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NEW SERIES, VOLUME 10

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MID-AMERICA

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The Conquest of the Chinipas

I. THE CONQUEST

The heart of the Chinipas region lies about midway on a line between Mexico City and Los Angeles, California. This section of rugged mountain country, over three hundred miles south of the state of New Mexico, is gouged in jagged fashion by treacherous barrancas and awesome gorges. The Mayo and the Fuerte are the principal rivers of a network which drains the sierras and carries the waters of the highlands in a southwesterly direction toward the middle of the Gulf of California. The isolated Chinipas area with its rough topography offers an interesting page in the history of the Spanish advance toward California and Arizona. Mines and missions are the main elements in the story of the conquest and occupation of the land.

The mountain fastnesses of Chinipas in the days of Spanish dominion in Mexico were inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians, living simply yet tolerably well on the produce of the fields which the sierra occasionally had not engrossed. The homeland of these natives was at an intermediate altitude, high but yet quite warm.¹ The mountain slopes at this altitude were plen-

¹ For a brief description of tribal life in the mountains see Catherine M. McShane, "Pueblo Founding in Early Mexico," *Mid-America*, XX (January 1938), 5.

A word is necessary here to explain the primary materials on which this paper is based and to give a key to the abbreviations used in the following footnotes. The Bancroft Library possesses a large collection of Jesuit Annual Letters from the Archivo General of Mexico and from the Central Archives of the Society of Jesus, in transcript, photostat, and photofilm. For a description of these, see Peter M. Dunne, "Jesuit Annual Letters in the Bancroft Library," *Mid-America*, XX (October 1938), 263. As regards abbreviations: for documents coming from the Archivo General the letters AG will be used; for those from the Central Archive of the Jesuits, CASJ will be used; the manuscripts in transcript at the Bancroft Library entitled *Memorias of Sinaloa*, will be referred to as *Mem. Sin.*, and those entitled *Materiales para la Historia de Sonora* will be referred to as *Mat. Son.* *Papeles de Jesuitas* is a collection of autograph letters and papers written by various fathers before the expulsion. Other letters in transcript are from the Jesuit Generals in Rome to the Pro-

tifully wooded and the streams and subsoil rich in precious metals,² as a later age was abundantly to prove, but the local tribal units of the area were scattered and disunited. Life in the sierra reflected in striking ways the ruggedness of the natural surroundings. It was hard. Enmities between the small tribes made war the common state of things. Chínipas had little love for their northern neighbors, the Varohios and the Hios, and even less for those to the east, the Guazáparis and the Témoris, while to the south were the Zoes, Huites, and the Sinaloas. To bring some unity and civilization into the area was a necessary task if the frontier was to be developed and expanded.

As early as 1589 the Spaniards had penetrated into this country in search of mines, but their findings evidently were not sufficiently promising to invite immediate occupation. Although the land does not come into the pages of history during the ten years following, the memory of the expedition was not lost. To follow up the earlier quest, the viceroy, Conde de Monterrey, issued an order to Captain Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide, military commandant on the northwestern frontier, bidding him to undertake an *entrada* into the Chínipas region. In that same year, 1601, Hurdaide set out for the sierra country, a journey of some forty leagues beyond his Villa. His company of twenty-three soldiers was strengthened by a band of Indian allies, while the chaplain and missionary, Father Pedro Méndez, and several Spanish prospectors completed the party.³

The expedition had scarce any other choice of route save that which nature had provided through the opening in the cordillera whence the Fuerte tumbles down into the valley. Accordingly the Spaniards followed the course of this stream, passed through the lands of the powerful Sinaloas, on through the Huite country to the forks of the river. There they pointed north along the right or the Chínipas branch. Their passage through the Sinaloa territory had been effected peaceably enough. These Indians, though not yet Christians, had showed the Spaniards many marks of friendship, even offering guides

vincials in Mexico. The map accompanying this article was drawn by W. Lueder of the Bancroft Library from data compiled by the writer. The inset map was added by the editor of MID-AMERICA.

² *Documentos para la Historia de México*, Mexico, 1853-1857, IV serie, IV, 107-109.

³ Anua de la Provincia de México e Islas Philippinas desde el abril de 1600 hasta el de 1602, CASJ, Mex. 14; Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*. . . ., Madrid, 1645, 95-96; Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, Mexico, 1841-1842, I, 388-389. These furnish data for the events of the year 1601.

for the expedition. But the Sinaloas were clever pretenders and quite thoroughly deceived the Spaniards by this show of friendship, which covered anything but amicable designs; their emissaries were already in the highlands inciting the Chinipas to resist the invasion of the sierra. The *serranos* needed little encouragement, and plans were quickly laid.

The Chinipas made no effort to check the Spaniards until the latter had advanced well into the sierra. At one of the narrowest of the defiles along the way, where there was scarcely a path along the side of the cliff, they were waiting. The Spaniards came up and broke ranks, for it was impossible for more than one man to advance at a time. Hurdaide, with Father Méndez, eight soldiers, and a few of the pack animals, led the way. Hardly had they separated from the rest, when the Chinipas from their position high up on the crags let fly a shower of arrows and began to roll huge boulders down upon the unsuspecting company. Fortunately the rear guard was still fairly free. Hurdaide and his little band scrambled forward to a place of shelter beneath a ragged cliff. This protected them from the avalanche of boulders, which bounced off the top of the cliff down into the chasm beneath. From this position the captain signaled to the rear guard to open fire on the enemy and, if possible, harry them out of their vantage points above. The terrain made such a maneuver practically impossible, so the little band settled down to a state of siege, without benefit of walls and bastions.

For the rest of that day⁴ and the best part of the next the battle went on. The Indians kept up their barrage of stones; the Spaniards used their firearms to some small advantage. Early in the fray the Indians had managed to steal a great copper kettle from the baggage. It made a grand drum and to its music they added the defiant chant: "You'll not get out of here, Captain! You'll not get out!" The situation was indeed precarious, and the Spaniards were probably not so sure that the Indians might not be correct.

Noon of the second day passed. The Spaniards had not eaten since the morning before, and during the night rest had been unthinkable. They were nearing exhaustion. Providentially the Indians too, probably through lack of food and also due to the losses which the Spaniards' gunfire had caused, were ready to call a halt. During the early afternoon they withdrew. Once

⁴ The Anua of 1600-1602 says it was Tuesday, April 1.

again the party was united. Stock was taken of the losses which were confined to pack animals and baggage, P. Méndez losing his Mass kit. After a most welcome meal and a night's rest, despite the temper of the natives, Hurdaide pushed on a bit farther. He was a soldier and he had his orders. However, little evidence of mineral wealth was found to reward him for his trouble.

On the homeward march Hurdaide paused among the traitorous Sinaloas to administer well-deserved punishment for their treachery. From there the little company returned to the Villa. Thus ended the first visit to the sierra folk at the headwaters of the Fuerte and the Mayo.

The next contact took place in quite different circumstances. To cover the frontier advance to the Mayo and also to save the Yaquis, but very recently brought to terms, in 1610 the Fuerte de Montesclaros was erected at a strategic point on the second river, which seems to have its present name, Río Fuerte, from the fort.⁵ This new fort was much too close to their sierra to allow the Chínipas to continue on in the self-satisfied security which they had enjoyed since their first brush with the Spaniards nine years before. *El Capitán* had the reputation of a long arm and an even longer memory. Consequently in a general council, the *serranos*, adopting prudence as the better part of valor, determined to send two of their chiefs down to the Villa to make peace with the captain, to promise friendly service and to ask that a missionary be assigned them.⁶ This last needed the viceroy's permission, as well as more tried proofs of Chínipas loyalty. Accordingly Hurdaide limited himself to thanking the Indians for this expression of good will and promised that in due time a padre would be sent.

Developments however were taking place on the Fuerte at that moment, which were destined to make Don Diego's promise more than mere politeness.⁷ For the past few years Father Cristóbal de Villalta, the Jesuit missionary at work among the Sinaloas and neighboring tribes, was having considerable success. He was already making overtures to the Zoes, a tribe living along the Río Choix, one of the left forks of the Fuerte, and was looking forward eagerly to the conquest of the Huites, who

⁵ Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*, 178-179.

⁶ According to the Anua of 1610, Mem. Sin., 434, the Chínipas were only one of eight nations who in this year came to the Villa to make peace with the Spaniards.

⁷ Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*, 214-220.

inhabited the crags to the other side of the river, some seven leagues above the Sinaloas. For the moment these Huites were preoccupying his thoughts because they had a very important part in a plan which he was forming.

In 1612 Villalta sent an embassy of Christian Sinaloas to call on the Huites in order to ask them to descend into the valley to pay him a visit. This goodwill mission bore fruit, for a number of Huites accompanied the ambassadors back to Toro, the *cabecera* (head station) of the Sinaloa mission area. Villalta received them with every possible mark of hospitality and, before they departed, he uncovered his scheme. They desired a padre, but their habitat was so inaccessible that a visit to them was almost impossible. But, if they would consent to come down from their eagle-nest haunts, and settle in the upper valley, then it would be easy for him to accede to their very excellent request. The idea was a good one; but, as it is no simple matter to get even a civilized man to abandon homeland and familiar surroundings, the padre's scheme raised a difficult problem for these savages. So time went on and the Huites, though they often came down to Toro to visit Villalta, still clung to their crags and summits.

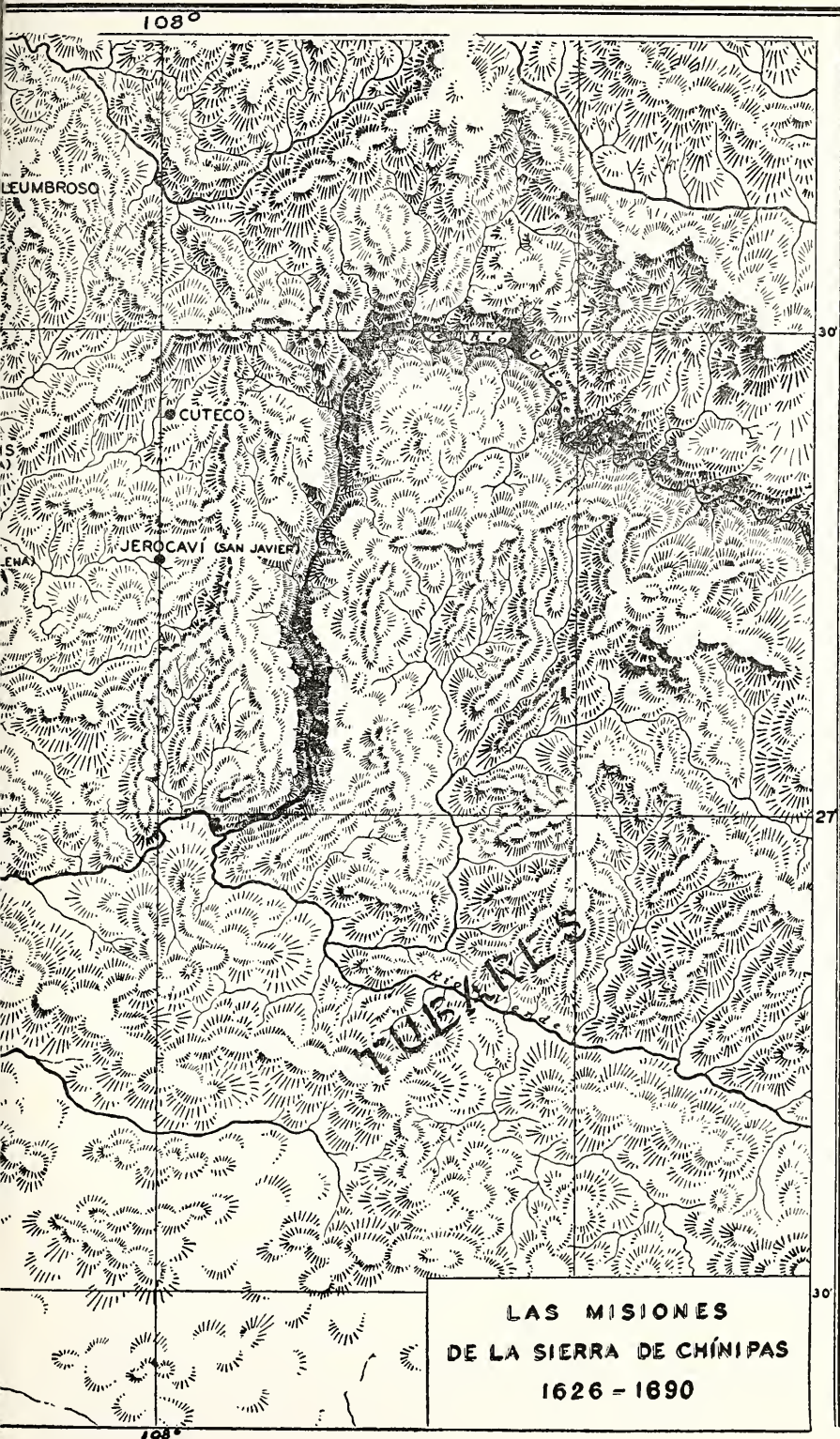
Not to be foiled, Villalta resorted to a desperate expedient, which would have been foolhardy had there been less at stake. He risked life and limb to visit them. Such a mark of interest, coupled with the padre's eloquence, proved the deciding factor. Shortly thereafter some of the Huites came down to look over the site which the padre had painted in such glowing terms when among them. They were satisfied and before long a goodly number of the tribe was settling the place. But even so, the problem was only half solved. Convincing the others was the new problem.

While racking his brain for a solution a chance bit of information came Villalta's way. He learned that among the Chínipas there were detained as slaves quite a number of Huite captives, taken during the wars between the two nations. To arrange for their release surely would give the Huites an added proof of his sincere interest in them and possibly move the conservatives to join their fellows in the valley. The padre sent a messenger to the Chínipas with the request for the release of the captives, and found the *serranos* willing to oblige. Among the captives thus released was a Huite lass, "modest and prudent," who was to become an important, if not indirect, factor not only in



THE SIERRA DE CHINIPAS
MISSIONS 1626-1690





LAS MISIONES
DE LA SIERRA DE CHÍNIPAS
1626 - 1890

winning the rest of her people but also in preparing the Chínipas and their neighbors for conversion.

The Indian governor of Toro was Don Bautista, able and brave, a respected leader and an exemplary Christian. What was more, he was young and a widower. It was time that he took to himself another wife. Wise Father Villalta saw possibilities. A marriage between Don Bautista and the charming Huite maiden might solve the problem of the recalcitrant Huites up in the mountains. He called Don Bautista and dropped a suggestion. The young *cacique* thought well of it. And before long there was a great feast on the Fuerte and great joy in Toro, for everybody applauded the match between the great chief of the Sinaloas and the former slave-girl.

It had been remarked that Don Bautista was a fine Christian. He was more, he was an apostle. Already he had lent valuable aid to Villalta in the conversion of his own people and of the neighboring Zoes. And hence, when the padre unfolded his next plan, Don Bautista enthusiastically consented. He and his bride were to visit the little lady's people and encourage the rest of them to move down into the valley that a mission might be established for the whole tribe. From there the bridal party was to move up the Chínipas fork of the Río Fuerte to carry a message of good will to the *serranos*, the *gobernadora's* former masters. What better Christian sermon could be preached than to see the powerful Sinaloa chieftain the loving husband of an erstwhile slave-girl?

Villalta's plan worked to perfection. The Huites swelled with pride at the honor which had come to one of their maidens, while the trip into the barranca country was little short of a triumph. The example of the young Christian couple worked wonders. When they returned, some ten or twelve Chínipas *caciques* came down with them, to verify at first hand the stories which had been told them of the Christian pueblos. Villalta and his neophytes welcomed the visitors warmly. Then he sent them on to the Villa, still under the care of Don Bautista, where they could personally speak to the Jesuit visitor, Diego de Guzmán, about a padre and also give Hurdaide further proof of their profession of loyalty of a few years back. When the Chínipas finally returned home, they were loud in their praise of all they had seen. The seeds of conversions were very definitely sown in the mountain people.

Unfortunately workers were still few and several years were

to pass before the desire of the Chínipas was to be realized. Meanwhile the padre of Toro frequently had the pleasure of playing host to visiting *caciques*, as well as to the rank and file, not only from among the Chínipas but also from the Guazáparis and Témoris. The sierra was becoming mission-minded.

In 1620 there was a crop failure in the valley and the tribes there were reduced to an extremity.⁸ Word of their distress somehow reached the sierra, possibly brought back by some of the regular visitors to Toro. One fine day there appeared before the padre's hut a group of Chínipas laden with large quantities of maize, beans, and grain, the sierra's contribution to brethren in distress. Nor did the clever Indians allow such an opportunity to escape. Once more they pressed their request for a padre. The missionary was deeply touched by their charity and promised to accede to their petition, bidding them prepare meanwhile for his visit.

There was jubilation in the sierra, when the ambassadors of charity returned with this good news. Everybody set to work.⁹ Roads had to be opened up and leveled off as much as possible. The padre would need a church and also a house; for good measure two churches were built. He would be able to care for them more efficiently if they were gathered together, and so of their own accord they formed four pueblos. In the Christian villages of the valley the visitors had seen crosses set up; the Chínipas did likewise. And lastly there were certain unseemly practices which the padre should not behold among them. Above all, the vice of drunkenness must be rooted out. But first they determined to have one grand farewell to heathendom.

The party, even as among more civilized folk, soon degenerated into a first-class brawl.¹⁰ The head *cacique*, who had sadly overestimated his capacity, sent an arrow through a relative, killing her. When the unfortunate man came to his senses, realizing the enormity of his crime and thinking of the proximity of the padre's long-awaited visit, he was deeply chagrined. What would this new padre of Toro think when he heard the story?¹¹ Might he not postpone his coming indefinitely? Or decide not to come at all? There was only one course open, go down to Toro and stand as his own accuser.

⁸ Alegre, II, 121.

⁹ Anua of 1621, Mem. Sin., 649-665.

¹⁰ Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*, 220-221.

¹¹ Sometime in 1620, Villalta was called to Torín to be superior of the newly formed Mayo-Yaqui Mission of San Ignacio, and Father Pedro Juan Castini took his place at Toro.

The trip to the Sinaloa pueblo was normally a three day trek over an exceptionally difficult road. But too much was at stake to do things in the ordinary way. Haste at any cost was necessary. Scarcely twenty-four hours after leaving Chínipas the repentent *cacique* was at the feet of Castini with his sorry story. Father Castini, moved by the Indian's childlike simplicity, consoled him as best he could, and, at the *cacique's* own request, imposed a penance. On returning to the Chínipas the chief was to assemble his people in the church, recently completed, before them express his sorrow for the public crime and the bad example given, and beg pardon.

With great fidelity the *cacique* carried out the penance. After the ceremony of reparation was over, the penitent addressed his people: "In a fit of drunken excess I, whom you recognize as your head-chief, committed this crime. Now, after we are Christians, there must be no repetition of such a thing as this. Understand then that for the future no one of you shall dare touch liquor. Otherwise I shall be the one to mete out rigorous punishment." That was the beginning of the prohibition era among the Chínipas. And it is worth noting here that more than one of the later *Anuas* mention the almost total lack of drunkenness among this nation.

It is small wonder that, when Castini heard this, he hastened preparations for the *entrada*, which superiors had given him permission to make among these peoples.¹² He sent ahead word of the day of his departure from Toro, and a band of some hundred or more Chínipas came down to form an escort. The Indians had looked forward so long to this happy day that no detail was forgotten. We have already seen the preparations which were made in the sierra and the effort at road-building. But still that was not enough. The pueblos were three full days journey from Toro. The padre must spend two nights on the road, and they knew that each morning he would wish to say Mass. They provided accordingly. At the end of each day's march the padre found a comfortable little hut, well stocked with provisions. As the band advanced its number was swelled by further delegations of Indians.

The reception at the first Chínipas pueblo was enthusiastic, with arches erected along the way, drums beating, natives singing and dancing and carrying little crosses. But what most

¹² Material for the account of this *primera entrada* is drawn from the *Anua* of 1621, Mem. Sin., 649-654, which is based for events in the Sierra de Chínipas on a letter from Castini, and Ribas, 221-222.

touched the padre's heart was the voices of the children chanting Christian couplets, with the same words and tune as was familiar in the older pueblos of the valley. Castini's Sinaloa catechist, sent up sometime previously, had done his work well. The next were busy days, taken up with little catechetical talks, visits to the other pueblos of the tribe and the baptism of children¹³ and three adults, who were in danger of death. One of the high spots of these days was the great bonfire, kindled from the idols and other tokens of superstition which the Indians brought from their dwellings. Another consoling incident put a fitting climax to this *primera entrada*.

Some three leagues to the east, across ragged peaks, lived another nation, the Guazáparis, traditional enemies of the Chínipas. Since Don Bautista's goodwill tour a few years before, the padres had had the pleasure of receiving certain Guazápari and Témori chieftains at Toro. These Indians had been inspired with a desire for baptism. However, Castini had not planned to include them in this first visit. A providential chain of circumstances brought them to him, and thus before leaving the sierra the padre had the happiness of reconciling the two enemy nations and of presiding over a council in which Chínipa pledged firm friendship to Guazápari. Then with a light heart, accompanied by a band of twenty-four young Chínipas whom he had obtained permission to take back with him for training, Castini set out, forgetting the rough and tortuous paths back to his *partido* in the valley. Truly the sierra harvest gave great promise.

A year passed. There was a new burst of interest among the Zoes, and Castini had his hands full closer home.¹⁴ But the Chínipas, to make sure he would not forget them, sent down a delegation asking him to return.¹⁵ The delegation went on to the Villa to plead with Visitador Guzmán that Castini be allowed to remain in their land. The padre of Toro could not be spared, nor did Guzmán have another man to send. Still, the Indians' interest could not be allowed to pass unrewarded, so he asked the zealous Castini to make another trip into the sierra.

The joyous scenes of the preceding year were reenacted—the escort, the welcome, the same eagerness for baptism.¹⁶ The padre

¹³ Ribas, 222, says Castini baptized all the children of seven years and younger. The Anua for 1621 gives the number as 362.

¹⁴ Ribas, 224.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 224-227. This is the only full account of the *segunda entrada*. The Anua for 1622, AG, Misiones 25, has only a note. The *Annuae Litterae*

asked them to bring all the children born during the year that he might baptize them; he also desired information of any adults who were near death. There were seventy-seven infant and fifteen adult baptisms on this occasion. He wished to stay longer among these Chínipas, but he had promised the year before, to visit the Guazáparis and the Témoris on his next trip into the sierra, and besides, he could not remain away from his own *partido* too long.

The hard trip over the mountains to the Guazáparis and the Témoris had its recompense. While showing his interest in these people and further cementing the peace between them and the Chínipas, he was waited on by a delegation from the nations to the north, Varohios and Hios. These last asked him to include them also in his visit, but, since he did not have the proper permissions to undertake such an expedition, he regretfully refused. He went back to Chínipa and prepared to depart. To soften the disappointment of these faithful Indians at losing him so soon, he left among them one of his trusted Sinaloas as catechist. This was some compensation, and to show their gratitude the Chínipas gave the catechist one of their maidens to wed.

Back home in Toro Castini was kept too busy for the next few years to pay another call to the sierra. The Chínipas were growing impatient. Their visits to Toro were frequent and their requests for a resident padre increasingly pressing. Shortly after New Year's Day, 1626, a special delegation called on the visitador and earnestly pleaded for a padre.¹⁷ Many of their nation were dying and they were extremely desirous of baptism, for, as they assured the visitador, they did not wish to go to hell. This time the superior was in a position to give more than mere encouraging promises.

Two years before (1624), together with three other padres, an eager young Italian Jesuit had come up from the capital, fresh from his studies, and his already ardent zeal fanned by ten intensively spiritual months of the third probation. Since arriving in Sinaloa, Father Julio Pascual had more than proved his apostolic capabilities, substituting, for short periods during the absence of the resident padres, among the Zuaques, the Tehuecos, the Sinaloas, and the Yaquis.¹⁸ Such experience had surely seasoned him for the conquest and the hard life of the

Mexicanae, 1615-1649, CASJ, Mex. 15, has meagre details but gives the number of baptisms.

¹⁷ Anua de Cinaloa de 1625-1626; Anua de 1626, Mem. Sin.

¹⁸ Annuae Litterae Mexicanae, 1615-1649. The section devoted to 1632 gives much interesting personal data on Pascual.

sierra. Accordingly the visitador wrote to Castini and asked him to send word to the Chínipas that early in February their petition would be granted, for they were to have a padre of their own.¹⁹

This welcome news brought to Vaca all the *caciques* of the nation, together with some one hundred and fifty Indians, to escort Father Pascual to his new home.²⁰ But one last disappointment was in store for the faithful *serranos*. Between Castini's message and the arrival of the cortège at Vaca, another letter had come from the Villa. The province had lost its great captain. Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide was dead, and superiors at the Villa were a bit worried as to what effect this news, when it got abroad among the Indians, might have.²¹ It seemed prudent to delay Pascual's *entrada*, at least until the arrival of the new captain.

Pascual found it no pleasant task telling his friends that he would be delayed yet some months. The Chínipas were deeply grieved and most of them returned home with heavy hearts. Some, however, stayed on at Vaca, determined to wait for their padre, no matter how long it might take. Their patience was not taxed for long, for Captain Pedro de Perea arrived in the province very shortly²² and immediately sanctioned Pascual's advance.

In early May of 1626 the party set out. Before it reached the sierra pueblos the word was abroad, and the travelers were joined by all the principal persons of the Chínipas. As night was falling, on March 6, the jubilant company entered the principal pueblo of the nation. The welcome extended to the padre, their padre, was most cordial. Father Pascual took a well-deserved night's rest and the next day began the work of which he had long dreamed. The response of the Indians was quick; within two months the whole tribe, some three hundred families in all, had been baptized. Pascual had found them in good dispositions and very well prepared to receive the sacrament.

The pueblo of Chínipa became Pascual's headquarters, and he

¹⁹ Anua de 1625-1626. This is the fullest and most reliable source for the Chínipas events of 1626.

²⁰ *Ibid.* The *Annuae Litterae Mexicanae*, 1615-1649, in treating of the year 1626, seem to contradict the Anua of 1626 in several places regarding names and dates, even though its author apparently used the Anua of 1626.

²¹ Such anxiety was not unfounded, as events on the upper Yaqui River proved. On learning of the passing of the great capitán, the Nebomes boldly threatened the life of Father Oliñano and actually wounded Father Vander-sipe.

²² H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, San Francisco, 1884, I, 227.

began to think of it as a possible *cabecera* of a flourishing mission district. All things considered it was well situated for the purpose. In a letter of August 28, 1626, to the visitador, Pascual describes it:

This place is in a valley which has fine fields roundabout for planting. The Indians are great farmers and regularly have fine harvests, rarely knowing want. In fact they furnish many others who come here to purchase maize, and I have noted that these other Indians take away much more than the Chínipas themselves use. This valley is hedged about by high and rugged peaks. A rushing river runs through its center, the same river which flows by our Fuerte de Montesclaros.²³

Pascual was not long in beginning to realize his dream of a great mission district, nor were the neighboring nations far behind the Chínipas in their eagerness to welcome him. Soon he was bombarding his superiors with letters asking for permission to visit the other sierra nations. Towards the end of that first year (1626) he made an *entrada* among the Varohios, four leagues up the river, and spent two very full days there, building a little chapel, catechizing, receiving visits from nations farther on. He returned to Chínipa determined in the near future to found a pueblo in the new country. This came to pass the following year (1627), when several *rancherías* of Indians speaking the Hia tongue were settled about the little chapel.²⁴

During the next few years the progress was consoling. Contacts were kept with the Guazáparis to the east, in which quarter the padre had great hopes. However, it was there that trouble began to brew, certainly in 1631 and possibly even a year earlier.²⁵

There was among the Guazáparis a proud and influential *cacique*, Cobameai by name, "*grande hablador y parlero*." He soon began to regret the enthusiasm he had earlier shown for the Christian way of life—it was he who had welcomed Castini to his nation in 1622. So he went amongst his tribesmen talking against the padre of Chínipa. Secret councils were held. Cobameai found others who shared his views, and finally they determined to watch for a suitable occasion to rid their sierra of the white troublemaker.

²³ Pascual's letter is quoted in part in the *Anua de 1625-1626*.

²⁴ *Misiones de la Provincia de Cinaloa*, AG, *Misiones* 25, is a report by Father Juan Varela, written in February, 1628. The pueblo mentioned is the one later known as Guadalupe; it is not the Varohio of "reconquest days."

²⁵ Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos*, 256-265, is the sole authority for these years 1630-1632. The *Sinaloa Anuas* are missing.

Some Christian Indians learning of the plottings hastened to Chínipa to warn Father Pascual. He took their talk of danger lightly, dismissed the thought of possible treachery, and went his usual kindly way. But rumors of these councils among the Guazáparis trickled down into the valley. The superior at the Villa was disturbed and informed the captain. The captain in his turn was worried and immediately dispatched a detail of six soldiers to Chínipa to protect Pascual.

The appearance of the military, joined with the fearless exhortations of Pascual, brought quiet, but it was to prove a truce rather than a peace. After things seemed to have returned to normal the too trustful Pascual dismissed the soldiers and resolved to carry on as he had done before, placing all his confidence in the protection of his Master. But scarce had the soldiers gotten out of the sierra when the Guazáparis were back to their plottings, encouraged, says Ribas, by apostate Tepehuanes, still in hiding from the justice which their bloody deeds of fifteen years before richly deserved.

The splendid progress of the Chínipas mission and doubtless the frequent letters of Pascual moved superiors to assign a second padre to the sierra. In the third week of January, 1632, Pascual had the joy of welcoming a companion and co-worker in the person of the young Portuguese, Father Manuel Martínez. This was the first time since bidding farewell to Castini at Vaca, in 1626, that Pascual had seen one of his brethren. In fact, save for the six soldiers and possibly an occasional prospector, he had been the lone white man in those parts for the past five or six years. It is easy to imagine how those first few days together were spent. Martínez, no doubt, was kept up late into the night answering questions, and he must have had much interesting information of the outside world to impart.

The few pleasant days came to an end on Sunday, January 25, 1632. There was work to be done. Martínez was to take charge of the Varohio pueblo up the river and he was anxious, with all the enthusiasm of youth, to be about his task. After saying Mass the two Black Robes set out up the river with nine Chínipas carpenters and eight young acolytes. They were received with every appearance of cordiality. But underneath their smiles the Varohios harbored sinister designs, for the Guazápari malcontents had won many of them to the plot.

Things passed quite normally until Thursday. That day a faithful catechist came to inform Pascual of the plans being

hatched. The padre did not take the report too seriously and withheld judgment until he should have clearer proofs of Varohio disloyalty. However, when two other Varohios brought the same story the next day, Pascual's doubts vanished. He began to act, convinced now that trouble and danger were in the offing. A messenger was dispatched to Chínipa for help. Unfortunately, the runner found few men at home on arriving; but these few willingly hastened off to rescue the padres. Halfway up they learned to their dismay how hopelessly they were outnumbered by the conspirators and prudently turned back to summon a stronger force.

Meanwhile events at the Varohio pueblo were moving fast. Saturday morning dawned and the padres awoke to find both their house and the church surrounded by hostile Indians. Soon firebrands were flying and the roof was ablaze. Before it got well under way the missionaries confessed to each other, and Pascual heard the confessions of the Indians who had accompanied them. He encouraged these Indians to die bravely but ordered them to take any chance of escape that might offer itself and not to stay behind with himself and Martínez. Two of the youngsters did escape, and from them Ribas got the story of the last hours of two great missionaries. The smoke from the burning roof soon became suffocating and the besieged were forced into the patio which connected the church and the house. During the afternoon Pascual tried to shake the rebels in their criminal design, but to no avail. Night came on, and the padres could hear Cobameai inciting his companions to keep their promise and do away with the missionaries. By morning he had them aroused to action. They made an assault on the house. It was the end.

Word of the disaster reached Chínipa later that day, and the next morning the devoted Indians came up to carry away the bodies. They buried them on either side of the altar in the church of the main pueblo. Here the bodies rested for a fortnight, when with deep regret they surrendered them to Father Marcos Gómez, who bore them back the sixteen leagues to his mission of Conicari, on the Río Mayo. There, on February 14, the padres gathered from the nearby missions to pay a last honor to brethren whom they looked upon as martyrs for the faith.²⁶

²⁶ The bodies remained in the church at Conicari until 1907. They were then transferred to the Colegio Máximo in Mexico City, according to Gerardo Decorme, *La Obra de los Jesuitas en México durante la Época Colonial*, (unpublished ms.). The writer does not know what has become of them since the dismantling of the Colegio in 1933.

For their unflagging loyalty to the padres, both in life and in death, the Chínipas had to bear the furious resentment of the Varohios and the Guazáparis.²⁷ They had to live in a continual state of armed preparedness. But persecution did not shake their faith. They sent messengers to the Villa to ask for the consolation of another padre. Their request was granted. The veteran Juan Varela took this dangerous assignment.²⁸ Captain Perea detailed a squad of six soldiers to accompany him. And the Chínipas, grateful for the mark of consideration and confidence shown them, took every precaution to protect their treasured padre.

The rebels swore to do to death the whole pueblo, padre, soldiers, and Chínipas. One night, shortly after the padre's arrival, a desperate band did attack the mission. The Chínipas were alert, informed in good time by some Christian Guazáparis who soundly disapproved of the turn affairs had taken in their tribe. They beat off the attackers and took several prisoners, whom they turned over to the captain for judgment. Nevertheless, it soon became clear to all that this type of armed existence was far too precarious. So it was decided to move down into the valley. Regretfully the Chínipas dismantled their fine church, gathered their few belongings, bade farewell to their homeland, and "true exiles for Christ," as Ribas fondly calls them, moved in among the Sinaloas.

The first part of the sierra story closes with the campaign of reprisals waged against the rebels by Perea.²⁹ With the aid of a band of Indian allies they were tracked into their mountain hide-outs. The punishment which redman meted out to redman was more severe than the Spaniards would have wished. The Indian allies killed some eight hundred of the rebels. About eighty families of the survivors were also induced to come down into the valley and settle among the Sinaloas under the care of Father Francisco Torices. Many remained in the sierra and reverted to their old life of savagery.

II. THE RECONQUEST

The departure of the Chínipas left the Varohios for some years as the dominant nation, still firm in their apostacy. A tribe

²⁷ Ribas, 266-267.

²⁸ In the works of Ribas, Alegre, and others, Varela goes unnamed; he is merely an *otro padre*. But the *Annuae Litterae Mexicanae*, in the section for 1637, definitely identifies the courageous missionary as Juan Varela, "Rectorem Cinaloensis Collegii. . . ."

²⁹ Ribas, 268; Alegre, II, 193.

called the Guailopos moved into the land which the Chínipas had vacated. Gradually, however, contacts with the Tarahumares brought the influence of these last to the fore, and the padres of the "reconquest" found that the Tarahumar language had practically supplanted all the others. Loss of tribal identity, philosophizes the chronicler, was the heavy price which the rebels had to pay for their crime. During these years, too, the sierra became something of a place of refuge for discontented Indians from the various Christian pueblos of the western slope. The Maguiaguis escaped thither in considerable numbers and threw in their lot with the *serranos*.³⁰ So thirty-eight years went by. The mission frontier pushed on past the sierra. Encircling the mountain villages were the missionized lands of Tarahumara Baja and Alta, the upper Yaqui, and Sonora.

In the year 1670, however, Father Alvaro Flores de la Sierra, in his mission at Toro, played host to a group of visitors from the high lands.³¹ Drawn either by curiosity to see for themselves just what a Christian pueblo was like or possibly desirous of looking up some of their relatives, a band of Yecaromes had made the three-day journey to the upper valley of the Fuerte. The wise missionary immediately seized on this visit as a means of renewed contact with the mountain peoples and made the most of it. His hospitality was well repaid, for before their return home these Yecaromes were baptized. The padre sent them back with a proposal to their kinsmen and neighbors.

Father Sierra was anxious to have more of the mountain folk follow the example of the Yecaromes, but he could not in conscience baptize with too free a hand and then abandon the neophytes to the hazards and temptations which their faith would inevitably run in pagan home surroundings. Furthermore, he could not leave his own Indians to visit the sierra regularly. More than physical difficulties of the hard journey thither made visits impossible, for there were royal orders and commands of mission superiors to forbid new advances without express vice-regal permission and authorization. Hence Sierra proposed to these Yecarome neophytes that they persuade such of their fel-

³⁰ The writer has been unable to locate the home pueblo of these Maguiaguis.

³¹ The principal source for the "reconquest," down to 1680, is the *Relación de la nueva entrada de los padras de la Compañía de Jesús a las naciones de Chínipa, Varohios, Guailopos, Guazáparis, Témoris y otras*, copied in *Mat. Son.*, 283-294, and also printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3a serie, 779-789. Its author is unknown and the date of composition is not given, but from internal evidence it can be set down as 1681.

lows as were desirous of baptism to move down to a point about halfway between their lands and Toro. This move would have a double advantage: the padre could visit them with greater regularity, and, more important still, as far as the Indians were concerned, the new location would be no drastic change in natural surroundings, nor would it force an alteration in their customary mode of life. The idea seems to have caught the Indians' fancy, for very soon they and a number of their tribe settled a *ranchería* in a site more accessible to the valley. The place became known as San Francisco Javier de Babuyagui.³²

The *visita* of Babuyagui formed the first link in the chain with which Sierra planned to join the sierra once again to the missions of the western slope. During the next three years (1670-1673) things worked out very much as he had hoped. At each visit to Babuyagui his catechist had some of the Indians ready for baptism, while there were always others, lately arrived, whom he was preparing. Meanwhile he pressed superiors for help. A resident missionary at Babuyagui was of vital importance for the completion of his scheme.

In 1673 the situation appeared hopeful.³³ Word came to Toro that five missionaries were on their way to the Río Fuerte. There was a bit of disappointment when only four arrived, the fifth having died on the road up. Even so, Sierra was encouraged, and, when one of the party handed him a letter which appointed him *visitador* of the district, he felt himself in a perfect position to push his plans of campaign for the reduction of the sierra. One of the new padres could be stationed at Babuyagui and it was arranged that from time to time this padre was to push beyond the halfway mark to visit the tribes living in the heart of the sierra.

Thus the "reconquest" was prepared for. There was no human flaw in the plan. But man proposes and God disposes. The year was hardly out and the fine church at San Javier de Babuyagui begun, when Father Sierra was called to his reward, after a full quarter century in the missions of Sinaloa. This left the populous Christian *partido* of Toro without a shepherd. Regretfully superiors had to recall Father José de Tapia³⁴ from Babuyagui and put him in charge of the older pueblos, asking him in

³² The exact location of Babuyagui is not certain. Its approximate site on the map is based upon the few indications in the source materials, such as "a la boca de la sierra."

³³ *Relación de la nueva entrada*, 286.

³⁴ The *Relación* leaves the padre unnamed. Thanks to Alegre, III, 13, we learn that it was Padre Tapia.

his charity and zeal to do what he could to preserve the gains of the halfway station at San Javier. This he did during the following year, until an untoward accident determined the abandonment of the arrangement. But this time a kindly Providence was most definitely on the side of the Indians, as the sequel was to show.

Babuyagui had always been a source of difficulties, and only the greater hopes connected with it made these difficulties endurable. However, a problem of another sort arose to complicate matters.³⁵ The place very soon after its foundation became a very attractive spot for fugitive Maguiaguis, so attractive that the padre of their pueblo began to raise the question with the authorities regarding the abandonment of this *visita*. To forestall such a possibility Tapia, who had entered into Sierra's plan with enthusiasm, promised to do what he could to have the fugitives return to their own pueblo. But, often as he visited Babuyagui, he never once succeeded in finding any of the Maguiaguis at home. He invariably sent word of his coming, in order that the Indians might try to make the road in some wise passable; his mistake lay precisely here. The cunning fugitives always had ample time to get out of sight and reach. The only way to foil them was to pay a surprise visit to Babuyagui.

One fine morning the padre set out. Mounted, he moved along the river past Vaca. Once above this mission his troubles began. The going became more dangerous with every step. Yet he went on, determined to find the Maguiaguis at home. Some five leagues above Vaca a tree had fallen across the trail. On arriving at the obstacle the padre's mount took fright and in attempting to jump the tree lost its footing and rolled down the precipitous ravine together with its rider. The padre was badly shaken and bruised and had one hand rather severely gashed. When he recovered from the shock, he concluded there was nothing to do but return to Vaca. He was still a considerable distance from Babuyagui and much weakened by loss of blood. He took another mount. But fear had seized all the animals; his second mount soon got out of control, and the padre had to jump off as best he could. The beast, so the chronicler attests, did not stop running for three full leagues. Finally, with much difficulty the padre managed to make his way back to Vaca, where he was cared for with great charity and consideration.

That, unfortunately, was not the end of the affair. When

³⁵ Relación de la nueva entrada, 288.

superiors heard of the mishap and realized how dangerously close it had come to depriving the mission of a valuable worker, they sent orders to abandon the *visita* until such time as a padre could be sent there in residence. The missionary was to encourage the Indians of Babuyagui to come either to Vaca or Toro to be cared for spiritually. Things indeed looked black, but the spirit of Father Sierra, and of Pascual and Martínez, martyrs of Chínipas, were apparently watching over the missions, for help was on the way.

Early in the year 1676 a band of young missionaries came from Europe to the western missions, New Spain, the Philippines, and the Mariana Islands. There were famous names in that band: Juan María Salvatierra, future founder of the Baja California mission, destined to receive his first missionary experience in the Sierra de Chínipas; Juan Bautista Zappa, a great preacher and missionary in the urban and country districts of central Mexico; Nicolas de Prado and Fernando Pécoro, about whom much of the remainder of this story turns; Juan Ortiz de Foronda and Manuel Sánchez, future martyrs among the Tarahumares, and Manuel Solorzano, who was to shed his blood for the faith in the Marianas.³⁶ Prado was at first anxious to cross the Pacific to work in the Marianas, but while in Mexico, interior promptings and the eloquent pleadings of the Provincial, Francisco Jiménez, persuaded him to change his allegiance to Sinaloa. He was immediately appointed to reopen the missions of the Sierra de Chínipas.³⁷

Prado wasted no time in the capital, for, as the chronicler assures us, in a few days he had made the three hundred and thirty league journey to Toro, arriving on April 17, 1676.³⁸ Here he found a number of his future charges, whose joy was great to find themselves in possession of a padre of their own. However, the mission superiors deemed it imprudent for Prado to go into the sierra alone, because of the distance from the other missions and also because of the great number of Indians there. A zealous man would soon wear himself out in the endeavor to gather all of the rich harvest which had been ripening these last years, thanks to the labors of Flores de la Sierra and José de Tapia at the ill-fated *visita* of Babuyagui. Another padre had

³⁶ These names have been gathered from various sources, the *Relación de la nueva entrada*, Alegre, and Miguel Venegas, *Vida del P. Juan María de Salvatierra*, Mexico, 1754.

³⁷ *Relación de la nueva entrada*, 288.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 288-292.

been promised and he would soon arrive. In the meantime Father Prado could well spend his time studying the Varohio and other sierra languages.

Several other padres soon reached the Río Fuerte, and the visitador named Fernando Pécoro as Prado's companion. All was now in readiness for the beginning of the "reconquest," all save one thing which prudence suggested. Having heard of the fickle nature of the natives, the padres decided to make sure that their welcome among the pagan *serranos* would be as the Christian Varohios and Yecaromes from Babuyagui had promised. First they sent messengers to announce their coming and to sound out the several tribes. A delegation of Huites went to the Témoris and one from Toro to the Varohios and the tribes who had moved into the lands of the Chínipas. The messengers were back shortly with favorable assurances.

On June 11, 1676, the party set out from Vaca, two padres and the Christian Indians who had continued on at Babuyagui. The missionaries were well aware that their undertaking would be studded with difficulties, but they did not expect these to begin until they got well into the sierra. Their inexperience, however, advanced their troubles some four or five days. Tapia and his Christians of Toro, Vaca, and Choix, had been generous in stocking the expedition with provisions, not only for the journey but also very thoughtfully for the first few days at Chínipa. The new padres entrusted these precious stores to the care of the Indians. The first day the party ate like lords. The second day when mealtime came and a halt was called, the Indians looked sheepish, shrugged their shoulders, and told the padres that there was nothing left. So much food ready at hand had been too great a temptation to Indian appetites. So Prado and Pécoro learned a valuable, if painful, lesson, and during the next days joined the Indians in their humble fare of thistles and wild honey.

Sometime on June 17, after almost six days on the road, the little party entered into the valley opening around Chínipa. The place, abandoned by the padres for over forty years, still held reminders of the period of conquest. The walls of the large church built by Pascual and his devoted neophytes were still standing. To one side were the ruins of his house. Prado and Pécoro covered over one of the corners of this latter ruin and used it as their dwelling for the first few days. While their spirits rejoiced in these hardships, the strenuous existence and the

warm weather took a toll on their bodies. Pécoro was taken quite sick, and Prado, not too robust to begin with, also showed the effects of this wild and uncivilized mode of life. However, both soon recovered with a little rest and set to work.

Their first problem was to overcome the sense of wonder with which they inspired the simple Indians, many of whom had never before seen a white man, let alone a Black Robe. The padres resorted to all the tricks which charity and psychology could suggest. According to the chronicler, their participation in the Indians' games did most to break down the barrier of suspicion and timidity, and before long the natives were allowing the padres to baptize the children. The mission thus established was called Santa Inés de Chínipas. After a month together the missionaries felt that one of them should push on up the river to the site of the old Varohio pueblo, the scene of the martyrdom of the two Chínipas pioneers. Pécoro being the more robust of the two gladly took this assignment. In late July he set out, fully prepared for whatever might come.

His first evening at the new site seemed destined to fulfill all his anticipations of martyrdom. When he arrived, he found the pueblo practically deserted and what was more ominous still, there were neither women nor children to be seen. Nevertheless, he built a little shelter and determined to pass the night. As darkness was falling he saw the men of the village approaching, silently and fully armed. Quietly they surrounded his little hut, though still some distance away. Several Christian Indians slipped in to acquaint him of the danger, an act of kindness, surely, but scarcely necessary, for by that time the padre was firmly convinced that he would spend his eternity in the ranks of the martyrs. He waited. The Varohios soon sat down in council, and the pipe began to go the rounds. This was not reassuring. Then the padre made a bold decision. He went out and sat down in their circle about the fire. Gently he chided them for delaying their reception until this late hour. He told them why he had come to them and assured them that, if his presence was so completely unwelcome as they seemed to consider it, he would go away and devote himself to other peoples who would be proud to have a padre in their midst. No one around the circle answered; no one made a move. More certain than ever that this night would be his last, Pécoro got up and turned back towards his hut to prepare for the sacrifice, offering his life to God for these poor children of darkness.

Morning came and the Indians were still there. But their attitude had changed. Shamefaced they apologized for the coldness of their reception of the preceding night and promised that, as soon as the harvest was gathered, they would come and settle permanently in this spot; then he might instruct and baptize them. The padre's courage had won their admiration.

If the first months were slow and anxious, once the ice was broken, the thaw was rapid. Mission stations multiplied rapidly. Father Juan Ortiz Zapata, who visited the sierra in 1678, while making the rounds of the northern missions in the capacity of official visitor, found seven in quite flourishing condition. His extensive report to the Provincial, Tomás Altamirano, gives some valuable information on the state of things.³⁹

Santa Inés de Chínipas had become a *cabecera*, the home of some one hundred and fifty-five families. Its five hundred and eighty souls were reported as well trained, punctual, and fervent in attending the exercises, and devoted towards the Mother of God. From Santa Inés Prado attended the Varohio pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, situated in a long deep *barranca*, some six leagues up the river. This was the site of Pécoro's anxious July evening two years before. A later account of the sierra country gives an interesting indication of what trouble it cost the missionary to attend this *visita*.⁴⁰ The river, so we were told, had to be forded twelve times between Santa Inés and Guadalupe. In times of high water eight of these crossings could be eliminated, but not without greater hazard, for the road over the summits was difficult in the extreme ("*muy largo, fragoso y peligroso*"). At the time of Zapata's visitation Guadalupe boasted of a population of about three hundred persons. In the whole *partido* there had been eight hundred and seventy baptisms by 1678.

Father Pécoro, after laying the foundations of another *partido* to the east, which included Santa Teresa de Guazáparis (ten leagues east of Santa Inés), Santa Magdalena de Témoris (three leagues to the south and east of Guazáparis), and Nuestra Señora de Valleumbroso (five leagues north of Guazáparis), had pushed on north some seventeen leagues and there among the high peaks had founded another Varohio center at Loreto. Lor-

³⁹ Relación de las misiones que la Compañía de Jesús tiene en el reino y provincia de la Nueva Viscaya en la Nueva España, hecho el año de 1678 con ocasion de visita general de ellas, que por orden del padre provincial Tomás Altamirano, hizo el padre visitador Juan Ortiz Zapata de misma Compañía, in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4a serie, III, 386-395.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 98.

eto had Santa Ana as a *visita*. Pécoro was in charge here when Zapata paid his official call. The eastern *partido* of Santa Teresa was at the moment without a resident padre, though Zapata mentions Father Bautista Copart as having been selected to fill that post. There is no record of his having come at that time.

Two years later, in 1680, the *partido* of Santa Teresa had as its padre one of the great missionaries in the Jesuit annals of New Spain, Juan María de Salvatierra. Since his arrival in the kingdom a few years before, Salvatierra had completed his studies and had been teaching and preaching in the cities closer to the capital. He was anxious to undertake more strenuous tasks. Superiors very soon recognized in him a man of promise and saw no better place to utilize his evident enthusiasm than in the newly founded missions of the Sierra de Chínipas. And so he was assigned to that field of labor.⁴¹

Activity in the district had not been lacking during the four previous years, as the presence of seven mission pueblos and Zapata's report prove. But with Juan María's arrival, in June of 1680, things gathered new momentum.⁴² His presence made it possible to have a resident missionary in each of the three sierra *partidos*, Prado at Santa Inés, Pécoro at Loreto, Salvatierra at Santa Teresa. From the reports of Salvatierra's activities for the next few years one might well wonder if he was really in residence anywhere.

The neighboring nations to the east of Guazáparis evidenced a desire to receive the Gospel. Two years before their delegation had gone down to the Villa to ask for missionaries. The captain there, Don Pedro Hurtado de Castillo, had forwarded this information to the viceroy. Just how Salvatierra became involved in this subject is not clear, but Alegre tells us that the task of visiting these peoples was assigned to him.

At first he met opposition to carrying out this order from a quite unexpected quarter, from his own Guazáparis and Témoris. His neophytes did their best to discourage the zealous missionary. They were not sparing in their use of terrifying adjectives with which to describe the dangers of the way, the ferocity of the people, and a dozen other obstacles calculated to dissuade the padre from making the *entrada*. The fact of the matter was, as Salvatierra soon saw, they were not too anxious to see Chris-

⁴¹ Venegas, ch. 7-11.

⁴² Alegre, III, 25-27, 50-53, is the source for this period. Venegas also treats it, but inaccuracies in his work make one chary about relying too much on it.

tianity spread among their pagan neighbors, for thus a possible and convenient escape from mission discipline would be cut off, should the fancy seize them to slip away on occasion to indulge their former habits of license. Juan María called their bluff and told them that, if the people of Jerocaví were unwilling to receive the Gospel, he would leave Santa Teresa and return to Mexico. Fearing to lose their padre, the Guazáparis and Témoris quickly withdrew their opposition and did everything to further the padre's expedition to the east.

Towards the end of November, 1680, Salvatierra arrived in Jerocaví. He explained the purpose of his visit and before many days passed baptized a number of children and some seventy adults. This success fired his zeal the more and shortly he was off to visit the neighboring Husarones. He took them quite by storm and baptized the greater part of the nation. There, probably, a letter from his rector caught up with him. Father Pécoro, it would seem, was a bit anxious lest Salvatierra in his lack of experience might be proceeding a bit too fast in baptizing adults. And what was more, some of the nations with whom Salvatierra was in contact had "*mil veces*" turned a deaf ear to Pécoro's overtures, while the few individuals whom the latter had baptized had not remained faithful. Hence it was unwise to baptize on a wholesale scale until there were sufficient missionaries to care for the neophytes regularly. The signs of fervent faith surrounding him made Salvatierra feel as though the rector had perhaps not understood the whole case. On December 10 he wrote a letter giving his view of the situation,⁴³ yet he saw that, until he received other orders, obedience left him but one course, namely to return to his own *partido*. Amid the mutual regrets of the padre and his spiritual children he departed and early in 1681 was back in his mission of Santa Teresa de Guazáparis.

During the next years he expanded the early beginnings at Jerocaví into a regular *visita*, which was called San Javier, and made other contacts among his neighbors.⁴⁴ Then, shortly after the beginning of 1684, he received a summons to the capital. Appointments had come from Rome and Salvatierra was to be made a rector of one of the colleges. To ordinary ways of think-

⁴³ There is in Papeles de Jesuitas, No. 23, a letter from Anchieta to Salvatierra which would seem to be the answer to this December letter mentioned by Alegre. It is dated February 26, 1681, and gives permission to proceed with the *dichas conversiones*, while at the same time counseling close cooperation and frequent consultation with the veterans, Pécoro and Prado.

⁴⁴ Alegre, III, 50-53.

ing this appointment might seem an honor; but to Father Juan María it was nothing short of a catastrophe. It meant that he must give up all his cherished plans, his dear neophytes, his fun, for this sturdy Milanese to the end of his life found happiness and pleasure where hardships were greatest. One resort was left him. Thankful to Father Ignatius for making it possible for him to do so, he laid before the Provincial and his consultors the state of things in the sierra and begged to be spared to carry on in that field. He professed himself ready, however, to do as superiors would decide. His eloquence won out and he was permitted to return to the mission.

His mission needed his steady influence over the Indians, for during his absence disaffected Tarahumares had been endeavoring to spread discontent among the sierra Christians. A Tarahumar malcontent, Corosia by name, had taken up his abode in the fastnesses near Cuteco. Salvatierra had been fostering in the Cutecos a desire for baptism. Consequently, on his return, when he learned of the presence of this Corosia in the vicinity, forgetting the fatigue of the long journey from the capital, he hastened over the five hard leagues to Cuteco. His zeal reaped its reward in the fifty baptisms which he administered among the eastern peoples on this occasion. And after this success he made the trip which he had planned before his hurried journey to Mexico. This was his thrilling, to him at least, descent into the great Barranca de Urique,⁴⁵ which, modern explorers assure us, need bow in nothing to the more advertised Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

Sometime before Salvatierra had learned that there were some sick Christians living down in the great canyon. His charity would not let him rest until he had visited and consoled them. So one day in 1684 he set out from Jerocavi with the *gobernador* of the pueblo. The latter had told the padre they would be able to make the first three leagues of their journey on horseback, but beyond this distance the descent would have to be made on foot. Undaunted Salvatierra pushed on. Alegre has preserved a part of the padre's own description of the adventure, and we only hope that some day the whole may be discovered.

Such was my fright on seeing the nature of the terrain that very soon I asked my companion if it were time to dismount, and without waiting for his answer I slid off on the side opposite the precipice, perspiring profusely and trembling from head to foot. On my left was

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

a yawning chasm whose bottom could not even be seen, while to the right there rose a sheer wall of stone. Before me was a descent of about four leagues at the very least, not gradual but rapid and precipitous in the extreme. The path was so narrow that more than once we had to jump from point to point.

From the top of the canyon one can see the whole province of Sinaloa, with this little island of heathendom surrounded by its missions and those of the Tepehuan and Tarahumar country. The canyon is very picturesque and much warmer than Sinaloa. A large river runs through it, the larger branch which forms the Zuaque [Fuerte]. This canyon stretches out for better than twenty leagues and they tell me that some ten leagues below the point at which I was this river is joined by a smaller one, which together with the Río de Chinipas becomes the Río Zuaque.

After much trouble then Salvatierra reached the sick Christians and cared for their souls, and, as best he could, also for their bodies. Among them he found and baptized two heathen Indians who were at death's door. Nor were the consolations of the journey yet exhausted. Hidden away in the *Barranca* the padre discovered a number of fugitives from the missions. These he persuaded by kindness to return to their pueblos. Here too he learned how the Tubares had threatened the canyon peoples with dire retribution if they ever received a padre among them and became Christians, or allowed Spaniards to penetrate into their lands. On gaining this knowledge Salvatierra firmly resolved to save his hosts any future trouble by winning the friendship of the Tubares.

The circumstances of the missionary's first contact with this Tubare nation are not too well known. Alegre,⁴⁶ after telling how the imprudent zeal of one of Bishop Escañuelas' priests had rendered these Indians violently hostile to the Christian name, says that Salvatierra was accompanied by some thirty or so of them, when he returned to his mission of Santa Teresa. Whether this was immediately following the descent into the *Barranca* de Urique or after a subsequent visit to the region is not clear. Alegre mentions a letter of October 24, 1684, in which Salvatierra asks permission to make an *entrada* into Tubare land, something which would seem to indicate a second trip. He must have been quite successful in his efforts to win them, for they do not figure among the rebels in the troubles which disturbed the frontier during the next years.

To go into the details of this so-called Tarahumar revolt

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

would take this present story too far afield. According to Alegre Corosia succeeded in gaining a few Chínipas (sic) to his side, and for a time Salvatierra's life was in danger.⁴⁷ But the Sierra de Chínipas as a whole remained staunchly, even belligerently loyal, thanks in large measure to Juan María's influence.⁴⁸ In 1690 he was named *visitador* of the missions of the northwest, an appointment which took him away from the Chínipas region. When he left the sierra his place was taken by Pedro Noriega, who carried on at Santa Teresa and followed up the work with the Tubares.⁴⁹ Salvatierra was back for a few days in 1697, before he left the mainland to begin the mission of Baja California. He found the Indians still well affected, despite the troubles which were raging over the mountains to the east. Four padres were caring for the sierra Christians at that time, the veteran Prado, assisted by Manuel Ordaz, Martín Benavides, and Antonio Gomar.⁵⁰

During the first decades of the eighteenth century, when all available forces were being used in the California venture, the Chínipas mission went through a period of decline, much like that which took place in the Sonora field after the death of the indomitable Kino. However, towards the middle of the century, with the influx of more and more missionaries from the central and northern European provinces, there was a new boom. The area became an independent rectorate with nine *partidos*, from Moris in the north to Nabogame in the south. At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, in 1767, there were twelve padres in the sierra.⁵¹

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⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 70-72; Venegas, ch. 14.

⁴⁹ Alegre, III, 72.

⁵⁰ Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 250.

⁵¹ Zelis, Rafael, *Catálogo de los sugetos de la Compañía de Jesús que formaban la provincia de México el día del arresto, 25 de junio de 1767*, Mexico, 1871, 133.

Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico 1680

I. THE BOOKS AND THEORIES

Louis Hennepin arrived at Quebec, New France, in 1675 with La Salle. As a Recollect and priest he practiced his calling around Quebec until La Salle's men went to Niagara Falls to build the *Griffon* in 1678. In the following spring, when the famed first sailing craft put out on its brief career toward the west, Hennepin accompanied the expedition to Michilimackinac. From this point he went south with La Salle to the Illinois country. At the end of February, 1680, Hennepin, leaving Fort Crevecoeur and La Salle, journeyed down the Illinois River to its junction with the Mississippi. From this confluence, did he continue southward down the Mississippi to its mouth and then return north, or did he turn northward without detouring? Some weeks later he was captured by the Sioux along the higher part of the river. After his release, he returned to Europe in 1681, at the time his former sponsor, La Salle, was undertaking his exploration of the Mississippi. Residing in Holland and Paris Hennepin wrote three books about his days in the great valley.

These works of the traveler returned from his travels became very popular. The *Description of Louisiana*, first published in 1683, soon was in its third edition, and Italian, Dutch, and German translations appeared. Shea brought it out in English in 1880, and last year another English translation was published.¹ Even greater was the success of the *New Discovery*: seven French editions, four Dutch, a German translation, and a Spanish abridgement, followed the initial publication of 1697. Hennepin's third book, *New Voyage*, although not as popular as its predecessor, went through three French, one Dutch, and two German editions. The *New Discovery* and the *New Voyage* were issued in two separate editions in English during the year 1698; these were the *Bon-* and *Tonson* editions; the latter was reprinted by Thwaites in 1903. Moreover, a composite English edition also appeared in London in 1699. The literature about Hennepin and his books is so extensive that he has become one

¹ *Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, translated by Marion E. Cross, Minneapolis, 1938.

of the most discussed of the writers of the Mississippi Valley.²

The popular and political interest in the books gave way in later years to scholarly interest. Comparisons were made between Hennepin's accounts and those of others, and attention was drawn to conflicting statements written by himself in the different works about the same event. Sparks, in 1844, in his *Life of La Salle* pointed out the parallelism between Hennepin's narrative of his voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, as recounted in the *New Discovery*, and the account of La Salle's 1682 expedition, as given in Le Clercq. From then until Parkman Hennepin was regarded as a falsifier, and in 1850 Shea doubted if he had ever seen even the upper part of the river.³ Thirty years later, perhaps "to make amends for his early mistrust,"⁴ Shea advanced the interpolation theory, for he believed that a priest and friar could not have written certain passages in the *New Discovery* and certainly not the story of the voyage down the Mississippi. Shea's theory was that some jobber or ghost writer had dubbed in citations from Le Clercq in publishing the *New Discovery*. Thwaites pointed out how the same evil influence, then, must have presided over the *New Voyage*, wherein there is constant reference to the southern journey of 1680.

