Grant their Prayer, the people of the Sault must be their Agents and their deputation must come here next spring to exercise the gentle pressure that is desired. The Drunkard Angouirot alone, with three or four Cabins, is opposed to this Removal. It will not be difficult for me to Urge them to it if it is to be effected. If Monsieur the General does not approve this project, here is a second one that I am directed to submit to him. It is that to allay their continual alarms, he allow 329 them to establish themselves three leagues from here on an island called grease isle.1 There, they say, as they will see no more Outaouacs, they will be a little more in peace. Notwithstanding the Labors entailed by a New Establishment I am in accord with their desires, convinced as I am that their destruction is manifest, and will never be due to anything but their proximity to and their mingling with the French and faithless nations. I beg therefore that their fate be decided one way or the other next spring so that I may set to work in earnest and gather them together. The majority dwell at the little Lake [Rondeau Harbor] and come here only on the Sly preach of the great feasts. All have *promised me to leave it for either of the residences although I think they will be hardly more in peace on the Island in question than here* . Please send a positive answer by the Sailors of the Niagara Bark.

1 See description of Grosse Isle (Grand Isle) in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 366.— Ed.

1740: INDIANS AT MONTREAL; HOSTILITIES BETWEEN SIOUX AND FOXES; DISPOSITION OF FOXES; SHAWNEE MIGRATION; DETROIT, HURON, AND OTTAWA; BEAUHARNOIS TO REMOVE THE HURON; IROQUOIS AT MONTREAL; ONONDAGA AND TETES PLATES

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 1, 1740. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 80.]

Monseigneur —I have received The Letter you did me The honor of Writing to me on the 2nd of May last. The Sieur Marin arrived in Montreal on the 16th of June with the Chiefs of the Sakis, Renards, Puants, Outaouacs and folles avoines. As Monsieur Hocquart and I have Had The honor of informing you in the reply to the King's memorial, he was unable to Bring the Scioux with him, owing to the attack they had made on the Outaouacs, and that which the latter had made on Them with the Sauteux. You will observe, Monseigneur, by their 330 Speeches, that they came to that officer on the 9th of March at the Rivière à la Roche,1 to surrender their Bodies and beg their lives of me. He replied that he could decide nothing without Knowing my will. I Conferred with the Sieur Marin on the matter and told him to re-establish peace in the Posts as far as he could and to Induce the Scioux, if possible, to come down next Spring; that this Was the true way to obtain peace, and that that Nation would find no obstacles in the road, as they had covered the dead of the Outaouacs and re-assured their Minds. I have no intention, Monseigneur, of founding New Establishments in their country unless I am Sure of success.

1 Rock River, an Illinois-Wisconsin tributary of the Mississippi. The same name was often given to the Great Miami.— Ed.

You will see, Monseigneur, by the speeches of the Sakis and Renards, that they seem disposed to do nothing Wrong in future. Their fear of Monsieur de Longueuil's Detachment has Been completely dissipated.2 Nevertheless, the Sieur De Noyan Wrote me on the 4th of August, as a piece of News current amongst the Savages, which he did not credit, that

the Renards at the time they were Sending their Chiefs and Elders to Montreal with fine messages of obedience and submission, passed by the belle-Rivière [Ohio] and stayed with the Iroquois. Had this Been true, I think I should have Been informed of it.

2 See *ante*, p. 316, note.— Ed.

The Sieur Marin Was dangerously Ill all Winter and a part of the Spring; this Prevented him from Carrying out the orders I had given him in his instructions with reference to the soldier whom the Renards killed Last Year in the Ilinois country. As that Nation Had come to me to beg for their lives and assure me of their fidelity, I thought it would not be advisable in the presence of all the Savages to revive a Matter that was past and gone, and regarding which they had offered Excuses, saying that it Was a Mistake. Had he brought me the murderer as he Hoped to do, While granting him his life, I would have reproached them for their Evil deed and made them feel my goodness to Them, for the Nature of the Savages Necessitates great Circumspection.

331

In the Memorial of the King we Had The honor of Telling you the reasons that Prevented the Chaouanons from coming down this year. They are to come next spring. I have sent an answer to the Messages they Sent me, by Vincent Poudret,1 who will start from Montreal shortly to take it to them. I shall know what I am, to think with regard to their Migration. What the Sieur De Noyan, writes me, that as soon as the hurons leave, the Chaouanons will come and take their place, leads me to Hope that I shall hare no difficulty in inducing them to do so, as they Are very docile, And the individual named Chartier2 seems very well disposed.

1 Born in October, 1694; son of Antoine Poudret, a baker of Boucherville.— Ed.

2 This is an early mention in French documents of the well-known Shawnee trader and leader, Peter Chartier. He has generally been supposed to be a half-breed; but his father, Martin Chartier, was settled as a glover in Philadelphia before 1707. In 1717, Martin

received a grant of 500 acres upon the Susquehanna in behalf of his son Peter, who began trading with the Shawnee there, and received a Pennsylvania license in 1730. When the tribe removed to the Allegheny (about 1728), Chartier went with them, and built a trading-post first on Chartier's Creek below Pittsburg, later at Chartier's Old Town about twenty miles above the forks of Ohio. He became dissatisfied with his treatment at the hands of Pennsylvania authorities, and made overtures to the French, and by 1745, according to orders of Governor Beauharnois, had removed his band in the direction of the Wabash. He was rewarded with a French commission, but his subsequent career is not known. Habitants of that name (Pierre Chartier) were living in Illinois in 1790.— Ed.

I shall now, Monseigneur, have The honor of Relating to you all that has taken place in Connection with the hurons and Outaouacs of Detroit since last year. You will see by our reply W the King's Memorial that it seems impossible to quiet those Nations and to calm their Minds. Father De la Richardie Wrote me on, the 10th of May, that he spent seven months at Sandoské with the former; that the threats of Entatsogo, the Chief of Sault St. Louis, uttered in Connection with the Peace. made by the Hurons with the Têtes-plates, seemed to have taken 332 away from them all inclination to Settle near them [at Sault St. Louis]. They told him to beg me to Excuse them if they did not go down to Montreal and to let their brothers in Prayer know that the Custom Amongst Savages Is not to go and beg for protection and an asylum whilst in fear; that if Compassion were felt for them, it was Their duty to come and Console them and kindled a fresh fire in a Place where they could be Deemed in safety.

The Sieur De Noyelle wrote me on the 7th of June last that he had found a sure way to Induce the Hurons to live in union with the Outaouacs and Sauteux and secure tranquillity at Detroit, but that it had been taken from him, And that the Sieur de Sabrevois,1 who Was a Witness thereof, would Inform me of it. I asked him today what the Sieur De Noyelle had wished to give me to Understand. He told me that he had represented to the Hurons that in order to exonerate themselves in the eyes of the Outaouacs and Sauteux with respect to the treachery whereof they accused them, they had nothing else to do but make war

on the Têtes-plates and bring back Slaves of that Nation to deliver over to the Outaouacs; that they would then be In Position to tell them that they had Had no share in what had occurred, since they Themselves had attacked their Enemies. The Matter was Concluded and settled and 40 Warriors were ready to start when the plan Was frustrated by an underground Collar. I beg you, Monseigneur, to excuse me from mentioning him who gave it. What is certain is that the Hurons told it to the Sieur De Noyelle In the presence of the Sieur Do Sabrevois.

1 Either Clement Sabrevois de Bleury (1702–1781), or Christophe Sabrevois de Sermonville (born 1701), both sons of Jacques Charles Sabrevois de Bleury (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 311). “Captain” Sabrevois was commandant at Ile Perrot (1746), succeeded Céloron at Fort St. Frédéric (1747), and took Part in the siege of Fort William Henry (1757).— Ed.

The Sieur De Noyan wrote me on the 19th of July that he expected to succeed in reconciling those two Nations and that he would Spare no effort to do so; that the Sieur Do Noyelle 333 had put this matter in a fair way to success as well as all things that Were in The order.

In his letter of the 26th of the same month, he says that the Hurons and Outaouacs are continually on the *qui-vive* , and in another dated the Following day he writes, Monseigneur, all that we have Had The honor of Explaining to you in the memorial to the King.

Father De la Richardie writes me on the 1st of August that the hurons continue to live with the Outaouacs and Sauteux, in fear, not for Themselves, as their pride makes them say, but solely for their wives, And Children whom they do not consider In safety in a neighborhood such as Detroit; that they are divided into three villages, And that their Reluctance to go down is due solely to the Savage formalities for effecting their Removal from that Spot not having been observed.

In another Letter of the 4th of August, the Sieur De Noyan writes me thai the hurons persist in their intention to Remove their fire elsewhere, that they solicit him to follow them and to live with Them in the land I have premised them; and that the granting of that favor to them depends on me as well as on him. He expected the Chaouanons about the end of the month; they were to take the place of the hurons Having been asked to do so by the Outaouacs who would be delighted at the Change.

The Sieur De la Perade1 Writes me from that Post on the 6th of August that the Miamis asked him to be allowed to go down next Spring, and that all the Outaouacs Had come back from the Têtes-plates where they had not done much, having found two Villages of that Nation abandoned, which, they alleged, had Been warned by the hurons; that the majority of the Outaoucas Being intoxicated, there were some hurons mingled amongst Them who were seen to issue from the Woods; one of the former ran up at full speed saying that a huron had killed his brother by firing a Bullet through his Body; that at the instant the rallying cry was raised; that the Sieur De Noyan told the Outaouacs not to set themselves in motion on

1 See *ante*, p. 223, note 1.— Ed.

334 the word of a drunken man, and when the French arrived they would bind the hurons who Were in their Village; that others amongst the latter said they were going to take up Arms; that the Sieur De Noyan appeased them all and it Was high time. The News was not true.

You must think, Monseigneur, from the Reports I have The honor of sending you, that it seems impossible to reconcile those people, and that sooner or later some unfortunate affair will take place that might give rise to trouble in the Colony. This decides me to Send next Spring my nephew (who Was adopted as a Chief at Sault St. Louis and at the Lake of two Mountains) to place himself at the head of the chief men of those villages in order to go and remove the hurons with the savage Ceremonies they Insist upon. I will send with him the Sieur Duburon,1 whom they like very much, and if the Sieur De Noyan persists in

asking to return with Them, I will grant him permission to do so. I will inform him of all this if i can find The opportunity.

1 Jean Joseph Feray, Sieur Duburon, was born in Brittany in 1679, came to Canada as a sergeant in the troops, and was promoted to official rank in 1727. He died at Quebec in 1752.— Ed.

We Had The honor of notifying you in the memorial to the King of The arrival in Montreal of 45 Iroquois of the five Nations who seem, very well disposed. The Sieur Do Joncaire reported to me what the Nontaeué [Onondaga] did with reference to the 100 Têtes-plates who were to go over to Them. He reported to me that they Did not reach the Village of the former, who met them on the Way, killed several of them and put the others to flight; that many war parties have gone there; that he will Urge thorns as far as he can to continue to strike at that Nation, and that whatever the English may do to get them to make Peace with Them, he does not, think they can succeed.

You will Find annexed, Monseigneur, the speeches of the Scioux, those of the Sakis, Renards, Puants, Outaouacs, and folles-avoines, with my answers; those of the Five Iroquois 335 Nations and my answers, with The Extract from the Council held at Orange.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant.

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 1, 1740.

1740: PETITION OF LA RONDE

[Denys de la Ronde, the elder, to the French Minister, dated Quebec, Oct. 12, 1740. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 216.]

[Summary:—He represents, that he is the senior officer in the colony, after Monsieur de Beaumont. As a reward for 53 years service, he asks to be granted the Brevet rank of major of the troops, to which the senior captain of the companies is entitled, and which his predecessors enjoyed.

He likewise asks the minister's protection for his four sons who are also in the service, the eldest of whom, commanding at Chagouamigon in the petitioner's absence, is 30 years of age while the youngest is 18].1

1 Memoranda on original document: “No—as regards the rank of major which the King does not wish re-established. A commission of Second Ensign to his eldest son.”

1740–41: CONDITIONS IN THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Memoir on the Indians and their relations, unsigned.2 MS. in archives of Ministére des Colonies, Paris; press mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 76, c. 11, fol. 263.”]

2 At the close of the document is the signature “Boubersheur,” but this is probably Beaucourt, and relates only to the fortification of Montreal (part here omitted) of which he was commandant.— Ed.

Our Iroquois had entered into Tide peace made with the Chicachas at fort assumption,3 by giving porcelain both in Shells

3 This was the treaty made with the Chickasaws in April, 1740. The Iroquois were those of the missions, frequently known as the “praying Iroquois.”— Ed.

336 and Collars; but on returning, they met some Chicacha Hunters of whom they killed more than twenty The Chicachas did not Sail to seize upon the first occasion that offered, which was a large Boat going up the river, which they destroyed, killing or capturing the whole party. There were some Negroes among them, of whom one escaped to the Ouiatanons, where he is staying with a Frenchman.

In the fall the Chicachas came to the Charakis River1 in a great body. They saw six canoes coming up from the jlinois in order to return to the post of Vincennes. They killed 19 men, one woman, her daughter and a small Boy. Only four escaped unwounded, and four with dangerous wounds.

1 Cherokee River was the early name of the Tennessee, from the large villages of that tribe settled upon it.— Ed.

Since that time parties of savages have been continually in the Field against the Chicachas; but the war of the Scioux and Renards against the jlinois prevents them from accomplishing much.

Monsieur de la Veramdière [Vérendrye] wrote me on August 7, 1741, that his children had written him that all was quiet in the posts.

Monsieur Marin wrote me August 6, that all was quiet at la Baye when he left for Michilimakina, whiter he went at the request of the Sakis grid Renards to ask Monsieur de Blainville to get a promise from the Outaovas and the Sauteurs not to pass by way of La Bare, if they wish to go against the Scioux, as they fear there may occur some mischief on one side or the other.

On April 26, eight Cabins of Mascoutins arrived among the Ouiatanons to settle down with a Chief who was already there. They are in fear of the Renards who are with the Scioux on the Ouisconsin.

A party of 100 Scioux mad Renards went to pimiteoui to surprise the people of the place; but they had bees warned by the Sakis to be on their guard. The Sakis did this out of gratitude, because these people of pimiteoui had restored to Them 337 three of Their people, whets the Kaokias had captured.1 A Half-breed sen of a Frenchman and a Savage was killed, apparently by some one of this pray of 100 men, for The body was found

hacked to pieces near a Sciau Canoe. This happened on May 26, about half a League from pimiteoui.

1 Pimithouy was a town of the Peoria tribe of the Illinois, located near the present city of Peoria. The Kaokias were an Illinois tribe, situated about the village of that name (Cahokia) On the Mississippi.— Ed.

A party of 100 pouteouatamis and Outaouas, with whom other nations had joined returned from the Chicachas, nothing was accomplished after 80 days of marching. Peanguichas, on their passage through their country, gave them three prisoners and four Scalps. If they had been willing to believe one of their slaves, they might easily have killed on their route a party of ten of their enemies.

The Outaouas brought two slaves that had been given them by the poux of St. joseph River, a post under the command of the Sieur Coulon Devilliers, who writes me these last three items of news.

Three bands of Sonountouans came back from the Chicacha country, bringing twelve prisoners and ten scalps; they had lost but one man themselves. They were expecting two other bands July 24, 1741. They are dying of hunger in the Sonountouan territory. The famine, in fact, is general among all the savages of the upper country. Indian, corn was worth at Detroit from 40 to 60 livres per Minot.

All The Hurons at Detroit were ill disposed toward the Chicachas, when the Chevalier de Beauharnais arrived there, who was sent by Monsieur the General to induce them to nearer to Him. He brought three of them with him to select land, and they are to come in great numbers next spring.

There came to Montreal this summer a large deputation from, the four iroquois Villages, which (in the Council held with Monsieur the General) begged Him not to listen to evil speeches that might be made, because their father could count on their fidelity in

preserving peace. They begged him to 338 work with them to consolidate and strengthen The tree of peace, which had been planted in the presence of all the nations assembled at Montreal, about forty years ago (in 1702), before the then General, Monsieur de Caliere. They begged him also,in case of a war between France and England, not to make war in the country of their brothers the Dutch, but to leave them in peace. They said various other words accompanied by Collars, and all in favor of peace.

Four Chaouanons came in the name of their nation to bring messages to their father, proclaiming themselves very ready to execute his wishes. I do not speak in detail of those things, which are reserved for Monsieur The General, but mention only a portion which was made public like this whole Memoir.

* * * * * * * *

1741: SECRET PROJECT CONCERNING THE FOXES

[Extract from abstract of Beauharnois's reports for 1741. Source: *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, p. 1086.]

The news received from the Upper countries to the effect that some underground Belts were sent by the English to divers Indian Nations, inviting them to rid themselves of the French scattered throughout that region; and that the Foxes had sent out some war parties against the Illinois, whereby several Frenchmen have been killed, led the Marquis de Beauharnois to think that some brilliant action would be necessary in order to keep the Nations in check, and that the French and domiciliated Indians who had been called out for the expedition against Choüeguen might be sent, next year, against; the Foxes. But as it was of the greatest importance to keep this project secret, he contented himself with giving the Indians and the Militia who had been warned, to understand that he calculated on them for next year, the season being too far advanced for the execution of the design against Choüeguen.

The Marquis de Beauharnois' opinion respecting the war 339 against the Foxes has been the more readily approved by the Baron de Longueuil, Messrs De la Chassaigne, Lacorne, de LiVery, La Noue and Duplessis-fabert, whom he had assembled at his house, as it appears from all the letters that the Court has written since several years, that it has nothing so much at heart as the destruction of that Indian Nation, which cannot be prevailed on by the presents and good treatment of the French, to live in peace, notwithstanding all its promises. Besides it is notorious that the Foxes have a secret understanding with the Iroquois to secure a retreat among the latter, in case they be obliged to abandon their villages.

They have one already secured among the Sioux of the Prairies, with whom they are allied; so that should they be preadvised of the design of the French to wage war against them, it would be easy for them to retire to the one or the other, before their passage could be intercepted, or themselves attacked in their villages.

1741: HURON AND TêTES PLATES.

[Extract from a letter of Father de la Richarie to Father St. Pé, dated Detroit, June 10, 1741. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 75, c. 11, fol. 90.”]

Reverend Father —Here is now an incident that will prevent reconciliation between the old and the young men: party of the latter want to break the peace made with the Têtes plates by the alders fifteen years ago. The young men say that it is the alliance with the Tares plates that has caused the neighboring Nations to hate the hurons; the elders allege that this is only a pretext and, moreover, that the Têtes plates, far from, doing them any injury, have sent their people back to them whenever they captured any who went without cause to kill them in their Villages. The young men rely on what the French have told them, viz: that Monsieur the General would be pleased if they attacked the Têtes plates. If I thought that Monsieur the General, with the counsel of his 22 340 conscience, consider such a war

Lawful, I would at once side with the young men, but as I have nothing decisive on that point, and as My conscience, which is of the slightest, tells me that such a war would be murder, I cannot, pending the receipt of your orders, Avoid giving my support to the elders.

1741: COUNCIL WITH THE HURON OF DETROIT

[Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 149.]

Secret Council. Message of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor general of New France, to the hurons Detroit, June 12. 1741 .

Sastaretsy , Listen attentively to the message of thy Father Onontio, which will be brought thee by him who is Dearest to me, who is of my blood, that thou mayest know how much I think of thee and of all thy Nation. Monsieur Duburon whom you greatly love, will accompany him.

Remember well, My son Sastaretsy, that three years ago thou didst Send a message to thy brothers of Lorette, of the Sault, and of the Lake of two Mountains, by which thou didst inform them that thou wouldst be compelled to go to in their Village in the autumn, as seen as thou shouldst have heard of the ruin of thy Nephews. Thou didst ask them to inform Me of the situation in which thou weft placed by the Multitud of thy Enemies. They brought me thy message and I Felt thy trouble to such, an extent that I at once replied—thou must remember it. I Sent presents to thy Father, Monsieur De Noyelle, to cover the dead, to console the afflicted and to stay the Tomahawk of the young men whose Hearts might be turned to evil. Judge by this of my affection for thee.

Thy Father, Ondechaouasty,1 Wrote me the Following year that thou hadst seemed to acquesce in the Orders I had given

1 Note on original MS.: “Father de la Richardie.”

341 to oblige thee to remain at Detroit after the affair imputed to thy nephews was Completely settled, But that thou mightest leave thy land at the first alarm.

Thy Father, Monsieur De Noyelle, Wrote me at the same time that you had all gone into winter quarters and had abandoned your clearings; you had told him that you could not calm the Minds of your wives and Children, and that you would always live in Fear at the Post of Detroit.

Orontony1 Sent me Branches of Porcelain on behalf of the whole Village, by which he asked my permission to come and settle near me, as they could no longer live in peace at Place, because, he said, whenever the Têtes plates, might make an Attack on the Nations of the Post, you would always be accused of having a share in it, and, in order to Avoid being reduced some day to cruel extremities, he re-iterated the request you had made to me.

1 Note on original MS.: “Nicolas.”

Monsieur De Noyelle Sent me two Collars on your behalf. By the first you asked me to grant you a piece of land near me, so that your wives and Children might be in safety, which they were not at Detroit. You said to me by that sage that if I did not show that kindness to you, you would go and die in some Distant Spot

By the Second, you also asked me to give you an officer to come down with you to protect you from injury.

Your Father, Ondechaonasty, Wrote me at the time that you begged me to Excuse you for not coming down to Montreal, as I had ordered the alders to do, because it was the people of the Sault who had asked you to do so; that it is not the Custom amongst you Savages to go and ask for Protection and for an asylum, and that if Compassion was felt for your wives and Children, it was the duty of those who had pity on Them to come and console

them on their Mat, or even to light a fresh fire for them in; some spot where they might be considered in safety.

At the Beginning of the affair thou didst communicate the 342 thought that was in thy heart to thy Father, the Commandant, and to your two Fathers, the black Gowns, and you would have no witness but Them so as to Express it more freely. That message was Sent me the following year.

You said that while you Were at Missilimakinac you received an embassy from your brothers of the Sault and of the Lake of two Mountains by which they asked you to go to Them, and, as a pretext, they said to you: Came, my brothers, you Are in this Plate in the midst of a Multitude of Nations that do not like you and of whose customs you are ignorant.

That the late Monsieur de Vaudreuil Urged you to leave as soon as possible Nations that hated you and that he said to you: settle near me; you will find a safe asylum, a Father and a Protector.

You replied to him that you would some day follow the advice he had just given you, that you would seize the first pretext that presented itself to tome to him, and that you had long thought seriously of fulfilling the promise yon had made, which Was to tome here.

By another message you said that the reason that led yon to take that step Was that you wished to calm the Minds of your wives and Children which Were so affected that they could live in safety nowhere but near me; that the whole village Were of that opinion and that you spoke on their behalf.

By another message you also said that if I did not grant your request, the sorrow you would feel would lead you to take another step; that your resolution was taken, and that you were prepared to die near the first spot yon came to rather than live in a land where your wives and Children, could not venture to go to their Work without fearing that they

might not return at night to sleep in their Cabins; that as you had always Been obedient to my orders, you would be in a better position to Carry them out if you Were near me.

By a Narrow Collar, you begged me not to refuse your request to bring you near me, holding it by one end and asking me to hold the other so as to calm the Minds of your wives and Children.

343

By a Wide Collar you asked me for some one to take you to the land where I dwell so that you might travel in safety through the Nations.

Thou Sastaretsy, with Tayetchatin1 and Orontony, didst Send me a message to Inform me of your design, in the Hope that I would have compassion on your conditon; and you told me that if I had pity on the huron I would bring him near me; that your thought Was supported by two Collars.

1 Sastaretsy and Tayetchatin (Taychatin) took no part tn the attack on Detroit by Orontony's Sandusky band (1747; see *ante*, p. 280). They visited Montreal in July of that year, where Sastaretsy died; Tayetchatin was also seized with illness, but recovered sufficiently to return home, where he died in September.— Ed.

By another message you spoke to me in these terms: Father, our intention to draw near you is a lasting one and nothing can change it.

By another you also said to me that the huron knows what it is to break his word, nor to have a second thought succeed a first one he has considered reasonable. You did not conceal from me that you might take a step I would not approve if I rejected your word, and said that you would never be very firm in your Religion unless you were separated from Nations that are not Christian.

By another message you asked to be put alone in the Place I might deem suitable and that the Black Gowns might, live with you to soothe your Minds. You added that what you said Was said in the name of the whole of your Nation, and that if any evil blow were struck all the others would certainly impute it to the hurons. This led you to believe without any doubt that if I deferred bringing you near me, you would despair of your lives as you Were threatened on all sides.

Then you begged your Father the Commandant and three Black Gowns to support your word with me with such strength that your request could not Be refused; that words Be taken down in Writing and that Nicolas alone be admitted to my private Room. I did this as you know.

344

You requested Monsieur de Noyelle to Write me on your behalf to thank me for my kindness in granting your request, and you asked him to assure me that your Nation would never forget the proof of the Protection I gave your wives and Children. You sent me word that in the Event of any one of you halving allowed himself to be won over to Prevent your coming down, I was not to alter anything of what I had granted yon to have you dwell near me; that you had fully reflected on the step before taking it.

Your Father, the Black Gown Wrote me that my words had been received by your village with great, acclamations of gratitude. Monsieur De Noyelle wrote me that he had delivered them to yon and that you were greatly flattered by them saying that I continued to be always kind to you. added that you had not altered your design in any way.

Last year, Monsieur De Noyan and Father de la Richardie Wrote me that your wives and Children Were in a continual state of alarm, that you yourselves did not consider them, safe in such a neighborhood as that of Detroit, and that Orontony, wishing to excite my compassion, had said he Hoped I would put him under my wings.

Monsieur De Noyan wrote me that you still intended remove your fire elsewhere, and that you begged him to follow you and to go and live with you on the piece of land I granted you, and that you would be flattered if I Sent you a message to Remove you from your fire and light another for you.

I have carefully considered all your words; I have granted with pleasure the requests you have made to me; I will always seek means to calm the Minds of your wives and Children. Come, I hold out my arms to you to take you under my wing, and by this Collar I bind you Tightly to my Nephew to bring you near me. Hold it by one end and he will hold it by the other so that you cannot separate. You will see that you will find in me, as in Monsieur De Vaudreuil, a sure Asylum, a Father and a Protector. I will take as much care of you as of my Praying Children who are near me. I will love 345 you all Equally without distinction. If Monsieur de Noyan continues to feel the Desire he now has to come and live with you, I will Send another to relieve him in his place. Your Fathers, the Black Gowns, will follow you to the land I have destined for you and which you will be at liberty to choose for yourselves. You see that I grant your requests like a good Father and that I seek every means to secure you rest and peace.

By this present, I dear your Road, I scatter right and left the obstacles that might arise; I Dissipate the Clouds and put the Sun at its zenith so that you relay see where to place your steps and that the land may henceforth be at peace.

1741: INDIAN. COUNCIL AT DETROIT; HURON REMOVAL

[Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 91.]

Council to Be held after that of the hurons .

Message of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor general of New. france, to his Children, the Outaouacs, Poulouatomis, Sauteux, and Mississagués of Detroit, June 12, 1741 .

My Children, I Sent My Nephew to your Villages to. announce my word to you and to put at end all the Disturbances, Uneasiness, and alarms that have prevailed there for three years.

You are not unaware of all that I have done to have, peace reign in your land and to Prevent its being Reddened with the Blood of my Children. You have all Seconded me in the intention. I Had and still have that your wives and Children shall live in peace.

In spite of all my precautions and yours I am informed that in the Hearts of the young men still lurk feelings of resentment that might lead to revenge and disturb the land more than ever.

To prevent any accident to which such Resentment might 346 give rise and to prove to all the Nations the interest I take in everything that concerns my Children and How pleased I am to have them live in Peace and harmony like true brothers. I have taken the decision and have determined to light a new fire and to place the huron near me. I think this precaution should put an end to all alarms and resentment, and that, Considering the Spirit by which I am guided, you will act in accordance with my Intentions and will part good brothers, giving one another mutual proofs of a thorough friendship.

By this present I establish my word, I make the sky serene over your villages, I cleanse your Hearts; I make the Roads smooth and practicable By This Collar , so that you may always come and see me in all security, for, although you are far away, I hold you in my heart like those who are near me.

As to Thee, mekinac , to prove to thee that I have paid heed to thy request and to make known to thee my satisfaction with thee and with those whom thou hast mentioned to me,

I send to Monsieur De Noyan the Marks of distinction thou hast asked of me for Them. I flatter myself that these Fresh favors from; me will Induce you to strive more and more for Good and to have no other heart than mine.

1741: INSTRUCTIONS TO CHEVALIER DE BEAUHARNOIS

[Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 147.]

Memorandum to serve as Instructions to the Sieur Chevalier de Beauharnois, Captain of a Company of the Troops of this Country, whom we have detached to remove the hurons of Detroit, according to the requests they have made to us, and to take the savages of Sault St. Louis and of the Lake of Two Mountains, who are to go with him to invite them to come down here .

The chief care of the Sieur Chevalier de Beauharnois shall be to exercise great Circumspection during the journey with regard to the savages under his Guidance.

347

He shall take no other Route than that to the North of Lake Ontario, to Avoid passing by Chouéghen [Oswego], where the said savages might amuse themselves or receive bad impressions at that Place.

While on the Way he shall hold such Councils with Them as they may ask for, and always speak very gently to them.

While crossing the Niagara portage, where he will find Iroquois of the five Nations, he shall tell them with his savages, by means of branches Porcelain, that they are proceeding to Detroit solely in connection with peaceful Matters, and he shall not inform them of the object of his journey.

On his arrival at the Post of Detroit, he shall communicate to the Sieur De Noyan, the commandant there, all the Orders and instructions with which he is charged.

He shall deliver to him the messages of the hurons and those of the Outaouacs, Poutouatamis, Sauteux, and Mississagués of the said Post, that two secret Councils may Be held separately in the house of the said Sieur de Noyan.

To the first Council the hurons alone shall be summoned, with the Iroquois, to Hear our message; and if they decide to come down to light their fire on the land I have set apart for them near me, then the Outaouacs and other Nations of the said Post shall also be gathered together, with the Iroquois, at the house. of the said Sieur de Noyan, that my message may repeated to them, and the hurons shall not be there.

After the Sieurs De Noyan and Chevalier de Beauharnois shall have spoken to the hurons and other Nations of the Post, if the hurons come down here, as there is every likelihood of their doing, and the other savages seem pleased at it, they shall do their best to reconcile them Together; they shall give them a feast so that they may part good brothers.

In the event of the hurons deciding not to come down until next spring, as might welt happen under the pretext of getting their crops, of their young men not Yet having returned from the war-path, or of other reasons they may allege, the Sieur Chevalier de Beauharnois shall pass the winter with as well as the Sieur Duburon whom we have chosen to accompany 348 him, and he shall do his best to Induce the Iroquois not to leave them.

We rely, moreover, on the prudence and wise conduct of the Sieurs De Noyan and Chevalier de Beauharnois with regard to any Events we cannot foresee, and even empower them to act according to Circumstances and to do everything that may be advisable and that, they may deem necessary for the welfare of the service.

Beauharnois .

Montreal , June 14, 1741.

1741: HURON OF DETROIT

[Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 154.]

Copy of the Letter Written by Monsieur the marquis de Beauharnois, Governor general of New France, to Feather de la Richardie, Missionary at Detroit, on June 14, 1741 .

Reverend Father —revived the three Letters you did me the honor of Writing to me on the 1st, of August and 17th of September last, and on the 22nd of April of this year. I Wrote to Monsieur De Noyan on the 14th of October last with reference to my project of removing the hurons with the savage Ceremonies they asked. I directed him, to beg you to excuse my not answering yon or himself with reference to all that you had Written to me, owing to my many occupations in the autumn. I have no doubt that he has performed that commission, so you must think no ill of my silence.

I am Sending my Nephew with the Sieur Duburon to carry my message to the hurons, Outaouacs, Poutouatamis, Sauteux, and Mississagués. You will see what it says, and I have reason to think that, knowing the importance of the matter, you will second me to the best of your ability; and I will tell you on this occasion, as I have told the savage, that I have full confidence in you.

You wrote me that there was nothing to fear with regard to the report that they might go to the Sonontouans. I have 349 nevertheless been credibly informed that they had given them Collars to that End, and that, before they can remove from Detroit, they cannot dispense with withdrawing them.

You write me that somebody who was to come down here seemed greatly prejudiced against the hurons, and had flattered himself that he could influence my Mind against them, and in favor of Angouirot. I guessed to whom you referred, but, Reverend Father, I cannot help telling you that I am perfectly aware that Chief [Anguirot] is held in high esteem by his Nation and controls one half the village; consequently he is a man to be treated with circumspection. Several persons have told me that you did not like him; that you would not admit him to any Council; that his people had spoken and he had said nothing; and that when he saw me he would show rue that he has reason to complain because you represent him to me as a dangerous and pernicious individual. On the present occasion it is better to appear to have confidence In him, so as not to rebuff him, and thereby Induce him, not to thwart my intentions. I give Orders Accordingly to my Nephew.

I have Written to Monsieur De Noyan that I would decorate the Chief you speak of with the Medal you ask of me for him, when he comes down here.

In your Letter of the 17th of September you tell me that you have often Written to Your Father Superior that if I deemed it advisable to grant the hurrahs the refuge they ask near me, they would like that their brothers of the Sault should go and remove them and light a fresh are for them. You do not mention the people of the Lake, who are their brothers as well as the Others, and even their Close friends. And Yet in the message yen sent to Father De lauzon1 on the 12th of August, 1738, Sastaretsy asks that I, as well as his brothers of the Sault, of the Lake, and of Lorette, be informed of the situation in which he is placed by the Multitude of his Enemies. For this reason

1 Pierre de Lauzon, superior of Canadian missions from 1732 to 1739.— Ed.

350 I have determined to send with the people of the Sault those of the Lake and two hurons.

I have reason to think, Reverend Father, that it would be necessary to attract the hurons who have gone over to the Side of the English toward belle Rivière; although bandits, according to the description yon give me of them.

By your last Letter you tell me that there is no change as Regards the hurons, except that their Desire to Settle at Montreal has diminished without passing away, because they are convinced they are not wanted; that only a strong message from me with a similar one from their brothers of the Sank can attract them (you are again silent with respect to those of the Lake.) You add that yon would not like to guarantee that all would go, although you think that those who would remain would gradually join the others.

The settlement upon the island1 of which you speak, where all would gather, is not suitable in any way, because I should consider them much less in safety at that Place than at the Post of Detroit. Therefore, Reverend Father, they must decide to come here, because I think they cannot remain at that place; they must also be Removed from that spot to put an end to all uneasiness and to quiet the land. It is publicly stated here that they have planned to go and Live with the Têtesplates, at the first movement against them.

1 Note on original MS.: “Grosse isle 3 or 4 Leagues from Detroit.”

I am delighted, Reverend Father, that Monsieur and dame de Noyan should be to your liking; they are greatly to mine.

I remain etc.,

351

1741: NEW SETTLEMENT FOR OTTAWA AT MACKINAC

[Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 95; cf. transcript in *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., ix, pp. 1072–1073.]

Speech of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor general of New france, to the Outaouacs of Missilimakinac, on July 8, 1741 .

My Children, I Wrote last year to the Commandant of Missilimakinac and gave him orders to Induce Mincheokima, Akikamingue, Chelaoüiskaouois, Otolinois,1 Oniskaouois1 and other Chiefs of Note, both Kiskakous2 and Sinagos,2 to come here and Listen to my message.

1 Note on original document: “Chiefs of the Sauteux.”

2 Note on original document: “two branches composing the outavacs nation.”

He wrote me that the reason that Prevented the majority of those Chiefs from coming down was their remaining at the grande Traverse3 to look for Lands suitable for the Establishment of their Villages, owing to the dearth of food that had prevailed the previous whiter, and that, your Lands Being exhausted, they feared the same might happen. Again.

3 Grand Traverse Bay, Mich.— Ed.

Several years ago, My Children, Monsieur de Celoron, who is here present, wrote me that you Intended to Remove your Villages elsewhere for the same reason.

In obedience to, the orders I gave him he Sought you at Maskigon,4 where you Wished to Establish yourselves, and brought you back to your Villages, as that land was in nowise suited to you, because the frequent maladies that prevail at that Place might have destroyed you. Moreover, it ruins your Hunting, and you must have observed that whenever any of your Nation have spent the Summer at that Place, they have found the Animals Scattered and your hunting less productive.

4 Muskegon River, Mich.— Ed.

The point in question at present, My Children, is to settle you in a place where you may find good land capable of yielding profitable crops, in order to enable you to procure subsistence 352 for your families and retain your hunting Grounds. Through the interest I take in all that concerns you, and the great affection I have for My Children, the Outaouacs, I see none more suitable for you than Poutchitaouy,1 the point of Pamitobé, or L'arbre Croche [the Crooked tree],2 which however I find rather Far. Choose, My Children, that one of all those Places that Suits you, and reflect well upon the matter. Remember the advantages you have enjoyed in Being near the French, who buy your Canoes, your gum, your Indian corn, your fats, and all that your industry produces; this enables you to live more Comfortably with your families, and you would not enjoy those advantages if you Were far Away from them.

1 “The locality between Carp and Pine rivers at the extremity of Bay St. Ignace [St. Martin's Bay], at the head of Lake Huron. See Belin's *Carte du Detroit du Lac Superieur*.”—Note of O'Callaghan to transcript in *N. Y. Colon. Docs*. Pamitabé is apparently another name for the same spot.— Ed.

2 Immediately north of Little Traverse Bay, at the northwest corner of the peninsula of Michigan.—O' Callaghan.

By a great Collar that you will Undertake to deliver to Monsieur de Celoron, I light your fire at the Spot you will select from amongst those I have indicated to you.

I will also charge you to deliver to him a large Flag that he himself may set it over your villages, and he will raise it so high that I shall be able to see it and have the satisfaction of saying: I have Settled My Children in a Place where they can live in peace and comfort. I shall learn the News of this with pleasure next spring.

As your Elders appeared to me to have great confidence In Monsieur de Celoron, I Send him to found that Establishment. Listen well to his words which are Mine.

I have learned, My Children, that you went to Chouéghen [Oswego] to get Bad milk there is good milk here. Why do you not come and get it since you like it so much? You have never been refused any and my Breasts are full. I will make them flow with pleasure when their milk does not spoil the 353 Minds of my Children,1 and I will give you Tokens of My friendship for you and your villages. I have not Yet had time to have anything prepared. It has afforded me much pleasure to speak to you in the presence of Monsieur de Celoron, who starts tomorrow, and who will repeat my speech in your villages.

1 Note on original document: “Before leaving you will come and see me.”

1741: CHEVALIER DE BEAUHARNOIS AT DETROIT; HURON REMOVAL

[Letter of Chevalier de Beauharnois to his uncle, the Marquis de Beauharnois, dated Aug. 2, 1741. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 75, c. 11, fol. 97.”]

My Dear Uncle —I found, on my arrival, only seven or eight decrepit old Men, and a village deserted and without warriors, as The chicachas have something over 160 at their heels. I have not yet entered deeply into matters; but judging by what I have been able to learn, all appear to be quite disposed to listen to everything, without being in a humor to make any positive answer before the return of this hand. I Hear only things that are unpromising for the success of my enterprise; and if I can rely on what is said and thought by those who can and ought to know something about the matter, the hurons are now as indifferent and averse to coming down as they were formerly desirous and ready to do so. This contributes not a Little to making my position a most uncomfortable one. Incessantly occupied with the wheels that I try to set in motion in order to operate so crazy and anomalous a machine, I am expending all my rhetoric to win and to confirm minds, which the merest Bagatelle may disturb and divert. Finally, my dear uncle, whether it be ill-will on the part of the hurons, or frivolity and inconstancy, I discover, or to speak more to the point, I see through the fact, *that an arm more powerful than my own* 354 binds

and holds them. Angouirot, a famous chief of the opposite party, that is, of those who do not wish to go down, Angouirot, I say, more obstinate than ever, persists still in the same feelings. I have every reason to Fear that this man may spoil my success, as he joins to a cunning and subtle mind, the ability of an accomplished politician. He listens to everything and never makes answer. Presents and other inducements—nothing is spared; and in order to prove to you, My dear Uncle, how far I have to early my Flattery in order to get a hold on The stubborn Spirit of this firm antagonist, I invited him: yesterday evening to take supper with me. Invoked to speak frankly This sly rogue, fearing the wine might betray him, and lead him to disclose what was in his mind, took the precaution of eating and Drinking only with the very greatest moderation.

The Fair sex, Among the hurons as with us, has absolute power over the Minds of the men. I brought nothing from Montreal for them, but I have remedied this deficiency by having made a Fine Collar of 1500 beads of porcelain, which I Intend to give to them with some bags of flour, in order to gain them over to my side. I have proposed this scheme to Monsieur de Noyan, and he seemed to approve of it. I have the honor of reporting to you the speeches to be made on that occasion.

The large Collar which you did me the honor of sending me was found too White; I have had 1400 beads of black porcelain added to it. The Convoy Has not yet arrived, and I do not know what orders you send me by it. Here everybody is fasting and lamenting. You could not get a livre of flour in the whole fort for Gold or silver.

As the provisions I brought are not very abundant and will not last long, if I am obliged to spend the winter here, as appears extremely probable, I am taking advantage of the gracious offers made me by Monsieur de Laperade. I will bring what I Need in the Canoes of his brother, while waiting for supplies to arrive from Montreal.

If my letter should arrive soon enough, my dear uncle, to make it possible to send, me a Canoe this fall, I should be greatly obliged if you would give orders for sending one. The presents you have given me for The savages are scant. I have no more porcelain though I need it every day. Messieurs The hurons do not care at all for the White kind. I decided to write to the keeper of the stores at niagara to send me by the first Canoes that come up three or four thousand beads.

I have set up house-keeping in a house which I found in readiness on my arrival, thanks to the attentions of Monsieur de Noyan. He urged me not to keep my own table but to live with him; but I did not consider that advisable, so I decided to set up a private establishment with Messieurs dubaron [Duburon] and la Chavinguerie.1

1 Probably Michel Maray, sieur de la Chauvignerie, son of Louis Maray, an officer in the marine. Michel, an Iroquois interpreter, was born in 1704, and married Marie Joseph Raimbaut (1740).— Ed.

The Reverend Father de larichardie, with The principal chiefs of his village, came out to meet me four leagues from detroit. This jesuit, as shrewd and Intelligent as his profession requires, has seemed to me thus far to be greatly interested in: The success of my enterprise; but As I know that the most cunning policy is that which seems The most natural, *sic et sic illi fido* .

I am with very great Respect. Monsieur, my dear Uncle, Your very humble and very obedient Servant

Detroit , August 2, 1741. The Chevalier de Beauharnois .

The convoy has just arrived, Aug. 5, 1741. The blackrobe [Jesuit priest] from whom I come has just received letters from the Company, I mean from his superiors, who write him that your interest in the pursuit and success of my enterprise has slackened. If you have not the goodness, my dear uncle, to write here in a firm tone and to declare yourself against

the migration from detroit to Grosse Isle *pro rex et membrum societatis* , do not appear to me to be to second me—far disposed from it. Monsieur Duburon Has not yet arrived; I expect him to-day or to-morrow at the latest. 23

356

1741: DE NOYAN'S GRIEVANCES; IMPROVED CONDITIONS AT DETROIT; ENGLISH INFLUENCE; BEAUHARNOIS'S VISIT; REMOVAL OF HURONS

[Letter of De Noyan to the French Minister. Source same as preceding document, but fol. 279.]

Detroit , August 24, 1741.

Monseigneur —I have not received your grace's orders for two years. Monsieur The Marquis De Beauharnois wrote me last autumn that he would Send Them to me by The first opportunity. Nevertheless, Monseigneur, I have not Had The Happiness of their Having Reached me.

Your Grace has not honored me with a sufficiently ample Commission to allow of my acting On my own Initiative [and] succeeding in The Settlement Of Detroit. Monsieur The General—who In nowise Divests himself of his rights in my favor and who, on the contrary, governs This Post although he is very Distant—sometimes Blames me owing To not having seen Things and to not, Knowing my reasons And The Principles On Which I act, And he Frequently deprives me of The means of succeeding Without Wishing It And Without Thinking he is doing So.

He has not so fully yielded to me The advantages Of this Post as not frequently to diminish Them by granting *Free of charge* demi-Licenses that I would have been Pleased to grant myself. It also often happens, Monseigneur, that he favors Persons who Need least.

It would, therefore, be desirable, Monseigneur (I venture to say For The advantage of this Country), that Your Grace should Leave The disposal of the Licenses Entirely to me, And that in all matters Not of Exceeding Importance, I be Permitted to act Without. Fear of Being Exposed To the annoyance that may be Caused me by The Jealous Envy of my Enemies near Monsieur The General. I am attacked all the More boldly, Monseigneur, because it is Seem that I am Not decorated with The Mark of honor that distinguishes An Officer.

It Will be Necessary if I am To Impress with respect all 357 The Nations within the jurisdiction Of This Post. The number of Savages who Flock to it from all Sides; The Wealth Of its Trade, which Amounts to from 150 thousand to 200 thousand Livres of Furs per annum; And, Finally, Monseigneur, The Beauty of the Country, And the number of French Settlements, which I have Greatly increased within a year, all These Things deserve either that Your Grace Procure me from His Majesty a Commission of King's Lieutenant with a Cross of St Louis, or that You should honor with it him whom you may Deem more Capable than I of pushing The Settlement of this Post, for which Nevertheless I have neglected nothing the Fast year.

The state of abandonment into Which it had been Allowed to fall for seven or eight years by my predecessors called for a Remedy as prompt as that which I applied; And Monseigneur will be informed that the fort, which is 500 paces in Length by 30 in Width, was open on all Sides, Without Bastions, watchtowers, or Platforms, and a Prey to Licentiousness And Brigandage.

I have had it Completely restored with Suitable fortifications, so that, Monseigneur, one is: safe net Only from attack but also From License.

The People, although easy to restrain, Had, through lack of Correction, Imperceptibly fallen Into ignorance of The most Common Laws and then into Neglect of their duties, and, as impunity had too long favored disorder, insubordination would have gained the

upper hand, had I not Found in the Hearts of the old Burgesses of This Town deep-Rooted Feelings of Probity and honor, supported by which I soon saw good faith return, with Police, Order, And Love for Agriculture, all of which had too long been banished from here. I caused the Town to be Extended last year and I Am About to do the same This Year.

The Tillage of the Soil is my Chief Object, convinced as I Am that it is the source of the Power and Wealth of States. To That end I beg you, Monseigneur, to allow me to Grant 358 lands and to have the Deeds drawn up by the Notary Of the Locality.

The English have been coming For a Number Of years to corrupt the Savages Within the Sphere of This Post, and I Have resolved to have them pillaged. I will Begin by sending Them a Summons. I will not send anybody there empty-handed on account of the Savages but the equipment will be supplied by the traders.1

1 Copyist's note: “This sentence is added between the lines in Monsieur De Noyan's handwriting.'”

The Trade of the Savages with The English has Greatly decreased within a year owing to the measures I have taken and which are succeeding. I have, Nevertheless, constantly refused to allow Brandy to be Sold to the Savages, and it is wrong to Fear that Such Conduct will detach them from Us. Far from It, Monseigneur, they have tendered me many thanks for this, and all The Chiefs of the Villages have given me their word not to return there. I gave medals yesterday to four Chiefs by order of Monsieur The General, and I took advantage of The occasion to close that road to them. Your Grace Will be more fully informed respecting This Change next year.

It was not a difficult matter to put a stop to the Trade between the French and The English by the medium of the Savages; they were tired of Being Robbed by the latter.

Monsieur The General Sent Monsieur The Chevalier de Beauharnois here to remove the hurons and take them to Montreal. They seemed to Wish It, but The inconstant Mind of the

Savages leads me to Fear he will not succeed; he is still here. Thus, Monseigneur, if Your Grace will permit me to say so, it would have been Better to have sent me, in the shape of presents for them, What This proceeding will Cost. I would have awaited the proper time to make the Most of them, and, without Compromising the King's honor and Authority, I would have Sounded their Minds and gradually made arrangements for their migration, giving nothing except on a Certainty; Or Monsieur The General could have written me to send The 359 Chiefs to Him, that he might see Whether they were firm in their resolution.

I Think, Monseigneur, there should not be such Persistence to get them. Times will Change, and then we will profit thereby.

I remain with very Profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your Grace's Very humble and very obedient Servant, Noyan .1

1 Copyist's note: “Only the signature is autograph; the postscript is in De Noyan's writing.”

Should my enemies bring charges against me and should these be brought to you, Monseigneur, I very humbly Beg Your grace to give me an opportunity to justify myself and confound them.

I am informed that Monsieur hocquart wishes to appoint a Subdelegate at Detroit. I can assure you, Monseigneur, that there is not the slightest Necessity for this, And that I make a fairly good use of a little law I learned. There has not not been a suit which I have not decided since I have been here, although there have been Many, some of which were very old.

1741: OTTAWA REFUSE TO REMOVE

[Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 221.]

Copy of the Letter of the Sieur de Celoron, Commandant at Missilimakinac, Written to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois on the 2nd of September, 1741 .

Monsieur —I have at length induced the savages to go and inspect the depths of their clearings. They are to start tomorrow, and as soon as they return, if the Lands be found suitable, I will Send the French there to work so as to enable them to sow in the Spring. I think, Monsieur, you will approve some expenses I shall be obliged to incur to place them in accordance 360 with your intentions; I will be as economical as possible. It is impossible to avoid assisting them, for otherwise they would Settle at the grande Traverse where they have already begun to do some clearing; that Spot is twenty-five Leagues Distant from here, and, consequently, not very Convenient for Trade.

As neither Poutchitaouy, L'arbre croche (crooked tree), nor the point of Pamitobé Are to their liking, I thought I could not do better than Induce them to Settle on the Extension of their Lands, which will not Remove them farther from the French fort than two Leagues at the most. I will neglect nothing, Monsieur, to make them conform Entirely to your wishes. The good of the service and my Respect for the Orders given me will lead me to make every Effort to succeed in accordance with your desires.

I have The honor to Be, with very profound Respect, Monsieur, Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Celoron .

1741: INDIAN WARS IN UPPER COUNTRY; FOXES AND WINNEBAGOS TO RETURN TO GREEN BAY; MARIN'S ABILITIES; INDIANS SEEK THE ENGLISH

[Extract from a letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Sept. 26, 1741. MS. in archives of Ministére des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 75, c. 11, fol. 174.”]

Monseigneur —I have learned from your communication of May 6, that His Majesty would have Been glad to hear that the Scioux had come down last year to Montreal. They had a talk with the Sieur Marin on January 18, at the Mouth of the Ouiskonsin, River, and he ransomed a Sauteux woman, who Was a prisoner among Them. They told him that they had Been killed three or four times by the Sauteux of Point Chagonamigon and by those of the Sault Sainte Marie. They said they did not Know what to think of the attacks made on Them, after the Father of all the nations had granted them their lives; 361 and that they believed the cause might possibly Be the report that had circulated that the Warriors whom they had Sent to Montreal were mere Slaves. They added that some of their chiefs Were ready to go down there if he would take them.

As Soon as I was informed of this, Monseigneur, I wrote to the Sieur Marin to ask him what his reason Was for not coming with the Scioux who had asked to be brought here. He replied, under date of August 8, that he had not dared to Leave Them for fear of the Attacks which they might make on different Nations.

In the same Letter he writes me that the Sieur L'Ecuyer1 had just arrived from, la Pointe, and had reported to him that the Sauteux had attacked the Scioux and had killed a great number of them, and that he could not answer for the Results. This, Monseigneur, agrees with what the son of the late Sieur De la Ronde Wrote to me from that Place on the 10th of the same month. He says that the Sauteux, to the Number of ten, have gone among the Scioux this fall and killed eleven of them, men, women and Children, although he did his best with the aid of the Sieur L'Ecuyer to Prevent them. from going to war With this Nation. However, nothing could restrain them and they Had set, out this spring, 130 in number, and had killed Seven More Scioux. He no longer Hoped to be able to prevent them from going against, them.

1 We are unable to identify this person, there being a number of canadian colonists who bore that name. He may have been a relative of Marin, who in the *Register of Fort Duquesne*, on the occasion of his burial, was entitled “Paul Marin Ecuyer.”— Ed.

Otolinois, one of the chiefs of this Nation, who, Is the Father-in-law of Pendalouan, came down to Montreal this Summer. After speaking to him of the affair of his Son-in-law, whom he blamed severely, I told him that I had learned that the Sauteux had made an attack On the Scioux, and that he ought to Know that I had granted them: their lives, and that this would disturb the peace of the country. I gave him a Collar and some presents for His Nation in order to bar their path.

362

The Sieur Coulon de Villiers Wrote me from St. Joseph River, July 9, that a party of 100 men, Scioux and Renards, going to attack the Ilinois of Pimitéouy, had passed through the territory of the Sakis, and that the latter had notified them so they might be on their guard. He said he had just received at that Moment a letter from that Place informing him that the natural son of the Sieur Gatineau had Been cut to pieces, half a league from the fort, and that a Scioux Canoe had been found near him. The Sieur Marin has Written me about The same matter.

In another Letter, dated the 29th of the same month, he writes me that he has learned from the Sakis that it was Ouabacha, one of the two Scioux who Had been at Montreal with the Sieur Marin, that had committed this murder, although he had been overwhelmed with favors.

The Mississagués, at the end of Lake Ontario, left this Spring to go to War With the Scioux.

The Sakis and Renard chiefs, Monseigneur, spoke to the Sieur Marin in the presence of the Scioux. They assured him that they were thinking day and night of what their Father

Onontio had said to them; that he wished absolutely that they should go and rekindle their fire at la Baye; and they said that they had not failed to repeat this message to their young men; that I had Spread a Mat for them by means of Collars and presents in this Place, where they should live at peace with all the Nations, and that I would never abandon them as long as they Listened to my words.

They said they thoroughly believed all that I had told them but that one party of their Warriors and of their old men Was very much Alarmed by the words of the French who came to Chikagon [Chicago] and to Méolaki [Milwaukee], who had advised them Secretly not to abandon Rock River, saying that if they returned to la Baye, some mischief would be done them. They thought that those who spoke thus had their own interests in view in doing so, but they could never pacify their young men, as long as these Frenchmen kept coming so near to Them with Brandy. They begged the Sieur Marin to inform me of 363 their feeling in this matter, and they added that they Were sure they could induce them to come back to their Former village. I immediately Wrote to the Sieur Coulon to Prevent any French from the St. Joseph River from going there to trade, and I have forbidden all voyageurs who, have set out for the Ilinois to carry on any trade with these Nations, either directly or indirectly, under penalty of Being declared coureurs de bois.

The Puants came down to Montreal this summer. They have nearly all come back to la Baye. Those who Were not there, were to come and join the rest in a short time.

The Sieur Marin wrote me on June 13, that he had, on April 6, stopped a party of Sakis and Renards, who were going to attack a Cabin of folles-avoines, that Were hunting on The Ouiskonsin.

He wrote that he had learned that the Ilinois had Been warring with t.he Renards, and that they had taken five Prisoners, whets they had brought back, which had led to a Peace, though he apprehended it would not prove very lasting.

He writes me on August 8 and 16, that he continued to neglect nothing to get the Sakis and Renards back to the place destined for them, but that it seems impossible to bring them to a decision at once, as they still fear the Place because of what has occurred there. He says he had been: obliged, at their solicitation, to go to Missilimakinac and request the Commandant to Persuade the Outaouacs and Sauteux, when they go on expeditions, not to pass by la Baye, for fear of the mistakes that occur only too frequently among Them.

And he says, finally, that he expects these two Nations to come and settle again at la Baye, if the French do not go to pass the winter at Chicagou and at Méolaki. He says he will Spare no pains in Executing my orders, and will act so as to maintain peace among all the Nations.

You do me the honor, Monseigneur, of writing to ask me whether he has the necessary Talents for this, Saying that you do not see that he has made any very great progress thus far, and that it has been reported to you that he does a great 364 deal more in matters that concern his own interests, in regard to which you order me to be on the look-out.

I Know, Monseigneur, that the Sieur Marin has Enemies due to Envy and jealousy, as usually happens in this Country. On my arrival, he was recommended to me as a good Man, who had Been among the savages all his life. I have seen letters of the late Monsieur de Vaudreuil, in which he stated that he always commanded respect in a Post. He has drawn the Puants out of the hands of the Renards, and he has always Been ready to Expose His life for the good of the Service. Such are the motives, Monseigneur, which have Led me to Employ him. This has not Prevented me from Writing to him always to prefer the service to every other interest, and I have shown my Letter to Monsieur de La Porte.1

1 Apparently this was François de la Porte, Sieur de Louvigny, born 1685, died 1749, son of Louis, Sieur de Louvigny, former commandant of Mackinac, who was lost in a shipwreck in 1725.— Ed.

I Had The Honor, Monseigneur, of reporting to you, in my letter of the 17th of this month, in regard to the Chaouanons and hurons of Detroit, as well as what occurred among the Chicachas, in another letter of the 15th. You will receive the Duplicate by the vessel of the King.

The Sieur de Blainville wrote me on June 4th that Pendalouan had passed the winter with him at Maskigon, where he behaved very well. He returned to Missilimakinac with him, and appeared disposed by his conduct to obtain pardon for the wrong he had done.

By another communication of July 29, he has informed me that he still continues to do marvellously.

The Sieur de Celoron writes me on August 16, that he has Had frequent conversations with Pendalouan, and that the latter is very repentant for His fault and promises to have No other will than mine. He intends to come down this Spring with the Chiefs of His Nation to obtain his pardon.

You write me, Monseigneur, that the Insolence of this savage would perhaps not have Been carried so far if, instead of giving 365 him a Second medal, I Had punished him as he deserved for the use which he had made of the first. I have nothing to add to what I Had the honor of writing you in a communication of Oct. 3 of last year. You know, Monseigneur, that the Savages are not easy to restrain, and that it is necessary to treat them with a great deal of policy. Besides, If he had not Been drunk, he would not have committed such a folly.

The Sieur Coulon de Villiers Wrote me on September 20 of last year, and on March 26, May 14, and July 9, 24, and 29 of this year.

He writes me that since Spring the Poutouatamis have not ceased to go against the Chicachas, and that there is at present a party of 30 men out.

By his second letter, I learn of the death of Kouatkougy, and he proposes to me to replace him by the son of Pilemont. The latter refused to accept the medal of the former, saying that he wished to earn it first.

By his letter of July 9th, I learn that the Kaokias, Having gone to war Against the Sakis, captured one man and two women; that, on their return Home, they passed through the Village of Pimitéony, that la Babiche, who is Chief there, held a Council in which it was decided that they must have the prisoners, that the Kaokias granted them the two women, and that they kept the man to burn; seeing which, la Babiche gathered his young men and took the man by force. Finally the Ilinois went to conduct the Sakis to their Village. He adds that the savages of His Post have taken the Road to Choueghen, [Oswego] to see what reception the English will give them. He fears that they may get into the habit of going there in this way, which will be very prejudicial to the Post.

In his letter of the 24th, he writes me that a Sakis, who Had arrived at the Rock River on the 16th, had reported that the Illinois of Pimitéouy Had set out, to the number of 60 men, to go and attack the Scioux; that the Chief of the band with 10 others gave up the idea, that the fifty others changed their Plan, and went Against the Renards at the mouth of the Ouiskansin; that they killed four women and wounded one man; that a 366 Courier went to warn the Sakis, whom he told that they had been attacked without knowing by whom, that the latter immediately departed in great numbers and surrounded the Ilinois, who were coming down the Mississippi in Canoes; that when they disembarked they killed nine on the spot, and took five prisoners. The Ilinois told who they were and the Sakis in surprise said to them: “My brothers, we Are sorry for what has happened. If you Had named yourselves, we would not have attacked you. We believed you were Missouris.” Finally, they sent them back their prisoners with Collars, Excusing themselves For their mistake. He says that the Truth of this has been corroborated by another Savage, who told him that nearly all the Sakis were to go to le Rocher, and to Send to Pimitéouy to parley, and to say to the Ilinois that they had no share in the affair which Had occurred, and that

they wished to live in peace with them. The Sieur Coulon fears that this May lead to open War between the two Nations, and he adds that all this happened since the departure of the Sieur Marin.

And, in his last letter, he informs me that the Poutouatamis and Outaouacs returned from the Chicachas with three prisoners and four Scalps, which the Peanguichias had given them as they passed Theme; that the Poutouatamis alone had made an attack; and that they had presented two Slaves to the Outaouacs.

I am with the greatest Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant, Beauharnois

Quebec , September 26, 1741,

367

1741: REMOVAL OF OTTAWA OF MACKINAC

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 5, 1741. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 201.]

Monseigneur —The Sieur de Blainville who commanded at Missilimakinac in the absence of the Sieur de Celeron,1 Wrote me on the 28th of December that the Savages of that Pest were going to Settle at la grande Riviere,2 which led him to decide upon following them and passing the winter with Them, with the view of bringing them back.

1 Pierre Joseph Céloron was the elder son of Jean Baptiste de Céloron, sieur de Blainville. The Sieur de Blainville mentioned in this document was a younger brother, who bore the father's name as well as title; see *ante*, p. 207.— Ed.

2 The Ottawa was sometimes called Grand River; but this reference is to the river in Michigan which still bears the name.— Ed.

On the 4th of June following, he wrote me that they Had all returned with him, with the exception of a few who Had remained at the grande Traverse to inspect the Lands, which are very good at that Place.

On the 8th of July, the Chiefs of that Nation came down. I Explained to them my will with regard to the idea they had of Changing their Settlement. You will find my speech annexed hereto, Monseigneur.3

3 See *ante*, pp. 351–353.

The Sieur de Blainville wrote me, on the 29th of the same month, that the Elders who Had remained at the grande Traverse had found the Land there so good that there was reason to believe it would be very difficult to make them return and settle at the Place where I wish them to establish their village.

The Sieur de Celoron wrote me on the 16th of August that these savages seemed very Eager to Settle on that land; that he foresees he will have great difficulty in getting them to alter their resolution; that, however, they will not Undertake anything without speaking to me.

He Wrote me on the 24th of the same month that the Savages 368 in Charge of the presents, Collars, and Flags for the change in the situation of their village, Had arrived; that he had at once assembled all the Chiefs and had repeated my speech to them; that they had Listened with great attention, much applause and many thanks. They assured him they would have no other will than mine; that they fully appreciated all the kindness I showed Them; that I had just furnished them Fresh proof of it by the kind reception I had given them; that, nevertheless, they could decide nothing with regard to their Settlement before the following spring, replying to what I had said and had caused to be said to them.

He added that what pleased them most was the assurance that they would find Brandy at Montreal, and that they promised they would no longer go to the English. With that

Object he will spend the winter with Them and will not leave them. He has sent the Sieur de Blainville to Saguinan for the same purpose.

He wrote me on the 29th that he had just had a long Conversation with Pendalouan with reference to the Settlement; that as he was very Anxious to be restored to my favor, he was Seeking every Means to that end, and, in order to succeed, he had made every Effort to Induce his Nation not to abandon their villages; they were to go and inspect the depths of their clearings, which he asserts contain very good soil, and, if this be true, it will be easier for them to decide to remain.

The Sieur de Celeron informs me that that man has great influence over the Minds of his Nation, although he no longer speaks in the Councils; That they do nothing without consulting him, and say that since he has Been Broken, they no longer have any Sense; that they proposed to ask me to restore him when the y come to Montreal, and had requested him [Celoron] to interest, himself for him [Pendalouan] with me.

The Sieur de Celeron made him understand that the manner in which he Behaved in this affair would be the only thing that would Induce him to bear favorable testimony as to his conduct.

369

He also writes that if the savages of his Post continue in the dispositions in, which he found them, none will go to the English, and that the Sauteux are of the same mind.

I have reason to believe, Monseigneur, thai the Sieur do Celeron will neglect nothing to Carry out the orders I have given him, as that Officer Is very zealous for the service, and very disinterested.

I remain, with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 5, 1741.

1741: REMOVAL OF DETROIT HURON

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 8, 1741. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 208.]

Monseigneur —Since the Letter I Had the honor of Writting you on the 30th September last, I have spoken to the three huron Chiefs, who told me Nothing but that they Were greatly obliged to me for my kindness in wishing to place them near me, as they Were not in safety at. Detroit; that before deciding as to their fate, they were waiting for The arrival of their people, who Had all gone on the war-path against the Chicachas; that on their return they would at once hold a Council, send me Couriers to inform me of the Result, and Choose the Lands that Suited them; that They Were sent with that Object. It is to be feared, Monseigneur, that that Nation will not come down, but will Be dissuaded by people whose sole Recommendation lies in interested motives, regardless of the consequences that may result. Should this affair fail, you can see, Monseigneur, that it will not be through my fault, And that I have done all in my power to secure its success. I append several Letters Written to me on the subject by my nephew from Detroit and the Council 370 that was Held there. Should anything else come to my knowledge previous to the departure of the last ships, I shall have The honor of communicating the same to you.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 8, 1741.

1741: CHEVALIER DE BEAUHARNOIS'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DETROIT HURON

[Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 124.]

Extract from a Letter Written by Father de la Richardie to Father de Jaunay1 who Was at the River Iouachetanon,2 dated Detroit, in the month of December, 1741 .

1 Pierre du Jaunay was born at Vannes in 1704, entered the Jesuit order in 1723, came to Canada in 1734. The following year he is mentioned as returning to Montreal from Mackinac with Father Saint Pé, and in 1756 he was superior of the Ottawa mission. When the Indians of Mackinac attacked the English garrison there in 1763, Du Jaunay opened his house as an asylum for them, at peril of his own life. He died at Quebec in 1780.— Ed.

2 Probably a variant of Ouiatanon, the Indian name of the Wea tribe; whence, here, the name of the river (Wabash) on which they dwelt. Post Ouiatanon (Iouachetanon) was near the present city of Lafayette, Ind.— Ed.

Reverend Father —It would have afforded me much pleasure to execute the commission which you entrusted me for Monsieur the Chevalier de Beauharnois, had he been here, but, after a somewhat useless sojourn of About a month in this part of the country, he decided to go to Sandoské, as he had been unable to Induce the hurons to come here to Listen to the message of Monsieur his uncle. *I could not avoid making that journey with him, although I have reason to be convinced that I gave him no pleasure* .3

3 Copyist's note: “Thus underlined in the same handwriting as the whole document.”

371

It is Extraordinary that measures so little Consistent with a authority and dignity as those resorted to should be taken at present to Remove the hurons from Detroit. The opportunity should have been seized the moment the request was made, and they [the Hurons] should

not have been so constantly refused as they were, only to be invited afterwards in a manner Burdensome to the French nation, without its being possible to obtain anything from Them.

The success of his mission will be confined to Taking with him three elders who, will not say a word, and whom he has had great difficulty in persuading.

It is easy to see that Monsieur the Chevalier wished to Take that Mission from us that it might devolve upon his friend Monsieur Piquet,1 who has already had some clearing done and some Cabins erected to receive them; but, whatever may happen, the hurons will never wish to have any other Missionaries than us.

1 François Picquet was born in Burgundy, 1708. He entered the Sulpician order at Paris and was ordained and sent to Canada in 1734. He spent five years at Montreal and ten more at the Sulpician mission of Lake of the Two Mountains. He then founded the mission and settlement of La Présentation near the present city of Ogdensburg, New York, for the purpose of securing the alliance of the Iroquois. At the end of two years four hundred Iroquois had settled there, and the number increased to three thousand. In 1760 Picquet returned to France rather than accept English allegiance.— Ed.

The Reverend Father Superior, in Concert with Monsieur the general, had told me to Establish them on grosse Isle, where they would have been better than Anywhere else. I cannot account for the Change. I shall await patiently the orders he may Send me in connection with the matter.

372

1742: OTTAWA AT MONTREAL

[Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 77, fols. 158, 153, 160, 155.]

Speech of the Outaouacs of Missilimakinac, of the band of la fourche, Sinagos and Kiskakons to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General of New France, June 16, 1742 .

My Father, we come to thank you for all the kindness you have shown us in having sent Monsieur de Celoron to Govern us. It was not without necessity, because we had no more Sense and were scattered.

My Father, Monsieur de Celoron has gathered us all together at one of the three places you had indicated. We chose l'arbre Croche (the Crooked tree), where we found the land good and advantageous. He kindled our fire for us there and we at once began to make clearings. That fire will never die out; we shall all have the pleasure of warming ourselves there in peace and tranquility with our wives and our Children, And of seeing the Sparks fly up to the Sky.

My Father, we likewise thank you for the great Flag you gave us in addition to the fire, to be planted in our new village. The Nations that pass our way will easily see that our Father has distinguished our village by that Flag.

My Father, we again thank you for the mat you caused to be Spread for us by Monsieur de Celeron, that we might sit on it near that fire; we shall take care to live there quietly, and they who come after us will never leave it.

My Father, for fifteen years one Amiot,1 married to a Sakise, has been Settled at Missilimakinac working at his trade of armorer and blacksmith with the Jesuit Fathers, who keep back from him one half the proceeds of his labor; this makes it impossible for him to provide for the subsistence

1 Joseph Jean Baptiste Amyot-Vincelot, son of Charles Joseph A.-V., seigneur of Cape St. Ignace, was born in 1697; his marriage took place in 1719.— Ed.

373 of his wife and eight Children, whom we have to support, as they come to our Cabins every day for food. He wanted to leave the Post and go to the Ilinois; we Urged him to remain, telling him that you would be good enough to free him from his work. We trust, My Father, that you will not refuse this request.

My Father, you gave us much pleasure in sending us Monsieur de Celeron. We have been told that you are taking him from us. He will be regretted by all the village; he has been very kind to us. You give us Monsieur de Vercheres in his place. As he knows us, we Hope he will show us the same kindness. We will do everything in our power to make him satisfied with us.

Speech of the Outaouacs of Saguinan to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor general of New france, June 18, 1742 .

My Father —Monsieur de Blainville came on your behalf to our village last spring, to bring us your message.

My Father, he barred the road to the English to us by a Collar and by presents, telling us that it Was your will, and he invited us to come here and Listen to you.

My Father, I had no difficulty in making up my mind to come down as soon as I saw it was your will, although I had never been in your village. I braved all the rapids and the dangers to have the pleasure of seeing you; we thought we should perish in the rapids where one of our Canoes was broken; we Hope you will have another supplied us for our return.

My Father, I have told you that I had never come down here. I Listened to the speech of the Chief you Sent to us. I come to Hear yours and to assure you in the name of all our village that we will never do anything but your will. I do not think, My father, that you will Hear of any of us going to the English, since that is your intention.

374

My father, we deserve pity; when we break our guns and our axes we are obliged to throw them away because we have nobody to mend them. Therefore we beg you to give us a blacksmith for our village.

Reply of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General of New France, to the speech of the Outaouacs of Missilimakinac, of the band of la fourche, Sinagos, and Kiskakons, June 23.1742 .

My Children, I am delighted that you should feel your obligation to me for having Sent Monsieur do Celoron to you to restore your Senses.

My Children, I am greatly satisfied at. your having Listened to the message I Sent you by Monsieur de Celeron, and at your having Established your village at l'arbre Croche, where you have found good land. By these Branches of Porcelain I replenish the fire I have kindled at that Spot, so that it may never Die out, and, to give you fresh evidence of my affection and of the care I take of you, I have given orders to Monsieur de Vercheres to Send the officer second in command, with all the French who may be at Missilimakinac, to burn all the Trees you cut down last Spring, so that you may be in Position next year to seed your lands properly.

My Children, the mark of distinction I gave your village must be a further Inducement to you never to leave it, and to remain quietly and peacefully on the mat I have had Spread for you. I urge you, as well as your wives, Children, those who will come after you, to benefit by the advantage you have in possessing so good an Establishment, and, for my part, I am pleased at having placed my Children in a Place where they will no longer be Exposed to hunger. May your Hearts be as white as the great Flag I have caused to be hoisted in your village. I will always keep my eyes on it. Do not Stray Far away from it. I will continue to give you fresh tokens of my affection.

My Children, I have carefully Considered the representations you have made to me with reference to one Amiot, a blacksmith. I have entered into his trouble and into yours. I have consequently given my orders to Monsieur de Vercheres. You will have reason to be satisfied with the arrangement I have made.

My Children, I am delighted with your gratitude towards Monsieur de Celeron for the kindness he has Shown you. He had asked me to be allowed to come down on his private affairs; I could not refuse him. You will find that Monsieur de Vercheres will show you the same attention when you Listen to his words, which are mine.

My Children, Monsieur de Celoron has informed me that several of your War Chiefs had planned to strike a Blow at the Scioux. By these branches of Porcelain I stay your Tomahawk until I have received news from la Baye and have made my intentions known to you through Monsieur do Verchères.

My Children, complaints have reached me from the French who are Settled at Missilimakinac, that your young men and the Sauteux do them considerable damage by stealing from their gardens and their fields, and by killing and wounding their animals. You must put a stop to this disorder by speaking to your young men. I charge you to say as much to the Sauteux on my behalf. You must know that when my French do you an injury, I make them repair it at Once.

By Presents

Here, My Children, are proofs of my affection and of my satisfaction with you. Smoke calmly on your mats; Drink peacefully of my Milk like true brothers.

I charge you, My Children, to carry this present to Agoabémé, whom I esteem, and to give it to him from me. By this same present I ask him to remain in peace on the mat I have Spread for you in your new village.

Reply of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor. general of New france, to the Speech of the Outaouacs of Saguinan, June 24, 1742 .

My Children, I am delighted at your having Listened attentively to the message I Sent you in your village by Monsieur de Blainville.

My Children, he fulfilled my intentions when he barred the road to the English to you, because I am very glad that my Children of Saguinan should have but one heart with mine.

You have given me pleasure, My Children, by coming to see me and Listen to my word. What I have to say to you is that I ask you to go no more to the English, and to persuade your young men to come here for what you need, and to drink (suck) my milk, since it pleases you. You know that a Father is always pleased to see his Children near him, and that his hands are ever open to give them fresh tokens of his affection.

My Children, I thank you for having braved all dangers to come and see me. I thank the master of life for having prey served you amid those you have encountered. I will replace your Canoe that was broken.

My Children, as you Had never come down here, I have been very happy to have the pleasure of seeing you. The assurance you give me on behalf of all your village that you will never do anything but my will, was what I expected from Children as submissive as you Are; but I wished to learn it from yourselves, and, as I am convinced that you speak to me with a sincere heart, I open mine to you to tell you that I will always hold you by the hand, and will never abandon you.

My Children, I have pity on you; I give you the blacksmith you ask; he is the eldest son of Amiot of Missilimakinac. I have given orders to Monsieur de Vercheres to hand him over to you as you pass, so that you may Take him with you to your village.

To thee, Achaouabemé, in consequence of the good reports that have been made to me regarding thy conduct and thy bravery, I give this Mark of distinction, which the King 377 grants only to his Children whom he holds in, greatest consideration. May this Induce thee to continue to devote thy attention to affairs that are right, and to have my counsel Carried out by thy young men.

I learned, My Children, from Monsieur de Celoron, that you intended to strike a blow at the Scioux. He also told me that last spring he had stopped the band consisting of the sons of the Corbeau (Raven). By these branches of porcelain, I stay your Tomahawk until I have received news from la Baye, and until I have made my intentions known to you through Monsieur de Vercheres.

My Children, receive proofs of my affection and of my satisfaction. Smoke calmly on your mats; drink peacefully of my milk like true brothers. That is all I have to say to you.

1742: BEAUHARNOIS AND THREE HURON CHIEFS

[MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 77, c. 11, fol. 166.”]

Speech of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor General of New france, to three huron Chiefs of Detroit who down from that Place last autumn with Monsieur le Chevalier de Beauharnois, June 28, 1742 .

My Children, I know that for a long time you have been heartily Tired of being here, and that you would like to be back in your village. I would have sent you back on my arrival, had I not expected replies to the letters I Wrote to Father de La Richardie last autumn, which I have not yet received, and had I not thought that your alders would come down to speak to me and open their hearts to me like true Children. That is what I expected of them, and what they could nor avoid doing without being ungrateful for my kindness.

I see, my Children, the reason that has Prevented Sastaretsy from coming down. I seem to Hear him say with his 378 council: “For what object shall we go down there to our Father? Shall we go to justify ourselves? We cannot, after all the steps we have taken to Induce him to remove us from a Place where we were in continual Mann, and where we had everything to fear for our wives and Children.

“To Induce our Father to hold out his hand and be favorable to us, what have we left untried to move his goodness?

“Four years ago we Sent him a message to inform him of the situation in which we were placed by the multitude of our Enemies. What did our Father do? He Sent us presents to cover the dead, to console the afflicted, and to stay the tomahawk of the young men whose hearts might be turned to evil, and he Urged us to remain at Detroit after the affair imputed to our nephews should be Completely settled.

“We abandoned our clearings and spent the winter at Sandoské because we could not calm the Minds of our wives and Children.

“Orotony Sent branches of Porcelain to our Father on behalf of the whole village; by these he asked permission to go and Settle near him, as he could no longer live in peace at Detroit.

“We Sent two Collars to our Father. By the first we asked him to grant us a tract of land near him, so that our wives and Children might be in safety, and we told him by that Collar that if he showed us not that kindness we would go and die in some Distant Spot.

“By the second we begged him to give us an officer to go down with us to protect us from attack.

“We said that if the people of the Lake and of the Sault had Compassion on our wives and Children, they would come and comfort us on our mats and kindle a fresh fire for us in a Spot where they would consider us in Safety.

“We represented to our Father that during the time we were at Missilimakinac we received an embassy from our brothers of the Lake and of the Sault, whereby they invited us to go near them saying to us: ‘Come, my brothers, you are in the 379 midst of a multitude of nations that love you not and of whose customs you are ignorant.’

“We also represented to our Father that the late Monsieur de Vaudreuil Exhorted us at that time to leave as soon as possible Nations that hated us, and that he said to us: ‘come near me; you will find here a safe refuge, a Father, a Protector.’

“We replied to him that we would some day follow the advice he had just given us, and would seize the first pretext that might arise to go near him.

“We said that our wives and Children were so frightened that they could live in safety nowhere except near our Father; that the whole village were of that opinion; that we spoke on their behalf, and that our resolution was taken.

“By a Narrow Collar we asked our Father not to refuse our request, and to draw us to him; and said we Hoped he would have compassion on our condition.

“By another message we said that our resolution to draw near our Father was taken for ever, and that nothing could make us Alter it, because the huron knew, not what it was to break his word nor to have a second thought succeed a first one he had deemed reasonable; and that all our reflections had been made before our measures were taken.

“Our Father took pity on us and granted all our requests. We had our thanks conveyed to him, and we begged Monsieur de Noyan to follow us and come and live with us on the tract of land our Father had granted us.

“To give us fresh proofs of singular kindness, our Father Sent as his nephew last spring with Collars and presents to fulfil the promise he had given us; he asked the people of the Lake and of the Sault—whom we ourselves had often asked—to follow him.

“That is what Our Father has done for us. Have we responded to his attentions otherwise than with ingratitude?”

Hurons, that is what I imagine Sastaretsy is saying with the whole of your village.

My Children, I have just remembered that your elders left the deciding of all these matters with, the young men, and 380 that all had determined to settle on la grosse isle. I can not understand whence these misunderstandings arise. If your Chiefs were not masters to decide the fate of their village, they should not have spoken in its name, nor Induced me to do what I have done for you.

Apparently, my Children, all those evil affairs that have occurred are Buried and all is forgotten on both sides. If such be the case, I shall be delighted to see you live quietly and peacefully in the place you shall choose. But, for my part, I cannot put you anywhere, as I have no information regarding the decision taken by your Nation.

My Children, I have pity on you. I give you wherewith to take you back to your village. You may start when you like. That is all I have to say to you.

1742: OTHER WESTERN INDIANS AT MONTREAL

[MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press mark,“Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 77, c. 11, fols. 181–235.”]

Speeches of the Ouyatanons, Petikokias, Kikapoux, and Maskoutins to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General of New france, July 8, 1742 .

The Ouyatanons

We are rejoiced at Our Father being pleased to smoke our Calumet.

My Father, this is the message of a Chief who was obliged to discontinue his journey on account of illness, and who was bringing you the hearts of all the young men.

My Father, we weep, we are broken-Hearted because the Chicachas killed us last Spring. We beg you to have pity on us; we Are quite naked.

My Father, we have followed the road you traced out for us. We Again beg you to have pity on us, and always to look favorably upon that road.

381

My Father, the Hearts of all the young men have been brought to you. Here is mine which I also bring to you. The message of the young men is the Calumet that fills hearts with gladness.

My Father, as we cannot swim and Are not familiar with Canoes, we you to give us somebody to convey us.

My Father, we cease not to weep for the death of Monsieur de Vincennes, and we are continually on the warpath against the Chicachas to avenge it.1

1 For the capture and death of Vincennes at the hands of the Chickasaw, see *ante*, p. 259, note 1.— Ed.

My Father, our young men Hope you will be good enough to Send them some of your Milk.2

2 French “milk,” in Indian parlance, Signified brandy or other alcoholic liquors.— Ed.

My Father, goods are sold us at very high prices. We therefore beg that the Post of the Ouyatanons be under the system of Licenses like Detroit, so that Everybody may go and trade there.3

3 On the Ouiatanon post, and licenses therefor, see manuscript of 1731, *ante*, pp. 131–134.— Ed.

My Father, we love Monsieur de Noyelles; he is Familiar with our usages and is accustomed to our Ways. We beg you to give him to us.

The Petikokias4

4 A Ouiatanon (Wea) tribe; see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., xvi, p. 376.— Ed.

My Father, as I have never appeared in Councils, I beg you to Excuse me if any Thing Escapes me in my discourse.

My Father, what the other band has said to you is the same Thing that I wish to say to you.

I am of the same Mind as my Father who has already come here twice. I follow the footsteps of my ancestors and my Heart is the same.

My Father, all that I have said is said in all sincerity. I know that you have but one word.

382

My Father, all our young men are quiet in our village. They Hope you will have pity on Them.

There was an evil nation, that of the Renards. We waged war on them and drove them Away because we knew they would not do your will.

My Father, our sole occupation will be to avenge the blows struck by the Chicachas upon your French and upon Monsieur de Vincennes.

My Father, this Calumet is for the purpose of making the sky clear and dissipating the clouds.

The Kikapoux

My Father, I think you will have pity on us because we have never Deviated from the Path you traced out for us.

My Father, I think your Heart will have pity on me. It is contained in this Paper.1

1 Note on margin of original MS.: “it is a commission of great Chief of a village.”

My Father, we have widened the Road you laid out for us, in order to follow the traces more easily.

My Father, I have a Desire to leave the Ouyatanons and Settle in the meadow of the Maskoutins.1

1 This is apparently a well-known landmark; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, p. 1097, and x, p. 20, where it appears to be identified incorrectly. The editor thereof is inclined to think it was at or near the site of South Bend, Ind.; but the evidence is inconclusive. See Carr, “The Mascoutins,” in Amer. Antiq. Soc. *Report*, April, 1900, for an account of the wanderings and relationships of this tribe.— Ed.

My Father, I do not think I shall ever come back here because I am very old.

My Father, we ask you for a Chief, a blacksmith, and Frenchmen to bring us what we need.

The Maskoutins—in two bands

My Father, you have always had pity on us; we think you will continue to show us the same kindness.

383

My Father, we have followed the road you traced out for us. We have no news to tell you. We come to Listen to your word. We Hope you will have pity on us.

The other band

My Father, when we saw that the Chiefs had decided to come and see you, we followed them. We Hope you will have pity on us as on your other Children.

My Father, we have come to see you and to Listen to your words. We Hope you will have pity on us.

We Hope, my Father, that you will Send us away soon lost the inclement season overtake us on our journey.

My Father, as we know not the Road, we Hope you will give us Frenchmen to lead us above the Rapids.

My Father, we ask your permission to go by the South of the Lake to shorted our road.

Mayomba in the private Room

My Father, the Puants came to me in my village last Summer to seek a refuge and to form but one Body With us, because they could no longer live with the Renards, who attacked them continually. I gave them my word that they had only to come to me, and we would Settle Together in the Meadow of the Maskoutins, where we think the Chaouanons [Shawnee] will also come and Settle with us, they have promised to do so.

Reply of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New france, to the speeches of the Ouyatanons, Petikokias, Kikapoux, and Maskoutins, July 12, 1742 .

To the Ouyatanons

My Children, I have smoked your Calumet with pleasure, to show you how I love you all.

My Children, I am sorry that the Chief who was bringing 384 me the Hearts of the young men should have been compelled by Illness to discontinue his journey. I have received his message with joy, and I charge you to hear him mine. You may say on my behalf to all the young men, that so long as they Listen to my words, I will always include them in the number of my true Children.

My Children, I am greatly afflicted by the loss you have experienced through the death of your Warriors who were killed by the Chicachas. Here is a leaf I throw on their Bodies, and a Drink of Milk to wipe away your Tears.

My Children, you have given me pleasure by following the Road I have traced out for you. It will always be dear, and you will never find any Ambush in it.

My Children, I have already told you that I received with pleasure the Hearts of all your young men. I receive yours and your Calumet with Equal satisfaction.

My Children, I know that you Are not accustomed to Canoes. I will therefore give you Frenchmen to Convey you.

By a Collar

My Children, you do rightly in weeping for the death of Monsieur de Vincennes. I had given him to you because I knew he loved you and you loved him greatly. By this Collar, I ask you to continue to avenge his death.

My Children, here is some of my Milk for your young men; they will see that I have Listened to their request.

My Children, you are aware that it costs a great deal to convey Goods to your villages, and that there is a considerable difference between your road and that of Detroit. Nevertheless, I take your request into Consideration. There will be several traders, and you will be Masters to seek a cheap market.

My Children, I will have an answer giver to your request for Monsieur Denoyelle. I must first know how your villages are to be arranged.

385

To the Petikokias

My son, although thou hast never appeared in Councils, think nothing evil will come from thee.

My son, I am delighted that thou hast the same heart and the same sentiments as thy brothers, and that thou followest the traces of thy Father and of thy ancestors.

My son, I know thy Heart is sincere; thou are right in saying I have only one word.

My son, I am delighted that thy young men are quiet in your village; thou seest that I have pity on them.

My son, I know what thou hast done with Regard to the Nation whereof thou hast spoken to me.1 It has acknowledged its error and I have forgiven it.

1 Note on original MS.: “The Renards.”

It is right, my son, that thou shouldst continue to avenge the Blows struck by the Chicachas upon the French and upon Monsieur de Vincennes. I ask thee to join thyself to the Collar have just given for all your Nation.

My son, I am pleased to see that thou wishest to have the sky Clear. I will always strive to have it so.

To the Kikapoux

My son, I know that thou hast never Deviated from road I traced out for thee. To give thee proofs of my satisfaction, I change thy medal; and, I give thee thine for thy son, that he may be recognized as a Chief through that mark of distinction.

My son, I know that I have given thee my Heart and that thou bearest it continually with thee.

My Children, I am pleased that you have widened the road I traced out for you.

My son, I leave thee at liberty to Settle in the meadow the Maskoutins.

My son, I Hope the master of life will preserve thee long enough to allow of my having the pleasure of seeing thee here again.

386

My Children, as soon as I see your fire well lighted, I will Send you a Chief, a blacksmith, and Frenchmen to take you what you need.

To the Maskoutins

My Children, you are right in thinking that I shall have pity on you, and that I shall always continue to show you the same kindness.

My Children, I rejoice at your having taken the road I traced out for you, and at your having come to Listen to my word. You did right in following the Chiefs who decided to come and see me.

I have always included you in the number of my true Children. You see that I treat you all Equally.

My Children, you will be Free to leave whenever you like. I will give Frenchmen to you, as to the others, to take you back.

To the three Nations

My Children, it is impossible for me to consent to give you the permission you ask, to pass by the South side of the Lake to shorten your Road. I have traced out one by which you have come; yea said you would not Deviate from it. I have reason to believe that you have not two words.

My Children, the season is not so far advanced as not to give you time enough to return to your homes. This will not lengthen your road more than two or three days. The Frenchmen I give you will soon enable you to make up that time. Moreover, if the bark is ready, I will give orders to Embark you on it to cross the Lake. If not, the French will take you to Niagara.

My Children, I take this precaution lest you should mix my Milk with that of the English by passing by Chouéghen, and lest some accident befall you. You know that people are killed at that Place every year through drink. As you Have come to see me peacefully, I shall be much pleased to have you go back in the same manner.

387

To the Kikapoux and Maskoutins

My Children, here is a Collar that I give you to ask you, as have asked your brothers the Ouyatanons and Petikokias, continue to strike the Chicachas.

That is all I have to say to you.

Speeches of the Outaouacs of Detroit in two bands, to sieur the Marquis de Beauharnois. Governor-general of France, July 14, 1742 .

Kinousakis1

1 Kinousakis (Quinousak) was a staunch friend of the French till his death (1752). Between him and Mékinac there was some rivalry, and similar presents were conferred (1747) on both, lest the lukewarm Mékinac might create disorder. Kinousakis went (1748) on behalf of the French to the Miami River, hoping to lead back the disaffected Huron under Nicolas, but found they had gone on to White River. When he died, Longueuil wrote: “We lose a chief who was, apparently, much attached to the French.”— Ed.

My father, I have not been here for four years and you say to as: my Children, I expect nothing from you but your open Hearts.

My Father, you also say to us, My Children, let no evil affairs ever happen in the Place where you are, and, saying this, you give us a medal.

My Father, while returning home, we heard bad news at Niagara. We Were greatly Embarassed as to what we should do.

My Father, while we were at Niagara, the Commandant told us he had received a Letter from Monsieur de Noyelle who was our Father at Detroit, and told us to. travel at night and make haste.

My Father, when we arrived at Detroit, we heard all the bad news; we wished not to Listen to it, because we were returning from our Father's. 25

388

My Father, our young mort are not at our village; they are all on the war-path. Those who remained have come down to see you, and they greet you by this present.

By four Branches of Porcelain

My Father, I Clear your sight so that you may more easily see the Warriors who are here. I have brought with me those who had most Sense.

By a Collar

My Father, when we came here you said to us: My Children, I do not want your Furs nor your presents; I ask but your Hearts. We bring them to you as well as our bodies. Do what you will with us; we are ready to obey you.

By a Collar

My Father, it is the custom of all the Chiefs to advise us not to go to the English. Monsieur de Noyan, who is at Detroit, told us, on your behalf, not to go there any more. My Father, I have Encouraged my young men to obey your will, saying to them: I have never Been there and I have not died of it. I think, My Father, they will Listen to your message. I ask for them the same token you have given the others.

My Father, I have come to see you. As I am an aged man, I expect it will be the last time. I appear before you with empty hands, because I am no longer Capable of anything, and I carne here solely to obey the Commandant.

By two Calumets

My Father, what I have just said to you is without design. I have experienced difficulty in reaching here, because my Canoe is worthless. I Hope you will give me another for the homeward journey.

My Father, I said to the Commandant that so long as I lived; nothing evil would happen at Detroit, because my Father's heart and mine Were the same. Something might occur after my death.

389

Mékinac1

1 Mékinac (Mikinak, Mikinac, Miquinac) as early as 1695 was one of the leaders of an attack up peace made with the tribes of the upper country by that nation on half of the English. Later (1747), his loyalty to the French weakened, as did that of all the Ottawa tribes except Kinousakis's.— Ed.

My Father, this is not the first time we have come to you; they who have the medal have already been here; we beg you to give us others.

My Father, here we are with you; it is Chicatalien who has come to take your hand with these three other Chiefs.

My Father, you alone have strength, we know that you are the master of the whole country, and of all the villages. Therefore, My Father, we beg you to take all the young men by hand, that they may be peaceful and quiet.

My Father, we beg you to have pity on us, you who have all the strength in your hand, and to take care of these Chiefs who are here, and the women and Children who have come to greet you.

By a Collar

My Father, I beg you to be always pleased to Listen to your Children, and that the fires of Detroit may be peaceful.

My Father, I beg you to have pity on us and the truth. We have come to Listen to your word, and we will never pay any heed to the discourses nor to the evil birds that may fly about in our villages.

My Father, in smoking this Calumet we smoke three.

My Father, here are two young men whom I bring to you in order that you may know them. One of them is my son.

My Father, behold Chicatalien presents his son to you, as I present mine.

My Father, when we shall fall down, we think that, seeing these two young men and knowing them, you will at once raise us.

390

By a Collar

My Father, you will perhaps not find my speech good because I have no Sense.

My Father, the reason why I said to you that I had no Sense is because we amused ourselves drinking and Koutaouen has lost his medal. He dared not present himself before you with empty hands.

Reply of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New france, to the Speeches of the Outaouacs of Detroit, July 21, 1742 .

My Children, you must have no doubt regarding the pleasure I have felt in seeing you arrive here in good health.

My Children, I know that it is four years since you came to see me; the time has seemed long and I have been Lonely. tell you once more that I expect nothing from you but your hearts.

My Children, I will always repeat what I have said to you: that I wish no evil affairs to happen in the Places where my true Children are.

My Children, I have learned all the bad news you heard on your arrival at Niagara, and the Embarassment in which you found yourselves. I know also that you asked the Commandant for guns to defend yourselves in case of attack, and that he replied to you that Monsieur de Noyelle had restored all things to order, and that you did not need them.

My Children, you were right in not Listening to the bad news that was told, you on you arrival at Detroit. You must remember that the hurons cleared themselves of the charge before you. Always think, My Children, that you are returning from my house, because you Are present to me at all times, and you must not move in any matter, without first learning what I think.

My Children, it is right that all your young men should have gone on the war-path against our Common Enemies, and that 391 those who remain shoud have come down to see me. I willingly accept their present: I gladly give them tokens of my affection.

By four branches of Porcelain

My Children, you have given me real pleasure by Clearing my sight. I had long desired to see these brave Warriors who are here before me. I know they have Sense, and therefore I ask them to strive solely for good, Listening to their Chiefs.

By a Collar

My Children, I shall never be weary of repeating that I have no need of your Furs or presents. I ask only for true Hearts. Yours seem sincere judging by your words. I have never doubted them nor your assertion that you will always be ready to do my will.

By a Collar

Thou, Kinousakis, hast told me thou hast never traded with the English, and that thou hast not died of it. The Commandants have reported thy conduct to me, and I have]Been so satisfied with it, that I cannot refuse thy request to grant medals to those whom thou suggestest to me.

My son, I know that thou art an aged man, but I think the master of life will preserve thee long enough to allow me the pleasure of seeing thee Again. Thou must know that I will Listen to thee when thy hands are empty as I would if they were full.

My son, I will give thee the Canoe thou hast asked of me to take thee home.

My son, Monsieur de Noyan has Written me what thou hast said, that so long as thou livest nothing evil will ever happen at Detroit, because thy heart and mine Were the same. I ask thee to Exhort thy successor to be of the same Mind; so that the land may always be peaceful.

392

To Mékinac

My son, it is not today that I have made thy acquaintance and first soon those who are hero and who have the medal. I will give others to those who may be deserving of them, when I receive some from France.

My son, Chicatalien, I have taken thy hand with pleasure, and also the hands of the three Chiefs with thee.

My Children, I know that I am the Master of the whole Country, and of all the villages of my Children who Listen to my words and do my will. Therefore I take all the young men by the hand, and order them to live in peace and quietness.

By Presents

My Children, it Was not necessary to beg me to have pity on you. You see that I take care of the Chiefs, the women and Children who have come to see me.

By a Collar

My Children, so long as you do my will and that of the Commandants whom I Send to announce my wishes to, you, I shall always be disposed to Listen favorably to you, and you warm yourselves in peace at the fires kindled at Detroit.

My Children, I will always make you tell the truth when you pay no heed to the evil birds that may fly about in your village. You must Listen to nothing but what I shall say to you, or what may be said to you on my behalf.

My son, I know while smoking this Calumet that it contains three. Thou hast given me pleasure by bringing me thy two young men that I may know them. As soon as I saw them, I loved theme and I will remember them. I recommend thee to instill naught but good principles into their minds. Chicatalien has given me the same pleasure by presenting his son to me. If you fall, I will cause you to be lifted up by these two young men.

393

By a Collar

My son, I shall ever find good all that may come from thee, because I know that thine is a right Mind. It is a pity that Koutaouen should have lost his medal. I replace it for him; let

him be careful to keep it well; he is wrong in not venturing to present himself before me empty-handed, because I am satisfied when I Listen to my Children.

My Children, all the Chiefs promised Monsieur De Noyan, as he Wrote me, not to go to Choueghen any more. I have learned that they have Sent their wives. there. They must know that this is the same as if they had gone there themselves, and that this is against my will.

Speech of the Poutouatamis of River St. Joseph, to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New france, July 16, 1742 .

My Father, we are delighted to hear that the King, our Great Father, has raised you to higher dignities. He knew he was giving you only that to which you were entitled, and that he was rewarding your services.

My Father, we have been Induced to come down on account of the evil things whereof we were told we were accused. We have come to dear ourselves. It is Pilémou,1 Tchichaakane, Mékisslin, and Oquiyaouy who speak to you.

1 Pilémou had previously visited Montreal (1721). See *Wis. Hist. Colls*., xvi, p. 398.— Ed.

My Father, the Children of Monsieur Marin have accused us of having killed thirty Frenchmen in the Ilinois country. We beg you not to believe a word of it. Our band, Consisting of ten men, came upon a Negro who Had escaped; they Took him with Them on the war-path; he was taken from their hands by the French.

My Father, we are also accused of having killed two Frenchmen, and of having said that we had done so to avenge ourselves. 394 A Frenchman told us this on our way down. We Also beg you not to believe it.

My Father, I have come without design to bring you these tidings.

My father, at the time the blow was struck at. le Corbeau (the Raven), we said you had nothing to do with it; that we had no Wish to revenge ourselves; that our Hearts were not turned to evil, but, on the contrary, we wished to forget everything.

My Father, we ask you for Déhestre as blacksmith, and that he may work solely for himself, because, if anybody should receive any Remuneration from him, he would be obliged to charge us more for his work. We ask this favor of you in the nine of all the Chiefs and of the whole village.

My Father, when last we came here you said to us: My Children, come and see me next year. I was unable to obey you because I went on the war-path against the Chicachas.

My Father, the people in our village think you will make us drink some of your Milk.

Reply of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor. general of New france, to the speech of the Poutouatamis, of River St. Joseph, July 22, 1742 .

My Children, it has given me much pleasure to see you. am obliged to you for the compliment you pay me regarding the new dignity wherewith the King has honored me.

My Children, you must never Listen to bad news. I have long known Pileémou, Tchichaakane, Mékissilini, and Oquiyaouy.

My Children, I have never heard thai you were accused, either in the direction of la Baye or in any other place, of having killed Frenchmen. You are Children too submissive to your Father, to be guilty of such evil deeds. You savages are to be pitied because you believe and Listen to everything that is said to you. Do you not know that if you had been accused of such a thing I should have made my thoughts known to you long ago?

My Children, in future have no ears to Hear evil discoursers; never Listen to any words but mine, and those that may be carried to you on my behalf.

My Children, I am surprised that you should still speak of the death of le Corbeau [the Raven]. You must be aware of all I have done to have that unfortunate affair buried deep down in the earth. You renew my sorrow because I loved him greatly and he was attached to me. I think your hearts are not inclined to evil.

My Children, I grant you the blacksmith you ask; nobody shall receive any remuneration from him; I do not think anybody has. I will order him to work for you at cheap rates.

My Children, I remember well that when last you came to see me, I told you to come back The following year. I know. that you went on the war-path against the Chicachas, and this Prevented your doing so. You will give me pleasure by continuing and I will reward your zeal.

My Children, I know you complained to Monsieur Coulon,1 because I had Sent you no presents, and that I had Sent some to the Ouyatanons, Kikapoux, and Maskoutins. I am very happy to tell you that I treat all my Children Alike so that there may be no jealousy Between them. What I Sent those three Nations, was in answer to several messages they had sent me.

1 Louis Coulon de Villiers; see *ante*, p. 128, note 1.— Ed.

You must know that I never Send presents to the Posts lest they be lost, as has frequently happened. Moreover, it pleases me that my Children receive them from my hand.

My Children, I give you proofs of my affection; I Send some of my Milk to your village with presents, and wherewith to smoke peacefully on your mats.

My Children, I am sorry to Be obliged to tell you that you continue to go and get bad Milk from the English, which spoils your hearts and your Minds, and Prevents you from paying your debts. I am informed that they give you bad impressions. Therefore, my Children, I shall not be pleased with you if you 396 continue; because you can come here for what you need as well as you can go to the English, and, moreover, I am your Father.

By a Collar

My Children, I am told that every year you decide to move your village. I know you are well placed where you are; my intention is that you remain there. By this Collar I replenish your fire, and take away all the bad thoughts that may be in your hearts.

I Send to Ouilamec, Memidokay, and Ouasado the same things I give you. Tell them from me that I urge them always to strive to do what is right.

Pilémou and Thichaakane, I give you each a Medal, and a gorget to Okeyaouisse (Oquiyaouy). On account of the distinction conferred upon you, I think this mark if homer will Induce you to strive more and more to do what is right, to Listen to my words, and to do my will.

Speeches of the Scioux, Sakis, Renards, Puants, Sauteux of la pointe de Chagouamigon, and folles avoines, to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-general of New france, on the 18th, 24th and 25th of July, 1742 .

The Scioux

My Father, we the people of the other Side of the half of the earth, are very happy to appear before you today. We come to ask your grace.

My Father, we heard throughout the earth that you do good to all your Children. We said: “why should we not go like the others and present our Calumet; perhaps our Father will have pity on us.”

My Father, we heard that the Sakis and Renards had in their village a. Chief called Monsieur Marin. We said: “they are fortunate; we must go and see him that he may smoke our calumet 397 with us, and we must Induce the Sakis and Renards to intercede for us, that he may receive us.”

My Father, as soon as Monsieur Marin had smoked our Calumet, we Sent with him two of our young men, Ouabacha and Sintez, to beg you for life.

My Father, when our young men returned to our village, they said to us: “You other Chiefs, My Father asks for you; he wishes to see you.”

My Father, we begged Monsieur Marin last winter to bring us to you to ask for life. We are indebted to him for having been able to come down to see our Father.

My Father, we have had no other will than that of Monsieur Marin, and yet last spring more than 160 of our men were killed, without counting the women and Children. We have not moved to revenge ourselves for that Blow, because he, on your behalf, forbade our doing so. We have come to complain of it to you.

My Father, I will not repeat all the Blows struck at us by the Outaouacs, Sauteux, and other Nations, because we think Monsieu Marin has reported them to you.

The same on the 24th of the said month

My Father, I feared to be badly received when I entered your house, but I found you had the kindness to receive me like the others.

My Father, we would not have ventured to ask any favor of you, had we not found two of our Children, who began to cry when they saw us. As we come from so far, we Hope, My Father, that you will not refuse us, and that we may Take them with us.

My Father, I should be proud if you would have the kindness to give us our two Children, who wept when they saw us.