Shea's hypothesis met with no great success. "Hennepin was quite capable of writing, it is to be feared, much that one would not suppose him to write."⁵ Shea argued from the peculiar typographical appearance of the *New Discovery*, the well known ten star pages, which "were not set up in the same office, or at least at the same time, with those which are not questioned."⁶ But the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, the most questionable part of the *New Discovery*, is described some seventy pages earlier in the book. The whole interpolation argument was disposed of by Mr. Paltsits, who said: "The volume has evident traces of

² The most reliable bibliographical information on Father Hennepin for the three works dealing with the missionary's activities in America is V. H. Paltsits, "Bibliographical Data," in Thwaites' edition of *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, by Father Louis Hennepin*, Chicago, 1903, I, xlv-lxiv. Mr. Paltsits did not include Hennepin's book *La Morale Pratique du Jansénisme*, published in Utrecht in 1698. On this latter work, cf. Hugolin Lemay, "Etude bibliographique et historique sur la Morale pratique du jansénisme du P. Louis Hennepin, récollet," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 3, XXXI, 1937, section 1, 127-149; *id.*, "Le P. Hennepin, récollet, et les 'Observations' de Pierre Code. . . ." in *Nos Cahiers*, II, 1937, 6-9.

³ J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, Redfield, 1852, 105-106.

⁴ Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, Boston and New York, 1894, 284.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 286.

having been built up while in press.⁷ The author's 'Avis au Lecteur' and other considerations would seem to indicate that he supervised the work personally."⁸ Paltsits is an expert bibliographer; his examination of the text was thorough, his conclusion clear. Father Lemay, an authority on Hennepin, confirms these findings.⁹ Hennepin was in Utrecht while his book was being printed, and he was not of a character to allow any editor to make him say what he never intended to say. Yet Hennepin remained silent about the alleged interpolations, and more, stoutly answered the imputation of untruthfulness, and precisely with regard to the voyage of 1680. This defense was put by Hennepin in the preface to *New Voyage* published the following year.

A further attempt to prove Hennepin's voyage a reality was made in 1925 by Father Jérôme Goyens, and it was answered by the late Abbé H. A. Scott.¹⁰ Later Father Lemay entered the lists to defend Hennepin and his apologist. He published a book in 1937 containing all passages in contemporary documents, written by or about Hennepin. This was the first of a projected three volume work on the Recollect.¹¹ The plan will not likely be carried out, for Father Lemay died in Montreal shortly after the first part was published. Father Lemay was above all a bibliographer, and during thirty years produced many bibliographical studies, the majority dealing with the literary activity of the Franciscans in Canada. But he was also an historian, as his articles, especially in *Nos Cahiers*, attest. In this review published by the Canadian Franciscans, Lemay has seven studies from 1936 to 1938 on Hennepin.¹² Although they make absorbing read-

⁷ Cf. Scott's theory, *Nos Anciens Historiographes*, Lévis, 1930, 130-131.

⁸ *A New Discovery*, Thwaites' edition, I, lii-liv.

⁹ Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin, récollect. Les Pièces documentaires*, Montreal, 1937, 50, 56, 66, especially 74-76; *id.*, "Le Père L. Hennepin devant Rome," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 66.

¹⁰ Jérôme Goyens, "Le Père Louis Hennepin, O. F. M., Missionnaire au Canada au XVII^e siècle. Quelques jalons pour sa biographie," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XVIII, 1925, 318-345, 473-510. This was mainly an apology for the Recollect on general grounds, and an indictment of all who dared question his voyage. Some data about the Hennepin family were added to what was already known. Very noticeable is the lack of critical spirit and of knowledge of North American geography.

What Scott, the Canadian critic, thought of Hennepin and his apologist is sufficiently indicated by the title of the rebuttal: "Un coup d'épée dans l'eau, ou une nouvelle apologie du P. Louis Hennepin," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series 3, XXI, 1927, section 1, 113-160; published as a part of *Nos Anciens Historiographes et autres études d'Histoire Canadienne*, Lévis, 1930, under the title: "Que faut-il penser du P. Hennepin et de son nouvel apologiste?" 77-147. The references are to the latter.

¹¹ Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, vii.

¹² His articles in the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, in *Proceed-*

ing and give a better knowledge of Hennepin, they do not essentially change one's opinion as formed from reading Hennepin's three works, and furthermore the questions treated in these studies fall outside the scope of this article. Here we are concerned with the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi. The rest only shows that the missionary had some good qualities, an undeniable fact.

Now Goyens' case is thus: Hennepin wrote *New Discovery* and *New Voyage*.¹³ Shea vindicated his memory in 1880. "With Shea we demand [nous réclamons] that the suit still pending be revised in the light of ancient and modern documents."¹⁴ "Once for all the data furnished by Hennepin will have to be compared with the official United States Survey up and down the Mississippi."¹⁵ This present article intends to make the suggested comparison in later pages. As for the other points above, contrary to the gratuitous assertion of Goyens,¹⁶ Shea did not vindicate Hennepin. He speaks of the "pretended" voyage,¹⁷ and tries to excuse Hennepin on the ground that Hennepin did not write it up exclusively in *New Discovery*. But Goyens attributes the authorship of *New Discovery* and *New Voyage* to Hennepin, and hence makes Hennepin's own words the deciding factors. Hennepin's truthfulness stands or falls with the reality of the 1680 voyage.

Parkman, according to Goyens, refused to believe that Hennepin made the voyage, because Hennepin made the trip in forty-one days while La Salle required two months and a half. Such an argument, we are told, is of no value whatever, because La Salle was in no hurry, whereas Hennepin was. As a matter of fact, Hennepin does not say forty-one days, but thirty.

It is truly regrettable that Father Lemay did not treat the question as he had promised in his last article, which was pub-

ings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, but especially in *Nos Cahiers*, were always worthy of note. The seven studies mentioned pertain to Hennepin's life after his return to Europe in 1681. All questions regarding his activities are treated in the most thorough manner. With regard to the Recollect's sojourn in Utrecht, Father Lemay made use of a very little known work, *La Morale Pratique du Jansénisme*, published by Hennepin at Utrecht in 1698 (see *Nos Cahiers*, II, 1937, 7). He used also the manuscript correspondence of the vicar apostolic in Holland, which he found in the Archives of the Old Catholics at The Hague. Hennepin remained the same character after his return, pugnacious, vocal, standing for his rights, and never so happy as when talking of himself.

¹³ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 481.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 473.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 504.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 497.

¹⁷ Cf. *The Description of Louisiana*, New York, 1880, Introduction, 6.

lished after his death.¹⁸ He promised studies, one *contra* and one *pro*, on the essential question, Did Hennepin go down the Mississippi? He mentioned unpublished documents to be brought forth, but what they are is unknown at present. His last published article was intended to clear the ground, and "help the reader later to take his stand in the question of the descent of the Mississippi." It seems that this question should have been treated immediately, since it is, as he said, essential. The others are secondary or irrelevant mostly, as far as the voyage itself is concerned. Lemay had evidently made up his mind on the question but wished first to review what others had said. It is to be doubted that he would have delayed publishing documents which overthrew the common belief that no voyage took place. In 1933 he wrote that Goyens, "does not disprove the accredited opinion according to which the honor of having gone down the Mississippi before La Salle, does not belong to Hennepin."¹⁹ In early 1937 he wrote: "The question of the descent of the Mississippi by Father Hennepin will be frankly treated when the time comes."²⁰ Why Lemay thus deferred judgment is a mystery. Assuredly, it is rash to pass judgment until all documents have been analyzed, but in the case of the voyage of 1680, it is very difficult to understand what change any unpublished documents would make in Hennepin's statements in *New Discovery* and *New Voyage*.

Lemay, it seems clear from his last volume and article, was not prepared to look upon the voyage as mythical. It would scarcely be misreading his mind to say he was about to base his opinion on the study of the chronology in Hennepin's works, as suggested by Goyens,²¹ for he had written:

Father Hennepin . . . is exact with regard to facts and persons, but so imprecise when it is question of dates and length of time, that one is justified in looking upon this deficiency as pathological. This well known and habitual inaccuracy is worth while studying closely. I shall do it elsewhere.²²

Father Lemay died before he could study Hennepin's chronol-

¹⁸ "Le Père Louis Hennepin devant l'histoire," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 245.

¹⁹ "Bibliographie des travaux édités en Europe sur les Récollets du Canada," in *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XXVIII, 1933, section 1, 106.

²⁰ "Les Récollets et Cavalier de la Salle," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XLIII, 1937, 191.

²¹ Goyens, 486, note 6, wrote that he was then, in 1925, preparing a monograph on Hennepin's chronology.

²² *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 46, cf. 88.

ogy, but of what avail would it have been to study details of time when Hennepin has emphatically stated that he went from the mouth of the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi and back to the mouth of the Wisconsin by canoe in thirty days? Perhaps, however, Lemay would choose a second procedure. He holds to a journal theory. Hennepin's story is this: In 1681, when he arrived in Quebec from the west, he gave his journal to Father Leroux; Leroux had time to copy it before Hennepin's departure for France; Leroux gave this copy to Le Clercq, who embodied it in his *First Establishment of the Faith* as Membré's narrative of La Salle's expedition. This is substantially the opinion of Lemay also.²³ If this is so, how will the following difficulty be explained: Hennepin edited his own journal and published it, thereby making his own what are clearly false statements interpolated in Le Clercq by someone who had never seen the Mississippi and who had never been in America. Such an argument would double the deceit of Hennepin. If Hennepin gave anything to Leroux, and possibly he did give his notes of his journey to the north, he was, absolutely speaking, telling the truth, but only in so far as he gave some notes.²⁴

The journal supposedly given by Hennepin to Leroux loomed large in the mind of Lemay. Hennepin, in trouble with his superiors, received the permission to leave France for the Low Countries, then Spanish territory. This, according to Lemay, took place either in or about 1691,

²³ In the *New Discovery* Hennepin said that at the mouth of the Mississippi he wrote a letter containing the narrative of his voyage to the Gulf and attached it to a cross. Father Lemay enters this letter thus in his bibliography: [1680] ? *Lettre que le P. Hennepin aurait rédigée sur sa découverte des bouches du Mississippi*. Except for the sake of completeness, and in order to list all that was written or supposedly written by Hennepin, it is difficult to see why this "letter" should have been entered, unless, of course, one holds that the missionary actually went to the mouth of the Mississippi. Again, three pages further: [1681] *Journal de voyage du P. Hennepin, copié à Québec, en 1681, par le commissaire des Récollets, le père Valentin Leroux*. There is no longer any question mark as in the previous entry. A conditional tense weakens somewhat the implication of the comments added, but it is nullified in the sentences: "So that Father Le Clercq . . . would have [aurait] made use of this manuscript in the second volume of *The First Establishment of the Faith* attributing it wholly or in part to Father Zénobe Membré. . . . I did not consider the hypothesis of a double journal, the first by Father Hennepin, the second by Father Membré. Ultimately truth might perhaps be there" (*Ibid.*, 14).

²⁴ The Recollect had peculiar ideas of straightforwardness. For instance he answered some "calumnies" caused by the publication of the *New Discovery* by producing in the preface of the *New Voyage*, his major superiors' approbation of the *Description of Louisiana*. Did Hennepin really think that the commendation of the *Description* held good for the *New Discovery*?

perhaps it is well to remember that in 1691 Father Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith* was published. Later Hennepin will assert that the narrative of the descent of the Mississippi in the second volume of this work, allegedly [written] after the journal of Father Membré, was in reality a plagiarism of his own journal copied in Quebec in 1681 by Father Valentin Leroux. Had Hennepin as early as 1691 expressed the same pretensions *viva voce*? He was certainly the man to shout "thief!" if there had been a theft. Perhaps he was sent out to shout outside of France. [In saying this] I have no other aim than to formulate a hypothesis, which is far from being absurd considering the *New Discovery*.²⁵

Indeed, the hypothesis is not absurd at all if one postulates two things—that Hennepin went down the Mississippi and that he gave a journal of this voyage to Father Leroux. Why did Hennepin wait six years before shouting "thief?" He could have shouted to his heart's content in Spanish territory. Perhaps it will be said that he had not the means to publish his book. But when he had the means, in 1697, Hennepin does not give his protests against the plagiarism of Le Clercq as the reason for his being expedited to Spanish territory. And if Hennepin for a moment thought his complaints were the reason for his superior's opposition, he would have been prompt to speak out.

There is no need to consider further what approach Lemay might have taken, in view of several opinions he has expressed. Thus he wrote: "In fact the *Description of Louisiana* passes over in silence the descent of the Mississippi."²⁶ This is putting the matter very mildly. The *Description* is not only not silent with regard to the voyage to the Gulf, but Hennepin clearly states that he had the intention of going down the river, but was prevented from exploring the Mississippi, because he was taken prisoner by the Sioux.²⁷ Now in *New Discovery*, Hennepin affirms that he went down as far as the mouth of the river. These two statements about one and the same fact cannot both be true. Furthermore, in the *Description*, Hennepin tells how when he was at table with Frontenac, he gave the governor "an exact account of my voyage and showed him the advantage of our discovery."²⁸ In the *New Discovery*, he narrates quite differently this same interview with Frontenac: "I had enough self restraint to keep the secret of the whole discovery which we had made of

²⁵ *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 44.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁷ Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683, 218.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 301.

the Mississippi river."²⁹ "I believe it is legitimate to admit that our Recollect is here making use of a mental reservation," wrote Lemay with regard to the latter contradiction.³⁰ There is another term for such obvious contradictions, and these two contradictions are of the same type.

What were contemporaries thinking? "Implicitly, Father Leclercq does not acknowledge the descent of the Mississippi."³¹ When Le Clercq wrote, Hennepin had not yet revealed the "mystery" of 1680.³² The supposition behind this statement is clear—Le Clercq had the journal of Hennepin describing the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, a journal given him by Leroux, and yet he did not believe in such a voyage. Other men beside Le Clercq disbelieved in the southern journey, after Hennepin had made it public in 1697. Writing from Fort Mississippi three years after the publication of the *New Discovery*, Tonty wrote to his brother:

I do not know how Father Louis Hennepin has the boldness to lie so impudently in his relation. He was insupportable to the late M. de la Salle and to all of M. de la Salle's men.³³ He sent the Recollect to the Sioux as to get rid of him. He was taken [prisoner] on the way by these Indians with Michel Accault and Pierre Dugué [Auguelle]. Afterwards the three of them were freed from servitude by M. Duluth who was passing through that country and brought back by Duluth to Canada. How can a man have the front to write that he went down to the sea? Accault who is married in the Illinois country and who is still alive is able to prove the contrary to him. I think that Pierre Dugué is in France.³⁴

²⁹ Hennepin, *Nouvelle découverte*, Utrecht, 1698, 473.

³⁰ "Le Père Hennepin à Paris en 1682," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 109, note 13.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

³² *Nouvelle découverte*, 248.

³³ La Salle and his men were not the only ones who could not bear Hennepin. For several years the Recollects had wished to have a house in Montreal. In 1681, before Hennepin's return to France, it seemed as though a Recollect convent was about to be opened in Montreal. Dollier de Casson, then superior of the Sulpicians, wrote to the Commissary of the Recollects in Quebec, Father Leroux—the same to whom Hennepin had given his "journal"—"In the name of the Lord, for the sake of our union in Montreal, [send] no Father Louis [Hennepin], I beg of you!" Dollier de Casson to Leroux, October 29, 1681, printed in Le Tac, *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1888, 215. Cf. the letters of Dudouyt to Laval, in *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 16 ff.

³⁴ Tonty to his brother, March 4, 1700, Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 115-10:n. 14, copy in the handwriting of Delisle, printed in Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 184. This Delisle extract from Tonty's letter was copied with many changes and omissions by the Augustinian Father Léonard de Ste Catherine de Sienne, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Mss. fr., 9097:105-107; the paragraph on Hennepin is omitted.

This disposes of an argument of Goyens who says that Hennepin's two companions never denied having accompanied the Recollect to the mouth of the Mississippi. Father Goyens adds that Dugué was in Paris at the same time with Father Hennepin, which is true if the *Description of Louisiana* is meant. Hennepin and Dugué were not together in Paris after the publication of the *New Discovery*. Dugué had not to contradict anything in 1683, for the *Description* distinctly states that they did *not* go down the river. In 1698, it is not known whether Dugué was still alive. Tonty "thought" that Hennepin's companion was in France. "Michel Accault married an Illinois squaw in the mission of the Jesuits. These would certainly have detected the pretended fraud of Hennepin. Here are some considerations which certain modern writers should not lose sight of when they accuse without proofs the author of the *New Discovery* of plagiarism."³⁵

The Jesuits did detect the fraud of Hennepin. A few months after Tonty wrote to his brother the Jesuit Gravier wrote from the same place as follows:

However, no ship can enter the Mississippi River if she draws more than 9 or 10 feet of water, for there are only eleven at its mouth. The entrance once passed, there is not a ship that cannot sail a long distance up the river. There are from 15 to 16 brasses of water here [at Fort Mississippi, 45 miles from the mouth]; most of the store-ships, which drew only 9 feet, could go far up, for the English ship which Monsieur d'Iberville found last year 8 leagues from here drew still less water. The Captain had for his guidance Monsieur de la Salle's relation, and some other very incorrect memoirs that mention the mouth of the river. That Englishman, who was talking about it to Monsieur de Bienville, congratulated himself upon having found the entrance to the Mississippi. One of those who have written of it is an apostate, who presented to King William the Relation of the Mississippi, whither he never went; and, after a thousand falsehoods and ridiculous boasts, he pretends to establish the first claims and the incontestable right of King William to the Mississippi, etc.

He depicts in his relation Monsieur de la Salle wounded, with two balls in his head, turning to Father Anastasius, a Recollect, to ask for absolution—(which he certainly would not have had time to do), for he was killed outright, without saying a word,—and other similar false statements.³⁶

"The passage is unfortunate," wrote Lemay about Gravier's letter, "one must correct it."³⁷ Father Gravier summarily disposes

³⁵ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 478-479.

³⁶ *The Jesuit Relations*, 65, 171.

³⁷ Unhappily, Hennepin's apologists are annoyed at the mention of the

of the documentary value of Father Hennepin's *New Discovery* with regard to the Mississippi. We shall let this pass. The question is too complex to be discussed here. It will be done in a special study."³⁸ Gravier who had seen the mouth of the Mississippi, who had seen the delta, who did go down the river, realized how different, how much longer the river was than Hennepin's fanciful account made it. Moreover, Gravier was at Fort Mississippi, where he had heard men who had not only gone down but who had also ascended the stream. Gravier were blind did he not realize how absolutely fantastic were the data furnished by Hennepin. The question is not as complex as it is said to be. All there is need of is the text of the *New Discovery*, a map of the Mississippi River, the official distances between the places where Hennepin claims to have stopped, as well as the time, given by Hennepin himself in the *New Discovery*, the voyageur said it took him to cover these distances up and down stream.

"There is enough objectionable matter in the other statements of the Jesuit. Father Gravier looks upon Father Hennepin as an apostate. I think he is the first one to start this stupid calumny which has since gone a long way."³⁹ It is hardly to be expected that Gravier should look upon Hennepin in any other way. How could a Catholic, let alone a priest, avoid this conclusion after reading the preface to the *New Discovery* and the

Recollect's voyage by a Jesuit. Goyens took Rochemonteix to task for having merely repeated what writers had said who knew Hennepin much better than Goyens, and who were definitely better versed in the geography and the history of New France than the champion of Hennepin. Again Goyens seems to have lost his self control after reading that Charlevoix had dared to chuckle over the antics of a new Bayard, (" . . . Le P. Hennepin, sans peur et sans reproche . . ." Goyens, 327). This is a peculiar state of affairs. Assuredly, a writer who refutes falsehoods is breaking no laws; Hennepin in this instance was acting as an individual and was bringing discredit upon himself and not upon other Franciscans nor upon the great Order out of which have come legions of heroes, scholars, and saints. The Order will not fall, if a Hennepin here and there falsifies a document. Even Father Lemay indulged in such unwarranted generalizations, as is seen in his comments on the passage of Gravier's letter, given below, and he repeated these generalizations in a subsequent article on Hennepin (*Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 127). Hennepin had not the slightest scruple in maligning not an individual Jesuit, but all of them. In this attempt to involve religious orders in a dispute he was unjust and uncharitable. In the case of "our great Hennepin," as Goyens calls his confrere (Goyens, 482), what objection can there be to examining his writings, when one finds the Recollect whose pages literally teem with fictitious inventions questioning the credibility of the *Jesuit Relations*? Hennepin judged other people's veracity by his own. To put the matter colloquially, the good Father had the Jesuits "on the brain" (Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1913, 161 ff.).

³⁸ *Bibliographie*, 194.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

fullsome letter to His Most Heretical Majesty of Great Britain? Others beside Gravier—who had certainly not seen the Jesuit's private letter—thought and said that Hennepin had apostatized.

That good Religious Man, whom many have falsely thought, on Account of that Extravagancy [dedication of the *New Discovery* to William III of England] (to have apostatized, never thought of it). And consequently has scandaliz'd the Catholics, and furnished the *Huguenots* with matter of Laughter; for is it likely, that they being Enemies of the *Roman Church*, would employ Recolets to preach up *Popery*, as they call it, in Canada? Or would they introduce any other Religion than their own? Can Father Hennepin be excuseable in this Point?⁴⁰

We know now, and in 1713, De Michel knew that Hennepin had not apostatized; but in 1701, near the mouth of the Mississippi, a Frenchman who had read the preface of a Catholic priest to the Protestant King of England, could hardly avoid coming to the conclusion that Hennepin had "turned his coat."

For the rest, if Father Gravier at all read the *New Voyage* of the Recollect, he certainly skimmed through it without understanding what it says. He did not even notice that Father Hennepin expressly states that in his narrative of the events in connection with the death of La Salle, he merely repeats what Father Anastasius Douay said. Now Father Douay is the only eye-witness of the murder of La Salle and his account the sole recital of an eye-witness. Just as Father Hennepin who reproduces him almost literally, Father Douay states that of the two shots fired on La Salle, one missed the explorer and the other—only one—hit his head. And if somebody knows that the victim lived more than an hour after being hit—which is not in the least extraordinary—it is Father Douay and not Father Gravier. The latter speaks very thoughtlessly, and it is clear that he did not like the Recollects any more than he liked La Salle.⁴¹

This is very amusing. In connection with the death of La Salle, if somebody spoke "very thoughtlessly" it is assuredly not Father Gravier, but Father Lemay, who should have criticized his sources before making such a statement. Douay is not the only eye-witness of the death of the explorer, nor is his the only account of the murder. There is that of L'Archevesque,⁴² which,

⁴⁰ Joutel, *Journal historique du dernier voyage que feu M. de la Salle fit dans le Golfe de Mexique. . . .*, Par Monsieur Joutel, l'un des Compagnons de ce Voyage, rédigé & mis en ordre par M. De Michel, Paris, 1713, 364-365, translation from the 1719 London edition, 185, except for the words in parentheses, the translation of which has been revised.

⁴¹ *Bibliographie*, 194.

⁴² ASH, 115-9:n. 13, Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Fran-*

it seems remained unknown to Father Lemay.⁴³ What is in Le Clercq is not Douay's account, but a pseudo-Douay. The real narrative of this Recollect is in Joutel, where Father Anastasius states what Gravier says, namely, that La Salle was killed outright without having time to say even one word.⁴⁴

II. THE VOYAGE

The Descent

It seems fair in examining Hennepin's voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi to take the data from his account, the *New Discovery*.⁴⁵ To check distances there now exists an accurate, absolutely trustworthy standard, the United States official survey of the river.⁴⁶ There may be a difference of a few miles between the mouth of the Illinois River and that of the Mississippi, owing to the rubbing out of some bends, but no one can cavil if we take, in round numbers, 1,300 miles from Grafton, Illinois, to the South Pass or to the South West Pass, when the actual distance of the stream is 1,314 and 1,320 miles respectively.

In the seventeenth century, explorers going down the Mississippi were satisfied with making a rough guess of the distance traveled in a day. Thus Tonty gave for the distance between the mouth of the Illinois and the Gulf along the Mississippi, 372 and 374 leagues, or 1,004 and 1,009 miles,⁴⁷ and in another memoir, 400 leagues, or 1,080 miles.⁴⁸ The difference of 200 or 300 miles from the actual distance is far from being enormous. When the

çais dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 6 vols., Paris, 1886-1888, III, 330-331, hereinafter referred to as Margry.

⁴³ Cf. Lemay, "L'assassinat de Cavalier de la Salle," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XLIII, 1937, 147.

⁴⁴ For the value of various versions of the death of La Salle, cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, Chicago, 1938, 149-153.

⁴⁵ Unless otherwise specified the references are to the first French edition, *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand Pays*, Utrecht, 1697, hereinafter quoted as ND. Similarly references to the *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1693, and the *Nouveau Voyage*, Utrecht, 1698, will be given as DL., and NV., respectively. The text of Le Clercq, *Premier établissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, with which that of the ND. is to be compared is that of the first edition, Paris, 1691.

⁴⁶ *Transportation in the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys* prepared by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, War Department, and the Bureau of Operations, United States Shipping Board, Washington, D. C., 1929.

⁴⁷ Margry, I, 615-616.

⁴⁸ Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits*, Paris, 1867, 20. The relation in Thomassy, *Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1860, 15, and Le Clercq, II, 238, have 350 leagues. Cf. the comparative tables of distance by Iberville, Margry, IV, 180-181. Throughout this article the length of the French league is taken as equal to 2.7 miles.

mileage of the United States Survey is compared with that given by "navigators" of the early nineteenth century,⁴⁹ it is easy to understand why in the seventeenth century, explorers, traders, and missionaries canoeing up and down the river found it difficult, if not impossible, to come to a closer approximation. Nevertheless, whatever the mistake in reckoning, if one went down the stream one went the actual distance.

In Hennepin's case the distance he says he traveled in a month must be doubled to include the trip down and up. This gives 2,600 miles from the mouth of the Illinois River to the sea and return, plus some 400 miles to near the mouth of the Wisconsin, where he was taken prisoner by the Sioux, a total of 3,000 miles, 1,700 of which had to be traveled upstream when the Mississippi was at flood stage. For the time of the journey, the *New Discovery* gives two extreme dates, March 8 and April 24, or 47 days, an average of nearly 65 miles a day. But they did not travel every day. The descent of the Mississippi from the Illinois settlements to New Orleans, 1,100 miles, could be accomplished at that time of the year in from 12 to 20 days. If we suppose that he made a record trip going downstream, Hennepin would still have to go from the mouth of the Mississippi to that of the Wisconsin in 24 days. The latter date, however, April 24, cannot be accepted for reasons that will be given later.

Hennepin began his odyssey when he left Fort Crevecoeur, February 28 at night, or February 29, 1680.⁵⁰ Following the *Description*, he reached the mouth of the Illinois River, March 8.⁵¹ The descent of the Illinois in a week agrees with what is known from elsewhere, it did not take longer when one floated down leisurely. It may be noted here that it took Hennepin less than half as long to cover the distance, 50 leagues, 135 miles, actual distance, 160 miles, as it took him to cover the 1,300 miles to the sea, and only one more day—9 days—to paddle upstream the 1,700 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Wisconsin. When he reached the Mississippi, ice was still floating down, and, according to the *Description*, Hennepin with his two companions, Michel Accault and Pierre Auguelle, called the Picard du Guay,

⁴⁹ *The Navigator*, Pittsburgh, 1808; *The Navigator*, Pittsburgh, 1818; *The Western Pilot*, Cincinnati, 1841.

⁵⁰ DL., 188, ND., 241, and La Salle's letter of 1680, Margry, II, 55, have February 29; the deposition of Hillaret, Margry, II, 109, February 28; La Salle's letter of 1681, BN, Clairambault, 1016:181, Margry, II, 246, February 28, in the evening. Bernou's *Relation des découvertes*, Margry, I, 478, February 29, in the evening.

⁵¹ DL., 192, cf. La Salle's letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:181, Margry, II, 246.

or Dugué, waited four days, until March 12, before starting northward, to the Sioux country where he had been sent by La Salle.⁵² These statements are repeated almost to a word in the *New Discovery*,⁵³ but in the latter work, a few pages below, Hennepin asserts that he did not wait four days, instead he proceeded immediately *southward*.⁵⁴

The mouth of the Illinois River, he says in the *Description*, lies between the 36° and the 37° latitude, "*et par consequent*, there are between 120 and 130 leagues to the Gulf of Mexico,"⁵⁵ that is, between 325 and 350 miles in a straight line. The same spot is given in the *New Discovery* as situated between the 35° and 36°, with the *same* distance to the Gulf, but he adds, this distance does not include the windings of the river.⁵⁶ This distance is a first indication that Hennepin never went down the Mississippi. The coordinates of the *Description* are not his, but Bernou's, who learnedly "touched up" Hennepin's manuscript. Hennepin left to his own devices in 1697, "retouched" the coordinates. Although the distance from the Illinois River to the Gulf in the *New Discovery* after the "correction" should be shorter from 1 to 120 miles—in a straight line—Hennepin left the distance exactly the same. His juggling was just beginning.

The theory that Bernou "edited" at least a part of the *Description of Louisiana* was proposed ten years ago by de Villiers. He wrote:

How could he [Hennepin] have known, for instance, the last conceptions of La Salle with regard to the course of the Ohio? How could he have drawn the map, have known the new names which the geographers intended to inflict on the Canadian Lakes and have known that it was the right thing to do to pay a discreet tribute to the influential Bellinzani whose protection La Salle was to buy very secretly? Only a very intimate friend of the explorer could be so well acquainted with his personal affairs.⁵⁷

This is not the place to examine de Villiers' theory. The circumstances of the publication of the *Description*, the analysis of the text, the comparison between Bernou's writings and what is found in Hennepin's first book, all points to the fact that one

⁵² DL., 193, cf. La Salle's letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:181v., Margry, II, 248.

⁵³ ND., 246.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

⁵⁵ DL., 193.

⁵⁶ ND., 245.

⁵⁷ *La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives*, Paris, 1929, 10.

day de Villiers' hypothesis will prove to be an ascertained fact. Bernou was an intimate friend of La Salle. When Hennepin was in Paris "writing" his *Description*, the abbé had a letter of the explorer in which the latitude of the Illinois River is given. La Salle had written about the Illinois:

The river flows almost due south, so that its mouth lies between the 46° and 47° latitude, *et partant* at about 120 or 130 leagues from the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico.⁵⁸

No addressee is found in this autograph letter of La Salle. It is surmised that it was sent to Bernou. Whether it was addressed to the abbé or not, he had it in 1682.⁵⁹ Intensely interested in the cartography of New France, Bernou culled the geographical details contained in La Salle's letter. With regard to the latitude of the Illinois River, the wording in the *Description* is not as in La Salle's letter but as in Bernou's extract:

The mouth of the Teatiki [Illinois River] is 50 leagues from Crevecoeur and 90 [100 in the *Description*] leagues from the village of the Illinois. This mouth lies between the 36° and 37°, *et par consequent* 120 or 130 leagues from the Gulf of Mexico.⁶⁰

In these 120 or 130 leagues to the Gulf of Mexico, says Hennepin, "I do not include the windings which the great Mississippi River may make down to the sea." A few pages further, the Illinois disembogues in the Mississippi between the 36° and 33° latitude, "as it so appeared to me according to the observation I made when I passed by, although it is generally placed at the 38°. Those who will make the voyage after me will have more time than I had to take the correct measurements."⁶¹ The "36° and 33° latitude" is evidently a misprint for 36° and 37°, which was what La Salle thought in 1681, and which was embodied by

⁵⁸ BN, Clairambault, 1016:181 v, Margry, 248, this is an autograph letter of La Salle, written not in 1682, but in 1681, some parts of it have been erased by Bernou, but this sentence occurs before the erasure, cf. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, Washington, D. C., 1932, 172.

⁵⁹ The proof that Bernou had this letter of La Salle on time to insert the latitude of the mouth of the Illinois in the *Description of Louisiana* is found in an autograph memoir of the abbé written in 1682: "Everybody admits that below the mouth of the Seignelay or Illinois River, situated between 36° and 37° latitude, the Colbert River continues to flow southward. . . ." BN, Clairambault, 1016:192, Margry, II, 284. Margry's theory that Hennepin plagiarized Bernou's relation is not hereby confirmed, cf. Jean Delanglez *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 138, note 25, but Bernou after helping Hennepin used the *Description of Louisiana* and La Salle's letters to write his own *Relation des découvertes*.

⁶⁰ BN, Clairambault, 1016:642.

⁶¹ ND., 250.

Bernou in the *Description*. When Hennepin wrote his *New Discovery* in 1697, he had the book of Le Clercq before him, where the latitude as 38° is given,⁶² and the same latitude for the mouth of the Illinois is given by Marquette, whose account Hennepin also knew.

Hennepin surely had enough time to make some measurements, had he but known how. He stayed four days at the mouth of the Illinois. The latitude 38° , given by Marquette and Le Clercq, is also faulty. The mouth of the Illinois lies on the 39° minus a few minutes. While such an error of computation with the rudimentary means at their disposal was very common in those days, the distance "in a straight line" is not 5 degrees—the 120 to 130 leagues—but 10 degrees, the mouth of the Mississippi is only a few minutes above the 29th parallel. This distance, it must be remembered in degrees between the mouths of the two rivers, was given by La Salle *before* he went down the Mississippi; *after* 1682, we no longer hear him speak of 120 to 130 leagues in a straight line. The explorer then gives the real distance, from the 38° to between the 27° and 28° . The 27° latitude will be given by Hennepin as that of the mouth of the Mississippi, but it never dawned on him there was something peculiar about the distance "in a straight line"—the 120 to 130 leagues—remaining the same, although the number of degrees should be doubled. His jumble of latitudes clearly shows his inability to compute this coordinate. Anyone, no matter how poor an observer, who had made the journey, could not possibly have made such an egregious blunder.

In Utrecht, Hennepin "plotting" his journey down to the Gulf with the *Description of Louisiana* and the *First Establishment of the Faith* before his eyes, soon saw the futility of spending four days at the mouth of the Illinois, and, in spite of his having said a page or two before that he left on the 12th, he now asserted that he embarked for the south on the 8th, the ice drifting down the river notwithstanding. One should not begrudge Hennepin these four days, he will need every minute of them. He agrees with himself, however, regarding the date he and his men left the mouth of the Mississippi, April 1.⁶³

The question of dates may be summed up briefly thus: in one place we are told that Hennepin remained at the mouth of the Illinois River until March 12, when he sailed northward accord-

⁶² Le Clercq, II, 216.

⁶³ ND., 277, 314.

ing to the parallel passage of the *Description*; in another passage in the *New Discovery*, it is said that they sailed southward, March 8. For the return voyage we read that they passed the mouth of the Illinois River going upstream returning from the Gulf, after April 24. In the same *New Discovery*, where the latter date occurs, we read that Hennepin and his companions were taken prisoners by the Indians considerably north of the Illinois River, April 12, according to the *New Discovery*, April 11, according to the *Description*. These are but a few of the many contradictions with which the *New Discovery* abounds.

Hennepin's journey is examined in detail, because little is achieved when it is criticized as a whole. To say, for instance that in order to make the journey he needed to make sixty miles a day, with those who accept the unacceptable April 24, and one hundred miles a day, for thirty days, if the right date April 11 or 12 is taken, is not conclusive. One hundred miles a day downstream, at high waters, and with some night travel, is not only possible, but was done during the French colonial period. Upstream, however, by sheer man power, 100 or even 60 miles a day is a physical impossibility; and more than half of the 3,000 miles had to be traveled against the current. This average also supposes that Hennepin traveled every day, which was not at all the case. One of Hennepin's apologists wrote that after April 1, he "often" traveled at night.⁶⁴ There are only two instances of night traveling in the *New Discovery*, the night of April 1-2, and the night of *April 24-12* (!) when Hennepin supposedly covered 500 miles upstream.

The distances given by Hennepin are set down and the real distances between two points traveled in one day are added for the sake of comparison. When it comes to the return journey, the time to cover the same distances will be added. One is startled to find him using much *less* time to cover some of the distances upstream than downstream, and to make the whole journey upstream in less than two-thirds of the time of the journey downstream,—and the downstream journey was made in an all time record speed.

March 8 then, according to the *New Discovery*, they left the mouth of the Illinois River for the Gulf. Drifting ice greatly endangered the bark canoe, but they maneuvered so skillfully as to dodge all these perils. Six leagues farther down, they sighted the mouth of the Missouri River.⁶⁵ From the context it is

⁶⁴ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 504.

⁶⁵ ND., 252; cf. Le Clercq, II, 216.

clear that Hennepin and his two companions stopped for the night. Well did Hennepin know that navigating a river with ice drifting down was a risky business, so he hastened to have it all melted overnight.

The following day, March 9, six leagues from the mouth of the Missouri, they found, just as La Salle was to find two years later,⁶⁶ an empty Tamarois village. Here Hennepin "loaded a few bushels of Indian corn."⁶⁷ In two days, according to our diarist, they had covered 12 leagues, 32 miles, an unappreciable part of the 1,300 miles to the sea. It became evident to Hennepin figuring out this trip in the house of Mijnheer Van Blocklandt in Utrecht, seventeen years afterwards, that he would have to make better time if he wished to reach the Gulf before the end of the month. Luckily, Le Clercq gives the next distance as forty leagues, which were covered by La Salle in several days.⁶⁸ Hennepin took this distance, modified it a little, and said that in one day, March 10, he made "about 38 or 40 leagues."⁶⁹ We might just as well credit him with the longer distance in round numbers, 110 miles, which is quite an increase of speed over the 32 miles covered in the two previous days.

Thus the *New Discovery* brings our voyagers 52 leagues, or 140 miles, to the mouth of the Ohio. The actual distance is 234 miles. There they tarried four days, departing on March 14, loaded with meat.⁷⁰ Following this loading, there is mention of the impossibility of landing on account of the muddy banks, which detail is a *hors-d'oeuvre* taken from Le Clercq.⁷¹ When they left the mouth of the Ohio, they had been one week on the Mississippi, including the four days rest. The week's mileage stood at 234. At Cairo they still had 1,081 miles to the South Pass, 1,087 to the South West Pass at the mouth of the Father of Waters. Unfortunately, the Prudhomme incident as narrated in Le Clercq, could not by any stretch of the imagination be incorporated in the *New Discovery*, but Le Clercq spoke of meeting up with two Chickasaw Indians while searching for Prudhomme, and so at this point Hennepin speaks of meeting three of these natives,⁷² and later on he introduces tales about these

⁶⁶ Le Clercq, II, 218; cf. La Salle's letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:181, Margry, II, 246.

⁶⁷ ND., 255.

⁶⁸ Le Clercq, II, 219.

⁶⁹ ND., 255.

⁷⁰ ND., 256.

⁷¹ Le Clercq, II, 219.

⁷² Le Clercq, II, 220; ND., 256.

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Chickasaw, which Lahontan aptly characterized as "niaiseries," trifling nonsense.⁷³

For March 15 and 16 no log is given by Hennepin. In *Le Clercq* we see that La Salle had traveled 45 leagues, or 120 miles, from "fort" Prudhomme, after Prudhomme had been found.⁷⁴ Of course, Hennepin could not use the "fort" as a starting point for the distance to be covered in his account of the following days' trip. But on March 17, after three days from the place, we suddenly find him near the mouth of the Arkansas River,⁷⁵ 400 miles from the Ohio, having made an average of 130 miles a day.

The *New Discovery* gives no distance between these two points, but the *New Voyage* does. In this latter, Hennepin paraphrased the pseudo-Douay, as in *Le Clercq*, where some of the distances are forced, contrary to what is done in Hennepin. Thus Father Douay is made to say the distance between the Arkansas villages and Fort Saint Louis, Illinois, is 400 leagues, or 1,080 miles, whereas the actual mileage is 940. When reading and commenting upon this, Hennepin appears chagrined because somebody traveled farther than he, so he adds that this is merely a guess of Douay.⁷⁶ He had more cause to be disturbed if he read what followed intelligently, and realized how speedily he had made himself journey from the Ohio to the Arkansas, for in *Le Clercq* we find:

This famous river [Ohio] . . . is 200 leagues [540 miles], from the Arkansas according to the estimate of the Sieur de la Salle, (as he often told me; and 250 leagues [675 miles], according to M. de Tonty and those who accompanied him in his second voyage to the sea),⁷⁷—not that it is that distance in a straight line across the prairies, but following the river, which makes great turns and winds a great deal, for by cutting across the land it would not be more than five good days' march.

We passed accordingly, opposite the Oüabache [Ohio] on the 26th of the month of August, and found it fully 60 leagues to the mouth of the river Illinois, still ascending the main river.⁷⁸

⁷³ Cf. the letter of Lahontan in *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, 41.

⁷⁴ *Le Clercq*, 221.

⁷⁵ ND., 258.

⁷⁶ *Le Clercq*, II, 359-360, NV., 101. There is an error of 100 leagues in *Le Clercq*, II, 359. He made Anastasius say: "Nous avons bien fait déjà trois cens cinquante lieües par travers des terres. . . ."; the total gives 250, it was corrected by Shea in his translation, *First Establishment of the Faith*, New York, 1881, II, 269. Hennepin gives 200 leagues only, NV., 101, he "dropped" 25 leagues in his transcription.

⁷⁷ The memoir of Tonty in Margry, I, 616, gives 98 leagues; that in Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits*, 14, has 110 leagues.

⁷⁸ *Le Clercq*, II, 361-362, translation from Shea's version, II, 270-271.

All this was borrowed for use by Hennepin in the *New Voyage*, with the exception of the words in parentheses, and, of course the "we" which he changed to "they." Whenever Hennepin amplified a context, it was usually by the addition of some detail pertaining to himself, and usually a manifestation of extreme vanity. When the account mentioned the "five good days' march" item, he must have been relieved; the Indians could make 12 leagues a day on foot, a total of 160 miles in five days. But, from the Ohio to the Arkansas was 250 miles *in a straight line*, and 400 for Hennepin on the meandering Mississippi.

The description of the Arkansas villages is lifted bodily from Le Clercq⁷⁹ and embellished with some details of imminent dangers to his person. Thanks to his powers of persuasion, his canoemen were made to realize how much more important than their trade was "our discovery." And on March 18 they left, "a little after noon,"—a specific little touch added to forestall the sceptic or to inspire confidence in the narrative. A cache was made to store merchandise given by La Salle, then a second embarkation. They hastened with all speed past two other Arkansas villages, stopping at each. The distances between these are Le Clercq's, six leagues to the second, three leagues to the third. The rest of the narrative is merely a paraphrase of the *First Establishment*.⁸⁰

Le Clercq gives the distance from the Arkansas to the Taensa villages as 80 leagues, 216 miles, actually 260 miles.⁸¹ Hennepin gives no distance, enters into no details in his "journal" from March 17 to March 21, when he supposedly arrived at the settlement of the Taensa. March 22, they left for the Koroa, who, warned during the night of the arrival of Hennepin, had come to the Taensa villages and escorted him to their own village, ten leagues farther down.⁸² The location of the Taensa and the Koroa in Le Clercq's account is not clear. According to his narrative, the Koroa were ten leagues below the Natchez, a tribe which is not mentioned at all by Hennepin. Whatever the location of the Koroa⁸³ may be, Hennepin, of his own confession, was, March 22, ten leagues below the Taensa, whose habitat is well ascertained, or 400 miles from the Gulf.

⁷⁹ Le Clercq, II, 22.

⁸⁰ Le Clercq, II, 222-223, ND., 261-262.

⁸¹ Le Clercq, II, 226.

⁸² ND., 267.

⁸³ Le Clercq, II, 233; cf. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*, Washington, D. C., 1911, 6.

In Le Clercq, the Koroa chief told La Salle that he was still ten days from the sea;⁸⁴ Hennepin, on the other hand, made this Indian say that it would take six or seven days to reach "the great Lake where there were great wooden canoes."⁸⁵

While among the Koroa, Hennepin gives a sample of his thoughtlessness. He shows plainly that it was not the author of the Relation in Le Clercq who copied his "journal," but that it is Hennepin copying Le Clercq in a most unintelligent manner. Hennepin, not only doctored the chronology of his movements, but he also tampered with the phases of the moon! Le Clercq wrote that forty-four days after leaving the mouth of the Illinois River, La Salle was at the Koroa village, March 29, 1682, Easter Sunday, and that his expedition celebrated the feast before departing.⁸⁶ Hennepin, who had kept his chronology a few days ahead of La Salle, had himself in the Koroa village, March 23, 1680.

This was Easter Day, but we could not say Mass, for we lacked wine since we left Fort Crevecoeur. We withdrew from these people [Indians] who always had their eyes on us, in order to say our prayers and act as true Christians on this solemn day. I exhorted our men to confidence in God, after which we embarked in the sight of the whole village.⁸⁷

Easter Sunday fell on April 21, in 1680. Hennepin's phenomenal blunder here is no mere slip on his part, for he tells us and repeats that he was saying his breviary every day.⁸⁸ With this infallible guide in his hands, will it be maintained that he celebrated Easter one month ahead of time without being aware of it? Moreover, his apologists claim he kept a journal which he gave to Father Leroux, his superior, to copy; Hennepin entered this occurrence in his "journal." Would not this other Recollect have been startled to read how his confrere had celebrated the great feast on the Saturday before the second Sunday of Lent? And if Hennepin gave either journal or merely notes to Leroux, these covered the journey upstream, as well as downstream. It must certainly have appeared strange to Father Leroux to find Hennepin saying he reached Mille Lacs, 2,000 miles away from the Koroa, "about the Easter holidays of the year 1680,"⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Le Clercq, II, 233.

⁸⁵ ND., 267.

⁸⁶ Le Clercq, II, 233.

⁸⁷ ND., 268.

⁸⁸ DL., 212-214, ND., 320-321.

⁸⁹ DL., 242.

roughly speaking—since Easter fell April 21—at the beginning of May. This is exactly what he says in the *New Discovery*,⁹⁰ in which book he also claims to have celebrated Easter on March 23. It does not help Hennepin to maintain that owing to the “cruelty” of the Indians, he lost all notion of time. This partial amnesia did not occur until after he had been captured by the Sioux,⁹¹ and the entry about Easter in the “journal” or the “notes” was made long before.

Sixteen miles below the Koroa, La Salle's party saw an island 160 miles long dividing the Mississippi into two channels. This is not the place to discuss this particular feature, and Hennepin could hardly be blamed for sharing what apparently was a common error of the men of La Salle's expedition.⁹² But he must improve on Le Clercq. That latter wrote: “We were assured that on the other channel [eastern] ten different nations are encountered, which are all numerous and very good people.”⁹³ Hennepin also “took” the west channel. The Chickasaw wanted to make him take the eastern; their insistence is explained: “It was perhaps to have the honor to bring us to nine or ten different nations, who live on that [eastern] channel, and who seemed to be very good people, as we noticed on our return.”⁹⁴ But when this place is reached on the return journey, the east and west channels and the nine or ten nations have vanished.⁹⁵

On March 23 and 24, after having made 80 leagues, they came near where the Quinipissa were located. As in the case of La Salle's expedition,⁹⁶ Hennepin sighted fishermen, heard the beating of a drum. “We learned since that these Indians were Quinipissa.”⁹⁷ Who told him is not said. (On the return journey he stopped among these Indians and wrote that “he thought” they were Quinipissa.) They hastened away and landed at the village of the Tangipahoa.⁹⁸ Where these Indians had their habitat on the Mississippi is a matter of speculation.⁹⁹ But the Quinipissa, later to be identified by Iberville as the Bayougoula and the Mugu-

⁹⁰ ND., 349.

⁹¹ ND., 350.

⁹² Cf. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith*, II, 175, note.

⁹³ Le Clercq, II, 234.

⁹⁴ ND., 269.

⁹⁵ La Salle explained why he did not investigate the east channel: “We had left all our equipment with the Arkansas, we had to go back the same way to take it when we went up the river. . . .” Fragment of an autograph letter of La Salle, BN, Clairambault, 1016:189, Margry, II, 200.

⁹⁶ Le Clercq, II, 235.

⁹⁷ ND., 270.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Le Clercq, II, 235; cf. Swanton, *Indian Tribes*, 284.

lasha,¹⁰⁰ lived below Donaldsonville, Louisiana. Hennepin was still nearly 200 miles from the sea.

On March 25, they embarked "at early dawn and after a navigation that was still longer than that of the preceding days," therefore, more than 40 leagues; they arrived at a place where the river divides into three channels." Taking the distance he gives from the Quinipissa, Hennepin was still some eighty miles from the head of the passes, or below the English Turn of today. When La Salle reached the passes, he divided his men into three groups, Tonty taking the middle channel. Hennepin sailed down the middle channel, that leading to the South Pass. The water was brackish and after two leagues became perfectly salt, says the chronicler of La Salle's expedition, and advancing on, they discovered the open sea.¹⁰¹ After entering the middle channel, Hennepin paraphrases the Le Clercq's narrative as follows: "The water was brackish, or half salt, and three or four leagues lower, we found it perfectly salt. Going still further, we discovered the sea, which forced us to land immediately, east of the Mississippi River."¹⁰² If Hennepin's text means anything, he was at the mouth of the Mississippi, and landed south of the present Port Eads, March 25, 1680.

At the Mouth of the River

While Hennepin is preparing to spend his first night on the Gulf Coast, it may be well to recapitulate distances and time as given by him. These data are used as a check on the return journey, for Hennepin, unlike the Wise Men of old, did not return by another route.

When writing at the start of his jaunt, he had given the distance from the Illinois to the sea as 120 or 130 leagues in a straight line, that is, about 5 degrees, since the French counted 25 leagues to the degree. This distance had been supplied by Bernou, who had it from La Salle writing *before* going down the river. Hennepin in writing his account had to make the parallels of north latitude fit this distance. If the mouth of the Illinois was between the 36° and the 37°, as he says in his *Description*, then by subtracting 5 degrees the mouth of the Mississippi must be between 31° and 32°. But in his *New Discovery* he had placed the mouth of the Illinois, between the 35° and the

¹⁰⁰ Margry, IV, 124.

¹⁰¹ Le Clercq, II, 236.

¹⁰² ND., 270-271.

36°, and since he must keep to the same distance, he had the mouth of the Mississippi moved one degree farther south between 30° and 31°. Now, finding the 38° given by Le Clercq for the mouth of the Illinois, he would have to move the one for the Mississippi back up north to the 33d parallel, that is, to the Louisiana-Arkansas boundary line, four degrees north of the actual location in a straight line and almost 600 miles north of its actual position by the winding river way. And since the actual location of the mouth of the Illinois is almost 39° the peripatetic delta would have to go even higher north. All this should have puzzled Hennepin. But he gave, from Le Clercq, the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi as lying between the 27° and the 28°, thus doubling the distance and the length of the river, which he had already given, for straight line and degree computation. But he failed to double the distance as far as the leagues traveled were concerned!

Hennepin had said that with the windings of the river, the distance from the Illinois to the Gulf was 200 leagues, or 540 miles. When all the distances given for the descent of the Mississippi in the *New Discovery* are added, a total of 235 leagues is reached, or 650 miles, and there are five days for which no log at all is given. The real distance, 1,300 miles was supposedly covered in 14 days of actual navigation, nearly 100 miles a day. Approximately the same result is reached if the distance from the Ohio to the Gulf is taken; in 11 days of actual navigation, he traveled nearly 1,100 miles, although this was record speed, it was not, absolutely speaking, impossible at high waters, provided one traveled 20 hours a day. Thus in 1700, Du Ru traveled 50 leagues in less than 30 hours. He wrote "our speed was due to the strong current of the Mississippi, whose waters are very high [the entry is April 6], and to a huge floating tree trunk to which we are moored."¹⁰³ The speed of the current at high waters was something like 5 miles an hour,¹⁰⁴ which was some-

¹⁰³ Ruth L. Butler, *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, Chicago, 1934, 55.

¹⁰⁴ Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana*, 1695-1763, 46. Other pertinent items are these: In his memoir of 1721, Legac, a Louisiana director, wrote that the journey from the Illinois settlements to the lower colony could be made in less than two weeks (*Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique*, I, 120 v). The minutes of the report made in Paris by the Louisiana committee in 1724, assert that it took six weeks to go the same distance (*Archives des Colonies [AC]*, C 13A, 8:222). An anonymous memoir of 1746, speaking in general, says ordinarily it took three months to go from New Orleans to the Illinois settlements, but the distance down can be made in ten days (*AC*, C 13A, 30:251). De Lassus, who gives the wrong distance from the Illinois to New Orleans, from 800 to 900 leagues instead of 400, says the voyage could be made in twelve days (*AC*, C 13A, 33:168).

times made, but rarely by the boats plying between the Illinois settlements and New Orleans, roughly 1,100 miles. But Hennepin did not travel 20 hours a day, far from it. To make the trip downstream in the time he says it took him, 14 days from the Illinois River, 11 from the Ohio, we must suppose that his canoemen paddled so furiously as to double the speed supplied by the current, which is hardly credible, and the assertion found in the *New Voyage*, namely he could have made the trip in half the time, is absolutely incredible.

The reason why Hennepin did not launch into the deep, when coming to the mouth of the river, why he did not pursue his exploration much further into the Gulf after landing east of the South Pass, was because his two canoemen were afraid to fall into the hands of the Spaniards. Frequently the expert paddlers are blamed by Hennepin as obstructionists. In this case Hennepin would willingly have gone to Mexico, like Louisiana one of the "Delights of America."¹⁰⁵ But the uneasiness of his men made him resolve to go back the way he came. It was necessary, of course, to give the location of the mouth of the Great River, where he had been and where he would lead back the English or the Dutch whenever they wanted. "I do not profess to be a mathematician," he tells us, superfluously. He had learned to calculate the latitude by means of the astrolabe, he added, but La Salle would not give him the instrument, because the explorer always wanted to reserve to himself the honor of doing everything.

All this is conceit. How had he taken the latitude of the mouth of the Illinois River if he had no astrolabe? Two sticks were sufficient for this, but he did not even seem to be aware that the latitude could be approximately calculated with the cross staff. Hennepin inserted bodily what he found in Le Clercq, except a few changes.¹⁰⁶ He shortened the length of the river by ten leagues, giving 340 instead of 350. He had apparently forgotten he had given, a few pages previously, 200 leagues with the windings, and he certainly did not add up the distances of his journey, which total 235 leagues. In the *First Establishment*,

Bossu said at high waters the journey could be made in ten to twelve days (*Nouveaux voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, Paris, 1768, I, 235). Pittman in from twelve to twenty-five days (*The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, London, 1770, 36), and Captain Harry Gordon in from twelve to sixteen days (*Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, II, 1909, No. 2, 64).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the dedicatory letter to Louis XIV in the *Description* and that to William III in the *New Discovery*.

¹⁰⁶ Le Clercq, II, 238-239.

Espíritu Santo Bay is surmised to be northeast of the mouth of the Mississippi; but Hennepin is certain it was in that direction. The reason for his certainty: he had found the direction by means of his compass.

The course of the river below the Illinois was also copied from Le Clercq, who makes it flow south and southwest.¹⁰⁷ The editor of Le Clercq had very special reasons for having the Mississippi take that direction. Hennepin copied what is an interpolation in Membré's narrative taken from Bernou's papers.¹⁰⁸ The clause inserted in Hennepin's narrative about the Magdalena River is taken from the map in Le Clercq. The cartographer who drew the map in the *New Discovery* adapted Thévenot, Le Clercq, Coronelli, and he inserted what he found in older French maps of the Gulf, as can be seen from the diminutive Chicagua flowing into Mobile Bay. Hennepin makes no mention of the delta, nor is there any delta on his map. If he had been at the mouth, he could not have failed to notice the unusual feature of his "discovery."¹⁰⁹ To say such a feature is also absent from the map in the *First Establishment* explains nothing. In 1684 La Salle certainly manipulated the geography of his discovery of 1682 to fit in with his plans.¹¹⁰ A glance at Franquelin's map of 1684¹¹¹ and at Minet's of 1685¹¹² makes this clear. To be sure, these two maps, especially that of Franquelin, show something like a delta, but Hennepin had not seen the charts. La Salle made known that there was a harbor and that a fort could be built at the mouth of the river. Hennepin could not know this description had been invented, unless he himself had gone to the mouth of the river.

In 1699, Iberville gave the real configuration of the delta, and made known the true aspect of the mouth of the river. One of the first to whom the Canadian wrote after his return to France was Nicholas Thoynard, who had been much interested

¹⁰⁷ Le Clercq, II, 238, cf. DL., 194. *Before* going down the Mississippi La Salle had written: "Le Mississippi, en descendant en bas, paroist au sortir de Teatiki [Illinois River] aller au sud-sud-ouest . . ." BN, Clairambault, 1016:182, Margry, 248. Two autograph fragments of La Salle's letters show beyond doubt that the explorer, who was a good observer, had not made that mistake *after* he had gone down the Mississippi, BN, Clairambault, 1016:162 v, 188 v, Margry, II, 180, 198-199.

¹⁰⁸ *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 67-80.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. autograph fragment of La Salle's letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:189, Margry, II, 200.

¹¹⁰ *Some La Salle Journeys*, 92-95.

¹¹¹ *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXIII, Margry, III.

¹¹² Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque, C 4044-4.

in La Salle's enterprises.¹¹³ All that Thoynard knew, however, was the false description of 1684. He sent the relation he had received from Iberville to Abbé J. B. Dubos. The latter answered: "If Father Hennepin were not in hiding, he should write a relation on an authentic description of the mouth of the Mississippi so different from that which he said he saw."¹¹⁴ This is what Hennepin claimed to have seen:

It is nevertheless indubitable that there is a fine harbor at the mouth of the River,¹¹⁵ as I noticed in 1680. The entrance [of the harbor or the river] is beautiful, as can easily be seen. Of the three arms which compose this mouth, I always followed the middle channel. The mouth [of this channel] is commodious, and we find along it several spots fit to build fortresses which will be in no danger of being flooded as was formerly believed. The lower part of this River is habitable and even is inhabited by several Indian nations who are not far from it.¹¹⁶ The greatest ships can go up the Mississippi more than 200 leagues from the Gulf of Mexico, thus bringing them to the Illinois river which river is navigable for above 100 leagues and discharges itself into the Mississippi.¹¹⁷

Later in the *New Voyage*, Hennepin delivered himself of a plan for founding colonies in North America. The second article of this plan reads: "A fort must be built at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, but above all at the mouth of the Mississippi. . . ." Under the protection of these forts, "the settlers will be able to spread and clear the land in a radius of 20 to 25 leagues" (50 to 60 miles).¹¹⁸

Besides shortening again the Mississippi to its former 500 miles, these passages describing the mouth of the river show beyond doubt, independently of all the other contradictions contained in this mythical voyage, that Hennepin never saw the delta.¹¹⁹ In contradistinction to what he gave out in Paris, La

¹¹³ Cf. Margry, IV, xviii.

¹¹⁴ *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin*, 164.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Iberville's journal for what this harbor consisted in, Margry, IV, 160.

¹¹⁶ The *New Voyage* was published the year after the *New Discovery*. He had written in the latter: "During our stay at the mouth of the Mississippi, we did not see a soul, so that we were unable to ascertain whether there are tribes inhabiting the sea shore," ND., 277.

¹¹⁷ NV., 107.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹¹⁹ In 1703, Joutel was asked by Delisle to send his remarks on a map just finished by the geographer. La Salle's companion wrote: "Et sy ledit fleuve se gette dans la mer a un cap aussy avancé que lauteur [Delisle] le marque [on the map] il est a croire quon ne lauroit pas du manquer . . ." Joutel to Delisle, 1703, ASH, 115-9:n. 12.