My Father, though I am a Chief, the young men do not always obey my will; wherefore I beg you to have pity on me.

My Father, this Leads me to ask you to grant us an officer in our villages, to give us Sense.

398

Sakis and Renards—By a Collar

My Father, when I first came to beg you for my life, you granted it to me. and I have always lived from that time.

My Father, when I came here I asked you many important things. We asked you for a Chief to. guide us, and you granted us one.

My Father, you gave us Monsieur Marin; we thank you for it; we are pleased with him; he takes good care of our wives and Children, and of all our villages.

My Father, when you gave us Monsieur Marin, you said to us: “Listen to his words, they are mine.” He said to us: “Move your village, it is the will of your Father.” We obeyed him.

My Father, we thank you for having given us that Chief; through him we live in peace.

By a Collar

My Father, we have Moved our fire; we are a. day's journey from la Baye, our former village. We beg you to have pity on us and to think no evil of us.

My Father, all the French Know well that at the Place where we Were, there was not enough to live on.1 Therefore we camped a little higher up.

1 These were the villages on Little Lake Butte des Morts, a widening of Fox River just below Doty's Island in Menasha township, Winnebago County. See Grignon's statement of location of Foxes, in *Wis. Hist. Colls*., iii, p. 204; also Lawson, “Outagamis at Menasha,” in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1899.— Ed.

My Father, Monsieur Marin said to us: “You Sakis and Renards, do not go to war against the Children of your Father Onontio; remain quiet at home.”

My Father, we replied to him thus we would never Go to war against anybody; if we are attacked we will defend ourselves. And shortly afterward the Ilinois killed four of our women.

I do not conceal from you, My Father, that. when I was killed I pursued them. We killed ten and made five prisoners.

399

My Father, when we had struck that blow we recognized them as our brothers, and as Children of the same Father. We said to them: “What were you thinking of when you came to strike us? You are very fortunate in being Children of Onontio; otherwise we should burn you.” And we sent them home out of consideration for you.

My Father, when we arrived at the village of the folles avoines, we were surprised to see the heads of two of our men suspended in the air. We said: “how can it be that we are killed by our true brothers?”

My Father, we cannot tell you all that may have happened since we left our village; we have heard that war parties were in the field going in our direction. We know not what nation they will strike.

My Father, as we have had no news of all those parties, we know not what has happened; therefore we fear for ourselves on our way back. You only, My Father, who have arms iron, can protect us.

My Father, it has afforded us pleasure to see our allies from the other villages receive marks of distinction. We beg you, My Father, to confer similar tokens of honor on us.

The same on the 24th of the said month

My Father, I feared you on my arrival on account of the blow we struck the Ilinois, although we were not the first to begin.

My Father, this is the second time I have come to see you, and you have always received us well.

My Father, I have asked you no favor since I have been here. I expect shortly to have life and that you have granted it to me. Therefore, My Father, we beg you to give us back the daughter of Ouachalard1 who was a great Chief with us, and the daughter of Patchipao, a Saki chief.2

1 Ouachala; see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., xvi, index.— Ed.

2 Apparently the hereditary name of the head chief of the Sauks. One Pashepaho held that office in the time of the Black Hawk War; see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., x, 154— Ed.

My Father, one of the two girls I ask for is a Renard and the other a Saki. As you have granted us our lives, I do not think you will refuse them to us.

My Father, although we found two war-parties going in our direction, this did not Prevent our coming down to see you. We know not what may have happened.

My Father, those two War Parties cause us apprehension; they will perhaps attack the Scioux or us; we have everything to fear.

My Father, on account of all these unfortunate affairs, we beg you to recommend Monsieur Marin who brought us here to take us back quietly to our villages and to urge him to depart, because we would like to return home promptly, owing to those War parties.

The Puants

My Father, you told us to go and Settle at la Baye; one half the village has gone there, the other is at Riviere a la Roche.

My Father, you told me to obey Monsieur Marin; I have done so. I am on the warriors' Road. I cannot Prevent their passing; all I can do is to stop our young men. None have yet gone to war.

My father, I am uneasy; I am Embarassed at seeing Nations that wish to disturb the land. We have only you to support us.

The Sauteux—By a Collar

My Father, I have nothing to say; I came to Listen to your words. You told me to keep quiet and to not disturb the land any more; I have done so.

My Father, last autumn Monsieur Marin Sent a Letter to Monsieur de Laronde, who said to us: “Go my Children, go to him; he asks for you on behalf of your Father.”

My Father, you see all your Children here; I have gone through their villages.

My Father, as I am not master of my body, I beg you to 401 have pity on me, and to Teach me to live properly; that is what I Want to do.

My Father, I will not tell you What I have done, because I think Monsieur Marin and Monsieur de la Ronde have reported it to you. Here is the Message of the Scioux, Sakis, and Renards with whom I have made Peace.1 I bring it to you that you may keep it, because it would much better be in your hands than in mine.

1 Note on original MS.: “it is a collar.”

The folles-Avoines, on the 25th of the said month

My Father, I have not come here without design. Monsieur Marin said to me: “man a Canoe with Chiefs, go down below that you may yourselves tell your Father of Blow you struck.” I obeyed and came down as you see us before you.

It is true, My Father, that we did wrong in striking the Renards our brothers. The Chiefs did not consent to it, had nothing to do with it. A young Giddy-pate committed the deed that causes us so much Trouble today.

My Father, knowing the fault I have committed, I come to deliver my body into your hands.

My Father, never have I done evil, because I have always followed your advice and done your will. It has seemed to me that the French only were my allies.

My Father, we have come also to Listen to the speeches the Scioux, Renards, Sakis, Puants, and Sauteux, our allies, your Children, who have come down here to ask you for Peace and quiet. We come for the same purpose, and have no doubt they have spoken of it to you.

My Father, the reason why you see so many of us, is that I have brought with me the more dangerous of the young Warriors, whom I have bound, so that, if the Renards Wish to revenge themselves, they may do so more easily, as we have left women only in our village.

My Father, I know not what to do to give an opening to 402 my Enemy, that he may revenge himself more quietly. We come to weep near you, and we beg you to settle the trouble we are now in. That is all we have to say to you.

Reply of Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor General of New france, to the speeches of the Scioux, Sakis, Renards, Puants, Sauteux of la pointe de Chagouamigon, and folles-avoines, July 28, 1742 .

To the Scioux

My Children, you are right in saying that you are fortunate in being permitted to appear today before me, in being granted the favor you ask of me, and in being included by me in the number of my true Children.

My Children, you have seen for yourselves that what the whole earth told you is true. You have seen also that I have accepted your Calumet and have smoked it, to show you how I wish peace and quiet. to reign. amongst the Nations of my Children. You must have perceived that I have pity on you.

My Children, I saw the two, young men you Sent me, Ouabacha and Sintéz. I replied to their speeches. They made me, indeed, promises on your behalf, which they have not kept, because the same Ouabacha killed one of my Frenchmen in the River of the Ilinois, and since then another Frenchman has been killed in the mississipi country, and one has been captured, whom you gave the Sakis and Renards to be handed over to Monsieur Marin.

My Children, you would have dome much better had you Chiefs come down here instead of Sending young men. Perhaps those evil things would not have happened, because you would have paid more attention to my words.

My Children, you did rightly in coming down with Monsieur Marin to beg your lives of me. I grant them to you on condition that no evil affair shall ever happen. I think that all you have said to me is sincere, and comes from the bottom 403 of your hearts. You must not forget that if you strike another evil blow I will let loose all my Frenchmen and the Nations that ask no better than to swoop down on your villages, to revenge themselves for all you have clone in the past.

My Children, you must know that long ago I Sent an officer with Frenchmen, to the Cristinaux, Monsonis, and Assiniboils to bear my message to them, and tell there from me that my intention was that they should make peace with you.1 Five years ago they Sent. an Envoy from those three Nations who told me they had Sent a Collar, a Calumet of Peace, and Black Tobacco to your villages, and t.we years had elapsed without their getting an answer. From that time I have not ceased to give orders with the same object, and I will give fresh ones to conciliate all things. Meanwhile keep quiet and Listen well to Monsieur Marin whom I send Back with you. As during your return journey you may meet some of your people coming from those Places, be not uneasy about them. You can come and get them next year, and I will deliver them to you. This, My Children, for the present, is what I can do for you, and for the tranquillity of your villages.

1 Doubtless Beauharnois here refers to the preparations for the establishment of the first Sioux post, and probably to the exploring and fur-trade projects of La Vérendrye.— Ed.

My Children, Monsieur Marin has told me of all the blows that have been struck at you, by the various Nations Around you. I have given Collars to the Outaouacs of Missilimakinac and Saguinan, whom you met on the way, to Prevent them from striking you. You have made peace with the Sauteux of Chagouamigon. I urge you to do as much with

the Puants, to forget all that has been done on both sides, and, when you meet while hunting, to live like true brothers, as you do with the Sakis, Renards, Folles-Avoines, and Poutouatamis who are here present. 26

404

Reply to their speeches of the 24th of the said month

My heart is good; I always receive my Children with pleasure when I see that they repent of their errors.

I give you your two Children who wept when they saw you. You see that I refuse you nothing, in the Hope that you will do my will.

My Children, you are to be pitied, if your young men Listen not to your words. I cannot for the present grant the Chief you ask, to live with you, and give you Sense. I must first see how you behave, and whether your regret is sincere. Meanwhile your needs will be supplied. I orders to Monsieur Marin to report to me on your conduct.

My Children, as I see you are naked, I give you what you need to cover you and to take you home. Here are presents for your villages, and a drink of my Milk. Let them make a good use of these and smoke quietly and peacefully on their mats, Listening to my message.

To the Sakis and Renards

My Children, I am delighted that you have lived in peace since I granted you your lives, and that Monsieur Marin has been careful to maintain tranquillity in all your villages.

By a Collar

My Children, I am glad you have placed your village in the Spot where it now is, since you could not find subsistence the former one. I am informed that you are not all gathered

there Yet, and that some are at Rivière a la Roche [Rock River], others at Chikagou [Chicago], and Meloaky [Milwaukee]. By this collar, I gather you all together that you may form but one and the same village, and I declare to you that I will no more consider as my Children, those who do not obey me, because so long as you are scattered, it is impossible to avoid evil things happening.

My Children, Monsieur Marin was right in telling you to war on any nation, and to remain quiet on your mats.

405

By a Collar

My Children, I could not blame you for defending yourselves when the Ilinois attacked you. I am pleased with you for sending back the captives you took from that Nation. I have Written what you said on the subject to the of the Ilinois, and have ordered him. to Prevent the Ilinois from picking any further quarrel with you. By this Collar I bar the road to them against you.

My Children, I have heard that you Listened to the words that were told you in the Direction of the River St. Joseph, and that you were informed that my intention was to gather you all together, in order the more easily to destroy you all. You must know that I am a good Father, that. I have frequently given you proofs of it, and that I have not granted you your lives to take them from. you. Therefore, in future listen only to my words, and those which relay be carried you on my behalf. Consider carefully the Collar I have given you to gather you together, and three given you by Monsieur Marin in my nine for the same object.

My Children, you had reason to be surprised at seeing selves killed by the folles-avoines your true brothers, who not in the habit of getting themselves into trouble. I was surprised as you were. They have come down to offer reparation for that affair. Here they are present with all their Warriors whom they tell me they have brought, so that you may

avenge yourselves more easily, as they have left women only in their villages. They have also told me that their Chiefs had nothing to do with that evil deed, which was committed by a young Giddy-pate, and this got them into Trouble at present. They have delivered their Bodies and those their young men to me, which must show you the regret they feel.

Monsieur Marin has told me that they came to la Baye, see you with presents to cover your dead. He at once 406 Monsieur de Sacquespée1 to carry his message, by which he asked your warriors to weep quietly for them, pending my decision, which he would make known to them on his return.

1 Joachim Sacquepée, sieur de Gonincourt; born in 1701, he was made second ensign in the troops in 1755, and died near the Missisippi about 1770.— Ed.

As to thee, my son Pémoussa, I am pleased with thee for having accepted their presents, and for having Sent Mékaga to thy village to settle this unfortunate affair.

My son, here is something wherewith to cover thy dead, and a drink of my Milk to relieve the hearts of the afflicted ones. I Urge thee to bury this unfortunate affair so deep that it will never be spoken of again. It would be a pity to wage war against your brothers on account of a young Giddy-pate.

My Children, you can return in peace. I assure you that nothing untoward will happen on the way.

Pémoussa, and Patchipao, I give you each a Medal, to Show you that I am satisfied with you, and with the good Accounts Monsieur Marin has given me of your conduct. May this mark of distinction Induce you more and more to do my will, and to strive for what is right. Had I others, I would have given one to Pemaho, and I would have Sent another to Mékaga. It will be done next year.

My Children, as I have given you life, I grant you the daughters of Ouachalard and Patchipao, whom you have asked of me. You can leave whenever you please. I have ordered Monsieur Marin to make haste.

My Children, here are tokens of my friendship and presents for your villages. I expect you to make a good use of them.2

2 For reports of this conference with the Indians, and regrets for the expense incurred in presents, see Beauharnois's letter to the French Minister in *N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, p. 1099. — Ed.

To the Puants

My Children, it would afford me much pleasure to see you all assembled in the same village. I charge you to say this 407 from me to those who are at Rivière à la Roche, and that if they will not do my will, I will no longer look upon, them as my true Children.

My Children, you did right in stopping your young men who wished to join. the war-parties that passed by your homes.

My Children, I will always support you so long as you Listen to my advice and do my will.

As for you, my Children, Sérotchon and Chélaouois, I am very sorry I have no more medals. Had I any I would have conferred that token of honor upon you because I am pleased with you. It will be done next year.

To the Sauteux

My Children, you did rightly in coming here to Listen to my words. I am pleased that you have remained quiet, and have observed what I told you.

My Children, I am glad you went to Monsieur Marin, on behalf of Monsieur de La Ronde, to make peace with the Scioux. In this you have followed out my intention. It is good that you should live all Together like true brothers.

My Children, as you were Sent by Monsieur de la Ronde who governs you, you had nothing to fear while passing through the villages of my Children.

My Children, as I see you are animated by favorable dispositions when you ask me how you are to Behave, you have but to Listen to my advice which will be announced to you by Monsieur de La Ronde and you will never do anything wrong.

My Children, Messieurs Marin and de la Ronde have reported to me all that you have done. I will carefully keep the message given you by the Scioux, Sakis, and Renards, with whom you have made peace, and. I will have it shown to you whenever you come down here, so as to make you remember it.

My Children, here are things wherewith, to cover you and for your return home; here also are presents for your village, 408 with a drink of milk and wherewith to smoke quietly on your mats. Urge your young men on my behalf not to go to the English any more, because that is not the road my Children should take, and moreover they can receive naught but bad impressions there, which will spoil their Hearts and Minds.

To the folles-avoines

My Children, you have done well in coming down here and in doing what Monsieur Marin told you.

My Children, you committed a great error in striking the Renards your brothers. I am sure the Chiefs did not consent to the evil deed, and that they had nothing to do with it.

My Children, you have done rightly in coming to place your bodies in my hands.

My Children, I know you. have never got yourselves into trouble; that you have always carried out my intentions and done my will because you are truly attached to me.

My Children, I am greatly pleased that you also have come to Listen to the speeches of the Scioux, Renards, Sakis, Puants, and Sauteux, my Children, who have come down here to ask me for peace, and that you have come with the same object. They have spoken to me and you must have Heard my replies.

My Children, you did well in taking the precaution to bind the more dangerous warriors, and bring them here, in order to Prevent matters becoming worse. I think that Monsieur de Sacquespée with Mékaga will have quieted everything on both sides.

My Children, it is good that you have given your Enemy an opening, by leaving only women in your village. I do not think they have wished to take advantage of it. You have just seen what I have done to settle this matter. On your Part I recommended you to give the Renards the satisfaction that is due to them, and to tell your young Giddy-pate that he must be careful that such a thing does not occur again.

My Children, here are presents I give the principal Chiefs and the Distinguished women who are with you. Here are 409 some for your village also. All this should Induce you to live peacefully and quietly with your brothers.

To the Six Nations

My Children, the Council that has been held here today, will be announced by the officers commanding the Posts to all the Nations My Children.

1742: POSTS TO BE AUCTIONED

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Sept. 5, 1742. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 77, c. 11, fol. 94.”]

Monseigneur —I have received the Letter you did me The honor of Writing Me on the 20th of April last. I have seen in the King's Memorial what His Majesty has enacted with regard to the Trade and Exploitation of the Posts of the upper Country. I do not think there are any, Monseigneur, where the officers cannot Be of great use; otherwise I would not have sent them there.

It would have Been desirable, Monseigneur, that this arrangement should have been suspended, and that you should Have Had the goodness to Communicate it to me before Ordering its Execution, because I should have. Had the honor of submitting to you my representations on the importance of this subject.

It is to be feared, Monseigneur, that as soon as the savages learn that the Posts are to be disposed of to the highest Bidder, they will all go over to the English. This may perhaps not be noticed the first year, but it may happen in the second. I can give no better proof of this, Monseigneur, than the precaution I took to Prevent the Ouyatanons, Petikokias, Kikapoux, and Maskoutins from passing by Chouéghen, as you will see in my answers to their Speeches, and the promise I gave 410 them before receiving your orders to put the Post of the Ouyatanons on the License system like that of Detroit, on their Representations to me that goods would be sold them at too Dear a rate. Nevertheless the Trade is Carried on by voyageurs, and the Commandant has only 3000 livres per annum that they give him. The Commandant of River St. Joseph is on the same footing. Now, how can I keep my word, and at the same time Carry out His Majesty's intentions.

There is another drawback, Monseigneur, in the arrangement made with respect to the Post of Missilimakinac and inserted in the King's Memorial; it is that the Missionary shall Continue to enjoy the proceeds from the forge, and that an officer second in commanad is unnecessary. You will see, Monseigneur, by the speeches of those savages, that they asked me to allow the blacksmith the freedom of his work, which I could not avoid granting them. The Poutouatamis made me the same request, which I granted also. I have done the same for the Post. of Detroit in the instructions I have given the Sieur de Celoron. The

stratagems resorted to by the English to attract our Savages, compel me to use great Circumspection toward Them, and to Content them as much as I can.

I gave Orders to the Sieur de Vercheres in his instructions, to send the officer second in command to spend the winter Every Year with the Outaouacs of Saguinan, to Prevent, their trading with the English. Such, Monseigneur, is the use of an officer second in command.

All these precautions, Monseigneur,—which my zeal and the Experience I must have gained with regard to the Manner of dealing with the Nations, led to to take before I received the King's orders—place me, as I have just had the honor of observing to you, in a state of Embarrassment from which it will be difficult for me to Extricate myself, especially with savages who are kept in check solely by careful Management, and who would seize the first pretext to break the word they have given me were I to fail to keep mine. Unaware as I Was, Monseigneur, of the change you have deemed expedient to 411 make in the System of Exploiting the Posts, I acted toward the Nations according to my lights, and as the interests of the Service Required. The complaints made, to me by those savages that there is only one Store at Each Post, and their representations that if, on the contrary, there were several, they would get goods Cheaper, led me to promise as you will see, that I would place the Posts on the License system on the same footing as Detroit. In order to keep my word to them, when I was informed that persons to whom I granted Posts, sublet them to others at a higher price, I compelled the person who fanned the Post to go there himself, and I cancelled their Bargain, because this Transaction compelled the sublessee who paid a higher rent, to sell goods to the savages at dearer rate, so that this Was a pretext to induce them to go to the English for what they needed. From this argument it may be Concluded, Monseigneur, that as Each Post may by Competition Be raised to a very high price, they will be unable to give their Goods otherwise than at higher rates than those of the ordinary trade, and there will be only one Store each Post. When these two things happen, far frown, maintaining and increasing the trade of the Colony by means of that of the Upper Country, they will on the one Hand Cause the Ruin of many

private individuals, and on the other lower the opinion they have of the Governor-General's person owing to the changes they will see in the promises given them, and which I could not avoid giving them.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these reflections, the sole object whereof on my part is the welfare of the service—as I flatter myself you are convinced—I will take suitable Measures with Monsieur hocquart to Reconcile His Majesty's interests with those of the Nations, regarding which you have so often recommended me to act with Circumspection, and the importance whereof I fully recognize. I consider, Monseigneur, that I should have Deserved your reproaches had I not pointed out, to you the drawbacks that may arise, through the System on which the Posts will be exploited, and the fulfillment of my promises to the Savages.

412

Moreover, I Beg you, Monseigneur, to Be convinced that I will continue to exercise careful attention in the choice of the officers I shall appoint to the command of the various Posts, and I flatter myself that you will approve the List. I shall have the honor of Sending you every year. The same applies to the distribution I shall make of what His Majesty is pleased to continue to give to the poor families of this country, and which I think I have hitherto effected with the discernment you recommended to Me In View of their Needs.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant, Beauharnois.

Quebec , September 5, 1742.

1742: SETTLEMENT OF DETROIT HURONS; JESUIT INTERFERENCE

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Sept. 15, 1742. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 75, fol. 121.]

Monseigneur —I received the Letter you did me The honor of Writing me on the 14th of February last, with reference to the hurons of Detroit.

You may have seen, Monseigneur, by all the documents appended to my despatch of the 17th of SeptemBer of last year that I acted solely in consequence of the repeated requests of those savages, of the Letters from the Sieur De Noyan and from Father de la Richardie. That Written by the latter to Father St. Pé, his superior, on the 26th of August, 1740, which felt by accident into my Hands as it came to My address, and of which an Extract is annexed,. had decided Me to take precautions for the removal of the Nation from a Place where I considered their destruction certain, since it is time that Father de la Richardie, after speaking of grosse Isle as a place for their Settlement, wrote that he thought they would hardly live more in peace there than at Detroit.

413

The conduct of the Chiefs toward my nephew, did not originate with them, but Was inspired by their Missionary, and I can give you no better proof of this, Monseigneur, than to Send you an Extract from his Letter Written to Father Dujaunay in the month of December, 1741, wherein the whole Mystery is unveiled, and the proof thereof results from Information I have Had.

If that Missionary perceived that he gave no pleasure to My Nephew by following him to Sandoské, this clearly proves that he Endeavored to thwart him.

You may see, Monseigneur, by all i have had The honor of Writing to you and by the annexed documents, that I have taken no step inconsistent with authority and dignity, as Father de la Richardie Writes; neither have I ever refused the Hurons' request to come and Settle at Montreal. On the contrary I have Endeavored to keep everything calm until I could see how the affair would turn, and I decided to Remove them from Detroit only when it seemed to me advisable to do so. I had the honor, Monseigneur, of Reporting to yon on this matter by a despatch of the 14th of October, 1740, and by another of the 12th of May,

1741, and you were pleased to write me on the 26th of July of the Same year, that His Majesty could but rely on me for Carrying out my views with regard to those Savages.

The Father was right when he wrote to Father Dujaunay, that the three hurons who came down with My Nephew would not say a word; he Was quite sure of his facts.

I imagine, Monseigneur, that what Led him to induce the hurons not to come down, was that he thought, from what may have been told him, that Monsieur Piquet was having Cabins erected at the Lake of two Mountains, and clearings made, to receive the hurons. They who Wrote to him on the subject were not aware that such Cabins and clearings, Were intended for the Algonkins and Népissingues Wandering in the Interior, as I had The honor of informing you by my despatch of the 12th of May, 1741.

I was not Desirous of Establishing the hurons at grease Isle, 414 Notwithstanding what Father de la Richardie Wrote to his superior, with reference to my acting in Concert with him. You will see, Monseigneur, by the Letter I Wrote him on the 30th of August, 1741, that I said to him that, previous to the quarrel of the hurons with the Nations of Detroit, there Was no mention of the sterility of their Fields, and that my intention Was not that they should go and Settle there. He has not as yet sent any answer to that Letter. It will be easy for you to see that those Fathers want to have a share in the Government, which is very pernicious inasmuch as they make the savages act according to their Ideas and their interested views.

According to the last News from Detroit, it is stated that the hurons would not live at grosse Isle; that they were going to establish themselves at la belle [Ohio] Rivière and would Seek only to Go away. I fear they will Carry out their design, because so long as they are at Peace with the Têtesplates, they will never live in quiet with the Nations they have Betrayed, unless they war against them. This was the plan I had thought of, but Father de la Richardie again opposed it as you may see, Monseigneur, by the Extract from his Letter Written to Father St. Pé on the 10th of June, 1741.

I am well aware, Monseigneur, that the Removal of the hurons would have entailed considerable expend, and this led me to Seek to Settle their awkward affair. Nevertheless they could not have represented to me that. they acted in obedience to my orders, inasmuch as they had asked me and had several times caused me to be asked to be allowed to Settle near me for their own Tranquillity and that of their wives and Children. If these savages go to la belle Rivière, they will soon go to the Têtes plates, and become the Enemies of all the Nations.

I have been informed, Monseigneur, by two credible persons, the English Governor of the neighboring country had Written to Father de la Richardie that if the hurons would go and Settle there, they might practice their Religion, and he might act as their Missionary.

415

There is nothing the English do not practise to Bribe our savages and attract them to them. I watch and have watch kept constantly to frustrate; their designs. I might flatter myself that I could succeed Were I not thwarted as I have hitherto Been, without being able to apply any remedy as you may see. If the News of the hurons' design be confirmed, I will take the most rightful means to frustrate it, and shall have the honor to Report to you thereon.

Before receiving His Majesty's orders, I Had decided to take no steps to remove the hurons, because I had Been informed that they Were not in accord. I spoke to the three Chiefs who Were in Montreal on the 28th of June last, and sent them back to their village. I have The honor of appending the Duplicate of my speech; the original was sent by the transport “Canada.”

I have sent the Sieur de Celoron to be Commandant at Detroit in the place of the Sieur De Noyan. I gave him orders to exercise the Strictest supervision to prevent all Outside Trade at that Place, to arrest all offenders and Send them to Me in close custody.

I handed him a Copy of my words to the hurons, with instructions to gather them together and repeat the same to them.

I also gave him orders to allow the French Settled at the Post and the voyageurs, to trade at grosse isle, and even to Settle there if they deem expedient.

I Ordered him to watch and to have Strict watch kept to prevent all fraudulent Trade at that Place, and, in the Event of his observing any Abuses and of its being necessary to erect a fort to put a stop to the same, he was to notify me promptly.

Nevertheless, Monseigneur, I have seen what you are pleased to order with reference to the Establishment of that Post. I shall have the honor of reporting to you what I have done in this respect by another despatch.

I remain, with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant, Beauharnois

Quebec , September 15, 1742.

416

1742: OFFICIAL REPORTS OF CONDITIONS IN THE UPPER COUNTRY.

[Letters of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Sept. 24, 1742. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 77, fols. 108, 335.]

Several of the Algonkins and The Nepissingues scattered through the Land came to settle at the Lake of the two mountains, and a great many others are to come. The good treatment they receive from the missionaries, and the expenses which the latter incur in subscribing to keep up the Establishment will gradually bring about the settlement of the Savages in this place.

He begs for the continuance during some years of the fund of 2000 livres, which was granted last year On the product of the Licenses; And he represents that it is to Be wished for the good of the service that the King should have granted the 15000 lires which had been asked for.

The Chief Pendalouan, an outaouai, came down to Montreal to excuse His past conduct, And said he did not ask to be re-established until he was judged worthy of it. This savage was very Helpful to the Sieur de Celoron in the negotiation which he undertook in order to prevent the outaouais of Michilimakinac from quitting that Post.

The conduct of the Sieur Marin in his dealings with the Scioux, as well as with the Sakis, Renards, folles-avoines, and sauteux, who came down to Montreal with him last year, ought to show that the Idea which has always Been entertained of the Talents of this officer is correct. This motive and the progress he has made in His negotiations have decided him to send him back, especially as he had given His word to these Savages to bring them, back in Safety. He asks approval of his action.1

1 Note on original MS.: “He has been ordered to recall him.”

This officer has informed him that during His journey two 417 parties of outaouais and Sauteux had killed a Scioux and a Renard, a matter which he will find difficult to accommodate. 2

Monseigneur —I have received the letter which you did me the honor of Writing the 15th of April last. You will see by the speech of the Chaouanons, which I have had the honor of Sending to you by the transport-ship “Canada,” with my replies of which I add duplicates, fiat no reliance can be placed on all their promises to me in regard to their Removal to the Prairie of the Maskoutins, near the Ouyatanons, as they have Been tampered with by the English in order to induce them to make Peace with the Têtes plates and to Settle on the Cherakis [Tennessee.] River. I will, however, Spare no pains to oppose

this Transplantation, in order not to lose this Nation which is as docile as it is inconstant. Perhaps what I have said to them will make an impression and inspire them with the fear of becoming Enemies, of the other Nations.

Several Algonkins and Nepissingues, who Were Roaming round the Country, have come to Settle at the Lake of the two Mountains; and I am informed that many others are to come there. The good Treatment that they receive from the Missionaries, and the expenses into, which they Have Entered in subscribing for the maintenance o.f this Establishment will gradually bring abrupt a reunion of these Savages in this Place; Especially with the additional Help afforded by the 2000 livres which the King has condescended to grant for that purpose this year, Out of the proceeds of the licenses. It is to be wished that His Majesty should have decided to grant the 15000 livres which I had asked far for the needs of these Nations. But as he has not judged this expedient, I beg you, Monseigneur, to continue in their favor for some years this same fund of 2000 livres. I will see that it is disbursed with Exactness in favor of these savages, and will

This first part is the ministerial abstract, made probably for submission to the king.— Ed.

418 have the honor of reporting to you the progress made in this Mission.

I have not, Monseigneur, received any news as Yet of the Sieur de la Verendrye, which leads me to think that he has followed up his discovery. Father Coquart,1 who has passed the winter at Kamanistigouia, Wrote me on May 26th hat that Lacolle, [a] Monsonis war-chief of Lac de la Pluye [Rainy Lake], had formed in September a party of more than 200 men, the majority of whom Were Cristinaux and Assiniboels; that they had Attacked the Seioux of the Prairies, that 70 Warriors of this Nation were killed, without counting the women and children; and that the number of Slaves Was so great that, according to the report and the Expression of the Savages, they occupied in their march more than four arpents; that the band of Lacolle had lost only six men; and that there were many Wounded, as they had fought during four days. He added that the Sieur de la Verenarye did everything he could to prevent this light, but that presents and arguments had made

no impression on the Mind of this Chief. He says that this defeat will not facilitate matters for the Sieur de la Verendrye; that there will be more Slaves than packages; that the Savages were beginning to stir Again, and that, they had already sung the war-song. All these circumstances are not easy to reconcile with the arrangements which his Majesty prescribes for us to Follow, in a circular letter. However, Monseigneur, Monsieur Hocquart and I will consider what decision is to be taken for the good of the service and for the furtherance of everything.

1 Claude Godefroy Coquart, born in 1706, came to Canada about 1738. After three years' service at Quebec, he was appointed chaplain for Verendrye's forces, and set forth for the upper country; but he did not winter with that explorer until 1743–44, when he is known to have been at Fort La Reine. After 1746 he served the Saguenay mission, dying at Chicoutimi in 1765. His linguistic work was in the Abenaki language, for which he protested a grammar and a dietionary.— Ed.

Since I Had the honor of Writing yon last year regarding some Frenchmen killed by the Chicachas, they have killed 419 ten others on Oct. 15th at the iron mine at the Mouth of the Ouabache. 1

1 This refers to the locality on the Mississippi, not far below the mouth of the Ohio, now known as Iron Banks. Jolliet and Marquette noticed the bluff (1763), and remarked on the possibility of a mine at that point; but Father Gravier (1700) gave a discouraging report of the ore. For a good description of the appearance of the bluffs, see “Cuming's Tour” in Thwaites (ed.), *Early, Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), iv, p. 280.— Ed.

According to the journal of the Sieur de St. Ange,2 it seems that, since March 12th of last year up to Aug. 12th, thee have Been 616 Savages of different. Nations who have Been on the warpath against the Chicachas, without including the hurons at Detroit. Their progress has not exceeded 19 prisoners and 16 scalps. The bureaus have taken 25

Slaves and Scalps. If I learn of any further attack made upon Them, before the sailing of the last Vessels, I will have the honor of reporting it to you.

2 Louis St. Ange, Sieur de Bellerive, was commandant at Vincennes from 1736 to 1764. See his own affidavit to that effect in Indiana Hist. Soc. *Publications*, ii, p. 430.— Ed.

You will see, Monseigneur, by the words of the Outaouacs of Missilimakinac and by my answers, which I have had the honor of Sending to you by the transport-ship “Canada,” and of which I enclose duplicate-copy, that these Savages all assembled at l'arbre erethe which is one of the three Places that I had designated, and that it is their purpose not to remove. It is certain, Monseigneur, that their Removal would have been very prejudicial to the Commerce of the Upper Country.

Pendalouan came down with the Sieur de Celoron. He begged me to open his mouth, which he had kept closed since His disgrace. He Excused himself as best he could. He Repeated that he did not ask me to give back the Medal which I had taken from him, nor to reinstate him in His dignity as thief, but that he begged me only to forget all that had happened. I answered that I was willing on condition that 420 he should never do anything to displease me, and that, in Accordance with the Testimony which Monsieur de Vercheres should give as to his Conduct, I would reinstate him as chief. I sent him back with some presents. The Sieur de Celoron has assured me that he was very Helpful to him in His Undertaking.

The Nontagués, [Onondaga.] came down this year with a Goyagouin, [Cayuga] and later the Sonontonans [Seneca] came. You will see, Monseigneur, by their words that these savages appear to be very well disposed Toward us. The Sieur de Joncaire has assured me that they Would at least be neutral If we should have a war with the English. I have Had the honor of Sending you these communications by the transport-ship “Canada,” with my own answers of which I enclose a Copy. I will add, in regard to the Sonontonans, that I gave a Flag to them, which Theouatakoute took in His arms during the Council, saying

to me: “My Father, I will die rather than let the English make me throw this down, and I will carry it among Them when passing Choueghen.

I am very glad, Monseigneur, that His Majesty has deigned to approve the arrangement that I have made in regard to the hurons of Lorette and the Iroquois of the Lake of the two Mountains. I have noted what you have favored me with in another communication with regard to what has occurred among the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, which I shall Have the honor of answering.

On October 28 of last year, the great chief Ouakantapé, a Scioux, with four other Ohiefs of his Village, and several war-Chiefs, came to see the Sieur Marin in order to beg him to take pity on them, and to employ His influence with me to obtain pardon for their past faults. He told them to go down and ask for it Themselves. Onakantapé and Ouasikouty1 came down with the Sieur Marin. They were accompanied

1 Ouakantapi (Wakandapi) was the hereditary name of the chief of one tribe of Sioux. For previous mention of this tribesman, see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., xvi, p. 187, 394. Possibly Ouasikouty was of the Ouasicoutetons, a tribe of western Sioux; *ibid*, p. 198.— Ed.

421 by the Sakis, Renards, Puants, folles-avoines, and Sauteux of la pointe de Chagouamigon. You will see, Monseigneur, by the speeches of all these savages, which I have likewise Had the honor of Sending to you with my Answers by the transport-ship “Canada,” and of which I enclose Duplicates, how they seem disposed, in which disposition could not but appear at least to Trust; and in order to give them a greater proof of this, Upon the request which the former made, together with the Sakis and Renards, to grant them four of their people, who were Slaves at Montreal, I permitted them to Take them back in case they wished to Follow them. Only the daughter of Ouachalart, a Fox, accepted this permission; which gave me an opportunity of Showing them with what mildness the French had treated them. And as the Seioux might think that we had dissuaded these Slaves from following them, I gave orders to the Sieur Marin to take any two they chose out of those that were captured in the Attack which Lacolle made

On Them, in case they met any of them on their way hack. I informed them of this in my Cabinet, telling them that if They behaved as they promised to do, and if I Received certain Proofs of this, they might come down next year with a number of chiefs, and I would have all their Slaves restored, and would grant them a Commandant. To this Ouakantapé answered that he would come down, but that he was not Sure as to the number who would come down with him.. I believe, Monseigneur, that I could not find a better Expedient for controlling them, because the Hope of getting back their Slaves will Restrain them from all violence.

I have seen, Monseigneur, by your favor of last year, how little success you expected from the Negotiations of the Sieur Marin, both among the Scioux and the Renards and Sakis. The conviction that I had to the contrary, led me to take the liberty of answering on that occasion that I hew him to be one of the most capable men far fulfilling the mission trusted to him. The success obtained by this officer, both 422 among the Scioux and with the five other Nations who came down with him this Summer, must have proved to you, Monseigneur, that the idea which I Had formed of His Talents, in the matter of negotiating with the savages, Was well founded. It is these Reasons, and also the progress which he has made, that derided me not to hesitate about Sending him back, especially as he had given His word to these savages to bring Them home in Safety, and as the good of the service Required His presence. He Wrote me from the portage of the great Calumet,1 on the 16th of August last, that he had learned that the two war-parties, one of Outaouacs and the other of Sauteux from the Sault, Ste. Marie, had killed a Scioux and a Renard. He says that he will have great Difficulty in arranging this trouble, but that he has neglected nothing to avoid any mischievous Consequences. The Sieur de Vercheres has written the same thing to me. Accordingly I flatter myself, Monseigneur, that in these circumstances you will approve my Ordering him to return as Commandant.

1 A well-known landmark on the upper Ottawa River, around the Calumet Falls. This was the longest carrying place on the river, and named for the pipe-stone found near by,

which Champlain describes (1613) as resembling alabaster. For a good description of this portage see Baln (ed.), *Henry's Travels*, pp. 24, 25.— Ed.

I am with very great Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient. Servant, Beauharnois

Quebec , September 24, 1742.

Monseigneur —I have received the Letter you did me the honor of Writing me on the 20th of April last.

I have already replied in the Joint, answer to your despatch to us Jointly, containing your derision with respect to the Disputes that have arisen in connection with the Trade and Voyages in the Upper country. I will comply Strictly with what you have been pleased to order. I venture to tell you, Monseigneur, that you do me justice with regard to my way 423 of thinking Respecting the matters I have to Deal with jointly with Monsieur Le Marquis de Beauharnois. I will always Do my best to Maintain the union and harmony you are pleased to recommend to me.

* * * * * * * *

I Remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient Servant, Hocquart

Quebec , September 24, 1742.

1742: BLACKSMITHS AT MACKINAC

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 1, 1742. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 77,]

Monseigneur —In the letter I had the honor of Writing you on the 5th of last month, I did not give you the details of what is going on in connection with the two blacksmiths at Missilimakinac. One of them belongs to the Missionary and receives as wages four hundred Livres and a few pots of Brandy. The profits on his work have sometimes Been as much as four Thousand francs which go Entirely to the Father. The services of more than one blacksmith are needed at that Place owing to the number of savages there. The other to whom I gave fully liberty last Summer, at the request of the Savages —as you may see, Monseigneur, in my replies to their speeches —was expelled five years ago by the Missionary who took all his tools from him. The Sieur de Celoron, then Commandant, Knowing the necessity of having a second one, advanced him what he needed to Enable him to Work, and the Father has been drawing one half of his profits although he has always opposed his working because he sometimes does so by Stealth, alleging, it is asserted, that it Was by my orders, and that there could not be there any other blacksmith than his. O will Change nothing, Monseigneur, in what arranged last Summer until I have received your Orders. It is a delicate 424 matter to place myself in the Position of failing to keep my word with them, and I do not think it is Advisable to Offend the Savages of that Post in this matter.

I remain with the most profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 1, 1742.

1742: LATEST NEWS FROM WESTERN POSTS

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 12, 1742. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Nouvelle France, Postes des Pays de l'Ouest, C. 11, vol. 16, fol. 258.”]1

1 Three volumes entitled “Postes des Pays de l'Ouest” collect material from the correspondence of Cadillac, Duluth; the Vérendryes, etc., chiefly about the discovery of the Western Sea. See Canadian *Archives*, 1887, pp. cclxxv-cclxxxii.— Ed

Monseigneur —Since the Letters I Had the honor of Writing you by the King's ship “le Rubis” regarding the posts of the Upper country and the parleys I held last Summer with the various Nations that came down to Montreal, I have received some from Missilimackinac, la Baye, Kamanistigouia, fort la Reine, Lee des Bois, Miamis, Ouyatanons, Ouabache, and fort do Chartres of which I shall have the honor to give you an account.

The Sieur de Vercheres writes me on the 9th of September last, that he had caused to be paid to the Sieur Lamarque and Company the 56 packages that the Sieur de la Verendrye owed to their Firm, and had caused 24 others to be handed to the Sieur Legras for the goods that Firm had left in the western Posts. Thus, Monseigneur, this matter is settled by virtue of The order I gave, a Copy whereof I have Had the honor of Sending you.

That officer writes me that he caused to be delivered to the Scioux Chiefs who came here last Summer, the two Captives 425 of their Nation that I had promised in my private Room should be handed over to them from amongst these who were to came down in la Colle's party. He writes me that the Outaoucs of his Post held a Council in his presence with the Sakis, Renards, Puants, Scioux, and Sauteux, in which the former spoke advising them not to detach themselves from me, and, following their Example, to Listen to my advice and follow it; That he cannot but be satisfied with Them as all appeared (judging By the answers they gave the Outaouacs) to Be disposed to do my will.

The Sieur Maria Writes me from Missilimakinac on the 8th of September that he arrived there on the 3rd of the same month, and had Confirmation of the news of the blow struck by the Outaouacs and Sauteux of Sault Ste. Marie, at the Renards and Scioux, when they killed a man of each Nation. He adds that the Scioux arid Renards have not yet raised any

band to avenge themselves for all the blows that have Been struck at thong; that they will not move until they have spoken to him, and, moreover, that the Scioux appeared to be as much pleased with the two Captives the Sieur de Vercheres delivered to them, as with the advice I had given them, on that occasion.

The Sieur de Sacquespée Writes me from la Baye on the 29th of August last that all Was quiet at that Post; That the Sakis and Renards had kept their word and had made no movement to avenge themselves for the blow struck at Them by the folles-avoines; That the latter had received a Flag from the Sauteux of la pointe de Chagouamigon to draw them There. I cannot think that the folles-avoines will decide to leave so fertile a country as that which they occupy to go and live in an unfertile one. Moreover, those two Nations came down last Summer and there was no question of it in the Councils I had with Them. Nevertheless, if the folles-avoines accept the Sauteux' proposal, I will do my best to Prevent the Execution thereof. Meanwhile I think the Sieur Marin will do all in his power to oppose it, inasmuch as such Migration would be contrary to the good of the service, because the Sauteux, supported by the folles-avoines, might corrupt 426 the latter and break the peace they have made with the Scioux, and, with that object, join the Sauteux of Sault Ste. Marie or Kamanistigouia, who have planned to continue their war against the Scioux as I am informed and as I have The honor to Explain further on.

Father Coquart, who has returned from the post of Kamanistigouia, Writes me on the 9th of last month, That, while the Sieur de la Verendrye's people Were at the grand portage,1 the Sauteux of that Post came there to hold a Council with a Savage Chief of that Place, a very influential man; That last Spring that Chief told him he Had determined to strike a blow at the Scioux; That he had made many representations to him, telling him that this Was acting directly in opposition to my orders; That the result of the various councils that were held, Was that the Sauteux of la Pointe de Chagouamigon (who came down to Montreal last Summer to confirm the Peace they had made with the Scioux) were to mislead them during a portion of the winter by living on good terms with Them; That the Scioux, thinking themselves at peace and suspecting nothing, would

suddenly find their Enemies on their Hands; That that Chief with the people of Népigon, Kamanistigouia, Tekamamiouene, Monsonis, Cristinaux, and Assiniboels, are to fall on them, and Slaughter as many of them as they can; That they are fully resolved to destroy them in spite of all that can be done to Prevent it; That that Chief is a man of decision whose intrepidity produces an impression on the others; That he had told him last spring the Scioux Were good only to be eaten,

1 At the mouth of Kaministiquia River, on Thunder Bay, Duluth built a stockade fort as early as 1678. This was re-established by La Noue in 1717, and maintained until the close of the French regime. It commanded one route to the great series of northern lakes and rivers which La Vérendrye was attempting to thread. An easier but longer passage was by way of Pigeon River, a short distance below Kaministiquia. This latter route was known as the Grand Portage—a term later applied to the locality on Lake Superior.— Ed.

427 and that, for his part he wanted to kill enough of them to feeed his village.

The Sieur de la Verendrye Writes me on the 2nd and 12th of May last, that he went to fort La Reine1 on the 13th of October of last year; That in passing by Tékamamiouenne2 he found the savages singing war-songs while awaiting him to go and strike the Scioux; That on his arrival at Lac des Bois (Lake of the Woods), he found a great many Monsonis and Christinaux assembled there with the same object; That they told him he must not be surprised at their going to strike the Scioux, and that all tim nations of the Interior had received word to come to the rendezvous in the prairies in the month of December last; That they did not think he would oppose their design, as they were going to avenge French blood and their Chiefs that had Been killed; That he answered them he Was surprised at this violent measure contrary to the promise they had given him to Take no steps for a war except in accordance with my will, all the more so as I Was disposed to pardon the Scioux in consequence of the petition they had presented and caused to be presented to me; That this would disturb the land afresh and bar the road to the French, and Finally, as the son of one of their great Chiefs was a Captive in that Nation, and the Sieur Marin had promised him to redeem him, it would not be the way to withdraw him from their hands if they went

to strike Them. Notwithstanding all these representations to which he added presents, he could not succeed in Preventing them from striking the blow which I had the honor of Reporting to you, and which, from what that officer writes me, will keep up that war owing to their losing two influential Chiefs: That they had also intended to

1 Fort La Reine was built by La Vérendrye, Oct. 3, 1738, at Portage la Prairie on Assiniboin River, above the present Fort Garry. From this post the expeditions set forth that reached the Mandan, and obtained the first view of the Rocky Mountains. See Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration* (New York, 1904), pp. 29–36.

2 La Vérendrye's post St. Pierre, on Rainy Lake, was often called Tekamamiouen, from the native word for that body of water.— Ed.

428 strike the Wood Scioux,1 and that, disregarding every Consideration, nothing could stop them, for they said their Shoes Were made for the Carrying out of their project.

1 The Sioux of the Woods—probably the tribe known as Wahpeton, whose name indicated “dwellers among deciduous trees.” See McGee. “Siouan Indians,” in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology *Report*, 1893–94.— Ed.

* * * * * * * *

The Sieur Benoist, Commandant of fort de Chartres, Wrote me on the 16th of May last that he had discovered a Conspiracy of the Ilinois instigated by the English and the Chicachas to attack the French of his Post.2 You will find a copy annexed hereto, Monseigneur. He likewise Wrote to the Sieurs St. Ange, Commandant at Ouabache, St. Vincent3 at Ouyatanons, St. Pierre at Miamis and de Noyan at Detroit to inform them of this conspiracy, and to Urge them to cause to pass by his Post all the Savages who might go on the warpath against the Chicachas, especially the hurons and the Iroquois, in order to intimidate the Ilinois. The Sieur De Noyan who sent me the Sieur Benoist's original Letter writes at the foot of that Letter that it would be impossible to Deceive the Savages of his Post, because they know what is going on, without other Explanation, referring me to

the Sieur Benoist's Letter, from which as well as from the Sieur De Novan's remark, I infer that, inasmuch as no other news has been received from Detroit than what I Had the honor of reporting to you by my Letter of the 15th of September last

2 Benoist de St. Clair, a French lieutenant at Mobile between 1725–30; in 1740 he was appointed to the command of Fort Chartres and the Illinois country, where he remained three years, being superseded by De Bertel. In 1749–51 he was again commandant in the Illinois. A document of 1742 (described by Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, i, p. 523) speaks of the arrest of some English traders in the Illinois, who were to be sent to the mines of New Mexico.— Ed.

3 Henri Albert de St. Vincent. sieur de Narcy, son of a prominent member of the Canadian noblesse, was ensign in 1727, lieutenant in 1742, and captain in 1749. He was at Lorette in 1730, was sent with a convoy to Mackinac in 1747, and signed the capitulation of Quebec (1759).— Ed.

MAP OF KASKASKIA SETTLEMENTS Adapted by Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S. J., from Thomas Hutchins's map in *Topographical Description of Virginia, etc* ., drafted in 1764–1775.

429 respecting the hurons, it might well happen that they are concerned in the Conspiracy of the Ilinois judging by the difficulties the Sieur De Noyan experiences in putting them on the wrong Scent with regard to the Bands they may Raise to strike the Chicachas. And if to these reflections we add the conduct of the Chaouanons, this confirms what I took the Liberty of writing you, namely: that the English make use of every means to succeed in corrupting our savages, sacrificing moreover, in the fulfillment of their design, considerable sums which they distribute in the shape of presents in all the villages which they wish either to attract to them or to unite to the Nations that are our Enemies.

Such, Monseigneur, are the projects against which I have for a long while been contending and to which I will continue to devote special attention in order to thwart them as much as possible.

* * * * * * * *

From all I have just had the honor of reporting to you, Monseigneur, regarding what has been written me from the various Posts, it may be concluded that, so long as the Chicachas, Chérakis and Natchez are not subdued, the English will seize every opportunity to win over to their interests as many Nations as they can succeed in corrupting.

It is certain, from the Experience I have, that the Savages are much more difficult to restrain than they were before it was decided to destroy those three Nations, and, although I have acted with greater Circumspection toward Them, the solicitations of the English are so pressing and their gifts to them are so great that virtually nothing more remains for me to do than to counteract the influence they have over Them, especially as You have done me the honor of writing me not to have those Hostile nations attacked by the French, without having previously received your orders, and to content myself with getting the Savages to act. This I have Done, and on that occasion I treated the Scioux, Renards, and Sakis with circumspection, to prevent their giving us trouble, and I may add, Monseigneur, 430 that I do not think, even if all the Nations of the western Sea were to Fall on Them, they would strike a blow at the French, owing to the Hope I gave them that their Captives would be delivered to them; and, if the Ilinois follow up their Conspiracy, I do not believe I would have any difficulty in having Them struck by the Sakis and Renards, who have, from all time, Been their declared Enemies.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Quebec , October 12, 1742. Beauharnois

1742: MARIN REQUESTS LEAVE OF ABSENCE

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Nov. 2, 1742. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 75, c. 11, fol. 243.”]

Monseigneur —The Sieur Marin, having written me that business called him back to France, begs me to ask a leave of absence for him so that he may go next year. You had the kindness, Monseigneur, to obtain one for him [in 1736]. As he Has been continuously detached on duty among the Savages, I Will be greatly obliged to you if you have the kindness to grant it.

I have not dared, Monseigneur, to propose to you his son for an Expectancy of an Ensignship of the Second class, considering that you do not appear to be satisfied with the Father; however, I am persuaded, Monseigneur, that when you have Examined his conduct, you will be willing to obtain this favor for his son, who went to the Chicacha campaign although ill and dissuaded by the Officers. It is he who went to get the Scioux in their country and brought them to La Baye. Finally, Monseigneur, he is a strong and vigorous young man of Great promise; he has the Support of all the best people, and deserves the favor of the King.

I am with very great Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

Quebec , November 2, 1742. Beauharnois

431

1742: JESUITS AND THE DETROIT HURON

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Nov. 12, 1742. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 249.]

Monseigneur —I have at last received a Letter from Father de la Richardie which Was handed to me only on the 10th of this month. Judging by appearances it was not Believed that any other ships would sail. He tells me that he has Written me several others, but I have considered, Monseigneur, that as these Fathers generally Send their Letters under a flying Seal to their Superiors the latter Suppress them when not in Accordance with their views. I would Naturally observe, Monseigneur, that Duplicity is pushed too far in the proceedings of this Father, who writes me lastly that he has obtained the Consent of the hurons whom he calls his savages as if they belonged to him as their absolute master, that he has Induced them to Settle at la grande Terre, as it was not Advisable they should do so at gross isle, a plan I always opposed, because It meant their being tolerated there as in a place of refuge, and they might domineer over the French. Monsieur de Noyan says absolutely nothing in the Letter he Wrote me on his arrival at Montreal, and Monsieur de Beaucours writes me he Had told him he had Taken possession of that grosse isle in the name of the French, as it was not in the interest of the service that that Nation should Establish themselves there in view of the Consequences that might result.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant, Beauharnois

Quebec , November 12, 1742.

432

1743: COMMANDANTS OF WESTERN POSTS

[Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 79, fol. 147.]

List of the officers serving in the various Posts of the Colony in The year 1743.

Fort St, frederic:1 The Sieurs De fouville, Captain, Commandant. herbin the Elder. Chevalier de Gannes. De Boishebert. Chevalier de Repentigny.

1 Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, where Fort St. Frédéric was built in 1731. The French post at this place was abandoned and destroyed in 1759.— Ed.

Fort Chambly:2 The Sieur herbin the younger, Lieutenant, Commandant.

2 The fort at Chambly was built in 1665 as an outpost to protect the colony against the Iroquois.— Ed.

Niagara:3 The Sieurs de Raymond, Lieutenant, Commandant. Beaujeu de Villemonde. Du Buisson. De Gannes.

3 For Fort Niagara see *Wis. Hist. Colls*., xvi, p. 128, note 1.— Ed.

Fort frontenac: The Sieurs de St. Ours, Captain, Commandant. Douville, doing duty as Interpreter. De Portneuf. Mazieres de Maisoncelles

Missilimakinac: The Sieurs de Vercheres, Captain, Commandant. De Gaspé.4

4 Ignace Aubert, *dit* de Gaspé, was born in 1714 and married (1745) Marie-Anne Coulon de Villiers. In 1739 he was appointed ensign, lieutenant in 1749, and captain in 1756.— Ed.

Détroit: The Sieurs Chevalier de Longueuil, Captain Commandant.5 Croizille de Courtemanche.

5 Paul Joseph le Moyne de Longueuil, second baron of that name, was son of Charles, the first baron, for whom see *ante*, p. 10, note 2. He was one of the most prominent officers of New France, being later made colonel and governor of Three Rivers, which position he held at the time of the English conquest (1759).— Ed.

Népigon: The Sieur Chevalier de Ramezay, Captain, Commandant.6

6 Later lieutenant-colonel of colonial troops, and lieutenant for the king at Quebec.— Ed.

Riviere St. Joseph: The Sieur Chevalier de Villiers, Ensign, Commandant.1

1 For the family of Coulon de Villiers see *ante*, p. 188, note 1.— Ed.

Ouyatanons: The Sieur de la Perriere, Ensign, Commandant.2

2 François Clément Boucher, Sieur de la Perrière, born in 1708, appointed ensign in 1736, lieutenant in 1748, captain in 1756, and killed at the siege of Quebec, Sept. 13, 1759. He was the son of Réné Boucher, Sieur de la Perrière, for whom see *ante*, p. 16, note 1.— Ed.

Miamis: The Sieur St. Pierre de Repentigny, Lieutenant, Commandant.

Chagouamigon: The Sieur de Laronde, Ensign, Commandant.

Kamanistigouia: The Sieur La Corne du Breuil, Ensign, Commandant.3

3 François Josué de la Corne Dubreuil was born in 1710. After his service at Kaministiquia, he was raised to a lieutenancy, and died in Quebec in 1754.— Ed.

La Baye: The Sieur de Lusignan, Lieutenant, Commandant.

Western Posts: The Sieur de la Verendrye, Lieutenant, Commandant.

1743: LEAD-MINING IN WISCONSIN

[A description of the process of lead-mining in the Galena district is given, from a contemporary document, in *Wis. Hist. Colls* ., xiii, pp. 276, 277. The citation there should be Butterfield, *History of Grant County, Wis* . (Chicago, 1881), p. 393.]

1743: FARMING THE WESTERN POSTS

[Letter of Varin to the French Minister, dated June 26, 1743. MS. in archives of Ministére des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 80, c. 11, fol. 298.”]

Monseigneur —i have the honor to report that Monsieur Hocquart left on the 3rd of this month for Montreal and 434 reached there on the 9th. This journey was undertaken in connection with the arrangements to be made regarding the posts of the upper Country four of which were farmed out on the 26th of March last, a list whereof is annexed, and also with the dissensions that have arisen for some months between the Officers of the Montreal jurisdiction and to which he has Fur an end since his arrival there as he has written me.

* * * * * * * *

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very Obedient servant, Varin 1

1 Jean Victor Varin, Sieur de la Mare, was a councillor and the comptroller of the marine for the colony. He was the son of Sieur de la Sablonière, a gendarme of the king's guard, who had come to Canada after serving under James II of England.— Ed.

Quebec , June 26, 1743.

[Enclosure in above. Source same as preceding document, but vol. 79, fol. 79.]

Posts of the upper Country farmed out at the sale by auction held on the 26th of March, 1743, at the Chateau St. Louis. To Wit:

This post has no Commandant Temiscamingue adjudged to the Sieur Goguet for Madame Bouat2

2 Goguet was a common surname in New France; probably this was Denis, a merchant of Quebec, who married there in 1738. Agathe le Gardeur was the widow of François-Marie Bouat, a former lieutenant-general of Montreal, who died in 1726.— Ed.

at 5,600 livers

Idem Michipicoton adjudged to the Sieur Gatineau3

3 Jean Baptiste Duplessis Gatineau, born in 1671, died in 1750. He served as captain of the militia in his district.— Ed.

at 3,750

435

There is an officer in Command at this Post. The Wiatanons adjudged to The Sieur de Voisy1

1 Sieur de Voisy was a resident of the lower town of Quebec, where his house was burned during the English bombardment of that city in 1759.— Ed.

at 3,000

Idem La Baye, including the Scioux, adjudged to the Sieur de Idem la Gorgendiere,2

2 Joseph de Fleury, Sieur de la Gorgendière, a son of a governor of Montreal, was born 1676; in 1702 he married Claire, daughter of Louis Jolliet, the explorer, and died in 1755. — Ed.

who has transferred the same to the Sieur daillebout and other voyageurs at 8,100

20,450 livres

1743: POLICY TOWARD FOXES AND SIOUX JUSTIFIED; ILLINOIS AND CHICKASAW

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Sept. 18, 1743. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 79, fol. 115.]

Monseigneur —I have received the Letter you did me the honor of writing me on the 31st of May last.

I noted what you do me the honor of telling me regarding the care you recommended me to take to Prevent the union of the Sioux with the Renards, the motives whereof seemed all the more solid to you, Monseigneur, that what was written you in the month of February last by Monsieur de Bienville,3 justifies the suspicions you had regarding the unfortunate consequences that might result from such Union. With regard to the first 28

3 Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, was born in Canada in 1680; he accompanied his brother Iberville upon the expedition which founded Louisiana, and was himself governor thereof during 1718–25 and 1733–42. He died in Paris in 1767.— Ed.

436 Item concerning the recommendation you were pleased to convey to me to separate the Sioux from the Renards, I had the honor, Monseigneur, in my letter of the 24th of September of last year, to report the steps taken by the Sioux, as well as the Sakis and Renards, to approach me and the reasons that induced them to do so. I annexed to that despatch the speeches of those Savages and my replies thereto, and I took the liberty of pointing out, Monseigneur, that in view of the favorable dispositions with which they seemed animated, I could not at least avoid appearing to believe them. With regard to that object and to that which includes the news communicated to you by Monsieur de Bienville, I would add that it seemed contrary to the welfare of the service and to the peace it is Sought to establish that I should reject the application the Sioux had come to make to me, and the difficulties Were no less Embarassing as regards breaking off the union that reigned between the Sioux and the Renards before both had decided to come to me and sue for Peace. Whatever Knowledge one may have—and I myself have studied it—of the Turbulence of the sioux and the Spirit of revenge wherewith the Renards may be animated, the plan of calming Minds by Conciliatory means Seemed the only one it was

possible for me to adopt under the circumstances. For, had the Sioux' promises been rejected, how could we secure ourselves against their resentment while endeavoring at the same time to maintain tranquillity in the Posts, when the difficulties of subduing them by force seem insurmountable? On the other hand, it did not seem possible to separate the Renards from the Sioux' interests judging by the Close friendship that seemed to exist between them when they carne down with the Sieur Marin, and even if it could be done, it could result only in kindling a fresh war between the Nations and in interrupting tranquillity in all the Posts more than ever. Moreover, Monseigneur, the conduct of both since they came down with the Sieur Marin cannot make me regret the attitude I took toward them, and although I cannot warrant how long those savages will keep their promises, circumstances do not permit of my acting otherwise than I have done. I think the drawbacks would have been multiplied 437 instead of obviated had I endeavored to break off the union between those Nations rather than allow it to subsist, because, as I have taken the liberty of pointing out to you, Monseigneur, if the change in the Sioux be apparent only, We are not in Position to make them more sincere by force; and if, on the other Hand, the Renards are dissembling their resentment and have no other objects in view than the steps they have taken to unite with the Sioux, any precautions on, my part to Prevent this would be useless; and, as a final reflection, I would add that if no reliance can be placed on the promises of the Renards, much less could any be placed on those they might make to break off their friendship with a Nation such as the Sioux, whom they Look upon as a sage refuge if they have any evil designs, and against whom it is very far from their interest to declare themselves.

The considerations I have just had the honor to present to you, Monseigneur, with regard to those savages, lead me to Hope that you will approve my conduct Respecting them, and I venture to assure you thee if I had the means of imposing a law on them and of making them observe it, there would be nothing to fear from their dissimulation or their resentment. In any case I will have the Renards' actions dearly watched, and I have given my orders in consequence to the Sieur de Lusignan whom I have Sent in, the place of the

Sieur Marin. Those savages as well as the Sakis are all assembled at the place indicated to them by that officer with the exception of ten Cobins that are at Chikagou and two at Meloaky [Milwaukee]. I have the honor to append the speeches of those Nations and the answers I gave them in the same council wherein I assembled them an Expressly to settle the affair that had occurred on the part of the Ouassés Sauteux1 of Kamanistigouia with Regard to the Sioux, Sakis and Renards. They all went away satisfied, the

1 For a description of this Chippewa tribe, whose usual habitat was between the Michipicoten and Nipigon rivers, see Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, p. 134.— Ed.

438 Ouassés having above all assured them that they had not yet been informed at the time that I had withdrawn my Tomahawk and that I wished them to remain quiet. So I do not think that affair will have any other consequences.

I also append the words of the Sioux, Sakis, and Renard Chiefs to the Sieur Marin during last winter and Spring.

I had been informed of the secret plots that were being hatched between the Ilinois and the Chicachas. The former endeavored to dear themselves of the suspicions to which their dealings with the Chicachas had given rise, but whatever they do, they are a Nation that it is necessary to watch, and that is what I recommend to the officers of the Posts in their Country not to forget.

I was not informed, Monseigneur, of the news you received kern Monsieur de Bienville regarding the Chicachas leaving their lands to withdraw in the direction of Carolina, nor that some have already taken thai Road. It may be that they have taken that step owing to their losses, but it seems to me that this news needs confirmation.

In any case I will continue to Urge the Nations of this Country to harass them, until I am informed that it is necessary to cease doing so. Several bands went there last Spring,

without counting that which the hurons propose to raise when they have put their village in Order.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant, Beauharnois

Quebec , September 18, 1743.

439

1743: EXPENSES FOR THE FOXES AND SIOUX; MARIN'S SERVICES1

1 The first part of this letter, relating to the mission Indians and the Iroquois, is found in N. Y. *Colon.Docs*., ix, pp. 1095–1099.— Ed.

[Extract from a letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 13, 1743. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 167.]

Monseigneur —I am really mortified, Monseigneur, that you are sorry to see the expenses for the Savages increasing every year. I venture, however, to assure you that I contract them only in cases where the Service absolutely requires it; and the greater or lesser importance of the matters of which I have to treat with the different Nations can not render this expense other than shifting, increasing or diminishing According to circumstances. I know, Monseigneur, that the presents were considerable last year on account of those I had to make to the Sioux, Sakis, and Renards, which I had the honor of reporting to you. The motives of their coming and the advantages we may Hope from the promises which they have made to me, Required that I should send them away content, which can only be accomplished in this Way. Although these as well as other Savages Have come down this Summer in great numbers, presents of this sort will not amount to nearly as much as they did last year, If, as I naturally presume, no other expenses are Included with them; and I Beg you to believe that, as far as I am concerned, nothing is Included except what I can not refuse for the good of the Service.

I had the honor of informing you, Monseigneur, in my communication of September 16, in regard to the disposition in which the Sioux, as well as the Sakis and Renards, continue to remain, and I have nothing further to add.

As regards the Sieur Marin, I had anticipated the intentions of His Majesty, in giving to the Sieur de Lusignan the Command of the Post at La Baye, for which I had destined former, less with a view of having him profit by the advantages 440 which this Post might offer, than of having him succeed, as he has done, in the mission with which I had charged him, and for which, Monseigneur, he Was eminently fitted, by his talents and by the Reputation which he Has acquired among the Nations. The progress which he has made has thus far answered my expectations; and I can give him no more Solid marks of the Satisfaction I feel with these negotiations, which I have Had the honor of reposing to you, than in Begging you to grant him your favor, of which I venture to assure you that he is worthy. I can not refuse the same testimony to His son, who has succeeded in the details which the Sieur Marin entrusted to him in these Negotiations as completely as could be Hoped.

I am with very great respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 18, 1743.

1744: TRANQUILITY IN THE UPPER COUNTRY; EVILS OF LEASED POSTS

[Letter from Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 9, 1844. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 81, fol. 160.]

Monseigneur —I have received the Letter you did me the honor of writing me on the 30th of March last.

The hurons who came back from Sandoské to Settle at la grande Terre below Detroit, manifest no intention of Changing that Settlement, and the Idea they formerly had of Going away seems to have Completely Vanished. I am also satisfied with the manner in which they received the Collar and the hatchet I caused to be given them by the Sieur de Longueuil on The occasion of the Declaration of War.1 I append the answers

1 The War of the Austrian Succession, known in America as King George's War, broke out early in 1744. Beauharnois received news of the declaration of hostilities in the late spring or early summer of this year.— Ed.

441 they gave, and I am to a certain extent convinced that next winter they will (as they promised me) attack the [English Settlements and especially those of la Belle Riviere a report on which I had the honor of sending you in one of my despatches.1 Moreover, it seems to me that the Sieur de Longueuil gives to the service of that Post all the care I recommended him to take in Governing the Savages, and so far, Monseigneur, I have only good Reports to give you of him.

1 See N. Y. *Colon. Docs*., ix, pp. 1103–1109, for Beauharnois's reports of the arrangements made for war upon the English colonies.— Ed.

Father Degonor who went up to Detroit last year to relieve Father de la Richardie came back last Summer on account of his illness which even compels him to return to France.2 Father de la Richardie has remained in charge of the Mission of that Post. For the past two years there has not been; any question of the causes of complaint I had against him, and I think his reflections since then will induce him to behave in a different manner from that in which he acted Toward me in the past.

2 Note on margin of original MS., apparently in Beauharnois's handwriting: “He did not go after all.”

I admit, Monseigneur, that Monsieur hocquart and myself have considered the Appointment of a stationary Commandant at Detroit as one of the surest means of hastening the Settlement of that Post, and, if it appeared to you that I Opposed your first idea, the reflections that have since occurred to me are those I have thought well founded for the reasons I had the honor to lay before you last year, and to which I have nothing to add. Moreover with regard to the fresh Information you are pleased to ask of me on this subject, I will await His Majesty's orders respecting what he may deem advisable to decide in Connection with that Commandant, either to make him stationary, or to leave Matters on their present footing.

I have not ceased, Monseigneur, to devote my attention to maintaining [Peace Between the Sioux and the Western Nations as well as with the Sauteux of Gamanistigouia and la pointe. I have also instructed the Sieur de Noyelle who went to relieve 442 the Sieur de la Verendrye to spare no Effort, not only to Maintain peace amongst the western Nations, but also to Induce them to make some incursions against the English in that country and I have given the same Orders in the other Posts. whatever precautions and care may be taken to restrain those savages, it is rather difficult to Prevent the hatred they have home one another for a great many years from manifesting self occasionally by slight acts of Treachery which they commit Amongsi themselves and which happen at the very moment they are supposed to be reconciled judging by appearances and by their mutual promises. Such was the conduct of some Sioux last winter toward the sautex of la pointe de Chagoumigon one of whose men they killed in the Winter quarters while they sent another back to the village after ending off his ears. I have taken every precaution to Endeavor to stay the consequences of this affair, But, as soon as we have succeeded in settling it, perhaps some other deed will be committed in another direction, either by some Giddy-pates while intoxicated, or by restless Spirits, in which the village take no part. This leads me to take the liberty of telling you that we cannot Entirely congratulate ourselves on maintaining a very lasting peace amongst those Nations, nor on Completely Removing from their minds, the hatred they have of one another, especially the western Natons,

who cannot forget a former act of treachery whereof the Sioux were guilty against them and the memory whereof they have promised one another to retain for ever. any case, Monseigneur, I have everything done that is possible in order to keep them in restraint as far as I can, and the subject is of too great importance to allow of my neglecting anything that may depend on me.

I will comply, Monseigneur, with what His Majesty pleased to recommend to me Regarding the farming of the Post. I have already had the honor of telling you that I would take, in what concerns me, all the precautions in my power to obviate the drawbacks I Foresaw in the farming of those I should be much pleased Monseigneur, were none to arise.

443

But the posts of Niagara and fort Frontenac, by the manner in which they are Exploited, seem already to confirm what I had at first thought regarding the farmers of those Posts. In Fact, Monseigneur, the Commandants at those Places did not cease this Summer, and latterly the Sieur de Celoron, to send me representations respecting the great number of Canoes that came to those Posts to Trade laden with Furs and Beaver skins, which they were obliged to go and trade at Chouéghen, because the Store-houses of those two Posts were in nowise supplied with the goods and Effects required for the Trade; and it is estimated that more than six hundred packages went out from Niagara and were taken, to Cheunghen. Moreover the goods there are at suck a price as to Completely disgust the savages. And as these two matters seem to me to affect the general welfare of the colony's trade,—the only thing I have Ever Considered—I have expressed my opinion thereon to the Sieur Chalet1 who EXploits those Posts. With reference to the first Point, he replied to me that he had supplied the Posts with everything it was possible for him to send, and, as to the other, that if he had to lower the price of his goods, he would prefer to cancel his lease and that the trade should be carried on for the King's Account. I thought, Monseigneur, that, the obligation I am under to report to you what happens in this Colony Required me to inform yea of these Circumstances, to which you will be pleased to devote

such attention as you may deem necessary, as I myself can apply no remedy, although the subject is of the highest importance.

1 François Chalet, a merchant of Brest, born in 1705, was director in Canada for the associates of La Compagnie des Indes-Occidentales. He died at Quebec in 1747.— Ed.

I have the honor to Send you the List of the Officers who are on Duty in the various Posts this year.

I remain, with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 9, 1744.

444

1744: ARRANGEMENTS FOR WESTERN POSTS

[Extract from a letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 14, 1744. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 81, fol. 12.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

Detroit The arrangements formerly prescribed by His Majesty regarding The Exploitation of the Prat of Detroit have been carried out with The Modifications He was pleased to approve. With regard to the Establishment of the stationary Commander, we see no objection to it. Monsieur de Beauharnois has The honor to inform you in a private despatch that he will await His Majesty's orders, either to make such commandant stationary, or to Leave matters on their present footing. But we doubt whether the sum of 3,000 livres

which is allowed the Sieur Chevalier de Longueuil yearly In consideration of his command, will be sufficient to induce him to remain there Longer than 3 or 4 years, unless His Majesty be pleased to grant the rank of Major in addition together with allowances on the same footing as He formerly enacted In favor of the Commandant of fort de Chartres. Moreover the voyageurs alone have enjoyed and still enjoy the Trade, and we have been informed that The Sieur Chevalier do Longueuil has done any trading.

Michilimakinac The Post of Michilimakinac was Exploited as usual with 12 Canoes, as His Majesty ordered.

Other posts farmed out. . The Posts of Camanistigoya and Miamis were farmed out last winter for 3 years, The former to the Sieur Maugras for the price of 3,000 livres And the latter to the Sieur Charly1 for 6,850 livres. We are making out the lease for that of Chagouamigon with Madame La Ronde as was arranged. His Majesty has disposed

1 One of two brothers, Louis and Jacques, sons of Jean Baptiste Charley, *dit* St. Ange.—Ed.

445 of the Post of Alepinigon In favor of the Sieur La Lanne. That of the River St. Joseph will be farmed out next winter.

* * * * * * * *

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

Beauharnois

Hocquart

Quebec , October 14, 1744.

1744: BAD RESULTS OF LEASING SYSTEM AT GREEN DAY

[Letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 25, 1744. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 196.]

Monseigneur —I am to have The honor of Informing you that in the Report made to me this year by Monsieur de Lusignan, the Commandant at la Baye, resetting the Affairs of that Post, he complains that the farmers who Exploit the same act in that capacity with much independence and insubordination to the orders he gives them with respect to the maintenance of the French and savages. That officer adds that they have also entered into a compact with eight or ten Coureurs des bois who came to la Baye on the first of May last by which, in consideration of a sum of 6,000 livres in Beaver skins which those Coureurs paid on the Spot, the farmers bind themselves to supply them this fall with goods at the same rate as they sell them to the other French of the post and to give them permission to Trade them at that Place; also, as he has no garrison with him, he has been unable, not only to secure the Coureurs des Bois, but even to repress the License of the farmers who are all the more blameworthy as they are acting in direct contravention to his Majesty's ordinances, supporting themselves in this matter, as in all others contrary to good order, by the argument that, as they pay the rent of the Post, they must in nowise be hindered in anything they Consider conducive to their interest. On learning of this weak argument I wrote to the 446 Sieur de Lusignan to see that order is kept at that Post and if the Sieur Auger,1 —one of the interested parties of whom he complains more especially, —continues to give trouble, to send him back to Montreal when the Canoes return from that Place next year, ordering the other interested parties to bring him back on pain of disobedience. With regard to the matter of the compact made by those farmers with the coureurs des Bois I ordered him to oppose The Carrying out of such an Infringement of the King's Ordinances by not permitting the Delivery of the goods, and, on the contrary, giving orders to the farmers and the Engagés to seize the Coureurs des Bols and hand them over to him that he may Send them to me. I shall have The honor, Monseigneur, to report to you next year all that happens in connection with the orders the Sieur de Lusignan is to give on the receipt of my commands, and if those farmers, instead of Executing them,

continue to act as they have done, I shall range with Monsieur hocquart as to what is to be done to put an cad to disorders which cannot be tolerated for any Reason, taking proper precautions alto to prevent the working of that post being interrupted.

1 For this partner see *N.Y. Colon. Docs*, x, p. 37.— Ed.

I remain with very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Beauharnois

Quebec , October 25, 1744.

1745: DISAFFECTION OF THE INDIANS AT DETROIT

[Letter from Longueuil, commandant at Detroit, to Beauharnois, dated July 28, 1745. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 83, fol. 61.]

I have just learned from hurons who have come back from Chonaquin that the English Commandant had assembled the Nations that Were at his post, amongst whom Were ours, to make them a present of a large Cask of Brandy for each village, 447 which they accepted, And by which the Englishmen told them they must in future look on them As the only ones who will be able to supply them with goods, because fleets are to put to sea to take Canada and become the absolute Masters Thereof; that consequently the French will have no more goods this year Wherewith to supply them. This News has produced so great an Effect in the Villages of this post, that they are leaving continually without saying a word.

I have represented to the chiefs that such Conduct Was absolutely contrary to your Will. They answered me that they could not do without Brandy, cloth, and porcelain, and that all those Goods Were too dear here and at Niagara.

I remain, etc.,

Longueuil

1745: WESTERN INDIANS ON THE WARPATH; SCARCITY OF GOODS

[Extract from a letter of Beauharnois to the French Minister, dated Oct. 28, 1745. Reprinted from N.Y. *Colon. Docs* ., x, pp. 20, 21.]

* * * * * * * *

As for the other Nations belonging to the post, the ardor manifested by those who were at Montreal and who accompanied me down to Quebec, and their conduct towards the English on other occasions, are proofs of the sincerity of their promises to me, when accepting the hatchet I presented, and caused to be presented to the. None were willing to accept the underground belts the English caused to be introduced into their villages, to induce them to declare against the French; and Acre is no suspicion of their assisting at any English Council. Several parties of the Detroit Indians which been formed, as I had the honor to inform you, for the purpose of falling on the English settlements towards Carolina, have returned without striking a blow. Chevalier de Longueuil wrote me on the 27th August last, that they passed entire days at the entrance of English villages without any 448 success; that the men did not come out, so that nothing was killed but a large number of horses, and hunger obliged the Indians to abandon their expedition; that, however, two parties of Hurons were unwilling to return without affecting something, and were going to try to penetrate into some places that were less on their guard, and where they will probably strike a blow. Although these movements have been, hitherto unattended with any success, and none of any consequence can be expected from the operations of those parties, M. de Longueuil will prevail on these Nations to organize others, in order to foster a continual spirit of hostility against the English, who, in consequence of their distrust of the Indians, will not be able to corrupt and gain them over to their side.

Sieur de la Corne, the elder,1 whom I have sent to command at Missilimackinac, writes me on the 27th of August last, that as soon as he had raised the war-song at that post, 60 Outdouacs and Saulteux, applied to him for M. Noyelle, junior, who is deputy there, to conduct them to Montreal, in order to attack the English in conjunction with our domiciliated Indians. According to what he writes me of their departure, I have reason to expect them from day to day, and they will do good service in divers places.

1 Louis de la Come, Sieur de Chapt et Terrebonne, born 1696, married Elizabeth do Ramezay, and died at his seignoiry of Terrebonne in 1762.— Ed.

The emigration of the Chaouanons has at length taken place; they have removed from their former location to the place I allotted them at the prairie of the Maskoutins; they have even tied and plundered the English traders on the Belle Rivière to the number of eight, and advised M. de Longueuil to send in search of them. But the detachment of 15 or 16 Canadians dispatched thither by that officer, discovered only one, and the Chaouanons have said that they had carried the others along with them to their winter quarters, and would bring them to me, themselves, next year. I would have wished they had acted otherwise, and sent M. de Longueuil, as they had 449 promised, these prisoners, who possibly will escape from, or perhaps be liberated by, them; possibly even they may form a new alliance with, in order to obtain their supplies from them. This is the more to be apprehended, inasmuch as, independent of the little reliance to be placed on the inconstancy of the Indians, the prevailing scarcity of goods and articles they require, may produce among them great change towards us, and you will form a more correct opinion of our situation and of the difficulty we experience in supporting the posts in the Upper country, from the report M r . Hocquart and I have the honor to submit to you on that subject. What I specially have to inform you, and took the liberty to communicate to you in my despatch of the 19 th of June last, is, that there has been a great falling off in the amount of goods taken up this year for the trade [*l'exploitation*] of the posts, in comparison with what has been sent there in previous years. In consequence of

the small quantity of goods in the of the merchants who furnish outfits, the ruling high prices, and the low rates obtained for peltries brought in return from the Upper countries, the Indian traders have been discouraged from supplying themselves with goods, and notwithstanding I offered licenses for nothing—especially to Detroit, in order that there should be abundance of goods at that post—only ten went up this year; I was obliged to give seven of these licenses gratis, in return for conveying the effects of the Commandant and of the garrison which could not otherwise be carried up without great expense to his Majesty.1 I have not been able to find sale, either for the usual number of licenses for the post of Missilimakinac, to which place only nine canoes have gone, after considerable solicitation; for the same reasons that I have just had the honor to set forth, which apply equally to all the other leased posts; also to those of Niagara and Fort Frontenac, which are hardly better provided with goods necessary for the Indian trade there, and will be much less so next year, no supplies of any description having reached us this year.

1 Note on original MS.: “These effects have amounted to 11,400 lbs. in weight.”

450

1746: DIFFICULTIES AT WESTERN POSTS OCCASIONED BY WAR

[Extract from a letter of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Sept. 22, 1746. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 85, c. 11, fol. 15.”]

Monseigneur —

With Regard to the other Posts of the Upper Countries, The orders you gave to faro Them or have them Exploited by means of The purchase of Licenses, were followed until last year, but the circumstances in which we were placed this year through the lack of goods, added to their dearness, have not allowed of our continuing the same arrangement for all. In Fact of the 12 Licenses granted for Detroit, there was only one for which 500 livres were paid to Monsieur de Beauharnois; with Regard to the 11 others, it was all we could do to

Engage Voyageurs, in consideration of the full remission of the price of the License and of the obligation to Transport the munitions required the service, to Send there some goals they collectd in the store-houses of private Individuals.

The Post of Michilimakinac Has Been in the same Position. Only 5 Licenses have been Sent for that post and nothing has been paid for them.

We Induced The Sieur Gatineau, the farmer of Michipicoton whose lease Had Expired, to Send a Canoe to that Post, on his paying 1,000 livres instead of 3,750 livres, the amount of his rent.

We endeavored to find a farmer for La Baye but without success. The last Lease in favor of Monsieur de Lagorgendière Had Expired. The lack of goods had an effect on The Exploitation of that Post as on those above mentioned. Nevertheless, Monsieur de la Corne, the Commandant at Michilimakinac, provided for the safety and indifferently for the Trade of the said Post, by allowing two private individuals to Fit themselves out 451 at Michilimakinac for the said Place. of la Baye, on condition that they pay 1,000 livres each.1

1 For further reports from the post at Green Bay, see N.Y. Colon. Docs., x, pp. 37, 38.—Ed.

The farmers in charge of the Posts of the Ouatanons and of the River St. Joseph were Allowed to remain for another year free of cost, in order to Maintain the savages of that Post until times Change.

Others farmers have begun to make representations to us whereon we cannot for the present Report to you.

The garrison of Niagara has, since the war, consisted of 62 men, including 5 officers; that of fort frontenac of 41 men, Including 4 officers; The garrison of fort St. Frederic Is 93

soldiers and the officers. All these Posts are at present well supplied with provisions and munitions of war.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very Obedient Servants,

Beauharnois

Hocquart

1747: LEASE FOR THE POST AT GREEN BAY

[MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 89, c. 11, fol. 146.”]

Agreement regarding the exploitation of the Post of la Baie des Puants .

On this day, the Tenth of April, one thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Seven, We, Josué Boisberthelot de Beaucours, Governor of Montreal, and Honoré Michel de Villebois, Commisary General of the said Place,2 in Accordance with

2 Honoré Michel de la Rouvilliére, Sieur de Villebols, was born in France. Coming to Canada some time before 1737, he married in that year Catherine Bégon, daughter of a former intendant. In 1748 he was appointed intendant of Louisiana, where he served until his death in 1752.— Ed.

452 the orders of Messieurs the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor General, And Hocquart, Intendant, have entered into the Following stipulations And Agreements with the Sieurs de Clignancourt, Moniere, And l'Echelle,1 jointly and severally accepting, And one for all to Exploit the post of la Baye des Puants on the following Conditions. Namely:

Article first . The said Sieurs Clignancourt, Moniere, And l' Echelle shall Themselves or through their Engagés carry on the Exclusive Trade with the Savages and the French

Settled throughout the whole Extent of the said post, to Wit: with the Puants, folles avoines, Renards, Sakis, And Scioux, Being careful to treat the latter with circumspection And to attract them as much as possible; The whole within The usual Limits And as lear as la Riviere ala Roche which will serve as a boundary in the event of the nations aforesaid going to winter there.

Article 2nd . The said farmers may Send to the said Post such number of Canoes and such quantity of goods as they may Deem necessary. With Regard to the Engagés, it is advisable, in, order not to deprive the country of men, that they should take there In War time only those indispensably required, Being careful to obtain a License from Monsieur the General for every Canoe in the usual manner, which shall be endorsed by Monsieur The Intendant. To such Licenses shall be appended the Roll of the said Engages accepted by Monsieur the General aforesaid. The Licenses and Rolls shall Afterward be Registered in the usual manner in the Office of the Jurisdiction of Montreal.

Article 3rd . The said farmers shall not load in their Canoes more than the quantity of four pots of Brandy for The use of Each Engagé during the Journey; they shall further be permitted

1 For Louis Matthieu Damours, Sieur de Clignancourt, see *ante*, p. 34, note 1.

Jean Monier was born in France in 1718; emigrating to Canada, he established himself at Montreal, where he married in 1760.

Jean l'Echelle was born in France in 1716, and at the age of thirty;two married Marie Anne Decouagne at Montreal.— Ed.

453 to Send every year in their Canoes thirty or forty casks of sixteen pots each for Consumption at the post.

Article 4th . The previous farmer shall not carry on may trade from the moment of The arrival of the New farmers at the said Post And the former shall be obliged to, send

away And remove without the Limits of the post all the goods he may have on hand; a Statement of the goods so remaining to him shall be drawn, up as well as of the Bales that may be made of the same for conveyance to Missilimakinac, where the farmers of the other posts shall be permitted to purchase them; The whole with the Knowledge of the Commandant of Missilimakinac aforesaid, And not otherwise; unless he should prefer to dispose of the, same by private agreement with the new farmers. The previous farmer shall leave one Engagé only at the post to collect the debts due him, Which Engagé shall be fed by the new farmers, And shall not under any pretext whatsoever carry on any trade; or The previous farmer may make arrangements with the new farmers with reference to such debts, or the new farmers shall recover the same their cost, And in such case one half of the Debts collected shall belong to the said farmers who shall have The alternative or choice, And who shall be bound to deliver The other half of the said Debts at Missilimakinac to the order of The previous farmer.

Article 5th . The officer who shall be appointed commandant of the said Post shall not carry on any Trade directly or indirectly under any pretext whatsoever; he may only have a small quantity of goods for purchasing the food required for his subsistence.

Article 6th . The officer Commanding the said Post shall give every protection to the farmers to facilitate their Trade; he shall Likewise Exert his authority to drive from all the Territory of the said Pest all Coureurs des Bois and deserters, whom he shall cause to be arrested when necessary, And their goods shall be seized at the suit of the said farmers and sequestrated after an Inventory has been made of the same, Until 454 Monsieur the General and monsieur The Intendant Have given orders regarding Them.

Article 7th . The farmers shall be obliged to provide the Commandant with Fuel And lodgings, and to supply him with the presents it may be advisable to give the savage nations of the post, but always in moderation, And solely to Keep them well disposed toward the French, And Prevent them from taking their furs to Strangers, such presents to be Independent of those the said farmers Themselves may give to Induce the savages to

hunt, And to trade with Them. In all such Cases the presents of furs that may be given by the savages to The commanding officer shall revert to the farmers, the said Officer to have no Claim Thereon.

Article 8th . The Commanding officer shall be obliged to provide his food at his own expense in consideration whereof the farmers shall be bound to convey to him In their Canoes, every year, the quantity of fifteen hundred pounds weight, in Food, provisions and goods suitable for the purchase of the Food necessary for his subsistence at that Place; they shall Likewise convey free of charge his person, his Think, his money-Box, And utensils required for the Journey beth in going to the said Post and returning Therefrom.

Article 9th . Should His Majesty be obliged to incur any Extraordinary expenditure at the post, either on account of war, or of the removal of a Village of savages, the farmers shall be bound to provide the Commandant with the necessary goods to give such presents as may be Advisable, which goods shall be paid by the King to the said farmers at the rate of thirty per Cent above the cost of The Outfit.

Article 10th . The farmers of the said pest shall be obliged to provide The Commanding officer with an interpreter at their expense.

Article 11th . The said farmers shall alone, and to the Exclusion of all others, have the privilege of Setting up one or more forges at the said post, but the Commandant may oblige them to have one for The use And Convenience of the Savages; the profit thereof shall, however, belong to them.

455

Article 12th and last . In consideration of the above stipulations the said Sieurs Clignancourt, Monierre, And L'Echelle, jointly and severally, And willingly, Undertook to Exploit the said Post, of la Baye, to enjoy the Same for the period And Space of three consecutive years, from the month of August next, To the same Date in The year one thousand Seven hundred and Fifty, on the condition of paying Into the hands of Monsieur

the General, in the month of October of each year that this Covenant shah last And Beginning with this year, The sum of Five thousand Livres In War time, When a sufficient quantity of goods arrives to enable them to obtain what they need to supply the said post; but if the ships fail to come, And they are unable to find goods in the country, And little, or no powder And Cloth, they shall be bound to pay the sum of Three thousand livres only in any year in which. such accidents shall happen, Exclusive of the present year, inasmuch as they have their Outfit. Likewise, should peace be declared and goods of all Kinds be abundant in the country, the said farmers shall pay for each of the said years of abundance—not Including the present one—The sum of six thousand livres. And to secure the payment of the price of the said lease the said Sieurs de Clignancourt, Moniere, And l'Echelle have jointly and severally pledged And mortgaged all their chattels personal and real estate present And future; for the payment of which sums hereinabove stipulated they Consent to be liable to coercive imprisonment, as in the case of His Majesty's own moneys and affairs. Done at Montreal on the Day And in the year first above written.

(Signed) Clignancourt, Moniere, L'Echelle, Beaucourt, And Michel .

True copy.

Michel .

456

1747: REVOLT OF INDIANS OF THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Extracts from the diary of events for the year 1747, sent by the governor and intendant of New France to the French Minister. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., x, pp. 99-130.]

May 21st. The most of the voyageurs destined for the [Indian] posts are actually arrived at Montreal and ready to start. We have great reluctance to interpose to the Upper country trade any obstacles whereby the Colony would be deprived of a considerable commerce. But this profit does not enter into any comparison with the preservation of the country,

for in saving the Colony we save all; therefore, we shall not hesitate to issue orders at Montreal to employ in M. Rigaud's detachment1 these voyaguers, or at least such of them as have deferred their departure; except, only, we add, the canoes of the West sea,2 of the Ouyatonons and, of the Miamis.

1 Arnaud de Rigaud, brother of the Marquis de Vandreuil, later governor of Canada, was born in 1705. He was a famous partisan leader, and his expeditions both in King George's War (1744–48) and the French and Indian War carried devastations against the English frontier. He was colonel of troops and governor of Montreal at the time of the English conquest. The expedition here referred to made headquarters at Fort St. Frédéric, whence raids were sent out against the outlying settlements of New England and New York. See *Maine Hist. Soc. Colls*., iii, pp. 170, 171, for a typical attack.— Ed.

2 The forts erected by La Vérendrye and his successors were collectively entitled, “Post of the Western Sea” (de la Mer de l'Ouest).— Ed.

May 29th. The merchants of Montreal are very reasonable on the subject of the postponement of the departure of their canoes for the Upper country. None of them expect to get away before we receive some favorable news. The majority of the voyageurs destined for thee canoes are daily employed in the different detachments sent out in pursuit of the Mohawks.

* * * * * * * *

June 21st. By the same courier we receive letters from 457 Captain de la Corne, who was detached by the General to all the Upper Nations; he writes us from Michilimakinac, on the 6 th of May, that all the nations whom he had visited had voluntarily and readily offered to go down to Montreal, and that he had not met any difficulty in his mission, in which he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. He expects to arrive in Montreal on

the 20 th of this month at soonest; he does not tell us the number d Indians, nor the names of the tribes that. are to follow him.

* * * * * * * *

June 26th. We send the necessary orders to Montreal, for the dispatch of the canoes destined for the posts of the Upper Country, which it is impossible to detain any longer in view of the necessity that exists of sending goods to the Indians who are absolutely in need of them. These canoes are to be conveyed by about 100 Frenchmen and Indians, for fear of surprise, principally from the Mohawks. Ensign Dubuisson, who commands this convoy, has orders to escort the canoes as far as Niagara.1 On his arrival there, he will leave half his detachment at that post, to provide the necessary firewood for the garrison, and pursue his voyage with the remainder of his men as far as Detroit, whence he will conduct the canoes destined for the most distant posts and places.

1 Son of Joseph Guyon Dubuisson, for whose services in the Fox wars see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, index. The officer mentioned in the text was second ensign in 1741, ensign in full service 1745, and lieutenant 1750. Probably he was the captain who was wounded at Quebec in 1760. See *Wis. Hist. Colls*., v, p. 118.— Ed.

* * * * * * * *

July 8th. We learn by a letter of the 6 th that M r de Lacerne, the elder, had just arrived with 192 Indians from Michilimakinac, River S t Joseph, and the Baie, about 80 of whom are women and children.

* * * * * * * *

July 16th. These gentlemen write us on the 15 th that they have hoard and answered the Indians whom M r de La Corne 458 had brought down; that they intend to send them off immediately with that officer to join M r de Rigaud, or to make a special attack, should they

not find him. These Indians number about 90, including those who have come down with Mr de la Come and the others who have wintered at Montreal.

* * * * * * * *

July 20th. We are in receipt of letters both from Montreal and Detroit; those from Detroit are very interesting. Chevalier do Longueuil, commanding that post, writes us, on the 23 d June, that some Hurons of Detroit, belonging to the tribe of the war thief Nicolas, who, some years since, had settled at Sandoské, have, killed 5 Frenchmen who were on their return from the post at the White river, and stolen their furs;1 that all the Indians of the neighborhood, except the Illinois, had formed the design to destroy all the French of Detroit on one of the holidays of Pentecost, and afterwards to go to the fort and subject all to fire and sword; that some Hurons, having struck too soon, the plot had been discovered by a Huron squaw who came to give Chevalier de Longueuil notice of it; that this conspiracy is the fruit of the Belts the English have had distributed among all the tribes by the Iroquois of the 5 Nations; that on this notification he caused all the settlers to retire within the fort in order to be prepared for any new treachery. The Outaouas have spoken at Detroit, and have given assurances that they had no participation in this bad business. Other Hurons of Sastaradzy and Taychatin's2 tribe came, also, to speak to M r de Longueuil, and have, in like manner, assured him that they had no share in the misconduct of Nicholas'

1 For a full account of the conspiracy instigated by the Huron chief Nicolas, see *Journal of Captain William Trent* (Cincinnati, 1871), edited by Alfred T. Goodman, pp. 15–22. The conspiracy having collapsed in 1748, Nicolas died at his new village in the Illinois country, in the autumn of that year. The White River is an affluent of the Wabash, where a number of Miami were located.— Ed.

2 Sasteradzy, the principal chief of the Huron Nation; Taychatin, another chief, were not present at the attack.—E. B. O' Callaghan.

459 people, meanwhile, asking pardon, they endeavor to exculpate themselves, and proposed settling near Detroit. M r de Longueuil has given them no positive answer, and has referred them to the General. Nicolas' tribe still continues, nevertheless, to reside at Sandoské1 where, says M r do Longueuil, they doubtless expect not only to maintain themselves but even to harass Detroit by small war parties. They have attached to them several families of vagabond Iroquois, Loups, &c. 'Tis even asserted that there are some Sent Indians among them. Father Potier,2 the Jesuit Missionary, has abandoned the village on Bois Blanc island, and retired to Detroit, where he is to remain. M r de Longueuil adds, that if the Nations do not declare in our favor, even though they remain somewhat inactive, it will be out of his power to get the harvest saved; that already the cattle of several of the farmers have been killed and carried off by the Sauteurs, some houses in the country pillaged by unknown Indians; that the chiefs, 'tis true, disapprove highly of the misconduct of these wretches and endeavor to restrain them, but that affords no assurance of their good intentions.

1 Sandoské is a lake to the south of Lake Erie, 40 or 50 leagues from Detroit.—E. B. O' Callaghan.

2 Pierre Potier was born in Flanders in 1708. Coming to Canada in 1743, he spent a year in studying the Huron language, and was sent to Detroit as assistant to Father de la Richardie, in the Huron mission. Potier remained at Detroit until his death In 1781.— Ed.

Mess rs de Beaucourt and Michel, in sending us the letters Stem Petroit, inform us of the arrival of M r de Belestre,3 who

3 Marie François Picoté, Sieur de Bellestre, was born in 1719, and when about ten years of age accompanied his father to Detroit, where the latter soon died. At the proper age, the younger Bellestre entered the army, being made ensign in 1742 and lieutenant in 1758. He held a number of commands—in Acadia (1745–46), at Fort St. Josephs, and later (1758–60) at Detroit, of which he was the last French commandant, surrendering to the English in 1760. After this capitulation he retired to Canada, became a British partisan, and assisted

in repelling the American invasion (1775–76). He was a member of the first legislative council of the province of Quebec.– Ed.

460 was sent last winter with M r de la Corne; he brought with him 8 or 10 Outaouacs of Detroit, 4 Hurons of the same place, among whom are Sastaredzy and 2 Senecas, and some Hurons of Lorette, who acted this winter as his guides.

Private letters mention the murder of the 5 Frenchmen, with circumstances which show that the Hurons of Sandoské have perpetrated the greatest cruelties on this occasion.

* * * * * * * *

July 22nd. We answer M r de Longueuil, informing him in detail of all the precautions he has to take in his future negotiations with all the Detroit tribes for the restoration of peace, if possible. We have great confidence in the adroitness of this officer to place the nations again in our interests. In regard to the Hurons, the General sends Messages whereby Mr de Longueuil is to demand of them the surrender of the murderers, to be disposed of according to his pleasure; meanwhile they must declare against the English, who instigated them to commit this crime; they must attack them, and furnish proofs of their repentance by a great many prisoners; that, otherwise, their father will become their sworn and irreconcilable enemy. We send orders to Montreal to dispatch immediately the canoes for Detroit and the other Southern posts, with the convoy; this is of great consequence in order to place M r de Longueuil thereby in a position to act. This convoy will take the route by Niagara, where Sieur Dubuisson had orders only to land 20 men of his convoy, to cut wood for the garrison belonging to this fort, and to continue his voyage to Detroit with the remainder of his escort, so thereby, to secure the arrival of the canoes. We leave M r de Longueuil at liberty to retain at his post all the people belonging to this convoy, and even the voyaguers and servants, if there be cause to fear any treachery on the part of the Indians; but he must not take advantage of this permission except in ease of absolute necessity, and then it would not be just to subject the voyageurs and farmers to

the expense of wintering 461 there. Wherefore, we advise this officer, before hand, that we shall defray it.

* * * * * * * *

July 24th. Sieur Belestre arrives from Detroit with 8 Outaouas Chiefs, 4 Hurons (Sastaredzy, the principal Chief, and Tayachatin, another Chief, are among the latter), 2 Senecas and 8 other Indians, some of whom are Hurons, from Lorette, who accompanied him last winter to Detroit. 8 other Outaouas, whom M r de Belestre brought along, have remained at Montreal, and are to join the party commanded by M r de la Corne.

* * * * * * * *

Aug. 9th. The Hurons of Detroit have spoken in Council. They have requested, among other things, that Father Larichardie, their former Missionary, should return with them order to labor effectually in the restoration of tranquility among that nation. We concluded that this could have only a good effect, under existing circumstances, considering the derangement of affairs at Detroit, and the special confidence these Indians repose in this Missionary; we therefore have not hesitated to grant their request. Father Larichardie readily consented to the arrangement; he is to leave in a few days for Montreal and proceed thence to Detroit. The General has just appointed Ensign de Belestre to command at the giver St. Joseph. He will remain at Detroit, under the orders of Chev r de Longueuil, as long as that officer will deem it necessary for the good of the service, who will portrait Sieur de Belestre to go to, and come from, the River St. Joseph whenever he shall think proper. This officer will accompany Father La Richardie. We send word of all this to Montreal in order to the preparation there of the provisions, ammunition and the effects necessary for the voyage and the winter's residence of both. We write to M r de Longueuil, in consequence of these arrangements, so that he may, on his 462 part contribute as much as will depend on him, to the restoration of everything if possible.

* * * * * * * *

Aug. 13th. Captain de Noyelle and Sieur de La Verendrie1 arrive from Michilimakinac, and deliver to the General a letter dated at that post, on the 23 rd July, and addressed to him by Sieur de Noyelle Jun r ,2 commanding in the absence of M r de la Corne, Senior, and by other officers, who arrived from the other Upper posts, and happened to be then at Michilimakinac. The General is informed by this letter of the confusion that prevails among all the Nations of that post and neighborhood, Outaouas, Sauteurs, and Mississagués. The Outaouas of Saguinam, have killed 3 Frenchmen who were coming from Detroit to Michilimakinac. Two French canoes, which had gone *en prime* from Montreal to the West Sea, have been attacked by the Santeurs, about the place called La Clothe,3 near Lake Michigan; one, containing 8 men, has been wholly defeated; the second, by striking out into the Lake and GroWing its cargo overboard, escaped to Michilimakinac. Another Frenchman has been stabbed by the Sauteurs, at a place called La Grosse Ile,4 only 2 leagues distant from the post. These Indians have offered divers insults and threats at the fort, and in the vicinity; they killed all the horses trod other cattle that they could not catch; they designed to surprise the fort, but were discovered, and obliged to leave, by ringing the bell and beating the tap-too, as usual, and oven by making some defensive demonstrations. There had been greater reason for presuming bad intentions on the part of

1 This was La Vérendrye's return from his last voyage of discovery; he died at Quebec in 1749.— Ed.

2 Charles Joseph des Noyelles, son of Nicolas (for whom see *ante*, p. 112, note 1), was born in 1719 and married at Montreal in 1741. He was an ensign in 1749, and a lieutenant in 1756.— Ed.

3 An island in Georgian Bay, north of Manitoulin, still called by the same name.— Ed.

4 An Island immediately north of Mackinaw Island. *Map of St. Mary's Straits, in Charlevoix*. —E. B. O' Callaghan.

463 the Indians, inasmuch as a crowd of young men had armed themselves with knives, in a council which had been held at their request, on the 3 d of July, and which terminated in recrimination. The Indians have not been since permitted to enter the fort, except under certain restrictions. Some Frenchmen from Point Chagouamigon, and M r de Noyelle, Sen r , on his usual return from the West Sea, arrived a few days after. Certain intelligence had also been received there from Detroit. This reinforcement will somwhat tranquilize the fort, which contained, before this arrival, only 28 men. An Outaoua Indian, named Nequiouamin, arrived on the 2 nd of July, at the post, to communicate in secret to the Commandant and the Missionary that the Iroquois, the Huron and the Flathead, had come to an understanding with the English to destroy the French and drive them to the other side of the sea; that the Outaouac of Detroit, is in the plot; that the Poutouatami will coöperate; that the Mississagué and Sauteur are gained over; that the Outaouac of Saguinam, had already struck; that the Outaouac of Michilimakinac, would have taken part against us had it not been for the portion of the village which is in Montreal, and that they would yet possibly declare against us on the arrival of 70 men from Saguinam, who are to be reinforced by the Sauteurs of Grosse Ile; that they were to leave in a few days, and to come in the night to speak to the Outaouas of the post, and that it were well to allow no person to go hunting, and to keep strict, watch. M r de Noyelle, Jun r , adds that he will detain, until further orders, at Michilimakinac, the canoes which were to come from Montreal to the different posts, unless affairs changed, and it became certain that the dispositions of the Indians at those posts were altered. We are coöperating in the adoption of the most effectual measures, either to restore tranquillity at the post of Michilimakinac, or at least to place it in a proper state of defence against all attacks of the Indians.