Salle accurately described the nature of the land near the mouth of the river to his men during his last expedition. There was no harbor, and a fort and settlements at the mouth of the river were out of the question. Joutel wrote: "M. de La Salle always told us that the Mississippi must be ascended nearly 60 leagues [160 miles, hence between Donaldsonville and New Orleans] to find a place for settlements, because the lower part of the said river is uninhabitable owing to floods and mud."¹²⁰

These facts clearly show that Hennepin never went down the Mississippi River, that he never gave a journal of his voyage to the Gulf to Father Leroux. The latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, the relation of this latitude to that of the Illinois River, the length of the Mississippi, its relation to other rivers of the southwest, the course and direction of the river, the absence of sand bars, were mostly Bernou's theoretical ideas of the Mississippi, that is, how the abbé had determined the river should be. Hennepin asserted that Father Membré's account in *Le Clercq* is a plagiarism of his own journal. Fifty years ago, W. F. Poole, in his inaugural address to the American Historical Association, said that if Hennepin is the author of the preface to the *New Voyage* where this statement occurs, a defense of his reputation was hopeless.¹²¹ Hennepin must bear the responsibility for the contents of the *New Discovery* as well as those of the *New Voyage*. The plagiarist in this case is neither Leroux, nor Le Clercq, nor Membré, but Hennepin, and "the records of literary piracy may be searched in vain for an act of depredation more recklessly impudent."¹²² The matter may be put in question form. If Hennepin had seen the lower Mississippi in 1680, would he blindly have put down the interpolated descriptive details

¹²⁰ Remarques tirees du livre Intitule les dernieres decouvertes . . . par Monsieur le chevalier de Tonty, ASH, 115-9:n. 12. On this criticism of the pseudo-Tonty by Joutel, cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, 8, 20 ff. Tonty's and Gravier's comments on Hennepin's voyage have already been given. The comparison between Iberville's vivid description (Margry, IV, 119, 159, cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 4) with that of Hennepin—who said he had seen the mouth of the river—is conclusive. Iberville takes Hennepin to task several times for the description of the river (Margry, IV, 120, 122, 178, 182). Margry supposed it was Hennepin's (Margry, IV, 168), but Shea showed that the censurable "Relation of the Recollect Father" is that of Membré, or that which passes as Membré's relation (Le Clercq, *The First Establishment of the Faith*, I, 34.) However, the Recollect Iberville speaks of in Margry, IV, xxxv, is certainly Hennepin. It certainly makes no difference, for Hennepin merely copied Le Clercq, adding fictitious details, reflections, and surmises.

¹²¹ "The Early Northwest," in *Papers of the American Historical Association*, III, 1889, n. 2, 40.

¹²² Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, 230.

which are altogether at variance with the reality? Would he not have recognized, as Iberville did, that these details had been added to his journal by one who had never been in America? Would he have copied, for instance, out of his own journal a fictitious date for Easter? And would he not, when comparing his own journal with what is printed in *Le Clercq*, call attention to these discrepancies? The answers to these questions are obvious.

The Ascent

If the descent was made in record time, the ascent was still faster. Hennepin had traveled 1,300 miles downstream at high waters in 14 days, now, he was about to dash more than 1,700 miles upstream, at high waters, in 9 days. Hennepin was the coxswain of the canoe. Throughout the narrative there is no mention that he pulled an oar or wielded a paddle. He merely called the strokes; the two oarsmen furnished the power. Hennepin merely shrugs his shoulders and smiles at the barbarian weaklings afoot or in canoes, who try to keep pace with *his* crew.

Hennepin begins by saying that he did not have much time to make the necessary observations in order to take the exact position of the mouth of the Mississippi, overlooking the fact that he stayed five days at the mouth of the river and that he had previously mentioned how handicapped he was because of La Salle's monopoly of the astrolabe and his own ignorance of mathematics. Those canoemen of his, however, were two cruel fellows. Auguelle and Accault refused to help build a little hut on the delta, the purpose of which hut is not quite clear. These two mercenary men did not give him time to "write a letter with my own hand and to seal it that it may fall into the hands of the people of the country." It looks rather strange that in five days he did not have time to write a letter and "seal" it. The "people" here referred to must be the Indian tribes living not far away from the mouth of the river, whose existence was problematical a few pages back. However, he finally found time to write his letter "signed by me and by the two men who were with me, containing a succinct account of our identities and of our voyage." The letter was attached to a cross which they were able to raise because "fortunately the earth consisted of firm clay at that spot."¹²³ Such spot of firm clay must have been a

¹²³ ND., 275-276.

special creation; when La Salle took possession of Louisiana in 1682, he had to ascend the river 30 miles to find a dry spot.¹²⁴

On April 1, a date quite in keeping with the contents of this voyage, they started for the north, and the same evening they were at the Tangipahoa village, but the memory of corpses seen on the way down deterred them from landing. After a frugal supper, they continued the whole night upstream, lighting "a great match," as the English version has it,¹²⁵ to frighten away crocodiles. The following morning at daybreak they saw Indian women hastening toward a village, but the paddlers kept pace with the squaws. They only lost their lead when Auguelle stopped paddling to shoot bustards. We thought, wrote Hennepin, that the Indian village where we stopped was a Quinipissa settlement.¹²⁶

These twenty-four hours are truly remarkable. When the distance given for the downstream trip is checked, it is found that the Tangipahoa were 46 leagues, 125 miles, from the mouth of the river, and the Quinipissa much higher upstream. Le Clercq indeed gives only two leagues, but from Hennepin's context they had to travel the whole night to cover the distance—it is clear that they were much farther north. As was said above, the Quinipissa were located nearly 200 miles from the sea. The coxswain, after having called the strokes for 24 hours, was somewhere below Donaldsonville, Louisiana.

It is enough to state this feat to see immediately its absolute physical impossibility. He had traveled 125 miles in ten hours at the most during the day, and 75 miles during the night. The Olympic champion paddlers in 1936, made about 7 miles an hour over one kilometer on still waters, or eleven feet per second.¹²⁷ Hennepin tells us that his men paddled during the day at an average of 12 miles an hour, if they took time out for meals; and more than 10 miles an hour during the night. If we add the speed of the current to the distance supposedly traveled, we find Hennepin's canoemen went more than twice as fast as the recent Olympic champions, and kept up the pace not for a few moments but for twenty-four hours. Hennepin had been

¹²⁴ See *procès-verbal* of April 9, 1682, Margry, II, 190; and cf. *Iberville's journal*, Margry, IV, 275.

¹²⁵ *New Discovery*, Thwaites edition, I, 202.

¹²⁶ ND., 278-280.

¹²⁷ The records covering a period of fifty-eight years show, it is said, that over the Henley distance, one and a half mile, on still water on a perfectly calm day, the speed of an eight-oared crew is limited to seventeen feet per second, or twelve miles an hour.

able to gauge the strength of the Mississippi on his way to the north after being captured by the Indians. He had spoken earlier in *New Discovery* of the swiftness of the rivers of the New World at flood time, enabling the canoes to make 35 leagues a day downstream. He tried now to forestall an objection which was bound to arise, namely, that the current must have impeded his progress, by saying he had avoided the rush of the mighty stream by keeping close to its banks.¹²⁸ This would only increase his mileage, and moreover the "banks" of the Mississippi at high waters are indeed vague; the whole of lower Louisiana was flooded.¹²⁹ Hugging the "banks" he mentions might well have got him stranded in some bayou, and, if he followed the compass which had shown the Mississippi flowing southwest, he might have found himself merrily sailing Lake Pontchartrain.

Hennepin's paddlers bucked the Mississippi floodwaters for nearly 200 miles in 24 hours. How dangerous it was to navigate these upstream need not be pointed out. Drifting trees were a constant peril; the slightest snag would rip open the canoe as though it were made of paper. His was made of bark. "Bark canoes are very fragile. If they rub ever so little against sand or stones, they crack, water enters through the fissures and spoils the merchandise or one's provisions. So that hardly one day passes without some repair." When landing "the canoe must be unloaded, and beached on the sand or on the mud lest the wind break it."¹³⁰ It cannot be said that Hennepin so skilfully maneuvered as to avoid all snags, for he says that he traveled the

¹²⁸ "In the spring the Mississippi is very high; and though the current is so strong that nothing can make head against it in the middle of the river, they have an advantage by an eddy or counter current, which runs in the bends, and close to the banks of the river, and greatly facilitate their voyage. The current, at this season, runs at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. . . ." Pittman, 7. Cf. Margry, IV, 164.

¹²⁹ A good description of the river is found in an anonymous document of the beginning of the eighteenth century. "The Mississippi River is swollen by melted snows from the beginning of February until the end of July. During that time it floods all the low land which is not protected by levees. Before New Orleans the water is 28 fathoms deep. . . . Such a furious volume of water gushes out of this river and with such rapidity that the water is still fresh from 15 to 20 leagues in the sea" [Cf. Iberville's Journal, Margry, IV, 162]. "This river at high waters, drifts a prodigious quantity of trees, uprooted by the streams on its way. It is sometimes completely covered with such trees, for the most floating into the sea through the South and South West Passes." BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 2549:121. Cf. letter of Lahontan in Delanglez, *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 45; the information is supposed to have been derived from the notes of La Salle. In March, 1699, when the waters were not so high, Iberville found the current making three and a half miles an hour (Margry, IV, 160).

¹³⁰ Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, Paris, 1724, II, 215; cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 40.

whole night in pitch darkness.¹³¹ The night of April 1, 1680, was that of the new moon. His "wick" would not light the way far ahead enough to dodge the trees rushing down the river at that time of the year, or to avoid the snags. Each detail of these first twenty-four hour upstream navigation is fantastic. Any one narrating such an uncanny feat as Hennepin's journey from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Quinipissa from April 1 in the morning until daybreak of April 2, is imposing upon the reader.

They remained two days at this Indian village, until April 4. Having rested and recovered their strength after the strenuous exploit, "we made much haste in our voyage."¹³² They had to travel fast in order to reach the mouth of the Wisconsin River on April 11, for the paddlers were still more than 1,500 miles away. That day, April 4, they reached the Koroa. If we take the distance given by Hennepin for the descent between the Quinipissa and the Koroa, we find 40 leagues, or 100 miles. According to the text, they arrived early enough in the afternoon to enable the Indians to carry their canoe on their shoulders to the village.¹³³ Well could the Koroa thus show their admiration by carrying the canoe in triumph, for it was much more extraordinary than the magic carpet of the Arabian fairy tales. At this village, on their way down the Koroa chief had said that they were six or seven days' journey from the sea downstream, and here was Hennepin making the upstream trip in less than two days!

They left the Koroa village, April 5. Hennepin asserts he lacked time to learn about several nations, because his canoe-men were impatient to reach the spot where their merchandise had been hidden. All they could think about was trade and pelts. No expostulation on the part of Hennepin could make them prefer the public good to their private interests. It was most unfortunate. Had these two fellows been less mercenary, ethnography and geography would have been indebted to Hennepin for valuable information. For some unknown, unmentioned reason they "only" reached the Taensa on April 7, having taken two days to cover a distance which he had given going downstream as 10 leagues, 30 miles.¹³⁴ The location of the Koroa, as already mentioned, is not clear either in La Salle's procès-verbal or in

¹³¹ The night travel spoken of above was in wooden canoe and downstream; in the case of Du Ru, his pirogue was protected by a huge tree which acted as a buffer.

¹³² ND., 281.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ ND., 283-284.

Le Clercq. Hennepin copying the latter does not clarify the text. The habitat of the Taensa is better ascertained. Their villages, three leagues inland, were four hundred miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. Our paddlers had kept an average of eighty miles a day. Hennepin tells us here that the Taensa had called in fellow Indians from far and near to admire "our merchandises." This is merely an oversight on the part of the chronicler, who had asserted a few pages previously and who will repeat a few pages further down that the merchandises had been cached not far below the Arkansas River.

The next day, April 8, they embarked and reached their cache on April 9, "two hours before nightfall," after having traveled the 230 miles in less than two days. While Augelle and Accault were opening the cache, to distract the attention of the ever present Indians, Hennepin invited these to have a smoke. While his men were unearthing their goods and before the arrival of the Indians, Hennepin patched up the marvelous canoe. No doubt, it must have been badly in need of repair after its racking speed. An idea of its speed is given at this point of the narrative. Indians following its progress on the bank of the Arkansas River had to walk fast in order to keep up with the canoe. Only a fleet runner arrived at the Arkansas village before them.¹³⁵

Hennepin warns us that he will not describe all the dances, the feasts, the banquets offered them by the Arkansas Indians. His paddlers were longing to reach the North where they could sell their wares for pelts. "Nous partîmes le 1 Avril, and during about 60 leagues of navigation we met neither Chickasaw nor Missouri Indians." This date is found as printed here in the first edition of the *New Discovery*.¹³⁶ In the Amsterdam edition of the following year, 1698, it is exactly the same, but in those of 1704, Amsterdam and Leyden, and in that of Amsterdam of 1712, there is a period after the number: "Nous partîmes le 1. d'Avril." This is clearly a misprint. The editor of the German edition of 1699,¹³⁷ and the editor of the Dutch edition of 1702,¹³⁸ have both April 11. This is easily explained. These men had no idea of the enormous distance between the Arkansas and the Wisconsin along the Mississippi. They thought that, since Hen-

¹³⁵ ND., 287-289.

¹³⁶ ND., 290.

¹³⁷ "Wir bracken den 11. April auff," *Neue Entdeckung*, Bremen, 1699, 216.

¹³⁸ "Wy vertrokken de 11. April," *Nieuwe Ontdekkinge*, Amsterdam, 1702, 123.

nepin, according to the *New Discovery*, was taken prisoner on the 12th, one day would be sufficient for travel from one point to another. Yet both Dutch and German editors begin chapter XLIII with April 24.¹³⁹ They apparently abandoned all idea of correcting further Hennepin's chronology. The English editor corrected it in another manner: "We left the Akansas upon the 24th of April."¹⁴⁰ They were also puzzled by the opening sentence of chapter XLIII, but while they avoid having Hennepin incriminate himself, neither the German, the Dutch, nor the English editors seem to have been at all perturbed by the fact that hundreds of miles farther Hennepin was taken prisoner on April 12. The insertion of April 24 by the English editor is unacceptable, because Hennepin certainly did not stay two weeks among the Arkansas,¹⁴¹ and the date at the beginning of chapter XLIII in every edition, French, German, Dutch, and English, does not make sense.¹⁴²

After leaving the Arkansas, the *New Discovery* becomes more incoherent than ever before. Sixty leagues from the Arkansas would bring Hennepin near present Memphis, Tennessee. The voyage upstream really ends at the Arkansas. Hennepin digresses on the beauty of the Mississippi River for twenty pages, down to chapter XLIII, which he opens with the sentence "Nous nous embarquames le 24. d'Avril."¹⁴³ He omits to say where he embarked on this day, but from the context he was still below the Illinois River, and after one night paddling they were "far enough from its mouth approaching the north."

¹³⁹ "Wir stiegen den 24 April wieder von neuem zu Schiffe," *Neue Entdeckung*, 231; "Wy scheepten on den 24. April in," *Nieuwe Ontdekkinge*, 132.

¹⁴⁰ *A New Discovery*, Bon- edition, London, 1698, 168; *Tonson* edition, London 1698, 135. "We left the Akansa's upon the 24th of April," is the reading of the 1699 London edition, 129.

¹⁴¹ "La succession des dates rend manifeste l'omission typographique d'un zero, pour lire le 10 (Dix) Avril," is Goyens' interpretation, *loc. cit.*, 338. This author does not seem to have been disturbed by the fact that on April 11, 1680, at 2:00 p. m., according to the DL, 206, April 12, at the same hour according to the ND., 314, Hennepin was near the Wisconsin, nearly one thousand miles away.

¹⁴² EDITOR'S NOTE: It seems best to omit here a long note giving citations to the succession of dates and places which Hennepin put down from the time he arrived at the Arkansas until he was taken prisoner. Time, place, and tribes are utterly confused. If anyone wishes to check the statements for himself he may take the following references in order: ND., 286; ND., 290-291; ND., 295; ND., 311-313*; ND., 314; DL., 206; ND., 314.

¹⁴³ ND., 311. This sentence is exactly the same in the five French editions consulted. As was seen above in the text, the German and the Dutch editors have this date also, but the three English editors, who had made Hennepin say that he left the Arkansas April 24, logically wrote here: "We embarqu'd the Twenty fourth of April, as I have already said," Bon-, 179, *Tonson*, 143; 1699, 137.

The description of the Mississippi is adorned with a passage on Jolliet. While in Quebec, Hennepin heard that Jolliet had gone to the Mississippi, but that he had not descended the river for fear of monsters and Spaniards. Always thorough and anxious to ascertain the truth about everything, Hennepin investigated the matter. As nobody knew better than Jolliet whether he actually went down the river, Marquette's companion was questioned by Hennepin and got a very satisfactory answer:

But I must here say that I very often sailed in a canoe with the said Sieur Jolliet on the St. Lawrence River, and even in times very dangerous on account of the high winds, from which however we fortunately escaped to the great astonishment of everybody, because he was a very good canoeman. I therefore had occasion to ask him many a time whether in fact he had been as far as the Arkansas.

This man who had much consideration for the Jesuits of Normandy (because his own father was from Normandy) confessed to me that he had often heard these monsters spoken of among the Ottawa but that he had never been as far as that and that he had remained among the Hurons and the Ottawa [that is, at Michilimackinac] to trade in beaver and other peltries. But that these Indians had often told him that this river [Mississippi] could not be descended on account of the Spaniards, whom they made him dread exceedingly. I gave great credit to the statements of the Sieur Jolliet, because in fact during the whole of our journey on the Mississippi, we found no mark that could have made us know that the Spaniards are in the habit to travel upon it.¹⁴⁴

There would be no reason for delaying on Hennepin's statements but for comments passed by an apologist. It is said that Margry after reproducing this passage of the *New Discovery* takes Hennepin to task for having denied a real voyage, that of Jolliet down the Mississippi as far as the Arkansas. "The responsibility of this denial is not Hennepin's but Jolliet's. The Recollect himself pretends to have concealed during seventeen years his own exploration of the lower Mississippi. Why not admit that Jolliet, very closely united with the Jesuits, actually did not judge fit to take the Recollect as confident of his own exploration."¹⁴⁵ If this means anything, it means that Jolliet lied about his exploration to Hennepin as the Recollect lied about his own when he asserted in the *Description* that he did not go down the Mississippi, and in the *New Discovery* that he went. But since elsewhere this "concealing" is labelled mental reserva-

¹⁴⁴ ND., 293-294.

¹⁴⁵ "Le P. Hennepin devant l'histoire," *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 266.

tion, it follows that Jolliet is only guilty of the same peccadillo. It can be safely held that Jolliet never made such a statement to Hennepin. When such assertions are found in the writings of Hennepin, it is for apologists to prove that they were actually made, because Jolliet is known as a truthful man, whereas Hennepin is not.

In the above quoted passage from the *New Discovery*, Hennepin is "correcting" what he himself had written in the *Description of Louisiana*.

While the Sieur de la Salle was engaged in building his fort [Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario], men envious of him, judging by so promising a beginning what he might achieve later (with our Recollect missionaries who by their disinterested life were attracting several families which came to settle at the fort) sent the sieur Jolliet to anticipate him in his discoveries, who (*he*) went by Green Bay to the Mississippi, and descended it to the Illinois country, and came back by the lakes (*the Lake of the Illinois* [Michigan]) without having then or since tried to begin any establishment (nor make any report to the Court).¹⁴⁶

The words in parentheses indicate omissions and those in italics within parentheses modifications of the text of the *Description* in the so-called *Relation des decouvertes* written by Bernou.¹⁴⁷ The abbé did not mind if Hennepin published abroad that no report was made by Jolliet to the Court. The responsibility for this statement, according to the title page of the book, was Hennepin's. But in the report that was to be handed to the minister Bernou knew better than to make such a denial. There was the letter of Frontenac of November 14, 1674,¹⁴⁸ of which Bernou certainly knew; there was Jolliet's map of the same year, and another map which Bernou traced, as well as the letter of that map which he copied;¹⁴⁹ there was a letter of Frontenac of 1677, which Bernou also copied and then adapted;¹⁵⁰ there was a copy of Jolliet's relation which somehow found its way in the papers of Renaudot, Bernou's friend.¹⁵¹ La Salle too knew of the official report of Jolliet, for in 1679 and in 1681 he found fault with it.¹⁵² And Hennepin himself knew that such a report had

¹⁴⁶ DL., 13-14.

¹⁴⁷ Margry, I, 438. Cf. BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19v, 87.

¹⁴⁸ Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, AC, C 11A, 4:81v-82.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *Some La Salle Journeys*, 35, note 63.

¹⁵⁰ BN, Clairambault, 1016:43-48 v.

¹⁵¹ BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:176-177 v, cf. also *ibid.*, 7497:19, 118 v.

¹⁵² Margry, II, 81, 95, 137, 166, 170, 179, 245.

been made, for he was with La Salle when the explorer criticized Jolliet. This merely shows what becomes of the assertions of Hennepin when they can be checked.

The above paragraphs, digressing a bit from the main theme, reveal Hennepin's peculiar psychosis. Among his shortcomings must be mentioned his mania for having been first, for having seen more Indian tribes than anybody ever saw before, for having traveled faster and farther than everybody.¹⁵³ Not only must nobody have gone to the mouth of the Mississippi before 1680, but no one must even have seen the river before Hennepin. He had also to find something new, he had to add some personal touch to the little story he had read in Le Clercq, where the pseudo-Douay claims that Jolliet did not go farther than the mouth of the Missouri, and where the narrator speaks of the "pretended" discovery of 1673.

Hennepin was left supposedly 60 leagues north of the Arkansas on April 11, in the vicinity of Memphis. He was sighted again on April 24, somewhere below the Illinois River. He advised his men to travel by night and sleep by day, for fear they might be seen by the French of Fort Creveoeur, 160 miles from the mouth of the Illinois, and 100 leagues, 270 miles from where they were, or near Chester, Illinois. These 100 leagues, he adds, are only a short distance because of the great speed of the bark canoes. By this time we are quite ready to believe anything connected with bark canoes. "And in fact after having navigated the whole night we were far enough from the mouth [of the Illinois River] approaching the north." This should be *the morning of April 25*. A sort of recapitulation is then given telling how pleasurable the trip on the Mississippi had been since they left the Gulf; how they had lacked no food, having game and fish in abundance. Hennepin was making profound reflections on the sweetness and on the advantages of prayer, when "*the same day April 12,*" while his two canoe men were engaged in cooking and he in repairing the canoe, "I noticed suddenly at about 2.00 p. m. 50 bark canoes led by 120 stark naked Indians coming down the Mississippi. They were on a war expedition against

¹⁵³ Winsor speaking of the map inserted in the first edition of the *Description of Louisiana* wrote: "Another noticeable point of the map is the representation of a mission station far north of the source of the Mississippi, where it is certain that none had been established, or at least there is no record of such. The placing of it there seems to have been a pretension on the part of the Recollect Hennepin that his order had outstripped the venturesome Jesuits, but he prudently removed it from his later maps" *Cartier to Frontenac*, 278-279.

the Miami, the Illinois, and the Tamarois."¹⁵⁴

Considering the time elapsed since he left the mouth of the Illinois River and began to ascend the Mississippi, March 12, for this is the right date as shown above, and considering the time it took the Indians to row up nearly to the Falls of St. Anthony, the place where this misfortune occurred is thought to be near the Wisconsin River.¹⁵⁵ The date given, April 12, is at variance with that found in the *Description*,¹⁵⁶ April 11, and with the date given by La Salle—also April 11—in a letter certainly written before the explorer saw the book,¹⁵⁷ for Hennepin wrote to La Salle and gave this date as well as the number of canoes, 33.¹⁵⁸ The agreement of the *Description* and of La Salle's letter on the question of dates has demonstrative force and it disposes of the arbitrary theory of Goyens that possibly Hennepin "purposely advanced the date of his meeting the Sioux."¹⁵⁹

From here on, Hennepin has no longer need of Le Clercq. No great changes could be made about the date given in the *Description*, unless he was prepared to make essential changes in the narrative published in 1683. To explain these changes he had no story about his fear of La Salle, the alleged reason for concealing the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi. Besides, in the third volume, the *New Voyage*, Hennepin claimed that one month was all that was necessary to make the journey down to the Gulf and back, and that if he had wanted, he could have made the trip down in half the time. The date of Hennepin's capture then is either April 12 or April 11. Since two independent sources give April 11, this is the right date; that of April 24, with which his apologists have toyed, must be rejected, unless they want to make the northern trip appear as eccentric as Hennepin made the southern one appear.

When Hennepin was sighted, April 24, he was not near the mouth of the Wisconsin, but more than 100 miles below the Illinois. Nobody will ever accept his traveling up to the Wisconsin in one night and half a day. To cover this distance upstream, roughly about 500 miles, would take more than a month, that is, by ordinary, natural means. In fact it took him one month to

¹⁵⁴ ND., 313*.

¹⁵⁵ The text of the *Description* is not sufficiently clear to give a closer approximation. They had certainly not passed Prairie du Chien; they may well have been 50 miles or more below. In computing the distances this has been taken into account.

¹⁵⁶ DL., 206.

¹⁵⁷ EN, Clairambault, 1016:185 v, Margry, II, 255.

¹⁵⁸ EN, Clairambault, 1016:187, Margry, II, 259.

¹⁵⁹ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 484.

cover 100 miles less than this distance. Consequently, Hennepin could hardly have reached the Wisconsin before the end of May, at the earliest. In both the *Description*¹⁶⁰ and in the *New Discovery*,¹⁶¹ he wrote that the party rowed upstream for 19 days before coming near the Falls of St. Anthony, a distance of 250 miles. They then struck north on foot for five days, and came near Mille Lacs "at the beginning of the month of May, 1680,"¹⁶² says the *New Discovery*, "about the Easter holidays of the year 1680,"¹⁶³ as the *Description* puts it, that is, at the beginning of the month of May, for Easter fell on April 21 that year, and not, as he had said before, on March 23.

The context shows that the beginning of May is the correct date. It still froze every night. The rivers and the lakes were full of ice, which cut Hennepin's legs when he forded the rivers and made them bleed.¹⁶⁴ If he had been 100 miles below the Illinois on April 24, reaching the Wisconsin at the end of May, and Mille Lacs in the latter part of June, it is hardly credible that such consistently low temperatures should have prevailed even in Minnesota. It must be observed that this reasoning supposes that, coming up from the Gulf Hennepin left the Arkansas villages on April 11, after having made 700 miles in 7 days of actual navigation; it also supposes him covering another 500 miles to Chester, Illinois, in less than two weeks; two absolutely impossible physical feats.

Hennepin knew his fantastic voyage would be questioned the moment it was published, and in the preface of his third book, the *New Voyage*, which he probably wrote while the *New Discovery* was still being printed,¹⁶⁵ he decided to put on a bold front.

There are some who can't very well understand how I was able in so short a time to travel so far on the Mississippi River. These men don't know that in bark canoes one can travel 20, 25 to 30 leagues in one day,¹⁶⁶ every day, by dint of paddling, and even more when one is in a hurry. And even if we, the three of us, had only made ten leagues each day; in thirty days we could easily have made three

¹⁶⁰ DL., 219, 223, 233.

¹⁶¹ ND., 325, 329, 339.

¹⁶² ND., 349.

¹⁶³ DL., 242.

¹⁶⁴ DL., 234-235, ND., 322, 340.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, Durham, N. C., 1928, 52, note 19, and 53, note 21.

¹⁶⁶ The *Tonson* edition, as well as that of 1699, have "against the Stream of a River," but Hennepin does not say this in the text, and the clause is not found in the *Bon-* edition of 1698.

hundred leagues. And during the time it took us from the Illinois River down to the mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico, if we had wished to make haste in our canoe, we could have made the journey twice.¹⁶⁷

With this amusing boldness Hennepin imposed upon the ignorance of European readers. He told them of an imaginary journey in a miraculous canoe upon an elastic river. First, the distance from the Illinois to the Gulf is 5 degrees, or 120 to 130 leagues in a straight line, then 10 degrees; with the bends the distance is 200 leagues, then 325, then 340, and finally 150. More variations follow regarding the total length, which in the *New Discovery* is estimated at above 800 leagues, more than 2,160 miles, from source to sea with windings.¹⁶⁸ Hennepin calculated that he traveled 400 leagues from the Illinois to St. Paul,¹⁶⁹ hence to make up the stated 800 leagues there were 400 from the Illinois to the Gulf, or 1,080 miles; this is the closest approximation, being only 250 miles short of the real distance. But he found this out not by actual traveling but from Le Clercq. In his mileage computations he almost doubled the length of the Mississippi north of the Illinois and lopped off about two-thirds south of Grafton, Illinois. In the quotation given above, he simply eliminated the distance between the Illinois and the Wisconsin rivers. And, strange to say, he was quite undisturbed about it all.

As if Hennepin had not sufficiently wrought havoc with the length of the "River of Rumor," Father Goyens shortened it still more. The 300 leagues from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf and back to the Wisconsin were given as 300 miles.¹⁷⁰ Scott remarked that the good Father had a very hazy idea of the matter about which he wrote with so much assurance. The Mississippi, the Canadian critic reminded Hennepin's apologist, is not the Scheldt, the Meuse, or even the Rhine.¹⁷¹ What Lafitau wrote two hundred years ago has not changed. The rivers of Europe are mere creeks in comparison with those of the Western hemisphere.¹⁷² It is not 300 miles or 300 leagues that Hennepin should have had to cover from March 12 to April 11, when he was taken prisoner by the Sioux, but 3,000 miles; it is the dis-

¹⁶⁷ *Nouveau Voyage*, preface.

¹⁶⁸ ND., 275.

¹⁶⁹ DL., 218, ND., 325.

¹⁷⁰ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 484.

¹⁷¹ *Nos Anciens Historiographes*, 138.

¹⁷² *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains*, II, 200.

tance from Philadelphia to San Francisco via Chicago; it is equivalent to 4,800 kilometers, twice the distance between Calais, France, and Bucharest, Rumania. Father Goyens made a mistake in mentioning "superficial readers."

The Canoe

The heap of contradictions, recantations, and downright false statements of the *New Discovery* is crowned with more amazing assertions about that marvelous engine, the bark canoe. Hennepin often speaks of the little Indian boats. At the threshold of the *New Discovery*, he explains how they are built, how they are maneuvered, how sails are fastened to a small mast to increase their speed.

One who is skilled in managing these little vessels can make *30 to 35 leagues a day going down a river*, and sometimes more on the lakes when the wind is favorable. Some canoes are larger than others. Ordinarily they carry a load of one thousand pounds; some 1,200, and the largest 1,500 pounds. Even the smallest carry from 3 to 400 pounds with two men or women to steer them. The largest canoes are managed by 3 or 4 men, and sometimes 7 or 8 canoe men to go faster when there is urgency.¹⁷³

The fragile little vessels about which Hennepin speaks so kindly were to the French traders and Indians of those days what the cherished horses were to the plainsmen and trappers of the West at a later date. Hennepin used the same canoe during his whole journey, until it was smashed by the Indians when his party landed near St. Paul.¹⁷⁴ But the words italicized above indicate the top speed at which he thought they could be propelled downstream, and they are, of course, in contradiction to what he had said of the speed made going up the river. Not that he actually said "upstream" but that he clearly implied such speed could be made against the current; as already noted, the English editor added the word "upstream." But even if canoes could move more than 30 leagues, or 80 miles, a day upstream, it was impossible for him to have gone from the Gulf to the Wisconsin in 9 days, for this would have required an average of more than 180 miles a day. But what Hennepin says about the speed of canoes downstream is borne out by other evidence:

The *coureurs de bois* propel their canoes with small oars of hardwood, light, and very well adapted for that purpose. The man who stands

¹⁷³ ND., 22. (Italics inserted.)

¹⁷⁴ DL., 233; ND., 339.

behind steers the canoe. . . . The other two paddle. . . . A well-manned canoe can make more than fifteen leagues [40 miles] a day on still waters. They travel over greater distances going downstream, but few leagues [a day] can be made going upstream. . . . A favorable wind greatly helps the canoeman, who never fails to hoist a sail. . . .¹⁷⁵

There is no mention that he ever hoisted a sail during his journey on the Mississippi. His canoe was lightly laden; it drew only three inches of water when he left the Gulf.¹⁷⁶ It is true that the merchandises had been cached below the Arkansas, but this lightening of the load had been amply made up with the few bushels of Indian corn and with the meat embarked at the mouth of the Ohio. When this was consumed, they embarked more food on leaving the Quinipissa village.¹⁷⁷ When they reached the cache on the "return journey," one thousand miles from the Wisconsin, the merchandises which La Salle had given them were re-loaded. They were worth 1,000 livres, according to the *New Discovery*,¹⁷⁸ from 1,000 to 1,200 according to the *Description*.¹⁷⁹ An idea of the weight of these merchandises can be had from a passage of the *New Discovery*. When they reached Saint Paul, what was left of the tobacco, only one item, still weighed 50 pounds.¹⁸⁰ Besides, Hennepin had his chapel kit, his books, and his papers, whatever these were.

When he met the Chickasaw, "these Indians could not enter the canoe because it was too small and too encumbered as it was."¹⁸¹ Later, when he wanted to shake off the Chickasaw he merely raised the stroke. The Indians "could not go as fast as our bark canoe which was lighter than their pirogues,"¹⁸² which are boats hewn out of the trunk of a tree, he explained. An idea of the speed of the canoe is given when he says that in order to keep pace with it, one had to walk fast. His paddlers lost a race only when their competitors on land took to running.¹⁸³ In spite of their strenuous efforts, the Taensas in their lightest pirogues

¹⁷⁵ *Memoire historique sur les mauvais Effets de la Reunion des Castors dans une même main*. This memoir is dated February 22, in AC, C 11A, 22:356-378, a copy of which, in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, is dated February 12; extracts from it are printed in Hamy, *Au Mississippi*, Paris, 1903, 279-280.

¹⁷⁶ ND., 278.

¹⁷⁷ ND., 281.

¹⁷⁸ ND., 240; worth about 1,000 livres says La Salle, Clairambault, 1016:181, Margry, II, 246.

¹⁷⁹ DL., 187.

¹⁸⁰ ND., 343.

¹⁸¹ ND., 257.

¹⁸² ND., 269.

¹⁸³ ND., 279, 288.

could not keep up with the magic canoe.¹⁸⁴ It was not Hennepin, however, who was shattering all these speed records, but Auguelle and Accault, who after bowing and taking off their hats in the best sweeping Louis XIV fashion, seized their paddle and showed these barbarians that they were capable of outdoing them.

The canoe underwent a great change after Hennepin met the Sioux. The paddlers lost their preternatural strength as if by enchantment; the canoe became heavy, larger than those of the Sioux; four or five sturdy Indians were needed in the same canoe, where there had been no room for the three Chickasaw, to help Auguelle and Accault. This help was needed to travel not 150 miles a day, but to keep pace with Indians making some 15 miles a day. "These Indians are very strong rowers. They row from early morning till nightfall. They hardly stop to eat. To force us to follow them, they gave us ordinarily four or five men to enable us to go faster. Our canoe was larger and more heavily loaded than theirs, so that we had need of them to go as fast as they."¹⁸⁵ The reason for this magic change is easily found. Hennepin had to follow very closely what he had written in his first book, and with the greatest unconcern he flatly contradicts what he had written a few pages previously in the *New Discovery*. North of the Illinois River, both in the *Description* and in the *New Discovery*, the canoe behaves like an ordinary, self-respecting canoe; south of the Illinois River, the same canoe had to be endowed with preternatural qualities to enable its coxswain to travel over 3,000 miles in 23 days, 1,300 miles downstream in 14 days, 1,700 miles upstream in 9 days.

III. THE HENNEPIN PROBLEM

The real Hennepinian problem does not consist in thus establishing a concordance between the data found in the *New Discovery*, natural physical endurance, and the geography of the Mississippi River. There is no concordance. The problem consists in explaining what prompted him to assert that he went down to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1680, which forced him to contradict himself nearly at every turn, and to make patently false statements. Anyone studying the voyage with a map of the Mississippi River before his eyes, will readily subscribe to Shea's verdict that his voyage down to the Gulf is too absurd to be

¹⁸⁴ ND., 285-286.

¹⁸⁵ ND., 325, cf. DL., 319.

received for a moment. Hennepin's claim to priority "in the exploration of the Lower Mississippi must certainly be considered one of the most gigantic frauds in American history."¹⁸⁶ Shea's interpolation theory is not acceptable, and is no longer accepted by Hennepin's defenders. But in the "Avis au lecteur" prefaced to the *New Discovery*, Hennepin takes God to witness that his relation is faithful and sincere, and the reader can give credence to all therein contained. After such solemn statement prefaced to what obviously contains so many falsehoods, some explanation must be found, for after all Hennepin was a priest and a religious. One explanation is suggested by Father Goyens, and it is here taken in a somewhat different sense than that intended by Hennepin's defender.

Those who at all cost pretend to look upon the voyage of Hennepin to the mouth of the Mississippi as a falsehood, do thereby strip his first work, the *Description of Louisiana*, of all authority. Yet no suspicion was ever cast on this book even by his rivals. Forsooth, a convicted forger deserves no confidence either in the present or in the past. Now, the most exacting critics unanimously sing the undeniable qualities of the *Description*. Is it probable then that an author until now truthful, honest and sincere, should have made a complete about face at the expense of truth shortly after, in two consecutive works spread far and wide and translated into several languages?¹⁸⁷

It is sincerely to be hoped that one day Father Goyens' argument for a hopeless cause will be repudiated. The paragraph comes to this: the *Description of Louisiana* is true, therefore the *New Discovery* is true; Hennepin did not lie in the second because he told the truth in the first; Hennepin did not lie in 1682, therefore he did not lie in 1697! Since when do statements made by a man become true precisely because a decade and a half before—there is no question of "shortly" after—he had given a substantially truthful narrative of his adventures? Will it be maintained that because Hennepin told the truth in 1682, he had become impeccable, incapable of telling a lie? What label will be affixed to his own contradictory assertions that he went down the Mississippi and that he did not go down? To argue from past truthfulness to necessary present veracity is not only bad logic, but it is unheard of psychology, and as historical methodology it is ridiculous.

After having laid down the unusual premises, that if Her

¹⁸⁶ Ogg., *The Opening of the Mississippi*, New York, 1904.

¹⁸⁷ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 482.

nepin lied in the *New Discovery*, if he had pilfered from Le Clercq, Father Goyens continues :

The case would seem to belong to pathology. A Hennepin who would be a forger, a liar, an indelicate man who would not be worthy to bear his name. It would be a caricature of our great Hennepin, it would be an unrecognizable imitation. The dilemma is not eluded by making the printers responsible. Hennepin would have loudly protested. If he did not protest against the pretended interpolations, it is because he alone took upon himself the responsibility for them. As a matter of fact he remained as faithfully truthful in his subsequent works [*New Discovery* and *New Voyage*] as he had been in the first.¹⁸⁸

The only excuse one can find for Hennepin is stated precisely above: he had become a pathological case. Subjectively, when he took God to witness, he believed that he was telling the truth; he had also so stoutly asserted having gone to the mouth of the Mississippi that he ended up believing he actually went; objectively, however, Hennepin was not telling the truth. He was boastful by nature, inclined to exaggerate everything that would make him appear important; avid of self glorification, he was so vain that he sacrificed everybody and everything, including truth, to his vanity. La Salle knew Hennepin's shortcomings. In 1681, he put one of his correspondents on guard against what the Recollect might say about his adventures among the Sioux:

It is necessary to know him somewhat, for he will not fail to exaggerate everything; it is his character; and to myself, he has written as though he had been all ready to be burned, although he was not even in danger; but he believes that it is honorable in him to act in this way, and he speaks more in keeping with what he wishes than with what he knows.¹⁸⁹

Hennepin wished he had gone to the mouth of the Mississippi, as is plain from the *Description of Louisiana*, when he wrote that he had the intention of going, but was prevented by the Sioux. To him such intention became equivalent to having gone. The ultimate result of this queer psychological process is the *New Discovery*.

Epilogue

There is a very peculiar sequence at the end of Hennepin's

¹⁸⁸ Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 482.

¹⁸⁹ BN., Clairambault, 1016:187, Margry, II, 259-260.

sojourn in Holland which should be noticed. After his earlier excitement, when the fire of composition had cooled off, Hennepin seems to have realized how his "discovery" of the mouth of the Mississippi was likely to involve him in misadventures, in comparison with which his previous troubles and his hardships among the Sioux would dwindle into insignificance.

In 1685 or later,¹⁹⁰ he had refused when his superior told him to go back to Canada as a missionary even for one year, under the plea that it was against the constitutions of the Order. Then, in 1696, "God who always takes care of oppressed innocence sent M. de Blathwait to my help." Thanks to this Englishman's influence, Hennepin obtained from the commissary general in Louvain leave to go as a missionary to America. This permission also included the leave "to spend in one of the United Provinces [Holland], left to my choice, the time necessary to work on the memoirs of my Discovery."¹⁹¹ What had happened to Hennepin between his absolute refusal to go to America and his anxiety to return has never been ascertained and is immaterial.

The *New Discovery* printed in Utrecht was very popular in Great Britain; it stirred English interest in the new colonization. Hennepin, throughout the *New Discovery* and the *New Voyage* clarified his willingness to go back to his Louisiana, to guide the English thither, whenever they were ready to go. This fitted in with Coxe's Carolana scheme. An expedition to the "Delights of America" was being prepared in England. Hennepin would certainly be asked to make good his grandiloquent offers of guiding the ships to the mouth of the Mississippi which he had seen and described so beautifully. Coxe and his associates would take the necessary means to force the friar, living in the dominions of William III, to show the way. This was not in the least to the taste of Hennepin; his "reputation in England as an expert on the West"¹⁹² was becoming most embarrassing, and he was likely to pay very dear for his hoax. He knew he had much less knowledge of the position of the Mississippi than La Salle had, and the explorer died trying to find the river by sea. It would be very dangerous to let the pilots steer the ships to St. Louis Bay [Matagorda]; La Salle had gone there, and had not found the Mississippi. Could anyone ever be quite sure of what those ruthless English seamen would do if in the Gulf

¹⁹⁰ Lemay, "Le P. Hennepin et l'obédience de 1696," in *Nos Cahiers*, II, 1937, 154-155.

¹⁹¹ ND., Avis au lecteur.

¹⁹² Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 56.

Hennepin would not know where to turn to find the mouth of the Mississippi? Might he not find himself swinging from the yardarm or walking the plank if he should fail as a guide?

There was only one way out. He must leave the dominions of the English king and stay clear of the territory of his allies.¹⁹³ As is known, he went to the French ambassador at The Hague, put Bonrepaus under secrecy, and begged him to petition the minister for the necessary leave to return to France. The ambassador in his letter to Pontchartrain did not think that Hennepin would be of very much use for the development of the

¹⁹³ It is not hereby lost sight of the fact that the Jansenists of Utrecht had succeeded in having the town council and the States General refuse to renew the *permis de séjour*. This permit to stay in Holland had expired three weeks prior to Hennepin's visit to the French ambassador. Why did he not go to the Spanish Netherlands or to England?

In *Minnesota History*, XIX, December 1938, pages 393-398, Grace Lee Nute deals with "Father Hennepin's Later Years." An unrecorded voyage to America of the missionary is given by the writer as "perfectly possible." The question asked is whether Hennepin was with the Carolana expedition of 1699. "The evidence for this possibility lies in the correspondence," of Dubos and Thoynard, says Miss Nute. Dubos, it is true wrote, September 4, 1699, that in Utrecht "they believed" Hennepin to have gone to England thence to embark for America. Besides the letter of Bonrepaus to Pontchartrain, dated July 17, 1698, wherein the ambassador stated that Hennepin was leaving for Italy on a Tuscan vessel, there is the letter of Pierre Codde who had every reason to follow the missionary's movements. Codde wrote from 'S Graveland, July 18, 1698, to his Roman agent, Du Vaucel, that Hennepin had certainly left on a Genoese vessel, and that the Recollect had declared his intention of going to Rome from Genoa (Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 149). Father Lemay (*Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 51) has called attention to the fact that for seventeen months neither Codde nor Du Vaucel make mention of Hennepin. It seems as though the missionary had been swallowed by the sea. Lemay does not, naturally, consider the hypothesis of a voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi. There is enough evidence to show that Hennepin was not a member of the Carolana expedition. There is not one word in Coxe about the presence of the Recollect. Bienville spoke to Captain Bond and went down the Mississippi with the Englishman. Bond says he had with him the *New Discovery*, but makes no mention of its author being aboard. There was a French Protestant on the vessel. He too spoke at length with Bienville (Margry, IV, 397). It is unbelievable that he would have failed to mention Hennepin either being with them or with the other ship that sailed toward the Pánuco. An apodictic proof would be to know the exact date of the return of the Carolana expedition to England. One thing is certain: It did not return before the very end of 1699 or the beginning of 1700 (Cf. Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, 57, notes 29, 30, 58-59). It took two months and a half to make the journey from the Gulf directly to France. Bienville met Bond near today's English Turn, September 5, 1699, O. S. (Illinois Historical Collections, IX, 416-417); on September 15, 1699, N. S., according to the journal of Sauvolle (Margry, IV, 456); on September 16, N. S., according to La Harpe (*Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831, 19). The presence of Hennepin near Rome is recorded fifteen months before Dubos' letter of March 1, 1701. Du Vaucel wrote to Codde, from Rome, December 19, 1699: "I only learned yesterday that Brother Louis Hennepin has been here [Rome] for some time." It is clear that if Hennepin had been a member of the Carolana expedition, he could not have been in Rome *depuis quelque temps* in the middle of December 1699.

colonies, "I thought that you would not be sorry to get this man out of this country [Holland] and [that you could] send him to Quebec where there are Religious of his Order. There, under the pretext of employing him in the missions around Quebec, M. the Count de Frontenac could keep him, thus preventing him from coming back to this country and from exciting the English and the Dutch to found new establishments in North America."¹⁹⁴ The king gave his consent. Hennepin could go back to France and, if he wished, leave would be given him to go to America.

Before the answer came from Paris, however, Hennepin had taken another decision. By going to the French ambassador had he not avoided one evil and run into another? There was his epistle to William III in which Louis XIV fared very badly. The Great Monarch might forgive the friar, but he was known to have a long memory for such insults, and once in French territory, Hennepin might very well be sent to some cell to meditate on the advisability of curbing his pen. If he were allowed to stay in France, in one of the Recollect convents, his brethren would certainly ask him to explain the comparisons he had made between the French and the Flemish missionaries. Le Clercq was still alive, and he would naturally ask for information about the journal Hennepin had given to Leroux. Others would be curious to know why he was so anxious to come to France instead of going to the territories of His Most Catholic Majesty, "my King." All these inquiries would be most embarrassing to say the least.

In Canada, the situation would not be much better. The French Recollects of Quebec would be entitled to ask the same questions. Naturally all this would be done in a good natured manner, but to some questions it would be hard to give a satisfactory answer.

In Canada, there were the Jesuits whom he had abused, insulted, and reviled. It was to be feared that they would not view his coming with great enthusiasm after he had so signally betrayed their confidence in 1681.¹⁹⁵ Hennepin was too restless to be

¹⁹⁴ These letters were found by H. Froidevaux who published them in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., II, 1905, 281-287. They were reprinted by J.-E. Roy in the *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada*, Ottawa, 1911, 59-61; by Goyens, *loc. cit.*, 329-331; and by Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 146-150.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 17-21; *id.*, "Le P. Hennepin à Paris en 1682," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 131-137.

satisfied with remaining in the missions around Quebec, as suggested by the French ambassador. What kind of reception would he get from his former traveling companions? Duluth and some of the men who had accompanied La Salle were still alive. Tonty would certainly not fail to ask him in what occasion he, Tonty, had acted the coward. Accault was in the Illinois country and would have been most interested in having him narrate their voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, how Accault had paddled 1,700 miles upstream in 9 days. No one could find fault with Jolliet for asking Hennepin when and where he had denied ever having descended the Mississippi to the Arkansas. And the French of New France might resent and show their resentment for the aspersions cast by the author of the *New Discovery* and of the *New Voyage* on their aptitude as navigators and as colonizers. The familiar saying that one is between the devil and the deep blue sea finds an apt application in this case it seems.

But Hennepin found a way out of all these difficulties. Within three weeks of his first visit to the French embassy, before the answer had come from Paris, he went a second time to pay his respects to Bonrepaus, showing letters he had received from England, where feverish preparations for the Mississippi expedition were being made. The ambassador wrote to Pontchartrain:

but as this man is very restless, he spoke to me of his desire to take a trip to Italy, and [said] that he had found an opportunity [to satisfy his desire]. The captain of a large Tuscan vessel now in Amsterdam offered to take him as chaplain on his ship. I did not think I should dissuade him from going; that man is not necessary in Canada; my intention was only to get him out of this country and to prevent him from exciting the English to found new establishments in North America. He told me, however, that he would go back to France to return thence to Canada as soon as you would let him know that you allow him, and he left his address.¹⁹⁶

Hennepin was not so foolish as to return to France, and he seems to have had a presentiment of what Louis XIV was to write the following year to the governor and the intendant of New France, that if Hennepin were to set foot in Canada, they must ship him back to the intendant of Rochefort whom His Majesty told what was to be done with the Recollect.¹⁹⁷

From Amsterdam, Hennepin went to Rome. The last indirect

¹⁹⁶ Bonrepaus to Pontchartrain, July 17, 1698, Froidevaux, *loc. cit.*, 286.

¹⁹⁷ Roy, *Rapport sur les Archives de France*, 62; Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 163.

reference to the Recollect in connection with his voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi is found in a letter dated Rome, April 24, 1700. "I learned that Brother Hennepin is having an Italian translation made of his *Decouverte de nouveaux pais &c.* [the *New Discovery*], and that he intends to have it printed here. All he needs now is to dedicate it to the Pope after having dedicated it to King William. We shall try to prevent its publication. That monk has supporters here."¹⁹⁸ It would have been interesting to read this new version of the voyage;¹⁹⁹ interesting too would have been the dedicatory epistle to His Holiness, Pope Innocent XII, or, if the printing had been delayed until the end of the year, to Clement XI; still more interesting would have been a comparison between the dedicatory epistle to the Pope and that to William III.

In 1701, Hennepin was still interested in American affairs. He was then staying at the Ara Coeli Convent where the General of the Franciscans resided. He had succeeded in persuading Cardinal Spada to help found a Louisiana mission.²⁰⁰ After this, the archives are silent. Where and when Hennepin passed away has not yet been ascertained.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

¹⁹⁸ Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 186.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Lemay, "Le P. Hennepin devant Rome," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 66.

²⁰⁰ Lemay, *Bibliographie du P. Louis Hennepin*, 189; *id.*, "Le P. Hennepin devant Rome," in *Nos Cahiers*, III, 1938, 67, note 141. This article was in the press when the last study on Father Hennepin was published in *Nos Cahiers*, III, December 1938, 341-374. It consists of the notes left by the late Father Lemay edited by the director of the review. As the title indicates, "Le P. Hennepin devant l'histoire," it is a continuation of the article published in the August number, in which the French authors dealing with Hennepin were listed. In the December number, Belgian, American, and Canadian writers' opinions of Hennepin are tabulated. The descent of the Mississippi is not discussed.

Notes and Comment

BOOKS

Flight Into Oblivion, by Alfred Jackson Hanna, was recently published by Johnson Publishing Company of Richmond, Virginia. The volume has as its purpose the description of the flight of the Confederate cabinet during the several tempestuous months following the Civil War. The tragic exodus of heroic men and women of the Confederacy on their way to oblivion is graphically reconstructed. It would be difficult to find a more interesting and dramatic story, and it is hoped that the suggestion of the author in regard to the work of writing full-length, critical biographies of the members of the cabinet will be acted upon. Undoubtedly, his work will inspire some novelist or dramatist, but until such persons take up the theme, *Flight Into Oblivion* will satisfy. Much praise may be bestowed upon the printer and the artists, who have illustrated the book beautifully; the maps are not only helpful but excellently drawn. References are placed after the last chapter; a suitable bibliography and index complete the work in 306 pages. Some of the more scholarly minded may quarrel with the author because of his sympathetic expressions, but none can deny that he has drawn many vivid and lasting pictures of the moments after the great conflict, and has re-created the spirit of the times in a fascinating manner.

Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis, by John Francis McDermott, has recently come from The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. The volume of 186 pages is in its exterior aspects a fine example of the printer's art. The modest preface outlines the purpose and plan of the book, which is a record of book-ownership and library collections among the Creole inhabitants. The work is divided into three parts; I, Cultural Conditions on the Confines of a Wilderness, is an essay designed to acquaint the reader with the early cultural life of the people in and around the growing village of Saint Louis. This is very well done, and the conclusion is that, in spite of the lack of schools, presses, and public libraries, the level of culture was high. Parts II and III are devoted to descriptive catalogues of the libraries in the homes of Saint Louisans, and information about their owners. The historian and the bibliophile will find much of interest in these pages. The author and publishers have produced a worthwhile book.

The Church in the Nineteenth Century, by Raymond Corrigan, S. J., has recently (1938) come from the press of the Bruce Publishing Company as one of the Science and Culture Series of books under the general editorship of Joseph Husslein, S. J. A wealth of reading,

canonical and theological erudition, and contact with European thought in its setting in foreign universities lies as a background for this scholarly and stimulating work. It is not designed as a detailed history of the Catholic Church during the nineteenth century, but is more a judicious survey of the position of the papacy in its relation to every form of spiritual, intellectual, and material endeavor within the period of the rise of the "isms." Its great value lies in the clarity of the presentation of the numerous problems confronting the Church and the difficulties, occasioned by the times, surrounding the solution of especially trying social and religious problems. Again, the book illustrates the origins and continuity of the thought of the Church with respect to the problems, and in tracing this continuity the author had the foresight on occasion to bring his discussions down to the present time. The outstanding churchmen and outstanding events and institutions are in general given sufficiently proportionate treatment. Other noteworthy features are the manner in which the author presents opposing opinions in controversial matters, and the fearlessness with which he exposes cancerous growths within the body ecclesiastic.

Books on religious orders and their founders continue to come forth regularly. R. F. Bennett wrote *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History* (Macmillan Company, 1937); these critical essays treat of the constitutions of the Order, and of the principles underlying its learning, poverty, education, and preaching. Sister Mary Hortense Kohler, assisted by Sister Mary Fulgence Franz, both Dominicans, brought out *Life and Work of Mother Benedicta Bauer*, telling the story of the Bavarian girl who entered the Dominican convent at Ratisbon and later became a missionary foundress at Racine, Wisconsin (The Bruce Publishing Company, 1937). *The Life of Venerable Francis Libermann*, founder of the Order of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, was written by G. Lee (Burns Oates and Washbourne). *Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, by the late Father Alois Kroess, has been published in part; the second volume, completed ten years ago, appeared in 1937, and the third is to appear in 1940. Gaëtan de Bernonville has an account of *Les Jésuites*, which has recently been translated in part into English by Kathleen Balfe. Georges Goyau, *La Congrégation de la mission des Lazaristes*, gives a brief history of the Lazarist Fathers and an account of their work at present. Books and articles pertaining to the Devotio Moderna are listed in J. M. E. Dols, *Bibliographie der Moderne Devotie*, published at Nimwegen in two parts; the second part contains works on the Brethren of the Common Life and *The Imitation of Christ*. In French, Dom Martène has added another, the seventh, volume to his *Histoire de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES

A great change has come over the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, the annual publication of which has been going on since 1900. For some time the present editor, Paul M. Angle, has been noticing the lack of appeal of both title and appearance of the volume. The exterior, uninviting as it was, caused some readers to pass over the book and miss its very interesting contents. To obviate the difficulty the title, the arrangement of the contents, and the format has been changed. The new title is *Papers in Illinois History*, and this is to be followed by the year, the first year being 1937. The editor is to be congratulated on the appearance of the book and his organization of the pleasing contents. The illustrations are very good, and Chicagoans should be particularly pleased with the papers treating various phases of the history of their city.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, June 1938, applying well its recently inaugurated policy for awakening the interest of a greater number of readers in historical backgrounds of the State, opens with a fine series of letters from Abraham Lincoln to Henry E. Drummer. Paul M. Angle presents these under the title "The Record of a Friendship." An illustrated account, "Farming in Illinois a Century Ago," is the work of Hubert Schmidt. The longest of the articles and one very noteworthy is that of Ernest E. East, "Contributions to Chicago History from the Peoria County Records." In this, items of a personal nature about early Chicagoans are gathered together for a sprightly presentation by the indefatigable Peorian. A continuation of his story appeared, as promised, in the September number of the same *Journal*. The first article in this latter number is a tribute by Theodore C. Pease to the late Laurence Marcellus Larson, who was "member and director of the Illinois State Historical Society, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, thirty years a member and seventeen years Head of the University of Illinois History Department, President of the American Historical Association." The tribute is exceedingly well put.

The *Missouri Historical Review*, October 1938, in the opening paragraphs of its Notes and Comments, points with pride to the newly achieved distinction of the State Historical Society of Missouri, namely, that of the largest number of individual memberships of all historical societies of the country. Its paid membership is now 2,200; the New York State Historical association is second with 2,000; Pennsylvania third with 1,900, and Kansas fourth with 1,800. Much of the progress of the Society and its *Review* may be attributed to the efficiency and care of the secretary and editor, Floyd C. Shoemaker.

Instead of publishing the usual number of articles, documents, and reviews in its October 1938 number, the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*

printed a complete table of contents for the twenty-nine volumes of the *Quarterly* and its predecessor the *Washington Historical Quarterly*. The guide was arranged by Jesse S. Douglas.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June 1938, carries a contribution from Louise Phelps Kellogg under the title "Wisconsin's Eminence." The purpose of the paper is to ascertain what the people of Wisconsin have contributed toward American excellence as revealed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Who among the eminent Americans were Wisconsin born or trained? Dr. Kellogg goes over the names of the illustrious, the governors, senators, congressmen, editors, scholars, missionaries, authors, artists, professional men of various types, and business men. By way of mild criticism, she mentions names that should have been included, and thus in a short space gives an interesting review of influential persons in Wisconsin's history.

A good paper on an unusual theme appeared in the Autumn Number, 1938, of *Michigan History Magazine*. Its title indicates its scope: "History of Execution in What is Now the State of Michigan," by Louis H. Burbey. The last portion of the article explains how Michigan, though not having a capital punishment law, actually applied one last year and executed Chebatoris under the "Treason Act."

Unusual too, but on a far less serious subject, is the article "Kansas Play-Party Songs," by Myra E. Hull, in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, August 1938. These songs, a combination of game, song, dance, and pantomime, are described, and in a number of cases the words and music are given. Some very entertaining pages are found in this number of the *Quarterly* under the heading of Bypaths of Kansas History. The items are taken from early newspapers of Kansas, one describing Marshal "Wild Bill" Hickok in a shooting affray, another the sight of a recently scalped man passing through Hays.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association recently issued its *Report 1936-1937*. The English section contains accounts of "The Abbé Maillard and Halifax," by Rev. John E. Burns, of "The Honourable John Elmsley, Legislative and Executive Councillor of Upper Canada (1801-1863)," by Brother Alfred, and "Sir Richard Scott, K. C.," by W. L. Scott. Rev. J. A. Lenhard gives a survey of the arrival and progress of German immigrants to Ontario, and Donald J. Pierce offers some new viewpoints on "The Rebellion of 1837 and Political Liberty." In the French section Mgr. Olivier Maurault has "Les Lettres de M. Tronson," Superior General of St. Sulpice from 1676 until 1700, and Rev. Léon Pouliot writes on "Le Père Nicolas Point," diarist, missionary in Ontario and in the Rocky Mountains.

Book Reviews

The Jesuits of the Middle United States. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., Ph. D. New York, America Press, 1938. Three volumes.

When one sits down to the task of giving his opinion of a book brought forth by the difficult research of a fellow historian, he does so generally with certain misgivings about his own qualifications correctly to estimate the value of the book and to express properly an appreciation. Misgivings of this sort in the particular case of Father Garraghan's work are tripled, for here there is question of three volumes, and these of the larger size, containing within their covers more than two thousand pages, interspersed with documents, maps, charts, and illustrations. The materials have been gathered from archives all over this country and abroad; cullings and items have been incorporated from thousands of documents, diligently scrutinized. The present writer knows, as only one who has lived beside Father Garraghan during the past several years can know, that every statement, even every word in the three volumes has been carefully weighed before being set in its proper place. He knows, moreover, that the labor of producing this unified story has gone on through the past twenty years. Under these circumstances and in the presence of such a solid product of ripe scholarship it were indeed idle presumption for anyone to pose as a qualified critic of the contents of the books. Reviews of the work have already appeared in news columns and in magazines, and while each reviewer has pointed to one or another of the qualities of the workmanship, the consensus is a tribute of profound regard to the author for his monumental achievement.

Broadly speaking, the scope of the work is the narrative of the foundations, the spread, and the progress of the Jesuit institutions and activities in the middle United States for the hundred years after 1823. It is fundamentally the story of men, religious men, who left Europe to participate in the development of our western frontier by establishing universities, colleges, secondary and grade schools, parishes, and missions in localities which were becoming or which became centers of population and culture. The pioneer Jesuits from the various European countries, who laid the foundations for the later spread and growth of their Order in the West, were the inspiration of younger members to come to America. The latter carried on nobly until gradually, with the building up of the Middle West, their places were taken by the influx of recruits of American birth, who, only after long generations, took over the administration of the establishments, central and most important of which during the last century was St. Louis University.

To descend to details from the broader outline is impossible. The history revolves around individual Jesuits working under plan toward the completion of two provinces. Hundreds of Jesuits pass in review and receive evaluation insofar as each aided or retarded the progress of the Jesuit houses, schools, and missions. Their diversified interests and achievements as lecturers, missionaries to Indians, missionary "revivalists," writers, chaplains to hospitals, orphanages, and jails, authors, and educators are brought before the reader not as a matter of laudation of the individual but as expected instances of zeal and as items in the evolving pattern. Since their endeavors were part and parcel of the development of social, civic, educational, and ecclesiastical institutions in many of the cities of the Middle West, their history as narrated by Father Garraghan is wider than the mere history of a religious Order would be; it is an integral part of the history of the Catholic Church in the region designated; it is a chapter in the history of education; it is a significant page in the life story of cities and their citizenry. And it is a readable and human account, written in the gracious style which as in previous works of the author has been a source of pleasure and instruction to different classes of readers.

Father Garraghan has completed this long work along the lines of approved scholarly method. He has approached his subject sympathetically yet critically. His findings will be valuable to writers engaged in writing on local and institutional phases of the development of the West. Although he has written the history of only one religious group, the character of his work entitles him to a rank among the outstanding historians of this country.

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Prairie du Chien: French, British, American. By Peter Lawrence Scanlan. Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1937. Pp. xiii+258, maps, plans.

Prairie du Chien, named for an Indian chief called Chien, by virtue of its location at the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, played an important part in the early history of Wisconsin. Father Marquette and Louis Jolliet, in 1673; Nicholas Perrot, in 1688; Duluth, and Father Hennepin were among the first white men to pass through this region, and after the establishment of the fur trade, this site was a strategic point for a trading post and fort.

The author of the book has shown the successive stages in the development of Prairie du Chien, under French, then British, and finally American ownership. The trading post was important in the earliest years for the explorer, missionary, and fur trader. The fort, known in turn as Fort Shelby, Fort McKay, and Fort Crawford, was

not only a protection from Indians, but functioned in the struggles between the French and British, and later, between the British and Americans, for possession of the Northwest Territory. Under American ownership, Fort Crawford served as headquarters for the army, which carried on the work of exploration, road-making, arbitration with the Indians, and general maintenance of law and order. As the commerce in furs declined, permanent settlers began to come in, instead of the fur traders, many of whom were transients, and the need of building churches, homes, and schools, platting town lots and opening roads arose. By the time the first official census was taken in 1801, Prairie du Chien had a population of about 550.

Dr. Scanlan has based his work on comprehensive study of local, state, and national records, and of documents in Montreal, Quebec, and Washington, D. C. Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, in her Introduction, states that this book is not only the first full history of Prairie du Chien, but is one that is authentic and reliable. A bibliography follows the body of the book. The many notes are given at the end of the work, arranged by chapters. This editorial arrangement will prove an inconvenience to readers accustomed to the page by page citation.

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana. Translated by Marion E. Cross. University of Minnesota Press, 1938. Pp. xvii+190.

The Colonial Dames of America have published this very readable and praiseworthy translation of Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane*. The *Description*, published at Paris in 1683 and translated into English for the first time by John Gilmary Shea in 1880, was generally read because of the European interest in travel narratives of New World explorers. Evidence has been adduced to prove, as Grace Lee Nute observes in the Introduction, that "it is propaganda of a very subtle kind; that is, it aimed to promote French imperialism in North America, but tried to ensure that the royal favor would descend on the 'proper persons' as instruments of policy," for example, the La Salle-Recollect-Jansenist clique.

According to Shea, Hennepin's "original work . . . is supported to a remarkable degree by all contemporary authorities, by topography and Indian life. The charge made by Margry that it is a plagiarism is utterly absurd." "Dom Henpin's wretched book," as Renaudot termed it, belongs to Hennepin. The later work of Hennepin (*Nouvelle Découverte*) gave rise to the widely bruited accusation of mendacity. We conclude, therefore, that, while we may generally rely on this *first Description de la Louisiane*, whether in the original or in translation by Shea and by Cross, we must be on our guard against a subtle propaganda.

The merits and demerits of the present translation can best be shown by contrasting it with Shea's. His translation is literal, involved, and tiresome; this translation is free, clear, and pleasing. Slight departures from the original thought and from the French flavor, however, may be noted; for example, Shea says, "it is a secret working of Providence," Cross, "it was no chance working of Providence"; Shea, "of which I do not here recall the names," Cross, "which I will not name"; Shea, "women wear mourning for their near relatives for a whole year," Cross, "women wear mourning for an entire year."

Shea's introductory "Sketch of Hennepin" is possibly of greater biographical and critical value than the short Foreword and Introduction of the present work. A sturdy blue cover, high-grade paper, clear print, convenient paragraphing and sectioning, notes, and an index enhance its value; still, the price seems high. The book is a credit to Miss Cross and its sponsors.

H. J. MCAULIFFE

St. Louis University

The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner. Compiled by Everett E. Edwards, with an introduction by Fulmer Mood. Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1938. Pp. xi+316.

In the volume dealing with the early writings of the late Professor Turner, a commendable effort has been made to provide in permanent form several of the literary productions no longer easily obtainable. Two essays, "The Significance of History" which appeared in 1891, and "Problems in American History," published in 1892, have long been out of print, but are helpful in tracing the growth of ideas which were developed more fully in the two longer pieces of research included in the volume. Turner's doctoral dissertation, *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin*, presented in 1891 to Johns Hopkins University, and the famous essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" presented in 1893, are also included. One of Professor Turner's former students, Dr. Fulmer Mood, prepared a very revealing study of "Turner's Formative Period" for the volume. Everett E. Edwards has compiled a lengthy list of the writings of Turner, and several other items of interest to students of Turner will be found in this work. Despite the fact that many hands have aided in the preparation of the book, a marked sense of unity prevails, due perhaps to the influence of Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, who has contributed an interesting and appreciative preface.

There is no effort made by any of the contributors to advocate a full acceptance by the historians of today of any of Turner's theories or arguments. So much has been said on his "frontier theory" that it would be pointless in a brief review of the book to present any reasons

for or against the controversial proposition. One who reads these early writings will inevitably be forced to concede something to the position taken by Turner, even though not everyone will agree with the definite statement, "The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization" (p. 188). More apt to secure assent, perhaps, is the statement, "Thus the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions, and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history" (p. 189). At any rate, Turner did make a contribution in that he caused American historians to appreciate more fully than they would have otherwise, the profound effect that America was having upon Americans. Had it not been for his influence, it is doubtful if the interest evident today in American social history would have developed to its present impressive proportions. Whether or not one accepts all of Turner's teachings, no one can deny that he is one of those American scholars whose work has had a profound and shaping influence on subsequent research. His own writings, with their evidence of painstaking investigation, have made it evident that he first completed his research, and then propounded his theory, rather than advanced a theory, and then twisted research data to substantiate the theory. His general effect on American historical scholarship was sound and at the same time, provocative.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University

The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union. By A. L. Kohlmeier. Bloomington, Indiana, The Principia Press, 1938. Pp. v+257.

This volume is intended by the author as a study in commerce and politics. As the complete title, which may be shortened to *The Old Northwest and the Union*, indicates, the author endeavored to show that the Old Northwest was essential to the preservation of the Union. He has done well, in the opinion of the reviewer, and has also shown that the preservation of the Union was essential for the welfare of the Old Northwest. In few comparable studies has such full use been made of the annual reports of railroads, canals, etc., to ascertain with precision the source, destination, and quantity of shipments. Through one decade in our history after another, comparisons are made showing the amounts of wheat, corn, beef, pork, wool, and other products which left the Old Northwest, and went to the east by rail or water, or to the south by various routes. Much attention is devoted to the efforts made effectively to link the southeastern part of the nation with the northwestern section. The part which such a nexus would

play in averting a possible civil war is stressed. The rise of the railroad movement in the Old Northwest, and the part it played in linking that area and the East are well presented. Although political phases are included, the basis of the study is the exhaustive effort to show the movement of crops from the Old Northwest, and the necessity of finding more markets as production increased. The part played by the Old Northwest as the Civil War broke out is developed effectively. The author states, "The fact is apparent today as it was to the majority in 1861 that no one part of the country was more desperately in need of preservation of the Union than was the Old Northwest" (p. 244). In subsequent paragraphs various arguments are well developed, showing that while the northeastern or the southeastern part of the United States might survive as an independent economic and political entity, that such survival would be practically impossible to the landlocked northwestern part of the nation. It is made evident that the Old Northwest did not want either the North or the South to gain complete control of the federal machinery of government, but preferred a balance of power of North and South, so that neither could or would harm the Old Northwest. As is also stressed, the resources of the Old Northwest were perhaps the determining influence on the outcome of the Civil War, but the resources were placed at the disposal of the North because the Old Northwest could not do otherwise, and survive. The Northwest could not admit that either Louisiana or New York could secede, and thereafter have any assurance that products from the Northwest would reach the world market. Necessity demanded that she fight against any group which might close off to the Northwest the channels of trade. Economic factors determined the political alignment of the Old Northwest, to a marked degree. The book is a contribution to a phase of western history which needed precisely such a thorough study and impartial presentation.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University

The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography. Edited by William T. Hutchinson. University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. x+417.

When low in spirit teachers of history may derive comfort and hope from the growing tendency of former students to collaborate in the production of a volume in honor of their quondam teacher. The practice has its good point, but it may be asked whether it is not being overdone to such a degree that before long a teacher will have reason to consider himself slighted, or at least have cause to suspect the quality of his service, if no such testimonial is forthcoming. However that may be, twenty-one former students of Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, have cooperated in contributing this vol-

ume of essays as a "expressoin of friendship and esteem" upon the occasion of his retirement from the faculty after nearly thirty years of service.

This is not a comprehensive treatment of American historiography. Only twenty-one historians, ranging from Bancroft to Beveridge and Parrington, scholars whose work is ended and whose research was chiefly in American history prior to the close of the Civil War, are selected for appraisal. Of necessity great names are thus omitted, but such omission is not intended as disparagement, nor is choice an assertion of preeminence. Those selected are merely regarded as representatives of types. The essays range from a maximum of twenty-seven pages on John Fiske, to only ten on George L. Beer, the average being around twenty pages. After a succinct biographical sketch to serve as background, and a list of writings, the essays, with one exception, dwell on the methods of research, the influences determining the distinctive outlook on the past, and the reasons for assigning a place in the hall of fame. In general the work is well done, even if one or another essay is a bit sketchy or jejune. That conventional appraisals are arrived at will surprise no one. The treatment is objective; there is no undue indulging in criticism or eulogy; there is no slavish regard for great names. Thus we read of John Fiske, "His unusual talents were turned into a channel so broad that the resulting stream of books, impressive as it was, was much too shallow to float any bark of scholarship save one of the lightest draft" (p. 170).

Inevitably in a cooperative work such as this the essays vary in value and interest, and it would be invidious to make selections for commendation or censure. Nevertheless, to the student of history the essay on Alvord is appealing because of the detailed account of his method, while the essays on Parkman, Turner, and Alvord should appeal because of their extensive work in the history of the mid-west.

A few general observations suggested by this book may not be out of place. Assuming that it is the duty of the historian to discover the truth and to state it with absolute impartiality how can this be done by one possessed of a "rationalist mind," "wearied by orthodoxies in politics and religion," as is predicated of Osgood? The tendency of such men to assume that rationalism is synonymous with freedom from prejudice, and that they alone can be objective, is indeed a sublime conceit. Moreover, such a phrase as "a Capuchin monastery of Passionists" (p. 46) prompts the query why some historians are so meticulous about dates, page, volume, and other such lesser details, when they neglect to make elementary inquiries on more fundamental subjects. Do they regard these matters as of no account, or do they suppose that by intuition they possess all worthwhile knowledge of things Catholic? Some historians should reflect on the contrast between Roosevelt and Turner. Of Roosevelt we read, "Roosevelt wrote too much on too many subjects and divided his interest and energy

far too greatly ever to permit him to become a historian of first eminence" (p. 251); while of Turner we are told that he "wrote less and influenced his generation more than any other important historian" (p. 252). Finally, all writers of history would do well to take to heart the straightforward advice of Albert Beveridge, "If he wants to give his opinions as the champion of a cause let him say so, and not palm off his views as history or biography. If he means to propagandize, let him do it honestly; let him write a tract or hire a hall" (p. 388).

A volume such as these *Essays in Historiography* has distinct value, for as Carl Becker says: "Such manuals have a high practical value. To the candidate for the Ph. D. they are indeed indispensable, since they provide him at second hand with the most up-to-date information. From them he learns what were the defects and limitations of his predecessors, even the most illustrious, without the trouble of reading their works. . . . Knowing the limitations of our most famous predecessors gives us all confidence in the value of our own researches: we may not be brilliant, but we can be sound" (*American Historical Review*, October 1938, p. 20).

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The Critical Period in Mission History

The significance of the missionary on the American frontier is not readily overstated. Wherever the European migration bent back the lines of native resistance and unbroken country, it is safe to say that the mission left its mark. The earliest and farthest penetrations beyond the coasts date from Spanish beginnings, and there the mission was an integral part of the royal plan as it was also a most effective instrument in the expansion of civilization. It bought peace and security on the frontier, softened the hostility of injured Indian tribes, laid down the bases of future economy, civilized and Christianized, and in all this process it formed a solid foundation for the advance to points beyond.

Field studies in the locale of the Spanish missions bring scholars to conclude that they advanced steadily "mile by mile, stream by stream," across broad stretches of land such as the borders of the Gulf of California and the country between San Diego and San Francisco. Research, however, into the records of the headquarters, discloses an alarming series of events that almost undermined the progress of the enterprises. With both Franciscans and Jesuits the work had been begun with enthusiasm, with full royal approval and support, with the blessing of landowners and the encouragement of the episcopacy. After the first fifty years, that is, after 1641, in the case of the Jesuit missions whose documents are the ground for this study, each of these favorable conditions came to be reversed. To the general recession was added a fresh and ominous threat, the danger of general organizational bankruptcy.

This, then, in brief was the mission story: fifty years of remarkable achievement followed by subsidence and tension. The resurgent wave of power and energy which followed this crisis brought out a magnificent history of great men and broad success. The causes of dissolution once overcome through interior

adjustment, the crown and the episcopacy established a more permanent legal framework for the system. The study of this crisis, then, is needed for an understanding of the place of the missions in their actual historical setting. The narrative will be broken down for the sake of clarity into four brackets: the attitude of the crown, of the bishops, the Indian work, and the supply of new young men for the field.

The crucial situation first called attention to itself in the discovery of the following pair of documents, whose native interest emphasizes their bearing on the subject under investigation.¹ The two letters were written by the Jesuit general, Goswin Nickel, in reply to separate reports of his provincial administrator in New Spain, Alonso de Bonifaz. They were sent on November 30, 1659. The first, excluding other material, reads:

In the point touching Father Pierre Pelleprat of the province of Aquataine, who suffered shipwreck on his way to his mission of New France and came to the port of Vera Cruz, it is important that he attend to what the viceroy orders. In this I suppose that Your Reverence will inform His Excellency of the cause that obliged the said Father to enter that port.

The second continues the story:

Good news it is that Father Pierre Pelleprat, the native of Bordeaux and member of the Aquataine province, has come through his trial so well. From the letter of Your Reverence I take it he was suspected of being a spy. The Señor Viceroy now wishes him to go to the missions of the Tarahumares and not to try to get back to Europe or to the missions of New France. He ought, accordingly, to be taken into your province. Be sure that he behaves in a manner that will give no occasion to the ministers of the king to think that his intention was the one that they first suspected, for this could give rise to some serious harm to our Society in these very dangerous times.

This is a rare story and we wish we had it in its totality, for undoubtedly it would form an unusual piece of romance. But in the background we see the extremely suspicious eye with which Spanish viceroys viewed nationals of any other country, should they make an attempt to enter the Hispanic colonies. It did not

¹ All letters cited herein, unless derived from printed sources, are found in the *Colección de cartas inéditas de los Padres Generales*, Ysleta, Texas. This is a series of 518 letters covering the years 1583 to 1659, consisting for the most part of letters from the Jesuit general to the provincials and others in the Province of Mexico. The rest of the collection is made up of reports of the provincial congregations of that province, together with a few odd pieces whose historic interest demanded their preservation.

matter that the poor man had been shipwrecked and rescued from disaster, that now he was utterly helpless, without goods, without companions or a way to tell his plight to those he left at home. He was a foreigner, and an intruder, no matter how unwilling.

The attitude of jealousy and mistrust in the Spanish dominions dates historically from the reign of Philip IV (1621-1665) and the enmities aroused in connection with the Thirty Years War. It would not die for over a century, for even the suppressed Jesuits who in 1768 were shipped out of New Spain were in several cases kept in prison for years in Spain lest they reveal to other peoples the "secrets" of the rich viceroyalty.² The nation, once endowed with the friendliness of the genial Fleming, Charles V, in time grew more and more reluctant to admit northern Europeans into her colonial empire. This distrust began during the very reign of Charles himself. Although he invited the famous Flemish teachers to begin the Franciscan schools in Mexico, nevertheless it was he who cancelled the German Welser franchises in Venezuela when pressure was put on him in Castile.

Philip II crystallized the spirit in his decrees; he feared equally the heresy which might be latent in all non-Spaniards, and any intrusion into his commercial monopoly of the Indies.³ New Spain as the prize province of the king was watched most closely against foreign attack. The story of the piratical raids shows how quickly the government rushed to stop such incursions from becoming chronic, and the port laws were strict in refusing trade with alien shipping. It came about, then, that this attitude grew into one of flat refusal to tolerate citizens of any other country in the Spanish overseas possessions. And so poor Pierre Pelleprat was captured and held a prisoner in New Spain for three years, while the time was being consumed in official correspondence with Rome.⁴ Finally he was compelled to choose between life imprisonment and a mission service on the very dangerous front of the Tarahumares, which even in this year 1939 still holds terrors for the Mexican government.

It may be matter of surprise that men of the spiritual calling were prevented from entering New Spain. The king, however, had early used his prerogative under the *Patronato Real* to regu-

² See on this point the article of Theodore E. Treutlein, "Father Pfefferkorn and His Description of Sonora," in *Mid-America*, October, 1938.

³ This point of view is well brought out in William Thomas Walsh, *Philip II*, Sheed and Ward, New York, 1937.

⁴ The letters cited are endorsed "arrived in 1662."

late all religious activity there. At first only members of the three ancient religious orders, the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans, could enter. In 1571 the barrier was opened for the Jesuits, the Carmelites, and other groups, but all these missionaries were required to be nationals of Spain or of the countries subject to or allied with her, such as citizens of the Holy Roman Empire.⁵ The privilege of these latter peoples was revoked sometime between 1644 and 1647. The occasion for this decision was the projected sailing of a contingent of volunteers for Paraguay, under the direction of Father Juan Pastor, the procurator sent to Europe by the Paraguay missions. Many of these men were from Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands; the rest (fifty in all had applied for licenses to cross the water) were men of Spain. Pastells cites a number of petitions for their licenses; in the petitions the number dwindles from fifty to forty, and at last to thirty. Dobrizhoffer says that the non-Spaniards were flatly told that they were not wanted in the Spanish colonies.⁶

The prohibition, thus dated in the late 1640's, found the missions of New Spain in straitened circumstances. Mexico could not supply the men needed and Spain had come to the end of her ability to furnish the necessary surplus. Evidence of this stringent want is found in the contemporary Jesuit correspondence.

The first signs appear during the provincialate of Pérez de Ribas.⁷ This grand old man had played a striking part in the development of the missions. Latterly he had been made provincial of the Province of Mexico, and in this capacity he wrote to his longtime friend, the general at Rome, Mutius Vitelleschi, for help to man the far-flung mission enterprises. The general, whose first letter to Pérez de Ribas begins "mi bon compañero!" in recollection of many days spent together as university students in their youth, now wrote to him from Rome, October 30, 1640:

⁵ The names mentioned throughout the *Colección* bear out this point.

⁶ Pablo Pastells, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay*, Madrid, 1912 sq., II, 124-152 *passim*.

Martin Dobrizhoffer, S. J., *History of the Abipones*, London, 1828 (translated from the original German edition issued at Vienna, 1783), III, 111. The exact date is not mentioned in this edition. The negotiations cited in Pastells covered the years 1644 to 1647, when the thirty finally sailed. Anton Huonder, S. J., who discusses this point in his work *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 19, quotes the original Dobrizhoffer as fixing the year in 1644. The original was not available to the present author. Huonder's work is printed as 74. *Heft* in the nineteenth volume of *Stimmen Aus Maria Laach*, published by Herder in Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900. This study is cited hereafter as Huonder.

⁷ See the excellent discussion by Jerome V. Jacobsen, "The Chronicle of Pérez de Ribas," *Mid-America*, April, 1938.

The new group of workers which Your Reverence has just sent to assist the missions is a source of great pleasure to me. But even if there is much to be said of the success of these works, I commend them to your close attention with all the earnestness that I can muster. Personally I have no difficulty in sending subjects from Europe. The great drawback is the Council of the Indies, their granting the cost of passage. If this now falls to the expense of the Society, we shall not be able to carry the burden,—as I see it remarked in one of the memorials of your Father Procurator (who is now here).

Two letters of 1644 and 1647 indicate the last non-Spaniards to come to New Spain. Writing on March 30, 1644 to the new provincial in Mexico, Luis Bonifaz, whose story is curiously bound up with that of his predecessor,⁸ Vitelleschi says:

Father Marcos del Rio lately arrived in your province from the province of Flanders. He wished to go on to Japan or China. I have no mind to deprive your province of necessary workers. I say only that if anyone goes to your missions, you may, after approving him, send him on to Japan or the Philippines. But I am persuaded that if this man is put to work in the harvest fields of Cinaloa, he will forget the rest, [his other intention].

Another letter of the succeeding general, Vincent Carrafa, to the next provincial, Pedro de Velasco, from Rome, June 23, 1647, speaks of other Flemish volunteers, apparently departed before the prohibition of the crown came to his notice: "In this letter I give Your Reverence my decision on the rank of certain Fathers who came from the province of Flanders to that of Mexico. They are Guillermo Carins, Cornelio Beudin, Juan de Hutter."

A sense of dismay is expressed in a communication of March 31, 1645. Vitelleschi had gone to his rest after thirty years in the office of general. The vicar in the interim before the election, Carlos de Sangro, wrote to the incumbent provincial, Juan de Bueras:⁹

Not long ago Father Egidio de Montefrio had petitioned for a place in the conversion of the heathen in your province. I fear that he has met someone who informed him unfavorably of the missions there. This would be cause for great sadness, if similar gossip brought it

⁸ On this see Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, 89. There was a strange hitch in obeying orders.

⁹ The letter is addressed to "Juan de Bueras or Francisco Calderon, Provincial of the Company of Jesus in Mexico." The accidents in the postal service of that day sometimes brought in letters three years after they were mailed, and so the general did not always know who was his provincial in Mexico. The provincials in that day held office for *only* three years.

to pass that none would go over from Europe. My intention is not to release this individual for your province. But if you need to send someone to the Philippines or Japan, and you find one fitted for those places, then send one of those who are already selected [for such work].

Sangro sent another letter to Bueras on December 30, 1645, on a more cheerful note:

I am much rejoiced that Father Diego Bobadilla, Rector of the College of Manila, has returned to his province in safety and with such a goodly number of companions, despite the loss of five who were taken by death on the way. That province deserves much kindness and assistance, a thing which Father Mutius [Vitelleschi] of happy memory desired and labored to effectuate. You are very generous in giving up these men. You should be blessed for the way you help the Philippines.

The generosity of the Mexicans in sending men, destined for them, overseas to work in the Philippines, is explained by the fact that the two provinces were still united and their common forces were pooled in accordance with official policy. That this largess must have strained the endurance of New Spain is clear from their constant call for help for their own personnel. It is especially notable in view of the portent in the following document. This letter of the general, Vincent Carrafa, was addressed to Juan de Bueras from Rome, November 30, 1646. It reads:

In the last [VIII] General Congregation it was noted that almost every college in the Society—to our dismay—is very heavily oppressed with debts, to a point where it has become extremely difficult, if not physically impossible, to support so many subjects. Now, after long thought and prayer to Our Lord on what means we should take in this grave situation, I have decided—after hearing the Fathers Assistant—that there is no way out other than to order the provincials—as by these presents I so order Your Reverence—that from this date until you hear the opposite from me, **NO NOVICES BE RECEIVED**. In the meantime provide priests for the chairs of grammar. In that point the last General Congregation declared that the ministry of teaching grammar is an ordinary ministry for the order, with no exception made as to duration of the assignment or quality of persons engaged in it, but only that all priests, whether professed or non-professed indifferently, may be occupied in that work when holy obedience calls them. To enable the superiors to arrange this more readily I shall write a general letter to all the provinces such as I am sending Your Reverence, so that it may be read in all the colleges of the province.

In that letter I shall ask the men not only to accept joyfully what will be ordained in that matter. But I shall expect them to offer themselves beforehand and spontaneously for a work so worthy and sacred, and one on which depends the whole remedy and recovery of the temporal welfare of the Society, and in great part of the spiritual also.

And now Your Reverence, trusting in the excellent character of our men and their affection for and desire for the welfare of the Society, will interrupt for some time the receiving of novices, until as I said you have further word from me. And let the priests take over the schools of grammar.

With this I commend myself to the holy sacrifices and prayers of Your Reverence. From Rome, November 30, 1646. Vicente Carrafa.

This letter put a cloud over the entire mission situation, beyond the difficulties met in the ordinary recruiting of new men in Europe. However, Carrafa encouraged his Mexican provincial with another note, of January 30, 1647:

I call your attention to another matter. Consider, after you have sought counsel with the regular consultors of the province, past and present, and with other men of good judgment, if it will be worth your while not to put off for so long a time—seven or eight years—your bringing back subjects from Europe. Every four or five years a Father known for piety and talent could [come over to] bring back such subjects. But on this journey let them not go to the court of Spain, in particular, nor to any in Europe, to spend their time visiting friends there. I tell you that those who come from various provinces bring on us all notable embarrassment and harm in doing this.

Father Carrafa died in 1649, and his vicar, Father Florian de Montmorency, wrote on December 20, 1649, to the new provincial in Mexico, Andrés de Rada, a full statement of the real difficulty in this matter of supplying new missionaries:

I am surely not unaware of the necessity in your province and the others of the Indies, that subjects should go thither from the provinces of Europe. But Your Reverence will see how my hands are tied as soon as they publish or renew the decree of His Majesty which orders that none but Spaniards pass over to the Indies. It is certain that the provinces of Spain, unless they be assisted by the other provinces, cannot of themselves furnish all the subjects that are needed in the Indies. And we must be quick to find some efficacious way to meet that obvious want, lest all manner of harm befall those grand foundations. Your Reverence may be assured that we are devoting full attention to that matter in Madrid. We hope that the

reasons we urge, and which are very pressing, will have weight with His Majesty. These are that he sympathize with the numberless souls that are despairing for lack of evangelical ministers, unless he opens the portals and permit passage to the Indies for some of our men even though they be not Spaniards in citizenship.

Our Lord will dispose everything in the way best suited to His greater glory. Now be sure to keep to the rule of only five novices a year, set by Father Vincent [Carrafa] of happy memory. Any one taken above this number is invalidly received.¹⁰

This need for more men to take care of the constantly growing missions was reflected in a letter of Goswin Nickel to the provincial, Andrés de Rada, on June 20, 1652:

The memorial which Your Reverence entrusted to Father Diego de Salazar on the missions has not yet come to me. If the conditions requisite for preserving them are impossible of fulfillment, as Your Reverence says, it will not be hard to make the proper decision [to close them]. I shall see the memorial and consider it and then advise you of what ought to be done. However, we must always hold it as a principle, well founded and secure, as I have written on different occasions, that it is not right to open more missions than we can keep according to our Institute and without prejudice to the proper character and good name of our Society.¹¹

The same condition is stated in an urgent request formulated by the 1650 provincial congregation of Mexico. Their second postulatium reads:

Secondly, that Your Paternity use your influence and that of other Fathers with our Catholic King and his royal Council of the Indies, so that religious of this Society may be sent to these parts of the Indies from provinces subject to the royal power even if outside of Spain proper.

The response to this petition, sent by Goswin Nickel on December 12, 1652, reads:

Your congregation deserves no small praise for this postulation in which your care for the missions and your zeal for souls stands out.¹²

¹⁰ After one year, that is, November 30, 1647, the prohibition against receiving novices was revoked. See Carrafa to Velasco, of that date. Permission to accept new candidates was qualified by the narrow limit set for their number. Mexico could take five, Andalusia four, others less.

¹¹ Besides a lack of men, the provincial had also cited external opposition so pressing that the missions could not be continued in the constitutional scheme adopted by the Jesuit order.

¹² And also, he might have added, their readiness to do what was very hard for Americans in that day, to beg Europeans to help them. On this see Goswin Nickel to the Mexican province, Rome, October, 1655, treating the suggested plan for creating a separate American Assistency.

On our part, as we know that this is an almost indispensable measure for preserving these missions, so we desire earnestly, and urge and hope too, that the Catholic King, whom we have always known for his native piety and sollicitude for the salvation of the Indians, will yield to these just petitions of all concerned.¹³

In 1655 the provincial congregation of Mexico sent to the general, through its procurator, Diego de Monroy, this petition, which is number three on the list:

The Congregation humbly begs that Your Paternity send letters to the Spanish Provincials and ask them to be liberal to our Cinaloa Missions, in which the harvest is indeed great but the laborers few. Let them not hold off from sending us men, tried in character and of evident promise in the vineyard of the Lord. Moreover we wish that, to the complement of twenty which the Council of the Indies decided could be convoyed across the ocean, and the two Coadjutor Brothers, that they would also add these Fathers, . . .

The reply to this petition reads thus:

Those provincials have already been notified to send those men to your province, and I am now again directing them to do so, prescribing a certain number for each of the provinces to send except Sardinia [which can send none] because of the paucity of their subjects.

The sixth petition of the same congregation stated the case in general:

Finally we beg that Your Paternity interpose your influence with His Excellency the Count of Penaranda, president of [the Council of] the Indies. Let him find out the true state of things here from our procurator, and the simplicity and dependable manner of life and of missionary procedure followed by those of our Fathers who are styled "aliens" by the Spaniards, how much they have advanced these praiseworthy and apostolic missions, how they excel in winning over, organizing and conserving so many heathen, with what effort and energy they have planted the vineyard of the Lord, yes, and even watered it with their blood. Let him not permit such Fathers, men so valuable in this ministry and so fruitful in glorious enterprise, to be shut out from such an opportunity. Let him grant permission for those Fathers who especially are vassals of the King of Spain or under allegiance to him to cross over to this province where they will do so much good for the province of Mexico and the glory of God.

¹³ The reader may find some dramatic irony in this fulsomeness regarding the royal intentions. The writers of these letters knew that they were not immune to surreptitious inspection, and so they sometimes inserted phrases for the eavesdroppers. There was a code used now and then; a copy of that code is in the archive that contains these letters.

The general wrote back:

I praise the zeal of your Father Procurator and his industry in seeking many missionaries for the Cinaloa missions. I know that they are truly apostolic and that they need workers. I would that I could obtain them from other provinces outside of Spain, by writing to His Excellency the Count of Penaranda. But as this is a very delicate point with him, I have judged it more prudent to send our procurator instead, to have him use all diligence and inform me at once if there is any hope of getting this privilege. If there is, then I shall do all in my power to urge the Excellent Lord Count and others to accomplish your wishes. From Rome, October 9, 1655.

Goswin Nickel

Four months later Nickel wrote, to the succeeding provincial, Juan de la Real. This letter of January 30, 1656, omits mention of the crucial difficulty and merely states that:

In the month of January Father Diego de Monroy left this curia for Spain with his companion, Father Gerónimo de Lobera. He brings the dispatches and my replies to different memorials that he submitted to me. . . . I hope that he reaches Mexico in good health and in company of those subjects who by my order are going from the provinces of Spain. He was able to fill up the number of twenty that His Majesty conceded.¹⁴

This lengthy set of citations makes clear the hardships suffered by the missions while the superiors endeavored to meet the serious deficit of workers in the field. The Council of the Indies watched its budget very closely to prevent straining the already harassed exchequer. Now and then one finds more than budgetary caution, in the refusal to grant the requested free passage; a certain lack of friendliness toward the mission idea or its personnel occasionally motivated the negation of permissions. Yet the great drawback was the exhaustion of the one country whence the supply of men had been drawn; the wide expansion and multiplication of missions under the jurisdiction of the Spanish crown demanded more volunteers than the provinces could offer. It is rare that there occurs a disinclination to volunteer, because of bad information on the Mexican conditions and administration. Not once in the correspondence has the writer seen an instance of lack of spirit for such work, on the part of those whom historians have called the "hidalgos of the seventeenth century." Still the stoppage of supply, and the re-

¹⁴ This limitation of religious forces under the *Patronato Real* is discussed in Huonder, 15-20.

fusal of the crown to give entrance to non-Spaniards, brought the widespread system to the brink of dissolution.

In this crisis the Jesuit superiors pleaded with the king to relent in his exclusive policy. This was a long drawn out negotiation, begun in 1649 and completed only in 1664, a year before the death of Philip IV. The change in the royal will is recorded in a hearty letter which the then general, John Paul Oliva, directed from Rome to the provincials of the provinces of Austria, Flanders, France-Belgium, Bohemia, and Germany, on November 29, 1664:¹⁵

I have happy news from Spain, news that will rouse many to demand with noble enthusiasm the mission to the West or Spanish Indies, that is to Paraguay, the Philippines, Mexico, Peru, Chile and Central America. For many years all but Spaniards have been shut out from these provinces. Now we have obtained some relaxation of that rule, with good hope of extending the faculty that was formerly so circumscribed. Many letters bring me word that the Council of the Indies of His Catholic Majesty has revoked its earlier position and conceded permission to non-Spaniards among our men to go to the Indian missions. The understanding is that one-fourth of the men in each mission may be formed of subjects of the Catholic King [France], and also of the Emperor or any Austrian prince. Into these categories fall almost all those in our provinces of Austria, Bohemia, Belgian Flanders, France-Belgium, and in upper Germany the section ruled by the Austrian Dukes of Innsbruck. They also write that this privilege extends to the subjects of the other princes who are allied to the Austrian houses.

Wherefore I have decided to inform Your Reverence of my happiness in order that you may send help to those lands that are so white for the harvest, to be gathered by whomsoever the great Father of all may call to that work—we of the Society are all His common children—. So that everything in this matter may be done with care, let those who feel in themselves an ardent desire for this work write to Your Reverence, and you may then send their names to me together with your judgment on their individual fitness of body and soul. Our daily experience proves to us how needful are both good health and strong character in that mission work. But if some of your province aspire to such distant fields in their glorious zeal, and yet are held at home by holy obedience, that is by the hand of God, let them show at home what they would have shown far away, in either place other Xaviers. From Rome, November 29, 1664. Paul Oliva.

Armed with this new grant, the general hurried to assist the hard-pressed missions with the great reinforcement of German

¹⁵ This letter is printed in Huonder, 211.

and Italian forces that did such notable work in the hundred years still remaining in that mission epoch. The names of Kino, Ugarte, Salvatierra, Piccolo, Baegert, Glandorf, Neuman, Consag, stand out right down to 1768 when their work was suppressed by mandate of Charles III.

And yet there was trouble in the immediate future. The seas were closed to safe navigation. That very year of 1664 disclosed this fact in an interesting letter of Emperor Leopold to John Paul Oliva. He is detailing his assistance to missionaries for their trip to China and the East Indies, missions of which he acted as patron. He writes on September 17, 1664:

We understand that all the ocean passages through which the apostolic missionaries are ordinarily sent have been cut off by the Holland heretics, and that money destined for the support of that mission cannot be sent overseas without manifest risk. On the other hand, some Fathers of the Society have happily made the overland journey from Europe to China and thence back to Europe. Wherefore we judge it best that in future the funds for these missions be no longer sent by way of Portugal but be administered entirely by the German Assistance and applied to this land-crossing to China.¹⁶

This subject will be brought to its close with a mention of a curious custom that may well display the persistence of the anti-foreign spirit in spite of the royal permission alluded to above. In the *Neue-Welt Bott* of Stoecklein appear several letters written by Germans who took advantage of this privilege to go to the American missions.¹⁷ On leaving Spain for the Indies they were frequently obliged to change their names. The second letter in the first volume is written by Carl Boranga of the Austrian province to his folks at home. On shipping for the Philippines he wrote from Acapulco, Mexico, March 21, 1681:

Before I boarded the ship, I had to adopt a new Spanish name with which I should be entered on the royal list. Father Andreas Mancher became Padre Alfonso de Castro of Biennas. I was Juan Bautista Pérez, *natural de Caladajul*, that is, naturalized at Bilbilis [Calatayud] in Aragon. Father Johannes Tilpe became Padre Luis Turcotti, *natural de Rissa de Austria*. Father August Strobach was Padre Carlos Xavier Calvanese de Calva, *natural de Milan*. Father Theophilus de Angeles took the name of Padre Juan de Loyola, *natural de Azpeitia de Biscaya*.¹⁸

¹⁶ Printed in Huonder, 212.

¹⁷ Joseph Stoecklein, S. J., *Der Neue-Welt Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten der Missionariorum Societatis Jesu, 1642-1726*, Augsburg und Gratz, 1728-1761.

¹⁸ A linguist might remark that Father Boranga confused naturaliza-

The underlying reasons for this change are not offered, but it may well be that it was done to allay the susceptibilities of the Spaniards with whom they would have to work. Or were the officials forfending further troubles? Kino did exactly the same with his name before he left Spain.¹⁹ We shall see later on that a strong nationalistic feeling was a characteristic of the humblest of them.

The final grant in this series of royal concessions came in 1715 when Philip V informed the general that he could send his men from any province to the Spanish Indies, excepting only those of Milan and Naples where political reasons of the day argued against using the privilege.²⁰

This, then, is in outline the account of the missionary crisis as it was brought on by the exclusion policy of the Spanish crown. Other forces were at work whose impact on the situation would be more serious. They will be treated in a subsequent paper.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

tion with birth; his German expression is "naturalisirt auf Bilbili." This citation is also given in Huonder, 22.

¹⁹ On Kino in Spain see Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, Macmillan, New York, 1936.

²⁰ Huonder is authority for this point. Cf. 27-28.

Catholic First Things in the United States

The author of this compilation is fully aware that any one who attempts to set down 'first things' in history treads on slippery ground. One may assign to a certain worthy the distinction of having led the van in some historical procession only to find after subsequent research that the honor really belongs to someone else. And yet the search for first things in a sequence of events has its fascinations, not to say its utilitarian aspects as when there is question of dating anniversaries, centennials, and other chronological landmarks in the memorial observance of things past.

Despite the considerable pains he has been at to attain a maximum of accuracy, the compiler does not flatter himself that his work is altogether free from error. That numerous lacunae occur is certain. Any information vouchsafed by readers of the compilation which will serve to correct possible errors or supply missing data, will be gratefully acknowledged. The search for first recorded baptisms presents special difficulties. The compiler here expresses his cordial thanks to all who have kindly furnished information on this head.¹

ALABAMA

FIRST PRIEST.—The first priests certainly known to have been

¹ Among these were: Most Rev. Thomas K. Gorman, Bishop of Reno; Rt. Rev. Msgr. James P. Moran, Little Rock, Arkansas; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward E. Weber, Wheeling, West Virginia; Rev. J. M. Belleau, Pembina, North Dakota; Rev. John A. Brown, Raleigh, North Carolina; Rev. Cornelius E. Byrne, S. J., De Smet, Idaho; Rev. Jean Delanglez, S. J., Chicago; Rev. George L. Donovan, Nashville, Tennessee; Rev. James A. Hartmann, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Rev. Thomas C. Healy, Harper's Ferry, West Virginia; Rev. James E. Horan, Burlington, Vermont; Rev. Michael J. Hurley, Manchester, New Hampshire; Rev. Joseph W. Kavanagh, Savannah, Georgia; Rev. William H. Kelleher, O. M. I., Fayetteville, North Carolina; Rev. Frederick P. Lackey, Martinsburg, West Virginia; Rev. Dr. Robert H. Lord, Brighton, Massachusetts; Rev. James P. Manley, Wilmington, North Carolina; Rev. John L. Manning, Charleston, North Carolina; Rev. Michael Mas, C. R., Antonito, Colorado; Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S. J., Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Clarence C. Schoeppner, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Rev. Victor R. Stoner, Tucson, Arizona; Rev. Louis Taelman, S. J., St. Ignatius, Montana; Dr. Milo M. Quaife, Detroit, Michigan; Mr. John Ray, New Orleans, Louisiana; Sister Mary Antonella, Loretto, Kentucky; Miss Stella M. Drumm, St. Louis, Missouri; Mrs. T. Ritchie, Charleston, South Carolina.

in Alabama were those accompanying De Soto, 1540. The river at the mouth of which Piñeda spent forty days, 1519, is generally identified as the Mobile, though some authorities (e. g., Lowery) take it to be the Mississippi. Carlos E. Castañeda (*Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936*, I, 11) identifies it with the Rio Grande. There is no evidence that any priest accompanied the Piñeda expedition, and hence, even if the river in question was the Mobile, the arrival of the first priest in Alabama cannot be dated 1519. Woodbury Lowery (*The Spanish Settlements*, I, 478) has a carefully checked list of missionaries in the present United States up to the mid-sixteenth century; none are credited to the Piñeda expedition. There is no ground for the assumption that every one of the early Spanish expeditions to America must necessarily have had its chaplain.

FIRST RESIDENT PRIEST.—The Dominican fathers, Pedro Martín, Juan de Mazuelas, Jacobo de Santo Domingo, Domingo de Salazar, and Domingo de la Anunciación were resident in 1560 at the mission of Santa Cruz de Nanipacna, "somewhere in the lower part of Alabama and on a river," the Escambia or Alabama. The first three of the group were at Nanipacna from about February to June or July of the year mentioned; the last two were there from about February to April 15, when they left with an exploring party for the north, residing for a short period in the village of the Coosan Indians which was located probably either in Coosa County or Talladega County. All five were members of Tristán de Luna's ill-fated colonizing expedition which landed at Santa María, Pensacola Bay, August 14, 1559 (O'Daniel, *Dominicans in Florida*, 121-125, 150-155). The first priest resident in a permanent Alabama settlement was Father Pierre Dongé, S. J., at Mobile, 1702-1704 (Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 33).

FIRST MASS.—The statement that the first Mass in Alabama was said at Mobile Bay, 1519, by a priest allegedly with the Piñeda expedition is without foundation, for reasons given above. The first Mass was in all probability said by one of De Soto's chaplains on a day in 1540 prior to the battle of Mavilla (Mauilla, Mabila) in October of that year. There were no Masses in the De Soto expedition after this affair, the entire altar equipment having been lost therein. Mass was regularly said by the Dominican fathers resident at Santa Cruz de Nanipacna and at Coosa, 1560 (O'Daniel, 119, 125, 151).

FIRST BAPTISM.—In 1560 at the Coosa village, central Ala-

bama, Fray Domingo de la Anunciación, O. P., baptized a dying Indian woman at her request (O'Daniel, 159). This would seem to be the first explicit mention of the conferring of the sacrament in Alabama, though there must have been baptisms at an earlier date. The first certified baptism was the one administered at Mobile, September 6, 1704, to "a little Indian child, an Apalache girl," by Father Davion, "missionary apostolic," and priest of the Society of Foreign Missions (Baptismal Register, Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Mobile).

ARIZONA

FIRST PRIEST.—According to A. F. Bandelier, cited by Castañeda (*Our Catholic Heritage*, I, 85), the first priest in Arizona was Fray Juan de la Asunción, O. F. M., who is alleged to have discovered southern Arizona in 1538. H. H. Bancroft rejects this expedition of 1538 as apochryphal; so also does Carl Sauer in his critical study, *The Road to Cibola* (University of California, 1932), in which he maintains that Fray Marcos de Niza's alleged entrada of 1539 was mistakenly antedated one year by the chronicler, Motilínía, and attributed to a Fray Juan de la Asunción. The last named, in view of the doubts thus cast upon the historicity of the entrada of 1538 credited to him, cannot therefore be qualified without reserve as the first priest to enter Arizona. At the same time, Bandelier was an acknowledged authority on Spanish beginnings in the American Southwest and hence his defense of the historicity of the disputed entrada of 1538 may not easily be dismissed.

Historians in general (e. g., H. H. Bancroft, Winship, Bolton) have been in agreement that Fray Marcos de Niza in his famous exploring trip of 1539 undertaken to find the Seven Cities of Cibola traversed Arizona and arrived in western New Mexico. The state of New Mexico gives official sanction to this view by planning a commemoration in 1939 of the quadricentennial of the event. But scholars here and there have questioned whether Fray Marcos's presence in Arizona in 1539 can be established beyond doubt. Thus, according to Sauer (*op. cit.*, 28), the missionary only "at the most penetrated a very short distance into the modern State of Arizona." (But see Engelhardt, O. F. M., *The Franciscans in Arizona*, 16 ff. Coronado himself, Castañeda, chronicler of the expedition, and other contemporaries did not question that Fray Marcos had reached the Zuñi villages of New

Mexico in 1539, which they surely would have done had the claim been a false one.)

In 1540 Coronado crossed Arizona on his way to the Pueblo villages of New Mexico, having in his company three Franciscan priest-friars, Juan de Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and Marcos de Niza. They are the *first priests* known of a certainty to have entered what is now Arizona, though the distinction may belong to Father Marcos alone in view of his at least probable entrada of the preceding year, 1539. The first *resident* priests were the Franciscan friars, Francisco de Porras and Andrés Gutiérrez, among the Moqui or Hopi Indians, 1628 or 1629. Fray de Porras died in 1633 from poison put into his food by the natives, after having with his companions converted eight hundred of them (Engelhardt, 23; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 349).

FIRST MASS.—Mass was probably said by Fray Marcos in Arizona in 1539, perhaps even the year before by Fray Juan de la Asunción. It is a safe inference that the three Franciscans, Juan de la Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and Marcos de Niza, said Mass once or oftener in their journey with Coronado across Arizona in 1540. The earliest known celebration of the holy rite may accordingly be referred to this date, though the likelihood of an earlier celebration (1539 or even 1538) must not be ruled out.

FIRST BAPTISM.—Fray Porras' eight hundred converts (*supra*) indicate that number of baptisms before 1633. There were five Franciscan missions among the Hopi Indians between 1629 and 1680. These missions were destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt of 1681, all their records becoming lost. Fathers Juan María Salvatierra and Eusebio Kino made their first entry into Arizona in January, 1691. "In San Cayetano [on east side of Santa Cruz River] some infants were baptized" (Bolton, ed., *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, I, 120). The earliest known *certified* baptisms in Arizona are in the register of the Mission of San Gabriel de Guevavi. An indeterminate number of pages are missing from this register. The first three extant entries are dateless, except for the item, "el mismo dia." The fourth entry, a complete one, reads: "En 19 de Febrero 1741 baptizo solemniter a Agustín hijo de Pedro Joaitona y Catharina Toctomoic naturales de Sn Xavier y ahora visinos de Sonoita fue su Padrino Andres Martin. Joseph de Torres Perea Ministro de su Magistad." The first fully recorded Arizona baptism is therefore that of Agustín, son of Pedro Joaitona and Catharina Toctomoic, natives of San Xavier del Bac and resident in the vicinity of

Sonóita, the god-father being Andrés Martín and the minister, Fray Joseph de Torres Perea, missionary at Guevavi. The date is February 19, 1741.

ARKANSAS

FIRST PRIEST.—De Soto's chaplains were the first priests in Arkansas, 1541. (For the trans-Mississippi route of De Soto's expedition cf. *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 205 ff.) After an interval of one hundred and thirty-two years, 1673, came the next priest, Father Jacques Marquette, S. J., who visited the Michigamea, and, lower down on the Mississippi, the Arkansas, both tribes being settled on the west bank of that river and within the limits of Arkansas. (For the location of the Arkansas village visited by Marquette cf. Delanglez, *Jesuits in Louisiana*, 431, n. 7; Shea, *Early Voyages on the Mississippi*, 125 ff.) Fourteen years later, 1687, the Sulpician, Abbé Jean Cavelier, and the Recollect, Father Anastasius Douay, passed through Arkansas on their way to Canada after La Salle's assassination (Delanglez, *Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 123-124, 154). The first *resident* priest appears to have been M. Foucault of the Society of Foreign Missions, who was with the Arkansas Indians during the period, c. 1700-July, 1702 (Delanglez, *Jesuits in Louisiana*, 33).

FIRST MASS.—De Soto's priests did not say Mass while in Arkansas, all their altar equipment having been lost in the battle of Mavilla in Alabama, 1540. Marquette's journal makes no mention of his having said Mass in Arkansas or anywhere else during the Mississippi expedition of 1673; but this negative evidence is not decisive on the point. Father Foucault celebrated Mass while among the Arkansas Indians, c. 1700-July, 1702. He is the first priest known to have performed the sacred rite within the limits of the state (Delanglez, 34, n. 23). Father Jacques Gravier, S. J., said Mass somewhere along the Arkansas-Mississippi border, November 1 and 13, 1700, but on which side of the Mississippi cannot be determined (Shea, *Early Voyages*, 130, 132).

FIRST BAPTISM.—The five hundred converts left behind on the lower Mississippi by the survivors of De Soto's expedition when they started July 2, 1543, from Aminoya, Desha County, Arkansas, on their journey in search of Mexico doubtless included many who had been baptized in Arkansas. These baptisms by the De Soto chaplains are the earliest known in the state (Castañeda, I, 138; *Southern Explorers*, 253, 254). Later baptisms

were presumably administered by Father Foucault at his Arkansas mission c. 1700-1702. The first extant *recorded* baptism took place at Arkansas Post, July 10, 1744, on which day Father Laurent, priest of the Foreign Missions, conferred the sacrament on Elizabeth Tiseran de Montcharvaux, legitimate daughter of the local commandant, François Tiseran de Montcharvaux and Agnes Chassein. Other white children and an Indian girl of eight or nine years were baptized on the same day. (Photostat from copy of the Arkansas Post register in the Public Archives of Canada, Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis; cf. also Delanglez, 439.)

CALIFORNIA

FIRST PRIEST.—No priest is known to have been with Cabrillo when he discovered California at San Diego Bay, 1542. The two Augustinian friars, Andrés de Urdaneta and Andrés de Aguirre, sailing with an expedition from Manila, June 1, 1565, on the *San Pedro*, made a landfall somewhere to the north of the present Monterey. "From this it appears that the two Augustinian friars were the first religious who sighted Upper California" (Engelhardt, O. F. M., *Missions and Missionaries of California*, I, 34, note 5). A friar, Dominican or Franciscan, was with Sebastián Rodríguez Cermenho when he discovered San Francisco Bay, 1595 (Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*). The Franciscan Fray de Velasco, on his return journey with Oñate from New Mexico, 1604, looked across the Colorado to California, 1604 (Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 68). First *resident* priests of California were Fray Junípero Serra, O. F. M., and Fray Fernando Parrón, O. F. M., at San Diego, 1769 (Engelhardt, II, 19).

FIRST MASS.—The three Carmelite friars accompanying Viscaíno's California expedition said Mass near San Diego, November 13, 1602. On December 17 they said Mass at Monterey (Engelhardt, I, 51, 54). These are the earliest recorded celebrations of the Holy Sacrifice for California.

FIRST BAPTISM.—The earliest mentioned administration of the sacrament was at "Los Cristianos" (San Apolinario, Cañada de los Bautismos), July 22, 1769, on which day Fray Junípero Serra baptized two dying Indian children (Engelhardt, II, 28-29, where there is an illustration with the caption, "First Baptism in Upper California, July 22nd, 1769").

COLORADO

FIRST PRIEST.—Bandelier thought it likely that the Coronado expedition of 1541 (and probably Fray Juan de Padilla with it) cut across the southeastern corner of Colorado. But the first missionary entrada north of New Mexico (and therefore presumably into Colorado) is apparently to be dated 1604, the three priests participating being Fray Estevan de Perea, "Father Fray Bartolomé Romero and Francisco Muñoz, preacher." No details of the entrada survive (A. B. Thomas, *After Coronado*, 9). The three Franciscans named are accordingly the first priests known to have set foot in Colorado. The expedition, 1706, of Juan de Ulibarri to El Cuartalejo in the present Otero or Kiowa County, Colorado, had a chaplain, Fray Domingo de Aranz, who planted a cross, sang a Te Deum and in all probability said Mass at El Cuartalejo, on August 4 of the year mentioned (Thomas, 69). Governor Antonio de Valverde in his campaign, 1719, against the Ute and Comanche Indians, which brought him into Colorado, was accompanied by a chaplain, Fray Juan del Pino, presumably a Franciscan (Thomas, 110). Villasur's expedition, 1720, with Fray Juan Miguez, O. F. M., as chaplain, passed north into Colorado and thence into Nebraska (Thomas, map, 260). First resident priest was the diocesan clergyman, Father Montaña, at Conejos, 1857-1860 (*MA*, XVIII, 272).

FIRST MASS.—Fray Juan de Padilla may have said the first Mass, if he did, as conjectured by Bandelier, pass through the southeastern corner of Colorado, 1541. So also the three Franciscan fathers, Romero, Perea, and Muñoz, very probably said Mass on their missionary trip north of New Mexico, 1604 (see *supra*, First priest). Fray Juan del Pino, O. F. M., chaplain of Governor Valverde's expedition of 1719 against the Ute and Comanche Indians, celebrated Mass on St. Michael the Archangel's Day, September 29, 1719, near the site of Trinidad, Los Animas County, this being apparently the first dated occurrence of the rite in Colorado (Thomas, 117), unless this distinction is to be assigned to the Mass of October 1, Feast of the Holy Rosary, on which day the expedition had clearly got beyond Trinidad to the north. "On the first of October of this year, after hearing Mass, the Señor governor with all the camp and the Reverend Father Chaplain, Fray Jaun del Pino prayed with great zeal to the Holy Mary of the Rosary. This was the day on which by her intercession her most holy Son granted that celebrated victory [Battle of Lepanto], which to all Christendom has been,

is, and will be one of great rejoicing" (Thomas, 120).

FIRST BAPTISM.—As far as known to the compiler, no record survives of baptisms performed by visiting priests in the Spanish period and in the years immediately preceding the establishment of the Conejos parish in 1856, during which Colorado territory was visited on occasion by priests from Mexico. The earliest reference to baptism occurs in connection with the Franciscan expedition north of New Mexico in 1604. Fray de Perea's *Relación* says of the Apaches that "with exceeding pleasure they besought the Holy Baptism" (Thomas, 9). First *recorded* baptism was that of María de la Luz Ortega, daughter of José Pablo Ortega and María Nicolasa García, born in Conejos, Colorado, January 2, 1860, and baptized in the same place on January 8 following by Father José Miguel Vigil (Register of Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Conejos, Colorado). First *recorded* baptism in Denver: "On the 3rd of June, 1860, by the Rt. Rev. J. B. Miege, Bishop of Leavenworth, was baptized George Eckbet, son of George Eckbet and Margaret Thornton, born the 11th of March, 1860: godmother, Mary Yank" (Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross: Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona and California*, 232). On the same day John Edward Doyle was also baptized by Bishop Miège.

CONNECTICUT

FIRST PRIEST.—Father Gabriel Druillettes, S. J., in his quality of ambassador from the governor of Canada, attended a council of the New England colonial authorities at New Haven, September, 1651. As far as known, he was the first priest to enter Connecticut (Riley, *Catholicism in New England to 1788*, 186; Shahan, "The Catholic Church in Connecticut—The First Priest in the Commonwealth," in *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, III, 16-25). Father Thomas Harvey, S. J., and Father John Gordon passed through Connecticut, August, 1683 (Riley, 187). Father Jacques Bruyas, S. J., journeyed from Milford, Connecticut, to Albany, New York, July, 1700 (Riley, 188). First *resident* priest was Father Bernard O'Cavanaugh at Hartford, 1829-1831 (Duggan, *The Catholic Church in Connecticut*, New York, 1930, 37).

FIRST MASS.—Mass was said in Connecticut in all probability prior to 1781, but no record to this effect is extant. The first *recorded* Mass was on June 26, 1781, at Hartford, the Abbé Robin, chaplain to the French troops under Rochambeau being

celebrant. (But see Duggan, *loc. cit.*, 13: "It was doubtless in Lebanon that Mass was first celebrated [between December 1, 1780, and June 23, 1781] continuously and for a long period within the limits of the State of Connecticut.")

FIRST BAPTISM.—Father Jean Pierron, S. J., journeying through "New England, Maryland and Virginia," 1674, administered baptism here and there in secret. Whether he did so in Connecticut or any other particular colony can only be conjectured (*JR*, LIX, 73). First *recorded* baptism: "On July 25, 1802 was baptized in Suffield [Connecticut] Mary Sykes, born January 5, 1791, god-mother, Mary Halliday" (Boston Cathedral Register). The original entry is in Latin, unsigned, but in Father Matignon's handwriting; the sacrament was probably administered by him.

DELAWARE

FIRST PRIEST.—"The first Roman Catholic services in Delaware were believed to have been held as early as the 1730's in the house of Cornelius Hallahan [Holohan] who owned the estate 'Cuba Rock' near the present hamlet of Mount Cuba in New Castle County" (*Delaware: A Guide to the First State*, 124). "A Jesuit from Maryland used formerly [i. e. before 1760] to preach and say Mass at stated seasons" at Appoquinimink, New Castle County (Shea, *Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 369; Hughes, Text II, 475). In 1751 five or six families in Dover were being attended by a priest from Maryland (Shea, I, 450). Father Ferdinand Farmer was the first known-by-name priest to visit Delaware. (See *infra*, first recorded baptism.) The first *resident* priest seems to have been Father John Rosseter, O. S. A., who built Delaware's first Catholic church, St. Mary's, Coffee Run, New Castle County, c. 1790 (*Records*, VII, 34). According to one authority, Father Charles Whelan, O. M. Cap., was the "first regular pastor" at Coffee Run (*Records*, I, 137).

FIRST MASS.—This was said probably as early as the 1730's or even earlier. (See above.)

FIRST BAPTISM.—The earliest *recorded* administration of the sacrament was on behalf of John Burton, nine years of age, son of John and Esther Burton, who was baptized at New Castle by Father Farmer, S. J., February 8, 1766 (*Records*, I, 286). If the "Swedish settlement" was in Delaware, then the first recorded baptisms for the state were those of Catherine and Mary Magudiens (?), daughters of Patrick and Mary Magudiens, who were

baptized December 23, 1741, in the "Swedish settlement" (*Records*, II, 317).

FLORIDA

FIRST PRIEST.—Ponce de León on his second expedition to Florida, 1521, landed somewhere in Tampa Bay, or, the more likely opinion, in the vicinity of Charlotte Harbor. With him were friars and secular priests, according to Shea (I, 103) and Lowery (I, 159). These ecclesiastics were the first to arrive in Florida, there having been none, so it would seem, with Ponce de León on his first expedition to the mainland, 1513. On April 15, 1528, landed on the west coast of Florida several priests and four Franciscan friars, members of the ill-fated expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez. They were the next priests after those of Ponce de León's expedition of 1521, to set foot in Florida. First *resident* priests were those (names unknown) of Ponce de León's expedition of 1521, who, according to Shea (*supra*, *loc. cit.*), conducted a short-lived mission.

FIRST MASS.—According to Shea (*loc. cit.*), a chapel was built somewhere on the west coast of Florida for Ponce de León's missionaries of 1521. The Masses presumably said in it were the first in the state. The first *dated* Masses in Florida were the two said on Corpus Christi Day, June 20, 1549, by the Dominican fathers, Luis Cancer de Barbastro and Juan García at some unidentified spot on the Tampa Bay coast or in its vicinity (O'Daniel, *Dominicans in Florida*, 62-64). Apparently the next dated Mass was at Santa María (Indian name, Ochusa) Pensacola Bay, Palm Sunday, March 30, 1561, Fray Domingo de la Anunciación, O. P., celebrant (O'Daniel, 161).