15th The confusion prevelent at Michilimakinac being only weighed, we have made the best arrangements possible 464 to maintain our possession of that fort. The particulars are as follows:

1. M r de Verchàres, who is appointed commander at the Bay, and who has accompanied the convoy from Montreal to Michilimakinac, where he is to await the decision of the General, and to command until further orders, is merely to send word to those of the Bay that matters have not permitted his visiting them; that their brethren stop the road on him; that the canoes which were carrying goods to them, are arrived at Michilimakinac, where they will find their supplies; that the accidents which have just happened, have thus prevented their father sending them goods, and he enjoins them absolutely not to allow any person to go to any other post than that of said Bay, until affairs be settled. 2 d After the departure of the canoes which are to bring down the peltries to Montreal, 100 @ 150 men are to remain as a guard at the post. It is presumed that they will be provided with food until next spring. Should that not be the case, and the Indians refuse to sell any, he has orders to have recourse to every expedient, even to force of arms, to procure a supply. But doubting, as we do, the possibility of collecting provisions necessary for the wintering of the people of the place, and of the 100 men of the garrison, whom he is to retain, we issue orders to Montreal for the dispatch of 10 good bark canoes, loaded with flour, India corn, peas, fat, suet, pork and salt beef, to the extent of 30 thousand weight. These 10 canoes will leave Montreal as soon as possible. The General intends that Lieutenant Saint Pierre1 shall serve as M r de Vercheres deputy, and the

1 In a memoir of 1749, published in the *Mac. Coll. Contr*., iv, pp. 136–140, St. Pierre details his services on this occasion as follows:

“In the month of August of same year, 1747, the Marquis de Beauharnois detailed him (St. Pierre), with twelve well armed canoes, which came equally from Detroit and Montreal, for the post at Michilimackinac; on his arriving at the post he made known to the savages the object of his mission, and at a council held with them he announced to them, by virtue

of the orders he was furnished with, that he came not only to establish the peace which they had so unworthily broken with the French, but to summon them to deliver up to his disposal the murderers of the French, and if they did not bring them to him immediately, he would go and look for them himself. The day after this council several chiefs who were there came to the fort and said to him: ‘My Father, we will bring you the murderers of the French, which you asked of us yesterday, and we leave you master, to dispose of them as you wish. Nevertheless, if we have a favor to ask of you, It is to spare their lives.’ Little affected by these words, I told them I could not be master of their fate, of which their father Onothis was sole depository, and that I could not do away with their being bound like criminals as they were, and that they should have them ready to be taken to the general, under orders from M. le Chevalier de pentigny, these murderers, which was done.”— Ed.

465 former is to remain in command at Michilimakinac, in the latter visit the Bay. We add to M r de Vercheres' instructions, that the voyageurs who will be detained at Michilmakinac, are to trade concurrently at the post, and should they make any representations, we shall pay attention to whatever is just.

We send Sieur de la Verendrie, Jun r ,1 back to Michilimakinac with our despatches to M r de Verchères, in order that this commandant may be early advised of the arrangements we are adopting for the relief of that post.

* * * * * * * *

Aug. 25th We are in receipt of letters from Mess rs de Beaucourt and Michel, in answer to ours of the 15 th ; he informs us that they aye about to dispatch, with all diligence, the convoy of the 100 [10] canoes of provisions destined for Michilimakinac, under the command of M r de S t Pierre.

28th The General writes to M. de Verchères; he makes no change in the arrangements for Michilimakinac; he adds only, that should the Indians of the Bay appear to him favorably

disposed towards us, of which he will be informed, he leaves him at liberty to send M r de Saint Pierre to that post, to sound

1 Pierre Gaultier Varennes, eldest son of Sieur de la Vérendrye. He had accompanied and aided his father in the latter's discoveries, was made ensign in 1744, lieutenant in 1756, and drowned on his way to France in 1761. For his own report of his services see Margry, *Dècouv. et Établ*., vi, pp. 626–632.— Ed.

466 them, and carry them some presents, should he be of opinion that that officer might undertake the journey without danger, and that it is necessary to secure the fidelity of these Indians.

* * * * * * * *

Aug. 28th. The Poutouatamies demand leave to return home, for the purpose of putting an end to, and counteracting, the misrepresentations that may be circulated among their people and allies. They regard the attacks of the Outaouas and Sauteurs ms if made against them, calling themselves good Frenchmen and asking for a commander.

* * * * * * * *

Sept. 1st. Arrived, Pindalouan, an Outaouas chief1 and nine others, and a Sauteur of Michilimakinac, who are come to see the General.

1 In a fit of pique and bad humor, Pendalouan had formerly insulted the French emblems. For his repentance and re-instatement in favor, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, p. 1098. He appears to have thereafter remained loyal to the French.— Ed.

Sept. 6th. M r Michel writes us of the death of Taychatin, second chief of the Hurons of Petroit, who had come down from Detroit with M r de Belestre. We fear that the death this Indian and that of Sastaredzy, grand chief of that Nation, will create some unfavorable

impression on the minds of the Hurons of Detroit in the present conjuncture of affairs at that post.

Pindalouan and the other Outaouas of Michilimakinac have earnestly demanded permission to retrain home; we did not consider it our duty to induce them to remain, considering the lateness of the season. We have not failed to communicate to them the bad state of affairs at Michilimakinac. They appeared greatly surprised, and gave us to understand that their principal motive in returning home, was to endeavor to put everything again in order. We have treated them well.

* * * * * * * *

Sept. 12th. We learn from Montreal that Father La Richardie and Mr de Belestre left that place on the 10 th for Detroit, 467 in company with the Hurons and Outaouas. M r Michel states that all the Upper Country Indians had left, after having emptied the King's stores at Montreal.

* * * * * * * *

Sept. 15th. We receive letters from Montreal, dated the 12 th , informing us fleet the fleet from Michilimakinac, consisting of 30 canoes loaded with peltries, was on the point of arriving at Montreal. The Marquis de Beauharnois has received letters from Sieur Dénoyelle, Jun r , commanding at that post, where a little more quiet prevails.

Oct. 3rd. We learn the arrival of M r de Verchères at Michilimakinac. This officer informs the General fiat he had met, on the way, 5 of the Indian canoes that had attacked the French, and that he had pursued them. The Indians landed and fled into the woods; our Frenchmen caught one of them, whom they tied, and have broken 5 canoes. Some property belonging to Frenchmen, and a scalp, were found in the prisoner's sack; he was asked how he got them; answered, that those at the head of the Bay had made him a present of them. Finally, to other interrogatories, he persisted in saying that he was not

guilty. 2 Outaouas' canoes that were in last summer's campaign, arriving next day from Montreal, claimed the prisoner, assuring M r de Verchères that he belonged to the family of Koquois, a chief who is attached to the French and known to M r de Verchères, who released the prisoner, making the most to them of the favor he did them.

Oct. 9th. We are in receipt of letters from Forts Frontenac and Niagara, from Detroit, from Sieur de Joncaire and Fort de Chartres, whereby we are informed that all the Nations in general continue to be very ill disposed towards the French. Chevalier de Longueuil writes, the 14 th of July, that those of the Lake, Santeurs and Outaouas, are on the eve of attacking Detroit; that a new attempt was to be made about the time of the full moon; that he has lost almost all the cattle; and fears that they will perish, being all at the discretion of the enemy, and that it will be impossible to save the harvest unless aid arrive; 30 468 that he is waiting impatiently for the arrival of the fleet, which he thinks to retain for the security of Detroit; that he has learned nothing certain from Sandoské; he has been told that Nicolas was abandoned, but does not believe it. On the contrary, he knows that he is in correspondence with the people of Saguinau and the Sauteurs to come and surprise Detroit; that, should that happen, Miquinac, an Outaouas chief, will declare against us; he receives daily accounts of the ill dispositions of the Pouteouatamis who will side with the strongest, according to all appearances. The tribe of Quinousaki, an Outaouas, is the only one that remains faithful. Tahaké, a Huron, who was supposed to have died among the English, has returned; he has treated the Nations of Detroit, which has had a very bad effect. The Outaouas and Pouteouatamis, who had promised to go and burn the village on Bois blanc island, are no longer willing to execute that project; they excuse themselves on divers pretexts. It is evident they avoid occasions of giving mutual offence, but he will eventually prevent the enemy sizing that post, which they covet in order to block up the passages on us.

M r Duplessis, commandant at Niagara, writes the 8 th of September, that Sieur Dubuisson has arrived with the convoy which left Montreal for Detroit; the portage was passed very promptly and quietly, except the last, night, when some drunken fellows

of the guard had gravely ill-treated the Grand Chief of the Senecas, who is very much dissatisfied in consequence; but he has sent Sieur Chabert to the village of the Little Rapid, with something to restore the temper of that Chief; that an Algonkin told Sieur Duplessis that M r de Longueuil had had a reinforcement of 100 Frenchmen, who must be the traders from the Illinois and other posts. A letter from M. de Longueuil states that he is engaged in the harvest, and that the Indians seem apparently greatly disposed in our favor, but he does not trust them. We expect that the arrival of the convoy will restore tranquility, in one way or the other, to this post.

* * * * * * * *

Oct. 14th. We receive letters from Michilimakinac informing us of the arrival of Chevalier de La Verendrye, who has 469 found that post very quiet; the Outaouas are beginning to be sorry for what occurred last year [summer].

Sieur Denoyelle, the commandant, sends the General the list of those who murdered the Frenchmen, at the entrance to Lake Huron. Two Sauteux Indians, in order to show that they were not guilty, have brought to Sieur Denoyelle their share in the division the murderers made; but, 'tis true, that on perceiving their people pursuing and firing on a canoe, they went in with them and did as the rest.

States that Philippes Le Due,1 who arrived at Michilimakinac on the 23 rd of August last, had been robbed by the Indians Camanistigoya, who took from him, fourteen packages and 5 fusils; they were collected to the number of 100 and over, at the low lands (aux pays plats)2 on Lake Superior, waiting for the French.

Sieur Denoyelle was advised, on the 24 th , that the Sauteux had accepted the hatchet from the English, and were to prepare ambuscades in Lake Superior to prevent any Frenchman leaving the next spring. Nevertheless, all the canoes have left for the different

posts at the north as usual, keeping one another company until they are past the most dangerous places; they are to rendezvous in the spring to return in the same order.

1 There were two Canadians of this name, uncle and nephew. former, born in 1671, was married at Montreal in 1699, and died at the same place in 1755; the latter, born in 1694, was married at Montreal in 1750.— Ed.

2 Pays Plat was a well-known trading-station on the north shore Lake Superior, a short distance east of Nipigon River. See “Long's Voyages,” in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, p. 81.— Ed.

470

1747: TRADE AT THE WESTERN POSTS DISARRANGED

[Letter of La Galissonière and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Oct. 7, 1747. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 87, c. 11, fol. 122.”]

Quebec , October 7, 1747.

Monseigneur —

Monsieur The Count de la galissonniere1 will take particular care to recommend the Commanding officers of posts to protect the Farmers in their trade. We are not aware of the consequences of the murders And Disturbances that have occurred in the Upper Countries, And especially at Detroit And Michilimakinac, the two most important posts after Niagara. We have related All these Events in our journal, And the orders given, by Monsieur de Beauharnois to restore quiet if possible. Monsieur de la Galissonniere will not lose sight of That object, but the season Is too far advanced to allow of new measures being taken. He will wait until he is informed of the Effect produced by the former ones. If we learn anything before the departure of the last ships, as we Hope we may, we shall

have the honor to report the Same to you. Meanwhile we must notify you that far from The Posts yielding any Revenues, they have been the cause of considerable expenditure, owing as much to the Consignments that had to be Sent to Michilimakinac And to Detroit for the Kin's account, as to the convoys of the trading canoes; that 9 Canoes only have left for Detroit and Messieurs de Beauharnois And Hocquart could Induce them to go up only

1 Michel Rolland Barin, comic de la Galissonière, was in 1747 appointed governor of New France to succeed Beauharnois, arriving in the colony Sept. 19. Born at Rochefort in 1693, at the age of seventeen he entered the navy, where he served with distinction until appointed governor-general. His term of service was brief, being recalled in September, 1749. He was a good administrator, and while deformed in body, much respected both by the Indians and habitants. He was noted for his scientific attainments, and after his recall was appointed head of the department of nautical charts. He died at Nemours, Oct. 26, 1756.— Ed.

471 By granting them licenses free of charge. 10 Canoes have gone to Michilimakinac 9 of which paid Monsieur de Beauharnois 400 livres each, on condition that they would each carry 800 pounds weight for The King; the 10th paid 700 livres but carried nothing.

4 Canoes to the Miamis.

4 to Chogouamigon.

2 left for fort Dauphin, on the Western sea.1

6 for La Baye.

2 for Mishipicoton.

4 for the Ouiatanons.

2 for Nepigon.

4 for The Rive St. Joseph.

1 for The pest of Vincennes.

2 for Camanistigoya.

The farmers of all these posts have made representations order to Be relieved from the payment of the amounts due their leases, alleging that they have incurred heavy losses. This will Cause difficulties which we foresee we cannot settle before the departure of the ships, but, until things change, it cannot be expected that The posts will yield any Count de la galissoniere Is even very uncertain whether he will be able to have the commanding officers paid the gratuities allowed them. He will to you the arrangement he may have made or been, able to make in this matter with Monsieur de Beauharnois.

Of all the Canoes that started This year for the Upper Countries tries And of those that left last year to return this year, 33 only Rave arrived that came from Michilimakinac, under the Command of the Sieur Duplessis, Ensign.2 We are expecting

1 This post was built by the Vérendryes in 1741. There has been some doubt as to its exact situation, but it was on or near the western shore of Lake Manitoba.— Ed.

2 Probably François Antoine Lefebre, Sieur Duplessis, born in 1703; he was appointed ensign in 1741, and lieutenant in 1750. He was younger brother of the Duplessis who commanded at La Baye in 1726; see *ante*, p. 17, note 1.— Ed.

472 the others which will arrive late if they come at all. The same Applies to those from Detroit. In any case, the returns In furs cannot fail to Be very small And we do not Think that more than from 100 to 120 thousands of Beaver skins have been received in the Offices of the Company of the Indies. You may judge by all this, Monseigneur, of the extent to which this portion of the Trade of the Colony Suffers, And of the difficulty of restoring it. We presume you will leave us at liberty to take the measures we may deem

most suitable to attain this end, And we will Work in concert, but we will for the present abstain from submitting premature suggestions to you.

Forts Niagara And Frontenac are fully supplied; the last Consignment Was sent at the end of last month In 24 Canoes. We Expect that they will bring down the remainder of the furs obtained by trade at the 2 posts And which should Be at fort Frontenac. A portion only Has arrived so Far.

The Company of the Indies Sent last, year 450 pieces of Scarlet cloth which Were distributed amongst the voyageurs, in proportion to the Outfits, after deducting what Was taken for the service. This quantity was far from sufficient. You know that it is absolutely impossible to do without these Stuffs. It Is imperatively necessary that The Company take the most suitable measures (however expensive They may Be) to have a god supply Sent out next year. The Trade of the Upper Countries And the Beaver trade in particular cannot be kept up otherwise.

* * * * * * * *

We remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble And Very obedient servants,

La Galissoniere

Hocquart

473

1747: SALARY OF COMMANDANTS OF WESTERN POSTS

[Letter of La Galissonière to the French Minister, dated Oct. 11, 1747. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 37, fol. 233.]

Quebec , October 11, 1747.

Monseigneur —it will be very difficult for me this year to enter into details regarding what are called the posts of the upper countries, and into a comparison between the old system and the priest Establishment; but Monsieur The Marquis de Beauharnois will be able to give you full information on the subject.

I will merely say that it would seem to me just that the officers commanding these posts be paid regularly the gratuities that have been granted them, and fiat such payment should be made even if no revenue be derived from the post. As they have no share in the incidental profits it seems that they should not have to bear the losses. They have all the more reason to hope for this favor from the King because their expenses have increased owing to the difficulty of procuring provisions, and to the other effects of the war.

* * * * * * * *

I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient, servant,

La Galissoniere

1747: COUREURS DES BOIS INJURE TRADE

[Letter of La Galissonière to the French Minister, dated Oct. 24, 1747. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 254.]

[Quebec , October 21, 1747.]

Monseigneur —in the Letters you did me the honor of Writing to me you spoke to me about the injury Done to Trade to the Nation by some Coureurs des Bois. This divider has been carried further this year than it has Hitherto Been to the Disturbances that have Arisen in the Posts chiefly connection with the suppression or delay of Consignments of goods. I know of one remedy only and that is to Ship some of those 474 offenders to

Martinique or San Domingo, and forbid them to return here or to Louisiana. They might be Employed to advantage on the Privateers, as the majority are Resolute men. I Hope that some Examples of this Kind will have a good Effect and that you will give me your approval if I am obliged to make an example of some of them before I receive your orders.

I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

La Galissoniere

1747: MEMOIR ON ENGLISH ENCROACHMENTS

[Memoir of Raymond to the French Minister, dated Nov. 2, 1747. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 89, fol. 225.]

Monseigneur —Your Grace has Been informed that the hurons of detroit and the Yrocois at the Outlet of la Rivière Blanche have killed some Frenchmen at Sandoské; that those same Savages and other nations had Planned Together to carry off father poitiers, the missionary of the hurons, and Monsieur the Chevalier de Longoeuil, the Commandant of detroit; to Make themselves masters of that fort and to slaughter the inhabitants: the plot of Those Savages was discovered and this fortunately caused its failure.

This leads me to take the liberty of Begging You, Monseigneur, to observe that I had predicted to you the Revolt and unfaithfulness of the Savages of the Country around detroit. As Your Grace must have Remarked in the memorial I Had the honor of Sending You from Niagara on this Subject In 1745, in which I took the liberty of Pointing out to you all the evil there was to Fear for the upper countries from the English Traders who were allowed to Establish themselves at la Rivière Blanche in the Vicinity of detroit and of the other posts; that the English would infallibly corrupt and Win over the Savage nations that live with Them on That River. And This has not 475 failed to happen As I had predicted to you. They have succeeded so well in making them their devoted Creatures that it is

these same Savages who at their instigation have killed the French at Sandoské; who Wished to Surprise detroit to put those same English there; who, As there is every reason to Believe, have borne their presents, their Collars, and their speeches to all the Savage nations of the Regions of the upper country, and who have Succeeded so well in their negotiations And in making them side with the English, that the Outaouas and Sauteux of Michillimaquinac Wished to Surprise that fort and Massacred several Frenchmen In varies Places.

I Beg You to observe, Monseigneur, that the cause of all the ills and agitation of the upper country is due to the English who have been left in peace at la Rivière Blanche; and that all that evil was fomented there.1 In my memorial I took the liberty of suggesting to Your Grace Effective means for driving them Away from, there without occasioning any expenditure to the King either in troops or in money. I should have been pleased to have succeeded. At present the trouble Has become too great, the evil too Wide-spread, and The Savages have declared too openly In favor of the English to allow of its being undertaken.

I have obtained the Knowledge of all this only through Having Charge of the various Savage nations while I was mandant at Niagara, where I applied myself Solely to Finding out their policy, their various interests, and in discovering their intrigues, and This had led me to foresee that they would be Corrupted And Won over by the English who Trade at la Rivière Blanche, who have no other Object than 'to Make Themselves

1 The Miami had for many years intrigued with English traders, and permitted them the freedom of their towns; in 1725 English from Carolina had built two houses and some stores “on a little river [White] which flows into the Wabash.”— *N. Y. Colon. Docs*., ix, p. 952. The French called various rivers *Rivière Blanche*; this is the one passed by Céloron, a tributary of the Ohio above the Great Miami—probably the Little Miami, although Dunn, *Indiana* (Boston, 1888), p. 65, note 1, identifies it as White Oak Creek, in Brown County, Ohio.— Ed.

476 selves masters of all the upper country through the Sole medium of the Savages whose minds they have won by their address hope the evil will not become greater, but I should not Be Surprised if it did.

The only way to remedy it and to secure the fidelity of all the Savages, the peaceful and Complete possession of all the upper country, and the Entire Trade with all the Savages that dwell there, Is, therefore: to deprive them of all Communication with the English. To succeed in this, and to Establish a lasting peace in the whole of the upper country, let Your Grace make England Agree in the next, treaty of peace with This Crown, that the English shall abandon and Give up to the King for ever the Complete possession of the fort of Chouégen; that they Renounce having any relation with the Five yrocoisses nations, who shall Remain subjects of His majesty; that they shall carry on no Trade either directly or indirectly throughout the territory Around lakes hontariô, lake herrier, lake huron, Rivière Blanche and Belle Rivière; that all the English Trading at the said Rivière Blanche and Belle Rivière and in all their dependencies and other surrounding territories, shall Withdraw to their own country for ever Without ever being allowed to Return and carry on any Trade, or even Under any pretext whatsoever.

By this means all the posts and upper countries will Be at peace and In Safety, the Trade will become double what the French have hitherto done, and will never again pass into the hands of the English.

With Regard to l'isle Royalle, the lands of la Cadie, and other places, I would not take the liberty of saying Anything. You Know better than anybody, Monseigneur, what Should be done for the Safety and advantage of the country. I most humbly Beg Your Grace to pardon me if I venture to make a few remarks Regarding the upper countries of This Colony; but I Beg you At the same time to Observe fiat my zeal and my devotion to the King's Service have alone led me to take that liberty, with The Sole desire to pay my respects to you, to deserve The honor of your protection, and to assure you that I remain,

with 477 very profound Respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble And very obedient Servant,

De Raymond 1

Quebec , November 2, 1747.

1747: POST AT CHIQUAMEGON

[Letter of La Galissonière and Hocquart to the French Minister, dated Nov. 7, 1747. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 77, fol. 171.]

Quebec , November 7, 1747.

monseigneur —madame Laronde,2 to whom you Were good enough In 1745 to grant The Post of la Pointe de Chagouamigon for 3 years More Out of Consideration for her family, for her husband's services, And for the expense he had incurred in connection with The Working of the Copper Mines, And on condition of the payment of 3,000 livres per annum, is going to France to ask you to let her Continue to have That post. Before Embarking she has begged us to Set forth to you the same reasons And to add Those that might Induce you to grant her that favor. According to what we have learned from Her, it appears certain that that post has yielded but little profit in previous years, and none at all in 1746. It Is to be presumed that it will not have Been Exploited this year owing to the troubles that have arisen in That Quarter; This will Cause her damage that would render unavailing the favor you have granted her.

1 A valuable officer in the colonial wars, relative of Count de Raymond, commanding at Louisburg, 1758. He had been commandant at Niagara, and was sent to Miami in 1749. Captain Raymond commanded the colonial troops both in Dieskau's expedition of 1755, and in that of Montcalm against Abercrombie in 1758. In the latter campaign his conduct was highly commended by his superior officer.— Ed.

2 Louise Chartier, widow of La Ronde, was born in 1690, daughter of Chattier de Lotbinière, a counsellor of the king, and lieutenant-general of the colony. She was married in 1709, and died at the General Hospital, Montreal, 1761.— Ed.

478 Therefore, Monseigneur, we ask you for a further extension that Post for 3 years More In favor of this widow. Perhaps, indeed, there will be no occasion for the favor if quiet be not restored in that Country, or if, in consequence of the Enquiry we shall make as to the manner in which it would be advisable to Exploit the Posts in The future, it should vantage of the King's service And of the Trade to do away some of the posts, And thereby compel the savages to come and trade at thee that would be well Established And so situated that the French would be Safe from any attack

We remain, with very profound respect, very humble And very obedient servants,

La Galissoniere

Hocquart

1747: REVOLT IN THE WEST SPREADS

[Extracts from the diary of events for the year 1747 sent by the governor and intendant of New France to the French Minister. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., x, pp. 137–145.]

Nov. 10th. We are in receipt of letters from Michilimakinac. Lieutenant St. Pierre, who had been selected to command the convoy sent to that post arrived there without any accident in 45 days. Captain de Verchères, appointed commandant at the Bay, and who was to remain at Michilimakinac with his traders from Montreal, had taken his departure thence for his post with the voyageurs. M r de St. Pierre writs us, on the 22 d of October, that he has not been able to speak to the Indians, who were, when he arrived, all gone to their winter quarters without having given any token of repentance for the outrage they had perpetrated. It is, hence, to be presumed that they persist in their evil dispositions; that the

Marquis de Beauharnois' orders, sent with Sieur de Laverendrie in the month of August, have been badly executed; that 'twas the only means of reducing those Nations; that he does not anticipate success 479 otherwise than by depriving them of the supplies they derive for the support of their families, and which they cannot dispense with this might have been effected were the traders prevented going to the different posts, according to the Marquis de Beauharnois' intentions; and this officer takes this occasion of saying, that it would be well not to allow the canoes to leave Montreal next Spring for Michilimakinac and other posts, until he have informed us of the sentiments in which the Nations of that country will then be, and as soon as he shall have learned their intentions he will take occasion to report them to us.

M r de St. Pierre adds, that he has recalled a Pouteouatamie chief, who was going to Montreal with the French who were taking down their peltries; it is the only Nation to be relied on. He has spoken to this chief by two Belts; the first, to congratulate him on the good conduct observed up to the present time by the people of his tribe, hinting to him that they ought not to listen to evil talks; that they ought to harken only to their father's words, which alone they ought to rely on. The second, to engage them not to leave their village. as he been informed that M. de Bertet, the commandant at the Illinois,1 was using every appliance at his disposal to attract them, which would be very prejudicial to the public service, because, being sure of the fidelity of that Nation, it will always be a barrier in the way of the others, and the means to keep them in check.

Sends back Sieur Lavérendie, Jun r , to Montreal in command of the convoy he brought to Michilimakinac.

* * * * * * * *

Nov. 14th We are in receipt of letters from Chevalier de Longueuil, commandant of Detroit, dated 24 th and 25 th of August last, whereof this is an extract:

The Hurons of Sandosket, and of Nicolas' band, continue insolent; this chief is unceasing in his efforts to gain allies.

Divers Huron war parties that had been against the Chicachas,

1 This should be Bertel (Berthel), who was governor of the Illinois country 1743 to 1748 or 1749.— Ed.

480 Cohas,1 &c., have returned, and been to see Mr de Longueuil like people who have no share in Nicolas' affairs; but the ambiguities of their talk afford nothing to be relied on.

The same Nicolas sent back the people of the White flyer who were on their way to Detroit, on account of the death of the 5 Frenchmen killed by the Hurons. He likewise persuaded 27 Chaouenons to turn back who were coming to answer M r de Longueuil's message, and as the sole result of the expenses incurred for that nation (of the village of Sonnioto),2 he saw one Chaouenon arrive on the 23 d of August, in company with 3 Iroquois, who, on landing, went to the little Huron village adjoining the fort; being desirous, no doubt, to consult with the Huron and arrange the speech they were to deliver. These deputies had not been to visit M r de Longueuil until the next day, the 24 th , giving as an excuse that they did not land at the fort, they had not yet spoken on the 25 th , the date of this officer's last letter; and were not to do so until the 27 th . Some trusty Indians have assured him that any secrets they would communicate to him, would certainly be discovered by these deputies. Kinousaki, an Outaouas chief, who is attached to us, has said that no matter holy things would turn, the Chaouenons will never consent to leave the village of Sonnioto, which circumstance would be favorable to us.

M r de Longueuil had just learned underhand, through some Indians who were acquainted with the 4 deputies, that some Englishmen had come to Sandosket with ammunition to Nicolas and his men. The Hurons of the village on Bets blanc island, who are near the fort, have seen these two Englishmen and have not spoken of them, which proves clearly their understanding with those of Sandosket, and that they requested leave to remain near the

fort only for the purpose of watching our movements more closely, so as to inform Nicolas thereof, and to advise him of the preparations that may be making

1 Probably a Sprint for Cherokee.— Ed.

2 The village at the mouth of Scioto River. This was swept away by a flood a few years later. See “Croghan's Journals,” in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, i, p. 133.— Ed.

481 against him. These same Hurons persist, however, in wishing to return to Bois blanc island, because it is their interest occupy that post which is the key of Detroit, whilst Nicolas on his side will draw the English to him, and afford them facilities for establishments all along Lake Erie as far as the Miamis [Maumce] river. M r de Longueuil is not in a condition to oppose all these enterprises; he is a witness of their project every day, without having the power to make the first step to counteract them; which excites wonder among the other nations, and leads them to entertain unfavorable opinions in regard to us.

The Outaoua appears altogether insensible to the misfortunes that threaten the fort, and does not care about helping us.

The Ponteouatamis are, as M r de Longueuil believes, the best disposed; he has no fault to find with them; they are, consequently, the only persons he can confide in.

A party of the Miamis have come to dance the Calumet at the fort: another section have been to visit Nicolas at Sandusket; the ceremony attendant on the former has been very expensive; their reception, the good cheer for the space days, and the presents which have been made to them with a view beth to destroy unfavorable impressions among them, and to protect the lives of the French who are in their village, have cost a great deal.

Such was the state of affairs at Detroit on the 25th of August. We are in. hopes that the arrival of the convoy and of Father Larichardie will contribute to the peace of that post, or, at least, that the reinforcements we have sent thither will enable M. de Longueuil to resist

the attacks of our enemies, if he can do nothing against them, after having exhausted all available means, regard being had to existing circumstances.

Miamis

Ensign Douville,1 who had been sent last spring to invite the Miamis to come down to Montreal, writes to the Marquis

1 Probably the same officer who was killed in an attack on a Virginia fort in 1757; and possibly the one who was with Villiers in Wisconsin in 1733. See *ante*, p. 188.— Ed.

482 de la Galissonnière from Detroit 25 th of August, that stone delay he had arrived at that post with Coldfoot,1 the chief of the Miamis, the Pore-Epic [hedge hog] and their young men whom he was bringing down to Montreal; he had learnt, by a letter from the Commandant of Niagara, that there was a party of Mohawks at the portage of that fort; moreover, that Chevalier de Longueuil had just learned the derangement of the affairs of Michilimakinac, which has obliged Sieur Douville to send back these Indians who have given him all their messages, as did also the ether nations when he was with them, and all have authorised him to inform their father of their sentiments towards the French. These nations are absolutely in want of powder.

Sieur Douville states that he has had news from the Miamis, that everything was quiet since his departure on the 3 d of July.

He has had assurances fiat the Senecas had given an English Belt to La Demoiselle, chief of a portion of the Miamis,2 allies of the English, to procure his, Sieur Douville's assassination, with a reward to whomsoever should carry his head to the English Governor. The same course has been pursued towards M r de Longueuil.

1 Coldfeet (Frotripled) was a faithful friend of the French; the Miami attack upon the whites occurred in his absence. He endeavored to neutralize the influence of La Demoiselle and

his English intrigues (see *post*), and retained a large number of his tribe at the French post on the Maumee, where Cèloron met him in 1749. He died of the smallpox in 1752.— Ed.

2 La Demoiselle, called Old Briton by the English, led a band of Miami from the Maumee River and settled (about 1748) on the Great Miami, at the mouth of Loramie Creek, near the present Piqua, Ohio. There he was visited by Cèloron and urged to return to his former station. At this village the Indians permitted the English to erect a trading house in 1750, which was known as Pickawillany and was visited by Croghan and Gist as official representatives of Pennsylvania. In 1752 the French Indians, led by Langlade of Wisconsin, attacked this town, captured several traders, and killed and ate the body of the chief La Demoiselle. See *Journals or William Trent*, pp. 84–88. Also a somewhat imaginative picture in a recent life of Langlade, *Bravest of the Brave*, by P. V. Lawson, of Menasha, Wis.— Ed.

483

Ouyatanons

Ensign Chevalier de La Peyrade, commandant at the past the Ouyatanons, writes from Detroit, on the 24 th of August, that he was on his way down to Montreal with the Nations from the Oubache, when he learned, in the Miamis river, the treachery of the Hurons; that this intelligence, conjoined to other circumstances, obliged those Nations to return to their village, where they were pretty quiet when he left them to come to Detroit, where he is waiting for news from Niagara to return to the Ouyatanons to continue his services there.

We are in receipt, also, of news from the River St. Joseph. Sieur Laperrière Marin, commanding at that post, writes us on the 5 th and 30 th of July last. It appears that the English are endeavoring to debauch the Nations belonging to that post, as well as all the others, by the: unfavorable impressions they are trying to insinuate among them by means of the 5 Nations, who continue to embroil all the affairs, and employ every pretext to bring about the destruction of the French of that post, The Pouteouatamies appear always in our

interests; they have made many protestations to Sieur La Perriere of the attachment they have long felt, and will continue to entertain, for their father, the French.

Fifty Ouyatanons came to said post on the River St. Joseph, to express the pain they felt at the treachery of the Hurons at Detroit; that they are ready to attack those who had killed the French; that their father had only to speak.

The commandants at Niagara and Fort. Frontenac write us, also, on the 10 th of October. Everything was quiet there.

* * * * * * * *

Nov. 23rd. We are in receipt of news from D'etroit and the Illinois. The former are very interesting. Chevalier de Longueuil, the commandant, writes us, on, the 22 d of October last, and gives us a account of what occurred at his post since the 25 th of August, the date of his last despatch. The following is the substance of his communication: 31

484

Blow struck at Michilimakinac .1 The 4 Chaouennon deputies who arrived on the 230 of August, spoke on the 26 th ; he does not place much reliance on what they said; he had, notwithstanding, treated them well. These Indians have remained long enough at Detroit to discover the thoughts of the other Nations, and the difficulty under which the post labored; they have also been, witnesses of a new attack which the Sauteurs of the River Aux Sables, who murdered the Frenchmen at Chibaoennui,2 have just made at Detroit within 3–4ths of a leaguae of the fort, where they killed, on the 31 st of August, a settler named Martineau3 who had imprudently gone too far into the woods. These murderers, 4 in number, scalped him, and it is asserted, sent, on the part of Mamohëkisigo, the scalp to the Iroquois with two pieces of cloth from the pillage of Chabaoënani.

1 The context shows that this should be Detroit.— Ed.

2 The island of La Cloche; see *ante*, p. 462, note 3, and *N.Y. Colon. Docs*., x, p.183.— Ed.

3 Pierre Martineau, born in Montreal, son of Jean Philippe, *dit* St. Onge.— Ed.

The Montreal convoy arrived safe at Detroit on the 22 d of September, escorted by about 150 men, including the merchants and their servants. This relief is the salvation of Detroit, and has apparently made an impression on the Nations.

The Miamis, and perhaps also the Ouyatanons, are in disorder. The former allowed themselves to be gained over by the Belts of Nicholas, who represented to them that Detroit had been razed by the Lake tribes; that consequently they could no longer defer killing the French who were among them The Miamis have listened to this message. They, first, seized eight Frenchmen who were in the fort of that post, whom, however, they did not injure; they afterwards seized the property and burnt a Portion of the buildings. Two of the 8 Frenchmen whom the Miamis had allowed to leave uninjured, arrived at Detroit on the 7 th of October.

On the arrival of the convoy, M r de Longueuil being ignorant of what was going on at the Miamis, and wishing to be informed 485 thereof, before allowing the lessees (of the Posts) to go there, sent 4 French deputies thither with messages to the Miamis, to induce them to come to Detroit. The deputies arrived at the Miamis after the blow had been struck; nevertheless, they prevailed on a good many of the Indians of that, Nation to come to Detroit, to be disabused by their own eyes of Nicolas' impositions. But discouraged on seeing themselves notified by the arrival of a second Belt from Nicolas, in confirmation of the fist, they went back to their village, and have merely sent to Detroit two deputies, whom. M r de Longaeuil has immediately sent home with messages to disabuse that Nation of the evil speeches o.f Nicolas. Jaret, a Miamis chief, of the village of Tepicourt,1 was at Detroit during all this disorder. M r de Longueuil has thought proper to send him, without delay to try and restore good order, and mare particularly to save the six Frenchmen who are detained prisoners.

1 A Miami tribe, also called Topicon, possibly upon the Tippecanoe River. See Dunn, *Indiana*, p. 67, note 1.— Ed.

The Outaouas and Pouteoutamies came to Detroit, previous to the arrival of the convoy, to renew the treaty of alliance. M r de Longueuil places no dependence on the circumstance; their past conduct gives him every reason to doubt their sincerity. A few days afterwards this officer called together these same Outaouas and Pouteoutamies, and the others who were desirous to visit him. He communicated to them our despatch of the 22d of July, relative to the murder of the 5 Frenchmen by the Hurons, explaining to them their father's intentions in regard to this murder, and the condition on which he would pardon the Hurons therefor. The meeting applauded, and two Huron Chiefs, of the number of the seemingly faithful, in company with some others of that nation, have been to carry this message to Nicolas at Sandosket. The commission being executed, these deputies have reported for answer that Nicolas did accept, but was desirous of waiting the return of Sastaredzy,2 on whose arrival he, Nicolas, would repair to

2 Note on original MS.: “This Huron Chief, much respected by his Nation, had died at Quebec on the 4th of August.”

486 Detroit to conclude (peace); but whilst this Traitor was giving this answer, he had messengers out a second time to tell the Miamis that Detroit was razed, &c, which caused those of the Miamis to turn back who were coming to Detroit, as already mentioned.

The Sauteurs above Detroit came to demand an asylum. M. de Longueuil received them, notwithstanding the causes of discontent afforded by their past conduct, which he promised to forget if they would be wise.

Thirty families from Saguinan, whom Mikinac, an Outaouas chief, had invited, came also for the same purpose, and gave some strings of Wampum as assurances of their future fidelity. There are a great many peltries at Detroit, which cannot be brought down until next year; again, Mr. de Longueuil must first receive news of aid from Montreal, otherwise it

would be very hazardous to send them down. The Outaouas and Pouteouatamis have, at different times, assured the commandant that were the French, who had came from, Montreal, to separate from him, the enemy would renew their threats and hostilities; but he does not place the least: reliance on what they say, nor on their renewing alliance. These nations are only endeavoring to get their supplies out of us, and to discover a favorable opportunity to betray us irrevocably. M r de Longueuil is., consequently, obliged to ask us for a reinforcement of men and provisions, at the very opening of the spring, so as w be able to put a stop to their intrigues. There are not provisions at Detroit for any length of time; he asks, in like manner, that Niagara be abundantly provided for the security of the convoys up and down.

The Outaouas and Sauteurs thought that the sacrifice of one of their unfortunate prisoners [esclave] whom they accused of having come around the fort with an evil design, would be sufficient to procure for them a restoration of our confidence. They gave him up to M r de Longueuil, who has been obliged to receive him. lie gave him to the Abenaquis, who accompany the Montreal convoy.

This Officer, not being able to send any Traders to the Miamis 487 until the Nation return to its duty, sends back to Montreal Ensign Douville, who commanded at that post, and who at Detroit at the time the Indians committed the pillage; ha sends back,, in like manner, 40 Frenchmen and the Abenaquis, who formed part of the convoy, to report to us the state affairs at his post.

Father La Richardie and M r de Belestre arrived at Detroit, on the 20 t h of October, with the Huron Deputies who to Quebec last summer.

M r de Longueuil will concert with fiat missionary the measures to turn his voyage to good account, and so soon as that commandant will have made arrangements with the Miamis and Hurons, he will dispatch two canoes, well armed, to advise us of the circumstance.

News from the Illinois

The intelligence from the Illinois is equally interesting. Chevalier de Berthet, the commandant, writes us from Caskaquias [Kaskaskia], the 11 th of August. It spears from his letter of the * * * that. there has been considerable trouble in his district; it appears even that since the irruption of Detroit Hurons, all the other Tribes, infected with their example, are excited, and desirous to side with them. The following is the substance of what that officer writes to us: Three strange, Indians, from Fond du Lac,1 came at end of July to the Illinois country, with a message from the English, in the name of the Iroquois, Hurons, Abenaquis, and Outaouas, and all the Ouabash Tribes, inviting the Illinois to abandon, the French, otherwise they were dead men; or they would not of themselves destroy the French, to withdraw and go to the Caokias [Cakokia], and they would come and cut them (the French) off; after which the English would come to the Illinois and supply their necessities abundantly. Our Illinois had almost consented to the act, when M r Bertet, who was informed of the design of these three

1 A name applied to the most distant end of many bodies of water. Probably this was the western end of Lake Ontario.— Ed.

488 strangers, demanded that they should speak in his presence, Which they refused to do, and the Illinois approved. ever, the latter promised him that they should give him communication of whatever would be said; but their council being held during the night they reported to this commandant whatever they pleased. The latter seeing that the Illinois were deceiving him, gave them to understand, in a meeting, that he knew everything, and that they could not conceal aught from him. These Indians, on reflection, admitted the fact. They placed in his hands the message in question, which consisted of a shell, a calumet and some tobacco. He returned it to them immediately, and told them to give it back to those who had brought it; one of these three strange Indians took this message, and said, he would not return back with it; he said, he should be ashamed to take it back, and, being himself an Illinois, remained with his people.

M r de Berthet has been informed by a Huron returning from the Chicachas war, who had spent the winter at Sonnioto with the Chaouenons, of the league formed by the latter to destroy the Upper country posts; this Huron has assured him that the Iroquois of the Great village, as well as all the other nations, had accepted the tomahawk against the French, and had all reunited together to seize all the French posts, beginning with the Illinois country; that this attack would be made during the August moon, and at the fall of the leaf; and that he was present when the belts were distributed for the conspiracy; that he vouched for the truth, and warned him to be on his guard. He added, that, should the expedition not take place at the rime he mentioned, it would be postponed until the ensuing spring, or the affair would go to sleep altogether. La Demoiselle, the Miamis chief, is concoctor of this league. Had M. Berthet been provided with some merchandise, he might have hoped to stop these tribes, being known to the principal ones; but his poverty has reached the point that there is not in the King's stores nor among the traders, an ell cloth, nor a particle of ammunition to defend themselves in case they are attacked. This circumstance has obliged him 489 to concentrate his forces at the village of Caskaquias, and to abandon the other settlements to the mercy of the Indians. He has not received any aid from New Orleans within months, nor does he know whether the English are masters of the Colony, or if his Majesty have abandoned Louisiana. He has demanded some succor of M r de Longueuil at Detroit, as he expected none from New Orleans until the end of the fall, and it is even uncertain, whether any will come, as he learned that the Chaoaenons, settled on the Ouabache, union with the Ohorakis, Chicachas and Abenaquis, were to come to the Mississipi to watch the convoy, and to stop it if possible. This officer is impatiently expecting the aid he has demanded of Chevalier de Longueuil, in order to ward off the storm that threatens the Illinois country,1 the loss of which would be a serious drawback, inasmuch as the English being once masters of that country, would not find any difficulty gaining the nations wholly to their interest, and by that means could easily seize the entire colony of Louisiana. M r de Better has sent three of the principal

chiefs of the Illinois to New Orleans to see M. de Vaudreuil, in order thereby to gain time and arrest any evil designs that nation might entertain against us.

1 Note on original MS.: “Chevalier de Longueuil writes, on the 25th of August, that he is waiting for the convoy to send supplies to the Illinois.”

* * * * * * * *

Dec. 3rd. Ensign Leborgne2 arrives from Detroit, whence he has been detached by M. de Longueuil on duty. He brings to us an Outaouas and a Pouteouatamis, whom the two Nations send as delegates to the General, to treat of existing affairs at Detroit. M r de Longueuil writes us on the 2 nd of November.

2 Paul Leborgne, in 1744 second ensign in which capacity he served at Fort Frontenac in the same year. In 1749, after being made first ensign, he accompanied Ceéloron on his journey down the Ohio. Promoted to a lieutenancy in 1753, he was in service on Lake Champlain in 1757–58; and the following year, after receiving his captaincy, was slightly wounded at the siege of Quebec.— Ed.

490 The apprehended scarcity of provisions has obliged him to discharge some men whom he would, nevertheless, require. The affairs of that post are no better improved than when wrote on the 22 nd of October last. Tints officer has no news from the Hurons, Miamis or from the Ouabache; he is expecting the messengers he has sent thither, and who are greatly behind their time. He calculated, however, on sending Ensign Belestre off immediately, with an escort of 12 Frenchmen, for the post on the River St. Joseph, which he is to command; also, to send off Sieur Lapeyrade, with a like escort, for the Ouyatanons, and a similar detachment for the Illinois; all overland.

M r de Longueuil states that he is unsuccessful, for the fourth time, in sending some Huron deputies to Sandosket; does not know what will be the result of these goings and comings; he thinks that the Hurons are seeking only to procrastinate matters so as to be able to surprise Detroit, by means of reinforcements they are expecting from their allies, and

to gain time to take refuge in some place at a distance from the danger flint menaces them. That officer transmits to us the message which Mikinac, the Outaouas chief, and Ononguisset, the Pouteouatamis chief, communicated to him, on the part of their villages, for the Marquis de La Galissonnière, confirmation of which they send by the two deputies of these Nations. By this message these two chiefs demand that a hundred Frenchmen and Indians be sent to Detroit in the middle of winter; the Indians to be selected from those who are not in alliance with the Nations of that post, so that their conduct may not; be any obstacle to their design of reducing the Huron, who seems inclined to persist in his evil intentions. Mikinac, speaking on the part of the Outaouas Nation, which has invited the Huron, says, that though it forms a separate part of the village of Detroit, he undertakes, by the Belts he will send in the course of the winter to all the chiefs of that Nation, to make the guilty return to their duty and determine on asking pardon. They add, by these messages, a request, if the 100 Frenchmen and Indians be accorded to them, that the 491 General grant them a chief, whom they love and respect, and that this number of men, whom, they expect in the middle of winter, be followed by a like reinforcement, at the opening of the navigation, fully supplied with provisions and ammunition, and 'twill be seen what use they will make of these reinforcements, should the Huron be opposed to that tranquillity the two Nations desire.

Two Lorette Hurons, who accompanied Father La Richardie, have asked to remain at Detroit; M r de Longueuil expects to send them this winter to us with reliable news from the Hurons. That officer persists in demanding a reinforcement of men and provisions in the spring.

M r de Longeuil annexes to his letter a note of the demands made by Mikinac, an Outaouas Chief; namely a fine scarlet coat, with silver facings, similar to that, sent to Kinousaki, another Outaouas chief; a fine shirt and a silver hilted sword. This officer desires us to grant this request, which will satisfy this chief, and adds, that he has need, in the present conjuncture, of this man, who, if refused, may be the caused serious disorder; that this chief desires these presents to be sent him this winter, so as to Be able

to decorate his person on the arrival of the Nations in the spring, and to show, thereby, that he is not less esteemed than Kinousaki.

* * * * * * * *

Dec. 21st. The General has given audience of leave to the two Pouteouatamis and Outaouas deputies, who will depart immediately for Montreal, and proceed thence, to Detroit with two Canadians who will accompany them. He answers by this opportunity Chevalier do Longueuil's different letters conceding the actual circumstances of the post of Detroit; recommends him particularly to prevent, by all means possible, the reception by the 5 Nations of the Hurons belonging to the tribe that talked of taking refuge among them, according to M r de Joncaire's representation; that in case these traitors should return to their duty, which Father La Richardie appears to expect, the Marquis de La Galissionnière refers to M r de Lonqueuil what will be the proper site for a new settlement, 492 reminding him of the principal views he ought to entertain in such a case, namely: the security of the French of Detroit; of the new fort he has proposed to establish below that post, and finally, of all present and future settlements; so that, with these precautions, there will be no more cause to apprehend like disorders in future, and at least these Indians will be restrained and their bad designs anticipated, should they dare to renew them.

The General answers Mikinac and Onanguisset's messages; he expects them to persevere in their attachment to us; the winter season does not permit him to send the detachment of French and Indians they appear to desire; announces to them a well escorted and provisioned convoy next spring, which will afford them reason to felicitate themselves on their good dispositions towards us. Orders are sent to Montreal to send Mikinac, by the deputies, the presents he has demanded; we have not been able to dispense with granting to that chief this mark of distinction in order to avoid all jealousy, especially as the other chiefs, who have come to Quebec last year, have been equally well treated.

Chevalier de Longueuil is recommended to send to Sieur Berthet, at the Illinois, the aid of goods and ammunition he may be able to spare him, so as to afford him the means of protecting himself from the deplorable consequences which the affair of the Miamis might drag after it.

1748: PUNISHMENT FOR CONSPIRATORS

[Abstract of despatches from Galissonière. Reprinted from *N.Y. Colon. Docs* ., x, p. 138.]

5 th April, 1748.1 Count de Lagalissonnière being desirous to punish such of the Michilimakinac and Detroit Nations as had, at the instigation of the English, made incursions on the

1 This is the date of the Abstract, not of the Despatch.— E. B. O'Callaghan.

493 French, sent, last year, strong detachments to those two posts; but before that destined for Michilimakinac had arrived, the Indians, who were complained of came to sue for pardon from the Commandant, of the post., and delivered to him the two principal chiefs of the revoked party. Those of Detroit had fled to a distant village of the post, whence they sent deputies to sue for pardon; so that there is reason to hope that peace will be soon established in the Upper country, these Indians being the only ones on this Continent who have made any hostile movements during the war.

But the chiefs of the Michilimakinac rebels having been brought to Montreal, and Count de Lagalissonnière having resolved to send to Quebec, they were put on beard a canoe, the crew of which consisted of a sergeant and eight soldiers. These were murdered on going down the river, and there was no doubt but the blew was struck by Indians, who, when drank, had formed the designs of rescuing the two prisoners.

1748: IMPORTANCE OF ILLINOIS SETTLEMENTS

[Memoir of La Galissonière sent to the French Minister. MS. in archives of Ministèe des Colonies, Paris; pressmark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 91, c. 11, fol. 116.”]

Quebec , September 1, 1748.

Monseigneur —In answer to one of your last despatches, dated April 25, which reached me only by the “Zephir,” I deem it my duty to speak to you somewhat at length respecting our establishments of the illinois.

They have perhaps this much in common with everything relating to the Mississipi, that, after having been estimated far above their real value, they can at present barely be looked upon as of any use. I consider that it is almost equally necessary to withdraw from thee two extreme print, and here is what I think of it.

I look upon the profits of the mines as very uncertain and moreover as being so remote and depending upon so many other 494 previous establishments that at present they can hardly be taken into account without, however, their being despaired of for ever.

I think the Fur trade carried on there is one of the least advantageous in Canada, but I do not know this for certain.

I place the hope of obtaining buffalo hides from there on the same footing as the expectations from the mines, at the most.

I consider it very necessary that Louisiana be placed in a position to procure flour and other necessaries of life from places nearer than illinois.

Finally, I think that for a very long time to come illinois will yield no real revenue to the King nor considerable fortune to private individuals, but, on the contrary, it will cost the King a good deal to have that country settled.

But I am very far from concluding from all this that little colony should be dropped; I think on the contrary that the King should sacrifice something to maintain it:

Firstly , so as not to lose what has already been put in it;

Secondly , because it is one of the best placed barriers that can be opposed to the ambition of the English to prevent their penetrating into our trading countries and even into Mexico;

Thirdly , because if that country were well settled it would make us formidable to all the nations in the lower part of the Mississipi river;

Fourthly . because bread, meat, and other produce will attract Savages there whose alliance and trade will be of use to us;

Fifthly , If, in this war for instance, there had been in the illinois country 400 or 500 men capable of bearing arms, not only would our small pests of Ouabache and other places not have been disturbed, but we should have led into the heart of the finest English Colonies the very nations that have attacked us.

And with reference to this it is proper to observe teat we must not flatter ourselves that our Colonies of the interior, especially that of Louisiana can ever be on a par as regards wealth with the neighboring English Colonies, or even carry on any very lucrative trade, because—with the exception of furs whose quantity is limited, and the profits on which will decrease more and 495 more—we can furnish only commodities similar to those of Europe; we cannot give them for the same price although for the most part of inferior quality, and for such an immense country we have no outlet except by two rivers equally out of reach and of inconvenient and perilous navigation.

We must therefore confine ourselves the chief advantage offered by the country, which consists in its exceeding fertility, and the facility of feeding a very great number of inhabitants with hardly any assistance from outside.