FIRST BAPTISM.—The date of the first baptism was probably coincident with that of the arrival of the first missionaries in Florida. The compiler has been unable to trace any *recorded* Florida baptism of earlier date than the one administered in the colony of New Smyrna, near St. Augustine, 1768, by Father Pedro Campo (*Researches*, XXVI, 275).

GEORGIA

FIRST PRIEST.—De Soto made his way north from Florida to central Georgia, 1540; as far as can be ascertained, his chaplains were the first priests in Georgia. They passed through and were followed, September 28 or 29, 1566, by the Jesuit missionary, Father Pedro Martínez, who at the time mentioned set foot on

Tacatacuru (later San Pedro and now Cumberland) Island off the Georgia coast, where he was at once put to death by Indians (Zubillaga, in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, VII, 9; Kenny, *Romance of the Floridas*, 179, 186; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 37). The first resident priest was Father Antonio Sedeño, S. J., who with the lay-brother, Domingo Agustín Báez, began his missionary labors at Guale Island, 1569 (Lanning, 43, 48; Bolton, ed., *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, 10, gives 1568 for the opening of the Jesuit mission at Guale). The first priest in the *post-colonial period* was Father Le Mercier. He describes himself in the Savannah register as "canon regular of the Congregation of France, Order of St. Augustine, and missionary of Georgia." His ministry in the state began at least as early as 1796.

FIRST MASS.—The earliest offering of the Mass was presumably by a priest of the De Soto expedition, 1540. The sacred rite must have been performed repeatedly by Father Sedeño at Guale, 1569-1571.

FIRST BAPTISM.—The earliest baptisms of which mention occurs in the annals of Georgia were the seven administered by the Jesuit missionaries of Guale, 1569-1571 (Lanning, 48). The earliest *recorded* baptism in the state is the following: "On Sunday the thirteenth Day of November one [thousand seven] hundred and ninety six was baptized *sub conditione* Ign[atius] Scott Lawful Son of Aquila Scott and henrietta Semmes [born] the fifteenth day of Last April, by me canon regular of the congregation of France and missionary of Georgia. His god father john Gilpin, his god Mother Mary Semmes. Le Mercier, priest." On the same day Father Le Mercier performed two other baptisms, the second of them "in the county of Columbia." On Monday, November 28, following he conducted a burial service "in the graveyard of the Episcopalians in Augusta," and on December 6 he baptized in Washington (Register, Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, Savannah).

IDAHO

FIRST PRIEST.—The first priest known to have set foot in Idaho was Father Peter P. De Smet, S. J., who crossed the Wyoming-Idaho line sometime during the two-day period, July 8-10, 1840, ascending the Snake River Valley, Idaho, to Henry's Lake, source of the Snake River, a branch of the Columbia (CR, *De Smet*, I, 221-222). On this occasion he spent about two weeks

in Idaho, during which time he evangelized the Flatheads and Pend d' Oreilles, as he records graphically in a letter (*Ibid.*, 222-229). First *resident* priest was Father Nicholas Point, S. J., who opened a mission among the Coeur d' Alene Indians in November or December, 1842, on the north bank of the St. Joe River near Maries, Idaho (Garraghan, *Jesuits in Middle United States*, II, 314-315).

FIRST MASS.—This was said by Father De Smet, who according to his own statement “said the holy Mass regularly Sundays and feast-days, as well as on days when the Indians did not break camp in the morning” (CR, *De Smet*, I, 230). Very probably his first Mass in Idaho was celebrated on Sunday July 12, 1840, shortly after he crossed the Wyoming-Idaho line of today. He records explicitly “a Mass of thanksgiving” on July 23 at the foot of a mountain on the Idaho side, which forms part of the Idaho-Montana boundary. He inscribed on the mountain, again on the Idaho side, the words, “*Sanctus Ignatius Patronus Montium, ora pro nobis. Die Julii 23, 1840.*” The Mass said on this day is the first of explicit record in Idaho.

FIRST BAPTISM.—During his stay with the Flatheads and Pend d' Oreilles in Idaho and Montana De Smet performed nearly six hundred baptisms among them, June 30 to August 27 (*Ibid.*, I, 226). Some of these baptisms were beyond doubt administered within the limits of Idaho, and hence mark the earliest administration of the sacrament in the state. The next baptisms were also performed by De Smet, April, 1842. “I baptized all their [Coeur d'Alene] small children and twenty-four adults” (*Ibid.*, I, 376). These baptisms appear to have taken place at Lake Coeur d' Alene. The ceremonies for ten of them were supplied by Father Point, June 4, 1843 [?], the first in the list of recipients being one “Andre” (Baptismal Register, Coeur d'Alene Mission, De Smet, Idaho). On November 13, 1842, Father De Smet baptized Ignace (whether child or adult is not stated) “in Stellam's land” at Spokane Bridge (same register). Spokane Bridge was west of the Idaho-Washington line and therefore in the present state of Washington.

ILLINOIS

FIRST PRIEST.—Father Jacques Marquette, S. J., viewed the Illinois shore in the course of his historic trip of 1673 down the Mississippi; returning, he passed through the future state by the Illinois River-Chicago Portage route, August-September of

the same year. There is no evidence that any other priest preceded him in Illinois. That Father Claude Allouez, S. J., did so, as has been surmised, cannot be verified (*JR*, LIX, 161-163). The first *resident* priest was Father Marquette who, unable through illness to continue his journey, lived, December, 1674-March, 1675, on the site of Chicago; later, April, 1675, he was with the Illinois Indians for a few days. If it be objected that neither sojourn entitles him to be called a 'resident' priest in the strict meaning of the term, then the distinction of being Illinois' first resident priest goes to Father Allouez, stationed, 1677-1678, at the Kaskaskia Mission of the Immaculate Conception, north bank of the Illinois River above Starved Rock (*JR*, LX, 158 ff.). First *resident* priest in southern Illinois was Father Jean Mermet, S. J., at Juchereau's tannery near site of Cairo, 1702-1704 (Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1673-1763*, 40). First *resident* priest in colonial Chicago was Father Pierre-François Pinet, S. J., 1696 (*c*)-1700 (Garraghan, *Catholic Church in Chicago, 1763-1871*, 13 ff.); in modern Chicago, Father Irenaeus Mary St. Cyr, 1833-1837 (Garraghan, *op. cit.*, 45 ff.).

FIRST MASS.—This was offered on the site of Chicago, December 15, 1674, Father Marquette, celebrant. He had probably already said Mass on one or more of the days between his arrival at the mouth of the Chicago River, December 4, 1674, and the 15th of the same month; but his journal states that he performed the holy rite "on the octave of the Conception," viz. December 15, which is accordingly the first Mass of *explicit* record in the history of Illinois. That he had already said Mass in the course of his journey by and through Illinois, 1673, is at least probable; but his narrative of the journey makes no mention at any time of the Holy Sacrifice. Marquette's Masses on Holy Thursday, April 11, and Easter Sunday, April 14, 1675, at the Great Illinois Village near Starved Rock, are the first dated ones for the entire Mississippi Valley (*JR*, LIX, 189-191). *First solemn high Mass* was at the Kaskaskia Mission (then at Peoria), November 21, 1698. "We [Fathers de Montigny, St. Cosme and Davion, priests of the Foreign Missions] sang high Mass there with deacon and sub-deacon on the day of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin." (St. Cosme's narrative in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 60). *First known Mass in post-colonial Chicago* was said by Father Gabriel Richard, September, 1821, in the 'Dean House,' residence of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, at the intersection of Randolph Street and Michigan Avenue (Garraghan, *op. cit.*, 29-30).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Marquette records (*JR*, LIX, 163) that he baptized a dying Indian child on a bank of the Illinois River. This was in September, 1673. Sometime during the period, 1677-November, 1680, Father Allouez had baptized at his Illinois Mission, Pierre, Joseph, and Marie, children of the brother of Chicagou (Pease and Werner, eds., *The French Foundations*, 10). The *first baptism of explicit record* was at the Jesuit Mission of the Immaculate Conception, Peoria, March 20, 1692, on which day was baptized (name of minister of sacrament not recorded) Peter Aco, son of the trader, Michael Aco, and Marie Aramipinchicoue, the latter the daughter of the Kaskaskia chief, Rouensa, and a woman of great holiness of life (Transcript of Register of the Illinois Mission of the Immaculate Conception, in Illinois Historical Society, *Publications*, IX [Springfield, 1904], 394; *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, XI [1928], 133). The first *recorded* baptism in Chicago was that of Philip, child of J. B. Beaubien and Josette La Framboise, October 7, 1830, Father Stephen T. Badin performing the rite (Haydon, *Chicago's True Founder*, Thomas J. V. Owen, 66).

INDIANA

FIRST PRIEST.—Father Marquette was the first priest to look on Indianaland. On his last journey, spring of 1675, he either hugged the Indiana-Michigan shore of Lake Michigan (the likelier supposition) or took the Kankakee-St. Joseph portage route. Journeying by the lake he must have made occasional stops on the Indiana shore. Traditions of Marquette's presence in northern Indiana are still current. The Recollect fathers Louis Hennepin and Gabriel de la Ribourde of the La Salle expedition of 1679 were the first priests in the state after Marquette, having followed the above-mentioned portage route. The first priests mentioned in the records as *resident* for longer or shorter periods in Indiana are Father Alexis-Xavier de Guyenne, S. J. (Vincennes, 1734), Father Pacôme Legrand, O. F. M., chaplain of the troops at Vincennes (c. 1742), and Father Sebastian Louis Meurin, S. J., at Vincennes (1749—), Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, 8-10.

FIRST MASS.—Father Marquette was at death's door when he made contact with Indiana and almost certainly was unable at the time to say Mass. Fathers Hennepin and de la Ribourde probably said Mass on their way through Indiana, 1679. It may be presumed that Father de Guyenne offered the Holy Sacrifice dur-

ing his stay at Vincennes, 1734. Certainly there was Mass at Vincennes at least as early as 1749.

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISM.—There must have been many unrecorded baptisms at Indiana before the one entered in the Vincennes register, June 25, 1749, on which day Father Sebastian Louis Meurin conferred the sacrament on Jean Baptiste, son of “piere jiapichaguae, le petit chis [Chickasaw] & of Catherine mgkicge” (Transcript of Vincennes register in *Records*, XII, 42).

IOWA

FIRST PRIEST.—Father Jacques Marquette, S. J., as far as record attests, was the first priest to set foot in Iowa. Research indicates that the Peoria village which he visited on the way down the Mississippi in 1673 was on the Iowa River in Louise County, southeastern Iowa (L. G. Weld, “Jolliet and Marquette in Iowa,” *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, I [1903], 3-16). Father Louis Hennepin, O. F. M., probably landed one or more times on the Iowa shore on his way up the Mississippi in 1680. Father Philippe Pierson, S. J., also skirted the Iowa shore going up to the Sioux country in company with Du Luth, 1683 (Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, 225). The first priest of post-colonial times to enter Iowa, as far as records enable us to know, was Father Charles F. Van Quickenborne, S. J., 1832.

FIRST RESIDENT PRIEST.—Father Matthew Condamine of the St. Louis diocese, who resided for a period in Dubuque, 1836, was “the first priest officially appointed to any place in what is now the state of Iowa” (Hoffman, *Centennial History of the Archdiocese of Dubuque*, 4). Father Samuel Mazzuchelli had been in Dubuque the year before, 1835, making preparations for the building of its first church—in a sense he may be called Iowa’s first resident priest, though his time at the period seems to have been divided between Galena and Dubuque, the former place being more probably his regular headquarters.

FIRST MASS.—It is only reasonable to assume that Father Van Quickenborne said the first Mass on the occasion of his visits to Keokuk, 1832, and Dubuque, 1833. There is no evidence that Father Marquette said Mass while in Iowa (Hoffman, “Who Said the First Mass in Iowa?” *The Witness*, Dubuque, December 29, 1927).

FIRST BAPTISM.—This was the baptism of Maria Louise, daughter of Joseph Fraiser, a Catholic, and Margaret, a “Folle Avoine [Menominee] Indian,” at Keokuk, October 6, 1832, Father

Van Quickenborne officiating (Van Quickenborne's pocket register, Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas; Garraghan, *Jesuits in the Middle United States*, 244). The first baptism in western Iowa was that of Catherine Bourbonnet (Bourbonnais), Potawatomi, at Potawatomi Mission, Council Bluffs, June 9, 1838, Father Peter De Smet officiating (Garraghan, I, 443).

KANSAS

FIRST PRIEST.—Whether or not Fray Juan de Padilla, O. F. M., who is generally supposed to have accompanied Coronado's famous expedition of 1541 to Quivira, was the first priest in Kansas depends on the location of that region. (A. F. Bandelier, outstanding authority on the Coronado problem, held it, not as certain, but only as "probable" [558] or "not unlikely" [562] that Padilla was with Coronado in the Quivira expedition of 1541. But all authorities agree that the missionary was in Quivira at least the following year, 1542, and lost his life there. See Bandelier's excellent study, "Fray Juan de Padilla, First Catholic Missionary and Martyr in Eastern Kansas" in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XVI, 551 ff.) If Quivira was within the limits of what is now Kansas as maintained by most students of the problem including Winship, Hodge, Bandelier, and Bolton, then the distinction of being Kansas' first priest goes to Fray de Padilla (G. P. Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, 397; F. W. Hodge, ed., "The Narrative of the Expedition of Coronado by Pedro de Castañeda" in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, 337, 364). If Quivira lay within the limits of Texas, in the Panhandle region as maintained by the Texan scholars David Donoghue and Carlos E. Castañeda, then the claim made for Father Fray de Padilla that he was the first priest in Kansas falls to the ground. (See David Donoghue, "The Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII, 181 ff.; Id., "Coronado, Oñate, Quivira," *MID-AMERICA*, XVIII, 88-95; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, I, 105 ff. It may be noted here that the weight of scholarly opinion on the subject at the present moment is decidedly in favor of the Kansas route. The committee in charge of the Coronado Quarto Centennial, 1940, has accepted the Kansas route after taking account of the testimony of fifty historical experts on the point at issue. The latest Church historian to touch on the subject claims de Padilla for Kansas. "His [Pad-

illa's] presence as a missionary in the territory which is now Kansas can hardly be questioned" (Moeder, *Early Catholicity in Kansas and History of the Diocese of Wichita*, 1). The late Msgr. Michael Shine of the Lincoln diocese, student of the Coronado route, also brought the expedition into Kansas, but only to bring it farther, into Nebraska. "Nebraska's fertile plains were baptized with the life blood of America's first Christian martyr" (*CHR*, II [1916], 18). L. Houck (*History of Missouri*, I, 132 ff.) places Quivira in southwestern Missouri, while the recently published scholarly study, Father Pichardo's *Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (tr. and ed. by Charles W. Hackett, Austin, Texas, 1934, II) places it in east Texas between the Trinity and Sabine rivers.

The same interpretation which locates Quivira, not in Kansas, but in the Texas Panhandle, also excludes from the former state Fray Francisco de Velasco, O. F. M., of Oñate's Quivira expedition of 1601 (Castañeda, I, 194). It would therefore appear, in view of divided scholarly opinion on the location of Quivira, that no priest can be definitely traced in Kansas during the Spanish period, though the case for Fray de Padilla's presence there is solidly probable and, if preponderating weight of expert opinion is to decide the issue, almost certain. Villasur's expedition of 1720 into Nebraska, which had an accompanying chaplain, the Franciscan, Minguez, does not seem to have passed through Kansas, while Bourgmont, commandant at Fort Orleans on the Missouri, who led an expedition, 1724, across the Kansas prairies in search of the Padoucas, had no priest with him, the chaplain at the fort, Father Mercier, having remained behind. The possibility that Father Marquette may have been in Kansas (Moeder, *op. cit.*, 1) must be ruled out as in flat contradiction with the documents.

The first priest to reach Kansas during the American period was Father Charles De La Croix, pastor at Florissant, Missouri, who in the August of 1822 visited the Osage of Neosho (G. J. Garraghan, S. J., *St. Ferdinand de Florissant*, 182; *Id.*, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, 26). In view of the conflicting interpretations of the Coronado and Oñate routes no priest can be *definitely* said to have set foot in Kansas before Father De La Croix. First *resident* priest was Father Joseph Anthony Lutz of the St. Louis diocese who in 1828 began a short-lived mission among the Kaw Indians on the north bank of the Kansas River not far from the site of Lawrence (J. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 452-460).

FIRST MASS.—If Fray de Padilla (1540) and later Fray de Velasco (1601) reached Kansas they may be presumed to have said Mass there (*supra*, first priest). The first verifiable Mass in Kansas was said by Father Charles F. Van Quickenborne, S. J., August 25, 1827, on or near the site of St. Paul in Neosho County. "On the Feast of St. Louis, August 25, I had the happiness of saying the First Mass ever said in this country" (*Annals de la Propagation de la Foi*, III, 513).

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISM.—It is at least likely that baptisms were administered during the Spanish period, but no record of them survives. The following is the first certified baptism. "A neosho chez Mr. Liguete Chouteau," August 27, 1827, Father Charles F. Van Quickenborne baptized Henri Mongrain, "son of Noel père and of Tonpapai, age two years, sponsor Mr. Liguete P. Chouteau" (Baptismal register, St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Missouri. There is no evidence that Father De La Croix baptized on his visit to Kansas in 1822).

KENTUCKY

FIRST PRIEST.—Father Marquette was the first priest known to have viewed Kentucky, which he did in the course of his celebrated two-way voyage on the Mississippi in 1673; one may safely risk the inference that he landed on the Kentucky shore. Other priests to view Kentucky were the three missionaries, Du Pénét, a Sulpician, Jacques de la Bretonnière, a Jesuit, and an anonymous Recollect, who accompanied a contingent of troops on their way to Fort Assumption (on the Mississippi near Wolf River) by way of the Ohio, 1739 (Delanglez, *Jesuits in Louisiana*, 318). In 1749 Father Joseph-Pierre de Bonnécamps, S. J., and in 1757 Father Claude-François Louis Virot, S. J., voyaged downstream on the Ohio, the first as far as the Big Miami, the latter probably to the Big Beaver. There is no record of any of these clergymen having landed on the Kentucky shore, though probabilities are high that they did so (W. E. Shiels, "Jesuits in Ohio in Eighteenth Century," *MA*, XVIII, 30, 32). The Céloron expedition camped, August 22, 1749, "opposite" an Indian village at the mouth of the Sinhioto (Scioto) in Ohio, but the record leaves it doubtful whether the camp was on the Kentucky shore or on a bank of the Scioto (*JR*, LXIX, 181).

For two years 1702-1704 Father Jean Mermet, S. J., was resident missionary at the French fort near the site of Cairo, Illinois. It is not unlikely that during this period he paid an occasional

visit to the Kentucky shore. The first priest known for certain to have been in the state was the Carmelite father, Paul de St. Pierre, who was a transient in Louisville in February, 1787 (Shea, II, 272). The first *resident* priest was the Irish Capuchin, Father Charles Whelan, who began in the spring (autumn?) of 1787 to attend the Catholics settled at Pottinger's Creek and other places in Nelson County (Sister M. Ramona Mattingly, *Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier*, 38 ff.; Spalding, *Sketches of Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*, 41).

FIRST MASS.—This was probably said by one of the early priest-travelers on the Mississippi and Ohio, beginning with Marquette, as above. It is likewise probable that Mass was first offered on Kentucky soil by Father Whelan, O. M. Cap., after his arrival in 1787; according to Spalding (41) this was the case. The first *dated* Masses in Kentucky appear to have been the two offered on the first Sunday of Advent, 1793, by Father S. T. Badin in Lexington and Father Michael B. Barrière at White Sulphur, Scott County (Mattingly, 43).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Baptism likely had been administered by some transient priest in Kentucky before Father Whelan's sojourn there, 1787-1790. It may be assumed as a certainty that he baptized a number of times during this period, though no record of these ministrations survives. His baptisms are therefore the earliest known in the state. Mrs. Jane Mullanphy Chambers, daughter of the well-known Missouri pioneer, John Mullanphy, was baptized in Frankfort by Father Thayer, who came to Kentucky in 1799 (*Historical Records and Studies*, XIV [1920], 80). The earliest *recorded* baptism known was performed by Father Charles Nerinckx, "at Calvary, Kentucky," Holy Mary's. "Die 5 Aug. 1807, Baptizatus est Robertus, Fil. legit. N. Wise, Haeretici et Eleonorae Brown, conj. Susceptores Joseph Percall and Sara Percall." The entry is in Nerinckx's own hand (Archives, Loretto Motherhouse, Nerinx, Kentucky).

LOUISIANA

FIRST PRIEST.—The priests of the De Soto expedition were *probably* the first to set foot in Louisiana; it is by no means certain that the expedition in its wanderings entered the state (*Spanish Explorers*, 129). Castañeda, however, considers it "very likely" that it got into eastern Louisiana in 1542 (*Our Catholic Heritage*, I, 123). When the survivors under Moscoso passed through Louisiana by way of the Mississippi on their

way to Mexico, November, 1543, there was not a single priest with them; all had perished before this date. The first priest definitely known to have been in Louisiana is the Recollect, Father Zénobe Membré, chaplain of La Salle's Mississippi expedition of 1682 (M. A. Habig, O. F. M., *The Franciscan Père Marquette*, 98 ff.). The first *resident* priest was Father de Montigny, of the Society of Foreign Missions, who was with the Taensa in their village in the present Taensa County, 1699-1700 (Delanglez, *Jesuits in Louisiana*, 15, 22).

FIRST MASS.—There were no Masses in Louisiana by the chaplains of the De Soto expedition. Even if they did get into the state, they had previously lost their altar equipment. Though supporting documentary evidence is lacking, the first Mass was possibly said by Father Membré. Father de Montigny, it must be inferred, said Mass while among the Taensa, 1699-1700. The first *dated* Mass in Louisiana, as mentioned in the records, was celebrated February 5, 1700, by Father Du Ru, S. J. "I said Mass before disembarking [at the site of Fort Mississippi]. This was the last of nine Masses which I vowed to offer to God for the fortunate outcome of our enterprise. One could hardly do less in acknowledgement of how he dealt with us in the Mississippi" (Ruth L. Butler, tr. and ed., *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, Chicago, 1934, 6). Fort Mississippi was on the left bank of the Mississippi, some fifty miles from its mouth.

FIRST BAPTISM.—Probably some of the five hundred converted Indians left behind by the survivors of the De Soto expedition, who left for Mexico, July 2, 1543, had been baptized in Louisiana (see *supra*, Arkansas). The earliest *known* baptisms in the state were by Father de Montigny in his Taensa mission, 1699-March 18, 1700 (*Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 41). Father Gravier, S. J., during his stay among the Houmas of Louisiana, November 25-December 4, 1700, baptized a three-day old Indian child "giving it the name of Saint Francis Xavier, patron of the mission, to whom God opened a Paradise a few days after, that he might there labor to convert his parents and countrymen" (Shea, *Early Voyages*, 145). The first *recorded* baptism is in the New Orleans baptismal records, the oldest in the state. These open with the baptism on January 1, 1731, of Catherine de Perier, legitimate daughter of M. de Perier, "commandant general of the province of Louisiana," and of Catherine Le Chibelier, the officiating priest being the Capuchin, Father Raphael (Saint Louis Cathedral Archives, New Orleans).

MAINE

FIRST PRIEST.—Father Nicholas Aubry or d'Aubri was at Saint Croix (Dochet or Doucet, Neutral, De Monts) Island, July 1604. With him was another secular priest whose name is unknown (Shea, I, 217; Edmund J. A. Young, "The Diocese of Portland," in *History of Catholic Church in the New England States*, Boston, 1899, 466). WPA Federal Writers Project, *Maine, A Guide 'Down East,'* 1937, 82, mistakenly calls Aubry a Jesuit. The first *resident* priests were the two named above; both died at Saint Croix Island before the spring of 1605. The first resident priest in post-colonial times was Father Francis Ciquard at Oldtown on the Penobscot, before 1797.

FIRST MASS.—"The first known celebration of the Holy Sacrifice in New England occurred in July, 1604," at Saint Croix Island (Young, *loc. cit.*). An island, near the mouth of the Kennebec, "is the second spot on the northeasterly coast of our territory where Mass is certainly known to have been said [1611]." Father Biard, S. J., was the celebrant (*Ibid.*, 468).

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISM.—On September 29, 1648, in St. Michael's Church, Sillery, Canada, Father Gabriel Druillettes, S. J., supplied the solemn ceremonies of the baptism of a child, Michael, approximately seven months old, who had been baptized by the Capuchin, Father Gabriel de Joinville, "among the Abenaki at the Kenebec River." The child's father was Claude Mataouiska, an Abenaki, the mother, Margaret (Candide de Nant, O. M. Cap., *Une Mission capucine en Acadie*, 225-256, n. 4). The first recorded baptisms in the post-colonial period were the fourteen conferred by Father (later Bishop) Cheverus, August 6, 1797, on Indian children at "Pleasant Point, Passamaquoddy" (Boston Cathedral Register).

MARYLAND

FIRST PRIESTS.—These were the Jesuits, Father Andrew White and John Altham, who with the lay-brother Thomas Gervaise arrived at the mouth of the Potomac on or about March 12, 1634, and some days later landed at St. Clement's Isle (now Heron's Island) in the Potomac (Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus*, Text, I, 323, 324).

FIRST MASS.—March 5, 1634, on St. Clement's Isle. "On the day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary we celebrated Holy Mass for the first time on this island. This had

never been done before in this part of the world (Hughes, *Ibid.*, Documents, Father White's *Relation*, I, 103).

FIRST BAPTISM.—The sacrament was presumably conferred at intervals from the first days of the mission. The earliest dated baptism was on July 5, 1640, on which day "at the place called Pascattoway," on the Potomac not far south of the site of Washington, Father White baptized the "chief of all the chiefs the Tayac or Emperor, Chitomachon or Kittamaqund by name." "On the 5th of July, 1640," runs the contemporary report, "having been sufficiently instructed in the mysteries of faith, he received the Sacramental waters with solemnity in a little chapel, which for that ceremony and for divine worship had been erected in Indian fashion out of the bark of trees. At the same time his wife with her infant and one of the chief of his councillors with a little son were regenerated at the font of baptism" (Hughes, *Ibid.*, Text, I, 344).

MASSACHUSETTS

FIRST PRIEST.—Two Recollects paid a flying visit to Boston in 1643. They were followed in 1646 by two other priests, Capuchin friars it has been thought, and in 1650 by Father Gabriel Druillettes, S. J. (Arthur Riley, *Catholicism in New England*, 178, 184-186). The first *resident* priest was the Abbé Claude Florent Bouchard de la Poterie, in Boston, 1788.

FIRST MASS.—That Father Druillettes offered the first Mass in Boston (and Massachusetts) in 1650 is traditional, but no evidence to support the tradition is at hand, unless the father's own words are to be taken as an indirect reference to the Mass. "He [Major Edward Gibbons, Druillettes' host in Boston] also gave me a key to an apartment in his house where I could with complete liberty offer my prayer and perform my religious exercises" (*JR*, XXXVI, 89). Major Gibbons' house is said to have been "on Washington Street near Adams Square, about on the site of the present Blue Store" (*Catholic Church in New England*, I, 13). The first *recorded* Mass belongs to 1788. After saying Mass privately for a period, the Abbé de la Poterie said the first *public* Mass in Boston on Sunday, November 2, 1788 (Riley, 207).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Baptisms must have been administered during the colonial period in Massachusetts, but no record of them is extant. The first *recorded* baptism: "On April 2, 1789, was baptized Mary Campbell, daughter of Samuel and Anne Gard-

ner, born in lawful wedlock. Sponsors were Louis Baurly and Margaret Price. La Poterie" (Boston Cathedral Register, original entry in Latin).

MICHIGAN

FIRST PRIEST.—The Jesuit fathers, Isaac Jogues, now a canonized saint of the Church, and Charles Raymbaut, were, as far as can be ascertained, the first priests to view the land which is now Michigan. That they actually set foot on Michigan soil cannot be definitely ascertained, as it is not known on which side, American or Canadian, of the rapids at Sault Ste Marie was held the Indian pow-wow at which they were present in 1641 (*JR*, XXIII, 225-226). It remains a possibility that Recollect and Jesuit missionaries among the Hurons and other tribes got as far in their excursions as Sault Ste Marie prior to 1641, but no evidence to support a serious conjecture is at hand. The first priest to step on Michigan soil, as far as records attest, was Father René Ménard, S. J., who on October 15, 1660, landed at Keewenaw (Saint Theresa's) Bay on the south side of Lake Superior not far from the town of L'Anse, Michigan. The first *resident* priest was Ménard, who wintered at Keewenaw Bay, 1660-1661. Next resident priest was Father Marquette, S. J., who in 1668 opened at the Sault, on the south or American side of the rapids, a mission around which grew up the earliest white settlement in the state.

FIRST MASS.—It is not unlikely that Jogues and Raymbaut said Mass on the Michigan side of the rapids, 1641. But the first *recorded* Mass, at Keewenaw Bay, October 15 (St. Theresa's Day), 1660, was said by Father Ménard. "I arrived at a large bay on the south shore of Lake Superior and had the consolation of saying Mass there to pay me with usury for all my past woes" (*JR*, XLVIII, 264).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Ménard administered six baptisms in his Lake Superior mission, Keewenaw Bay, 1660-1661. The story of the "chosen souls" who were recipients of the sacrament is told by the missionary in detail. These are the earliest known baptisms in Michigan (*JR*, XLVI, 127 ff.). First of the six to be baptized was a child who died when "not two years old" (*loc. cit.*, 127-129). At Sault Ste Marie, Father Marquette baptized a number of dying Indian children, 1668-1669. The earliest known baptism *of record* was at St. Ignace (Michilimackinac) on April 28, 1695, on which day was baptized Antoine, son of the "late

Maurice Mainard," probably by Father Nouvel, S. J. (Transcript of Mackinac Register, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIX [1910], 127 ff.). The extant Detroit church records begin in 1704, the first baptism recorded being that of Marie Thérèse, legitimate daughter of Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, commandant for the king at Fort Pontchartrain, and of Marie Thérèse Guion. The baptism was performed February 2, 1704, by "Friar Constantine Delhalle, Recollect," chaplain at the fort (Registre de Sainte Anne, Detroit, tr. by Rev. George A. Paré, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library).

MINNESOTA

FIRST PRIEST.—This was Father Claude Allouez, S. J., who in 1667 circled Lake Superior in a canoe, thus skirting and viewing the Minnesota shore. It is very probable that during his residence at Chequamegon Bay, 1665-1669, he penetrated more than once into Minnesota territory in the course of his missionary excursions. Father Louis Hennepin, O. F. M., on his historic trip of 1680 up the Mississippi, passed into Minnesota and remained there for some months in captivity. Father Philippe Pierson, S. J., accompanied Du Luth as chaplain on an expedition to the Sioux country in 1683. The expedition took the Fox-Wisconsin route to the Mississippi, which was ascended into Minnesota territory. The first *resident* priests in Minnesota were the Jesuit missionaries of the Sioux mission of Saint Michael the Archangel, Fathers Michel Guignas and Nicholas de Gonnor (Nancy Ring, "The First Sioux Mission," *MA*, XIV, 346-347; Shea, *Early Voyages*, 172 ff.).

FIRST MASS.—Father Hennepin, having no wine with him during his stay in Minnesota, was unable to say Mass. The earliest Mass in the state was probably said by Father Pierson on occasion of his visit of 1683 to the Sioux country. Subsequently there were Masses at the Sioux mission of Saint Michael the Archangel on the site of the present Frontenac, 1727-1737. The earliest *recorded* Mass in Minnesota was said at the above-mentioned mission of Saint Michael, November 4, 1727. "Mass was said for him [the Marquis de Beauharnois] in the morning" (Father Guignas to the Marquis de Beauharnois, May 29, 1728, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 174).

FIRST BAPTISM.—For probable baptisms in Minnesota by Groseilliers, consult the item under Wisconsin *infra*. Allouez, it may be conjectured, baptized on his likely missionary trips from

Chequamegon Bay into Minnesota, 1665-1669. The first *known* administration of the sacrament must be credited to Father Louis Hennepin, Recollect, who, while captive in the Sioux village on Lake Mille Lacs, baptized an Indian child in the summer of 1680, to whom he gave the name of Antoinette. She was in the words of the missionary "the first Christian child among these tribes" (Marion E. Cross, tr., *Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, St. Paul, 1938, 112, 147). This would seem to be the only baptism performed by Father Hennepin in Minnesota.

MISSISSIPPI

FIRST PRIEST.—De Soto entered the territory which is now Mississippi in 1540, and left it the following year, crossing to the right bank of the Mississippi River some thirty miles below the site of Memphis. The chaplains of his expedition were the first priests in the state. Father Membré, O. F. M., chaplain of La Salle's Mississippi expedition of 1682, visited, March 26-29 of that year, the Natchez and Koroa Indians on or near the left bank of the Mississippi. He is the first known-by-name priest of whose presence in the state of Mississippi we can be certain. We have no means of knowing which among the chaplains of De Soto accompanied the expedition while it was in Mississippi. (The narrative of the La Salle expedition of 1682 is in Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 172-173.) After Father Membré the next priests to enter Mississippi were Fathers de Montigny, St. Cosme, and Davion, of the Society of Foreign Missions, who arrived at the Tunica village, January 11, 1699 (Shea, *Early Voyages*, 80). The first *resident* priest in Mississippi was Father Davion, missionary to the Tunica Indians in their village in Tunica County, 1699-1710 (*Ibid.*, 75-86).

FIRST MASS.—This was presumably said by one of De Soto's chaplains prior to the battle of Mavilla, October 18, 1540, in which all the altar equipment was lost. On Easter Sunday, March 29, 1682, Father Membré said Mass in the Koroa village on the left bank of the Mississippi near Natchez, the earliest *recorded* celebration of the rite in the state of Mississippi, as also in the entire lower Mississippi Valley (Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, 173). Christmas Day, 1698, Fathers de Montigny, St. Cosme, and Davion said their Masses (one was at midnight) at a place either in Arkansas or Mississippi, the narrative of their expedition not indicating in which. That the place was in

Mississippi may probably be inferred from the circumstance that, a boy of the party having been lost, it was feared he might have fallen into the hands of the Chickasaw, whose villages were east of the Mississippi (Shea, *Early Voyages*, 70). Mass was certainly said among the Tunica from the time of Father Davion's first arrival among them on January 11, 1699 (*Ibid.*, 80), and at Old Biloxi (Ocean Springs) by the secular priest, Father Bordenave, chaplain of the fort at that place, May 4, 1699, to April 11, 1700 (*Ibid.*, 80; Delanglez, *Jesuits of Louisiana*, 7, n. 49). Mass was said among the Natchez, March 14, 1700, by Father Paul Du Ru, S. J. (*Du Ru Journal*, 37).

FIRST BAPTISM.—On a day during the period January 11-19, 1699, Father de Montigny baptized, among the Tunica Indians, a chief of the tribe, whom he named Paul and who died the day following his baptism. This is the earliest administration of the sacrament known in Mississippi (Shea, *Early Voyages*, 78, 81). Up to March 1700, De Montigny had baptized more than 180 children either among the Natchez alone, or among the Natchez and Taensa. These baptisms or most of them very probably antedated the baptism by Father Du Ru which follows (Delanglez, 23). The earliest formally *recorded* baptism belongs to 1700. "February 1, 1700. At eight o'clock this morning, I [Father Paul Du Ru, S. J.] baptized [at Old Biloxi, Ocean Springs] with all the ceremonies of the Church a young Indian six or seven years old. He is from the Onguilousa village. M. d'Iberville was the god-father and gave him the name of Peter. It is the first baptism I have had the honor to perform" (Delanglez, 14).

MISSOURI

FIRST PRIEST.—Louis Houck (*History of Missouri*, I, 101 ff.), brings De Soto into Missouri at its southeastern corner, 1541. If this interpretation of the sources (in which Houck appears to have no followers) be correct, then Missouri's first priests were the friars and other clerics who accompanied the *conquistador* and the first recorded religious service in the history of the state was the dramatic erection of the cross told of by the chronicler of the famous expedition (Houck, 105). Houck also brings Coronado into Missouri, but on doubtful grounds. Father Jacques Marquette is the first priest *known of a certainty* to have sighted Missouri, which he did from his canoe, as he journeyed on the Mississippi in both directions, 1673. That he landed

on the Missouri shore once or oftener may be taken for granted, in view of the circumstance that canoemen making a protracted trip had necessarily to camp at intervals on the riverside. Missouri lies some three hundred miles along the Mississippi and the Jolliet-Marquette party while skirting this boundary of the state could scarcely have camped only on the east (Illinois-Kentucky) bank of the river to the exclusion of the other. There is a passage in Marquette's journal (*JR*, LIX, 145-146), from which it has been concluded that the expedition landed on or near the site where, early in the nineteenth century, stood the now forgotten town of Birmingham in the southeastern corner of Perry County (*St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, III [1921], 303). The first priests whose actual presence in Missouri can be established by documentary proof are Fathers De Montigny, Davion, and St. Cosme of the Society of Foreign Missions, Quebec. They stood, December 8, 1698, either on the site of St. Louis or on an island in the Mississippi opposite that site. A few days later they landed at a place identified as the present Grand Tower in Perry County and there erected a cross. "We ascended this island or rock with some difficulty by a hill and we planted a fine cross on it chanting the hymn *Vexilla Regis*, while our people fired three discharges of their guns. God grant that the cross, that has never yet been known in this place, may triumph here and that our Lord may abundantly spread the merits of His Holy Passion, so that all these savages may know and serve him" (Kellogg, ed., *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 357). The first *resident* priest in Missouri was Father Gabriel Marest, S. J., whose mission for the Kaskaskia Indians at the Des Peres Village (1700-1703) was within the present municipal limits of St. Louis. At first he served the mission single-handed, but later was joined by Father François Pinet, S. J. (G. J. Garraghan, S. J., "New Light on Old Cahokia," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, XI, 118 ff.). The first priest *to reside* in the *interior* of Missouri was Father Jean Baptiste Mercier, of the Society of Foreign Missions, resident chaplain, 1723-1727, at Fort Orleans (on the Missouri in Carroll County), where he sang a *Te Deum* after Bourgmont's return from his adventurous march across the Kansas prairies (Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, 66). The first priest known to have reached Missouri's western border was Father Charles De La Croix, pastor of St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Missouri. This was in the summer of 1822 (Garraghan, *Catholic Begin-*

nings in Kansas City, Missouri, 26). The first priest known to have arrived on the site of Kansas City was Father Joseph Lutz of St. Louis, 1828. "The Vásquez house must claim for itself a place of distinction in the story of pioneer Catholicity on the Missouri border; for here, on occasion of Father Joseph Lutz's first visit of August 12-17, 1828, and during his residence under its hospitable roof during the following October and November occurred the earliest recorded exercise of the Catholic ministry on the site of Kansas City" (*Ibid.*, 29). The first resident priest in western Missouri was Father Benedict Roux, pastor at "the mouth of the Kansas" (Kansas City), 1833-1835 (*Ibid.*, 35 ff.).

FIRST MASS.—On the site of St. Louis or perhaps on an island in the Mississippi opposite that site, as Bishop Schlarman suggests (*From Quebec to New Orleans*, Belleville, 1930, 140, n. 1), Fathers de Montigny, Davion, and St. Cosme of the Society of Foreign Missions offered the Holy Sacrifice, December 8, 1698, "the Day of the Three Masses" (St. Cosme's narrative in Kellogg, ed., *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 355). This is the first recorded celebration of the holy rite in the history of Missouri. The next Masses were those said by the Jesuits of the Des Peres River Mission, 1700-1703.

FIRST BAPTISM.—If the baptism of the child Peter, son of Anthony Baillarjeon and Domitilla Cheoupingoua, April 17, 1701, took place at the Des Peres village, it is the earliest certified administration of the sacrament in Missouri (Transcript of Kaskaskia register in Illinois Historical Society, *Publications* [Springfield, 1904], 394). The earliest Missouri baptism of certain record is that of Françoise (Frances), daughter of François le Beau and Marguerite Partius, born December 22, 1759. The date of the baptism, which was performed in Sainte Genevieve by a lay person, is approximately 1760. Father François Philibert Watrin, S. J., who signs the entry, records that he merely supplied the ceremonies of solemn baptism, as is ordinarily done in such cases (Yealy, *Sainte Genevieve: the Story of Missouri's Oldest Settlement*, 31). The first baptism recorded for St. Louis, which was that of Marie, daughter of Jean Baptiste Deschamps and Marie Pion, took place "in a tent," Father S. L. Meurin, S. J., being the officiating priest (Register, Old Cathedral, St. Louis; transcript, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. See also Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans*, 439). The earliest recorded baptisms in central and western Missouri were: Cote-

sans-Dessein, Callaway County, Alexis Faille, May 6, 1821, Father C. De La Croix; Liguette P. Chouteau (Osage) trading-post near the present Papinville, Bates County, Missouri, Antoine Chouteau, May 5, 1822, Father C. De La Croix; Chouteau's Settlement, site of Kansas City, Missouri, Martha Roy, February 23, 1834, Father Benedict Roux (Garraghan, *St. Ferdinand de Florissant*, 158, n. 3; *id.*, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City, Missouri*, 24, 25; Roux baptismal record (copy), Kansas City, Mo., Diocesan Archives).

MONTANA

FIRST PRIEST.—As to the alleged presence in Montana, 1742-1743, of Father Gabriel Coquart, S. J., see North Dakota, *infra*. The first priest known with certainty to have arrived in Montana was Father Peter J. De Smet, S. J., who, on his return trip from the Rocky Mountains, entered, July 24, 1840, the territory of the present state near Red Rock Lake, ultimate source of the Missouri, and passed down the Beaver Head River to Three Forks. "The banks of the Beaver Head-Jefferson River is the spot where Christianity was first preached and the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was first celebrated in Montana." (Palladino, S. J., *Indian and White in the Northwest*, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 34; CR, *De Smet*, I, 231).

FIRST MASS.—Father De Smet is the first priest known with certainty to have offered the Holy Sacrifice in Montana. He first entered the future state on Friday, July 24, 1840. On the basis of his statement that he said Mass every Sunday and feast-day while in the mountains (*Ibid.*, I, 230), he presumably said Mass on Sunday, July 26, and on the following Sundays during his stay in Montana as also on July 31 (feast of St. Ignatius Loyola) and August 15. He bade farewell to the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Indians in their camp at Three Forks on August 7, 1840, returning thence to St. Louis. De Smet's statement that he also celebrated Mass on week-days, when the Indians did not break camp in the morning (*Ibid.*, I, 30), suggests the possibility that Mass was said by him as early as July 24 or 25. But the likeliest date for the first Mass in Montana is July 26, 1840, Father De Smet celebrant.

FIRST BAPTISM.—The Catholic Iroquois settled among the Flatheads of the Bitter Root before the arrival of Jesuit missionaries (1841) are said to have sometimes administered baptism to Flathead infants. Father De Smet during his stay with

the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles in Idaho and Montana, July-August, 1840, performed six hundred baptisms among the two tribes. Some of the baptisms must certainly have taken place in Montana. They are the earliest administrations of the sacrament known for this state (*Ibid.*, 226). Father De Smet in the course of a journey from St. Mary's Flathead Mission to Fort Colville in October-December, 1841, baptized 190 Indians (354), chiefly, it would seem among the Kálistpel or Pend d'Oreilles. This tribe seems to have been scattered at this period in various camps towards the extreme eastern end of what is now Washington (see *infra*, Washington). Some of the baptisms, however (*e. g.*, the sixty at Horse Prairie), were performed in Montana (358) (*Ibid.*, I, 342-358). A list of De Smet's Kalispel baptisms of 1841 is at St. Ignatius Mission, Montana. De Smet found among the Kalispels, children who had been baptized by Father Demers, the future Bishop of Vancouver's Island (*Ibid.*, I, 35). These baptisms probably took place west of the Washington-Idaho line. At St. Mary's Flathead Mission on the Bitter Root 202 Indians were baptized by the Jesuit missionaries of that place on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, December 3, 1841 (*Ibid.*, I, 202). As far as the compiler is aware, no record of these baptisms has survived. The *first actually recorded* Montana baptisms are the twenty-two administered by Father Nicholas Point, S. J., to Blackfeet children on St. Michael's day, September 29, 1846, at Fort Lewis on the Missouri. (But see *supra*, for De Smet's Montana baptisms of 1841. Point baptismal register, Jesuit General Archives, Rome; Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, 146.) Prior to this date, 1846, sixty baptisms had been performed among the Blackfeet by a missionary from Pembina on the Red River. Whether any record of these baptisms is extant does not appear (*Ibid.*, II, 594).

NEBRASKA

FIRST PRIEST.—According to Msgr. Michael Shine's interpretation of the relevant sources, which brings Coronado (1541) well into territory that is now Nebraska, this state's first priest was Fray Juan de Padilla, O. F. M. ("The Lost Province of Quivira" in *CHR*, II [1916], 3-18). The interpretation in question lacks scholarly support (see *supra*, Kansas). Fray Juan Minguez, O. F. M., lost his life in the massacre of Captain Villasur's so-called "Spanish Caravan" by Pawnee Indians, August

20, 1720. According to Arthur B. Thomas, the scene of the massacre was on the south side of the North Platte River (then called the San Lorenzo), near the town of North Platte, Nebraska (Thomas, *After Coronado*, 37-39, 278, n. 152). Particulars about Fray Minguez, the first priest whose presence in Nebraska can be established with certainty, are given in R. E. Twitchell (*The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 1914, II, 170, 184). The massacre has also been placed a few miles west of Columbus on the Looking Glass Creek (Eugene Hagedorn, O. F. M., *The Franciscans in Nebraska*, Humphrey [?], 1931). Following Fray Minguez a hundred and twenty years later, Father Peter De Smet, S. J., crossed Nebraska by the Oregon Trail, 1840 and 1841. First *resident* priest was Father Jeremiah F. Treacy, who organized a parish at St. John's now Jackson, Dakota County, Nebraska, 1855 (*MA*, XIV, 269).

FIRST MASS.—For the speculation that Father de Padilla reached what is now Nebraska, see *supra*. According to Msgr. Shine, Father de Padilla, while allegedly in Nebraska, 1541, said Mass on the seven Sundays and the major feasts occurring during his stay. After the massacre of the "Spanish Caravan," 1720, Father Minguez's Mass vestments appear to have fallen into the hands of Indians (Twitchell, *op. cit.*). That he said Mass while on Nebraska soil is highly probable, if not certain. While stationed at Council Bluffs, Iowa Territory, 1838-1840, Father De Smet appears to have said Mass once or oftener on the Nebraska side of the Missouri River. Further, he said Mass on his journeys through Nebraska over the Oregon Trail, 1840 and 1841. First *dated* Mass in Nebraska was on the Great Council Plain, Scott's Bluff County, September 14, 1851, feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, Father De Smet being celebrant (*CR*, *De Smet*, II, 677).

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISMS.—These were the eight administered by Father Christian Hoecken, S. J., at Bellevue on the Nebraska side of the Missouri, June 4, 1846, one of the recipients of the sacrament on the occasion being Emilie, daughter of Logan Fontenelle and Depeche, an Omaha squaw (Sugar Creek Register, Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas).

NEVADA

FIRST PRIEST.—"The first European to enter within the present limits of Nevada of whom we have knowledge and without doubt in my mind absolutely the first to enter was Father

Francisco Garcés of the Order of St. Francis, who set out from Sonora in 1775 with a party under Colonel Anza for California and who stopped [December, 1775] at the junction of the Colorado and Gila to explore for a mission site" (Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, 27). Fray Garcés' diary of his Nevada journal (edited by E. E. Coues under the title, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, 2 vols., New York, 1900), makes no mention of any church ministrations by him within the limits of the future state. Effie Mack (*Nevada; a History of the State from the Earliest Times through the Civil War*, Glendale, California, 1936, 60) is not as positive as Bancroft on the point. Fray Garcés "was probably either on or near the present boundary of *Southern Nevada*." First resident priest was Father Joseph Gallagher of the San Francisco diocese, appointed by Bishop Allemany in 1858 pastor of Genoa, Carson City, and Virginia City. He appears to have arrived in his newly created parish, the first in Nevada, in the summer of that year (Bishop Thomas K. Gorman, *Seventy-five Years of Catholic Life in Nevada*, Reno, 1935, 59-60).

FIRST MASS.—"It seems probable . . . that he [Father Joseph Gallagher] celebrated the first Mass [1858] in the territory [of Nevada] either at Carson or Genoa or perhaps at Virginia" (Gorman, 60).

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISM.—This was conferred by Father Joseph Gallagher, August 26, 1860, on Je [*sic*] Walsh, born January 16, 1860, to William and Mary Walsh. The ceremony took place in one of the Nevada localities served by Father Gallagher (Gorman, 61). No doubt there were numerous baptisms in Nevada before 1860, but no record of them, as far as known, survives.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

FIRST PRIEST.—The only priests known to have visited colonial New Hampshire were the two who accompanied the Sieur de Vilier's party of Indians that made an attack on the Oyster River settlement, the modern Durham (about five miles from Dover), July, 1694. The Durham tradition gives the name of one of them as Thury (Father Louis P. Thury, a secular priest of Pentagouet). The other was probably one of the two Jesuit fathers Bigot or Father Sebastian Rale (Riley, *Catholicism in New England*, 209; John C. Finen "Diocese of Manchester" in *Church in N. E.*, I, 562-566). Portsmouth was visited by

Father Francis Matignon in 1792 and by Father John Cheverus in 1797. First *resident* priest was Father Virgil Barber of Claremont, 1823-1827.

FIRST MASS.—It has been conjectured, but on no solid ground, that Mass was first said in New Hampshire on the Isle of Shoals, July 15, 1605, by a priest of Champlain's exploring trip of that year. It was officially reported that there were in the Vilier's attacking party "two Fryars among the Indians, who, after victory, said Mass," July 18, 1694, at the Oyster River settlement (see *supra*, first priest). "It is greatly to be regretted that no record or local tradition remains to mark the spot where the two first Masses in New Hampshire were celebrated" (Finen, 565). Father (later Bishop) Cheverus said Mass at Portsmouth and Bedford in the summer of 1797 (*Ibid.*, 584). On a Sunday in the summer of 1818 Father French, O. P., said in the house of the Rev. Mr. Barber, Protestant father of Virgil Barber, the first Mass of record in western New Hampshire (*Ibid.*, 588).

FIRST BAPTISM.—No record of any baptism during the colonial period is extant. First *recorded* baptism is: "1793. October 13. On October 13 was baptized in the city of Portsmouth Andrew, about two years old, son of John and Elizabeth Cunningham. God-father, James Roche. By me [Father] Matignon" (Boston Cathedral Register, original entry in Latin).

NEW JERSEY

FIRST PRIEST.—"A Jesuit come [June, 1683] from Mary-Land [to Woodbridge (?), N. J.] and named Master Juillet [Father Nicholas Gulick, ?]" (Shea, I, 90, note 3, quoting Dollier de Casson, "historian of Montreal." Shea would seem to be in error in giving this reference. Dollier de Casson's history of Montreal does not go beyond 1672). Six years later, 1689, Father Thomas Harvey, S. J., (*alias* John Smith or Smyth) "travelled on foot [from New York City] to Maryland" (Henry Foley, S. J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, III, 395; Hughes, Text, II, 151). Obviously Father Harvey's journey took him through New Jersey, where, so Martin I. Griffin conjectured, he said Mass in the house (Burlington) of the Catholic governor of New Jersey, John Tatham (*Researches*, V, 91). Father Theodore Schneider, S. J., visited New Jersey from Goshenhoppen as early as 1742, as evidenced by his baptismal register. Father Gregory Pardow is listed in the *Catholic Almanac*, 1834, as the only priest *resident* that year in New

Jersey. He organized St. John's parish, Newark, where he was apparently in residence as early as 1828 or 1829 (J. M. Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey*, Morristown, 68, 69). A Father Geoghan was the first resident pastor of St. John's Church, Trenton, c. 1830 (*Ibid.*, 61).

FIRST MASS.—The above-mentioned Jesuits may be presumed to have said Mass during their visits to New Jersey. This would place the first Mass at least as early as 1683 or 1689.

FIRST BAPTISM.—In 1683 at Hotbridge [Woodbridge, N. J.?] 3 leagues from Menate [Manhattan] was baptized [Robert du Poitiers, born in Staten Island], by a Jesuit come from Maryland" (Shea, I, 90, note 3). The next baptisms for New Jersey, all performed by Father Theodore Schneider, are recorded in the register of the Blessed Sacrament Church, Goshenhoppen, Berks County, Pennsylvania. "MaKarmick (McCormick,) Elias, of Patrick and — MaKarmick, baptized August 29th [1742] in Christian Haug's house [Dinekum (N. J.?)]; sponsors Lawrence Mair and Ann Blayny" (Goshenhoppen, Pennsylvania, register, *Records*, II, 318). David, a child of Lawrence Mair (Meyer?) was baptized, May 30, 1743 (*Records*, II, 320) in "Maurice Lorentz's house," which was in New Jersey (*Ibid.*, II, 321). This would seem to be the first *recorded* baptism that we may certainly place in New Jersey. Patrick MacKarmick was sponsor in the baptism in Maurice Lorentz's house, March 18, 1744 (*Ibid.*, II, 321. For baptisms in New Jersey in the 1760's see Shea, I, 448).

NEW MEXICO

FIRST PRIEST.—The Franciscan fathers, Juan de Padilla and Marcos de Niza (see Arizona), were the first priests whose presence in New Mexico can be established by documentary evidence. They arrived there with Coronado in 1540. As to the question whether Father de Niza actually reached New Mexico in 1539, see *supra*, Arizona. A recent penetrating study of the question denies that he did so. That he accompanied Coronado to New Mexico in 1540 seems a plain inference from a statement in Castañeda's narrative (*Spanish Explorers*, 299, 302). First *resident* priest was the Franciscan father, Francisco López, among the Tiguas Indians at Puaray, the present Sandía, 1581 (Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, I, 169).

FIRST MASS.—No definite date can be assigned, though the

presumption is that Fathers Juan de Padilla and Marcos de Niza offered the Holy Sacrifice after their arrival in New Mexico, 1540. Father de Padilla wintered with Coronado's army at Tiguex (present Bernallilo), 1540-1541, during which period he no doubt said Mass for the soldiers. Certainly the sacred rite was performed in New Mexico as early as 1540.

FIRST BAPTISM.—Baptisms were doubtless performed in New Mexico from the first arrival of the friars. According to a contemporary statement 20,000 baptisms were administered in New Mexico during the approximate period, 1600-1612 (C. W. Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Viscaya and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, I, 465, 483). First recorded baptism is that of Alonso de San Diego, baptized by Father Juan Alpuentes in the parish of Zia, 1691 (Register, Archdiocesan Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

NEW YORK

FIRST PRIEST.—According to J. G. Shea (I, 224) Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, Recollect, visited as early as 1626 the Neuter Indians, who then occupied both sides of the Niagara River. Shea apparently bases his statement on a letter of Father de la Roche Daillon in Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1866, III, 798 ff.). But nothing in the letter indicates that the father named crossed to the American side of the Niagara. This is also the view taken by Rev. Thomas O'Connor in his *History of the Diocese of Buffalo*, 14. The first priest whose presence on New York soil can be definitely ascertained was, it would seem, St. Isaac Jogues, who reached the Mohawk Valley in 1642. The first priest in New York City was also St. Isaac Jogues, 1643 (F. X. Talbot, S. J., in *Historical Records and Studies*, XIX [1929], 30). The first priest to minister regularly in New York City was Father Ferdinand Farmer (Steinmeyer), S. J., founder of the city's first Catholic congregation, St. Peter's, 1781 (?) -1785 (John M. Farley, *History of the Church in New York*, 3-4). First resident priests in New York state were Fathers Pierre Joseph Chaumonot, S. J., and Claude Dablon, S. J., Onondaga Mission, 1655-1658 (T. F. O'Connor, "The Onondaga Mission" in *MA*, XVII, 15 ff.). First resident priest in New York City was Father Charles Whelan, O. M. Cap., 1784-1786 (Ryan, *Old St. Peter's*, 38).

FIRST RECORDED MASS.—This was among the Onondaga at a place now identified as Indian Hill "some two miles southeast of

the village of Manlius in the town of Pompey," November 14, 1655. The celebrant was either Father Pierre Joseph Chaumonot, S. J., or Father Claude Dablon, S. J. (T. J. Campbell, S. J., "The First Mass in New York State," in *Historical Records and Studies*, XI [1917], 31-46; T. F. O'Connor, *loc. cit.*, 15-16; *JR*, XLII, 125).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Father Simon Le Moyne, S. J., baptized some Indian children at Indian Hill, Onondaga Mission, August 6, 1654 (*JR*, XLI, 101). First recorded baptism is that of Andrew James McLaughlin, born November 20, 1776, son of Patrick and Mary McLaughlin, baptized October 4, 1781, by Father Farmer "while travelling in New York" (*Records*, II, 274). From October 5 to 7, 1781, Father Farmer "while near Fishkill, New York" baptized conditionally fourteen "infants and children" (*Ibid.*).

NORTH CAROLINA

FIRST PRIEST.—According to HARRISSE, the "San Miguel River," where the Dominicans of Ayllon's expedition of 1526 founded a mission, was in North Carolina. The identification is uncertain. See *infra*, Virginia. De Soto's expedition with its chaplain was in western North Carolina, 1540, going thence into Tennessee. These were the first priests certainly known to have entered the state. Father Patrick Clery was in residence, apparently in a private capacity, at Newbern, c. 1784-1790 (Shea, II, 318). "No priest had ever been fixed here [Wilmington, North Carolina] or in the neighborhood. A Rev. Mr. Burke has spent a fortnight here 25 years ago [1796] and a Jesuit going to some Spanish settlement spent two or three days in the town about the year 1815" (Bishop England's *Diurnal* cited in P. Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England, First Bishop of Charleston*, I, 132). Father Le Mercier visited Raleigh, 1805 (*Ibid.*, 134). Father Michael de Lacy of Norfolk visited Washington, North Carolina, in 1807 to give the last sacraments to a Mr. Hanrahan and while there said Mass in the house of a Mr. Leroy (*Ibid.*, 133, 134). The first resident priest was Father O'Donoghue, Fayetteville, North Carolina, 1823 (*Records*, XIX, 99, 101). Father Clery (*supra*) does not seem to have exercised the ministry during his stay in Newbern, c. 1784-1790. "Father Nicholas Kearney, the pastor at Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, visited the Catholics of North Carolina several times between 1818 and 1820, his last visit being in November, 1820" (Guilday, I, 133, 320).

FIRST MASS.—The first Mass in the state was presumably said by one of De Soto's chaplains. Father Patrick Clery said Mass *c.* 1784 at Newbern in the house of a Mrs. Gaston (Shea, II, 318). Next recorded Mass was apparently at Washington, 1807, Father Michael de Lacy of Norfolk, celebrant (Guilday, I, 133).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Baptisms were presumably performed in the state from a very early date. Father Kearney (*supra*) in all probability baptized there during the period, 1818-1820, as Bishop England did on his visitation of North Carolina, May-July, 1821. "My object is, in the first place, to afford to my flock an opportunity of receiving the Holy Sacraments of Penance, Eucharist, Confirmation and Baptism" (*Records*, XVIII, 368). Whether North Carolina baptisms by Father Kearney for the above indicated years are anywhere on record, the compiler cannot ascertain. The records at St. Mary's Rectory, Charleston, North Carolina, which contain Charleston baptisms by Bishop England dated as early as 1821, show no North Carolina baptisms by that prelate, at least to the knowledge of the compiler. First recorded baptism was, it would seem, at Salisbury, May 22, 1831, on which day Father John Maginnis baptized Mary Neofrito, born February 23, 1820, and Eliza Colan, children of Robert McNamara and Eliza Steel. At the same time and place Bishop England baptized Julia Ann, born June 11, 1830, daughter of E. Allemong and Mary McDonald. Also at the same time and place Father Maginnis "received into the Church" Eliza Steel, but whether he baptized her on the occasion the record does not indicate. He probably did, in which case this is the first baptism recorded in the state, the entry being the first in the Fayetteville register (Register of St. Patrick's Church, Fayetteville, North Carolina).

NORTH DAKOTA

FIRST PRIEST.—According to L. Palladino, S. J. (*Indian and White in the Northwest*, 283), Father Gabriel Coquart, S. J., accompanied the historic La Verendrye expedition of 1742-1743, which traversed North and South Dakota, and, according to some authorities, Montana and Wyoming. The statement lacks documentary support. The La Verendrye journals do not include Coquart in the personnel of the expedition after it left Fort Le Reine. Moreover, data found in the missionary's correspondence are incompatible with his presence in any of the Le Verendrye

expeditions into what is now American territory. (See Lawrence J. Burpee, *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de la Verendrye*, Champlain Society Publications, Toronto, 1927). The first priest, as far as known, to enter the state was Father Severe Dumoulin, who opened in 1818 and maintained until 1823 a mission for Canadian colonists at Pembina on the Red River in the northeast corner of the state (M. M. Hoffman, *Church Founders of the Northwest*, 283-284).