France obtains products of every kind from itself and from its Colonies. This one will produce nothing but men for a very long time, but, if we wish, it will in a short while produce so large a number of these that, far from fearing the English Colonies or the savage nations, It will be in a position to dictate to them; and it is proper to observe that those Colonies are so

precious to England that if This one, were once sufficient powerful in men to endanger them, that fear alone would be enough to prevent the English from, abusing their power on the sea as they so often do.

From this point of view which, although remote, should, it seems to me, occupy our attention, I see few settlements more urgent than, that of the illinois country. It is a, region easy to cultivate and to dear, and a country much coveted by our neighbors. A fairly large number of French families are already there,1 and those that will go there in future and gradually are sure to be able to live on the labor of others while awaiting the fruits of their

1 In 1760 there were eighty houses at Kaskaskia, and fifty at Cahokia. See De Villiers du Terrage, *Les Derniers Années de la Louisiane française* (Paris, 1904), p. 54.— Ed.

But it is very difficult, not to say impossible, greatly to increase the illinois country by means of that of the Mississippi, which itself has few inhabitants and whither the beauty of the climate and the vicinity of the sea will be more likely to attract the people of the illinois region, than the latter will be to draw people from Louisiana.

496

If to this be added the difficulty of ascending the Mississipi, the facility with which Hostile Savages can stop any ascending, and the convenience enjoyed by Canadian traders in

being able to reach the illinois country by four or five different road which cannot all be dosed at the same time, it will be seen that Canada must people that region, and I think it can be done in the following manner:

Firstly , One or two officers may be sent to illinois from Canada with a detachment of fifty or sixty soldiers to serve under the orders of Monsieur de Bertet;

Secondly , The two Companies now at the illinois post can be sent down to Louisiana, that is the officers and the name of those Companies, because all the soldiers who are married or my wish to become farmers must be discharged and left in the illinois country;

Thirdly , Thirty or forty contraband salt dealers must be sent to the illinois country via Canada every year, beginning as soon as possible;

Fourthly , Facilities should be given every year to twelve or fifteen residents of Canada to go and settle and take up land there;

Fifthly , As the troops from here are farmed, the garrison of the illinois post should be increased to a hundred men, and more;

Sixthly , The officer in command should be recommended to favor farming much more than trade;

Seventhly, A market. should be provided in the regions situate on the lower part of the river for the surplus flour.

I have expressly stated that the officers to be sent there should be placed under the orders of Monsieur de Bertet, because I do not think it would be easy to find an officer as competent as he is to direct and improve that settlement. I how him solely through the reports that have been made to me of him and by those he has made to me since I have

been here, and if there be anything right and true in what I have written above, I have taken it from his letters.

From them also I take a remark essential to the subject. If 497 the illinois Colony with a large; population can harass the English Colonies, it is hardly less easy for the Latter to seize illinois if left in its present weak condition. Of all the regions we now occupy it is the one whither they can come most easily with a small force, and if they should once succeed in so thrusting themselves between our two Colonies, the loss of the Mississipi and the ruin of the inland trade of Canada would be certain, while the Spanish Colonies and even Mexico, would be in very great danger.

From all this it results that by uniting illinois to Canada but little would be gained as regards the expense of the troops, the number of which should, in my opinion, be increased rather than diminished. They are, moreover, absolutely needed there to restrain the savages and sometimes the residents, and for the purpose of increasing the number of the later in time.

Through lack of sufficient soldiers, Monsieur de Bertet was throughout the war in constant danger from which he extricated himself chiefly through his own good management, and to a slight extent by means of the munitions and goods that were sent him from here.

It should also be observed that, as that post is at the extreme end of our two Colonies, the Contours des bois and other good-for-nothing men usually make it their refuge, and might cause much disorder, if the Commanding officer had not a sufficient force at hand to repress it.

It cannot be expected that much can be obtained by farming oat that post. I think this would complete its ruin, and that, at the most,, some money might be obtained from licenses, or by compelling those who procure them to convey munitions and provisions; and I do not know whether tiffs could be secured.

I agree with you, Monseigneur, that it is quite a matter of indifference, considering the share the illinois settlement can have in the defence or even the subsistence of Louisiana, whether the commanding officer there be one from Canada or one from Louisiana. Orders can be given him always to send as much flour etc. as possible to new Orleans and to give that town and all its dependencies every assistance in his power.

498

To procure abundance in that post and to promote its settlement I see no objection to the Governor of Mississipi and That of Canada issuing licenses to trade there, or even to their selling the same provided the pries be low. As there are no leases or exclusive licenses, there will be no discussion.

Such, Monseigneur, is the answer I can give regarding illinois.

I defer to another despatch what I have to say to you regarding all the pests of Canada generally, and moreover I take the liberty of begging you to consult Monsieur hocquart1 on all this, although we are not precisely of the same opinion.

1 Gilles Hocquart, the intendant of New France, was recalled from Canada contemporaneously with Governor Beauharnois; but his successor not arriving, he tarried in the colony until the autumn of 1748. Galissonière suggests that he should be consulted in person, upon his arrival in France.— Ed.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

La Galissoniere

1748: POST AT CHEQUAMEGON

[Letter of La Galissonière and Bigot to the French Minister, dated Sept. 20, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 24.]

Monseigneur —We reply to the Letter you Wrote to Messieurs de La Galissoniere And hocquart on The 6th of March last.

Nobody came forward this year to farm The Post of Chagouamigon. We Allowed The Agent of Madame La Roads to return there last spring. We shall See next spring what arrangement can be made to farm That Post and in such Case we 499 will follow your orders regarding fie Third of the proceeds the lease which His Majesty has granted to that Widow.

We remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very Obedient servants,

La Galissoniére

Bigot 1

Quebec , September 20, 1748.

1748: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADJUSTMENT OF WESTERN POSTS

[Letter of La Galissoniére to the French Minister, dated Sept. 25, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 130.]

Quebec , September 25, 1748.

Monseigneur —I have had the honor of writing to you somewhat at length by “la friponne” regarding the illinois settlement; That of Detroit demands no less attention.

I will not repeat what they have in common; I Will merely observe that that of illinois can supply provisions to New Orleans only, while that of Detroit is so situated as to be able to assist all the others and even illinois. The climate and soil are better than at illinois; the fur trade is more advantageous and more easily carried on at Detroit. At illinois the savages seem more faithful and less powerful; at Detroit they are more powerful 32

1 François Bigot, the last and most infamous intendant of New France, was a native of Guienne, and had served (1745) as commissary at Louisburg, where his peculations are supposed to have contributed to its downfall. Through influential relatives he obtained the appointment of intendant of Canada, jan. 1, 1748, with largely increased powers. Parkman has told graphically, in his *Montcalm and Wolfe*, the story of Bigot's systematic and adroit plundering, culminating in the financial ruin of the colony. After the conquest (1760), his return to France was signalized by an extended trial, as a result of which he was banished and condemned to pay an enormous fine. He is said, however, to have passed the remainder of his days in affluence at Bordeaux.— Ed.

500 and more easily corrupted. There are at present at illinois, I think, many more ploughmen than traders, and at Detroit many more traders than ploughmen. Finally the establishments begun in the illinois country are divided up into several posts somewhat distant from one another; That of Detroit is and will for a long time be all in one. With this knowledge, it will not be difficult, when you give your orders, to send to those two small Colonies, that are almost equally useful, what is suited to each.

I have now to reply to what you ask me regarding the suggestion that has been made to have a stationary Commandant at Detroit. I can speak on this subject with great uncertainty only, but I am strongly for the affirmative, and Monsieur hocquart is of my opinion.

That command would doubtless be above the rank of Captain, and that of King's Lieutenant or major might be given to the officer appointed, as at San Domingo and illinois. But, notwithstanding this, it would not be sufficiently tempting, if the thousand ecus

attached W it should be given up, which would seem to make it preferable to all the King's Lieutenancies of the Colony. Whosoever might be there would always want to leave the place for the smallest of those King's lieutenancies, and thus changes would occur almost as frequently as in the present establishment.

Moreover I cannot help admitting that I do not know the senior Captains well enough to propose any one to you of whom I would be sure that he would meet your views regarding the proper establishment of that post.

There is also a drawback in giving a Captain the rank of King's Lieutenant without passing him. through the rank of major, and amongst the majors there is only the Sieur Chevalier de Longueuil whom, I think, it would be difficult to get to accept it.

There would remain only Monsieur the Chevalier de Bertet, who, judging from the relations I have had with him, would do very well, although he is perhaps too obstinate about his mines. But it has occurred to me that he is thinking of going 501 back to trance, and, moreover, an almost equally competent man would be needed to replace him at illinois, whom it would perhaps be difficult to find. It would be desirable that one be found amongst the officers under his orders, but I know nothing about them, and I am not even aware that they have the necessary seniority and services to entitle them to the rank of major, which might be retained for the stationary Commandant of illinois, as at present held by Monsieur the Chevalier de Bertet.1

1 The officer in command of the Illinois country at this time held the rank of major; in 1752, Vandreuil raised the post to the grade of royal lieutenancy.— Ed.

If this idea were followed it would be advisable, it seem to me, that the Commandant of Detroit should have authority over all the posts called here the Southern posts, that is to say: illinois, Miamis, la Rivière blanche,2 and Ouyatanons or the nations of Ouabache.

2 Doubtless this refers to Vincennes, very near the White River Rivère Blanche) of Indiana.— Ed.

It would seem natural to make Missilimakinak a stationary post also, but the almost continual dearth of meat and a thousand other things looked upon in France as necessaries, leads me to think that this had better be postponed to a future date.

Meanwhile I connsider that all the posts called the posts might be made subordinate to it, namely: la Baye des puants, all lake superieur and the western sea; The River St. Joseph should also be under its orders for the routine of the service, but it should likewise obey those of the Commandant of Detroit on pressing occasions, St. Joseph being almost equally within reach of both, and being inhabited by Pouteouatamis, some of whom are settled at Detroit.

I remain, with very profound respect Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

La Galissoniere

502

1748: TRADE AT THE WESTERN POSTS; LEASE SYSTEM

[Letter of Bigot to the French Minister, dated Oct. 22, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 92, fol. 113.]

Monseigneur —

* * * * * * * *

I am convinced that peace will restore the leases of the posts to their original value.

Monsieur de la Galissoniere is, however, of opinion that licenses should be granted to all who apply for them in order to trade at the posts. He claims that if there be several traders at the same post, they will give their goods cheaper to the savages, but I do not believe it because they will agree together. Nevertheless he excepts from licenses the posts of Nepigon, Camalestigouia, michipicoton, temiscamingue, and la pointe de Chagouamigon.

It is not surprising; the savages should have found that what they needed was sold them at excessive prices. The trades had to pay for what they brought in Montreal at least 150 per cent more than they paid in time of peace, and they sold in proportion. In spite of this they were partly ruined, because the savage did not pay. But, inasmuch as goods are coming down to the prices that prevailed before the war, they will in future be able to sell them 150 per cent cheaper, and the savages will notice this reduction.

If the commandants of the posts had no understanding with the farmer, they night see to it; but, although I have only been out here a shots time, I know that so many abuses exist. that it will be very difficult, however one may go shout it, to put and keep in order this paint of the service which is most essential.

I have the honor to be with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Bigot

Quebec , October 22, 1748.

503

[Letter of La Galissonière to the French Minister, dated Oct. 23, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 91, fol. 231.]

Quebec , October 23, 1748

Monseigneur —the arrangements made some years ago for the posts of the upper country having been thwarted in some places and upset in others on account of the war and by the movements of the Savages; it is now necessary either to, restore matters to their footing previous to the war or to put them in better shape.

In the latter period of Monsieur de Vandreuil's Government and in the first years of that of Monsieur de Beauharnois, the officers were like lessees of the posts. You then recommended that they be given to them, at levy rates to enable them to satisfy the savages, and some fortunes were made there.

But either through the abuse made of it by some, or for other reasons, these same posts were farmed out to the highest and last bidder, and the idea that was formed of the profits derived from them caused the rents to reach a much higher figure than formerly been exacted from the officers.

The persons to whom the posts were adjudged then considered they had a fight to get as much profit as possible out of them without regard to the drawbacks thai might result from it.

They therefore raised the price of goods beyond all reason, and to maintain it they sent only small quantities, especially in the latter years of their leases.

They thereby reduced the savages, to despair and compelled them to go to Chouaguen for goods which the English *could not sell at the same price, as ours, had not the exclusive right to trade and the price of the teases increased ours* .

Under circumstances so little favorable the war broke out: thereupon the price of goods was actually doubled in the Colony; the savages seemed desirous of rebelling everywhere; the receipts under the leases dwindled to nothing, and the expenses that had always been very light under the previous system:, grew to such an extent that I doubt whether the

proceeds of the most profitable ten years of the posts could: have, paid the expenses of the last two. years.

504

On the other hand the savages blamed the lessees for the scarcity from which they suffered, and nearly all those from even the most reliable posts, such as la Rivière de St Joseph and la Baye had asked Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois and urgently pressed me to have no more lessees. Monsieur de Beauharnois had promised this to the Pouteouatamis of St. Joseph, and I adhered to it.

Moreover when, Goods had to be sent to the posts last spring, several farmers gave up their leases or asked for a reduction of three fourths of the rent.

Perhaps Peace may make them bolder, but the other drawbacks will always exist, and these seem so serious that I determined, with the advice of Monsieur hocquart, to whom you may speak of this, to have as few posts famed out as possible, and to have them exploited by licenses as the leases expire, in the same manner as was done for Detroit. and Missilimakinak during the whole time the system of leases lasted.

I do not think this will yield as much, but I expect that competition between several traders at each post will lower the price of goods and bring back the savages to us who are all going to give themselves to the English, unless we employ every means to keep them. That to which we have been reduced for some time and Which consists in loading them with presents is beyond contradiction the worst of all.

We will make an exception for some posts where so far the savages do not seem to have complained of the lessees, or where, owing to their position, they are less likely to ga to the English. These posts are Temiskamingue, Nepigon, Camanistigoya, Michipicoton, La pointe de Chagouamigon. These leases therefore may be allowed to continue or fresh

ones may be granted saving the right to take other steps according to events or to new light that may be obtained on the subject.

I have spoken of the Western sea in a special letter.

I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

La Galissoniere

505

1748: WESTERN CONSPIRACY DISINTEGRATES

[Letter of La Galissonière to the French Minister, dated Oct. 23, 1748. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs* ., x, pp. 181–185.]

Quebec , October 23, 1748.

My Lord —I did not expect to enter into any details on occasion of the different movements of the Indians, an the negotiations which I, in the town of Montreal, and the commandants at the different pests had with them. They are all to be found in the Journal prepared by me, conjointly with the Intendant.1 However, as this matter is much confused, and as the various reports which will, possibly, be made to you will render it more obscure, I cannot dispense writing to you at length relative to subjects of the greatest importance to the Colony.

1 For this journal, so far as it covers events in 1747, see *ante*; for those of 1748, summarized in the journal, see *N. Y. Colon. Does*., x, pp. 137–179.— Ed.

It was shortly after my arrival that I learned the revolt of the Miamis, the consequences of which, through unfortunate, have not been near so much so as they seemed to be. That nation was divided into two parties, whereof one that appears attached to the French is, I

believe, the most considerable, and has remained at the village. It did, however, accept its share of the plunder, but gave it back afterwards; no one was killed in that affair.

M r de Longueuil, the commandant at Detroit, having received intelligence of this disorder, and at the same time of the good disposition of a part of that nation, sent Sieur Dubuisson thither, in the beginning of the winter, with a sufficient escort to keep possession of the fort, which had been partially burnt, but not to undertake anything.

This officer, and his little garrison, had to undergo considerable suffering through the winter, in consequence of the unfriendly disposition of the Indians, who extorted (racontés) on them for provisions. Sieur Dubuisson had carried scarcely anything with him from Detroit, where great scarcity also prevailed. However, he subsisted until the spring at a considerable 506 able expense to the King, and kept up negotiations with the chief of the hostile party, who, probably, will alter his course.1

1 The chiefs of the English party among the Miami made a treaty with the English at Lancaster, July 20, 1748. The names of the chiefs are given as Ciquenackqua, Assepausa, and Natoecqueha. See *Penn. Colon. Recs*., v, pp. 307–319.— Ed.

During the winter, a Frenchman, who strayed Item the fort, was killed by an Iroquois, without Sieur Dubuisson having been able to induce the Miamis, who pretended to be favorable to the French, to pursue the murderer, as they have been won over to connive at the perpetration of that hostile blow.

Sieur Dubuisson returned to Detroit in the spring, with the residue of the plunder that had been given up, and the property, of the lessees of the post. Chevalier de Longueuil, whom I had ordered to maintain that place, was to send Sieur Dubuisson thither, in the month of August, with a considerable detachment, well supplied, under the command and of Sieur de la Maudière [Naudière],2 who is likewise to repair, if needs be, to the nations on the Oubache, bad Indians who have remained faithful up to the present time, but among

whom there are not wanting evildisposed fellows, who have been gained over by the English.

2 See Tarieu de la Parade de la Naudière, *ante*, p. 223, note 1.— Ed.

I return to Detroit, where everything was in disorder long before my arrival, in consequence of the revolt of some Hurons who call themselves Christians; won over by the English, they had assassinated five Frenchmen, passing through their villages of Sanduskee. The domiciliated Outaouagas and Pouteouitamis of Detroit, had been solicited to do the like, but it does not appear that the Pouteouitamis had leant any ear to. these proposals.

Some Outaouas and Saulteurs had, on the contrary, complotted with the Hurons to destroy Detroit, and the conspiracy was pretty well managed and on the point of exploding, when the Sandosket assassination led to its discovery. Then all those who were not compromised, joined the Pouteouitamis, the French and the well-disposed Outaouas; and this return so intimidated the assassins, that they came; to supplicate foe mercy, 507 which was granted them by M r de Longueuil, agreeably to the orders lie had from M r de Beauharnois, and mere especially in consequence of his small force and the, necessity he was under of living. Very mild conditions were annexed to this peace, but whilst it was yet negotiating, and when all, except Chev. de Longueuil, considered it certain, a party, which was not ignorant of the negotiations, even made an attempt in the immediate vicinity of Detroit, to carry off a French canoe; three men who composed the entire crew, were wounded. On receipt d the nears, Chev. de Longueuil sent off a detachment, under the command of M r de Beletre, who conducted himself with so much bravery, promptness and precaution, that he effected, without the loss of a man, the capture of the five who perpetrated the tack.

Of these five wretches, one was killed on arriving at Detroit, a second cut his throat in prison, and the remaining three were given up on the urgent solicitation and every possible submission on the part of the Hurons and their protectors, both Indian and French, who

represented that this favor would indubitably, bring back the Hurons of Sanduskee; but as soon. as they received the prisoners they quitted the post, where they did not consider themselves safe, and withdrew towards the Beautiful river; thence they sent out emissaries everywhere to induce Nations to revolt.1 A great at many, however, returned to Detroit, but whether they are to be regarded as penitents or spies, there is no knowing.

1 For the negotiations of this band of Huron (Wyandot) with the English, see “Weiser's Journal,” in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 29–31.— Ed.

I spoke in other letters of the Chaouanons2 and Illinois. The Pouteoutamis of St. Joseph participated in all these movements only by offers of service and protestations of fidelity, which have every reason to consider real and sincere.

2 For the intrigues of the Shawnee with the English, see *Penn. Colon. Recs*., v, pp. 311, 314–316.— Ed.

On three or four occasions, during the winter and spring, I received letters from M. de Loqueuil, and Some ambassadors 508 from Nations who were faithful, or were reputed to be so These informed me of everything I have related to you, and demanded of me some assistance of men, ammunition and provisions, which induced me to dispatch the convoy thither as quick as possible. It consisted of more than a hundred Frenchmen and ten or twelve of the most reliable Nepissing Indians of the Lake, and of a great number of voyageurs, who were going up to trade, sand was commanded by Captain de Celoron, who had M r de la Naudiere as his lieutenant. This convoy, when passing Fort Frontenac and Niagara, made a strong impression on the Iroquois trod other nations it met, and the news of its approach, I think, determined, more than anything else, the principal chiefs of Detroit to come to Montreal, where they arrived about the same time as the Missilimakinak Nations, of whom I now proceed to write.

Missilimakinac is in some sort the centre and entrepôt of all the Northern, as Detroit is of all the Southern, posts. Notwithstanding all those posts are farther from the English

than the Southern, their invitations and intrigues had been, in some degree the cause o more disorder there; scarcely any of the Nations had been exempt from the general seduction. Some Frenchmen were killed at Saguinan, an Ottawa village, between Detroit and Missilimakinac; others at Chibaouinani, otherwise La Cloche, by some Mississagués, others at Grosse Isle, near Missilimakinac, and even at Missilimakinac, also, where no respect was paid to the commandant; the voyageurs were robbed and maltreated at Sault. St. Mary, and elsewhere, on Lake Superior. In fine, there appeared to be no security anywhere. All these disorders occurred whilst the elder M r de la Corne, commandant at Missilimakinac, was at Montreal, or rather had brought down to that place, by the Marquis de Beauharnois' orders, a portion of those same tribes who have executed or plotted all those treacheries. The news arrived when M r de la Come was on an expedition. towards the frontiers of New England. The Marquis de Beauharnois then took the resolution to send M r de St. Pierre as commandant to Missilimakinac; a very good officer, and much esteemed among all the Nations of 509 those parts, by whom [no one is] more loved and feared. He found them, nevertheless, on his arrival, so ill-disposed that he advised me not to send any Frenchmen thither until I should hear from him.

I waited, in this expectation, very impatiently throughout the entire winter, and was obliged, in this state of incertitude, to dispatch the convoy. I think it is not so strong as the one for Detroit, but that it has nothing to fear. It was commanded by Sour de St. Vincent, who had Sieur de la Come St. Luc as lieutenant.1 At length I received advices from that post much morn favorable than I dared hope for. M r de St. Pierre detained all the voyageurs and goods at Missilimakinac, and answered the different deputations of Indians only by threatening not to send any more traders to their country, and leave them in want of everything, if they did not deliver the murderers of the Frenchmen into his hands, and restore the plunder they had got. His firmness met with every success. The Sagainam people brought in one of the murderers; those of Missilimakinac brought in another; others, belonging to Saguinan brought in Bye hostages in lieu of the murderers, whom, they could

not overtake; a portion of the plunder has beer paid for and arrangements have been made to pay for the remainder.

1 For St. Vincent see *ante*, p. 428, *note* 3. Luc de la Gorse, sieur de St. Luc, was born in 1711, and through two generations and three wars was a noted Canadian officer. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1750, and a captaincy in 1755. He has great influence over the Indians, a large party of whom he led to the capture of Fort William Henry (1757). After the conquest of Canada, he embarked for France (1761), when the vessel “Auguste” was wrecked, his brother and sons being drowned. He escaped by great exertions and returned to Quebec. He was accused of inciting the Indians to the Pontiac's conspiracy (1763), but later became a British partisan and was a member of the first legislative council of the colony (1775). He sided against the Americans, and hurled Indian enemies against their frontiers in the Revolution. For his abilities and characteristics see Suite, *Les Canadiens français*, vii, p. 128.— Ed.

On receipt of these prisoners and hostages, M r de St. Pierre did not hold out any promises or hopes of life to them: Nevertheless, 510 their own tribe conducted them to Montreal and delivered them up to me, a circumstance which never occurred and perhaps never will again, if this Colony have not more troops than at present. It happened, at the same, time, that a third murderer having got in, on the road, among the other Indians, accompanied them to the audience chamber where, being regocnized, I had him removed to prison with the other two.

In other respects I have treated these penitent nations the best way I could, and declared to them that the act they has just performed effaced the recollection of their ill conduct, but that the murderers had no share in that act of oblivion; that I did not grant, hut prolonged their lives to put the remainder in mind of their fault. I told them, likewise, that I did not wish to make the innocent suffer for the guilty, and ordered the hostages to be given up, at the same time directing the nation to bring me those in whose places they had stood.

Though the nations might, perhaps, have looked for more mildness on my part, and had presented some petitions to me during the first. days; which I rejected, it appeared to me that they felt. the necessity I was under of detaining fellows who would have taken advantage of their liberty only to proceed and embroil matters anew in their villages.

It did not prevent the chiefs, who interested themselves the most to procure their liberation, to request my permission to go to war against the English in order to revenge themselves for having been deceived; I granted it very readily and they departed.

Those of the Detroit arrived during these transactions, and had been witnesses of what, had passed respecting the murderers. A portion of their young men had gone also on the war path, and the old men belonging to Detroit and Missilimakinac returned some time after to their villages.

I was obliged, then, to leave Montreal where I had in vain been waiting for the Iroquois who had promised me to upbraid them publicly with all the invitations to assassinate the French, which those Iroquois had received from them.

As I had no doubt but the Missilimakinac Nations would, 511 on their return, from the war, renew their applications to me to get back the guilty whom they had surrendered to me, I ordered M r de Longueuil, at parting, to send these three Indians, under a sufficient escort, down to, Quebec. I was intending to give one of them up to a Saguinan chief named Achaoualina, a relative of his, who, notwithstanding, had delivered him up, and whom I regarded as a worthy man and a good Frenchman.

The old men having all taken their departure, and the young men being about to arrive, M r de Longueuil put the three prisoners safely and secretly on board one, of the King's canoes, under the command of one of the best Sergeants of the garrison, along with seven picked soldiers, and enjoined on them all the precautions requisite to be taken in such a case; but in vain. The negligence of the Sergeant cost him; his life; those three

men, without arms, and with manacles on their feet, killed or drowned eight well armed men, and having cut their irons with an axe on the bows of the canoe, escaped ashore and thence into the woods.

The canoe was discovered a short time afterwards, with the Sergeant's and some of the soldiers' bodies, but in consequence of a series of misfortunes the news was conveyed first to Three Rivers only instead of to Montreal. At Three Rivers, in place of sending off to Montreal, a statement of the, facts was drawn up [*on verbalisa*], and eves at Montreal all the diligence and activity that the case required to intercept these three Indians was not employed. It has Been ascertained, or supposed, that they wandered a long time in the woods. before striking the Grand river, and that they reached it at the spot naturally to be expected; finally 'tis said they went. back with the old men of their village who had proceeded them some time, but who, Indian fashion, had not used great expedition.

Thus was lost, in a great measure, the fruit of Sieur St. Pierre's good management, and of all the fatigue I endured to get the nations who had surrendered these rascals, to listen to reason. This. mishap mast not discourage those of my successors who will find themselves in similar circumstances, and does not prevent my entertaining the conviction that the 512 Indians ought not to be pardoned so easily as they were wont to be in this country, and that there are no better means of restraining these nations than the long detention in prison of those among them who have been guilty of any act of treachery.

* * * * * * * *

My Lord, Your most humble and Most obedient servant,

La Galissoniere

1748: RELATIONS BETWEEN LOUISIANA AND ILLINOIS

[Letter from Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana,1 to the French Minister, dated Nov. 2, 1748. MS. in archives of Ministère des Colonies, Paris; press mark, “Canada, Corresp. gén., vol. 92, c. 11, fol. 298.”]

1 For Pierre François Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, see *ante*, p. 81, *note* 2. He was appointed governor of Louisiana in 1742, but did not arrive at New Orleans until May 10, 1743. He retained his position until named governor of Canada (1752), when Louis Billouart de Kerlérec replaced him in the Louisiana government.— Ed.

Monseigneur — In answer to your despatch of April 25 last by which you ordered me to give my opinion with reference to the proposed union of the illinois post with Canada, after weighing the pros and Cons with all the attention and reflection in my Power, I Think I may assert without fear of saying too much that such union with the general Government would be of no advantage to it, and that, on the Contrary, its separation from Louisiana could not be effected without inflicting a deep wound upon that Colony and without causing great inconvenience and perhaps even ruin to the illinois settlement. This I will endeavor to show.

I Admit that inasmuch as That establishment was Begun by some Canadian Voyageurs it had been considered a Canadian Colony and Consequently was within the direct jurisdiction of the general government until 1717, when it was united to Louisiana with the view of procuring more articles of Trade for the western Company by this increase of possessions; but 513 I also Think (and it is quite apparent) that, as it is Situated on the banks of the Mississipi river, this argument of conveniency had some weight in the arrangement made by the Court in that respect. In any case if the Settlement deserves any Consideration, it owes it entirely to this change of arrangement. Until then, owning to its being too far from Canada to receive the necessary aid from it, had remained in a State of languor verging on ruin, and it has acquired vigor solely through its direct relations with New Orleans since 1717. It is true that at the first Glance this Consideration does not seem calculated to raise an obstacle to the execution of the project in question,

but it proves at least that—inasmuch as in consequence of the situation of the jlinois country Communication between it and Louisiana is beyond Comparison much easier than with Canada—it is also mere advantageous to it and even absolutely necessary for the Successful carrying on of its Trade. The same reasons as regards utility and Conveniency that had induced His Majesty to incorporate jlinois in the Government of Louisiana in order to help the Company, still exist in favor of that. Colony, And, although it may appear a matter of indifference to the State whether the Trade of the Upper country should Flow to Canada or here, it is nevertheless Certain that the alternative cannot be a matter of indifference to Louisiana. As it is more sparsely settled and its Trade is far less considerable than that of Canada, it is more necessary for it to take advantage of all the branches that can Contribute to its productivity. Moreover it is in a better position to gather the fruits of the chief objects that maintain the Trade of the post in the jlinois country, and fiat can in nowise Suit Canada owing to the length of the Road (it is Estimtaed to be over 800 Leagues) and to the various portages on that route which would make their conveyance impracticable. I refer to the heavy furs only, because flour which is a great resource to us here could have no outlet on the other Side. Now it must be observed that those two articles Constitute nearly all the Trade that can be carried on with jlinois; Because the fine furs that are supposed in 514 Canada to come from there are obtained by Barter from the nations of the Missoury. From Oils I conclude that the proposed arrangement would not increase the Trade of Canada and that New Orleans would receive great damage both as regards its trade and its subsistence, because it is Certain that the inhabitants would not run the risk of coming down, when they would have no hope of returning in safety. Even supposing there were no interruption and that goods were Transported to New Orleans as formerly, there would infallibly arise between the inhabitants of that place and the farmers sent from Canada with the privilege of trading, a kind of Commercial conflict which, as regards goods obtained by the sale of produce, would give rise to difficulties which I see no means of avoiding.

Owing to the fact that it is always easy to descend the river especially during high Water when the Current is very swift, there is no great risk for those who Know the places where they can protect themselves against. surprise by the savages, and at present Twenty-five or thirty men would be more than sufficient to bring down to New Orleans, in addition to quantities of bear's grease, tallow, and hams, all the products of the harvest, of the [fur] trade and of the Working of the lead mines, the yield whereof has not been of any great value so far, although it is asserted that they are very rich and can be rendered productive with hardly any expense. But these same people would not be in Position to take the return goods back to jlinois without the escort of our detachments. It has happened that convoys of 150 or 200 men have been attacked, and the repeated experience of many voyageurs who had to Escort and who were attacked, beaten, and pillaged at various times some years ago, proves the necessity of affording them such protection.

Therefore if the two Companies forming the garrison of jlinois were withdrawn and replaced by a detachment of troops from Canada, would there not be reason to fear that, deprived of the assistance that constitutes the safety of their Trade, some of the inhabitants might neglect the Cultivation of the 515 soil and the others the Traffic with the savages? Such neglect would inspire the French with disqust that might lead them to abandon their settlements and excite no less dangerous discontent amongst the savages who are accustomed to procure what they need in exchange for their heavy furs, and who, seeing themselves deprived of the Conveniences of life through the stoppage of Trade would undoubtedly have recourse the English, who are ever ready to corrupt the nations that are faithful to us. Those savages will not fail in time of war to make it easy for them to seize our Settlements or in time of peace to establish some on the Ouabache or in any other place that may suit. them. It is known: beyond a doubt that they have often been solicited by the English who eagerly seize every Occasion that Can give them Influence amongst the nations of the upper country. Thus it would be flattering ourselves we much to Rely upon retaining the attachment and fidelity of Those nations to the prejudice of their private interests. But, it may perhaps be said, the Escorts required

for the Safety of Communication between New Orleans and jlinois owing to the wars that disturb Louisiana, will Cease to be necessary when the troubles are Appeased. I think that, whatever appearance of tranquillity there may be, it will always be imprudent to travel with Assurance on a river of such great Extent, inhabited or frequented by so many. savages of various nations the majority of whom never lose an opportunity of pillaging. The Voyageurs have only too frequently had this experience as regards the Cherakis and Ozages with whom, nevertheless, Louisiana has never been in open war.

The Knowledge I have of the country does not permit of my Agreeing that the two Companies in garrison at jlinois can be withdrawn without serious drawbacks. It is true that the inhabitants are sufficiently numerous to have nothing to fear from the savages when they are united. But there are amongst them many Coureurs des bois and Half-breeds, people who cannot be disciplined axed whom, the officer from Canada would assuredly be unable to keep within the bounds of duty with a detachment of ten or even of twenty men. The major in 33 516 Command there has infinite trouble in maintaining a little discipline, and he has succeeded in doing so only by showing himself severe. On the other Hand the garrison in its present Strength greatly awes the nations; a Change would astonish them. As they are suspicious and very sensitive, they would think that the French intend to abandon them and to sacrifice them to those of Canada.

I Conceive that if those two Companies were recalled in pursuance of the proposed plan, they would be very useful for the other operations of the service for which the remainder of the troops do not suffice; but I think it would be dangerous to disgarrison or draw in our frontiers, and although it is generally a true saying that the more forces are united, the stronger they become, it would be otherwise in the Case in question, because by such union we should leave 300 leagues and more of country a prey to our neighbors and appear much weaker to the savage Nations that judge our strength only by the extent of the territory we occupy.

If the jlinois post be considered an establishment difficult to maintain in connection with Louisiana, It can be so only on account of the distance, which is from 300 to 350 leagues from New Orleans by the Course of the fiver. Would not the same reason apply still more as regards Canada, which is twice as far and the road to which, besides the portages, is practicable only during one season of the year on Account of the ice, while the Governor of Louisiana can at all seasons receive news from Ilinois within a fortnight or three weeks according to the greater or lesser rapidity of the Current, and send his Orders there by land in two Months.

I admit that This remoteness imposes fatiguing detachment duty on our soldiers, but I have not yet noticed that such fatigue has caused the death of any. Moreover there will be a way to spare them the hardest part of it. The arrival at Now Orleans in September, of the vessels loaded with general supplies will Enable the Governor to send off the jlinois Convoy at the end of January at the latest. Then, the river being half full, the Current will be moderate and the shoals will 517 be Covered which will obviate the necessity of making long Circuits to Avoid them; this will shorten the voyage by almost one fourth. The more temperate atmosphere at that season and the abundance of Game will keep the crews in strength and health, so that by this arrangement the Voyages will entail hardly any fatigue And will be performed much more rapidly.

It would be desirable that the King be spared the expense entailed by the jlinois garrison and assuredly nobody will ever devote himself more zealously than, myself to anything that may tend to effect a useful and well-understood Economy.

Although I have not a thorough Knowledge of that expenditure, it seems to me that except in extraordinary Cases, it cannot be very Considerable. For, if bread and meat for the subsistence of the garrison be dearer in the jlinois country, there is a proportionate and greater profit on the goods given in payment therefor, besides the fact that, in consequence of the Sale effected in New Orleans of the Provisions sent from Franco for those two Companies, the disbursements that have to be made in the Jlinois country are

almost entirely repaid, to the King's Treasury. I see, therefore, only the repairs to the fort and to the buildings belonging to the King that can Occasion any extraordinary expense, but if the Storehouse in New Orleans were in Position to Supply enough to That at Jlinois to pay in Goods for the work ordered to be done there, I have no doubt that the profit on suck goods would easily meet the cost of the repairs, and This is the only way I can see at present to, reduce the expenses of That post.

Finally to come to a decision on the question, as to which of the two Colonies of Canada and Louisiana would derive the most Benefit from the Jlinois settlement you will find, Moseigneur, that the former Can hardly obtain other advantages from it than it now does, and that the latter, which is infinitely poorer, greatly needs it for the increase of its Trade.

The products obtained from it, not Including the Provisions Consumed in the lower portion of the Colony, constitute nearly 518 one-third of what the merchants of France and of the islands can get in Exchange for their Goods.

I have represented to you the drawbacks that might result from the proposed change. I think it would not be expedient to introduce any innovation in That respect, especially so long as Louisiana has for enemies savages frequenting the banks of the river.

I Beg You to be convinced that my Zeal for the good of the Service, added to my desire to justify by my actions the Confidence wherewith you have honored me, have guided my opinion on this Matter in which I think I should be less suspected of prejudice than any other.

I have the honor to be, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient, Servant,

Vaudreuil

New Orleans , November 2, 1748.

Index

BY LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG, PH.D.

[Names of Battles, Bays, Creeks, Falls, Forts, Islands, Lakes, Rivers, and Wars are grouped under these respective heads, instead of the individual names.]

Abenaki Indians, 487; habitat, 192; language, 191, 418; on warpath, 160, 320; mission to, 191, 195; Foxes intrigue with, xiv, 191–200; calumet dance of, 195–200; English war with, 305; hostile to French, 489; receive prisoners, 486.

Abercrombie, Gen. James, 477.

Abittibi Indians, 63; enumerated, 246.

Acadia, 459, 476; commandants in, 134, 160, 166; voyages to, 300, 301, 303; siege in, 302; captured by English, 303; French intrigue with habitants, 303, 3O4.

Accault (Aco), Michael, wife rescued, 19; accompanies Hennepin, 19.

Achaouabemé, Ottawa chief, 376, 377.

Achaoualina, Ottawa chief, 511.

Acorn. as Indian totem, 250.

Agoabémé, Ottawa chief, 375.

Aguilar, Martin, Spanish explorer, 103, 104.

Aigremont, François Clairambault d', 11, 14, 76; death, 58.

Aillebout, Sieur d', buys Fort La Baye, 485; wounded, 190.

Aillebout, Charles d', judge, 190. See also Argenteuil and Musseaux.

Akikamingue, Ottawa chief, 357.

Alabama, Indians in, 102.

Albany (Orange), convert from, 199; council at, 335.

Algonkin Indians, 124, 468; in war-party, 209, 216, 320; at mission, 413, 416, 417.

Algonquian tribes, 246.

Amariton, François; removed from La Bays, 16; rescues an Illinois woman, 18, 19; captain, 71; sketch, 18.

American Antiquarian Society, *Report*, 382.

Amyot-Vincelot, Charles Joseph, at Cape St. Ignace, 372.

Amyot-Vincelot, Joseph Jean Baptiste, blacksmith at Mackinac, 372–875; son of, 376; sketch, 372.

Angouirot, Huron chief, 286; opposes migration, 328, 354; reputation, 349, 354. Aniers. See Mohawk.

Apaquois, mats of reeds, 99. Apichemonts, 116. Appleton (Wis.), 190.

Argenteuil, seigniory and county of, 227.

Argenteuil, Madame Marie Louise Denys d', concession to, 327.

Argenteuil, Pierre d' Ailleboust, sieur d', 327.

Arkansas, 322.

Arnaud. See D'Arnaud.

Artaguette, Diron d', commissary of Louisiana, 213.

Artaguette, Pierre d', governor of Illinois, nois, 213, 220, 222, 228; urges war, 229, 276, 321; slain, 259; sketch, 213.

Assepausa, Miami chief, 506.

Assiniboin Indians, trade with, 140, 144, 156; on warpath, 268, 418, 426; make peace, 403; enumerated, 247, 248; avenge French, 264.

Aubert. See Gaspé.

Aubrey, Joseph, Jesuit missionary, 198.

Auger,—, leases post at La Baye, 446.

Auger. See Subercasse.

“Auguste”, vessel wrecked, 509.

Aulneau, Jean Pierre, Jesuit missionary, massacred by Sioux. 261; letter of, 273; relics of, 277, 278.

Aulneau de la Touche,—, mother Of foregoing, letter to, 278, 314.

Ayouet Indians. See Iowa.

Bailleul,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

Bailly,—, ensign, 71.

520

Bain, James, *Henry's Travels*, 252.

Barrois, Marie Lothman de, 241.

“Batteaux du cent,” term explained, 313.

Battles: Bantry Bay, 299. Beachy Head, 299. Butte des Morts, 190. Fallen Timbers, 131. Lake George, 166. La Manche, see Beachy Head. Malplaquet, 103. Monongahela, 223.

Bays: Bantry, 299. Chequamegon, 9, 105. Georgian, 209, 245, 462. Green, 89 (see also Fort La Baye). Grand Traverse, 351, 360. Hudson, tributaries of, 63; expedition in, 180, 300; English in, 246. Little Traverse, 352. Matchedash, route via, 313. St. Ignace, 352. St. Martin, see St. Ignace. Saginaw, Indians at, 221 (see also Saginaw). Sandusky, 287 (see also Sandusky). Thunder, fort on, 426.

Bear, as Indian totem, 245. 248, 249, 251; clan of Ottawa, 245.

Beaubassin, intrigues at. 303. 304.

Beaucourt, Jesué Dubois de Berthelot, sieur de, 292, 451, 455. 459, 465; governor el: Isle Royale. 304: of Montreal, 335, 431; sketch, 292.

“Beauharnois,” vessel, 120, 130.

Beauharnois, Charles de ta Boische, marquis de, governor of Canada, official reports, 4, 10, 17, 18, 29, 30, 36, 59, 61, 62, 66, 76, 80–82, 87, 88, 104, 106, 109, 119, 141, 147, 148, 162, 164, 167, 169, 175, 182–184, 187, 191, 204, 206, 213, 221, 236, 242, 253,

254, 260, 269, 276, 291, 298, 299, 306, 316, 318, 322, 335, 356, 360, 369, 370, 412, 415, 422, 424, 430, 431, 438, 440, 443, 445, 446, 451, 452; arrangements for posts, 133, 204, 267, 289, 293, 305, 471, 478, 479, 503, 504; receives news, 6, 142, 207, 243, 244, 440; witnesses documents, 14, 135, 138; orders of, 74, 75, 104, 161. 331. 508; orders to, 131, 134, 145, 154–159, 161, 176–180, 261, 263; sends information, 120, 154–156, 161, 186, 259. 406: policy toward Foxes, xiv, 5. 21, 22, 28, 61, 112, 143, 145, 161–164, 167, 182, 183, 185, 190, 201, 320, 338, 339; sends relief to Guignas, 274; messages to Indians, 340–848, 351–353; Indian speeches to, 146, 196, 324–326, 834, 372–409: letters to, 353–355. 359, 360; writes to La Richardie, 348–350; asks favors for officers, 327; suppresses revolt, 464. 467, 470; receives copper ore, 255. 308; issues ordinance, 214; féte celebrated, 26, 27; bad terms with intendant, 20; new dignities of, 393, 394; recalled, 498; abilities, xviii; sketch, 6, 7.

Beauharnois,—, junior, goes to Detroit, 334, 337–350, 353–355, 358, 369–371, 379; at Sandusky, 370, 413; messages sent by, 340–346; instructions, 346–348; to pass winter at Detroit, 347; letter to uncle, 353–355; Heron chiefs accompany, 371, 377, 413; opposed by missionary, 413.

Beauharnois, François de, intendant of New France, 301.

Beauharnois, Josephine, ancestor of, 8.

Beaujeu de Villemonde,—, captain, 71; at Niagara, 432.

Beaulac,—, ensign, 71.

Beaumont,—, senior officer in Canada, 335.

Beauvais.—, sieur de. captain, 71.

Beauvais,—, interpreter, 227.

Bégon, Catherine, 451.

Bégon, Claude Michel, intendant of Canada, 8.

Belair,—. French sea captain, 300.

Belamy,—, French official. 120.

Bellerive. See St. Ange.

Bellestre. Marie François Picoté, sieur de. lieutenant. 71; at Detroit, 459–461, 466, 481 leads war-parties, 460, 461, 507; at St. Joseph, 461, 490; sketch, 459.

Belleval,—, ensign, 71.

Bellin, Nicolas, cartographer, 165, 352. Benoist de St. Clair,—, commandant in Illinois, 428.

Betty,—, ensign, 71.

Berman. See La Martiniére.

Bertel,—, commandant in Illinois, 428, 479, 496: reports from 487–489; aid sent to, 492, 497; ability, 496, 500, 501.

Berthelot. See Beaucourt.

Bibaud. Max. *La Bibliothéque Canadianne*, 36, 44.

“Biche,” vessel. 302.

Bleuville. Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, sieur de. 10. 73: governor of Louisiana, 147, 179, 180, 212, 213, 220, 244, 321, 435, 436. 439; expeditton against Chickasaw. 259, 316; sister of, 135; sketch. 180, 435.

Bigot, François. intendant of Canada, 205; official reports, 499, 502; sketch, 499.

Bigot, Vincent, Abenaki missionary, 195.

Billoxi (Miss.), provisioned, 301.

Bissot. See Vincennes.

Black dog, as Indian totem. 248.

Black Fox, chief, 53.

“Black gowns,” Indian term for Jesuit missionaries. 39, 45, 50, 284.

Black Squirrel, tribe of Ottawa, 245; as Indian totem, 251.

Black Hawk, Sauk chief, 323.

Blainville, Jean Baptiste Cé1oron, sieur de, senior, captain, 71, 367.

Blainville, Jean Baptiste Cé1oron, sieur de, junior, at Mackinac, 322, 336, 367; at Muskegon, 364; at Saginaw, 368, 373, 376; on Ohio expedition. 207; sketch, 207, 367. She also Céloron.

Bleary. See Sabrevois.

Bœuf Noir, Kickapoo chief, 46, 52.

Boisbriant. Pierre Dugué, sieur de, commandant of Illinois, 2, 18; sketch, 2.

Boiselle,—, voyageur. 57.

Boishébert, Louis Henri Deschamps, sieur de, captain, 71; commandant at Detroit, 133, 134, 141, 145, 161, 170; supplies munitions of war, 149; letters of, 142, 148–153, 172, 175, 181; daughter, 223; sketch, 134.

Boishébert,—, junior, at Fort St. Frédéric, 432.

Bonaventure,—, sea captain, 300.

Bordeaux, French port, 499.

Boston (Mass.), French officer at, 20; expedition from, 302; embassies to. 303–305.

Bouat, Agathe le Gardeur. 434.

Bouat, François-Marie, 434.

Boubersheur,—, 335.

Boucher, Marie, 103.

Boucher, Marie Madeleine, 58.

Boucher, Marguerite, 183.

Boucher. See Boucherville, La Perriàre, and Montbrun.

Boncherville, Pierre Boucher, sieur de, 16. 331; ensign, 71; commandant among Sioux, 33; at Niagara, 328; captured, 38, 58; narrative of, 36–57; speech to Kickspoe, 41–43;

arranges peace with Illinois, 48–53, 60, 62; escapes via Illinois, 54, 55; observations on Sioux, 56, 57; aunt of, 58; expenses of, 82–86; sketch, 36.

Boulanger, Jean Antoine, missionary to Illinois, 55, 255. 25(5.

Bournasa, Charlotte, 270.

Bournasa, Réné, voyageur, 270.

Boyle, David, note by, 313.

Bragelogne,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

Brandy, sale at posts, 7, 145, 158, 159, 173, 289, 358; Indian term for, 381. See also English and Fur Trade.

Brasse, French measure, 41.

Brest, French port, 299.

Brevoort, James C., collector of manuscript, 28.

Brown County (Wis.), 188; (Ohio), 475.

Brymner, Douglas, Canadian archivist, xviii.

Buache, Philippe, French geographer, 28.

Budemont,—, sieur de, captain; 71.

Buffalo, used for provision, 224; Indian totem, 248.

Buissoniére, Alphonse do, governor of Illinois, 316, 321.

Burgundy, 371.

Butterfield, Consul Willshire, *Grant County, Wis*., 433.

Cabanac,—, chevalier de, ensign, 71.

Cabanac Laisné,—, lieutenant, 71.

Cacalin. See Kakalin.

Cacapon (Va.), attack on, 322.

Cache, method of making, 279.

Cadillac, Antoine de Lamothe, sieur de, commandant at Detroit, 41, 266; correspondence, 424; concessions, 241.

Cahokia (Ill.), French settlement at, 101, 110, 337; size, 495.

Cahokia Indians, 59; enemies of Foxes, 111–117; desert, 117; enumerated, 251; capture Sauk, 337, 365; village of, 487; sketch, 337. See also Illinois Indians.

California; river near, 103, 104.

Callières-Bonneville, Louis Hector de, governor of Canada, 338.

Campeau, François, blacksmith at Sioux post, 14, 57, 135.

“Canada,” vessel, 415, 417, 419, 420, 421.

Canada, 110, 129, 133; map of, 103; governors, 1, 2, 4, 7, 31, 470; intendants, 76, 301, 499; army officers, 71; Illinois should belong to, 17, 146, 147, 157: land taxes, 241; American Invasion, 459; *Canadian Archives*, xviii, 14, 30, 35, 73, 424.

Canoes, price of, 126.

Cape St. Ignace, seigneur of, 372.

Carolina, 250; Indians of, 119; Natchez take refuge in, 220; Chickasaw migrate to, 438; raided, 447, 448; traders from, 475.

Carp, as Indian totem, 249, 251.

Carr. Lucien, *Mascoutins*, 382.

Catahoula Parish (La.), 220.

Catamount, as Indian totem, 248.

Catfish, as Indian totem, 246, 247.

Caughnawaga, mission colony, 279.

Cauvet, French sea captain, 301.

Cavagnial,—, sieur de, captain, 71, See also Vaudreuil.

Cayuga, at Montreal, 420. See also Iroquois.

Cé1oron, Pierre Joseph, sieur de, 382; ensign, 71; commandant at Mackinac 207, 209, 210, 223, 257, 317, 322, 351, 359, 362, 364, 374, 377, 423; retires from Mackinac, 373, 375; commands against Chickasaw, 310; letters of, 367–369; author, 245; commandant at Detroit, 410, 415; at Niagara, 443; leads Detroit convoy, 508; to remove Ottawa, 352, 353, 416; Indians accompany, 419, 420; Ohio expedition, 207, 475, 482, 489, praised, 369; popular, 372; sketch, 207, 367, 377. See also Blainville.

Chabert,—, sieur, accompanies De Noyelles. 226; wounded. 220; among Seneca, 468. See also Joncaire.

Chalet, François, French merchant, 443.

Chambellan,—, mining expert, 234, 235, 237.

Champigny,—, governor of Martinique, 210.

Champlain, Samuel de, 63, 422.

Chanoy. See De Noyan.

Chaouanon Indians. See Shawnee.

Chaouénon, Kickspoe warrior, 41, 43, 46.

Chapt. See La Corne.

Chardon, Jean B., Jesuit missionary, 6, 7, 8, 196, 199; among Foxes, 24; sketch, 7.

Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier de, travels of, 160; map of, 462; *History of New France*, 303, 305.

Charley, Jacques, 444.

Charley, Jean Baptiste, *dit* St. Ange, 306, 444.

Charley, Louis, 444.

Chattier de Lotbiniére, 477.

Chartier, Angelique, 211.

Chartier, Martin, at Philadelphia, 331.

Chartier, Peter. among Shawnee, 331.

Chartier's old town, 331.

Chartrain,—, ensign, 71.

Chartrier,—, Chevalier de, French sea captain, 300.

Chassaigne, Madame de, pensioned, 213.

Chastelain,—, ensign de, 71.

Chat Blanc (White Cat), Sauk chief 223; begs for mercy, 258.

Chaudiéres, mines near, 312.

Chaussegros de Léry, Gaspard, engineer, 103, 104, 120.