FIRST MASS.—The first known Masses were said by Father Dumoulin at Pembina in 1818.

FIRST BAPTISM.—At the beginning of 1819 Father Dumoulin had conferred fifty-two baptisms at Pembina. By May 25, 1821, the number of his baptisms at that place had risen to 313 (Morice, O. M. I., *Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans l'Ouest du Canada*, 1915, I, 147). These are the earliest administrations of the rite in North Dakota. The baptisms mentioned next after those of Father Dumoulin are the twenty-five performed by Father Christian Hoecken at the Little Missouri, June 13, 1840 (C. Hoecken's baptismal register, Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas). Whether any Pembina baptisms for the period 1823-1840 are on record the compiler cannot ascertain.

OHIO

FIRST PRIEST.—Father Armand de la Richardie, S. J., Huron Mission near the site of Sandusky, 1738 or 1739 (W. Eugene Shiels, S. J., "The Jesuits in Ohio in the Eighteenth Century," *MA*, XVIII, 39). As to the priest-travellers on the Ohio, 1739, 1749, see *supra*, Kentucky, and *infra*, West Virginia. First *resident* priest was Father de la Richardie at the Huron Mission near the site of Sandusky. First *resident* priest in the *post-colonial* period was the Benedictine, Dom Pierre Joseph Didier at Gallipolis, French settlement on the Scioto, where he was pastor, 1790-1792 (Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., "The Gallipolis Colony," *CHR*, IV, 415-451). Next *resident* priest appears to have been Father Edmund Burke, subsequently Bishop of Sion and Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia "at Fort Massac on the north-western bank of the Maumee River near the present site of Perrysburg," 1795 (Shea, II, 477).

FIRST MASS.—Probably Mass was said in Ohio before the coming of Father de la Richardie, 1738 or 1739; at any rate the earliest celebration of the rite in the state may be fixed at a date not later than 1739, when Father de la Richardie was

presumably offering the Holy Sacrifice at the Huron Mission, Sandusky. There is a likelihood that Mass was said within the limits of Ohio by the above-mentioned priest-travellers on the Ohio River, 1739, 1749 (see Kentucky). Mass was offered regularly at Gallipolis, 1790-1792. There is a record of Mass said at Gallipolis in the fall of 1793 by Fathers S. T. Badin and Barriere (Shea, II, 455).

FIRST BAPTISM.—The earliest known Ohio baptism is to be referred to 1739, in which year Father de la Richardie, S. J., administered the sacrament at the Huron Mission, Sandusky (Shiels, *loc. cit.*). Fathers Badin and Barriere conferred forty baptisms at Gallipolis, 1793. The first *recorded* baptism in central Ohio was administered by Father Edward Fenwick, O. P., first Bishop of Cincinnati to be, at Somerset, Perry County, December 24, 1818, the recipient of the sacrament being Nicholas J. Rian (Ryan) (J. H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, 29).

OKLAHOMA

FIRST PRIEST.—According to T. H. Lewis, the De Soto expedition penetrated into the eastern extremity of the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma (*Spanish Explorers*, 217). In the same year, 1541, as generally held by students of the expedition, Coronado passed through the western extremity of Oklahoma on his way north to Kansas (*Ibid.*, map, 284). If these interpretations of the De Soto and Coronado routes are correct, the first priests in Oklahoma arrived in 1541, Fray de Padilla from one direction and the ecclesiastics of De Soto's party from the other. This conclusion, as far as it regards Fray de Padilla, is based on the supposition, questioned or denied by some, that he accompanied Coronado to Quivira in 1541, though he did go thither later and was there martyred (see *supra*, Kansas). But no doubt seems to be raised that the surviving friars and other clerics of De Soto's expedition were with him when he entered Oklahoma. The case for their presence in the future state is therefore better established than the corresponding case for Fray de Padilla. Moreover, see *supra*, Kansas, for a recent interpretation of the Coronado route which places Quivira in the Texas Panhandle, with a probable slight extension into Oklahoma. All things considered, De Soto's priests have the best claim to be called the earliest in Oklahoma. Scholars have generally held that the Oñate expedition of 1661

passed through Oklahoma into Kansas (*Spanish Explorations*, 205). But a recent reinterpretation of the relevant sources concludes that "the farthest point reached [by Oñate], contrary to the general belief, could not have been beyond the northern Canadian in the vicinity of Beaver County, Oklahoma, at the edge of the great plains" (Castañeda, I, 194; see also *supra*, Kansas). With Oñate was Father Francisco de Velasco, O. F. M. (*Spanish Explorations*, 251). It appears to be certain that La Salle's brother, the Sulpician, Jean Cavelier, and the Recollect, Anastase Douay, entered Oklahoma at its southeast corner, May, 1687, passing thence to Arkansas and the Mississippi on their way to Canada, after La Salle's assassination (Le Baron Marc de Villiers, *L'Expedition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique, 1684-1687*). There were eighteenth-century priests, among them, Father Vitry, S. J., resident at Natchitoches, on the upper Red River in what is now Louisiana; but no evidence is at hand that they ever journeyed west into what is now Oklahoma. Father Odin, C. M., subsequently first Bishop of Galveston, visited the Arkansas Indians in 1824, but did not pursue his missionary excursion to tribes farther west, as he had planned to do (*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, II, 383). Father C. F. Van Quickenborne, S. J., in the course of a missionary excursion, 1830, exercised his ministry along the Chouteau, Pryor and Cabin Creeks (Indian Territory) according to P. M. Ponziglione, S. J. (*Woodstock Letters*, XIII, 19). The statement cannot be verified and may be without foundation. The first priest in Oklahoma in the American period was probably Father Donohue, who was attending Fort Gibson in 1848 (*Catholic Almanac*, 1849). The first *resident* priest in Oklahoma was Father Isidore Robot, O. S. B., who began residence at Atoka, October 12, 1875. (Sister Ursula Thomas, "The Church on the Oklahoma Frontier," *MA*, XX, 174).

FIRST MASS.—No mention of Mass during the Spanish period occurs in the records. Probably Fray de Padilla (1541), more probably De Soto's chaplains (1541) and Fray Francisco de Velasco of Oñate's expedition (1601), said Mass within the limits of the state. Mass was certainly said by Fathers Walsh and John Monaghan in the course of their missionary excursions, five in number, during 1849, from Fort Smith into the Indian Territory (*Ibid.*, 172). The *first* Mass of record said by a priest entering the Territory from the north was at the Arapaho and Cheyenne Agency, June 11, 1871, Father P. M.

Ponziplione, S. J., celebrant (Ponziplione's *Journal*, III, 18, Missouri Province, S. J., Archives, St. Louis University).

FIRST BAPTISM.—There were probably baptisms in Oklahoma in the Spanish period, but no mention of such occurs in the records. Father Donohue, attending Fort Gibson as early as 1848, probably administered the sacrament on his excursions to that place. The first *recorded* baptisms would seem to be those performed by Fathers Walsh and Monaghan in 1849 (Sister Ursula Thomas, 172). The first baptisms by Father Ponziplione were those conferred on "some children and an old man," at the Arapaho and Cheyenne Agency, June 11, 1871 (Ponziplione, *Journal*, *loc. cit.*).

OREGON

FIRST PRIEST.—Father Francis N. Blanchet (subsequently first Archbishop of Oregon City), arrived in what is now the state of Oregon in January, 1839, holding his first services at St. Paul-on-the-Willamette. He is Oregon's first priest. First *resident* priest was Father Antoine Langlois, St. Paul-on-the-Willamette, 1842-1843 (O'Hara, 123).

FIRST MASS.—This was celebrated by Father Blanchet, January 6, 1839, at St. Paul-on-the-Willamette. "The following day, January 6th, being Sunday and the Epiphany of Our Lord, the church was blessed under the patronage of the great apostle St. Paul, after which was celebrated the first Mass ever said in the Valley in the presence of all the Canadians, their wives and children" (F. N. Blanchet, *Historical Sketches of the Church in Oregon during the First Forty Years (1838-1878)* in Clarence E. Bagley, ed., *Early Church Missions in Old Oregon*, 64-65).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Seventy-four baptisms and twenty-five marriages were performed by Father Blanchet at St. Paul-on-the-Willamette or in its vicinity during the period January 6-February 5, 1839 (Blanchet, 66).

PENNSYLVANIA

FIRST PRIEST.—In 1689 Thomas Harvey, S. J., "travelled on foot [from New York City] to Maryland," a journey which obviously took him through Pennsylvania. He is the first priest known to have entered the state (Henry Foley, S. J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, III, 395; Hughes, Text, II, 151). "Mass is said and read publicly in Philadelphia

and several people are turned to it" (Statement by the Episcopalian clergyman, Rev. John Talbot, February 4, 1708. Hughes, Text, II, 473). The identity of the priest involved cannot be established (*Researches*, XII, 39; Shea, I, 366-368). That he was Father Thomas Harvey, as has been conjectured, cannot be, as the latter died in 1696. First *resident* priest was Father Joseph Greaton, S. J. The sketch of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography* calls him "Pennsylvania's first pastor." He was pastor in Philadelphia where he built a chapel, 1733-1734. Whether he had been living in Conewago before taking up residence in Philadelphia cannot be ascertained, though very probably he was making missionary excursions to the Catholic settlers of Pennsylvania as early at least as 1725. His connections with Conewago are vague and uncertain, nor can it be established beyond question that there was a priest resident at that place prior to Greaton's appearance in Philadelphia in 1729 or earlier.

FIRST MASS.—There is every probability that Father Thomas Harvey, S. J., said Mass for Catholic groups in Pennsylvania while passing through that colony in 1689. These would accordingly be the *first known Masses* in Pennsylvania. For the Masses in Philadelphia, 1708, see *supra*. Mass was certainly said in Philadelphia at least as early as 1729 (*Researches*, XXVI, 16).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Baptisms were of course performed in Pennsylvania at least as early as the 1720's. The register of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, begins only in 1758, those of earlier date having disappeared. The first *recorded* baptism was that of Albertina Kohl, daughter of George and Barbara Kohl, born May 6, baptized August 23, 1741, in "John Utzman's house in Falkner's Swamp" by Father Theodore Schneider, S. J. (Goshenhoppen, Register, *Records*, II, 317). *First recorded baptism in Philadelphia* was by Father Schneider. "Gust, Rosina, of Henry and Mary Magdalen Gust, baptized November 7th [1742] in the chapel in Philadelphia" (*Records*, II, 319).

RHODE ISLAND

FIRST PRIEST.—Medieval Rhode Island, if we assume (which is probable) that it was part of the Vinland of the Norsemen, may have had its Catholic priests with Mass and baptism (*Catholic Church in N. E.*, 351). Prior to the arrival of the

chaplains with the French troops encamped at Newport and Providence during the Revolution, only one priest, unnamed, is known to have visited Rhode Island, which he did in March, 1769 (Riley, *Catholicism in New England*, 209). The *first known-by-name priest* to visit Rhode Island appears to have been the Abbé Claude Florent Bouchard de la Poterie, who was in Providence in 1789 (Thomas F. Cullen, *The Catholic Church in Rhode Island*, 44). The first *resident* priest was Father Robert D. Woodley, at Pawtucket, where he was pastor, 1829-1830 (*Ibid.*, 77, 271).

FIRST MASS.—French troops sent to the relief of the Americans during the Revolution were stationed for a period in Rhode Island, particularly at Newport and Providence. "The earliest recorded Mass for Roman Catholics in Rhode Island was celebrated in Newport's old State House for members of the French fleet by French chaplains during the Revolution" (*Rhode Island: a Guide to the Smallest State*, WPA, Federal Writers Project, Boston, 1937, 128). The *first dated Mass*, as far as known, is the one reported by the *Providence Gazette*, December 12, 1789: "Tuesday last, being the Festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Rev. Abbé de la Poterie, French Roman Catholic priest and Doctor of Divinity, celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in this town at the request of several Catholics of the Roman communion and addressed to the Almighty his humble prayers for the constant and permanent prosperity of the State of Rhode Island" (Cullen, 44).

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISM.—At Newport, October 28, 1791, were baptized by "John Thayer, Missionary Apostolic," James and Elizabeth Gouffrane. Godfather was John Cambrelang (Boston Cathedral Register, original entry in Latin). Baptisms were very probably performed in Rhode Island prior to this date, but no record of them, as far as is known, survives.

SOUTH CAROLINA

FIRST PRIEST.—For the location of the mission established by the Dominicans of Ayllon's expedition, 1526, see *infra*, Virginia. Lowery says it may be on the Pedee, which is in South Carolina (*Spanish Settlements*, I, 166). If this location be the true one (a conjecture only), the Dominicans in question were the first priests in South Carolina. The De Soto expedition traversed the west part of the two Carolinas, 1540. Its chap-

lains were the *first priests* who can be *definitely* traced in South Carolina. The Dominican fathers, Juan de Contreras and Gregorio de Beteta, were with Villafaña on his reconnoitering expedition to Santa Elena (Port Royal Sound, Beaufort County), 1561 (O'Daniel, 183). First *resident* priest was Father Juan Rogel, S. J., at Santa Elena, 1569 (Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, 44). First *resident* priest in the American period appears to have been a Father Ryan, who, immediately on his arrival from Ireland, was stationed by Vicar Apostolic Carroll in Charleston, 1788 (Shea, II, 316).

FIRST MASS.—If the Dominican Mission of 1526 was located in South Carolina, which is problematical, the Masses said by its priests were the first in the state (see *supra*). Mass was very probably said once or oftener during the progress of the De Soto expedition through South Carolina territory. Mass was probably said by the Dominicans, Fathers de Contreras and de Beteta, at Santa Elena, 1561, and certainly at this place by Father Rogel, S. J., 1569. The first Mass in Charleston was offered in 1786 for a congregation of twelve by an Italian priest on his way to South America (Shea, *loc. cit.*).

FIRST BAPTISM.—There were no doubt baptisms at the Mission of Santa Elena, 1569—; probably even before this date the sacrament had been conferred elsewhere in South Carolina territory. First *recorded* baptism was in Charleston, August 10, 1792, on which day Father S. F. O'Gallagher baptized Felix Joseph A., son of Antoine and Marie Montagne, sponsors being Joseph Alman and Margaret Devernes. Bishop England's *first recorded Charleston baptism* was that of Conleith Plunkett Casin five weeks' old son of Conly Casin and Harriet Rupell, March 12, 1821 (Register, St. Mary's Church, Charleston).

SOUTH DAKOTA

FIRST PRIEST.—As to Father Coquart's alleged presence in South Dakota, 1742-1743, see *supra*, North Dakota. There is no apparent reason to assume that Father Severe Dumoulin, while resident at Pembina, 1818-1823, reached South Dakota on his missionary rounds (see North Dakota). But this is likely to have been the case with Father Dumoulin's successor, Father George A. Belcourt, who was accustomed to accompany his parishioners to the plains on their buffalo hunts. The first priest explicitly on record as having entered the territory which has since become South Dakota is Father De Smet, S. J., who in

1839 visited from Council Bluffs in Iowa territory the Yankton Sioux in their camp on the Vermilion River (CR, *De Smet*, I, 190). First *resident* priest (?) was Father Francis Bouchet, French Settlement, Union County, 1869 (*Catholic Almanac*, 1870). The compiler cannot ascertain whether any priest was in residence within the limits of South Dakota prior to this date.

FIRST MASS.—*Probably* Father Belcourt said the first Mass in South Dakota at some date prior to 1839. It may be assumed as at least likely that Father De Smet celebrated the rite on his brief visit to the Vermilion in 1839 (*supra*). It would appear to be certain that Father Christian Hoecken did so on his excursion to the two Dakotas the following year, 1840. The first Mass in South Dakota must therefore be fixed at a date not later than 1840. "The first Mass in the State was held [*sic*] on the James River in Bennett County, 1842, by Father A. Ravoux. On the same trip he visited the French-Canadian trappers and their families at Fort Pierre" (*A South Dakota Guide*, WPA, Federal Writers Project, 1938, 64). This statement as to the first Mass in South Dakota must be modified in view of the data given above.

FIRST BAPTISM.—Father De Smet on his visit of May, 1839, to the Yankton and Santee Sioux at or near the mouth of the Vermilion River baptized "three adults and twenty-six children" (CR, *De Smet*, I, 178, 190). These are the earliest known baptisms in South Dakota. The first *recorded* baptisms were at Vermilion (*au Vermilion*), May 30, 1840, when Father C. Hoecken, S. J., baptized Louise, daughter of William Dickson, as also Victoire, "daughter of H. Ange and Marie." No certified baptisms for South Dakota earlier than these have been met with (C. Hoecken's autograph register, Archives of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas. Cf. also Garraghan, *Jesuits of Middle U. S.*, II, 473, n. 89).

TENNESSEE

FIRST PRIEST.—De Soto's expedition with its accompanying priests were in eastern Tennessee in 1540. These were the earliest ministers of the Gospel to tread the soil of the state (T. H. Lewis, ed., "The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas," in *Spanish Explorers*, 177-182). It must be noted that in 1541 the De Soto expedition was again in Tennessee, this time in its western part,

from which, at a point probably some thirty miles below Memphis, it crossed the Mississippi into Arkansas. The first recorded landing made by Father Marquette below the Ohio was probably in Tennessee, 1673 (Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 44). It is not unlikely that other landings were made by Marquette on the Tennessee shore. On February 24, 1682, Father Zénobe Membré, O. F. M., chaplain of La Salle's expedition of that year, was at the so-called Fort Prudhomme on the site of Memphis (Shea, 167-168). In the American period the pioneer priests were Fathers William de Rohan (1789-1790), Badin (1808), Abell (1820), and Durbin (1832). The first *resident* priest was Father Joseph Stokes, who arrived September 7, 1839, in Nashville, which apparently became his headquarters, though his time at the beginning was mostly taken up with missionary trips to various parts of the diocese. "Father Stokes was the first priest of the diocese" (O'Daniel, *The Father of the Church in Tennessee*, 335). Bishop Miles was really the first resident Catholic clergyman in the state. For a considerable time after his installation in Nashville, 1839, he ministered single-handed to the Catholics of Tennessee, there being no priest available to share the ministry with him.

FIRST MASS.—In all probability the first Mass was said by one of De Soto's priests, when the expedition was in eastern Tennessee, 1540. Later, at the battle of Mavilla, in Alabama, October, 1540, the Mass equipment was entirely lost with the result that there was no performance of the sacred rite for the remainder of the expedition. In lieu of it, the priests said what was called a "dry mass" (Castañeda, I, 121). Father Membré may have said Mass at Fort Prudhomme (Memphis) February 24, 1682 or thereabouts (Shea, 167-168). The first *recorded* Mass was at Ecores à Prud'homme (Chickasaw Bluffs, Memphis), March 25, 1723, Father Jean Baptiste Le Boullenger, S. J., celebrant ("The Journal of Diron Dartaguiette," in Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*, 26).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Baptisms may have been performed by the Spanish and French priests visiting Tennessee during the colonial period (see *supra*, first priest). According to Spalding (*Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*, 48, 49), Father William Rohan baptized in eastern Tennessee, 1789-1790. Father S. T. Badin baptized twenty persons of various ages at Knoxville in the latter part of 1808 (O'Daniel, 288).

The records of these baptisms, if indeed they are extant, have not been traced. The *first ascertainable certified baptism* was conferred by Bishop Miles at Nashville, October 21, 1838, the recipient of the sacrament being Susanna Elizabeth, daughter of John Garvin and Emilia Frensey (Register of St. Mary's Church, Nashville).

TEXAS

FIRST PRIEST.—As far as can be ascertained, the first priests to arrive in what is now Texas were those who accompanied the ill-fated Narváez expedition on its way west to Mexico in crudely improvised barges, 1528. These were Fray Juan Suárez (Xuarez), Bishop-elect of Florida, and three other Franciscans in priestly orders, together with one Asturiano, described by Cabeza de Vaca as a "cleric," probably a secular priest. Asturiano, being in the same barge with Cabeza de Vaca, was wrecked with him "somewhere on the western extremity of Galveston Island, or perhaps on San Luis Peninsula or Bolívar Point," on or about November 6, 1528. At approximately the same time the barge carrying the Franciscans was wrecked at the mouth of the San Bernardo River, some forty miles below Galveston. The passengers, including the Franciscans, attempted to continue the journey along the Texas coast by land, but apparently perished on the way before reaching Mexico. The very first appearance of a priest on the soil of Texas may therefore be dated November, 1528 (Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, I, 55-61). The Franciscan Fray Juan de Padilla of Coronado's expedition, was with the first party of whites to enter the Texas Panhandle and traverse the great plains along the Canadian River, 1540 (*Ibid.*, I, 97). The five missionaries who accompanied Moscoso when he led the remnants of De Soto's expedition west in search of New Spain, 1542, "in all probability died somewhere in eastern and northern Texas" (*Ibid.*, I, 139). Five Dominican friars were wrecked on the Texas coast, probably on Padre Island, about half way between Corpus Christi and Brazos Pass, 1553 (*Ibid.*, I, 143). The first *resident* priests were the Franciscans, Nicholas López, Juan de Zavaleta, and Antonio de Acevedo in the mission at La Junta among the Julimes or Jumanos of La Junta de los Ríos (*Ibid.*, I, 272).

FIRST MASS.—The first *recorded* Mass in Texas was at San Ysidro (apparently on a branch of the Nueces River), May 16, 1675, Fray Juan de Larios, O. F. M., being the celebrant (*Ibid.*, I, 239).

FIRST BAPTISM.—The earliest *dated* baptisms were at San Ysidro, May 16, 1675, on which day Fray de Larios administered the sacrament to fifty-five Indian infants (*Ibid.*, I, 239). Without a doubt there were baptisms and many of them in Texas before that date.

UTAH

FIRST PRIEST.—The two Franciscans, Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, are the first priests known to have entered the territory which is now Utah. This they did in 1776 on their adventurous quest for a practicable route from Santa Fé to Monterey in California (H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 8). Fray Escalante's diary of his journey of 1776 is reproduced in W. R. Harris, *The Catholic Church in Utah*, 125-242. The next priests to visit Utah were Father De Smet (1840) and Father J. B. Raverdy (1864). The first *resident* priest was Father James P. Foley, Salt Lake City, 1868-1870 (Harris, 283).

FIRST MASS.—Fray Escalante's diary gives no indication that he or his companion said Mass while in Utah, though it does record a Mass said by one of them a few days after the two left Santa Fe. But the silence of the diary in this regard is by no means conclusive proof that they did not at any time offer the Holy Sacrifice while passing through Utah. The first *recorded* Mass was said by Father John Baptist Raverdy of Denver, at Fort Douglas, May, 1864 (Harris, 281).

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISM.—This was performed at Salt Lake City by Father Edward Kelly, a visiting priest from Austin, Nevada. "On the 27th of May, 1866, I baptized Edward Ryan, son of Daniel Ryan and Bridget Mullen, (conj.) born near Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, on the 30th June, 1865. Sponsors, John Campbell and Bridget McGrath. Edw. Kelly" (Register of St. Augustine's Church, Austin, Lander County, Nevada). According to the same register Father Kelly baptized, May 28, 1866, "at Great Salt Lake City, Utah Territory."

VERMONT

FIRST PRIEST.—That a Recollect said Mass on Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain in 1615 has been asserted, but on what evidence does not appear. That was the year in which the Recollects came to Canada (*Catholic World*, XXII, 279). The Sulpician, Father Dollier de Casson, exercised the sacred ministry

at Fort Ste. Anne, Isle La Motte, during the winter of 1666-1667. He is the first priest whose presence in Vermont can be vouched for by documentary evidence (T. F. O'Connor in the *Michaelman*, III, November, 1937, 21). The three Jesuit fathers, Fremin, Bruyas, and Pierron, were visitors at Fort Ste. Anne in 1667. The first *resident* priest in the colonial period was Father Dollier de Casson (*supra*); in the post-colonial period, Father Jeremiah O'Callaghan, Wallingford, 1830 (T. F. O'Connor in the *Michaelman*, III, April, 1938, 12).

FIRST MASS.—From Father Dollier de Casson's certain ministry at Fort Ste. Anne, 1666-1667, it may be safely inferred that he there offered the Holy Sacrifice. The first known celebration of Mass in Vermont may therefore be dated 1666.

FIRST BAPTISM.—No records of any Vermont baptisms in the colonial period are extant. The first *recorded* baptism reads: "Baptized or Baptism's ceremonies supplied in Burlington, State of Vermont, on Sunday, 15th of October, 1815, to 1. Margaret Longueil born Mch. 4, 1806, of Thomas & Catherine Longueil, godf. Francis Bolac [follow sixteen other names of baptized persons]. Francis A. Matignon" (Boston Cathedral Register).

VIRGINIA

FIRST PRIEST.—Two Dominican fathers, Antonio de Montesinos and Antonio de Cervantes, were with Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon when he landed with his expedition on or about September 29, 1526, at some unidentified point [San Miguel] on the Atlantic coast. "The location of San Miguel cannot be determined with certainty" (Bourne, *Spain in America*, 140, n. 1. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 166, followed by Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, 17, suggests the Pedee River in South Carolina. Shea in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 241, and in his *Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 107, places the mission on the site of the future Jamestown. H. HARRISSE, *Discovery of North America*, 213, places it on the lower Cape Fear River in North Carolina). Shea's identification, which appeared to him to be certain, has been accepted by O'Daniel (*Dominicans in Early Florida*, 7, not without some reserve), and by Kenny (*Romance of the Floridas*, 25). Whatever be the river designated in the contemporary account as Gualdape or Guandape, the Mission of San Miguel de Guandape, set up by the Dominicans on its banks, was the earliest on the Atlantic seaboard. But

in which precisely of the Atlantic states the mission was planted must remain a point open to discussion. The first priests whose presence in Virginia can be *definitely* established were the Jesuit missionaries Juan B. Segura and Luis de Quiros. With the assistance of lay brothers and catechists they opened, September, 1570, on the banks of the Rappahannock, it would appear, in the region then known as Ajacán or Axacán a mission-post on behalf of the neighboring Indians. "All the indications point to the district lying close to Aquia and Occouaw within some thirty miles of the capital at Washington and embracing the battle-fields of Bull Run and Manassas and other great conflicts of the Civil War" (Kenny, 272). The site of Segura's mission is placed by Bolton (*Spanish Borderlands*, 159) "at Axacán, perhaps on the Rappahannock." He has later expressed the view that it was not far from the site of Jamestown. The next priests resident in Virginia were the Jesuits, Roger Rigbie (1646-), Thomas Copley, and Lawrence Starkey, or Sankey (1648), all probably in the district known as Accomac (Hughes, Text, II, 11, 24, 25).

FIRST MASS.—According to Kenny (25), "Father Montesinos offered [in 1526] the first Mass on the soil of Virginia," a statement also made by O'Daniel (7). The accuracy of the statement is of course conditioned by the question as to where the Mission of San Miguel actually was, a question not yet definitely resolved. It is a necessary inference that Mass was offered at Father Segura's mission in the present Virginia, 1570-1571, as also by the seventeenth-century Jesuits resident in the same territory (*supra*). A Father Edwards (*alias* Raymond) arrived and said Mass in Norfolk County, Virginia in 1687 (*Researches*, I, New Series, 233. According to P. Guilday, *The Catholic Church in Virginia (1815-1822)*, xv, n. 6, Edwards and Raymond were different priests).

FIRST BAPTISM.—Baptisms in Virginia of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there must have been, though no record of them survives. Probably the earliest mentioned baptism is that of Charles Edward Cameron, who, born February 22, 1753, was baptized a few years later in Norfolk, Virginia (*Researches*, I, New Series, 66).

WASHINGTON

FIRST PRIEST.—Fathers Francis N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers, who in November, 1838, crossed the 49th parallel into what is now the state of Washington, journeying thence down

the Columbia to Fort Vancouver, were the first priests in the state.

FIRST MASS.—This was said at Fort Colville on the Columbia, November 6, 1838, both Fathers Blanchet and Demers offering the Holy Sacrifice (F. N. Blanchet, "Historical Sketches of the Church in Oregon during the First Forty Years (1838-1878)" in Clarence E. Bagley, ed., *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, 38). At the "House of the Lakes" on the Columbia, just above the 49th parallel, the two fathers spent eighteen days, saying Mass daily and administering seventeen baptisms. First Mass in western Washington was said at Fort Vancouver, November 25, 1838 (Blanchet, 53).

FIRST BAPTISM.—The first baptisms in the state were the nineteen administered by Blanchet and Demers at Fort Colville on the Columbia, in November, 1838 (Blanchet, 38).

WISCONSIN

FIRST PRIEST.—Father René Ménard, S. J., who was at the Ottawa village on Fish Creek, Chequamegon Bay, near the site of Ashland, May-July, 1661 (*JR*, XLVI, 141-143, LII, 205; L. P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 147-149). First resident priest was Father Claude Allouez, S. J., at his mission of La Pointe du Saint Esprit (Chequamegon Point, Chequamegon Bay), 1665-1669 (Kellogg, 153-156).

FIRST MASS.—The first Mass in the state was offered by Father Ménard at the Ottawa village, Chequamegon Bay, on a day during the period May-July, 1661. The first Mass in the interior of the state (unless the distinction goes to Father Ménard, see *infra*) was said by Father Allouez on the shore of Lake Winnebago, Sunday, April 20, 1670. This is also the first *precisely dated* Mass for the entire state. A tablet in the park at Oshkosh commemorates the event (Kellogg, 160; *JR*, LIV, 217). The Relations (XLVIII, 123, 135) note that Father Ménard said Mass every day while he was in the West. The statement lends support to the inference that he did so during his last journey, July-August, 1661, which took him into the valley of the Wisconsin River. His presumptive Masses of that period are accordingly *the first known for the entire Mississippi Valley*. De Soto's chaplains had ceased saying Mass before they reached the valley, 1541.

FIRST BAPTISM.—Radisson and Groseilliers, pioneer explorers and fur traders of the Northwest, definitely left that region the

same year, 1660, in which Father Ménard arrived in it. Groseilliers, so his partner recorded, often baptized Indian children, presumably dying ones. One may therefore conclude that the earliest baptisms in Wisconsin and Minnesota, the region particularly traversed by Radisson and Groseilliers, were lay ones, those, namely, administered by Groseilliers (Kellogg, 107, n. 6). The account in the Relations (XLVI, 141-143) does not indicate that Father Ménard baptized while at Chequamegon Bay, May-July, 1661, though he very probably did so. (The reference in Kellogg [149] to baptisms at Chequamegon Bay is not borne out by the passage cited from the Relations [XLVIII, 123] which seems to refer to Keewenaw Bay.) Father Allouez baptized eighty children at Chequamegon Bay during the winter, 1665-1666 (*JR*, LI, 23). These are the earliest clearly indicated baptisms for Wisconsin. All baptismal records for the colonial period appear to be lost. The first certified baptisms for the post-colonial period were those conferred at Prairie du Chien in 1817 by Father Joseph Dunand, a Trappist monk from Florissant, Missouri. The first in the series of baptisms, as now recorded (incompletely) in the parish register, which have a precise date is the fourteenth, April 23, 1817, the recipient of the sacrament being Caroline, daughter of Stephen Hempsted and Louise Lefebre (P. L. Scanlan, "Pioneer Priests at Prairie du Chien," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XIII, 1929, 98).

WYOMING

FIRST PRIEST.—As far as known, Father Peter De Smet, S. J., crossing what is now the Nebraska-Wyoming line on his way west over the Oregon Trail in the summer of 1840, was the first priest to enter the state. The first settlement of any kind within the state lines to see a priest was Fort Laramie, where De Smet arrived in June of that year. De Smet was also the first priest known to have entered Idaho and Montana, which he did on this same trip of 1840. The first *resident* priest was Father William Kelly, Church of St. Mary of the Plains, Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1868 (*Catholic Almanac*, 1869; Patrick A. McGovern, "History of the Diocese of Cheyenne," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, V, 1923, 7).

FIRST MASS.—This was said by Father De Smet in the course of the above-mentioned journey on "the prairie of the Mass" (*la prairie de la Messe*) at or near the junction of the Green River and the Big Sandy, Sunday, July 5, 1840. A marker placed

by the Knights of Columbus indicates the approximate site. De Smet had in all probability said Mass some days before this at Fort Laramie, which was in the present Wyoming. "During all my stay in the Mountains I said Mass regularly Sundays and feast-days" (CR, *De Smet*, I, 230).

FIRST BAPTISM.—While on the west side of the Wind River Mountains in what is now western Wyoming, De Smet, not long after his Mass of July 5, 1840, baptized several hundreds of the Flathead and Pend d' Oreille Indians, who had come to meet him. These are the earliest known baptisms for Wyoming, but no precise date for them is on record (CR, *De Smet*, I, 226). The first *recorded* baptism occurred at Cheyenne, April 12, 1868, when Father William Kelly baptized John, son of James Gorman and Mary Gorman. Sponsors were James Whelan and Bridget Whelan (Baptismal register, St. Mary's Cathedral, Cheyenne, Wyoming).

WEST VIRGINIA

FIRST PRIEST.—The first priests known to have viewed the land which is now West Virginia were the group of three who descended the Ohio in 1739 (see Kentucky). Father Joseph Pierre Bonnécamps, S. J., on his way down the Ohio with Céloron in 1749 skirted the western boundary of West Virginia as also (for a shorter distance) did Father Louis Virot, S. J., in 1757 (Shiels, "The Jesuits in Ohio in the Eighteenth Century," *MA*, XVIII, 30-32). It may be reasonably conjectured that these early priest-travellers on the Ohio set foot one or more times on the West Virginia shore. In 1824 there was no priest *resident* in West Virginia (Archbishop Marechal's Diary, *Records*, XI, 447). In 1828 Father Francis Rolof was appointed pastor in Wheeling (Baptismal register, St. Joseph's Cathedral, Wheeling). In 1834 Father J. Gildea was *resident* at Harper's Ferry, and Father James Hoerner at Wheeling (*Catholic Almanac*, 1834).

FIRST MASS.—There appear to be no records of any kind enabling us to determine when, where, and by whom Mass was offered for the first time in West Virginia. In 1818 Father Redmond was attending Martinsburg where no doubt he performed the sacred rites (*Records*, XI, 431). In the early decades of the nineteenth century Mass was often said at a Mr. Thompson's near Wheeling by missionaries going to or returning from the

trans-Alleghaney country (*Records*, XI, 447; Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle U. S.*, I, 84).

FIRST RECORDED BAPTISM.—At Wheeling, November 9, 1828, Father Francis Rolof baptized John Thomas, legitimate son of William and Mary Killan, born September 24th of the same year. Sponsors were Thomas Webb and Elizabeth French (Baptismal register, St. Joseph's Cathedral, Wheeling).

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FIRST PRIEST.—The first known-by-name priest to visit the District appears to have been Father Thomas Digges, S. J., c. 1760 (*CHR*, II, 278-280). It is more than likely that even before Father Digges' time Maryland Jesuits had entered the territory which is now the District. First *resident* priests were Fathers Robert Plunkett, Edward de Mondesir, Francis Neale, and Samuel Browne of the initial Georgetown faculty, September, 1791 (Shea, *History of Georgetown College*, 15).

FIRST MASS.—According to tradition (documentary confirmation is lacking), this was offered, c. 1760, by Father Thomas Digges, S. J., in the mansion of Notley Young, which stood on the high river bank on which is now G Street between Ninth and Tenth, S. W. (*CHR*, *loc. cit.*). Very probably Mass has been said in the District daily without interruption from the opening of Georgetown College to the present time.

FIRST BAPTISM.—No records of baptism prior to 1795 are extant. Visiting priests to what is now the District, among them Father John Carroll, the future Archbishop, who resided with his mother as early as 1774 at Rock Creek (now Redfern, Maryland) must have baptized there on occasion. The first *recorded* baptism was administered in Holy Trinity Church, Georgetown. "Feb. 1st, 1795—William James baptized. Born Dec. 22nd, 1794, of James and Ann James living in Georgetown. Pater hereticus—godmother, Chaterine [Catherine?] Pierce" (Baptismal Register, Holy Trinity Church, 1795-1805, Georgetown University Archives).

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Notes and Comment

ON REVIEWING BOOKS

Book reviews comprise an important section in the pages of almost every periodical publication in this country. Newspapers have space devoted to books daily or weekly; magazines of the more popular type, news magazines, journals and quarterlies for the specialists and scholarly readers, each has its particular purpose in offering reviews of new books to its clientele. Book review writers are numerous. Over and above publicity writers attached to publishing houses, there are reviewers attached to newspaper staffs, agencies which will supply syndicated reviews for a fee, individual professional reviewers, radio commentators on books, and others who write digests, briefs or notices for booksellers, magazines, library guides, and so forth. The prime purpose of the review from the standpoint of the publisher is publicity for the book, and this purpose is shared by the reviewer, who, with the exception of the scholarly reviewer, couches his comments in such terms as to make sales convenient and large and presents a review which is laudatory or interesting rather than critical. The form of such reviews makes for entertainment and rather well-sugared enlightenment and instruction, but in no wise helps the serious student.

Once a new book is announced, the publisher is the recipient of numerous requests for review copies from the various classes of reviewers mentioned above. In distributing the books he has to assume an initial loss on the edition, which may or may not be made up on the sales, depending upon the size and popularity of the edition. Clearly, books of a scholarly nature are not going to enjoy a wide sale, and moreover editions of these are limited and the list price relatively high. Reputable publishers must nevertheless undertake production of specialized works as a liability but as a matter of prestige, while textbooks, novels, biographies, and other books are expected to carry the publisher's burden. The aim of the publisher generally is to get a return on the scholarly book just about equal to the cost of the printing, and this is no easy matter in view of the great number of people who wish to gather some financial profit from a new book. Whether he has a deficit or a slight profit depends to a considerable extent upon the favor of the scholarly reviewer. There is as a consequence a tendency upon the part of some publishers to have less critical reviewers handle the task of reviewing, which can be thwarted only by the alertness of the magazine editor.

Narrowing this discussion down to the field of historical book reviews, we find that historical magazines have their respective poli-

cies regarding reviews. The editors have at least the good intention of getting the new book into the hands of an historian considered by reason of his own researches an authority in the field to which the book pertains. Such a reviewer is presumed or known to be competent to render an estimate of the scope of the book and its significance and to give a weighed, critical opinion of its contents and documentation, noting both contributions and failings. If the source materials utilized by the author are of a highly technical nature, or unaccessible to the reviewer, it is reasonable to expect the latter to accept the authority of the author or disclaim it, and in fairness to the reader of the review to state his mind in this regard. The alternative is to present a "content" review with comments of a more superficial nature. The editor of the magazine, while not responsible for the statement of the reviewer, is nevertheless responsible for publishing the review as suitable and worthy of his pages. Again as a matter of policy, the editor generally avoids asking a colleague of the author to review his book.

The review of a scholar's book by another scholar is fraught with a certain amount of responsibility all around, especially when the review appears in a magazine of known scholarship. The editor is responsible in a way for the opinion of the book formed through the instrumentality of his journal in the minds of less adept students and even in those of scholars who are too busy to read the book. But the reviewer is much more responsible for establishing such attitudes toward the work under review. He must also be held accountable at the same time, thanks to a law of retribution or poetic justice, for any attitude of distrust toward himself and his capability for objective judgment. The conscientious reviewer approaches his work with a goodly amount of caution and with an instinctive sense of the responsibility he is under toward author, publisher, editor, reader, and scholarship. Occasionally a capable scholar will refuse the task of reviewing because he does not feel worthy or able to present a fair estimate of the book, but the instances of this line of conduct are not sufficiently emulated, especially by less competent though more eager reviewers.

Viewing our world as it shapes up with its imperfections and considering the output of historical magazines as part of the work of fallible humans, one will readily expect sundry faults against ideals of editorship and the unwritten canons for book reviewing: Here and there an editor may publish three to ten reviews of books on different fields by one and the same reviewer, which one and the same reviewer is foolish enough to undertake. An editor occasionally gives two to five books in the same field to one reviewer, who is asked to limit his remarks on all to three or four hundred words. Obviously, if such be the permanent policies, they are unjust, and merely offer lip services to traditional procedure. They can have only

the advantage of satisfying the requirement of the publisher for necessary publicity, and, in what instances there are, a moiety of consolation may come to the author in that his work was at least noticed. Again, an editor at times, moved by some boyish sprite generally long suppressed within us, allots a book to a reviewer in full anticipation of causing debate, or, more euphemistically of "stimulating thought," or, more practically for starting a row. The readers who are aware of the strong undercurrent of animosity underlying past dealings between reviewer and author, are not likely to benefit much by the review, nor is the publisher, but those not privileged to be within the knowing circle, are left with a bad impression of the book. And such things have happened within the memory of man, yet, thanks to the rarity of the event and to the integrity of the body editorial with its ideals of service to scholarship, there appears to be no call for the abolition of all book-review sections on this ground.

Authors merely write books. They accept reviews with varying feelings of equanimity or wrath, inspiration or discouragement. After all one does not bring forth a scholarly book every day. Some fear the advent of reviews in historical quarterlies, with or without cause. Others look forward to expert criticism in an intelligent effort to learn more of their subject or field, and still others pay absolutely no attention to the comments, helpful and expert though they be. One instance comes to mind of a very notable historian, who serenely repeated in a second edition of his work clear-cut mistakes pointed out by several scholarly reviewers. Such authors are in no wise abashed or benefitted by what looms before their fellows as the censorial and inquisitional tribunal, the book review section. Nevertheless, the shape of an indefinite and unknown judge haunts the hours of many a conscientious author.

It ill behooves the reviewer, however, to act the part of supreme judge of the book at hand. Sometimes the reviewer becomes flattered no end upon receiving a request for a review from an editor, and, if the tone of his review is a criterion, he apparently feels that the request carries with it an endowment of omniscience, or at least of superiority. But there is little point in a psychological study of reviewers, who in the main have faults appropriate to any one of the seven ages of man in which each finds himself, for either mellow or crabbed age can err as much in an estimate of a book as can callow youth. Book reviews of all classifications may be found in current periodicals of history, and they are variously sincere, enlightening, shallow, frothy, apathetic, heartless, spineless, forceful, impetuous, sharp, cautious, competent, or incompetent. While a good review stands out prominently, it is difficult to pick the worst type of review, but the most distressing, and some can be decidedly so, is that in which the reviewer swings his review (and in some cases the des-

tiny of the book) around one relatively unimportant mistake. The general criticism of the reviews at present is formalism, which may be interpreted to mean professionalism or even stodginess. Undoubtedly, there are professional inhibitions against introducing personal touches into a review, yet there is need for a humanization of book reviews (just as there is for meetings at historical conventions). We have heard much better reviews of books given in the offhand surroundings of a private gathering at a convention than some of those appearing in stilted type. One need not, however, give way to pessimism over the situation since the body of book reviews remains healthy.

Examples of lapses from carefulness on the part of reviewer and editor may be cited. Take, for instance, the review of Friederici's *Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas* in *The American Historical Review* (January 1939), a work purporting to narrate the entire history of the two Americas, their peoples, conquest, exploration, colonization, development in colonial times, and the Europeans involved. Appearing as the review does in a scholarly magazine and written in scholarly terms, it brings the immediate impression that the volumes are scholarly. The reviewer, Dana B. Durand, commends the "fine workmanship," style, and "scholarly competence," and then promptly contradicts himself. "Certain inherent sympathies" of the author are said to emerge, and his "persistent condemnations bespeak the animus and passion . . ." Later the reviewer asks, "Has Friederici been grinding an axe?" And even though this implies or states suspicion of unobjectivity, the author is designated as objective in the following sentence. Other contradictions follow in the last paragraph. "It is clear that both Friederici and Oncken regard this work as an effective answer to charges that the Germans are unfit, because of peculiar cruelty, to possess and administer colonies." Yet in the following sentence we are told that the book is not to be "regarded as a piece of special pleading." Then the reviewer takes this back by saying, "It is true that the reader will feel that he has been listening to a colossal indictment." Shortly after this comes an ambiguous statement: "The thoughtful historian may not accept the indictment." The reviewer here, and in any case, is of course entitled to his opinion, but the reader of the *Review* would like to know what it is. How much simpler it would be to say of Friederici's work: It is not objective nor scholarly in spite of its impressive but undigested bibliography. It is a colossal indictment of all except Germans, based in part on anti-Spanish, anti-French, anti-English, pro-Nordic, and pro-Indian opinions of authors, and containing exploded theories and inaccurate generalizations.

Another review about which much could be written in view of its defects was printed in *The American Historical Review* (October 1938) over the name of S. Morley Scott, of the University of Michigan. The book is *The Quebec Act: A Primary Cause of the American*

Revolution, by Charles H. Metzger, and it is reviewed favorably in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (December 1938) by Clarence W. Rife, Hamline University. The contrast between the two reviews is remarkable. Dr. Scott is a member of the faculty of the University of Michigan, whose department of history stamped its approval upon the work of Dr. Metzger, yet he was called upon to review this work. His criticism is unfavorable, in fact he accuses Father Metzger of careless handling of the documents. If two and two still make four, we may reasonably conclude that Dr. Scott is implicitly accusing the Michigan history department, or at least those who approved the doctoral dissertation, of carelessness, and consequently of lack of scholarship and authority. If Dr. Scott did not intend such implications, his attack is upon the integrity of Father Metzger; but this has already been vouched for by Dr. Scott's department, and, among others, by Dr. Rife, who was entirely unacquainted with Dr. Metzger and rendered his judgment solely from study of the book. Somebody is wrong. Unfortunately, many people will read only Dr. Scott's criticism.

Investigation reveals carelessness on the part of Dr. Scott. The first sentence of the review has the words "Father Metzger's thesis," and the second "He supports this thesis." To some these words are condemnatory, for they may seem to imply that a priest cannot write objectively upon the subject in question. Passing this over, we find the words used at least carelessly, because the author in his introduction says the question is still open and prominent scholars disagree on it. Throughout the book the author carefully refrains from passing judgment until all the evidence has been assessed. Dr. Scott is correct in calling attention to the mis-dating of an edition of a newspaper, but he is wrong in not giving more proofs than this one mistake before jumping to the very broad conclusion, "Father Metzger is not careful in handling the documents or cautious in interpreting them." The mistake is made to loom as very important, whereas no particular argument was based on the three citations taken from the paper and no deduction drawn from them, since the conclusions of the book were based upon the cumulative evidence of hundreds of quotations. But Dr. Scott's mistake is also great, and leaves him exposed to the charge of insincerity, for in the quotation of a sentence from the book an essential part is omitted, namely the words "self-constituted censors of government and defenders of orthodox Protestantism." Thus he attributes a thought to the author which is not the author's, and then condemns the author for not producing quotations to support a thought not his! Other sentences in the review could readily be cited as instances of what a reviewer should not say.

The task of writing and publishing book reviews is one of definite responsibility. There is in this country a vast amount of time and

money and hardship invested in historical scholarship. A good review is a contribution to the body of scholarly findings and it is protective of them. A poorly written review can only be a detriment to historical progress.

FATHER SIEDENBURG

Few persons have done more to promote in practical ways the cause of Catholic history in the United States than Father Frederic Siedenburger, S. J., founder of MID-AMERICA, whose strenuous career came to an abrupt end in Detroit, February 20, 1939. His interests and efforts were mainly in the field of social study and action and he had to his credit the establishment in Chicago in 1914 of the first school of sociology under Catholic auspices in the United States. But a breadth of view, a catholicity of interest marked him always. To cite but one of his collateral interests, he was drawn to the Catholic history of the Middle West as a field of study the cultivation of which was incumbent on his co-religionists as a means of winning for their church due recognition and appreciation of the contribution it has made to American social and cultural growth. As an instrument for the practical working-out of his hopes and dreams in this direction, he inaugurated in 1918 the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, with its official organ, the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*. During the magazine's first decennium an impressive succession of scholarly and informing articles filled its pages. But their range of topic was not wide; it was restricted in the main to Catholic history within the limits of Illinois. The very name, Illinois, in the title of the magazine seemed to narrow its appeal, which, so Father Siedenburger felt, should be to all readers of whatever religious affiliation interested in the Catholic history that had been made on the far-flung stage of the entire Middle West. Accordingly, in an address to the readers of the review appearing in the issue of July, 1929, he announced this well-advised enlargement in its field of interest, making it known at the same time that the review, in consonance with such change, would thereafter bear the name, MID-AMERICA. "MID-AMERICA hopes to serve the region between the Alleghenies and the Rockies as an organ of Catholic history." Apparently no one had suggested the new name to Father Siedenburger; it was his own instinct for the appropriate that led him to its choice.

Under the skilful financial management of its founder the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* ran an unusually prosperous course for an historical magazine. MID-AMERICA, its matured development, appeared on the scene on the very eve of the economic depression of the thirties. To the great crisis it paid heavy toll. Funds melted away and in the end disappeared altogether, the problem of the continued existence of the review being solved only when Loyola Uni-

versity, Chicago, assumed control of it in 1934 and proceeded to issue it as one of its official publications.

Father Siedenburg was an arresting and dynamic personality, whose services, especially on the lecture platform, were in constant demand. His influence was country-wide, radiating in divers directions and with palpable beneficent results. To historians, in particular to those of his own faith, his name will be in benediction. What he did in starting almost single-handed a successful movement for the proper pursuit and exploitation of Catholic history in the midwestern states was an achievement that alone entitles him to lasting and grateful remembrance. Those who have entered into his labors, who have been inspired by the example of his abounding energy and enterprise will long and prayerfully cherish the memory of him.

Book Reviews

Some La Salle Journeys. By Jean Delanglez, S. J., Ph. D. Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1938. Pp. vi+103. Bibliography.

This volume represents the first in a new series, Studies of the Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University. The author, assistant professor of history at Loyola, wishes to bring out a critical study: first, of La Salle's reputed early explorations on the upper Ohio and Mississippi; and second, of the motives and purposes back of his last expedition to Texas. The first part of his material has already been presented in *Mid-America*, but is changed somewhat in the present offering. The author appends to the text a brief but comprehensive critical bibliography, and the director of the Institute introduces the work with a short preface.

In the study devoted to the Ohio, the author shows that La Salle's reputed discovery in that region is more doubtful than earlier scholars have regarded it. He likewise demonstrates that there is still less evidence that La Salle reached the Mississippi before the Jolliet-Marquette expedition. With respect to the Mississippi contention and the later Texas exploration, the author very definitely feels that La Salle himself is largely responsible for the details that reflect upon his personal character. As the review of these events brings up once more the bitter controversies between Jesuits and their opponents, we find, as might be expected, that his conclusions are presented with a modicum of partisanship that renders them less objective than might be wished.

The introduction, bibliography, and footnotes, however, display convincing zeal for a clear and accurate appraisal. Recourse was had to manuscript collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale—some hitherto unused—as well as to other original manuscripts now available in Paris and elsewhere, or to photostatic reproductions in the Library of Congress. Hence he is able to correct certain mistaken impressions presented by Parkman and other earlier writers. He has also made thorough use of printed sources in the works of O'Callaghan, Shea, Thwaites, French, Kellogg, Quaife, and others. There is no discounting the meticulous quality of his scholarship nor his critical acumen in dealing with previous editors and secondary writers.

One notes that the author devotes his main attention to the former French archivist, Pierre Margry. Some will be inclined to discount his present attack, despite all provocation, as too bitter. They may also express that opinion with reference to his biographical sketches of Abbé Bernou and Abbé Renaudot, to whom he attributes the major sinister influences that affected La Salle's personal career

and later reputation. He bolsters up his contentions, however, with adequate references, and his arguments strengthened by contemporary maps convince us that La Salle had no possible connection with the Ohio and Mississippi.

One will agree with much of his characterization of La Salle without, however, charging the explorer with deliberately distorting his description of the Mississippi (p. 79, p. 80) in order to bring that river nearer New Biscay. It seems strange, too, that the author should say (p. 80) "before his [La Salle's] journey down to the Gulf, it [the invasion of New Biscay] apparently formed no part of his plans," when the letters patent granted by the king to the explorer on May 12, 1678 definitely state that the proposal was the more willingly accepted because through it a road might probably "be found to penetrate to Mexico." Nor can one follow him in his contention that Bernou or Renaudot, rather than La Salle himself, are mainly responsible for the plan to unite La Salle's project of 1684 with that of Diego de Peñalosa.

These brief but weighty sketches are printed and presented in attractive form. "1890" (p. 70, note 17) should obviously be 1790, and "Petit Coave" (p. 91) should be Petit Goave. As a result of his study, Father Delanglez leaves us with a less glorious La Salle, but one who still ranks high in the annals of French colonization.

ISAAC J. COX

Northwestern University

Tudor Puritanism. By M. M. Knappen. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. ix+555.

Dr. Knappen sets an example for historians to emulate. Aware of the confusion resulting from the wide range of meanings attached by writers to the word Puritan, and unwilling to add to the intellectual disorder, he tells us in his preface that he uses the term "to designate the outlook of those English Protestants who actively favored a reformation beyond that which the crown was willing to countenance and who yet stopped short of Anabaptism." With his meaning thus made clear he launches upon an inquiry into the rise and development of Puritanism under the Tudor sovereigns, for this period may be regarded as a unit in as much as passive resistance was the general policy of the group. With wide sweep he follows their fortunes from the day Tyndale set both ecclesiastical and secular law at naught and departed for Germany to prepare an English translation of the Bible, till the drift to active resistance to opposition by state or church under the early Stuarts. In great detail controversies are retold, particularly those over ceremonies, discipline, and vestiarianism; in like manner, the protracted struggle over

whether a national or international dress should clothe the movement is recounted.

With commendable candor the author confesses that he entertains a bias in favor of Puritanism, but he hastens to add that he believes this preference has not warped his judgment or made him unscholarly in evaluating evidence. That his belief is not unfounded becomes evident as one follows him through the narrative. If his sympathy for Puritanism is unmistakable he tries at all times to tread the *via media* between the enthusiasts who claim too much and the belittlers who grant too little to the advocates of this system. While he upholds their sincerity, he admits the serious limitations of these early champions of reform and orthodoxy, chief among them being narrowness, self-will, intolerance. He speaks of "the separatist curse of contentiousness" (p. 314), and the "interminable bickering over petty, personal issues" (p. 316); he says that there was little "of the genuine democrat about the Puritan" (p. 178), and that "indifference . . . is perhaps the best general characterization of the Puritan's attitude to secular learning which did not aid in the spread of the gospel" (p. 476); he assures us that while in theory Puritans regarded the Bible as a "complete rule of life" with the literal interpretation self-authenticated, in practice they were not above appeals to common sense, to the needs of the state, and, on occasion, to the early Fathers of the Church and tradition itself. William Perkins, stalwart though he was, even had recourse to a qualified acceptance of church councils.

Mary Tudor and Elizabeth appear in guises quite different from those which successive generations have accepted without question. The contemporary attitude towards persecution for heresy is explained to give a proper perspective for judging this controversial issue. That Protestantism was imposed in Edward's reign rather than freely accepted by the nation would seem to follow from the declaration that "there is no evidence that the majority of Englishmen were inclined toward doctrinal Protestantism by this time" (p. 73), and the further statement that in the spring of 1553 "multitudes, especially in the north and west, remained loyal to the old faith and were even willing to take the field for it" (p. 102). How disastrous Elizabeth's tampering with religion may be gathered from the estimate that in the latter part of her reign "it was doubtful whether more than a quarter of the population can be said to have had any religion at all" (p. 380).

Dr. Knappen maintains that "Calvin's power has been greatly exaggerated" (p. 137), and that the "contributions of Puritanism to the rise of capitalism were exceedingly indirect" (p. 422). Only rarely does his "bias for Puritanism" lead him astray. His inveighing against the popular conception of the Puritan as unwarranted by the facts of history might be met with the suggestion that while Tudor

Puritanism perhaps does not correspond to this forbidding picture, the later development of Puritanism does furnish some good ground for the popular conception. But his attempt to meet the condemnation of the Puritans for their wanton destruction of stained glass is weak and utterly unconvincing. Many will wonder how Foxe's rehabilitations as an historian can be said to have been effected by a single unpublished dissertation; few will question the impropriety of styling Foxe's history "a great work" in view of its very serious defects admitted by Dr. Knappen (p. 495). The assertion that the Puritan's "Catholic contemporary prided himself on his ignorance of Scripture" (p. 466) must be challenged and evidence demanded. Finally to call the Mass and penance "peripheral practices" (p. 5) of Christianity, and to say that the doctrine of forbidden degrees of relationship invalidating marriage is "chicanery," are inexcusable blots on a fine product of scholarship.

Apart from these defects *Tudor Puritanism* is an excellent study. It is also pleasant reading, not only because of the fresh, vigorous style and occasional outbursts of humor, but also because of the splendid work of the printer.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College

La Famille de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. By M. Pierre-Georges Roy. Levis, 1938. Pp. 216.

Another notable contribution comes in the form of this book by the archivist of the Province of Quebec and takes its place along with his fifty-two other genealogical studies. The work, composed in the usual painstaking manner of M. Roy, follows the same plan as the preceding studies and consists mainly in quotations from archival materials in Canada and in France. Most of these studies are primarily of interest to Canadian historians, but there are some dealing with families, the members of which played a more or less notable part in the history of the Mississippi Valley, such as the Juchereau, the Céloron de Blainville, the Du Gué de Boisbriand, the Bissot de Vincennes, the Chaussegros de Léry, the Martin de Lino, and the Rigaud de Vaudreuil families. The first member of the latter family to come to America was Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. He became governor of New France in 1703, and ruled the vast French North American empire for twenty-two years. He was the King's lieutenant general in Canada when the Great Lakes region and the Illinois country depended directly on Quebec. His fourth son, Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil Cavagnal, was governor of French Louisiana from 1742 to 1752. In 1755 he was appointed governor general of New France, which post he held until the Conquest. The last thirty pages of the book contain numerous birth, marriage, and burial certificates of

members of this distinguished family taken from varied and scattered depots in France and Canada.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

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The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. By Ray Allen Billington. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. xiv+514. Maps, illus.

In *The Protestant Crusade* Dr. Billington has turned a searchlight upon a long, important, and unsavory chapter of American religious history. The story he has told is a story of religious intolerance running through several decades. It is the story of the obstacles that an "alien" church encountered in getting a foothold in the United States during a period of extraordinary national excitement. In tracing the rise of an anti-Catholic consciousness in the United States, in describing a torrent of invective and of billingsgate let loose through the media of pulpit and of press, and in picturing with meticulous care the process by which an organization for combating Catholicism was formed, he has put in his debt not only the social and intellectual historian, but also the serious student of sociology. He has built a storehouse and filled it with information carefully gathered and adequately documented.

This book is one that has long been needed, and it is one that has been long in preparation. Beginning as a term paper in a graduate course at Harvard, the study grew into a doctoral dissertation in 1933, and then broadened into the present volume in 1938. A bibliography of sixty pages testifies to the diligence of the author in research. Progress in the study was revealed between 1933 and 1937 in several articles that appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, the *New England Quarterly*, and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. To the important task of final revision the author brought a mind disciplined by patient research and emancipated from bias toward a church of which he is not a member. The reader of this volume will discover therein no subtle thrusts, no leaning in this direction or that, no apology for one religious faith, no ridicule or condemnation of another. On the contrary, he will quickly gain the impression that the sole concern of the author was the discovery of truth. The result is wholly commendable. Here is revealed a segment of the American mind between the opening of the fourth and the closing of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. It is a view which heretofore has not been fully portrayed. In disclosing the lengths to which religious intolerance in America has gone in the past, it carries a sharp warning to Americans of today to look well to the future of their country.