Chauvignerie, Michel Maray, sieur de, 245; interpreter, 255.

Chavois. See De Noyan.

Chelaouiskaouois, Ottawa chief, 351.

Chélaouois, Winnebago chief, 407.

Cherokee Indians, 65, 480, 515; habitat, 336; enumerated, 250; settle near Ohio, 261; hostile to French, 489; unsubjugated, 429.

Chicagou, Indian site, 3, 6, 149, 150, 362, 363; Sauk and Fox at, 404, 437. Chicatallen, Ottawa Indian, 389, 392; son of, 389, 392.

Chichippa, Fox chief, 53; killed by Kickapoo, 54.

Chickasaw Indians, 364; enumerated, 250; expeditions against, 29, 73, 135, 147, 157, 166, 207, 212, 213, 259, 276, 316, 322, 480; attack French detachments, 181, 259, 336, 418, 419, 489; burn French officers, 259, 276, 381, 384, 385; attacks on Incited. 161–164, 179, 181, 183, 185, 186, 214, 220, 228, 229, 244, 364, 387, 438: northern Indians attack, 102, 181, 182, 218, 220, 232, 276, 328, 336, 337, 353, 365, 366, 371, 382, 395, 419, 480, 487; Natchez take refuge among, 162; abandon, 220; instigated by, 147, 157, 179, 180; intrigues with English 157; with Huron, 65; with Illinois, 157, 428, 438; unsubdued, 429; desire to migrate, 438; settle near Ohio, 261; raid Ouiatonon, 380. 384; peace with, 335; sketch, 65. 102.

Chicoutimi, mission station, 418.

Chippewa (Saulteur) Indians, 6, 228, 369, 375; habitat. xvi, 79, 81, 246, 247. 282, 305, 360; enumerated. 246, 247; tribe of. 437: at Sable River, 276, 484; visit Montreal. 62. 421, 466; bring news, 270: woman of, 117; at war with Sioux, xvi, 42, 264, 271, 272, 277. 310, 325, 329. 360, 361, 397, 426: peace with, 277. 278: at war with Cree. 140: peace with. 68; at war with Foxes, 53, 81; attacked by Illinois 184: hostile to Detroit Huron, 279, 280. 287, 333: Iroquois intrigue with, 305; seek allies. 425, 426: on the warpath, 363, 416, 422, 425, 448; make peace, 401. 407, 426. 441; Join Lignery, 31: Villiers. 190: commended, 407; promise fidelity, 425; loyalty doubtful, 486: message to, 345–347; speeches of, 396, 400, 401, 408; 523 prisoner ransomed, 360; plunder, 459; revolt at Mackinac, 462–465, 469, 475; at Detroit, 467, 468, 506; in Lake Superior, 469; murder French, 484; ask asylum, 486; history of, 246.

Choctaw Indians, 157; oppose Chickasaw, 212, 220.

Choueghen. See Fort Oswego.

Christian, Brother—, Jesuit, 106.

Ciquenackqua, Miami chief, 506.

Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi* , 316.

Clignancourt, Louis Matthieu Damours, sieur de, at Mackinac, 34; ensign, 71; leases La Baye, 452, 455; sketch, 34.

Coldfeet, Miami chief, 482.

Company of the Indies, 2, 5, 19, 62, 230, 232, 233, 298, 299, 443, 472, 512; retrocede Louisiana, 146, 230; sketch, 230.

Contrecœur,—, sieur de, captain, 71.

Contrecœeur,—, junior, ensign, 71.

Copper, mines reported, xvi, 105, 106, 165–167, 176, 177, 187, 233–240, 242, 252–254, 262, 263, 290, 291, 305–315, 477; specimens taken to France, xvi, 86, 87, 165, 235, 252–254, 306, 307, 309; assayed, 233, 234, 236, 254, 807; methods of mining, 234–240; experts visit, xvi, 234, 235, 237, 253, 262, 290, 291, 306–315.

Coquart, Claude, Godefroy, Jesuit missionary, 418; at Kaministiquia, 426.

Corbeau, Ottawa chief, 377, 394, 395.

Corbin,—, reports on mines, 236–240.

Costabelle,—, governor of Isle Royale, 303, 304.

Coubaigne,—, French engineer, 303.

Coulimy. See Kakalin.

Coulon. See Jumonville and Villiers.

Coulonge,—, in Sioux trade, 135, 138, 139.

“Courageux,” vessel, 299.

Coureurs des bois, 363, 452; gathered at Mackinac, 1, 211, 279, 275, edict favoring, 263; amnesty for, 275; at Green Bay, 445, 446; injure trade, 473, 474; to be exiled, 474; refuge in Illinois, 497, 515.

Cournoyer,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

Courtemanche. See Croiselle.

Crab, as Indian totem, 249, 251.

Craig, Oscar J., *Ouiatanon* , 131.

Crane, as Indian totem, 245–247, 249–251.

Cree (Cristinaux) Indians, enumerated, 247; war with Sioux, 16, 268; peace with, 166, 263, 403; war with Chippewa, 140; peace with, 68; on war-path, 4, 18, 421, 426; avenge French, 264; trade with, 140, 144, 156; sketch, 68.

Creeks: Buffalo, 38; Chartier, 331; Green (Ohio), 286; Loramie (Ohio), 482; White Oak (Ohio), 475.

Crespel, Emanuel, chaplain of Lignery's expedition, 28.

Cristinaux Indians. See Cree.

Croghan, George, at Pickawillany, 482; *Journals* , 132, 480.

Croiselle de Courtemanche,—, lieutenant, 71, at Detroit, 432; killed, 226.

Crown Point. See Fort St. Frédéric.

Cuming, Fortescue, *Tour of the West* , 419.

Dagneau . See Douville, and La Saussaye.

Daillay (Dumay), Pierre, member of Sioux company, 14.

D'Amour,—, sieur, lieutenant, 71; see also Clignancourt.

Daneaux. See Muy.

Darlington, William M., *Gist's Journals* , 286.

D'Arnaud (Renaud), Nicolas Marie Davanne, sieur de Desmoloises, ensign, 71; commandant among Miami, 211–213, 243; sketch, 211.

Dauphin, medals struck at birth of, 159.

Davenne. See D'Arnaud.

Dazenaro. See Lusignan.

De Brouillan,—, governor of Newfoundland, 303.

De Cotte,—, manufacturer of medals, 171.

Decouagne, Marie Anne, 452.

Deer, as Indian totem, 250.

Déhestre,—, blacksmith, 394, 395.

Delisle, Claude, cartographer, 103.

Delisle, Guillaume, cartographer, 103, 104.

Denissen, Christian, *Family of Navarre* , 241.

De Noyan, Pierre Jacques Payan, sieur de Chavois (Chanoy), captain, 71; in expedition of 1728, 73; memorials of, 107, 108, 121–129, 131; to command at Mackinac, 172; commandant at Detroit, 288, 289, 298, 330, 346–348, 350, 354, 355, 388, 393, 428, 429; plans for Detroit, 291–296, 356–359; superseded, 415; letters of, 284, 286–289, 291–296, 326, 327, 330, 333, 344, 391, 393, 412; acts as peacemaker, 288, 289, 332, 333; decides law-suits, 524 359; to migrate with Huron, 345, 379; cured of illness, 298; at Montreal, 431; grievances, 356, 359; seigniory, 327; sketch, 73.

De Noyan, Madame, 350.

De Noyelles, Charles Joseph, commandant at Mackinac, 448, 462, 463, 467, 469; sketch, 462.

De Noyelles, Nicolas Joseph, sieur de Fleurimont, attacks Foxes, 112, 114 116, 130; sends slave, 120; sent to Miami, 185, 186, 211; expedition against. Sauk and Foxes, xv, 208–210 215–221, 230–233, 242, 255, 260; personal account of, 221–229; excuses for failure, 229, 232, 256, 257; orders given, 255–258; commandant at Detroit, 242, 266, 292, 340, 341, 387; appointment disapproved, 268, 296; acts as peacemaker, 276, 279–281, 332, 390; intercedes for Huron, 284, 341, 344; Ouiatanon desire, 381, 384; succeeds La Vérendrye, 441, 442, 462; arrives at Mackinac. 463; letters from, 322, 462; characterized, 209, 269; son. 462; sketch, 112.

Denys. See La Ronde.

De Plaine,—, ensign. 71.

Deschaillons. Jean Baptiste St. Ours, 71; at Detroit, 35, 36, 59. 100; Kaministiquia. 80; accompanies De Noyelles, 226; son, 59, 223; sketch, 35. See also St. Ours.

Deschamps, Charlotte, 223.

Deschamps. Geneviéve, 223.

Deschamps. See Boishàbert.

D'Esgly,—, ensign, 71.

Des Gouttes, Count—, 20.

Desliettes, Charles Henri de Tonty, commandant at Illinois, 3–6, 18, 19, 29, 49–52, 55; leads army, 39: fails to co-operate, 34; letters from 51; wounded, 181; sketch, 3.

Desmoloises. See D'Arnaud.

Des Moines (Iowa), 231.

Desprez, Guyon, in Sioux trade, 136, 138.

Detroit, 128, 132, 146, 163, 174, 175, 181, 183, 256, 257, 260, 263, 440, 467, 472, 483, 501, 510; distance from Montreal, 56; map, 141; French post, xii, 3, 5, 31, 83, 214,. 322; founded, 266; fort, state of, 357; commandants, 41, 107, 183, 205, 207, 208, 242, 266, 268, 288, 289, 415. 428, 482. missionaries, 342, 343, 459 (See also La Richardie and Potiers); garrison, 134, 240–242, 265; settlers, 171, 244, 265, 296, 297, 326, 357, 500; Indians at, 63, 124, 148, 151, 152, 167, 172, 216, 231, 243, 251, 345, 499, 500; Indian troubles, 279–289, 333, 334, 341–350, 369–371, 387, 429; conditions at, 35, 36, 141, 142, 204, 240–242, 264–267, 326–329, 357, 415, 449, 450, 489–492, 499–501, 505; plans for,

131–134, 141, 170, 171, 291–298, 441, 444, 499–501; fur-trade at, 499; sale of brandy, 145, 293–295; licenses for, 504; vessel to be built at, 311; blacksmith, 410; smallpox at, 181; rendezvous, 209, 457; alarm at, 288; presents sent to, 322; Indians disaffected, 446, 447, 458–462, 474, 489–481; revolt, xvii, 459, 467, 478–481, 484–487, convoy for, xvii, 460, 508; re-inforced, 468, 481, 484, 493, 508; importance of, 266, 470, 499, 508; surrendered to English, 459.

De Velie. See Villiers.

De Vitliers du Terrage, Mare, *Dernier Années de la Louisiane française* ,495

Devivier,—, captain, 71.

Devivier,—, junior, ensign, 71.

Dieskau, Jean Erdman, baron, expedition on Lake George, 166. 477.

Dinwiddie, Robert, governor of Virginia, 166.

D'Orgeville,—, sieur, 210.

Dormicourt,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

Dorval,—, sieur, among Foxes. 151; attempts to redeem captives, 152.

Dosquet. Pierre Armand, bishop of Quebee. 158. 159.

D'Outreleau, Etienne, missionary to Illinois. 51, 52.

Douville, Alexandre Dagneau. sieur, ensign. 71; with Villiers. 188–191; sent to Detroit. 322; to Montreal, 487; commandant among Miami, 322, 481, 482: interpreter at Fort Frontenac, 422: sketch. 322. 481. See also La Saussaye.

Dubeau.—. in Sioux trade. 136, 138, 139.

Dubois. See Beaucourt.

Dubreuil. See La Corne.

Dubuisson. Joseph Guyon, captain, 71, 457; commandant at Mackinac, 75, 87, 89. 106. 107: returns, 108: plans against Foxes. 143; characterized, 108. sketch. 75.

Dubuisson.—, junior, at Niagara: 432: goes to Detroit. 457, 460, 468; to Miami, 505, 506; sketch, 457.

Dubuisson family, 136.

Duburon, Jean Joseph Feray, sieur, ensign, 71; commands detachmerit, 212; accompanies Beauharnois, 334, 340, 347, 348, 355; sketch, 334.

Du Chesne, St. Michel, in Sioux trade, 136, 138, 139.

Dufros. See La Jemerais.

Dufugier,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

Dugué,—, ensign, 71.

Duluth, Daniel Graysolon, explorer, 188; correspondence, 424; builds fort, 426.

Dumas, Jean, missionary at Illinois, 39.

Dumay, François, member of Sioux company, 14, 57. See also Daillay.

Dumont,—, ensign, 71.

Dunn, Jacob P., *Indiana*, 475, 485.

Duplessis-Fabert, François Lefebre, sieur, captain, 71; commands at La Baye, 17; at Niagara, 468; opinion of, 339; son killed, 189, 190; sketch, 17.

Duplessis, François Antoine Lefêbre, ensign, 471. See also Gatineau and Mornay.

Dupré, Saint George, member of Sioux Company, 14.

Dupuy, Claude Thomas, intendant of Canada, 4, 6, 7, 18, 20, 22, 35, 73, 75; recalled, 20, 58; sketch, 8.

Duquesne,—, French sea captain, 300.

Dusablé,—, ensign, 71.

Du Taré,—, French sea captain, 299.

Dutch, befriended by Iroquois, 338.

Eagle, as Indian totem, 246, 248.

Écu, value of, 277.

“Elephant,” store-ship, 20; wrecked, 69.

“Enfiammé,” vessel, 301.

English, rivals of French in fur-trade, xvii, 75, 76, 122, 131, 133, 134, 156, 191, 192, 205, 233, 358, 373, 376, 388, 407, 476, 503, 504, 515; strategems of, 410, 415, 429, 447; intrigue with Foxes, 181, 338; with Miami and Shawnee, xvii, 29, 186, 211, 214, 215, 261, 417, 475, 482, 506, 507; with Abenaki, 191, 193, 194; with Huron, 230, 281, 350, 458, 460, 480, 506; with Illinois, 428; with Jesuits, 414; Iroquois as agents, 102; Iroquois

abandon, 420; attacks upon Incited, 448, 457, 510; war with, declared, 440, 411, aid Indian revolt, 463, 469, 474–476, 483, 487–489, 508; project for Wabash, post, 178; cut off Canada from Louisiana,, 147, 489, 496; Intrigues at Detroit, 265, 358; befriend Têtes Plats, 334; at Oswego, 365, 448, 446, 447, 503; supply brandy to Indians, 173, 175, 265, 395, 446, 447; benefited by French lease system, 409, 411; in Hudson Bay, 246; besiege Port Royal, 302; in Acadia, 303, 304; may capture Illinois, 497, 515; Canada, 447.

Eutatsogo, mission Indian chief, 281, 331.

“Entendu,” vessel, 300.

“Envieux,” vessel, 300.

“Excellent,” vessel, 300.

Falls of St. Anthony, 57, 64; Sioux at, 36. Calumet, 422.

Feray. See Duburon.

Ferland, Abbé J. B. A., *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, 38, 256.

Ferrière,—, ensign, 71.

Fisher bird, as Indian totem, 246.

Flathead Indians. See Têtes Plats.

Fleurimont. See De Noyelles.

Fleury,—, ship-owner, 107.

Fleury. See La Gorgendiére.

Folle Avoine Indians. See Menominee.

Fond du Lac, term explained, 487.

Fork, as Indian totem, 251.

Forster, John Adam, Father and son, Lake Superior mining experts, xvi, 262, 290, 291, 306, 308, 310, 311; report, 314,, 315.

Fort Wayne (Ind.), French post on site, 131.

Forts: Alepinigon, see Nipigon. Assumption, built, 316; peace at, 335. Beauharnois, 7–17, 22; built, xiii, 25–28, 33, 71, 78–80, 109, 135–140, 143, 155, 168, 177, 403: location, 57; described, 138; inundated, 26, 77; celebration at, xiii, 26, 27; commandants, 16, 39, 66, 135, 138, 139, 166, 168, 178, 207, 223, 258, 259; importance of, 156, 230; warned, xiii, 33, 36; abandoned, xiii, 37, 58, 59, 64, 140, 144, 155, 206; Foxes near, 67–70, reestablished, xiv, 135–140, 143, 155, 168, 169, 177; dangerous, 258, 259; evacuated, xv, 264, 267–274; re-occupied, 315. Carillon, see Ticonderoga. Cataraqui, see Frontenac. Chambly, 205, 432. Chartres, xii, 3, 10, 424; Indians near, 250; conditions at, 467, 517; deserter from, 317; commandants, 18, 161, 213, 821, 427, 444; sketch, 18. Chequamegon (La Pointe), xii, 5, 9, 11, 33, 34, 79, 105, 526 136, 165–167, 308, 311, 463; commandants, xvi, 20, 68, 87, 165, 166, 309, 315, 335; granted to De la Ronde, 176. 177, 237, 305; leased to Madame La Ronde, 444, 477, 478, 498, 499; to others, 502, 509; messenger from, 361; supplies for, 471; mining experts visit, 290, 291, 308, 310, 311; Indians near, xvi, 140, 247, 264, 305, 360, 396, 403, 421, 426, 441, 442; Menominee invited to settle near, 425; war rages at, 277, 278, 310; peace matte, 263. Crown Point, see St. Frédéric. Dauphin, 471. Duquesne, 322; *register* of, 301. Frontenac, 132, 274; exploited, 443; conditions at, 467, 472, 483, 508; scarcity of goods at, 449; officers, 205, 211, 432; garrison, 451, 489; surrender, 73; sketch, 321. Kaministiquia, 16, 80, 247, 418, 424, 426; leased, 444, 502, 504; commandants, 35, 435; supplies for, 471; Indians near, 426, 437,

441, 469; portage near, 426; sketch, 426. La Baye, 7, 11, 22. 23, 31, 32, 89, 168, 199, 375, 394, 424, 430, 467, 501, 504; location, xii, 22, 136; rendezvous, 3, 4, 6, 75; road via, 57, 363; French officers at, 2, 6, 15–18, 160, 188, 274, 276, 315, 433, 439, 463, 471; missionary, 8; interpreter, 24; abandoned, xiii, 89, 140, 156; re-established, xiv, 140, 156, 169, 178; country unfertile, 317, 319; tributary Indians, 8, 89, 99, 249, 405, 452, 457; Foxes visit. 182, 185; near, 298, 363. 400; Sauk to return, 216, 218, 219, 227, 231, 232; Sauk and Foxes oppose return to, 315–317, 320, 362, 363; French officer killed at, xv, 188–191, 201–204, 206, 210, 212, 214, 226; conditions at, 336, 425, 445, 446, 450, 451, 465; supplies for, 471; fidelity of Indians, 465. 466; leased, 435, 450; contract for lease, 451–455. La Pointe, see Chequamegon. La Reine, 418, 424. 427. Le Bœuf, builta 315. Miami, xii, 120, 146, 424. 456, 482, 501; route to, 132; commandants, 29, 112, 130, 161, 172, 179, 211, 213, 322, 333, 428, 433, 487; garrison, 131, 132; supplies for, 471; De Noyelles visits, 257; small pox at, 181; leased, 444; revolt at, xvii, 484, 487, 505; sketch, 131. Michipicoton, leased, 434, 450, 502, 504; supplies for, 471. Necessity, 113. Niagara, 132, 321, 322, 470, 483, 486; exploited, 443; stores at, 355, 443; scarcity of goods, 449; trade, 145; commandants, 166, 207, 327, 387, 390, 432, 468, 474, 475, 482; garrison, 451; conditions, 467, 472, 483. Nipigon (Alepinigon), 246, 247; supplies for, 471; leased, 445, 502, 504; commandant, 432; Indians, . Ouabaches, see Vincennes. Ouiatanou, xii, xiv, 100, 102, 131, 132, 146, 161, 221, 336, 370, 424, 456, 501; route to, 132; commandants, 179, 211, 223, 428, 432, 483, 490; salary, 410; aid from, 114; small pox at, 181; De Noyelles, 225, 231, 257; licenses for desired, 381, 410; leased, 435, 451; supplies for, 471; sketch, 1.21. Pepin, see Beauharnois. Pontchartrain. at Detroit, 214 (see also Fort Detroit). Rosalie, massacre at, 122, 220. Rourile (Toronto), abandoned, 321. St. Charles, rounded by La Vérendrye, 262. St. Frédéric (Crown Point), 207; commandants, 25, 259, 332, 432; garrison, 451; rendezvous. 456. St. Joseph, xii, 3, 5, 7, 35. 60, 66, 69, 100, 128, 130, 163, 172, 183, 242, 445, 501; location, 501; expedition from, xiv, 322; commandants, 232, 242, 259, 315, 337, 362, 433, 459, 461, 490; salary, 410; missionary, 102; supplies for, 471; traders at, 363; reports from, 405, 483, 504;]eased, 451; Indians of, 63, 101, 111, 149, 174, 249, 251, 263, 394, 459, 501, 507; Foxes visit, 69, 70, 168,

181; Sank visit, 218, 219, 222, 223, 233, 257, 259, 260 (see also River St. Joseph,. St. Pierre (Tekamamiouen, Rainy Lake), Sounded, 247; La Vérendrye at, 427; Indians of, 426. Tekamamiouen, see St. Pierre. Temiscamingue, 63; leased. 434, 502. 504. Ticonderoga, 259. Vincennes (Ouabache), xii, 424, 494, 501; founded, 29; commandants, 29, 147, 419. 428: supplies for, 471; expedition from, 259: attack near, 336. Wayne, built, 131. William Henry, 315, 332, 509. See also Posts.

Foster and Whitney, Report on Copper *Regions of Lake Superior* , 252, 307.

“Fourbe,” vessel, 300.

Fouville (Fonuille),—, lieutenant. 71; commandant at St. Frédéric, 432.

Fox, as Indian totem, 248, 249.

Fox Indians, habitat, 23, 28, 32. 336; numbers, xiv. 23, 149, 150, 152–154, 167, 168, 172, 182, 249, 256; parties among, 28, villages described, 22–24; resumé of relations, xii–xv, 1–7, 109; 527 feared by French, 42; allies, 8, 117, 119, 128, 191–200, 339; war upon, determined, xiii, 21, 22, 28, 50, 60, 64; expedition of 1828, xiii, 23–36, 61, 62, 64, 143, 160; expenses of, 63–70; refugees, 37, 38, 41, 42; visit Kickapoo, 43, 45, 58; demand French captives, 44–47, 60, 83; kill Kickapoo, 47–49, 60, 85; attacked by Kickapoo; 52–58, 59–62, 85; attack French Indians, 63, 68, 70, 318; return to villages, 164; sue for peace, xiv, 9, 65–70, 79; harassed by neighbors, xiii, 68, 70, 80–82, 87, 88; besiege Winnebago (1730), xiv, 90–100; battle in Illinois (1730), xiv, 100–102, 110–120, 129, 130, 139–141, 168; attempt to escape to Iroquois, xiv, 110, 113, 114, 117, 339; in extremity, 108, 145; chiefs visit Montreal, xvi, 139, 155, 182, 184, 399; harassed by Illinois, 142, 148, 170; defeated by mission Iroquois (1732), 148–154, 161, 167, 168, 170, 172; beg for mercy, 168, 182, 201, 330; besieged at bake Maramech (1733), 173, 174; truce with Huron, 181; war supposed ended, 186; affray at La Baye, Villiers killed (1733), xv, 188–191, 201–204, 206, 207, 254, 255; retreat beyond Mississippi, xv; no asylum for, 219, 232, 249, 258; ask incorporation with other tribes, 258; kill Frenchmen, 317–320, 330; make

false reports, 323; war with Illinois, 336, 338, 362, 365, 366, 398, 299, 4057 Winnebago abandon, 364, 383; restored to favor, 385, 404–406; affair with Menominee, 401, 405, 406, 408, 425; with Ottawa and Chippewa. 417, 422, 425 (for history after 1733, see Saul and Foxes); character of, 121; unused to snow-shoes, 153; French policy toward, xiii, 161, 177, 182, 183, 185, 189, 255, 256, 258, 260, 275, 338, 339 (see also Beauharnois, policy toward); attacks on, incited, 161–164, 168, 382; defeats please French king, 154, 155, 168, 177, 184.

Fox-Wisconsin trade route. xv, 64, 79; portage, 11, 14, 57, 136: described, 24, 25; skirmish near, 323.

Franquelin, Jean Baptiste, cartographer, 173, 185.

Fransur de Viller,—, lieutenant', 71.

Frog, as Indian totem, 249, 251.

Froidpied. See Coldfeet.

Frontenac, Louis de Buade, comte de, 321.

Fur-trade, xi, xii; companies for, xiii, 10–15, 68, 135–139, 144, 155, 169, 315, 451–455; ordinances for, 214, 215, 233; receipts and prices 230–233; valuable, 265; failing off, 298, 299, 471, 472; coureurs des bois injure, 473; illicit, 275, 415; at Detroit, 499; in Illinois, 494, 498, 513–515; at Hudson Bay, 246; at Oswego, 443, 503. See also Coureurs des bois, English, Licenses, and Posts.

Gabaret ,—, French admiral, 299, 301.

Galena (Ill.), lead mines, 433.

Gannes,—, chevalier de, at St. Frédéric, 432.

Gannes,—, sieur de, at Niagara, 432.

Garneau, François X., *Histoire de Canada* , 300.

Garrau, Jean, member of Sioux company, 14, 15.

Gaspé, Ignace Aubert dit de, at Mackinac, 432.

Gatineau,—, killed, 362.

Gatineau, Jean Baptiste Duplessis, leases post, 434, 450.

Gaultier, Marie Renée, 66.

Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana* , 428.

Gigner,—, at Fort Beauharnois, 69.

Giguiàres,—, in Sioux trade, 135, 138, 139.

Girone,—, captured, 300.

Gist, Christopher, at Pickawillany, 482; *Journals* , 286.

Godefroy. See Linctot.

Godeville,—, French sea captain, 304.

Goguet, Denis, merchant, 434.

Gonincourt. See Sacquepée.

Gonnor, Nicolas, missionary to Sioux, 15; returns, 30; sent to Detroit, 441; sketch, 15.

Goyagouin. See Cayuga.

Grand Portage, from Lake Superior, 247, 426.

Grand Terre, Huron to settle at, 431; location, 440.

Grandval,—, sieur de, lieutenant. 71.

Grapes, Sioux make wine from, 27.

Grassin,—, director of French mint, 233, 234.

Gravier, Jacques, Mississippi traveller, 419.

Great Calumet, portage of, 422.

Great village, Iroquois headquarters, 488.

Green Bay (Wisconsin city), 188, 189. See also Fort La Baye.

Grenville Canal, 312.

Grignon, Augustin, *Recollections*, 190, 398.

Guienne (France), 499.

Guignas, Michel, missionary to Sioux, 15, 244; description of voyage, 22–28; warned of danger, 33; leaves post, 37; captured, 38–40, 58, 59, 82, 110, 206; assists at council, 43, 54; plot to assassinate, 44–46; letters from; 49, 60, 61, 258; escapes, 54, 55; returns to Sioux post, 244; garden, 271; council with, 273; anxiety regarding, 273, 274; sketch, 15.

Guillory,—, sieur, conducts mining experts, 290, 291.

Guyon, Marie Josette, 315.

Hamlin, Marie C. W., *Legends of Le Detroit*, 241.

Hampshire County (Va.), 322.

Hare, as Indian totem, 246.

Haverhill (Mass.). French attack on, 16.

Havre de Grace, French port, 309.

Hennepin, Louis, companion of, 19.

Henry, Alexander, *Travels and Advertures*, 63, 252.

Herbin,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71; at St. Frédéric, 432.

Herbin,—, junior, ensign, 71; lieutenant at Fort Chambly, 432.

Hertel. See La Fresniére.

Hind, as Indian totem, 250, 251.

Hocquart, Gilles. intendant of New France, official reports, 76. 80, 82, 87, 106, 107, 108, 120, 130, 160. 162, 164, 167, 187, 191, 213, 215, 230, 233, 236, 240, 242, 244, 253, 255, 267, 298. 423, 445, 451, 472, 478; arrival, 58; ship-wrecked, 69; recalled, 498; orders of, 75, 79, 158, 291; letters to, 131, 145, 177, 186, 201, 263; supplies posts, 133, 293, 470; information from, 154, 163, 176, 179, 316, 449; opinions of, 157, 190, 411, 418, 446, 500. 504 asked for mining expert, 234; appoints officers, 241, 359, 441; reports to, 306; receives specimens of ore 308; objects to concession, 327; witnesses document, 452; leases posts, 433, 434; issues ordinance, 214 sketch, 76, 498; portrait, frontispiece.

Holmes,—, ensign, massacred, 131.

Houghton County (Mich.), 252.

Hudson's Bay Fur Company, 156.

Huet, Du Riven, French sea captain, 300.

Huron (Wyandot) Indians, 30, 102, 178, 185, 208, 211, 364, 390, 467, 499; habitat, 63, 64, 122, 124, 151, 243; numbers, 251; language, 459; attack Foxes, 148–154, 161, 167, 168, 170–174, 177, 216; truce with, 181; hostile to Chickasaw, 161, 162, 179, 276, 337, 353, 371, 419, 428, 435, 479, 488; peace with Miami, 64, 65; with Têtes Plats, 65, 281, 331, 339; accompany De Noyelles, 231, 256; abandon, 220, 222, 231, 232, 257; fear neighbors, xvii, 285, 287–289, 326–329, 331, 333, 339, 341, 344, 377, 379; address mission Indians, 279; desire to migrate, 279–288, 327–329, 331–334, 340,. 345, 350; averse to, 353, 358, 369–371, 377–380; messages to, 340–345, 347, 415; speech to, 377–380; band at Sandusky, 331, 378, 440; at Grand Terre, 431, 440; influenced by missionary, 413, 414, 431; intrigue with English, xvii, 280, 350, 414, 446, 447, 463, 466; with Illinois, 428, 429; incited against English, 441; raid Carolina, 448; revolt of, at Detroit, xvii, 458–462, 474, 479–483, 487, 490, 491, 506, 507; chiefs at Montreal, 63, 377; death of, 466, 485; sketch, 65.

Huron of Loretie, 174, 210, 340, 349, 350, 420; on war-path, 218, 228, 232, 320, 460, 461; at Detroit, 490.

Iberville, Pierre le Moyne, sieur d', in Hudson Bay, 300; Newfoundland, 160: explores Mississippi, 301; founds Louisiana, 10, 180, 435; sister, 135; nephew, 73.

Illinois country, xvii, 336. 373, 483, 499, 501; distances, 56, 57, 513, 516; mines in, 493, 494; foundation of settlement, 512; fort in, xii, xiii, 18, 110, 161 (see also Fort Chartres); missionaries, 255; French settlers, 55, 109, 110, 331, 495, 500, 515; commerce, 55, 494,

498, 513–515, 517, 518; exports, 514; commandants, 2. 3, 5, 18, 110 179, 213, 405, 428, 479, 487, 500, 501, 516; garrison, 514–517; reinforcements for, 499, 492; reinforces Detroit, 466; reports from, 487–489; defenseless, 488, 489, 497; importance of, 493–498; De Noyelles passes, 223, 228; refugees seek, 37; Chickasaw expedition from, 259, 316; French killed in, 317–320, 330; English arrested in, 529 428; negro escapes from, 893; retroceded to king, 146; should belong to Canada, 146, 147, 157, 496, 497; retained by Louisiana, xvii, 179, 186, 512, 517, 518; documents concerning, xix. See also Kaskaskia, Cahokia.

Illinois Historical Society, 129.

Illinois Indians, 181, 186, 243; numbers, 55, 250, 251; tribes of, 55, 250, 251; language, 48, 223; women marry Frenchmen, 55; war with Foxes, xiv, xv, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 21, 53, 100–102, 110–120, 122, 142, 148, 153, 155, 170, 174, 318, 338, 362, 363, 398, 405; peace, 363; war with Kickapoo, 39, 40, 48; peace, 48–52, 54, 55, 60, 62, 86; war with Sioux, 336; with southern Indians, 157, 179, 181; attack Wisconsin Indians, 183, 184; friendly to Sauk, 260; captive rescued, 18, 19; returned, 54; prisoner made, 228, chant war song, 51; desert from army, 112; embassy to, 223; visit Montreal, 6, 146, 169; speeches, 169, 170; should belong to Canada, 146, 157; conspire against French, 428, 430, 438, 487–489, 507; loyal, 458; at New Orleans, 489. See also Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Mitchigami, and Peoria Indians.

Indiana Historical Society, *Publications* , 131, 419.

Indians: census, 245–252; physical characteristics, 23, 28, 56; diseases, small pox, 172, 173; food, 56; habitations 23, 27; material of, 99; sweating lodges, 44; occupations, hunting, xi, 78; agriculture, xi, 30; mental characteristics, 197, 198; ungrateful, 19; fickle, 215, 216; superstitious, 27, 56, 105; thieving, 56; jealous, 56; treacherous, 121, 201; intelligent, 27, 28; generous, 56; hospitable, 49, 57, 88; religious beliefs, in charms, 153, 154; calumet dance, 195–200, 481; medicine men, 56; social customs, totemism, 244–252; marriage, 57, 252; polygamy, 57; influence of women, 354; slavery, 42, 49, 55, 89;

feasts, 49, 55; picture-writing, 192–194; warfare, character of, 215; war-chants, 51; peace, wampum (porcelain), 43, 422; calumets, 23, 24, 43, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 88, 170, 195, 381, 382, 389, 392, 396, 401, 403; dependence upon French, xi, xii, 352; ceremonies for removal, 341; effect of missions on, 197, 198; presents to officers, 42, 49, 89; from officers, 43, 55, 61, 82–86, 163, 405, 406, 491, 492; expense for, 406, 439; medals for chiefs, 159, 171, 180, 187, 202, 221, 389, 390, 392, 393, 396, 406.

Iowa (state), 38.

Iowa (Ayouets) Indians, xv; habitat and numbers, 248; allies of Foxes, 5, 38; refuse refuge to Foxes, 53, 60, 63, 206, 218; sketch, 60.

Iron Banks, French killed at, 419.

Iroquois Indians, 292; tribes of, 250; chief village of, 488; allies of English, 110, 156, 389, 458; hostile to French, 63, 178, 274, 463, 474, 487, 506; allies of Foxes, xiii, xiv, 3, 5, 7, 9, 102, 110, 122, 330, 339; of Huron, 280, 281, 285, 459; of Chippewa, 305; seduce Shawnee, 243; Ottawa attack, 389; favor French, 420; at Montreal, 64, 334, 337, 338, 420, 476, 510; message to, 347; speech to, 409; visit Sulpician mission, 371; awed by French convoy, 508; adopt Longueuil, 10; Joncaire, 118; small-pox among, 172175. See also Cayuga, Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca.

Iroquois mission Indians, 30, 122, 125, 279, 288, 320, 332, 344, 439; warlike, 215; attack Foxes, 148–154, 161, 167, 168, 170–172, 174, 177, 215–229; accompany De Noyelles, 224–229, 231233, 256; abandon, 222, 225, 257; misconduct, 229; attack Chickasaw, 220, 335, 336, 428; peace with, 335; interpreter from, 355, 428. See also Lake of Two Mountains and Sault St. Louis.

Islands: Bois Blanc, 459; villages on, 468, 480, 481. Cape Breton, see Isle Royale. Cherry, 286. Chibaoenani, see La Cloche. Doty, Indian village on, 90, 398. Jesus, 327. La Cloche, attack at, 462, 484, 508. Mackinac, 462. Manitoulin, 245, 251, 462. Manitouatim, see

Manitoulin. Martinique, 210, 474. Prince Edward's, see Isle St. Jean. San Domingo, 147, 474, 500.

Isle aux Noix, 259. Grosse (Detroit river), Huron to migrate to, 286, 287, 412–414, 431; French to settle, 415, 329, 350, 355, 371, 380; undesirable, 431. Grosse (near Mackinac), 462; Indians at, 463; French killed at, 508. Perrot, commandant at, 332. Royale (in St. Lawrence Bay), 80, 142, 167; route via, 191, 216, 235; colony, 303, 530 476; map, 303; governor, 304. Royale (Lake Superior), copper in, 310. St. Jean, colony, 304.

James II (England), goes to Ireland, 299; army of, 434.

Jaret, Miami chief, 485.

Jarret. See Verchères.

Jaunay, Pierre du, Jesuit missionary, 278, 370, 413; sketch, 370.

Jesuits, *Relations* (Thwaites ed.), 262, 274, 279, 290, 312, 314. See also Missionaries.

Joannes,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

Jollier, Jean Baptiste, 136.

Jollier, Joseph, in Sioux trade, 136, 138.

Jolliet, Louis, explorer, 136, 419; daughter, 435.

Joncaire, Philippe Thomas, sieur de Chabert, lieutenant, 71, 226, 245; among Iroquois, 118, 119, 334, 420; among Shawnee, 156, 178, 210, 211, 242, 243, 260; report of, 467, 491 sketch, 118.

Joncaire,—, junior, ensign, 71.

Jones County (Iowa), 38.

Jones, Father Arthur Edward, *Aulneau Collection* , 268, 270, 278; map of Kaskaskia settlements, 428.

Jumounville, Joseph Coulon de Villiers, sieur de, 211.

Kahokia . See Cahokia.

Kakalin, Little (Petit Cacalin), in Fox River, 188, 190, 202.

Kansa Indians, attack Foxes, 218, 229.

Kansekoé, Fox chief, 43–45.

Kaskaskia, settlement in Illinois, 18, 55, 270, 487, 489, size 495, sketch, 49; map of district, 428.

Kaskaskia Indians, 19, 249; habitat and numbers, 251.

Kaukauna (Wis.), 93.

Kekionga, Miami village, 185.

Kellogg, Louise Phelps, editorial assistant, xix; index by, 519.

Kendall County (Ill.), 129, 173.

Kentucky, Indians of, 64.

Kerlérec, Louis Billouart de, governor of Louisiana, 512.

Kiala, Fox chief, 182; fate, 210; wife escapes, 210.

Kickapoo Indians, 149; numbers, 55, 249; habitat, 38, 222, 382, 385; allies of Foxes, 2, 6, 8, 42, 58, 109, 249; capture French, 38, 39, 58, 59, 82, 83, 109; revile missionary, 39, 40; deliberate on fate of French, 40–48; break Fox alliance, 46–48, 58, 85, 110, 168; peace with Illinois, 49–52, 54, 55, 60, 62–70, 169, 170; attack Foxes, 52–55, 59–63, 100–102; 110–120; incited by De Noyelles, 222, 223, 257; false guides, 224, 226; Iroquois ill-treated, 229; at Montreal, 380; speech and reply, 382, 385, 386; incited against Chickasaw, 387; presents for, 395; to avoid Oswego, 386, 409.

Kiliou, as Indian totem, 248.

Kiliskouaki. See Kiskapocke.

Kingston, French fort at, 321.

Kinousakis (Ouinousak), Ottawa chief, speech, 387, 388; reply, 391; attachment to French, 389, 391, 468, 480, 491; sketch, 387.

Kiouanan. See Keweenaw Point.

Kiskakon, Ottawa clan, 245, 251, 263, 275, 351, 372, 374.

Kiskapocke (Kiliskouaki), Shawnee tribe, 265.

Koquois, French Indian, 467.

Kouatkougy, Potawatomi chief, dies, 365.

Koutaouen, an Ottawa, 390, 393.

La Babiche , Peoria chief, 365.

Lac de la Pluie, see Rainy Lake.

Lac des Bois. See Lake of the Woods.

La Chassaigne, Jean Bouillet, sieur de, 135, 138, 339; sketch, 135.

La Chasse, Pierre, Jesuit superior, 8.

Lachine, 257; commandant at, 135.

Lacolle, Monsoni chief, 418, 421, 425.

La Corne Dubreuil, François Josué de, ensign, 71; commandant at Kaministiquia, 438.

La Corne. See St. Luc.

La Corne, Jean Louis, sieur de Chapt, king's lieutenant at Montreal, 11, 14, 65, 80, 135, 138; sketch, 65.

La Corne, Louis, sieur de Chapt and Terrebonne, 339; commandant at Mackinac, 448, 450, 451, 462, 508; leads Indian war parties, 457. 458, 460, 461, 508; sketch, 448.

La Demoiselle (Old Briton), Miami chief, secedes from Fort Miami, 482; league against French, 488; sketch, 482.

Lafayette (Ind.), French post near, 131, 370.

La Forche, Ottawa chief, 372, 374.

Laforest, Huron chief, 148.

La Fresnière, Jacques Hertel, sieur de, letter from, 30, 31; lieutenant, 71.

“La Friponne, ” vessel, 499.

La Galette, at outlet of Lake Ontario, 313.

La Galissonière, Michel Rolland Barin, comte de, governor of Canada, 470, 471, 482, 490, 491, 502; ability, xviii; official reports, 472, 473, 474, 478, 492, 498, 499, 501, 504, 512; policy toward Indians, 510; sketch, 470.

La Gauchetière,—, sieur de, captain, 71.

La Gorgendière, Joseph de Fleury, sieur de, leases La Baye, 435, 450.

Lahontan, Louis Armand d'Arce, baron de, 224.

La Jemerais, Christophe Dufros, sieur de, returns to Montreal, 65–70; sketch, 66.

Lake County (Ill.), 173.

Lake of Two Mountains, mission village, 148, 167, 172, 225, 226, 279, 282, 286, 311, 413, small pox at, 175; Indians of, 328, 340, 349, 378, 420, 467, 508; adopt Frenchman, 334; embassy to Huron, 342, 350, 378; accompany Beauharnois, 346–348, 379; wandering Indians join, 413–417.

Lakes: Champlain, 166, 432, 489, Erie, 132, 141, 459, 476, 481; needs vessel, 107; lacks harbors, 313; Indians near, 250, 251, 287. George, battle of, 166. Huron, 142, 209, 245, 313, 352, 476; barks on, 166, map of, 170; Indians near, 81, 125, 251; murders in, 469. Little, see Sandusky Bay. Little Butte des Morts, 90, 398. Manitoba, French post on, 471. Maramech (Marames), Fox fort on, 129, 173, 174. Michigan, 129; expedition on, 22; affluents of, 276; portage from, 322; Indians near, 248–250. Nipigon, 246. Nipissing, 63, 81, 209; portage to, 315. Ontario, xiii, 251, 476, 487; vessel wrecked on, 321; portage to, 313. route via, 347. Ouintpigon, see Winnipeg. Pepin, described, 25; fort on, xiii, 25, 26, 57, 58, 67, 77. Pistakee (Ill.), 173. Rainy, post on, 247, 418, 427. St. Clair, 141, 142, 170, 251, 313. St. Peter, 210. Sault Ste. Marie, 176. Simcoe, 313. Superior, xv, route via, xvi,

64; navigation difficult, 165; vessels on, 166, 176, 237, 310, 311, 313 Indians near, 246–248, 250. 271; copper mines near, xvi, 86, 87, 105, 106, 165–167, 233–237, 252–254, 305, 312 34 copper on bottom, 239; copper island in, 162, 262, 290, 310; river rises near, 103, 104; posts near, 16, 103, 246, 262, 469, 501, 508. Winnebago, campaign near, xiv. Winnipeg, xv, 104, 247, 248. Of the Woods, Indians, 247; massacre on, 262, 268; fort out 424, 427.

La Lanne, —, sieur, leases Fort Nipigon, 445.

La Mare. See Varin.

“La Marguerite,” vessel, 107.

Lamarque and Company, 424.

La Marque. See Montigny.

La Martinière, Claude Antoine de Berman, sieur de, ensign, 71; commandant at La Baye, 276; sketch, 276.

Lamech, Louis, Illinois Indian, 117.

La Morendière,—, ensign, 71.

Lamothe (Lamotte). See Cadillac.

La Naudière. See La Pérade.

Lancaster (Pa.), treaty at, 506.

Langlade, Augustin Monet, sieur de, in Sioux trade, 135, 138.

Langlade, Charles, first settler of Wisconsin, 270; captures Pickawillany, 488; Langlade family, tradition, xiv. See also Grignon.

Langy,—, lieutenant, 71.

La Noue, Zacherie Robertel, sieur de, captain, 71; at Kaministiquia, 16, 426; disliked by Foxes, 16; news of, 34; son, 61; opinion, 339; sketch, 16.

Lanouette, Antoine Rivard *dit*, 136, 138.

La Pérade, Charles François Xavier Tarieu, sieur de (de la Naudière), ensign, 71; accompanies De Noyelles, 223, 226; commandant among Miami, 333, 354; at Ouiatanon, 483, 490; leads expedition to Wabash, 506, 508; sketch, 223.

La Pérade, —, lieutenant, 71.

La Perrière, François Clement Boucher, sieur de, commandant at Ouiatanon, 433; at St. Joseph, 483; sketch, 433.

La Perrière, René Boucher, sieur de, captain, 71; sent to Fort Beanharnois, 16, 17, 77, 78; returns, 15, so; letter from, 30, 31; sister, 103, son, 433; sketch, 16.

La Plante,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

La Pointe. See Chequamegon.

La Porte. See Louvigny.

La Présentation, mission at Ogdensburg (N. Y.), 371.

L'Arbre Croche, near Mackinac, 352, 360; Ottawa at, 372, 374, 419. 34

L'Argenterie,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

La Richardie, Armand de, missionary at Detroit, 101; Indian name of, 340; letters of, 279–281, 284–288, 328–333, 339–341, 344, 348, 370, 371, 412, 431; letters to, 348–350, 377; relations to Huron, 281, 355; accompanies Beauharnois, 370, 412; opposes governor, 413, 414, solicited by English, 414; return desired, 461; goes back to Detroit, 466, 481, 487, 491; illness of, 441, characterized, 355, 441; colleague, 459; sketch, 102.

“La Roche,” copper mass, 290.

La, Rochelle, French port, 120.

La Rondo, Louis Denys, sieur de, captain, 71; details services, xvi, 299–306. 308; prisoner, 300, 301; in Louisiana, 301; wounded, 301; mission to Boston, 20, 303–305; to Acadia, 303, 304; in France, 304; at Isle St. Jean, 304; commandant at Chequamegon, xv, 20, 165–167, 305; in disfavor, 20; discovers copper mines, 305, 309–315; plans to exploit, xvi, 166, 167, 234—240, 252–254, 290, 291, 308; approved, 176, 177, 187; builds vessel, xvi, 237; seeks copper island, 290, 310; pacifies Indians, 277–279, 310; letters from, 234, 235, 262, 277, 278, 290, 306, 308; returns to Quebec, 311; children of, 809, 335; petition, 335; death, xvi.

La Ronde, Louise Chartier de, widow of foregoing, leases Chequamegon, 444, 477, 478, 498, 499; sketch, 477.

La Ronde, Philippe, son of foregoing, 237, 262, 278, 308–311, 335; succeeds father, 361; commandant at Chequamegon, 400, 401, 407, 433; sketch, 309.

La Ronde, Pierre François Paul, son of foregoing, 309.

La Rouvillière. See Michel.

La Sablonière,—, sieur de, 434.

La Salle, Robert Cavalier, sieur de, 3, 19; granted Fort Frontenac, 321.

La Saussaye, Philippe Dagneau Donville, sieur de, sent to Shawnee, 321; in shipwreck, 321, 322.

Laurent, —, sieur de, commissary, 73–75, 106.

Lauzon, Pierre de, Jesuit superior, 349.

Laval de Montmorency, François de, bishop of Quebec, 327.

Laval Seminary, lands of, 327.

La Valterie,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71. See also Vincennes.

La Vérendrye, Jean Baptiste de Varennes, sieur de, ensign, 71; joins war-party, 268; massacred, 261, 262.

La Vérendrye, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de, lieutenant, 71; plans discoveries, xv, 103, 140, 144, 418, 426; posts of, xv, 247, 262, 427, 433, 456, 471; party massacred, 261, 262, 268, 270, to be avenged, 264; debts of, 424; reports, 336, 424, 427; superseded, 442; successors, 112, 166; final voyage, 462; nephew, 66; sketch, 103.

La Vérendrye, Pierre Gualtier de Varennes, sieur de, junior, 465; at Mackinac, 4(;2, 469, 472: returns to Montreal, 479; sketch, 465.

Law, John, organizes companies, 230.

Lawson, Publius V., *Outagamis at Menasha*, 398; *Bravest of the Brave*, 482.

Lead mining on Mississippi River, 433, 514.

Le Beau,—, voyageur, 237.

Leborgne, Paul, ensign, 489.

L'Ecuyer,—, messenger from Chequamegon, 361. See also Marin.

L'Echelle, Jean, leases La Baye, 452, 455.

Le Duc, Charles, in Sioux trade, 136, 138.

Le Duc, Pierre, in Sioux trade, 136, 138.

Le Duc, Philippes, robbed by Indians, 469.

Lefebre. See Duplessis.

Le Feu Bleu, Ottawa chief, 305.

Lefevre,—, captain of vessel, 142.

Le Gardeur, Catherine, 190.

Le Gardeur, Charles, Canadian colonist, 58.

Le Gardeur.—, ensign in 1728, 71.

Le Gardeur family, 35. See also Repentigny, St. Pierre. and Tilly.

Legras,—, merchant, 424.

Legras, Daniel, voyageur, 270.

Legras, Jean, interpreter, 290.

Le Grelot, Winnebago chief, 272.

Le Moyne, Madeleine. 138.

Le Moyne, Sank chief, 258, 259; spokesman, 324, 325.

Le Moyne. See Bienville, Iberville, and Longueuil.

L'Entagnac,—, sieur de, captain, 71.

“Le Rubis,” King's ship, 424.

L'Esperance, half-breed, 311.

L'Espervanche, François de, seur de Villemure, 71, 211.

Les Soirées Canadienes, 191.

Le Suear, Jacques Eustache, Jesuit missionary, 191–200.

533

Le Sueur, Pierre Charles, explorer, 212.

Le Sueur,—, junior, 212.

Le Verrier,—, junior, ensign, 71.

Licaouais, Fox chief, 117.

Licenses for trade, value of, 128, 293295, 297; no sale for, 449, 450; issued free of charge, 470, 471; preferred to leasing system, 409–412, 502, 504; for Illinois, 497, 498.

Lignery, Marchand de, ensign, 71; expedition of (1728), xiii, 2, 28–35, 121, 160, 166; at La Baye, 2–5, 89; at Mackinac, 6, 9, 18; expenses of, 7376; letters, 28, 31–35; warns Sioux post, 33–37; accompanies De Noyelles, 226; opinion of, 4, 339; sketch, 2.

Linctot, René, Godefroy, sieur de, lieutenant, 71; commandant at Sioux post, 138, 139, 151, 168, 169, 178, 207, 273; winters at Trempealeau, 151, 168; to write history of Sioux, 252; sketch, 138.

Linctot, junior, member of Sioux Company, 135, 138.

Lindsay, Crawford, translator, xix, 14; notes by, 14, 158, 307, 313.

Little Butte des Morts, battle of, 190.

Little Kaukauna (Wis.), 188.

Little Rapid, near Niagara, 468.

Little Rock township (Ill.), 173.

Livaudière. See Péan.

Livre, French measure, 125.

“Loire, ” vessel, 301, 303.

Long, John, *Voyages*, 469.

Longueuil, Charles le Moyne, baron de, 14, 71, 73, 292, 339, 387, 432; governor of Canada, 2, 8, 10, 16, 17; of Montreal, 10, 511; en route to France 107; commands Chickasaw expedition, 316, 330; sister, 135; sketch, 10.

Longueuil, Paul Joseph le Moyne, second baron de, commandant at Detroit, 432, 440, 444, 448, 458, 459, 461, 468, 474, 483; instructions for, 460, 491, 506, 507; reports from, 483–487, 489–491, 507, 598; relieves Miami, 505; Illinois asks help of, 489; salary, 444; rank, 500; sketch, 432; portrait, 292.