To the present reviewer it appears that the problem envisaged

by the author was of three-fold character: to account for the rise of an anti-Catholic sentiment, to explain the process by which this sentiment acquired the momentum of a "crusade," and, finally, to describe the various expressions of the anti-Catholic or no-Popery movement. In the first two chapters he has presented for the first problem a solution that is intelligible, even if it is not wholly complete. Through subsequent chapters he has traced solutions of the second and third problems. An alien influx, the influence on America of the anti-Catholic agitation in Great Britain, the rise of an aggressive if not militant American Protestantism, the reaction of the Catholic Church in America to attacks upon it, and a swelling patriotism joined to the perception of a peculiar "mission" for Protestant America—these were the principal forces he has discerned as giving both rise and direction to an anti-Catholic "crusade." As for the several expressions of the movement, his account is full and revealing. The mills of propaganda ground furiously. America was drenched with an anti-Catholic literature reeking of vituperation and heavily charged with pornographic allusions. The sentiment that inspired such writings was in turn intensified by these very writings. On the lower levels of life, antipathy to Popery expressed itself in riots; turbulent Americans destroyed Catholic property, as riotous Americans of an earlier generation had destroyed British property in Boston harbor. And when Americans of prominence "uncovered" a "great conspiracy" against American institutions, as they did in the middle of the 1830's, the way was opened for demagogues to stir American patriotic sentiment to its very depths. Reduced to its lowest terms, the alleged conspiracy amounted to a union of reactionary European forces, represented on the one hand by Metternich and on the other by the pope, that sought the destruction of American republican institutions and of American Protestant liberties. The immediate aim of this "unholy alliance" was to gain control of the Mississippi Valley; and, since every one knew that the rapidly growing American West would soon give law to the American nation, it followed as night the day, that papal domination in the Great Valley would quickly lead to the undoing of the republic. If proof of such a conspiracy were wanted, it could be found in the influx of priests and of money from Catholic Europe. Hence, in great alarm, Protestant American leaders sounded the tocsin. Protestant Americans were warned that they must fight to make the West safe for the East. The Protestant "plea for the west," a plea that was repeated in the East through years on end, was essentially a battle cry of freedom—a plea for Protestant preachers and Protestant teachers, for Protestant churches and Protestant schools, for Protestant Bibles and Protestant tracts. The response is a matter of familiar knowledge. Thus anti-Catholic sentiment, even more than sectarian rivalry, gave impetus to the American home missionary

movement. But the struggle for the West did not exhaust either the resources or the zeal of the anti-Catholic movement. In the East also there were battles, notably that to save the school children for Protestantism; and in time anti-Catholic American "crusaders" carried the war into Catholic countries in Europe, hoping thereby to purify at the source the stream of migration that was emptying into America. The anti-Catholic movement also expressed itself politically. From that standpoint it reached its culmination in the American or Know-Nothing party of the early 1850's; and in two chapters describing the rise and fall of Know-Nothingism Dr. Billington brings his study to a close.

A work so thoroughly and so conscientiously done as that now under review can stand even rigorous criticism. In fact, its very thoroughness is a vigorous challenge to the critic. In dealing with so great a mass of material, derived from many sources, it would be remarkable indeed if the author should have made no mistake of detail. Only a few such mistakes, however, will attract the reader's eye. It is doubtless wrong to call, as Dr. Billington does, Alexander Campbell a Baptist minister as late as 1836 (p. 65), and most certainly it is a departure from truth to assert that Bishop John Henry Hobart was leading an Anglo-Catholic party in 1835 (p. 178). Bishop Hobart died in 1830. Also, the author has made conflicting statements respecting the date of Lyman Beecher's acceptance of the presidency of the Lane Theological Seminary. On one page, (83, n. 109) he asserts that Beecher accepted that position in 1832, and on a subsequent page (126) that he became president of the Cincinnati institution in 1830. But in respect of matters of consequences one can find little fault. The book is thoroughly readable. The style is lucid. Typographical errors are few in number. The critical reader, however, will regret the inconvenience resulting from the collecting of notes at the ends of chapters. Footnotes are always to be preferred to chapter notes.

In matters of larger import the present reviewer ventures to offer a few suggestions. In the first place, it seems to him that Dr. Billington has studied his subject with narrow intensity. The setting might have been broader. Indeed, the very title of the book raises a question. A few years ago Merle Curti, writing of another phase of this period, called his study *The American Peace Crusade*. Somewhat later Gilbert H. Barnes, in *The Anti-Slavery Impulse*, described a movement, which, by a like mode of reasoning, could have been called *The Anti-Slavery Crusade*. Should these several movements be studied as "crusades," or should they be studied as several expressions of a general crusading spirit?

Again, it appears that Dr. Billington's account of the awakening of an anti-Catholic consciousness in America omits several factors. Surely the record reveals that the restoration of the Jesuit Society

in 1814 and the observance a few years later of the tercentenary of the Protestant Revolt helped to make Protestant Americans of that generation uncomfortably aware of the existence of Roman Catholicism. Furthermore, Dr. Billington has overlooked a significant literature, stemming in part from Calvin's *Institutes*, that depicts the papacy as Anti-Christ and the pope as the Man of Sin. The wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon set many persons upon thinking of the prophecies and inspired many writings on the coming of the millennium, writings in which the approaching downfall of the "papal Anti-Christ" was confidently asserted. Whether the conception of a divine plan that calls for the early demise of Popery should logically beget a campaign for the suppression of Popery we need not pause to inquire. A crusading spirit is not necessarily the product of right reason. What is emphatically important, in view of the origins of anti-Catholic sentiment in America, is the fact that Protestant Americans for long years before 1830 had been taught in writings on the prophecies that Popery was a vile corruption of Christianity. Many writings of such character, first published in Great Britain, later circulated in the United States in American editions. And more than a few Americans, who may have never troubled themselves to read, were duly enlightened on this subject by listening to Protestant missionary sermons. In this connection, Dr. Billington seems unaware of the remarkable influence in shaping American religious thought in the early years of the nineteenth century of the views expressed by an Anglican clergyman, George Stanley Faber, in a book entitled *A Dissertation on the Prophecies*. . . .

Finally, if the anti-Catholic agitation in the United States be studied as an aspect of the modern missionary movement, it will take on added significance. The early decades of the nineteenth century saw a revival of Catholic missionary zeal as well as a renewal of Protestant enthusiasm for missionary endeavor. Far and wide in the world went Christian missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant. In more than one land the paths of Catholic priests crossed the trails of Protestant missionaries. The conflict in America was distinguished more by its magnitude than by its novelty. From the Catholic standpoint, the United States of America in the nineteenth century was an attractive missionary field, a point of view which, to most Protestant Americans, was not even grimly humorous. With a generation of missionary striving behind them, many enthusiastic Protestant Americans entered the decade of the 1830's with ardent hope for the early conversion of the world and with an exaggerated notion of the part that America was destined to play in so great an undertaking. Confronted therefore with an expanding Catholicism as an increasing obstacle to the salvation of the world, Protestant American leaders saw in the threat of Catholic ascendancy in the American West not only a menace to American republican institu-

tions. They also discerned in the possible Catholic conquest of America an irreparable blow to the future of Protestantism. Hence the love of fatherland that stirred them to battle against Popery merged with a larger Christian patriotism that comprehended a whole world reclaimed for Christ. America must be kept Protestant and free in order that the world by American effort might become Protestant and free.

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The Higher Law Controversy

The year 1850 stands out as especially fateful in the history of our national legislature, and of all the days devoted to vital debates in that crucial year, March 11 was destined to be the most significant because the speaker was William H. Seward. Though serving his first term in the senate, Seward was not unknown. A lawyer of repute, and twice governor of the Empire State, he had already been before the eyes of the nation. But in political prominence he was overshadowed by Clay, in grasp of statecraft he was surpassed by Calhoun, and in forensic attainments he was inferior to Webster. Already these giants had delivered themselves of mighty opinions on the now famous compromise measures, which, it was hoped, would end for all time the deadly antagonisms between the North and the South. Could Seward in his maiden address add anything to the thorny discussion which had not been stated by these three, and perhaps with finer point?

The question was answered in a speech lasting beyond three hours. One reading it today is surprised at the number of Latin quotations, citations of poetry, and array of historical allusion and examples.¹ Estimates of its value, made in the hours of heated discussion, varied greatly. Brewer of the Boston *Atlas* reported it as "dull, heavy, and prosy," though he did not remain for the last and best portion. Some thought it "great and glorious," others termed it mediocre.² Rhodes establishes it as great in view of the last two-thirds. Of supreme significance for us is the fact that it contained two words which were caught up by anti-slavery factions and turned into a slogan. When Seward came to discuss slavery in the territories lately acquired in the Southwest, he stated solemnly:

¹ For the full speech see George E. Baker, ed., *The Works of William Henry Seward*, Boston, 1853, I, 51-93.

² Opinions are given in J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States since the Compromise of 1850*, New York, 1904, I, 166.

We hold no arbitrary power over anything, whether acquired lawfully or seized by usurpation. The Constitution regulates our stewardship; the Constitution devotes the domain to union, to justice, to defense, to welfare, and to liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purposes. The territory is a part, no inconsiderable part of the heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards, and must so discharge our trust as to secure in the highest attainable degree their happiness.³

These remarks caught the deep attention of his listeners. Such utterances in the public halls of the nation at this time were startling, to say the least. Nor were the senators calmed by this quotation from Edmund Burke: "There is but one law for all—namely that law which governs all law—the law of our Creator, the law of humanity, of justice, equality, equity—the law of nature and nations." When Seward dealt with that part of the compromise known as the fugitive slave law, he said:

Your Constitution and laws convert hospitality to the refugee from the most degrading oppression on earth into a crime, but all mankind expects you to esteem hospitality as a virtue. The right of extradition of a fugitive from justice is not admitted by the law of nature and nations, but rests in voluntary compacts; the law of nations, written on the hearts and consciences of freemen, repudiates them. Armed power could not enforce them, because there is no public conscience to sustain them. I know that there are laws of various sorts which regulate the conduct of men. There are constitutions and statutes, codes mercantile and codes civil, but when we are legislating for states . . . all these laws must be brought to the standard of the laws of God, and must be tried by that standard, and must stand or fall by it.

One wonders if Seward would have spoken as he did could he have foreseen the effects of his words, logical though they were. He did not preach disrespect for the Constitution. Surely, he did not wish to agitate opposition to the fugitive slave law. "The context of the speech clearly indicates that he was merely declaring that in the discharge of its duties the senate must take account of moral principle as well as constitutional prescriptions."⁴ But all this for the people at large was soon forgotten. For them, two words mattered—higher law.

³ *Works of Seward*, I, 74-75. The attitudes of the makers of our federal and state constitutions toward slavery as a traffic and as an institution is summarized in Rhodes, I, Chapter 1.

⁴ *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 617.

The higher law doctrine, the teaching that there is a higher power to whom man must answer for his conduct, was not new. Indeed, the concept was as old as Christianity, if not as old as humanity, and had been preached in New England since the twenties by abolitionists and Calvinistic divines.⁵ Never before, however, had the higher law been so widely and so forcibly impressed upon the thinking of the entire nation. The words 'higher law' were seized upon by all the anti-slavery parties, trumpeted in the lecture hall, in the press, in pamphlets, in the pulpit. Higher law became a justification for opposition to slavery and all its works, a rallying-cry, an incentive to action. As Rhodes says, "A speech which can be condensed into an aphorism is bound to shape convictions."⁶ The South was not slow to attack the new slogan and the movement for which it stood. The compromise, intended to end all compromise, had merely given rise to another agent of discord. The higher law controversy, nationwide in its scope and powerful as a force for disunion in the fifties, can claim March 11 as its birthday and William H. Seward as its father.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the bitter controversy and its results, a clear idea of what the opponents understood by higher law is necessary. The classic exposition of the subject is found in William Hosmer's little volume published in 1852.⁷ For Hosmer, the higher law is the law of God, the divine law. This law is made known to man in various ways, but especially by the natural constitution of men and things, and by direct revelation. The natural constitution of men and things shows that both are subject to a law outside of themselves. To center our attention for the moment on man, we find him "held fast in fate." He must eat, he must sleep, he must have air, he must die. He is subject to a law outside of himself over which

⁵ Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861*, New York University Press, 1930, 158, "The second of these theories—the theory of the higher law—was in origin much older than the first, though its leading champion was William H. Seward. The theory doubtless sprang from the ranks of the abolitionists in the later thirties, for as early as June 15, 1841, Representative Rayner of North Carolina attacked the position of John Quincy Adams on the slavery question because he 'has thrown aside law and constitution, and has dared to put the issue of this question upon the high and impregnable ground of the Divine Law.'" Also, cf. Henry S. Commager, *Theodore Parker*, Boston, 1936, 205. Parker preached upon the higher law in 1841.

⁶ Rhodes, I, 164. For Seward's interpretation of his 'higher law' doctrine, see his speech delivered July 2, 1850, in *Works*, I, 94-110.

⁷ William Hosmer, *The Higher Law in Its Relation to Civil Government, with Particular Reference to Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law*, Auburn, New York, 1852.

he has no control. Thus, man's very physical existence acknowledges a higher law. Similar circumstances circumscribe man's moral existence, and prove his moral nature also to be subject to a law outside of himself. He cannot love and hate the same person at the same time; he cannot change the nature of vice or virtue. What is right is right in spite of him; what is wrong is wrong in spite of him. Clearly, in these matters, man "is controlled by a law above himself, the conditions of which he is unable to change, and the authority of which he is unable to shake off."⁸ Thus far, Hosmer is speaking of what theologians and jurists call the *natural* law, the law of man's being, implanted in man as part of his nature by the Creator, and made known to him by his intelligence.

Has God manifested his will only in the natures of men and things? By no means. He has expressed his will to men also by direct revelation, which revelation "only sanctions and upholds all the great principles embodied in the constitution of the world."⁹ This revelation is contained in the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. "The Bible is the Higher Law in fact and in form."¹⁰ In nature the law is expressed in the work, in revelation the law is contained in the word. The higher law as manifested in nature is not set aside by the law of revelation; indeed, revelation only makes more clear and detailed the higher law revealed by nature. Since this law proceeds from God, it must partake of his divine attributes. It is *supreme*. Man being subordinate to God can never rise above it. That law governs all men, prince and pauper, king and slave; it governs all human institutions including the state. Surely, God has not delegated to the state authority to set aside His laws! This higher law is holy. Just as God is infinitely holy and cannot countenance the least shadow of evil, so does His law eschew evil in every form. It commands what is right and good; it wholly condemns what is wrong and bad. It teaches man the truth, it dignifies him, it protects him from oppression, and leaves him free to act according to its all-wise precepts. It cannot be said to bind the conscience; rather, it merely agrees with the conscience as good food agrees with the stomach.

From all this, it is evident that no man-made law may set aside the higher law. Civil governments must respect this higher law in their enactments. Never may they legislate contrary to

⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

the rights of man as these rights are made known to him by his God-given nature or revealed by scripture. Government's only function is to maintain natural rights. Moreover, the state may never legislate for conscience, for conscience is that faculty in us which makes us moral agents, tells us what is right and wrong, good or evil. If human law could regulate the conscience, then it could tell man what is right and wrong, and would place moral responsibility not in the individual where God placed it, but in the government.¹¹ If human law could control the conscience, then it could command unmoral actions, such as murder and oppression, and man would be obliged to obey. No, "either conscience must be supreme, or man must cease from all distinctions between right and wrong."¹² Consequently, who shall be the judge when a human law is thought to be in conflict with the higher law? The answer is: The individual conscience. And the individual not only may but is absolutely bound to resist bad laws.¹³

Such, in brief, is Hosmer's explanation of the higher law, and of the relation to it of civil law. From this résumé, the following terms are all synonymous: higher law, divine law, revealed law, word of God, natural law, law written in the heart of man. Any writer of the times using these terms, any writer or speaker adducing biblical texts or arguing from the words and actions of biblical characters, is referring to the higher law and comes within the scope of our survey. Finally, other contemporary writers on the higher law are in agreement with Dr. Hosmer's exposition, although they may not be as orderly, or clear, or detailed.¹⁴ They agree on fundamental doctrine; they differ in its application, as will be pointed out later.

The higher law doctrine as enunciated by Mr. Seward had inevitable repercussions. Clay, Calhoun, Webster, the senate in general, had listened intently to his eloquence. When he had finished, Calhoun growled that such a higher life individual was not fit for the right sort of men, and left the senate never to return.¹⁵ Clay wrote that the speech had eradicated the respect of all men for Seward.¹⁶ Webster expressed his opinion in a

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 43-44.

¹² *Ibid.*, 44.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁴ For example, Theodore Parker, Stringfellow, Bledsoe, Lord, Hodge.

¹⁵ Enoch Sikes and William Keener, *The History of North America*, Philadelphia, 1905, XIII, 274.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 272.

speech at Capon Springs during the last part of June, 1850. He ridiculed the idea of a higher law in thundering tones.

And when nothing else will answer, they invoke religion and speak of a higher law. Gentlemen, this North Mountain is high, the Blue Ridge is higher still, the Alleghany higher than either; and yet this higher law ranges further than an eagle's flight above the highest peak of the Alleghany. No common vision can discern it; no conscience, not transcendent and elastic, can feel it; the feeling of common men never listened to its high behests; and, therefore, one should think it not a safe law to be acted on in the highest matters of practical moment. It is the code, however, of the fanatical and the factious abolitionists of the North.¹⁷

The *Southern Press* echoed the sentiment of this last sentence on July 25:

Preaching up the inalienable rights of man, they (northern fanatics and knaves) predicate upon them a rule of conduct which overrides all divine and human laws, heretofore held sacred, and would convert all society into a carnival where license would be the only law, and all the old landmarks trampled under foot.

Mr. Hunter of Virginia commented:

If obligations higher than the constitution forbid you to fulfill its stipulations, then you are bound in honor to say "The contract into which we have entered is improvident; our consciences forbid us to execute what we have engaged to do; we have no right, therefore, to hold you to your engagements; let us then dissolve the contract and give and obtain a mutual discharge."¹⁸

The *Washington Republic* in due time devoted a careful article to the higher law issue.

We have endeavored to show into what labyrinths of error a statesman runs when he acknowledges a higher law than the constitution, and his oath to support it. We need not dwell more on the point. We have seen that Mr. Seward has culled the field of fanatical declamation of its choicest flowers; and in admirable English and neatly elaborated periods, avowed an independence of constitutional obligations which, if followed by others, must end in the annihilation of all government, all law, all rights. Every other man in the United States has just as much right to set up a law in his breast "higher than the constitution" as Mr. Seward has. And as constitutional law

¹⁷ Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Boston, 1884, fifth edition, II, 361. Webster, however, had stated in 1837 that he considered slavery "in itself as a great moral, social, and political evil."

¹⁸ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II, 266.

is the highest man can make, it follows that every man may break municipal and legislative law with yet greater impunity. Anarchy and bloodshed, the law of the strong arm; the law of the sword, the Lynch law, and kindred enormities, are the sequence of a doctrine like this.¹⁹

In a speech made at Chicago, October 23, 1850, Douglas raised the crucial question: "If the Constitution is rejected because it contravenes the higher law, where shall we find another? Who is the prophet who shall raise up a new theocracy for us?"²⁰ Incidentally, this speech was one of the Little Giant's great personal triumphs. The Common Council of Chicago had passed resolutions denouncing the fugitive slave law as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and the higher law of God, and those senators and representatives who voted for it, as traitors, Judas Iscariots, and Benedict Arnolds. One of the resolutions reads: "Whereas, above all, in the responsibilities of human life and the practice and propagation of Christianity the laws of God should be held paramount to all human compacts and constitutions. . . ." By sheer force of logic and personality, Douglas was able not only to convert the audience and the Council to his views but even to move them to rescind the resolutions and adopt a platform of his own proposing. On the following evening, October 24, the Common Council by a vote of twelve to one repealed the nullifying legislation.

Naturally all the hostile reactions to Governor Seward's speech cannot be reproduced, yet we must add this choice morsel from the *Democratic Review* for 1850. It is evident that the writer in arraigning not only the higher law doctrine but its author and all his works.

This singular example of the inextricable caprice of fortune (*i. e.*, Gov. Seward) we take to be one of the most dangerous of the more diminutive race of insects that ever buzzed about in a tainted political atmosphere; for he is held in such utter contempt by all honest men that no notice is taken of him until his sting is felt. He is barely qualified to play second fiddle in a concert of third-rate demagogues. . . . The mud had lately been stirred at the bottom of the pool; and he who went down a mutilated tadpole, has come up a full-blown bull frog. . . . His only public exploit has been a speech, of which we shall say nothing, except that it would disgrace any man except himself. The reader, we hope, will pardon us for thus turning aside to do

¹⁹ Quoted by Hosmer, *The Higher Law*, 15.

²⁰ Stephen A. Douglas, *The Measures of Adjustment*; speech delivered in the City Hall, Chicago, October 23, 1850, Washington, 1851.

justice to a very small man—so small that his smallness is unspeakably inexpressible—and who by no possibility, can ever become great in any other sense than that of being stupendously contemptible.²¹

The chorus of condemnation of Seward and his higher law was strong, but the chorus of approval was equally so. Said Senator Hale in a speech later in 1850:

All the laws we pass must be in accordance with or against the Divine Will. Yet the senator [Webster] declares he would not re-enact the laws of God. Well sir, I would. When he tells me that the law of God is against slavery, it is a most potent argument why we should incorporate it with any territorial bill.²²

Of the fugitive slave law Joshua Giddings had this to say on December 9, 1850.

This law was "conceived in sin" and literally "brought forth in iniquity." . . . It has the form, but is entirely destitute of the spirit—of the essence of law. It commands the perpetration of crimes, which no *human* enactment can justify. In passing it, congress overstepped the limits of civil government, and attempted to usurp powers which belong only to God. In this attempt to involve our people in crimes forbidden by inspiration, by every impulse of humanity, and to command one portion of our people to wage war upon another, congress was guilty of tyranny unexampled. . . . But this law goes further. It not only attempts to strike down God's law, which commands us to feed the hungry, but it attempts to convert every freeman of the North into a savage. . . . Sir, our people will continue to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to feed the sick, and to relieve the oppressed; and no interference of this fugitive law will prevent this compliance with the dictates of our religion, with that law which came from God Himself, and which no enactment of slave-holders or dough-faces can repeal or nullify. I speak for no one but myself and constituents; others will choose whether to obey God or the oppressors of mankind; but as for us, we will obey the higher law of kindness, benevolence, and humanity which was implanted in the breast of every human being, and written upon the hearts and consciences of mankind by the finger of our Creator.²³

In a meeting held in City Hall, Syracuse, New York, on October 4, 1850, much appeal was made to the higher law. Judge Nye, later senator, registered the effect of such appeals when he said:

²¹ Sikes and Keener, *History of North America*, XIII, 271-272.

²² Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II, 267.

²³ *Great Debates in American History*, IV, 232 sq.

I am an officer of the law. I am not sure that I am not one of those officers clothed with anomalous and terrible powers by this bill of abominations. If I am, I will tell my constituency that I will trample that law in the dust; and they must find another man, if there be one, who will degrade himself to this dirty work.²⁴

The *New York Weekly-Tribune* declared that Seward's speech represented the true feelings of the state of New York, and Greeley reproduced it *in toto*.²⁵

Senator Sumner of Massachusetts was as outspoken an exponent of higher law as Seward, though a search through his works reveals no express approval of the March eleventh speech. Certainly the numberless times he insists upon the paramount importance of the higher law in the slavery issue, both in speeches and in correspondence, would in themselves be ample approbation. We would refer especially to the famous anti-slavery speech at Faneuil Hall, November 6, 1850. Speaking of the fugitive slave law, he said: "Thus from beginning to end it sets at naught the best principles of the constitution, and the very laws of God."²⁶ And again: "Fugitive slaves are the heroes of our age. In sacrificing them to this foul enactment we violate every sentiment of hospitality, every whispering of the heart, every commandment of religion."²⁷ No clearer enunciation of higher law doctrine can be found than in the senator's speech calling for the repeal of the fugitive slave act delivered in the senate August 26, 1852.

The constitution expressly secures the "free exercise of religion": but this act visits with unrelenting penalties the faithful men and women who render to the fugitive that countenance, succor, and shelter which in their conscience "religion" requires; and thus is practical religion shattered. Plain commandments are broken; and are we not told that "whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men, so he shall be called least in the kingdom of Heaven." . . .²⁸

The slave act violates the constitution, and shocks the Public Conscience. With modesty, and yet with firmness, let me add, Sir, it offends against the Divine Law. No such enactment is entitled to support. As the throne of God is above every earthly throne, so are his laws and statutes above all the laws and statutes of men. To question these is to question God himself. But to assume that human laws are

²⁴ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, II, 306.

²⁵ Cf., *New York Weekly-Tribune*, March 16, 1850.

²⁶ Charles Sumner, *His Complete Works*, Boston, 1900, III, 128.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 135.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 314.

beyond question is to claim for their authors infallibility. To assume that they are always in conformity with the laws of God is presumptuously and impiously to exalt man even to equality with God. Clearly, human laws are not always in such conformity; nor can they ever be beyond question from each individual. Where the conflict is open, as if Congress should command the perpetration of murder, the office of conscience as final arbiter is undisputed. But in every conflict the same queenly office is hers. By no earthly power can she be dethroned. Each person, after anxious examination, without haste, without passion, solemnly for himself must decide this great controversy. Any other rule attributes infallibility to human laws, places them beyond question, and degrades all men to an unthinking passive obedience. . . . The mandates of an earthly power are to be discussed; those of Heaven must at once be performed; nor should we suffer ourselves to be drawn by any compact into opposition to God. Such is the rule of morals. . . . By the Supreme Law, which commands me to do no injustice, by the comprehensive Christian Law of Brotherhood, *by the constitution, which I have sworn to support*, I am bound to disobey this act.²⁹

Let this suffice for what might be termed immediate reaction to Seward's enunciation of the higher law. As echoes died away, the country seems to have settled down, regarding the fugitive slave law as the worst part of a good bargain. But with the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, all the pent-up furies again spent themselves. Again, there were bursts of oratory, restatement of the higher law, and rebuttals of it. Seward and Sumner were again on hand with reaffirmations of their beliefs. Senator Chase from Ohio took his stand unequivocally:

My general view upon this subject of slavery is simply this: Slavery is the subjection of one man to the absolute disposal of another man by force. Master and slave, according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and by the law of nature, are alike men, endowed by their Creator with equal rights. Sir, Mr. Pinckney was right, when, in the Maryland House of Delegates, he exclaimed, "By the eternal principles of justice, no man in the State has a right to hold his slave for a single hour." Slavery then exists nowhere by the law of nature. . . . Congress has no more power under the Constitution to make a slave than to make a king. . . .³⁰

Very interesting are the remarks of Senator Butler in the Kansas-Nebraska debates. The gentleman from South Carolina declares:

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 361-364.

³⁰ *The Nebraska Question*, New York, 1854, 56.

Sir, I will not invade the Province of God. I will not undertake to say in what point of view the White and the Black may be regarded at the bar of His tribunal. I should regard it as profanity in me to do so. Inequality pervades the creation of the universe.

Yes, Sir, with a chain of subordinate links and gradation, all existence upon this earth is connected together and from the lowest worm that crawls upon the earth to the purest angel that burns before the altar of God. Inequality seems to characterize the administration of the Providence of God. I will not undertake to invade that sanctuary, but I will say that the Abolitionists cannot make those equal whom God has made unequal in human estimation.

Referring to Seward's doctrine of the higher law, he becomes a bit facetious:

I must, Mr. President, deny the claim of the Senator from New York to be the author of the law which he undertakes to administer or propagate. Sir, the teacher of that law was an ancient author. It was no less than the serpent who crept up into the Garden of Eden and whispered to Eve that there was a Higher Law.³¹

A commentator of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill has this to say:

The French Government long before . . . Seward was born, contended that "the law must be invested with authority greater than the subject whose obedience it challenges; otherwise, law is only another name for injustice, and that morality which has not the authority of God as its basis, is without foundation." Slavery, therefore, being in opposition to God's will, as revealed by Our Saviour, to do unto others as you would be done by, has no moral foundation.³²

Lincoln in his Peoria speech, October 16, 1854, was leaning directly on the higher law when he announced: "If the Negro is a man, why then my ancient faith teaches me that all men are created equal, and that there can be no moral right in connection with one man's making a slave of another."³³ From 1854 on the higher law continued to occupy the thoughts of public men. Lincoln returned to it in his Bloomington speech, May 29, 1856: "Slavery is a violation of eternal right. We have temporized with it from the necessities of our condition, but as sure as God reigns and school children read, that black foul lie can never be consecrated in God's hallowed heart."³⁴

³¹ Marion M. Miller, ed., *Great Debates in American History*, New York, 1913, IV, 306, 308.

³² *Comments on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill*, Albany, 1854, 9.

³³ Ida Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, New York, 1900, I, 248.

³⁴ For the speech as edited by H. C. Whitney, cf. *McClures*, September, 1896.

The fiery invective of Jefferson Davis in a speech in New York City on October 19, 1858, is ample proof that the controversy was still paramount in that year.

You have among you politicians of a philosophic turn, who preach a high morality; a system of which they are the discoverers. . . . They say, it is true the constitution dictates this, the Bible inculcates that; but there is a higher law than those, and they call upon you to obey that higher law of which they are the inspired givers. Men who are *traitors* to the compact of their fathers—*men who have perjured the oaths they have themselves taken* . . . these are the moral-law givers who proclaim a higher law than the Bible, the Constitution, and the laws of the land. . . . *These higher law preachers should be tarred and feathered, and whipped by those they have thus instigated.* . . . The man who . . . preaches treason to the constitution and the dictates of all human society, is a fit object for a Lynch law that would be higher than any he could urge.³⁵

On this high note we leave the controversy among the politicians and move to the discussions of the moralists. No religious practice is without a dogma to direct and justify it, and the justification must somehow prove that God wants the particular practice, that it rests upon His divine will and conforms to that will. It is decidedly pertinent to the controversy, therefore, to look behind the curtain-barrage of words, and, so to speak, consider the men who were directing the guns. These men were the moral theologians of the day, the men on whose teachings the politicians rested their case.

All divines, both North and South, agreed upon the existence and nature of a higher law. A minister of the Christian faith who would deny the existence of a divine law governing man would be a contradiction in terms. The application of the higher law to slavery and the fugitive slave act made up the precise issue between the Northern and Southern divines. For the Northern moralists, slavery was an evil in itself, ever and everywhere. No circumstances of time, place, or condition could ever convert it into something good. For the moral philosophers of Southern complexion, slavery was good in itself, regardless of circumstances, and good for Southern society. How could anyone who did not blind himself to the facts in the case fail to see that slavery was according to the divine law! The controversy split the churches wide apart. The *New York Weekly-Tribune* for

³⁵ Dunbar Rowland, *Davis, Constitutionalist*, III, 337-338; quoted in Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority*, 159-160.

March 9, 1850, quotes Senator McWillie to this effect: "We already have practical disunion as far as depends on the churches. There is a Methodist Church South and a Methodist Church North; a Missionary Baptist Church North and South; and with the greatest difficulty the union of the Presbyterians was maintained." Theodore Parker asserted that slavery had corrupted the churches.

There are twenty-eight thousand Protestant clergymen in the United States. . . . Is there a minister in the South who preaches against slavery. . . . The Orthodox Sunday School Union last year spent \$248,201; not one cent against slavery, our great National Sin. Once they published a book . . . which related the story, I think, of the selling of Joseph; at any rate, it showed that Egyptian slavery was wrong. A little girl in a Sunday-school in one of the Southern states said one day to her teacher: "If it was wrong to make Joseph a slave, why is it not wrong to make Dinah, and Sambo, and Chloe slaves?" The Sunday-school teacher took the alarm, and complained to the Sunday-school Union: "You are poisoning the South with your religion, letting the children think that slavery is wicked. . . ." What do you think the Sunday-school Union did? It suppressed the book.³⁶

Let us begin with the moralists of the North. Very few of them wrote and preached expressly against slavery before the late fifties, by which time they had been marshalled into a common front by the tongue-lashings of practically one man, Theodore Parker. The openly anti-slavery ministers of the North held tenaciously to one proposition: Slavery is contrary to the higher law, ever and everywhere. How did they establish their case? By reasoning from religion, and from higher law as made clear by the nature of man, that is, from the natural law. Under the heading "Natural Injustice of Slavery," William Hosmer points out that slavery removes the right to life. The slave is unarmed; if he resists, his master may kill him at once, while the law affords him no protection. The slave has no personal liberty—and what is so God-given as freedom! Slavery destroys all self-ownership. "Every man has a natural right to himself—his own body and mind, with their various faculties and powers."³⁷ Yet, the slave's body and mind with all their capabilities are the property of another. Slavery destroys the conscience of the black man, for he has no power of choice, except to do what his master commands, be it good or evil. Slavery destroys the marriage re-

³⁶ *Old South Leaflets*, IV, "The Dangers of Slavery," 11-12.

³⁷ Hosmer, *The Higher Law*, 89.

lation. Indeed, the colored slave has no power to enter into a legal contract. He may live *as if* married, but he cannot protect the virtue of his wife or prevent separation from her. Slavery destroys the parental relation, and renders impossible the pursuit of happiness.

From the viewpoint of religion, slavery is opposed to the Christian law of love. Love never allows a man to be dispossessed of his liberty except as a punishment. Christianity elevates a man, but slavery crushes the whole man and keeps him crushed forever. Slavery is opposed to the law of moral purity, one of the essential principles of the gospel. Our Savior puts all men on the same level of equality, for in the church there is neither high nor low, great or small. But slavery destroys this equality and gives to one man all power over another. Slavery is contrary to the law of truth. Slavery and the gospel cannot exist together.

What does Hosmer think of the Constitution and the fugitive slave law? His stand is resolute and unflinching in the conclusion to which his pitiless logic has driven him.

A constitution, which reduces any portion of society to slavery, is only an instrument of plunder: it is the work of men for robbing. . . . Men have no right to make a constitution which sanctions slavery, and it is the imperative duty of all good men to break it, when made. . . . The fact that a law is constitutional amounts to nothing, unless it be also pure; it must harmonize with the laws of God, or be set at nought by all upright men. . . . It is not optional with men whether they keep such laws or not; to keep them is death, and not to keep them is the way of life.³⁸

The conclusion of the whole matter is this: Before God and all good men, the slave laws are a nullity. Slavery is villainy—the sum of all villainies—and CANNOT BE LEGALIZED.³⁹

After publishing his *Higher Law*, Hosmer became engaged in newspaper controversy over the relation of God, the church, and the Bible, to slavery. In the following year, 1853, he brought forth another book, *Slavery and the Church*, to clarify his position. His thesis is clear. Slavery is a sin; it is a great sin, a sin under all circumstances. It is not sanctioned by the Old Testament, nor by the New. Slaves, bound body and soul and conscience to the will of an earthly master, cannot be Christians, since they are unable to serve two masters. The slave master is

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 176.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.

therefore opposed to the heavenly Master and cannot himself be a Christian. Slavery cannot exist in the church, whose duty it is to extirpate it, first from the church, then from the world. The church is in a position where it must abolish slavery or adopt it, for there is no middle course.

Theodore Parker added a powerful argument from consequences. If the effects are evil, the cause cannot be good. The evil effects of slavery are tremendous. It has debauched the press, the colleges, the schools, the churches, the judiciary. Therefore, slavery is a positive evil.⁴⁰ Thus profoundly convinced by the solidity of his argumentation, Parker became the backbone of the anti-slavery preaching so far as the moral issue was concerned. By his constant preachment of the higher law he made the North deadly in earnest against slavery. All about him he beheld the brethren of the pulpit wavering or even approving the *status quo*, but he—never! Well might he have winced on reading these words of Reverend Krebs of New York:

For years the incitement to discontent has gone forth in public manifestoes from societies in the North to the slaves in the South; and by these the slaves have been urged to flee, and if need were, not to hesitate at robbery and murder to facilitate their escape, or to prevent their capture. . . . Was there ever such a system as this in operation in Israel! Did the apostles of Christ ever encourage it by their counsels to the slaves in their day? How do these things look when they are laid alongside the actual advice and injunctions which they gave? And yet, with the Bible in our hands, with its express, specific legislation upon this subject before our eyes, we are told that there is a Higher Law that is to enforce upon our consciences the virtues of truth-breaking, men-stealing and perjury, and assassination and disobedience to God, in violating the law of the land. And we are charged with inhumanity, and irreligion, and base servility, because we will not believe it, nor teach men so;—because we will not give our consent to doctrines that God has not taught.⁴¹

And surely, the Thanksgiving Day address of the Presbyterian Dr. Lord in New York, 1851, could have afforded Parker little more comfort than the preaching of Dr. Krebs. Picture the flaming abolitionist coming upon passages like this:

The existence of domestic slavery was expressly allowed, sanctioned, and regulated by the Supreme Law-giver, in that divine econ-

⁴⁰ *Old South Leaflets*, IV, No. 80, "The Dangers from Slavery."

⁴¹ John M. Krebs, D. D., *A Discourse on the Nature and Extent of Our Religious Subjection to the Government under Which We Live*, New York, 1851, 39.

omy which He gave to the Hebrew state. . . . To allege that there is a higher law, which makes slavery, per se, sinful, and that all legislation which protects the rights of masters, and enjoins the redelivery of the slave is necessarily void and without authority, and may be conscientiously resisted by arms and violence, is an infidel position which is contradicted by both Testaments . . . it cannot be found in the gospel of Jesus Christ, or in the revelation of God's will to men. . . . If the institution of slavery is necessarily sinful now, it must always have been so; as universal principles admit of no change, and their argument is, therefore, an impeachment of God, and a denial of the supreme authority of the Gospel as a system of ethics.⁴²

Northern divines, then, might favor slavery, or waver in their opposition to it, but not so Parker. His constant insistence on the moral evil of slavery and the fugitive slave laws in sermons, lectures, pamphlets, correspondence, and conversation gradually won most of the Protestant clergy of the North to his views. He aroused the North, called for the nullification of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and told jurors to have done with for conscience was their guide; abolition became a religious duty for him.⁴³

In a Bible-reading community such a passage as the following, with its evident reference to the sentence which will be pronounced on each man at the Last Judgment (Matthew 25:34-44) must have had a powerful influence:

America, where is thy brother? Lo, he is there in the rice swamps of the South, in her fields teeming with cotton and luxuriant cane. He was weak, and I seized him; naked, and I bound him; ignorant, poor, and savage, and I overmastered him; I laid on his feeble shoulders my grievous yoke; I have chained him with my fetters, beaten him with my whip; other tyrants have dominion over him, but my finger was thicker than their loins; I have branded the mark of my power with red-hot irons upon his human flesh; I am fed with his toil—fat, voluptuous on his sweat, and tears, and blood; I stole the father, stole also the sons, and set them to toil; his wife and daughters are a pleasant spoil to me.⁴⁴

Parker assuredly was no small force in crystallizing by higher law doctrine the anti-slavery sentiments of the North and in influencing the Protestant clergy to militant action against the enforcement of the fugitive slave bill. By 1854 his work

⁴² John C. Lord, D. D., *The Higher Law in Its Application to the Fugitive Slave Law*; a Sermon on the Duties Men owe to God and to Governments, New York, Union Safety Committee, 1851, 10-11.

⁴³ Commager, *op. cit.*, 205.

⁴⁴ Reported in the *New York Tribune*, March 4, 1850.

was quite accomplished. Says Rhodes: "On the Compromise measures, clergymen had been divided; indeed, many of high station had counselled submission to the Fugitive Slave Law. Now (1854), however, they were practically united, and they considered it their duty to preach sermons against what they considered violation of a plighted faith."⁴⁵ We are not surprised when Douglas claims that on one day in New England from fifteen hundred to two thousand sermons were preached against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.⁴⁶

Apparently, the preachers of the South experienced no period of painful wavering, although the available literature dates from the late fifties and 1860. Here again, we find agreement on the general proposition that there is a higher law to which man and governments must conform in their actions and legislation. The application of the law, however, was directly opposite to that of the anti-slavery divines. While the Northern moralists rested their case mostly on reasoning from the natural law and on the Golden Rule, their Southern brethren went directly to the Bible. The move was clever. If God in the Old and New Testaments not only did not forbid slavery, but expressly sanctioned it, then, to say the least, slavery was not an evil in itself, nor was it wrong "ever and always." All parties agreed that the all-holy God could not approve of what is an evil in itself.

Dr. Thornton Stringfellow in a pamphlet entitled "Slavery in the Light of Divine Revelation" proved four propositions: That the Almighty sanctioned slavery in the patriarchal age; that slavery was incorporated into the only natural constitution which emanated from God; That its legality was recognized, and its relative duties regulated by Jesus Christ in his kingdom; that Slavery is full of mercy.⁴⁷

To prove that God sanctioned slavery in the Old Testament, he marshals no less than twenty-four passages. To quote but one (Genesis, IX:25, 26, 27), Noah says: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren. . . . Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." Stringfellow argues:

Here language is used showing the *favor* which God would exercise to the posterity of Shem and Japheth, while they were holding

⁴⁵ Rhodes, I, 479.

⁴⁶ *Congressional Globe*, XXIX, 656, appendix.

⁴⁷ Contained in *Cotton Is King*, Augusta, Georgia, 1860, 462. Georgia at its foundation as a colony had a prohibition against bringing slaves into its confines. Oglethorpe argued that slavery was against the Bible (Rhodes, I, 5).

the posterity of Ham in a state of bondage. May it not be said in truth, that God decreed the institution before it existed; and has He not connected the existence with prophetic tokens of special favor, to those who should be slave owners or masters? He is the same God now that He was when He gave these views of his moral character to the world; and unless the posterity of Shem . . . and Japheth are all dead . . . it is quite possible that this favor may now be found with one class of men who are now holding another class of men who are now holding another class in bondage. Be that as it may, God decreed slavery and shows in that decree tokens of good will to the Master.⁴⁸

Stringfellow scores a point when he writes:

The very God that said to them (the patriarchs), they should love Him supremely, said to them also, "of the heathen that are round about you, thou shalt buy bond men and bond women, and they shall be your possession, and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit as a possession; they shall be your bond men forever."⁴⁹

This institution of slavery set up by the Almighty, Jesus Christ, did not abolish when He enacted His new dispensation. Certainly, He did not abolish it by a *direct command*. If He had left it to his disciples to discover the intrinsic malice of slavery, He would have supposed in them an intellect so keen that they could have found in the law of Moses a discrepancy which He (Christ) Himself never saw! No, Jesus Christ did not directly forbid slavery; neither did He introduce any *new moral principle* which would destroy slavery, for always and everywhere His apostles recognize the institution as legally existing and give directions accordingly. Thus St. Paul, "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their masters as worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine may not be blasphemed." And St. Peter, "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear." Quite logically and prophetically does Dr. Stringfellow remark: "An officious meddling with the institution, from feelings and sentiments unknown to the Bible, may lead to an extermination of the slave race from among us. . . ."⁵⁰

Albert Taylor Bledsoe's pamphlet "Liberty and Slavery, or Slavery in the Light of Political and Moral Philosophy," revealed an opponent worthy of the best steel the North had to offer. With much erudition and acute reasoning he discoursed on

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 463.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 479.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 491.

the nature of liberty and unalienable rights. As for all men being equal, he freely admitted the inferiority of the Negro. He railed against the Northern abolitionists.⁵¹ He spurned the Northern interpretation of the Golden Rule:

The precept, which requires us to do as we would be done by, was intended to enlighten the conscience. It is used by the abolitionists to hoodwink and deceive the conscience. This precept directs us to conceive ourselves placed in the condition of others, in order that we may the more clearly perceive what is due them. The abolitionist employs it to convince us that, because we desire liberty for ourselves, we should extend it to all men, even to those who are not qualified for its enjoyment, and to whom it would prove the greatest possible injury.⁵²

Bledsoe, like Stringfellow, proved from many a biblical text that both Old and New Testaments sanctioned slavery. He emptied the vials of his wrath on Sumner, who, in a speech at the Metropolitan Theatre in New York in 1855, chose to pass over texts of the Old Testament because they were all merged in the command of the New Testament, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. After declaiming on the falsity of this, he dismissed Sumner with the words: "Thus, the issue which Mr. Sumner has made up is not with the slave-holders of the South; it is with the word of God itself. The contradiction is plain, palpable, and without even the decency of a pretended disguise."⁵³

Still, Sumner and those in the opposing camp were just as firm in their convictions as Bledsoe and his group. The higher law principle divided opinion among churchmen three ways, with extremists on either side trying to win the middle-of-the-way clergy. None of the three following the principle of private interpretation could have recourse to an authoritative arbiter, either apart from or within their respective churches.⁵⁴ Generally, the words of Scripture relating to bondmen and freemen suffered in the sermons from lack of dogmatic and historical background and acquaintance with tradition on the part of the

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁵² *Cotton Is King*, 303.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 354.

⁵⁴ No mention has been made in this paper of the position of the Catholic church with regard to the moral aspects of slavery. Apparently, Catholic prelates considered the question one of politics and remained silent; cf. R. J. Murphy, "The Catholic Church in the United States during the Civil War Period, 1852-1866," in *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XXXIX (December, 1923), 271-346. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1912, XIV, 36-41 has an historical article on "Slavery," indicating the relation of the Church to slavery from the dawn of the Christian era, and this is followed by one on the "Ethical Aspects of Slavery."

preachers. Logically, God could not and did not approve and disapprove of the institution, and hence could not be on both sides, yet convictions of right were so strong that to each of the extremist groups there appeared to be no other side. In the absence of authoritative decision the inevitable trend was toward following one's own conscience, and thus in effect the doctrine of the higher law became qualified by the subjective element.

Certainly, enslavement of a man, body and soul, is an evil. Hebrew slavery, Egyptian slavery, Roman slavery, Christian slavery, American slavery, Mohammedan slavery, were each different from the other as to circumstances. Bondage was a recognized status in both Testaments, but bondage of the body, for in the eyes of God all men were equal. Roman and Mohammedan servitude recognized no such distinction. The Hebrews and Christians considered work honorable, and masters obtaining rights by purchase or war to a slave's labor assumed certain duties toward the slave. Abuses in the matter of these duties were regarded as sinful. The Romans did not hold work in honor nor did they concede any human rights, even to life itself, to the slave. All through Christian times Christian slaves partook of the same sacraments as their masters; slaves became Christians, prelates, and one a Pope, and Christians gave themselves into bondage to liberate captives and slaves. The tendency was ever toward the emancipation of the body as well as of the soul. And this Christian attitude persisted apparently with Oglethorpe, Penn, Wesley, Patrick Henry, Franklin, Washington, and the makers of the Constitution. Slavery in the practice in America suffered many individual interpretations, and the higher law controversy left much leeway for the individual conscience.

The practical results of the higher law dispute may be dismissed rather summarily. Indignation was high in 1850 and again in 1854 over the Kansas-Nebraska Act. After this there was open hostility to the fugitive slave measures. The underground railroad began to function with smoothness and a fair degree of efficiency. The Fugitive Slave Law was held to be invalid because it contravened the law of God.⁵⁵ Opposition to it arose in individual and organized form. In Boston the "Boston Anti-man-hunting League" had lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and merchants in its ranks.⁵⁶ Opponents had laws passed, such as the personal liberty laws, in ten states, or took up arms, as

⁵⁵ R. C. Smedley, *The Underground Rail Road in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania*, Lancaster, 1883, 41.

⁵⁶ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, 443.

Jerrit Smith in Buffalo, or brought about court resistance, as in the famous Oberlin trials. The ultimate justification for resistance was invariably the higher law, the Golden Rule. And hence, having become part of the moral fiber of the North, the principle of the higher law became exceedingly important as a moral justification for opposition to slavery. The doctrine was a source of embitterment to those in the South who did not swing the Bible to their cause, for they felt it another excuse for tampering with their institution and resented being classified as outside Christianity because of it. And thus the forces of the two, with highly bolstered justifications, marched to the crisis.

FREDERICK E. WELFLE

The First Bookstore in Saint Louis

The first bookstore in Saint Louis was opened in 1820. Before this time, as I have written elsewhere, practically everybody sold books. If one had a drug store or a confectionery, if he sold boots and shoes or hardware, at least occasionally he offered books as a sideline. But, now, at last, when the state was coming of age and the town had a population of some forty-six hundred, Thomas Essex and Charles E. Beynroth opened the first store which limited itself to bookselling, bookbinding, and stationery. Their first announcement in the *Missouri Gazette*, on April 26, 1820, stressed the supply on hand of commercial blank books and similar supplies, but it informed the public also that the new firm was expecting shortly from Philadelphia a consignment of books. The partnership of these two men probably did not last very long, however, for on May 31 an advertisement in the *Missouri Gazette* informed the public that "The Missouri Harmony [was] just published and for sale at the Book store of Mr. Thomas Essex, St. Louis."

Before the next winter was over another change had been made. In the *Gazette* for February 21, 1821 appeared the announcement of the new firm of Essex and Hough whose Book Store and Bindery was located at 60 North Main Street. At this time they had "just received a general assortment of BOOKS, in the various branches of Literature and Science; among which is a valuable collection of Legal and Medical Works. Histories, both Ancient and Modern. Biography, Travels, Romances, Novels, Poems. A general assortment of Classical Works." They had their eye not merely on the general public and its desire for the latest or the best, but they were intent, too, on securing another and profitable line. Among a "variety of School-Books" were "Mathematics, Philosophy, natural & moral, Geographies, Arithmetics, Dictionaries, Murray's Grammars, exercise and key, English Readers, Introduction & sequel, Webster's Spelling Books." To please other prospective customers they offered on the one hand "Bibles, Common Prayer, True Piety" and on the other "a variety of Toy Books, for children." Furthermore, as a proof of the completeness of their service, they declared that they "have either now on hand, or can immediately furnish, any book that can be had in Philadelphia." In addition, of course, they carried extensive stocks of stationer's supplies.

On the 12th of May, in an advertisement in the *St. Louis Enquirer*, this firm illustrated its extensive stock of books offered "at Philadelphia prices, with the addition of carriage." History, travel, biography, and memoirs were here represented by "History of England, Charles the Vth, Cardinal de Retz, Marshall's Life of Washington, Beloe's Herodotus, Koster's Travels in Brazil, Humboldt's New Spain, Kotzebue's Journey into Persia, Gillie's Greece, Modern Europe, Gibbon's Rome, Denon's Travels in Egypt, Sully's Memoirs, Edward's West Indies, Riley's Narrative, Lewis & Clark's Expedition, Dubois' India, Life of Patrick Henry, Robertson's America, Rollin's Ancient History, Life of Jackson, De Pradt's Europe, Latrobe's Visit to S. Africa, Darby's Tour, France by Lady Morgan, Forsyth's Italy, Robertson's India, Paddock's Narrative, Tonga Islands, Sault's Abyssinia." Of standard literature they listed Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, Shakespeare, the *Spectator*, and the "works" of Addison, Swift, Goldsmith, Hannah Moore, Scott, and Burns. In addition to these they had also "Novels, Poems, &c." For the two dozen or more lawyers in Saint Louis they carried "Bacon's Abridgement, East's Reports, Coke's Instituts, Blackstone's Commentaries, Henning & Munford's Reports, Crown Circuit Companion, Saunders Reports, Tidd's Practice & Forms, Walsh's Appeal, Sergeant & Rawle's Reports, Chitty's Pleading, Sugden's Law of Vendor, Thomas' Practice." For the doctors there were "Ferguson's Anatomy, Medical Dictionary, Desault's Surgery, Rush's Enquiries, Bell's Anatomy, Dorsey's Cooper, and Wilson on Fevers." In some sense of a philosophical or moral nature were "Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vattel's Law of Nations, Hume's Essays, Blair's Lectures, J. Q. Adams Lectures, Stewart's Philosophy, Conversations on Natural Philosophy, Smith's Moral Sentiments." A few were practical books: "Coxe on Fruit Trees, Hall's Distiller." And a few others, like "Keith on the Globes, Hutton's Mathematics, Smith's Thucydides, Dufie's Dictionary, Olive Branch, by M. Carey, Kaine's Elements," seem to be schoolbooks.

The continued activity of this firm is further shown by its advertisement of July 21. Among the "valuable publications" they now had to offer the public many were "recently from the press." They mentioned a dozen titles of law books (which included "Maddock's Chancery, Espinasse Nisi Prius, Crown Circuit Companion, Baylie's Digested Index, Hinney's [Binney?] Reports, Chitty on Bills, Equity Draftsman, Swift's Law of Evi-

dence, Chitty's Criminal Law, Beccaria on Crimes, Fonblanque's Equity, Curran's Speeches"). Among useful books of other sorts one could obtain from them Ewell's *Medical Companion*, Hooper's *Lexicon*, Tooke's *Pantheon*, Simpson's *Euclid*, Gibson's *Surveying*, Bonycastle's *Algebra*, Wanastrocht's *Grammar*, a *Vade Mecum*, and three French dictionaries by Boyer, Duffie, and Nugent. All these, of course, were professional or otherwise "useful" books. For the reader interested in literature Essex and Hough pointed out that they had Madame de Stael's *French Revolution* and her *Influence of Literature upon Society*, Shakespeare, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Byron's *Works* ("calf extra"), Scott's *Works*, and apparently those of other poets too as well as a volume of "Elegant Extracts." In addition they announced "A variety of Novels, among which is *Kenilworth*, by the Author of *Waverley*, &c."

Three other books among the stock of Essex and Hough must be mentioned here; they have a special interest for they were local productions. Of these the first to appear was Alphonso Wetmore's three-act farce, *The Pedlar*; this was published by John A. Paxton and on May 16 announced for sale by our booksellers at fifty cents. Two weeks later the *Gazette* carried an advertisement for Paxton's *St. Louis Directory and Register, Which, besides the Names, Professions, and residence of the Inhabitants, contains a variety of useful information*. The price of this work—the first of its sort in Saint Louis—was one dollar. Three days later the *St. Louis Enquirer* announced that it had just published a volume of *Missourian Lays, and other Western Ditties* by Angus Umphraville; this book Essex and Hough offered for fifty cents.

Such was the history of the first years of the first bookstore in Saint Louis. When one remembers the size of the town and recalls that any bookseller had to compete with drugstores and general stores and auctioneers, that such a specialized store could maintain its existence says something for the reading habits of Saint Louis, for, though Essex and Hough did not continue many years in business, Saint Louis from this time on had always one and often two or more bookstores to supply its people with the best and the latest of publications as well as the most useful.

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

DOCUMENTS

Tonti Letters

INTRODUCTION

Among the travelers who roamed the length and breadth of the Mississippi Valley in the last twenty years of the seventeenth century, it is doubtful whether any one's mileage can be compared with that of Henry de Tonti.¹ From the time of his landing at Quebec in the fall of 1678, until he died of the plague in Mobile, 1704, he was on the road. The journeys of Nicolas Perrot himself are less protracted, certainly less diversified than those of Tonti. It seems as though the Italian adventurer had not only an iron hand but an iron body. His travel book contains geographical names scattered over the United States and Canada, from Quebec to Hudson Bay, from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. During a quarter of a century, French forts and settlements, Indian villages along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River below the Illinois saw him. At one time or another he trod the ground of every state watered by the Mississippi, with the possible exception of Iowa and Minnesota. He went to Texas in 1690, explored Alabama in 1702, and was in New York, Ohio, and Michigan and possibly Pennsylvania.

Despite all his qualities, his courage, his stamina, Tonti was and remained a lieutenant. Here is probably the reason why there is no adequate study of his life and travels: "the glory of the master overshadows him who is only second in command."² A full La Salle bibliography would fill many pages, but one soon comes to the end of the list of articles, studies, books—including novels—purporting to narrate the Tonti epic. Yet first hand material is not lacking. Barring governors and intendants, there is hardly a personage in New France whose name appears more often in the official correspondence. Tonti left several memoirs, relations, and letters.³ He either wrote the memoirs

¹ This spelling has been adopted after comparing many specimens of his signature, cf. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, Springfield, Ill., 1920, 80, n. 8.

² Sulte, "Les Tontys," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series I, XI, 1894, section 1, 3.

³ Henry de Tonti had a brother in Canada, Alphonse, and another brother in France, whose Christian name has not been ascertained. Tonti is writing to the latter in the letters given below, and his dear brother is

himself or paid a scribe to 'transliterate' them for him, because his handwriting was atrocious. To these copies, he appended his unmistakable signature.

The occasion for writing the two letters published below is given by Tonti himself. Both letters reached the ship at anchor off the coast before it sailed for France, March 30, 1700, and copies of both letters were being passed around in Paris in June of the same year. In the French capital many men were interested in the colony on the Gulf. The route to it from the sea had been discovered the preceding year. Quite a number of men were still alive who had given their support to La Salle's venture a decade and a half before, and were now eagerly awaiting news from the Mississippi. As can be seen from one of the marginal notes, Tonti's brother had those letters deciphered. Henry's petition would have had little chance of success if those in power had had to read them in the original. Among those interested in the new colony were two men whose extracts from copies of Tonti's letters came down to us. One well known to the students of the history of the exploration of the Mississippi Valley, Claude Delisle, the prominent geographer, and another less generally known, Father Léonard de Sainte-Catherine de Sienne, a Discalced Augustinian.⁴

Father Léonard was as indefatigable as Delisle in copying letters and memoirs, but his interests were more catholic. He was prior and librarian of the Paris convent in his Order, known as the 'Little Fathers.' He was especially known as a shrewd collector of manuscript until the late seventies of last century when the publisher of the monumental edition of the Memoirs of Saint-Simon discovered him to be also a "patient, careful chronicler, and an indefatigable annotator." The library of Father Léonard's convent was frequented by numerous friends of his who supplied him with first hand information on all sorts of subjects. As soon as his informants left, he wrote down what

mentioned in the second of these, and also in the following document: ". . . I have just been with M. de Tonti and M. de Lamothe Cadillac. M. de Tonti is the brother of the Messrs. de Tonti who are in Canada, and takes care of their affairs in France. He is a very honest man who knows how to court the great. . . ." Tremblay to Glandelet, May 7, 1700, Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), *Lettres*, Carton O, no. 28, 35.

⁴ The Delisle text is taken from the Library of Congress photofilm of the original, Archives du Service Hydrographique, (ASH), 115-10:n.14. The words "Par Claude Delisle" were added later. The authorship of the various memoirs, whether they be by Claude or Guillaume Delisle, on the geography of the Valley, has not as yet been satisfactorily determined. The Léonard extracts from Tonti's letters are in Bibliothèque Nationale, (BN), Mss. fr. 9097:105-106, photostat in the Library of Congress.

he had heard, adding the date and some remarks about the visitor from whom he had obtained new data. During more than fifteen years he accumulated a huge mass of notes and since he was also a librarian, he classified them in a methodical, orderly fashion. "As a rule, the information was supplied by people who were in a position to know what was going on, and, like himself, nearly all had a real passion for biography and history, and consequently a sincere love for truth, a very keen realization of the value all this apparently secondary information was to have for the historian." So important were Father Léonard's collections that, when he died, the king ordered all the papers in his cell to be seized. "We do not know what became of the files which worried the ministers of Louis XIV." The Revolution scattered hither and yon in Paris the personal papers and hundreds of portfolios of Father Léonard's notes. Some were sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale, most to the Bibliothèque Mazarine. From this depot they were brought to the Archives Nationales, and, note the editors of the *Memoirs of Saint-Simon*, "among the mutilated débris of these two stocks we shall go more than once to find material to check" what Saint-Simon wrote.⁵

How copious were Father Léonard's notes on the history of New France is likely to remain unknown. Two of his remaining portfolios, one in the Archives Nationales, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale, contain important documents for the early exploration of the Mississippi River. In the Archives Nationales volume are found the letters of MM. de Montigny and Saint-Cosme, as well as one letter of Thaumur de la Source.⁶ Other documents in this volume refer more directly to the history of New France. Léonard "wrote his name on nearly all the volumes he bought for the convent. Ordinarily he added the date when he bought them, the cost, and the circumstances which attended their acquisition."⁷ On the fly page of the volume in the Archives Nationales is found the following inscription:

Pro captu lectoris Erunt tua fata volumen || Ce Portefeuille || Est
un recueil de quelques lettres et Memoires concernant || les missions
Apostoliques En Canada, En Afrique, || en Sirie Ethiopie || Fr.
Leonard de S^e Catherine de Sienne || Augustin deschaussé indigne ||

⁵ A. de Boislisle, ed., *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, 25 vols., Paris, 1879-1913, I, xlvii-xlix.

⁶ AN, K 1374:n. 81, 82, 83, 84. Cf. J.-E. Roy, *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'Histoire du Canada*, Ottawa, 1911, 57-58; D. Brymer, *Report on Canadian Archives for 1883*, Ottawa, 1884, 149.

⁷ A. Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, Paris, 1870, II, 303.

Priez dieu pour moy || Viam iniquitatis amove a me, et de Lege ||
tua miserere mei Psal. 118 v. 29

Ne spernenda putes nostra adversaria Censor
Sin tibi, saltem aliis, prodest iste labor.

His Latin couplet proved prophetic, his work was not in vain. Some of the letters of the missionaries in this volume were published by Shea;⁸ the letter of Saint-Cosme, was republished by Dr. Kellogg.⁹ These copies, however, are not the only ones extant, for Delisle also copied them.¹⁰ The geographer had a letter of M. de Montigny¹¹ which does not seem to have been seen by the Augustinian; and Father Léonard copied a letter of the same missionary¹² which Delisle did not have. In the other volume of Father Léonard's notes, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale,¹³ are found several documents on the early exploration of the Mississippi River which are not found elsewhere. A photostat of the volume is in the Library of Congress, except the fly page, which, says Leland, has the following note: "Ce Portefeuille est un recueil de quelques memoires historiques concernant l'Amerique. Les isles adjacentes sont dans un autre portefeuille. Fr. Léonard de Ste Catherine de Sienne, Augustin deschausee indigne. Priez Dieu pour moy, 1699."¹⁴ In this volume is found the extract from Tonti's letter to his brother dated March 4, 1700.