Lorette, mission at, 15, 174, 279. For Lorette Indians, see Hurons of Lorette.

Lorimier,—, ensign, 71.

Lotbinière. See Chartier.

Louis xiv (France), Beauharnois reputed son of, 7.

Louis xv (France), signs communication, 159.

Louisburg (Cape Breton), commandant, 303, 476; fall of, 304, 499.

Louisiana, xii, 17, 110, 129, 133, 265, 474, 489, 494, 495; founders of, 10, 180, 435; governors, 2, 29, 31, 122, 146, 147, 179, 183, 186, 321, 425, 498, 512; intendants, 147, 157, 213, 321, 451; retroceded to king, 146, 230; Illinois retained by, xvii, 179, 186, 321, 512, 513, 517; disadvantages in, 495, 513; Indian troubles, 147, 180, 186, 212, 220 (see also Chickasaw and Natchez); troops in, 516; archives, xix.

Loup (Mahican) Indians, sought by Foxes as allies, xvi, 119; at Sandusky, 450.

Louvigny, Louis la Porte, sieur de, 4; expedition of, 1, 2, 236; death, 364.

Louvigny, François de la Porte, sieur de, 364.

Lusignan, Paul Louis Dazenard, sieur de, ensign, 71; lieutenant, 433; commandant at St. Joseph, 259, 276; at La Baye, 433, 437, 439; report, 445, 446; sketch, 259.

Lynx, as Indian totem, 248.

McGee, W. J., *Siouan Indians*, 428.

Macalester College (St Paul, Minn.), *Contributions*, xviii, 50, 69, 105, 237, 314, 464.

Mackinac (Missillimackinac), xii, 68, 99,: 163, 202, 245, 250, 262, 424, 451, 453; location, 22; route to, 209; route via, 13, 262, 336; expeditions reach, xiii, 22, 31, 236; outfit at, 7375, 106, 138; food supply, 108; advantages, 134, 242; Indians at, 30, 63, 80, 208, 209, 216, 232, 245, 403, 416, 457; settlers, 270; fur-trade, 214; licenses, 504; conreurs dos bois, 1, 274—276; commandants at, 6, 9, 34, 68, 75, 87, 108, 112, 159, 160, 166, 172, 184, 188, 207, 245, 257, 274, 322, 351, 363, 364, 367, 373, 432, 448, 453; missionaries at, 15, 253, 254, 370, 410; blacksmiths at, 372–375, 410, 423, 424; conditions, 132, 444, 448, 449, 467, 469, 501; importance of, 470, 508; Mar. in visits, 363, 425; embassy at, 342, 378; Ottawa village removed, 351–353, 367–369, 419; Indian saluted at, 323 revolt at, xvii, 462–465, 475, 478, 479, 482, 493, 508–512; reinforced, xvii, 509, fleet from, 467; sale st, 159, 160; attack on English (1763), 370.

Mahican (Mohegan). See Loup Indians.

Maine, Indians of, 192; Historical Society *Collections*, 456.

Maisoncelles. See Mazières.

Malespine, —, ensign, 71.

Mallery, Garrick, *Picture Writing of North American Indians*, 192.

Mamahoëkisigo, Chippewa chief, 484.

Mandiché, Potawatomi chief, 101.

Manhate. See New York.

Manitoba. rebellion in, 275.

Maramech. See Lake Marameg.

Maray, Louis, French officer, 355. See also Chauvignerie.

Martasite, mineral ore, 306, 307.

March, Col. John, besieges Port Royale, 302.

Margane. See Vincennes.

Margry, Pierre, Déconvertes et établissements des Français, xviii, 8, 10, 15, 22, 28, 77, 135, 247.

Marin, Pierre Paul, sieur de, 393, 401, 425; in Sioux company, 14, 15; aids Winnebago against Foxes, 88–100; pacifies Upper Country, xvi, 315–322, 325, 330, 336, 404, 407; commandant for Sauk and Foxes. 396, 398, 402, 405, 406, 438' for Winnebago, 400; Sioux visit, 396, 397, 420, 438; influence with Sioux, 403, 404; instructs Menominee, 408; Indians accompany to Montreal, xvi, 324, 329, 361, 362, 397, 400–402, 420, 421, 436: speeches to, 318–320, 323, 324, 360, 362; letters of, 362, 363, 400, 422, 425; popular with Indians, 398, 422; recall ordered, 416; ability, xvi, 317, 363, 364, 416, 421, 422, 440; illness, 330; absence, 366; visits Mackinac, 363; to redeem captive, 427; requests leave of absence, 430; successors of, 437, 439; death, 361; sketch, 315.

Marin, Joseph, abilities, 430, 440; sketch, 315. See also La Perrière.

Marin (Morand),—, half-breed, 315.

Marmette, Joseph, calendars by, xviii.

Marquette, Father Jacques. explorer. 419.

Martel,—, commissary (1728), 106.

Martineau, Jean Philippe, dit St. Onge, 484.

Martineau, Pierre, killed near Detroit, 484.

Masanne, Kickapoo village, 222.

Mascoutin Indians, 149, 168; numbers, 249; allies of Foxes, 2, 6, 58, 109; assist in capture of French. 37, 38. 58, 56, 109; killed by Foxes, 47, 60; peace with Illinois, 49–52, 54, 62, 110, 169, 170; war on Foxes, 59–62, 100–102, 110–120; 174; accompany Guignas, 54, 55, 110; killed by mistake, 276; on warpath, 322; settle among Ouiatanon, 336; Winnebago refuge among, 383; incited against Chickasaw, 387; visit Montreal, 380; speech, 382, 383; reply, 386; presents for, 395; to avoid Oswego, 386, 409; history of, 382.

Maskontepoels. See Sioux of the Prairie.

Maskoutins Poiianes. See Sioux of the Prairie.

Mason, Edward, *Chapters from Illinois History*, 19.

Massachusetts, wars on Abenaki, 305.

Maugras, —, sieur, leases Kamiuistiquia, 444.

Maurepas, Jean Frédéric Phelypeaux, comte de, 21, 62, 159, 305, 309.

Mayomba, Mascoutin chief, 383.

Mazières de Maisoncelles,—, sieur de, at Fort Frontenac, 432.

Meadow of Mascoutins, Indian settlement at, 382, 383, 385, 417, 448.

Meaupon,—, French sea captain, 301.

Mekaga, Fox chief, 319, 320, 406, 408.

Mekinac, Ottawa chief, 264, 486; honors for, 346; rival. 387; speech, 389, 390; reply, 392; presents son, 389; promises fidelity, 490–492; of doubtful loyalty, 468, 491: sketch. 389.

Mékissilin, Potawatomi chief, 393, 394.

Meloise,—, sieur de. lieutenant. 71.

Memidokay, Potawatomi chief, 396.

Memphis (Tenn.), French fort at, 316.

Menard,—, interpreter at Sioux fort, 57.

Menasha (Wis.), 398, 482.

Menominee (Foiles Avoine) Indians, numbers. 248; fort among. 88, 89, 315; allies of. 403, 408; join Lignery, 31, 32; Villiers, 190, 202: messengers to Sioux post, 32–34. 36, 37, 41; French among, 61; war with Foxes, 53, 63, 68, 70, 80, 81, 88–100, 363; with Illinois, 184; befriend Sank and Foxes, 263, 275: kill Foxes, 399, 401; offer restitution, 401, 405–408; visit Montreal, 322, 329, 416, 421; speeches, 325, 326, 334, 396, 401, 402; Invited to migrate, 425; fur-trade with, 452.

Méolaki. See Milwaukee.

Mesaiger (Messager), Charles Michel, missionary at St. Joseph, 102.

Mexico, trade with, 494.

Miami Indians, 178, 185, 243, 250, 260, 490; numbers, 250, habitat, 56, 114, 131, 249: village sites, 185, 485; small-pox among. 173, 175, 186; secession 535 of, 185; return, 211, 243; incited against Chickasaw, 181, 214; peace with Huron, 65; request union with Shawnee, 186; to attack Sauk and Foxes, 213, 257; on Chickasaw expedition, 29, 320; intrigue with English, xvii, 29, 131, 133, 475, 481–484; treaty with, 506; influenced by Nicolas, 484, 485; revolt against French, xvii, 484, 485, 487, 492, 505, 506.

Michel, Honore, sieur de La Rouvillière et Villebols, 135, 138, 451, 455, 459, 465–467; sketch, 451.

Michigan, upper peninsula, 352; copper mines in, 165–167, 234–240.

Milwaukee (Méolaki), Indian village, 362, 363; Sank and Foxes at, 404, 437.

Minas (Acadia), French inhabitants, 303, 304.

Mincheokima, Ottawa chief, 351.

Minneapolis (Minn.), site of, 36.

Minnesota, Indians of, 60; *Historical Collections* , 246.

Minor, French measure, 125.

Missilimakinak. See Mackinac.

Missionaries, Indian appelation for, xii, 39, 45, 50, 284; among Foxes, 6, 8, 248; among Sioux, xiii, 4, 5, 8, 9, 15, 135, 244, 273, 274; among Abenaki, 191–200; at Mackinac, 253, 278, 370; Detroit, 101, 279–288, 348–350, 355, 413, 414, 441, 459, 466, 481, 487, 491; in Illinois, 51, 55, 133, 255; at St. Joseph, 102; at Kaministiquia, 418, 426; Jesuit superior, 8, 195; influence, xii, 24, 197, 198; intrigue in government affairs, 413, 414, 431; receive blacksmith's wages, 423; desire astronomical instruments, 9, 10; massacre of, 261, 262.

See also mission colonies Caughnawaga, Lake of Two Mountains, La Presentation, Lorette, and Sault St. Louis; also Jesuits and Recollects.

Mississagua Indians, numbers, 245, 251; habitat, 125, 313, 362; messages to, 198, 345–347; mingle in Detroit difficulties, 279; at war with Sioux, 362 in Mackinac revolt, 462; conspire against French, 463, 508.

Mississippi Company. See Company of the Indies.

Mississippi Country, Frenchmen killed in, 402. See also Louisiana.

Missouri Indians, join Illinois against Foxes, 115; enemy of Foxes, 218, 229, 366; post among, 222.

Mitasses, as Indian presents, 84, 85.

Mitchigami, Illinois tribe, 250.

Mobile (Ala.), Indians near, 122; officer at, 428.

Mohawk (Anier) Indians, 198, 457, 482.

Mohegan. See Loup Indians.

Moingona Indians, 224.

Monier, Jean, leases La Baye, 452, 455.

Monsoni Indians, numbers and habitat, 246; to avenge French, 264, 268; peace with Sioux, 403; war party of, 418, 426, 427.

Montbrun, René, Jean Boucher, sieur de, member of Sioux Company, 15, 16; leaves post, 37; escapes from Kickapoo, 44, 58, 59, 60; ill, 59; sketch, 15.

Montbrun, Jean Baptiste Boucher, sieur de, member of Sioux Company, 15, 16; escapes from Kickapoo, 44, 58, 59; aunt of, 58; sister, 103: sketch, 15.

Montbrun, Réné Jean Boucher, sieur de, 15.

Montcalm, Gozon de St. Véran, Louis Joseph, marquis de, 73, 477.

Montcour,—, ensign de, 71.

Montigny, Jacques Testard la Marque, sieur de, captain, 71; at Mackinac, 159, 160, 184; sketch, 159.

Montigny, Jean Baptiste Testard, sieur de, 160.

Montmeron. See Sevigny.

Montmidy,—, ensign, 71.

Montreal, 54, 122, 236, 313, 431, 438, 434, 460, 479, 483; governors of, 10, 65, 135, 292, 335, 435, 451, 456; expeditions from, 1, 22, 28, 231, 316, 456, 462, 463; company formed at, 14, 135140; distance from Illinois, 56; Indian chiefs visit, xvi, 6, 40, 62–65, 139, 145, 146, 155, 249, 257, 258, 263, 275, 315, 319, 320, 323–326, 329, 334, 343, 361–363, 371, 372, 380, 387, 393, 396, 416, 420, 426, 447, 466, 493, 508, 510; war-parties, 457, 458, 463; Mackinac fleet arrives, 467; missionaries at, 254, 371; Huron to migrate to, 285–287; small-pox at, 175; St. Mary's College archives, 22, 191.

Moose (Original), as Indian totem, 246.

Moras, Didace Monet, sieur de, ensign, 71; in Sioux trade, 135, 138.

Morlais, Breton town, 76.

Mornay, Louis François Duplessis de, bishop of Quebec, 158.

Mouchy d'Oquincourt, —, ensign, 71.

Mouet. See Langlade and Moras.

Mount Trempealeau, 151, 168.

Muskegon, Indians at, 363.

Musseaux, Charles Joseph d'Ailleboust, sieur de, 327.

Musseaux brothers, wounded at La Baye, 190.

Muy, Jacques Pierre Daneaux, sieur de, ensign, 71; commandant at Fort St. Joseph, 183, 232.

Namewilini Indians, 246.

Narcy. See St. Vincent.

Natchez Indians, uprising of, 122, 147, 157; remnant refuge with Chickssaw, 162; defeated, 179, 180; expedition against, 212, 270; abandon Chickssaw, 220; on Washita, 220; unsubdued, 429.

Natoecqueha, Miami chief, 506.

Nau, Luc François, Jesuit missionary, letters from, 215, 273, 274, 312, 314.

Navarre, Robert, appointment at Detroit, 241.

Nequiouamin, Ottawa Indian, 463.

New Brunswick, Indians of, 192.

Newfoundland, expeditions to, 160, 302, 303.

New England, route via, 67, 142; conditions in, 265, 266; cruises near, 300, 302; embassy to, 303; raids into, 456, 508. See also Boston and Massachusetts.

New France. See Canada.

New Mexico, mines of, 428.

New Orleans, founded, 180, officials at, 5, 157, 512; chaplain, 51; message sent to, 321; expedition from, 181; reinforcements from, 489, entrepot for Illinois, 55, 497, 513. 514; distance from Illinois. 516.

New York, Indians of, 119: raids into, 456; *Colonial Documents*, xviii, 8, 21, 65, 77, 146, 208, 242, 245, 279, 352, 382, 406, 439, 441, 446, 447, 451, 456, 466, 475, 478, 484, 492, 505.

Niagara, portage at. 313, 314. 347, 468, 482; route via, 176, 386, 387, 390, 443, 457, 460, 508. See also Fort Niagara.

“Niagara.” vessel on Great Lakes. 329.

Nicolas, Huron chief, plots against French, xvii, 280, 343, 387, 468; address to French, 283–285. 341. 344; messages to, 377, 485; revolt of, 458—462, 479–481, 484–486.

Nicelet, Jean, grandson of, 165.

“Nieuport, ” vessel, 300.

Ninsotin (Two-hearts), Sioux chief, 323.

Nipissing Indians, habitat, 63, 81; at mission, 413, 416; as pilots. 312, voyageurs, 508; on warpath, 124, 209, 217, 320; information from, 207, 223; attacked by Illinois, 184.

Niverville,—, ensign, 71.

Nolan, Charles. 270.

Nolan, Jean Baptiste, 270.

Nontaés. See Onondaga.

Nontagarouche, Iroquois chief, 225, 229.

Normanville,—, ensign, 71.

Nova Scotia, English name for Acadia, 303.

Oboltki,—, mining engineer, 307.

O'Callaghan, E. B., editor of *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, notes by, 245, 352, 382, 458, 459, 462, 492.

Ochagach, an Indian, map by, 103, 104; facsimile, 102.

Ogdensburg (N. Y.). 371.

Ohio, Indians of, 64.

Okeia, war-chief, killed, 114.

Old Briton. Miami chief. See La Demoiselle.

Omaha (Maha) Indians, 78.

Oudechaouasty. Indian title of Father La Richardie, 340, 341.

Oniskaouis, Chippewa chief, 351.

Onnontaté, Nipissing chief, 258, 259.

Onondaga (Nontaé) Indians, visit Montreal. 64, 420; attack Têtes Plats, 334. See also Iroquois.

Ononguisset, Potawatomi chief, message of, 490, 492.

Onontio, Indian title for governor of Canada, 40, 42, 50, 51, 95, 96, 98, 99, 149, 270; policy toward Sauk, 223; intentions. 151. 258; authority, 405; messages to, 324, 362; Iroquois visit, 154; Fox chiefs. 319, 320, 323, 398, 399.

Onorakinguiak, mission chief, 226.

Ontattonoué. See Tionnontate.

Oquiyaouy, Potawatomi chief, 393, 394; present to, 396.

Orange. See Albany.

Orgeville. See D'Orgeville.

Original. See Moose.

Orantony. See Nicolas.

Osage Indians. 515.

Oskemanettigon Indians, tribe of Chippewa. 246.

Oswego (Choueghen), English post, 21, 315; fur-trade st, 443, 503: brandy bought, 328: Potawatomi visit. 3651 Seneca, 420; Detroit Indians, 446, 447; Ottawa women, 393; should be avoided. 347, 352, 386, 409; abandoned. 476; fall of, 73.

Oto Indians, Missouri among, 218.

537

Otolinois, Chippewa chief, 351.

Ottawa (Outaouais) Indians, 6, 30, 102, 122, 208, 211, 467; habitat, 124, 148, 508; numbers, 245, 251; clans, 245, 251, 263, 275, 351, 372, 374; attack Foxes, 68, 80, 81, 89–91, 94, 100, 149, 172–174; Chickasaw, 181, 182, 337, 366; Sioux attack, 323, 325, 329; hostile to Huron, xvii, 279, 284, 285, 237, 289, 326–329, 331, 333; friendly to Sauk, 256, 260, 263, 275; to Sioux, 317; to Shawnee, 286, 333; on warpath, 333, 336, 363, 375, 377, 388, 416, 422, 435, 461; accompany Lignery, 31, 33; Villiers, 190; do not join De Noyelles, 232; visit Montreal, 63, 208, 325, 329, 367, 371; speeches, 325, 334, 372–374, 387–390; replies, 374–377, 390–393; presents for, 322; messages to, 345–347, 351–353, 403; desire to migrate, 351–353, 367–369, 416; at Saginaw, 221, 313, 403, 410; at l'Arbre Croche, 372, 374, 419; attack English, 448; urge fidelity to French, 425, 458; conspire against, xvii, 463, 467, 475, 481, 487, 506; loyalty doubtful, 486, 490, 491; revolt at Mackinac, 462–465, 493; repentant, 469, 485; messenger to governor, 489, 490, 491; chief killed, 190; messenger from, 328; desire peace, 221; intriguing, 217, 305.

Otter, as Indian totem, 248, 249.

Ouabachas. See Wabashaw.

Ouabasseban. See Chat Blanc.

Ouabichagan, Illinois chief,]70.

Ouacautapé, Sioux chief, 37, 271, 420, 421.

Ouasikouty, Sioux chief, 420.

Ouachata, Fox chief, 3, 4, 6; daughter ransomed, 399, 400, 406, 421.

Ouasado, Potawatomi chief, 396.

Ouasicouteton, tribe of Sioux, 420.

Onassé (Ouacé), tribe of Chippewa, 247, 437, 438.

Oülataouaségo, 118.

Ouéfigué, Indian chief, 118.

Ouiatanon (Wea) Indians, 178, 181, 185, 417; tribe of Miami, 29; habitat, 56; route via, 55, 101, 110, 222; relation to Louisiana, 133, 147; trade with English, 131, 133; march against Foxes, xiv, 111, 115; promise aid to, 115; hostile to Chickasaw, 179, 181, 214, 220, 264, 380, 381, 384, 387 visit Montreal, 63, 380; speech, 380, 381; reply, 383, 384; presents, 395 affray among, 204, 210–212, 243, 244, 261; influence on Miami, 186; to avoid Oswego, 386, 409; Mascoutin settle among, 336; missionary, 370; small-pox, 175, 181; may revolt, 484; loyal, 483, 506; do not use canoes, 381, 384.

Ouikaliny Indians, 247.

Ouilamek (Wilamek, Oulamex), Potawatomi chief, 33, 396.

Ouiskouba, Kickapoo Indian, 39, 40.

Ouoilechase, Menomince chief, 320.

Outaouais. See Ottawa.

Outreleau. See D'Outreleau.

Oüyénamégousy, 117.

Palamos, captured, 300.

Palfrey, John G., *History of New England*, 305.

Pamitobé, locality near Mackinac, 352, 360.

Papinakois Indians, habitat, 246. Papissa, Indian messenger, 114, 115.

Paris, archives of New France, xviii, 1, 424.

Parkman, Francis, *Half Century of Conflict*, 103; *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 499; *Old Régime in Canada*, 40; *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 100.

Parsons, Catherine, 276.

Partridge, as Indian totem, 246.

Patchipao, Sank chief, daughter of, 399, 400, 400; medal for, 406.

Pays Plat, on Lake Superior, 469.

Péan (misprinted Péau in text), Jacques Hughes, sieur de Livaudière, captain, 71; at Detroit, 205, 206, 208, 209, 211, 241, 256, 269; town major of Quebec, 205, 206; son of, 205; sketch, 205.

Péanguichias. See Piankashaw.

Pechicamengoa, Kiekapoo chief, plots against French, 44–46.

Pemaho, chief, 406.

Pémoussa, Fox chief, 53: wife of, 53, 54; killed by Kickapoo, 54.

Pémousse, junior, 406.

Pendalouan, Ottawa chief, affair of, 361, 364–366, 466; repentant, 368, 416, 419, 420, 466; at Muskegon, 364; at Montreal, 466.

Pennsylvania, traders from, xvii; Indians of, 64; sends embassy to Western Indians, 482; French post in, 166; relation to Chartier, 331; *Colonial Records*, 506.

Pentegoöt, mission at, 195.

Peoria (Ill.), Indian village site, 337.

Peoria Indians, Illinois tribe, 48, 49, 52; habitat and numbers, 251; on warpath, 115, 365, 366; attacked, 336, 337.

Perier,—, governor of Louisiana, 29, 122, 147, 157, 179; attacks Natchez, 220; incites attack on Chickasaw, 162; superseded, 179, 180; sketch, 147.

Perigny,—, sieur de, captain, 71.

Persillon,—, lieutenant, 71.

Petikokia, tribe of Ouiatanon, visit Montreal, 380–382, 385; incited against Chickasaw, 387; to avoid Oswego, 386, 409.

Petit, Etienne, member of Sioux Company, 14.

Pewabic (Mich.), 252.

Pheasant, as Indian totem, 249.

Phelypeaux. See Maurepas.

Philbert,—, ensign, 71.

Piankashaw (Péanguichia) Indians, 56, 111, 337, 366; attack Foxes, 115; Chickasaw, 220: message from. 146; allies of. 243: small-pox among, 175.

Pichou, name for lynx, 248.

Pickawillany, Miami village. founded, xvii; fate of, 482.

Picquet, François, Sulpician missionary, 371; prepares for Huron, 413.

Pilemont,—, son of, 365.

Pilemou, Potawatomi chief, 393, 394; present to, 396.

Pimithouy, Peoria town. attack on, 336, 337, 362, 366; chief of, 365.

Pindigaché, wounded chief, 114, 117.

Piqua (Ohio), Indian town at, 482.

Piscot, Etienne. Recollect superior, tests copper ore. 236.

Pittsburg, trading post near, 331.

Placentia (Newfoundland), La Ronde visits, 300, 302, 303; governor of, 802, 303.

Plover, as Indian totem. 251.

Porc-épic, Miami chief, 482.

Point Chequamegon, 247. See also Fort Chequamegon.

Point Keweenaw, Indians near, 247.

Pommeroy,—, ensign, 71.

Pontiac, conspiracy of, 131, 509.

Portneuf, Pierre Robineau, sieur de, commandant among Sioux. 135; at Fort Frontenac, 432; sketch, 135.

Portneuf, René Robineau, sieur de, 135.

Port Royal, besieged, 302; surrendered, 160, 302; French intrigues at, 303.

Posts, location, xii; to be leased, xvi, xvii, 409–412, 442, 473, 502, 503; disadvantages of leasing, xvii, 61, 409–411, 442–446, 449; English profit by, 443, 503; yield no revenue, 470, 476, 502, 503; licenses for, 502, 504; supplies for, 471; scarcity at, 449, 457, 503; commandants (1743), 432, 433; list of leased posts, 433–435, 502. See also Forts and Licenses.

Pot, French measure, 120.

Potawatomi (Pottawattomie, Poutouatamis, Poux) Indians, 6, 32, 207, 208, 260; habitat, G2, 124, 148, 149, 249, 337, 501, 504; numbers, 249, 251; Onontio's eldest sons, 249; attack Foxes, 100102, 111–120, 172–174, 216; Chickasaw, 181, 182, 337, 365, 366; Ottawa, 221; hostile to Huron, xvii, 279, 287; befriend Sank and Foxes, 262, 275; allies, 403; war parties of, 222, 231, 394, 398; message to, 345–347; visit Montreal, 62, 394; speech, 393, 394; reply, 394–396: wrongly accused, 393, 466; blacksmith among, 394, 410; small-pox among, 173; faithful to French, xvii, 479, 481, 483, 506, 507; wavering, 485, 486; conspire, 463, 468. 487; delegates visit governor, 489–491.

Potier, Pierre, missionary at Detroit, 459; plot against, 474.

Pouan Inidans. See Assiniboin. Foudret, Antoine, 331.

Poudret, Vincent, messenger, 331.

Poutchitaouy, locality near Mackinac, 352, 360.

Poux Indians. See Potawatomi.

“Profond,” vessel, 301.

Puants. See Winnebago Indians.

Quebec (city), xiii, xix, 447, 511; mission near. 279: fortifications, 292; distances from, 305; La Ronde visits, 305: Indian chiefs at, 323, 487, 493; prisoners at, 181, 302, 303; town major, 205, 206; Chateau St. Louis at, 434: seminary, 327; defense of, 303; siege, 323. 489: capture, 315.

Quebec (province); 459: archives, 1. 9.

Quicapoux. See Kickapoo.

Quinousak. See Kinousakis.

Raimbaut, Marie Joseph, 355.

Ramezay, Claude de, 327.

Ramezay, Elizabeth de, 448.

Ramezay, Louise Geneviève de, 134.

Ramezay, Jean Baptiste, sieur de, lieutenant, 71; captain at Nipigon, 482.

Raymond, Count de, commandant at Louisburg, 477.

Raymond (Remond),—, ensign, 71; lieutenant at Niagara, 482; memoir of, 474477; sketch, 477.

Rapide plat, near Niagara, 314.

Rasle (Rale), Father Sébastien, Jesuit missionary, 305.

Reale,—, French sea captain, 299.

Reaume, Pierre, Fox interpreter, 24, 57, 119, 120.

Recollects, In Canada, 236.

Réel, Jacques, pensioner of Fox war, 254, 255.

Renards. See Fox Indians.

Renaud. See D'Arnaud.

“Renommée,” French vessel, 301.

Repentigny, Pierre le Gardeur, sieur de, 71, 190; commandant at Mackinac, 188; nephew of, 226.

Repentigny,—, lieutenant, killed at La Baye, 189, 202, 226.

Repentigny,—, chevalier de, 465; ensign, 71; at St. Fredéric, 432.

Richard, Edouard, *Acadia*, 304; *Report on French Archives*, xviii.

Richard Pierre, member of Sioux Company, 15, 135, 188.

Richarville,—, ensign, 71.

Riel, Louis, rebellion of, 275.

Rigault, Arnaud de, brother of Vaudreuil, 456, 458.

Rigault. See Vaudreuil.

Rigauville,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71.

Rivard. See Lanouette.

Rivau. See Huet.

Rivers: Allegheny, 331. Au Glaize, 182. Aux Bœufs, French captured at, 38, 58, 59, 206. Black (La.), see Washita. Black (Mich.), copper mines on, xvi, 165, 806, 307, 311, 315. Bols Brule, xvi. Carp (Mich.), 352. Cherokee, see Tennessee. Colorado, 104. Columbia, 103. Connecticut, 119. Des Moines, 38; Foxes near, 223, 224, 281. Detroit, map of, 141; island in, 288. FOX (Ill.), 129, 178. Fox (Renards, Wis.), 14, 23, 24, 57, 189; rapids in, 93, 188; Indians on, xvi, 249; villages, 398. French (des Français), 821. Grand, see Ottawa. Grand (Mich.), 307. Great Miami, xvii, 830, 387, 475, 482. Holland (Ont.), 313. Hudson, 119. Illinois, 48, 54, 129, 269, 270, 322, 402. Iouachetanon, see Wabash. Of Iowa (Ayeus), see Wapsipinicon. Iron (Piousbic, Mich.), mines on, xvi, 252, 253, 807, 810–812. Kaminiatiquia, 426. Kankakee, see Theakiki. Kansas, 218. Of Kickapoo, see Rock. Kiakiqui, see Theakiki. Kiepigon, 185. Little Miami, 185, 475. Louischita, see Washits. Maumee, portages of, 132; French post on, xvii, 131, 482, 483; Indian village, 105; English visit, 481. Menominee (Wis.), 89. Michipicoton, 246, 437. Mississaqua, 245, Mississippi, xiii, xv, xvi, 129, 151, 224, 243, 406, 419, 489, 494; source, 104; affluents, 231, 322, 330; explored, 301; described, 25, 57; navigation, 37, 38, 57, 146, 496, 514–

517; Indians visit, 42. Missouri, tribes on, 218, 260; fur-trade, 514. Moingona, see Des Moines. Muskegon (Mich.), 351. Nipigon, 246, 437, 499. Ohio (Ouabache, Belle Rivière, Beautiful), xvii, 50, 245, 280, 316, 830, 419, 476; significance of name, 181, 280; Southern Indians settle near, 261; Shawnee, 156, 243; Huron village on, 480. 360, 507; to migrate to, 4:[4; English settlements on, 441, 515; traders plundered, 448; Céloron's expedition, 207, 475, 489. Ontohagen (Tonagan) rapids of, 240; copper mines on, xvi, 165, 234–240, 252–254, 263, 290, 306–308, 310, 311, 314; “LaRoche” on, 290, 311, Orapigianing, 185. Orinial (Original), 314. Ottawa (Grand), 148, 209, 367, 511; Long Sault of, 312; tributary, 63; portage, 422; mines, 311, 312; tribes, near, 249, 250; seignoiry, 327. Ouisichitas, see Washita. Pestekouy, see Fox (Ill.). Pigeon, portage from Lake Superior, 247, 426. Pine (Mich.), 352. Plouabic, see Iron. Pomme de Cigne, see Wapsipinicon. Rock (Ill.), boundary, 452; Indians on, 38, 320, 362, 365, 400, 404, 407; French Officer stationed at, 315, 318, 328, 330. Sable (Mich.), 276, 484. St. Anne (Mich.), see Iron. St. Anne (Ind.), see White. St. Croix, xvi. St. Francis (Ark.), rendezvous at. 321, 322. St. Joseph, 128, 186; portage from 322 (see also Fort St. Joseph). St. Lawrence, 104, 210; prisoners escape, 493, 511. Sandusky, 185, 286. Saskatchewan, 166. Scioto, village on, 480, 488. Severn (Ont.), route via, 313. Skunk (Iowa), 38. Swan (Iowa), see Wapsipinicon. Tennessee (Cherokee), 336, 417. Theakiki (Kankakee, 540 Kiakiqui), 322. Tippecanoe, 485. Tonagon, see Outonagou. Wabash, 129, 131, 331, 419, 489; portage to, 132; tribes on, 370, 483, 487, 490, 506; posts on, 29, 178, 494 (see also Forts Ouiatanon and Vincennes); French killed on, 181 (see also Ohio). Wapsipinicon (of Iowa, Pomme de Clgne, Swan), Sauk and Fox near, 37, 38, 206, 223; French officer, 316. Washita (Black, Louischits, Ouaschitas), Natchez fort on, 220. Wen (Ind.), 131. Of the West, 103, 104. White (Ind., Kiepigon. St. Anne), 185, 458, 501. White (Ohio), Huron on, 280, 387, 480; Iroquois, 474; English traders, 474–476 (see also Sandusky, Little Miami, White Oak Creek). Wisconsin (Outsconsin), 34, 57, 150, 184, 206; described, 24, 25; route via, 14; portage, 57; considered a boundary, 11, 186; Indians on, 37, 149, 336, 363; council on, 360; attack on, 365, 366 (see also Fox-Wisconsin route).

Rivières: Blanche, see Sandusky and White (Ind. and Ohio). Longue, described by Labontan, 224. Noire, see Black (Mich.). Sans Fourches, see Des Moines.

Robertel. See La None.

Rochefort, French port, 299.

“Rocher, ” Illinois site, 3, 6, 100, 110; Foxes posted near, xiv, xv, 110–113, 129; Illinois tribe near, 183, 184, 251, 366.

Roebert,—, witnesses document, 76.

Rondeau Harbor. 287, 329.

Rouville,—, ensign, 71.

Sabrevois de Sermonville , Christophe, 832; ensign, 71.

Sabrevois de Bleury, Clement, 71, 332.

Sabrevois de Bleury, Jacques Charles, 332.

Sacquepée, Joachim, sieur de Gonincourt, messenger, 406, 403; at La Baye, 425.

Saginaw (Mich.), location, 508; Indians at, 251, 368, 373, 376, 403, 410; revolt of, 462, 463, 468, 509, 509.

Saguenay, mission at, 418.

St. Ange. See Charley.

St. Ange, Jean, sieur de Bellerive, commandant in Illinois, 10, 130; attacks Foxes, 110–120, 155; circumvents Sauk, 112; slain by Chickasaw, 259; sketch, 110.

St. Ange, Louis, sieur de Bellerive, commandant at Vincennes, 419, 428; sketch, 419.

St. Clair. See Benoist.

St. François du Lac, mission of, 191, 194, 199.

St. Johns (Quebec), commandant at, 259.

St. John's (Newfoundland), captured by

French, 302, 303.

“St. Joseph, ” vessel, 191.

St. Leger, Courbon de, French sea captain, 300.

St. Louis (Mo.), expedition against, 323.

St. Luc, Luc de la Corne, sieur de, goes to Mackinac, 509.

St. Male, French port, 235.

“St. Michael,” mission among Sioux, 22. See also Fort Beauharnois.

St. Michel,—, sieur de, lieutenant, 71. “St. Michel, ” vessel, 299.

St. Onge. See Martineau.

St. Ours,—, sieur de, captain, 71; with De Noyelles, 223, 226; commandant at Fort Frontenac, 432; sketch, 223. See also Desehaillons.

St. Ovide de Brouillan,—, expedition to Newfoundland, 302; governor of Isle Royale, 303, 304.

St. Pé, Jean Baptiste de, missionary at Mackinac, 253, 370; letters to, 328, 329. 339, 340, 412, 414; sketch, 253.

St. Pierre, Jacques le Gardeur, sieur de, ensign, 71; exploits mines, 165, 187; commandant at Fort Beauharnois, 223, 244, 258; evacuates, 264, 267–274; commandant at Fort Miami, 428, 433; commands against Chickasaw, 316; suppresses Mackinac revolt, 464, 465, 478, 479, 508–511; linguistic ability, 165; characterized, 508, 509; sketch, 165, 166.

St. Pierre. Paul le Gatdent, sieur de, commandant at Chequamegon, 165, 166.

St. Vincent,—, sieur de, captain, 71.

St. Vincent, Henri Albert, sieur de Narcy, ensign, 71; commandant at Ouiatanon, 428: of convoy for Mackinac, 509.

Salmon,—, intendant of Louisiana, 147, 157, 179, 321.

Salmon Falls (N. H.), French attack, 135.

Salt-smugglers, transported to Canada, 312; as colonists, 7, 496. “Samezelae, ” vessel, 303.

Sandusky (Ohio), location, 459; Huron band at, xvii, 280, 286, 331, 343, 378, 541 458, 459, 468, 479, 480, 485, 507; return from, 440; Beauharnois visits, 370; English, 480; Miami, 481; deputies to, 490; French murdered at, 460, 474, 506.

Saratoga (N. Y.), attacked, 315.

Sastaretsy, Huron title, 279, chief at Detroit, 279, message from, 283, 349, 377–380; on war-path, 461; loyal to French, 343, 458, 460; death, 279, 343, 466, 485; sketch, 279.

Sauk (Sac, Sacque, Saki) Indians, members, 249; habitat, xv, 8, 63, 101, 112, 114, 140, 156, 169, 178, 183, 189, 222, 249; allies of Foxes, 2, 4, 6; capture Foxes, 32; attacked by, 90, 101, 202; by Illinois, 184, 365, 366; befriend Illinois, 337, 362, 366; befriended by French Indians, 256, 260, 275; betray French, xiv, 111, 112, 116; kill Villiers, xv, 188–191, 201–204, 206, 207; seek refuge, 206; to be conciliated, 203, 204, 209, 210, 217, 218, 222, 228, 231, 250, 258; may desert Foxes, 207, 216, 218, 219, 227, 228, 231, 232, 258; visit Montreal, xvi, 63; promise peace, 9; return captives, 229, 365; hereditary chief of, 399; woman marries Frenchman, 372.

Sauk and Foxes (after 1733), xv; seek refuge, 206, 257, 259, 260; vengeance upon, 208–210, 212–214; De Noyelle's expedition, xv, 215–233, 255–257, 260, 263, 275; Missouri and Kansa attack, 218, 229; danger from, 274; befriended by French Indians, 275; beg for mercy, 263, 324, 325; speeches, 317–320, 324, 325, 334, 362, 396, 398–401, 408; oppose return to La Baye, 315–317, 319, 320, 362, 363; new villages of, 398, 404, 405, 437; remain at peace, 276, 330, 362, 404; war-Party of, 363; make peace with Sioux, 318, 401; with Chippewa, 407; visit Montreal, 324, 329, 330, 396, 398, 421; request return of hostages, 399, 400, 406, 421; granted, 402, 430; French policy toward, 429, 435–439; presents for, 439; promise fidelity, 425; trade with 452; attack on Illinois, 430; on Ouassé, 437, 438; commandant for, 396, 398, 416.

Sault des Recollects, village near Montreal, 124.

Saulteur (Sauteur) Indians, see Chippewa.

Sault Ste. Antoine. See Falls of St. Anthony.

Sault Ste. Marie, 306, 301, 311; map of, 402; portage, 313; Indians of, 246, 360, 422, 425, 426; revolt, 508; letters from, 262, 290; vessel built at, 237.

Sault St. Louis, mission colony, arrangements for, 420; missionaries, 15, 215; small-pox at, 175; Indians from on war-path, 124; against Chickasaw, 183, 328; accompany

De Noyelles, 215, 216, 226, 227; Beauharnois, 346–348, 379; relations with Detroit Huron, 279, 281, 282, 286, 33, 332, 340–342, 349, 350, 378; adopt Frenchman, 334; at Sandusky, 459; reputation for prowess, 215; insubordinate, 229.

Savannas Indians, 246.

Schenectady (N. Y.), French attack on, 159.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, *Indian Tribes* , 245.

Schuyler, Col. Peter, captured, 73.

“Seine,” vessel, 301.

Sénat, Antoine, Jesuit missionary, slain by Chickssaw, 259.

Seneca (Sonontouan) Indians, habitat, 280, 468; famine among, 337; allies of Foxes, 118, 119; attack Chickasaw; 337; intrigue with Miami, 482; with Detroit Huron, 280, 348, 349; visit Detroit, 461; Montreal, 264, 420; chief maltreated, 468. See also Iroquois.

Senneville,—, sieur de, 71.

Senneville,—, junior, ensign, 71.

Sermonville. See Sabrevols.

Sérotchon, Winnebago chief, 407.

Serpent, as Indian totem, 250.

Sevigny, Montmeron, marquis de, officer at Brest, 299.

Shawnee (Chaounon) Indians, 364; numbers, 250; tribe of, 264; village, 480, 487; migrations, 33, 388, 417, 448; relations to neighbors, 185, 186, 210, 211, 243; negotiations

with French, 135, 156, 178, 210, 260; visit Montreal, 64, 156, 338; abandon English, 331; to remove to Ohio, 156, 185, 186, 243; to Detroit, 260, 282, 285, 286, 331, 333; visit Detroit, 264, 480, 484; commandant among, 242, 321; influenced by Chattier, 331: English intrigue with, 417, 429, 507; conspire against French, 487, 489; plunder English traders, 448; sketch, 64.

Shea, John Gilmary, *Early Voyages on the Mississippi* , 25, 28.

Sicard,—, ensign, 71.

Sinago, Ottawa clan, 245, 251, 263, 275, 351, 372, 374.

Sintez, Sioux chief, 397, 402.

Siouan tribes, 60.

Sioux (Sciou, Nadouaissious) Indians, numbers, 247, 248; habitat, 57, 169, 247, 248; hunting grounds, 136, 268; road of, 184; language, 56; characterized, 27, 28, 56, 57; wars of, 16, allied with Foxes, xii, 7, 8, 16, 21, 37, 259, 318, 336, 339, 436; to be detached, xiii, 3–7, 33, 36, 436; post to be founded, xiii, 18, 22–28 (see Fort Beaubarnots); alarm at fire-works, xiii, 27; company for trade, 10–16, 68, 135–139, 144, 155, 169, 315; later trade, 452; missionaries among, xiii, 4, 5, 8, 15, 135, 241, 271, 273, 274; refuse refuge to Foxes, 53, 62, 78, 206: guard French, 60, 64, 66, 68; at enmity with Foxes, 117, 143, 325; war with Chippewa, xvi, 264, 268, 272, 273, 277, 310, 329, 336, 442; peace, 401, 403; war with Cree, 418; peace, 166, 263, 403; war with Winnebago, 271–273, 360, 361; peace, 403; war with Ottawa, 323–325, 329, 336, 375, 377, 397: with Illinois, 336, 362; peace made for, 403, 407, 426, 441; allies of, 403, 407; affair with Ouassé, 437, 438; killed by enemies, 29, 417, 422, 425; relations with French, 177, 178, 244, 261, 429, 435–439; chiefs at Montreal, xvi, 6, 212, 315–318, 361, 397, 421; sue for peace, 277, 278; speeches, 323, 344, 360, 396, 397, 401, 408; reproached for treachery, 402, 403;

request hostages, 397, 404; granted, 421, 425, 430; promise fidelity, 425; presents to, 439: request French officer, 397, 404: visit Marin, 396, 397, 416, 420; accompany, 430; attack on La Vérendrye's party, 261, 262, 268; treachery toward French, 269, 270, 426, 427; history of, 252. See also Assiniboin.

Sioux of the Lakes, 277.

Sioux of the Prairie (Maskoutepoels, Maskoutins Poiianes), 259, 268, 270, 277.

Sioux of the Woods, 270, 428.

Six Nations. See Iroquois.

Slate mine, near Orinial River, 314.

Smithsonian Institution, copper transferred to, 290.

Sonontonan Indians. See Seneca.

South Bend (Ind.), portage at, 322; In dian site, 382.

Squirrel, as Indian totem, 245, 251.

Stag, as Indian totem, 247, 248, 249.

Steward, J. F., 129, 173.

Stone Indians. See Assiniboin.

Straits, St. Mary's. See Sault Ste. Marie.

Sturgeon, as Indian totem, 246.

Subercasse, Daniel d'Auger de, commandant at Port Royal, 302.

Sulpician missionaries in Canada, 58, 37.

Sulte, Benjamin, note by, 37; *Histoire des Canadiens Français*, 103, 509.

Sun-dials, 277, 278.

“Suzanne Françoise, ” French vessel, 300.

Tabittitis Indians, see Abittibi.

Tahake, Huron chief, intrigues with English, 468.

Tamerois Indians, Illinois tribe, 59, 133, 251.

Tanguay, Cyprian, *Répertoire Géenérale du Clergé Canadien*, 236.

Tarten. See La Pérade.

Tayatchatin, Huron chief, message of, 283: on war-path, 461; loyal to French, 343, 458; death, 466.

Tehichaakaue, Potawatomi chief, 393, 394; present to, 396.

Tennessee, Indians in, 102.

Tepicourt (Tepicon), Miami village, 485.

Terrebonne. See La Corne.

Testard. See Montigny.

Têtes de Boule Indians, habitat, 63, 245, 246.

Têtes Plates (Flathead) Indians, Iroquois name for Southern tribes, 250; numbers. 250: attacks on, 182, 333, 334; alliance with Huron, 280, 281, 350, 414; on war-path, 288, 341; peace with, 331, 339, 414, 417; conspire against French, 463.

Theouatakoute, Seneca chief, 420.

Three Rivers (Trois Rivières). governor of, 6, 31, 73, 112, 292, 432; mission near, 191; news of captives' escape, 511.

Thwaites, Reuben G., *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 279; *Early Western Travels*, 132, 280, 419, 437, 469, 480. 507: *Jesuit Relations*, 262, 274, 279. 290, 312, 314.

Tilly. Pierre Noel le Gardeur, sieur de, intendant of Canada. 58.

Tionnontate (Tobacco Huron, Wyandot) Indians, 250.

Tobacco Huron. See Tionnontate.

Tonty, Alphonse de, commandant at Detroit, 35, 36.

Tonty. See Desliettes.

Tonty, Henri de, La Salle's lieutenant, 3.

Tonty,—, sieur de, letter from, 322.

Toronto, significance of name, 314; portage to, 313, 314; French fort at, 321; museum of, 313. See also Fort Rouillé.

Tortoise, as Indian totem, 249, 251.

Totire (Tutela) Indians, habitat, 250.

Toulouse, French port, 304.

Toussaint, in Sioux trade, 135, 138, 139.

Treaty of Utrecht, 303, 304.

Trempealeau (Wis.), French tort near, 151, 168.

Trent, Capt. William, *Journals*, 482.

Trinity (La.), Natchez near site, 220.

Trots Rivières. See Three Rivers.

Tutela Indians. See Totire.

United States, Bureau of Ethnology *Reports*, 192, 427; Land Commissioner's *Report*, 252.

Upper Country (Upper Lakes), conditions in, xi, xvi, 107, 142–147; 66, 201, 242–244, 315–318, 335–338, 416–423; 440–443; orders for, 260–262; Indians of, xi, 1, 60, 64; census, 245252; wars in, 360–366; troops needed for, 205; trade of, 456, 471; revolt in, xvii, 456–469, 478–492, 505–512. See also Fur-Trade, Coureurs des Bois, Posts, etc.

Varennes. See La Vérendrye.

Varin, Jean Victor, sieur de la Mare, councillor, 434.

Vaudreuil, Philippe Rigualt, marquis de, governor of Canada (1703–25), 1, 2, 194, 195, 282, 303–305, 342, 344, 364, 379, 503; death, 2; sketch, 1.

Vaudreull, Pierre François Rigault de Cavagnial, marquis de, captain, 71; on Fox expedition, 31; brings copper ore, 86; governor of Louisiana, 489, 501, 512–519; of Canada (1753–60), 456, 52; sketch, 31, 512.

Vaudry,—, voyageur, 237.

“Venus,” vessel, 302.

Verchères, Jean Jarret, sieur de, lieutenant, 71; captain, 432; commandant at Mackinac, 274, 276, 373–377, 410, 420, 422, 425, 432; at La Bays, 464; letter from, 424; suppresses Mackinac revolt, 465–467; sketch, 274.

Verchères, Madeline de, defends fort, 274.

Vermillion, as Indian present. 83, 86, 106.

”Vespre,“ vessel, 800.

Villebois. See Michel.

Villemonde. See Beaujeu.

Villeinure. See L'Espervanche.

Villiers, Nicolas Coulon, sieur de, lieutenant, 71; commandant at St. Joseph's 101, 111, 119, 30; victory over Foxes (1730), xv, 109–120, 130, 140, 142, 143, 152, 153, 155, 168; expenses of, 143; to re-establish LaBaye, 140, 156, 169; orders concerning, 182–185, 188, 201, 202, 255; Foxes visit, 168, 169, 182; rashness, xv, 201, 203; slain by Sauk, xv, 188–191, 201–204; son slain, xv, 189, 202.

Villiers, Louis Coulon de, messenger to governor, 3, 117–120; sent to France, 120, 130; succeeds father in command, 188; battle with Sauk and Foxes, 190, 202, 206; commandant at St. Joseph's, 337, 362, 395, 432; letters to, 363; letters from, 365, 366; sketch, 113, 188.

Villiers (de Jumonville?), wounded, 190.

Villiers, Marie Coulon de, 108.

Villiers, Marie Anne Conion de, 432.

Villiers, Madame de, pension for, 191, 210. See also Jumonville.

Vincennes. See Fort Vincennes.

Vincennes, Jean Baptiste Bissot, sieur de, 29.

Vincennes, François Margane de la Valterie, sieur de, ensign, 71; commandant among Miami, 102, 147; illness, 29; removes to Louisiana, 133; slain by Chickasaw, 259, 276, 381–385; sketch, 29.

Virginia, governor of, 166; fleet, 301.

Voisy, —, sieur de, leases Fort Outstanon, 435.

Wabashaw, Sioux chief, hostile, 362; speech, 323, 324; visits Montreal, 397, 402; kills Frenchman, 402; sketch, 823.

Wahpeton, Sioux tribe, 428.

Wakandapi. See Ouakantapi.

Wallace, J., *Illinois and Louisiana*, 3.

Wars: Austrian Succession, see King George's. American Revolution, 323. Black Hawk's, 399. 1812–15, 323. French and Indian, 134, 207, 456. King George's, xvi, 183, 456; declaration of, 440. King William's, 135, 183, 321. Queen Anne's (Spanish Succession), 103, 292.

Warren, William W., *History of the Ojibways*, 246.

Washington, Major George, at Fort Necessity, 113; meets St. Pierre, 166.

Wea Indians. See Ouiatanon.

Weiser, Conrad, *Journal*, 280, 507.

Western Sea, discovery of, 144, 424 post of, 456, 462, 463, 471, 501, 504 commandant, 433; fur-trade, 230; documents concerning, 424.

White Robe, Kickapoo orator, 41.

Wild goose, as Indian totem, 247.

Wild rice, habitat, 23, 25.

Winnebago (Puant) Indians, numbers, 23, 248; habitat, 23, 32, 89, 90, 363, 400, 406; village described, 23; burned, 33, 271; allies of Foxes, 2, 4, 6, 32, 33, 45, 207, 259, 263; enemies, xiv, 80, 81, 89–100, 154, 325; withdrawn from, 364; among Sioux, 67–70, 207, 248, 264; attack Sioux, 272, 273; make peace with, 403; chiefs visit Montreal, 315–318, 329, 363, 421; speeches of, 318, 325, 326, 334, 396, 400, 401, 408; promise fidelity to French, 269, 270, 425; commended, 406, 407; promise peace, 8; captured, 32, 269; Frenchman killed by, 61; near Trempealeau, 168, 169; desire to join Mascoutin, 383.

Winnebago County (Wis.), 398.

Winona (Minn.) Indian village site, 323.

Winsor, Justin, *Mississippi Basin*, 103.

Wisconsin, first settler in, 270; Indians, 482 (see also Chippewa, Kickapoo, Mascoutin, Menominee, Sauk and Foxes, Winnebago); Historical Society, *Collections*, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9,

16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 31, 34, 36, 41, 42, 48, 53, 55, 63, 65, 68, 75, 78, 84, 87, 88, 99, 100, 102, 109, 110, 112, 113, 118, 125, 126, 135, 138, 144, 156, 165, 181, 188, 190, 192, 193, 212, 223, 236, 245, 249, 250, 263, 275, 315, 327, 329, 332, 381, 393, 398, 399, 420, 432, 433, 457; *Proceedings*, 237, 398.

Wolf, as Indian totem, 249.

Wolf Indians. See Loup.

Wyandotte. See Huron and Tionnontate.

Yazoo Indians, 51.

Youville, member of Sioux company, 14.

“ Zephir,” vessel, 493.