Léonard's copy is shorter than Delisle's. The Augustinian merely transcribed the description of the Mississippi River. He omitted the first letter altogether and several paragraphs at the beginning and at the end of the second letter. Except for differences in spelling and minor details, a comparison of these versions of a copy of Tonti's letters makes it clear that neither the cartographer nor the librarian omitted anything of importance pertaining to the geography of the Mississippi. It may safely be added that in the copy given them, very little that was in Tonti's original letter (which the copyist could make out) has been omitted. Who furnished the copy to Father Léonard and Delisle?

⁸ Shea, *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, Albany, 1861, 45-86.

⁹ L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 342-361.

¹⁰ ASH, 115-10:n. 13.

¹¹ That dated from "Mississippi, May 6, 1699," in ASH, x, 115-10:n. 13.

¹² That dated from "Louisianne, March [May?] 3, 1699," in AN, K 1374:n. 82.

¹³ BN, Mss. fr., 9097.

¹⁴ W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, Washington, D. C., 1932, 23.

Cabart de Villermont, an influential protector of the Tontis, whose interest in North America had not flagged since the days of La Salle.¹⁵ Delisle expressly stated that a copy of Tonti's letter was supplied to him by Villermont,¹⁶ and from the title of the sketch accompanying the relation in Father Léonard's papers, Villermont apparently also communicated a copy of these letters to Léonard.¹⁷

The letters of Tonti have been quoted or referred to more than once by students, but, to our knowledge, they have never been printed. There are several reasons for publishing them here *in extenso*. Even if the abundant corroborative evidence from other quarters were lacking, we could be quite sure of the trustworthiness of the information about the geography of the Mississippi contained in these letters. When Tonti wrote them he knew the course of the river from the Illinois to the Gulf better than any living man. He had gone down the river four times, twice to the sea, once within fifty miles and once within a few hundred miles of its mouth. Circumstances demanded that the pathfinder accurately describe what he knew, either from direct knowledge or from hearsay, and circumstances also required him to make the distinction clear. Tonti needed to vindicate his good name. A few years before a romantic account had been published under his signature. This fiction—perhaps because it was fiction—was very popular in France. Iberville had a copy of it on his first voyage and harshly criticized the fancies with which this and other similar accounts in print at the time abounded. A few weeks before Tonti wrote his letters, he had been asked to explain the discrepancies of the fiction and had disclaimed authorship. He realized how harmful the romance published under his name was to be to his interests when further comparisons were made between the inventions of the *Dernieres decouvertes* and reality. Hence, with fire in his eye, he sat down to tell his brother "exactly what he knew" of the country.

The second letter published below may be considered as

¹⁵ J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 88 ff.

¹⁶ Among the books, manuscripts, and sketch maps used by Delisle to prepare his 1703 map, he says he had: "Extraits de plusieurs lettres de M. de Tonty *communiquées par M. de Villermont* avec un croqui de la Riv. de Mississipi et de celles qu'elle recoit *communiquées par M. de Villermont*," ASH, 115-10:n. 17, M. The words in italics were deleted afterwards.

¹⁷ "Croquis de Mississipy . . . et le 4 mars suivant. C[abart] D[e] V[illermont] BN, Mss. fr. 9097:107. C. D. V. can be read though they be very faint in the reproduction of this sketch published by G. J. Garraghan, "The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IX, 1927, facing p. 313.

Tonti's third memoir on the geography of the Mississippi Valley. In 1684, he had sent a memoir from Quebec,¹⁸ narrating his adventures from 1678 to 1683. By 1690, he had another memoir ready, which he addressed to Renaudot in 1692.¹⁹ Receiving no answer, and uncertain whether the abbé had communicated copies of this memoir to Villermont and Pontchartrain, he sent two copies of the same directly to Villermont.²⁰ The memoir addressed to Renaudot is signed; that sent to Villermont is not signed,²¹ but the covering letter is signed.²²

A map was enclosed with the memoir sent in 1693, but none seems to have accompanied the letter of March 4, 1700. Several sketches or croquis were made afterwards representing cartographically the information of Tonti's letter. What the present writer thinks is the first one in date is found immediately following the extract in Father Léonard's papers.²³ The second, a bare outline, is found among Delisle's drawings.²⁴ HARRISSE, who saw both, seems to consider the Delisle's croquis anterior to Father Léonard.²⁵ The original of the third map based on the letter of Tonti is in the Collections of the Chicago Historical Society.²⁶ Jacques Bureau, the author of this colored map, speaks of the "S^r C. D." as having drawn it. These initials stand perhaps for Claude Delisle. A Bureau is mentioned several

¹⁸ Tonti to . . . , November 14, 1684, two copies in BN, Clairambault, 1016:220-226 and 267-279, printed in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1886-1888, I, 573-616, hereinafter quoted as Margry. The French text and a page for page English translation was published by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of Henri de Tonty*, Chicago, 1898.

¹⁹ BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:103-108.

²⁰ Archives des Colonies, (AC), C 13C, 3:128-141v. Cf. Tonti to Villermont, September 2, 1693, BN, Mss. fr., 22803:285-285bis, printed in Margry, V, 3-5, under the date of September 11, 1694, and Alphonse de Tonti to Villermont, BN, Mss. fr., 22803:316-316v.

²¹ It has often been published. It first appeared in English in Falconer, *On the Discovery of the Mississippi*, London, 1844, 47-96; in French, in Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits*, Paris, 1867, 5-36. Falconer's translation has often been republished, the latest and best is that of Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 283-318.

²² Printed in Falconer, reprinted in *Louisiana Historical Collections*, I, 82; the French text and another English translation in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations, 1680-1693*, in *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIII, Springfield, Ill., [1934], 276-282.

²³ BN, Mss. fr., 9097:107, reproduced by G. J. Garraghan in "The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IX, 1927, facing p. 313.

²⁴ AN, JJ, 75-249.

²⁵ HARRISSE, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des Pays adjacents*, Paris, 1872, p. 215, no. 261.

²⁶ A very much reduced reproduction has been published in the *Bulletin of the Chicago Historical Society*, II, 1937, facing p. 72.

times in Delisle's papers. It may also be that Bureau overlooked the "V" of the "C. D. V." on Léonard's sketch. The draughtsman added in the title "suivant le croquis de la main du dit Sr. Tonty." At Fort Mississippi, where the letter was written, Tonti was hardly in a position to draw a sketch, and neither he, nor Léonard, nor Delisle make mention of such a croquis. From the wording of the titles of the two sketches, it is clear that both drew the map from the data contained in Tonti's letter. The variants of these three maps are mentioned in the notes to the text.

I

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF M. TONTI TO HIS BROTHER, DATED
FROM THE QUINIPISSA VILLAGE IN MISSISSIPPI, 60 LEAGUES
FROM THE SEA, FEBRUARY 28, 1700.

A small English vessel ascended the river 30 leagues, August 3, 1699.¹ M. de Bienville ordered the captain, in the name of the king, to withdraw, which he did, saying, however, he would come back to establish himself on the River.²

¹ In his letter of March 4, *infra*, Tonti is the first to give the name which the place was to bear, Détour des Anglais, or Détour aux Anglais, English Turn, as it is called today. The meaning is 'about face.' In his second letter, Tonti gives the autumn as the date; the same time of the year is given by M. de Montigny, in his letter dated New York, July 17, 1700, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:130v. He adds that the intruders were coming to found a colony of French Protestants, cf. Margry, IV, 397. Le Sueur, in his letter dated Natchez, April 4, 1700, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:5v, has in the month of August. Father Léonard in his copy of M. Ricouart's relation, gives September, BN, Mss. fr., 9097:108. In this manuscript, as well as in Gravier's letter, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:170, it is said that Iberville met Captain Bond. Iberville was in France at the time. The date of the meeting of the representatives of the two great rival countries is given as September 5, 1699, O. S., in Illinois Historical Collections, IX, 416-417; September 15, N. S., in the journal of Sauvolle, Margry, IV, 456; September 16, in La Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Français à la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831, 19. The distances given in these various accounts vary between twenty to thirty leagues, fifty to eighty miles, from the mouth of the river. English Turn is slightly less than one hundred miles from the Gulf. Coxe, *Description of the English Province of Carolina*, . . . London, 1727, Preface, 3, says that Captain Bond was one hundred miles inland. See the fanciful account of the meeting in Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753, I, 6-7, and the still more fanciful narrative in Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, I, 276.

² Bienville having ordered Captain Bond to withdraw, the Englishman asked the Canadian "si nous avions des habitâons plus hault, Il luy respondit qu'ouÿ il s'en retourna apres avoir assuré led. Sr DeBienville qu'il reviendroit de voir dans peu et affin quil le put reconnoitre de plus loing, il luy fit present de lunettes d'approches [!]," Le Sueur in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:6. "Et nous croyant établis en haut, il [Bond] a pris le party de s'en retourner, assureant les nostres qu'on le reverroit l'année prochaine," Journal of Sauvolle, in Margry, IV, 456. The English captain "ne fist aucune resistance, mais dit jusqu'a l'honneur de vous revoir, car dans

I notified you last year how I had escorted the ecclesiastics of the Foreign Missions³ to the Akanceas, 300 leagues from the sea.⁴ MM. de Montigny, Davion and Buisson de Saint-Cosme⁵ made known to the two Bishops of Quebec⁶ the services I rendered them.⁷ I received from them congratulatory letters and offers of protection at Court.

Last fall, when I was at Michilimackinac,⁸ I learned by a let-

cinq ou six mois, vous my reverrez pour etablir une colonie, nous en avons fait la decouverte avant vous, . . .," Ricouart's relation in BN, Mss. fr., 9097:108. On the prior rights of the English, cf. *Jesuit Relations*, 65:172. Coxé in the preface of his *Carolana*, inveighs against Captain Bond for his withdrawal, cf. de Villier's explanation in "La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., XXI, 1928, 44. Details on this English expedition will be found in V. W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier*, Durham, 1928, 47-57.

³ This episode in the history of the missions in the Mississippi Valley may be studied in an unpublished manuscript by the Abbé [later Cardinal] Taschereau, *Histoire du Séminaire de Québec chez les Tamarois ou Illinois sur les bords du Mississippi*; in A. Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr de Laval*, Québec, 1890, II, 340 ff.; C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1896, III, 550 ff.; G. J. Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, XI, 1928, 98-146; J. H. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans*, Belleville, Ill., 1929, 148 ff.; M. B. Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country, 1673-1763*, Cleveland, 1931, 33 ff.; a short sketch is in Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763*, Washington, D. C., 1935, 20-23.

⁴ Estimating distances by "dead reckoning" supplied very divergent results. The actual distance from the Gulf to the Arkansas River along the Mississippi is 690 miles; 300 leagues would be 810 miles. Just as Tonti forced the distance in this case, he underestimated it in other accounts, giving 182, 204, and 232 leagues. The latter is also obtained when one adds up the distances supplied by the letter of March 4. Iberville's total distance from the sea to the Arkansas River—his own estimate up to the Red River and the Indians' estimate from the Red River to the Arkansas—is singularly accurate; he calculated there were 263½ leagues, 710 miles, and he compared it with what he found in Le Clercq, 190 leagues, Margry, IV, 180-181.

⁵ Francois Jolliet de Montigny, 1699-174? Cf. Gosselin, "M. de Montigny," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXX, 1925, 171-176; Taschereau, *Histoire du Séminaire*, 10-11. Antoine Davion, 166?-1726, left Louisiana after 1723, Taschereau, *Histoire*, 98. Jean-François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, 1667-1706. This missionary was killed by the Chitimacha Indians in the winter of the latter year, cf. *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 63, n. 88; he was the second priest of the Séminaire to meet death at the hands of the natives; four years previously, M. Foucault had been murdered by the Koroa Indians, *Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁶ Saint-Vallier, the actual Bishop of Quebec, and Laval, who had resigned his see in 1685, but was still referred to as M. l'Ancien [Evêque de Québec].

⁷ Cf. L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 343.

⁸ Tonti leaving the missionaries at the mouth of the Arkansas River, returned to the Illinois country, and thence to Michilimackinac, where he wrote the Bishop of Quebec giving his version of the difficulties which had arisen between the Missions Etrangères priests and the Jesuits. Archives du Séminaires de Québec (Laval University), *Missions*, n. 49, printed below. The addressee "Monseigneur" is Saint-Vallier, as it appears from a letter of Laval to Tremblay of 1699, Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, *Transcript Letters*, Laval, 1659-1705.

ter brought from New England &c which M. d'Iberville wrote to his brother in Canada that he had entered the Mississippi.⁹ Thereupon I resolved to go to meet him, hoping to be of service to him, since I have a perfect knowledge of this country, although I could have felt some jealousy seeing another in a country where I had the right to hope for everything after the expenses I underwent for the service of the king. I came down here and I am well pleased I made 900 leagues for such a purpose. When M. d'Iberville told me he was going to the Cenis [Hassinai],¹⁰ I made him offers of service, having formerly visited these people. This pleased him much, as he testifies in a letter he wrote to M. de Maurepas.¹¹ He showed me the particular passage [praising Tonti] of this letter.

As he has long been a friend of mine, he told me the following in confidence. When he was ready to leave for this country, since it was necessary that a number of Frenchmen should come from Canada to meet him, he mentioned me to M. de Latouche. The latter replied that I would not do, that I was a debauchee.¹²

⁹ Iberville reached the Gulf Coast January 24, 1699, Margry, IV, 96, 105, 140, 227, and entered the Mississippi, March 2, *Ibid.*, 158, 246. M. de Montigny wrote in August, 1699, that they were surprised, at the end of April, in the Illinois country, he had not heard of the coming of Iberville. The reason, says the missionary, was because he had left the Taensa for Chicago at the beginning of February, one month before Iberville entered the Mississippi. Montigny to —, [August 20, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:121; this letter is translated in Calder, *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys*, New York, 1935, 201-206; it is erroneously said to be addressed to Pontchartrain; from the context, *Monseigneur* is either Laval or Saint-Vallier. Montigny's letter to *Monsieur*, dated March 3, 1699, AN, K 1374:n. 82, should be dated May 3, 1699. In it Montigny wrote: "It is said here [Illinois, the date-line has "de la Louisianne"] that M. d'Iberville . . . is coming this year, and that he left France in the fall of last year for these places. . . ." "It was believed at the Outaouacs that M. d'Iberville had come by sea at the mouth of the Mississippi, but we heard nothing of it, except what I have just told you," Thaumur de la Source to the Reverend Mother —, April 18, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. The letter printed in Shea, *Early Voyages*, is from a different copy found in the papers of Father Léonard, AN, K 1374:n. 84.

¹⁰ Cf. Margry, IV, 409. Hereafter the spelling of the names of the Indian tribes, adopted by the United States Bureau of Ethnology, will be found in brackets.

¹¹ Jérôme Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas. The announcement that his father, Louis Phélypeaux, had been made Chancellor of France, and that he was to take the post of Minister of the Colonies, with his father's title of Comte de Pontchartrain, was not yet known in Louisiana, AM, B 2, 141:295.

¹² Perhaps an explanation of this passage is to be found in a letter of Father Gravier to Cabart de Villermont, a protector and a correspondent of the two Tontis, Henry and Alphonse. Villermont should not expect too much from the missionary, Alphonse de Tonti will give him the news of what is taking place in Canada, for in the Illinois wilderness there is little of interest, wrote Gravier. "I have notified M. his brother [Henry], who is captain and commandant of Fort St. Louis, Illinois, . . . of the

I don't know who they are who painted such an ugly portrait of me. I have had a few quarrels with the Jesuits about matters which had nothing to do with debauchery. I can only accuse them of the bad services rendered me, directly or indirectly, in the [colonial] office, or M. the Intendant of Canada who has always opposed us.¹³

M. Le Sueur¹⁴ gladdened me much when he told me that the king gave you a 200 pistoles pension.

When we return from the Cenis you will learn what we have discovered. When I was there¹⁵ the Indians assured me I was at 7 days journey from the mines of the Spaniards,* and if my men had not abandoned me,¹⁶ I would have succeeded. Forty Spaniards pursued me as far as the village of the Cadodaquios [Ka-

obliging manner you did me the honor of writing to me. Without mentioning you, he wrote me in a manner showing that he does not reprove of the scandalous conduct of M. Dilliettes, his cousin [Desliettes, Deliette, de Liette, the French form of the Italian de Lietto, or Delietto; the maiden name of Tonti's mother was Isabella de Lietto].” Gravier asked Villermont to let Tonti know of his interest in the welfare of the mission and how he would be pleased should Tonti help the missionary in his work of evangelization of the Illinois. “Since he is in this country, he [Tonti] has forgotten nothing to disparage the Jesuit missionaries in the mind of the Illinois Indians. I must not be more specific, this the first time I have the honor of writing to you, but what I can say is that M. Dilliette, his cousin, whom he left here [in command] during the two years he has been absent, did more both by his debauchery and his impious talk to disparage the truths of the Gospel than can be imagined.” Gravier had informed the Bishop of Quebec and his superior of what was taking place. Since Tonti has so much consideration for Villermont, the missionary asked his correspondent to expostulate with the commandant. “M. de Tonti having been unable to obtain from my Lord the Bishop a Recollect Father, told me on arriving here, that he was going once more to Quebec to get one. *Utinam omnes prophetant!* As one finds it hard to do one's duty, one finds it hard to let me do mine.” Gravier to Villermont, March 17, 1694, “de la mission de l'immaculée conception de N. D. au fort St. Louis des Illinois,” BN, Mss. fr., 22804:59-60v. It took two years and a half for Villermont's letter to reach Gravier; the missionary's letter may not have reached Paris before 1696. Keeping in mind how much Villermont liked to talk, he very likely spoke of the contents of the letter in the Paris Colonial Office. Tonti himself was not a debauchee, his his failure to reprove the bad conduct of his cousin seems to have led Latouche, the head clerk of the Colonial Office, to make Tonti morally responsible.

¹³ Jean Bochart de Champigny, Intendant of New France 1686-1702.

¹⁴ Pierre-Charles Le Sueur (1657-1704), was on his way to the Upper Mississippi on his mining expedition; Tonti met him near today's New Orleans, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:7v.

¹⁵ Tonti is here referring to his southwestern journey, 1689-1690; see his account in Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la France dans les pays d'outre-mer*, Paris, 1867, 28 ff., translated in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 312 ff.

* The Cenis at 7 days journey from the mines. The Cadodaquios at 80 leagues from the Cenis. (Delisle inserted, for his own guidance, marginal notes referring mainly to locations and distances. The geographer intended to make use of the information for his maps. Asterisk footnotes will be used hereafter for his marginal remarks.)

¹⁶ The account of this desertion, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 315-316.

dohadacho], 80 leagues from the Cenis,¹⁷ but fortunately I had left a few days before.

I am very sorry to see a relation [published] under my name to which much has been added and in which the memoirs I sent you were not followed point by point.¹⁸ It is disagreeable to pass for a liar. It would please me if you could retrieve my memoirs and exhibit them when necessary. My letter having been found at the Quinipissa village by M. d'Iberville,¹⁹ I think there will be no doubt of my having come several times to the sea and to the lower part of this river.²⁰

Let the minister know the importance of the voyage I am about to undertake, although my business requires my presence in the Illinois country, where I think La Forest²¹ has arrived; make the most of the voyage I made to the Iroquois country when M. de Denonville was in this country. I led overland nearly 300 Indians from the Illinois country. I made 400 leagues* and joined him in the Sonnotouan [Seneca] country.²² It cost me nearly 800 *pistoles*²³ to equip them and I have never been reimbursed anything. The petition for reimbursement has been useless,²⁴ and I think that that is the cause of the enmity of M. de Champigny Intendant of Canada. M. de Denonville can testify to it. However ask nothing for me until you receive some of my letters through M. d'Iberville. I think the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions will help me because I have been strongly recommended to them.

¹⁷ Cf. Delisle's marginal note, *infra*.

¹⁸ Tonti is here referring to the notorious *Dernières decouvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale; Mises au jour par M. le chevalier Tonti gouverneur de Fort Saint Louis, aux Islinois*, Paris, 1697; on this pseudo-Tonti, cf. Delanglez, *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, Chicago, 1938, 20-24.

¹⁹ Margry, IV, 190. This letter dated "Du Village des Quinipissas, le 20 avril, 1685 (1686)," was given to Sauvolle, *Ibid.*, 274, and was brought to Iberville by Bienville.

²⁰ That is, twice to the Gulf, once with La Salle, 1682, and a second time in 1686; down the Mississippi also twice, in 1689-1690, when he went as far south as the Koroa village, and now to Fort Mississippi.

²¹ François Daupin, Sieur de la Forest (1649-1714), Tonti's partner in the Illinois trade monopoly.

* 400 l. from the Illinois to Sonnotouan.

²² Tonti narrated this expedition in his memoir of 1693, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 308-311.

²³ An ordinance of Callières and Champigny, September 24, 1700, fixed the value of the "Louis d'or ou pistole" in Canada at 17 livres, 13 *sols*, 4 *deniers*, its value in France was 13 livres, 5 *sols*. Cf. Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, third series, XI, 1917-1918, Section 1, 174.

²⁴ The petition for reimbursement is found in the summary of letters written from Canada in 1687, AC, C 11A, 9:158.

M. d'Iberville having built a fort on the [Mississippi] river, 18 leagues from the sea,^{25*} he went ahead on his way to the Cenis. I am sending you this by a launch he is dispatching to the ships. I shall be with him tomorrow. For the present I did not think I ought to send any memoir to the court about this country. It will suffice to tell M. d'Iberville all I know; he will notify the Court. I am sure of his friendship; he will do all he can for me.

II

SECOND LETTER WRITTEN BY M. DE TONTI TO HIS BROTHER, FROM FORT MISSISSIPPI, MARCH 4, 1700.

I wrote you a letter [the 28 of last] month in which I informed you that I was to accompany M. d'Iberville to the Cenis. When I arrived at the Quinipissa village, I found everything changed.¹ M. d'Iberville told me he wished me to go to the Chickachas [Chickasaw] to arrest an Englishman who has settled among them² . . . [sic] with the said Canadians . . . [sic] when

²⁵ Fort Mississippi, cf. *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 12-13, MID-AMERICA, XIX, 1937, 155-156.

* Fort Mississippi, 18 l. from the sea.

¹ Tonti's progress can be followed almost day by day during these few weeks. The chronology explains the date of the two letters and disposes of his suspicions as to the cause of Iberville's change of plan. Tonti was evidently piqued because his trip to the West was cancelled and he cast about for a Jesuit on whom to put the blame—quite a common explanation for untoward happenings among officials and adventurers of New France and Louisiana. Tonti left the Illinois country early in 1700. He arrived at Fort Mississippi, February 16, at night, Margry, IV, 404; *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, R. L. Butler, ed., Chicago, 1934, 12. Three days later, he left for the north with Iberville, Margry, IV, 405. Near the sight of present day New Orleans, Iberville went ahead alone, cf. Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:8, wishing to go to the Huma before ascending the Red River, Margry, IV, 367. On arriving at the Bayougoula village, Iberville sent back a launch to the ships at anchor off the coast. Tonti sent his first letter by this launch. Bad news reached Iberville on his return to the Bayougoula village. An Englishman was urging the Chickasaw to make war against the Mississippi tribes and kill M. Davion. He was also carrying on a brisk slave trade. Iberville asked Tonti to go to arrest the Englishman, a task which he accepted. In the end Tonti did not go to the Chickasaw country, but returned to the Illinois. Cf. Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:12, Margry, IV, 406, 418; *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 31; and Iberville cancelled his own trip up the Red River, because of an ailment that prevented him from walking, Margry, IV, 416; he sent his brother Bienville instead.

² Le Sueur wrote in his journal that Tonti was sent to "arrest an Englishman from Carolina who made several presents to the Chickasaw to murder M. Davion, the Tunica missionary. For the past ten or twelve years this Englishman has been carrying on a slave trade. He sends the Chickasaw to get the slaves on the banks of the Mississippi. M. de Tonti assured me that, to his knowledge, the Englishman caused the destruction of 2,000 souls. He only buys women and children paying 100 *écus* [300 livres] apiece, and breaks the heads of the men," BN, Mss. fr. n. a.,

it was known that I was to accompany him, since, should something happen to him, the [leadership of the] voyage he was about to undertake would fall upon young men. I thought this change could only come because of a letter he received from a Jesuit who is in the Illinois country.³ He was given a Bayougoula. I think that, being entirely devoted to those people [Jesuits] he did not wish to offend the Company [of Jesus] who is very an-

21395:8. For English activities on the Mississippi at this time consult: AN, K 1374:n. 82; ASH, 115-10:n. 13, 115-32:n. 4; *Jesuit Relations*, 65: 116-118; Margry, IV, 362, 402, 545, etc.

³ "Poor M. de Tonti became the victim of the resentment of the Jesuits. He had gone down to meet M. d'Iberville, 500 leagues below the Tamarois, and had at first been well received. M. d'Iberville had promised to take him along to the Senis and to the mines of Santa Barbara; but suddenly a letter from Father Bineteau effected a change in the dispositions of the commandant. M. de Tonti was ordered to go to Chicago take an Englishman from Carolina who had settled there and to bring or send him to Fort Maurepas. It was a hard and dangerous expedition which Tonti only agreed to undertake with much repugnance." *Histoire du Séminaire*, 11. Taschereau is here quoting a letter of Tremblay to Laval, dated June 12, 1700. M. Tremblay was extremely prejudiced against the Jesuits and hence his statements cannot be readily accepted. Whether the name of Bineteau was in the original Tonti letter cannot be ascertained; it is more probable that it was not, otherwise Delisle would have copied it. Because of his stand in the controversy, Father Bineteau was the *bête noire* of Tremblay. After seeing the addition about the mines of Santa Barbara, and Chicago substituted for Chickasaw, one is entitled to be very skeptical about the other statements of the abbé. The only worthwhile information in Tremblay's communication to Laval is the fact that Tonti's letters had reached Paris in June, 1700. Tonti's assumption that he was sent to the Chickasaw because of a letter received from a Jesuit in the Illinois country is gratuitous. Iberville mentions no letter received from a Jesuit at this time in his Journal; Du Ru who was with Iberville, knew nothing of the letter sent by his Illinois confrère to the commandant of the expedition. A Jesuit, Father Marest, and not Father Bineteau as asserted by Tremblay, wrote to Iberville four months later, on July 10, 1700, cf. AN, JJ, 75-265. The information which determined Iberville to send Tonti to the East rather than to the West came, not from the Jesuits, but from Tonti's friends, the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions, the confrères of M. Tremblay, cf. the letter of Iberville to the Minister, February 26, 1700, AC, C 13A, 1:306; Margry, IV, 306; and the letter of M. de Montigny, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:122v. With Iberville the safety of the missionary and the protection of the Indians on the banks of the Mississippi against the Chickasaw raids outweighed the likes and dislikes of Tonti. In July, 1699, Tonti had written from Michilimackinac to Saint-Vallier that he kept aloof from the jurisdictional difficulties between the Jesuits and the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions. The truth is that he added fuel to the fire. The letter of Gravier quoted above and Tonti's own letter showed that he and the Jesuits were not the best of friends. In the summer of 1699, he told the Jesuits at Michilimackinac that he was to build a church for M. de Montigny near that of the Jesuits at Fort St. Louis, Letter of Laval to Tremblay, [end of 1699], in the Archives of the Archbishopric, Quebec, *Transcript Letters*, Laval, 1659-1705, copie sur copie faite d'après l'original conservé au Séminaire de Québec et disparu. In March, 1700, Tonti was conscious that his talk of the preceding summer did not please the Jesuits, and now, probably as an excuse for such talk, he chose to see in the commission sending him to the Chickasaw a token of the resentment of the Jesuits.

gry with me because I accompanied the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions to the Mississippi. Since M. d'Iberville is a great friend of mine, I did not want to come to an explanation as to the cause of his change; I was satisfied with telling him that when it was question of the king's service, I cared very little about what the whole of Canada would say. Since he believed it was to be of service to the king to fetch Englishmen, I would do my best to arrest him, but since I had only eight men, if I caught the Englishman, I would send him back with five men commanded by M. de la Ronde,⁴ *garde-marine*; afterward I would continue my journey with the rest [of my men] to join La Forest who must have arrived in the Illinois country. M. Le Sueur told me you presented a petition to the king on my behalf, and that the king answered you [illegible word, saying?] you should believe that nothing took place in this country without my participation. Hence you must not miss this opportunity. A fort has been built here [on the Mississippi]. If M. de Bienville, brother of M. d'Iberville, who is king's lieutenant of the one on the Bay of the Billochis,⁵ 27 leagues from here,* on the sea shore, remains commandant, you would please me extremely if you could ask the commandantship [of Fort Mississippi] for me, with the pay [of a fort commandant]. What to do? [There is] no more trade since it has been forbidden by the Court.⁶ Write a petition and represent that my hand was blown away; that I was four years *garde-marine* in Sicily, being captain-lieutenant of M. de Vintimille; that I accompany M. de La Salle in the discovery [of 1682]; that in '85, I went to considerable expenses to meet him in the Gulf in order to help him at his arrival; that afterward I led 300 Indians to M. de Denonville; that I made several other expenses to harass the Iroquois according to the orders I received from M. de Denonville; that afterward I went to the Cenis, seven leagues† from the Spaniards to fetch the rem-

⁴ Louis Denys, Sieur de la Ronde, cf. L. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire Général . . . du Canada*, Ottawa, 1931, s. v.

⁵ The fort built near today's Ocean Springs, Mississippi, by Iberville at the time of his first voyage, was called Fort de Maurepas at the beginning, Montigny to . . . [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:121, 123v; Letter of Le Sueur, BN, Mss. fr., 21395:5v; later, from the name of the Indians whom Iberville first encountered, Margry, V, 377, it became known as Fort of the Biloxi, ". . . le fort de Maurepas a present appellé le fort des Bilochies. . . ." Extract from an anonymous journal beginning in May, 1700, BN, Mss. fr., 21690:315v, entry for July, 1700.

* Fort Mississippi is 27 leagues from that of Billochi.

⁶ Tonti is alluding to the royal declaration of May, 1696, which suppressed all trade permits.

† The Cenis 7 days journey from the Spaniards. It should be 7 days journey.

nants of M. de La Salle's [men]; that when my men seized by panic abandoned me, I was obliged to go back, and that the Spaniards, 80 in number pursued* me as far as the Cadodaquios [village], which I had left 6 days before; that as soon as I knew that M. d'Iberville had entered the river, I came down for the third time to give him all possible information about this country; twenty coureurs de bois joined me 100 leagues from Fort St. Louis, they came [with me] hither [word illegible]; that my company was destroyed with the death of the men of M. de La Salle; that I never received any pay. I have no doubt that, by exposing all this properly, I shall get something from the Court and in order to give you some opening to speak of this country, here is an exact outline of what I know about it.

I begin with the sea (into which this Mississippi river)⁷ empties through three channels (mouths). The river is the most beautiful in the world, since it has 900 leagues⁸ without rapids from its mouth to the Falls of Saint Anthony, and without portages, with a fine width throughout and a deep bed. It winds very much, which renders it impracticable for ships, and it can only be ascended to the place called the English Turn 30 leagues from the sea,[†] where a small ship of that nation ascended this [*i. e.*, last] autumn. Its banks are covered with canes, vast woods and admirable lands. This river overflows at places; the flood lasts about two weeks or a month. There are 18 leagues to the sea from the new fort situated on the right bank going up.[‡] Below, the country is flooded. The spot here appears high enough,⁹ the land is admirable. Thirty-six leagues from here a fork is found,¹⁰ it goes down to the sea; going down this branch, on the

* I suspect the original has: they pursued me for 80 leagues.

⁷ The words in parentheses are taken from the copy made by Father Léonard, his extract begins here.

⁸ In his previous descriptions Tonti estimated 800 leagues, 2,160 miles, from the Gulf to the Falls of St. Anthony, 200 miles more than the actual distance. The 900 leagues of the text may be an error of transcription. The year before, M. de Montigny had written: "The Mississippi is the most beautiful river in the world. One thousand leagues [2,700 miles] of it have been seen from the mouth up, and it is not known how many more leagues there are up to its source," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10: n. 13.

[†] Ships can only ascend the Mississippi 30 l. as far as the English turn.

[‡] The fort is 18 leagues from the mouth, it is on the right going up. The spot is high and the land good.

⁹ Iberville built his fort on this spot because there was a sort of natural levee. Later in the year, and the following years, the fort was flooded at high waters.

¹⁰ This distance 54 leagues makes 145 miles. Iberville wrote: "Three leagues from their village [Bayougoula, which was 64 leagues, hence 180 miles from the Gulf], on the left, going up, there is a creek by which they

left, there are three villages, the Ouaches (Acacha) [Washa], the Chitimacha [Chitimacha] and the Quisitou (Aynisitou) [Yagenechito];¹¹ these three villages make about 250 men. This fork does not seem very considerable. The Indians settled on it (who are in the neighborhood) fish pearls, I gave three to M. d'Iberville.

go in canoe to the Outimachas [Chitimacha] and to the Magnesito [Yagenechito], three days journey from here to the west," Margry, IV, 172. Bayou La Fourche, Louisiana, is 210 miles from the sea. Iberville is referring to some other "fourche" of the network of bayous in Lower Louisiana, cf. the sketch, "Embouchure du Mississippi," in AN, JJ, 75-244, the data of this sketch were embodied in Delisle's map of 1701, SHB, C 4040-4. "Five leagues below the [Bayougoula] village, we find on the north side a small arm of the Mississippi, which Monsieur de la Salle mentions; he says that it has a depth of over 30 brasses of water, and is very convenient for large vessels. But Monsieur d'Iberville—who had the same inspected, and who caused soundings to be taken—did not find water deep enough to float a launch," Gravier's Voyage, 1700, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:159, cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 18. The small arm spoken of by Father Gravier seems to be the "fourche" of Tonti, cf. the sketch in AN, JJ, 75-249, "Croquis du Mississippi. . . Par M^r de Tonty." The famous "fourche" so earnestly sought by Iberville in his first voyage, is given in Tonti's first account, Margry, I, 604, as being 84 leagues (82 leagues in the second) from the sea, this is the distance from the Gulf to Plaquemine, Louisiana, 15 miles north of Bayou La Fourche. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith*, 175, locates the "fork" at the same distance from the Gulf. It is likely that these two—very probably interdependent—accounts, do refer to Bayou La Fourche. The space at our disposal precludes all discussion of the consequences the belief that Bayou La Fourche was a branch of the Mississippi was to have on the subsequent history of the exploration of the river.

¹¹ Ethnographers hold as probable that the Yagenechito were a division of the Chitimacha, F. H. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Washington, D. C., 1907, s. v. From a reading of the accounts of explorers, some of which are still extant and others lost, Delisle seems to have understood the Chitimacha and the Yagenechito to be subdivisions of the Washa, cf. the AN, JJ, 75-244 sketch. The sketch is found in Delisle's papers, although it is more probable that the geographer did not draw it he embodied the information in the maps he drew after 1700, cf. AN, JJ, 75-253; SHB, C 4040-4; *ibid.*, 4049-32; ASH, 140-4. De Fer copied all this in his inaccurate maps of the Gulf Coast, cf. SHB, C 4044-45, "Ouacha 3 nations ensemble," this drawing is a reproduction of SHB, C 4040-2, minus the lateral legends. The "Carte du Mississippi" of 1700, ASH, 138 bis-1-3, also a De Fer map has "Ouacha 2 nations." See SHB, 4040-5, another De Fer sketch copied by Father Gentil, BN, Ge DD 2632, p. 81, reproduced in Marcel, *Reproduction de Cartes et de Globes . . .*, Paris, 1893, Atlas, plate 17. The region is legended "les Ouachas" in Delisle's map of 1702, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Delisle was confirmed in his opinion after an interview with M. de Bouteville, a missionary who had spent several years in Louisiana, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 23. To the geographer's question Bouteville answered: "qu'il y avoit plus^s nations dans la fourche que faisoit le Missisipi avant que de se jeter dans la mer et qu'on les connoissoit toutes sous le nom d'Ouacha," ASH, 115-10:n. 17, Y. In the following decade when Delisle received his information from Lemaire, he omitted altogether the generic name for the three tribes, the Yagenechito are not found on the map of 1718, although the Lemaire sketch of 1716, ASH, 138bis-1-6, still has them. The three tribes are given in the following North-Southwest order, along the "fourche" in the two sketches based on Tonti's second letter: "Agnisitou, Chitimacha, Acacha."

Six leagues above the fork,* on the left, are found the Quinipissa [Acolapissa], Bayougoula (Bajougoula) [Bayougoula], Mongoulacha (Mongoulache) [Mugulasha], who together make about 180 men.¹² From the fort to these villages, the land is almost always the same. From these villages to the Sablonniere [Red] River, there are 40 leagues.¹³ On the right [bank of the Red River] there are three villages together,‡ the Oisitas (Onisitas [Wichita], Nachitoché, Capiche.¹⁴ I am not giving you the number [of men], [for] since I was there, they may have diminished. I am not telling you how far they are from the mouth of the Sablonniere, for there is another Rochet[?] three leagues days journey from there going up the Mississippi to Canada, one finds the Canada [*sic*] on the right,¹⁵ and eight days journey

The order is inverted in Bureau's croquis: "Akacha, Chitimacha, Agnisitou."

* The Quinipissa higher than the fork.

¹² "May 17, [1699], we arrived at the village of the Kinipissas. There are one hundred huts including the Bajougoula and the Mogoulacha who joined them and who make one village," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:123 v. In May, 1700, M. de Montigny learned that the Bayougoula chief had wiped out the Acolapissa and Mugulasha man-folk, *Id.* to . . . , July 17, 1700, *Ibid.*, 129; more than 200 men were massacred, says Father Gravier, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:156.

¹³ Tonti had estimated the distance as 30 leagues in his second account, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 301. If the mileage from the Gulf up to this point is added up, it is found to be 50 miles short of the actual distance. ". . . A la riviere Rouge que M. Dyberville nomme la riviere de Marne . . . le mesme jour [March 19, 1700] j'ay pris hauteur a l'emboucheure de ladite riviere et trouvé

31^d 30^m distance du soleil au zenith,
22^m declinaison sud,

31^d 8^m latitude nord."

Extract from the letter of Le Sueur, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:11. This is remarkably accurate, being only a few minutes from the true latitude of the mouth of the Red River, 31° 2'.

‡ And the Nasitas, Nachitoches and Nada.

¹⁴ In his second memoir (Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 314) Tonti calls these three tribes Quasita, Nachitoché, and Capiche; they were branches of the Wichita, a confederacy of Caddoan stock. Neither the first name nor the last appear on the croquis; along the Red River, which is nameless, are found reading upward the Natita, the Nadao, and the Nachitoché, all on the north bank of the River. Father Léonard has in the same order along La Sablonniere, the Onasita, Nadao, and Nachitoché; Bureau lists the tribes as follows Onasita, Nachitoché, and Kapiche. M. de Montigny wrote: "They [Taensa] told us that the Natchez and the Kahapitch, who are nations 30 or 40 leagues distant from the Taensa, had come to see us; and that not having found us, they were soon to come back," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:126v. Three months earlier he had written: ". . . upon [the Red River] are found the Natchitoches, then farther up one finds the Nassonis and several other nations who are at war with the Spaniards of Mexico; these are near enough to these tribes." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. When M. de Montigny wrote these words he had not gone below the Taensa, and had this information from Tonti.

¹⁵ This seems to be a distraction of the copyist. In the margin he has

farther up [the Red River] are found the Nassonis (Nossonis) [Nasoni], Nachitoché and Cadodaquio. Leaving these three villages, and crossing the river, which is not a very large one,* on the left is found a road leading to the Cenis through a pleasant enough country where are good ash-trees, oaks, small hillocks and meadows.

From the mouth of the Sablonniere† to the Ommas (Oumas) [Huma], four leagues.¹⁶ They number about . . . [sic] (200) men¹⁷ located on hillocks one league and a half from the [Mississippi] river.¹⁸ It can be said that they have the best land. The stalks of [their] Indian corn are 20 feet high. From this tribe to the Quinipissa, the country is the same as I described before, except that one finds, going up, two places where are hillocks for settlements.

From the Ommas (Oumas) to the Naché [Natchez],‡ 25 leagues,¹⁹ same banks. Their land is reached after crossing 50 leagues of hillocks.²⁰ The tribe counts from 8 to 900 men. Their

the Nada; the name of the second tribe on the Red River is Nadao, the first is Natita, the Nasitas of the marginal note, probably the Natasi. The Nasoni are not on the croquis, nor are the Kadohadacho. Bureau has three tribes on his sketch, Nosennis, Nachitoché, and Kadodokico; he located them up the Red River. The *Rochet* sentence does not make sense. A line seems to have been omitted, or the words "car j'en trouve un autre Rochet a 3 lieües journees" have been added: "lieües" was first written and the copyist forgot to cross it out after writing "journees."

* Road from the Cadodaquios to the Cenis.

† The Ommas 4 l. from the mouth of the Sablonniere.

¹⁶ They were the Hama of Tonti's first account, Margry, I, 604, Gravier, gives the distance from the Huma to the Red River as three leagues, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:154.

¹⁷ "This [Huma] village numbers about one hundred huts. Their language is the same as that of the Chickasaw and of the Acolapissa and of several other nations, being one of the most widespread in these parts," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:123. "There are 80 huts," in this village, wrote Gravier, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:146; after having made the round in company with Father de Limoges, the then missionary among the Huma, the Jesuit said: "I counted 70 huts in the village which I visited . . ." *ibid.*, 148.

¹⁸ "There is a good league and a half from the point of disembarkation to the village of the Huma,—over a very bad road, for one has to ascend and descend, and walk half bent through the canes. The village is on the crest of a steep mountain, precipitous on all sides." Gravier's Voyage, 1700, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:146. Cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 26.

‡ The Natchéz.

¹⁹ The Natchez, "or as others call them the Chalaouelles," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:122v. Iberville has a variety of names akin to the one given here by Montigny, Telhoel, Techloel, Telhoël, Chelouels, Margry, IV, 121, 155, 179, 269. After his first voyage, variants of "Natchez" predominate. In other accounts the distance is given as between 20 and 25 leagues; the actual distance is about 60 miles.

²⁰ A copyist's error for 5 leagues; Tonti had given three leagues inland in his two previous accounts, Margry, I, 603; Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 301.

settlements are spread over 8 leagues of country;²¹ admirable land. Their chiefs are looked upon as spirits and called the . . . [*sic*]²² (Niase). [They are] fed, lodged and supported at public expense. Thirty men are killed to accompany the chiefs when these die.²³ They are on the right of the river.* I can say the same thing about the land as I have said before.

From the Natchez (Natché) to the Taensas [Taensa],† 23 leagues.²⁴ They are located on a small lake. There is a portage of one league [from the Mississippi to the lake], and [then] three leagues by canoe [on the lake to their village].²⁵ They are in a flat, very beautiful and very fruitful country.²⁶ They make (more than) 400 men.²⁷ Same customs as the Natchez. But now that M. de Montigny has his mission among them, it may be hoped that these two nations will change their cult, their customs, and will despise their temples.²⁸

²¹ Tonti gave 3,000 warriors in his second account, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 301. In May, 1699, before he had gone to the Natchez, Montigny said they numbered at least 2,000 souls, ASH, 115-10:n. 13; in August after he had visited them, "This tribe is the most numerous of those that are on the banks of the Mississippi. There are 10 or 12 villages . . . very much scattered. . . . They occupy 7 or 8 leagues of country. . . . They numbered nearly 300 huts, and in each hut there are often two or three families," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:125v. "The Natchez are scattered over 8 or 9 leagues of country," wrote Le Sueur, "they make about 8 or 900 men," BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:12v. "It is said that there are almost 400 of them [huts] and that they extend for eight leagues hither and yon," *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 36.

²² Apparently Tonti's crabbed handwriting defied the copyist; Father Léonard made out *Niase*.

²³ Cf. Thaumur de la Source, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 82; *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 27; Gravier's Voyage, 1700, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:142.

* It is on the right side going up.

† Taensa.

²⁴ The various accounts give from 16 to 20 leagues for this distance. In his two previous memoirs, Margry, I, 602, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 300, Tonti gives the only definite latitude observed, 31°, taken by La Salle with the astrolabe; the 32nd parallel crosses the small lake north of St. Joseph, near where the Taensa had their village. Iberville also took the latitude at the Taensa village, he found 32° 47', Margry, IV, 412.

²⁵ "The Taensa village is one league from the bank of the Mississippi, on a small lake six or seven arpents wide," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13; Thaumur de la Source gives three leagues, Shea, *Early Voyages*, 82; Gravier, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:136, and Du Ru, *Journal*, 41, say the same as Tonti.

²⁶ Cf. *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 41.

²⁷ "The Taensa are only about 700 souls," Montigny, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 76. "There are about 120 huts, making perhaps 6 or 7 hundred souls," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. "There are scarcely a hundred cabins at the Taensa and they are by no means as well filled as those of the Natchez," *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 42.

²⁸ M. de Montigny intended to take care of both tribes, Taensa and Natchez, until help came from Canada, Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13, both tribes speaking the same language, cf. *Jesuit Relations*, 65:136. The missionary left the Taensa village a few weeks after Tonti wrote his second letter, cf. *The Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 44 ff. Com-

From the Taensas to the Tonicas [Tunica],* 20 leagues²⁹ to the mouth of their river, [then] eight leagues up [the Yazoo River to their village]. Together the Tonicas, the Yazoos [Yazoo], and the Coroa [Koroa] make about 400 men.³⁰ They are located in a very pleasant valley at the foot of high hills. M. Davion is their missionary.

It must be noted, (my dear brother), that there is no trading to be done with the tribes I just mentioned. They are all wretchedly poor and they hardly find fur animals to clothe themselves. These people are laborious³¹ and it would be no trouble at all to make artisans of them and to teach them to raise silkworms in quantity.

One finds then on the left at 60 leagues, the Tonty† (Tonti) or Akancea (Akansea) [Arkansas] River,³² given to me by M. de La Salle,³³ which I settled, and where I had a house built, there the Sieur Cavalier was led by Divine Providence and was

pare Tonti's description of the Taensa temple in Margry, I, 601, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 299-300, with that of Montigny, in ASH, 115-10: n. 13.

* Tonica.

²⁹ The distance between the habitat of the Taensa and the mouth of the Yazoo River is 60 miles.

³⁰ "The first [Tunica] village is four leagues inland from the Mississippi on the bank of quite a pretty river; they are dispersed in small villages; they cover in all four leagues of country; they are about 260 cabins." Thaumur de la Source, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 80. For the location of these Indians, cf. Margry, V, 401, n. 1; other details are in *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 446-447. Montigny gives 200 huts of Tunica, totaling from 12 to 15 hundred souls; 36 huts of Yazoo and Koroa, 15 huts of Houspé [Ofogoula], the three last named villages having no more than 300 souls; "to tell the truth, there are other villages farther away, where they speak like the Tunica, namely, the Tiou, the . . . [sic], and perhaps still others about whom we have no information." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. The Tiou mentioned here are the "Siou" of Tonti's letter of 1693, printed in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations, 1680-1693*, Illinois Historical Collections, XXIII, Springfield, Ill., 1934, 278.

³¹ Cf. *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 409.

† Riviere de Tonty ou des Akanseas.

³² From the Yazoo River to the mouth of the Arkansas, the distance is 200 miles. The sketch in AN, JJ, 75-249, has no name for the Arkansas, but on Father Léonard's as well as on Bureau's croquis it is legended "Tonti R."

³³ This seigniorial grant is not mentioned in the various accounts of the expedition of 1682; Tonti himself does not mention it in his first memoir, nor in his letter of July 23, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:165-168v. This seignory is referred to by Tonti in an undated autograph signed document in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society, printed in *The French Foundations*, 396. In another autograph document signed, dated November 26, 1689, printed below, Tonti is granting a tract of land to the Jesuits on condition that they send a missionary to the Arkansas post, ASQ, *Polygraphie*, XIII, n. 33. From the latter document, it seems that as early as 1686, Tonti was making land grants along the Arkansas River. Cf. Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 308, where he also speaks of his seigniorial rights.

the cause of his and of his companions' salvation.³⁴ The Akancea (Arkansas) nation numbers 300 men. Twelve hundred perished by disease and war.³⁵ [From here] one begins to see many buffaloes and beavers. The Mentous [Mento] and the Paniassas (Panicassas) [Wichita] are located on this river.³⁶ I am not giving you their number or the distances, since the relations of the Indians are ordinarily false.* The land is as it is elsewhere; quantities of peach trees, mulberry trees, plum trees and vines. They only sow wheat once a year, while those on the lower [Mississippi] sow it as many as three times a year, and the latter have the [further] advantage of having the same (fruit) trees as those [dwelling on the Arkansas].

From the Akanceas† to the Oyo [Ohio] River³⁷ called by the

³⁴ Cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavalier*, 123, 154. The house is shown on Bureau's sketch.

³⁵ "Two hundred leagues from Ouabache, the Arkansas are found, formerly a most beautiful nation. Less than ten years ago, they numbered 1,200 warriors, but wars and disease have reduced them almost to nothing, they are hardly 200 men left, and very few women and children," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. "We were deeply afflicted at finding this nation of the Acansças, formerly so numerous, entirely destroyed by war and by disease," Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*. Cf. Thaumur de la Source in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 79; Gravier, in *Jesuit Relations*, 65:118.

³⁶ On the croquis, AN, JJ, 75-249, the names of these two tribes are given as Mentons and Panicassas, both on the north bank of a nameless [Arkansas] river. The sketch, "Partie du Mississipi et rivieres adjacentes," AN, JJ, 75-245, situates the "Mentou" village five "nights" from the Osetoué [Uzutiuihi, one of the Arkansas villages], and the "Paniassa" village also five "nights" from Mentou. The Paniassa are on an affluent of the stream purporting to be the Arkansas River. The measurement of distances by "nights" puzzled Delisle. The geographer jotted down some questions he intended to ask Iberville at the first opportunity. One of these questions was "Ce que les sauvages entendent par le mot de nuit Quand ils disent par exemple il y a 2 nuits de chemin d'un lieu a l'autre et la difference d'une journée a une nuit." The explorer answered: "Quand il y a une journ. d'un lieu à l'autre les sauvages disent un jour, mais quand il faut dormir avant que d'y arriver, c'est a dire qu'il y a 2 journees ils appellent cela une nuit. Quand ils content 6 nuits, c'est la valeur de 7 journees," ASH, 115-10:n. 17, Q. Up a river the average distance made was six and one-half leagues a day; five nights would give forty leagues, 108 miles.

* Relations of Indians false.

† Distance from the Akanseas to the Oyo Riv.

³⁷ Tonti used Ohio and Ouabache indiscriminately for the great affluent of the Mississippi. In his time and much later the course of the river from where it received the Wabash was generally called by the French "Ouabache," while the Ohio River was considered a tributary of the Wabash.

Indians Akanceasipi (Akanssa-sipy),³⁸ 240 leagues.³⁹ Going up toward this river, 90 leagues [from the Arkansas River], on the right, are hillocks, and inland, one finds a path leading to the Chicacha,* three days journey from the [Mississippi] River.⁴⁰ It is there that the Englishman in question is.† Along this river are several hillocks fit for settlements, and there are appearances of iron mines. This Oyo River comes from near the Iroquois villages; it must be more than 400 leagues long;⁴¹ it has

³⁸ "It is called by the Illinois and by the Oumiamis the River of the Akanse, because the Akanse formerly dwelt on it. It is said to have three branches, one coming from the Northeast, which flows at the rear of the country of the Oumiamis, called the River St. Joseph, which the savages properly call Ouabachi; the second comes from the Iroquois country, and is what they call the Ohio; the third from the South-South-west, on which are the Chaouanoua. As all three unite to fall into the Mississippi, the stream is commonly called Ouabachi; but the Illinois and other savages call it the River of the Akanse," Gravier's Voyage, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:107. Gravier spoke of the Ohio basin from hearsay, what he meant by the third river is not clear, the Tennessee or the Cumberland. The river on which the Shawnee dwelt was to be called later *Rivière des Anciens Chaouanons*, the Cumberland, while the Tennessee remained for awhile *Rivière des Casquinambaux*, and was afterward called *Rivière des Chéraquis*. Gravier is the only author to give the reason for calling the Ohio the river of the Akanse, cf. Shea, *Early Voyages*, 120, n. 9. This nomenclature did not obtain very long. Only one cartographer, Guillaume Delisle, legended his maps after this fashion from 1701 to 1703. The Ohio is labelled *Ouabache* near its mouth and *Oyo* near its source in AN, JJ, 75-249, while its whole course is named *Oyo Riviere* in the sketch by Father Léonard. The first time the Acansean nomenclature appears is in the Delisle basic draft, AN, JJ, 75-253, "Carte des Environs du Mississipi par G. De l'Isle Geographe"; henceforth the legends are seen in every Delisle map down to the printed one of 1703 inclusively, cf. SHB, C 4040-4, of 1701, based on the preceding chart; the map of 1702, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères; the two engraved maps with manuscript additions SHB, B 4049-32, and ASH, 140-4, the drafts of the published map of 1703. After this date, Delisle changed the nomenclature; his next published map, that of 1718, follows the Lemaire legends, compare AN, JJ, 75-234; BN, *Estampes*, Vd. 22, with SHB, C 4044-46A, and BN, Ge D 7883.

³⁹ Perhaps an error of transcription, an excess of 250 miles; Tonti had given 84 leagues in his first account and 110 in his second. M. de Montigny figures there were 230 leagues, 620 miles from the Tamaroa villages to the Arkansas, which is within a few miles of the exact distance.
^{*} 90 l. higher than the Acanseas is found a path leading to the Chicachas.

⁴⁰ The sketch AN, JJ, 75-249, has the Chickasaw near the mouth of the Ohio, so have the other two sketches, Ficher Léonard's and Bureau's. Cf. Tonti's first account, in Margry, I, 597, "... whose [Chickasaw] village was three days journey from there [Fort Prudhomme, near present day Memphis], in the lands along the Mississippi." Tonti's second account, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 297. The "chemin" referred to is perhaps the Wolf River, Tennessee, cf. Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 358, and the map AN, JJ, 75-253.

† The Englishman is among the Chicachas.

⁴¹ Tonti had given from 500 to 600 leagues in his first account, Margry, I, 596. "It comes from the east and is more than 500 leagues in length. It is by this river that the Iroquois advance to make war against the nations of the South," Tonti's second account, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 297. "At about 600 [i. e., 60] leagues from the Tamaroa village,

only one rapid,⁴² and a quantity of considerable affluents falling in it.

At one and a half days journey on the right [of the Ohio], one finds the island of Kaskinampo* (Koskinempo) [Kakinonpa].⁴³ At its [river's] source which is at 12 days journey, there is a mountain range,⁴⁴ whence springs a river⁴⁵ going to Carolina, and which the English ascend in boats. From this mountain range, they bring, on pack horses, merchandise to that Englishman (who is among the Chicachas).⁴⁶ I learned this from the

one find the same side [east bank of the Mississippi] a great river named Ouabache, but called Oio by the Iroquois. It nearly reaches the Sonontouans [Seneca], an Iroquois village. One goes by it to the Chaouenons [Shawnee] and to the Chicachas [Chickasaw] nations near the English of Carolina," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. Delisle wrote in the margin of his copy of this letter: "On va par Ouabache aux Chaouanons et aux Chicachas," meaning that Carolina could be reached by the affluents of the Ohio, the Tennessee and the Cumberland. The Ohio "is said to be 500 leagues in length and to take its source near the Sonontouans," Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 357. "They [Iroquois] often come on the Ouabache river, which they call Ojo; one of its arms comes from above the Sonontouans," Montigny to . . . , [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:121v.

⁴² Near Louisville, Kentucky, there is a drop of 27 feet over a course of 2½ miles.

* Perhaps that of Kasquinampo. It is likely that it is a source of the [River] of Kaskinampo.

⁴³ The tributary near the mouth of the "Ouabache" is legended "Casquinampo R."; on it the "Casquinempo" Indians are dwelling, according to the AN, JJ, 74-249, sketch. These Indians, very prominent in the accounts of French travelers of the beginning of the eighteenth century, have not as yet been identified with certainty by ethnologists. French adventurers journeying overland from the Mississippi or the Illinois country to Carolina bear out what Tonti is here saying with regard to their location on an "island." Cf. Sauvolle's narrative of 1700-1701, AC, C 13A, 1:319-320, printed in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1701-1729, French Dominion*, Jackson, Miss., 1929, II, 14-15, and the notes of Delisle in ASH, 115-10:n. 17, X. Delisle wondered whether the Casquinambaux might not be the Casquins of de Soto, ASH, 115-10:n. 17. In Franquelin: "Carte Generale de la Nouvelle France . . .," BSH, C 4044-10, reproduced in Marcel, *Reproductions de Cartes et de Globes . . .*, Atlas, Paris, 1890, plate 40, the legend has: "I. des Tchalaqué ou des Casquinempo"; the "Tchalaqué" were the "Chalaque" of the Soto identified as the Cherokee. The name, spelled in a variety of manners, often appears on maps. The Kakinonpa of Marquette's autograph is supposed to stand for these Indians. The information contained in Sauvolle's narrative is expressed cartographically in all the Delisle maps until that of 1718, AN, JJ, 75-234. Legends not on this map found their way on that printed by French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana, part II*, 1850. The distances given by Tonti in his letter are greatly underestimated.

⁴⁴ The Apalachian range.

⁴⁵ The Savannah River?

⁴⁶ Cf. Iberville's letter, February 26, 1700, Margry, IV, 362. The English from their headquarters among the Chickasaw were doing a thriving business with the Mississippi tribes: "Tous les sauvages de ces quartiers ci scavoit Tonicas, Tahensas, Natchez et autres ont des marchandises qui viennent des Anglois, fuzils, capots, rassades, etc.," Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115:n. 13.

Chaouanons (Chauanons) [Shawnee] who were settled with me in the Illinois country.

From the mouth of the Oyo to the Falls of St. Anthony, the river is banked by hillocks, there are stones, woods, [word illegible] abounding in all kinds of cattle. From its [Ohio] mouth to the Saline [Saline Creek, St. Genevieve County, Mo.], there are 50 leagues. It is a spring where we were making (make) salt. There are lead mines on the right [of Saline Creek].

From the Saline to the Tamarois (Tamarou) [Tamaroa],⁴⁷ 30 leagues. It is a village of 400 Illinois Indians.⁴⁸ M. de Saint-Cosme is their missionary.

From the Tamarois (Tamarou) to the River of the Ozages [Missouri], 6 leagues, on the left. This is a considerable river both from its length and its width.* It rises, say the Indians, 300 leagues away.⁴⁹ [On its banks] there are the Ozages [Osage] who make 300 huts [located at] 15 days journey in canoe [from the mouth of the Missouri]; from there to the Cansa [Kansa] 3 days journey; there are 300 huts. From these to the Panissas (Panimana) [Skidi], [3 or 5 or 7, not clear] days journey, 600 huts; farther are the Paniboucha (Parabougea) [Pawnee?]⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The distance between the Ohio and the Missouri, 86 leagues, is forced; M. de Montigny gives the same number, the fifteen hundred leagues between the Tamaroa village and the Saline is evidently a slip, [August, 1699], BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:121v. The Tamaroa village is not indicated on AN, JJ, 75-245; it is located on the left bank of the Mississippi by Father Léonard and by Bureau.

⁴⁸ Tonti has 180 huts for this village in his first account, Margry, I, 596. "There are as many people at the Tamarois as at Kebecq. . . . It is the largest village that we have seen. There are about 300 cabins there." Thaumur de la Source in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 84. Cf. Montigny's letter of March 3, 1699, AN, K 1374:n. 82. On May 6, 1699, the missionary wrote: "The Tamarouais and the Kaokias . . . make about 600 men . . . but since our arrival the Mitchigamea and the Missouris having joined them, they make [now] at least 8,000 souls." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13.

* The Riv. of the Ozages is 300 l. in length.

⁴⁹ Cf. Tonti's first account, Margry, I, 595.

⁵⁰ "It is reported that there are great numbers of savages on the upper part of that river," Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 355. "The great Missouri River upon which are several nations where no missionary has ever been. There are found the Missouris, the Osages and the Canis." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. The names of these tribes—spelled as between parentheses in the text, that is, as in Father Léonard's copy—are found on the sketch AN, JJ, 75-249. The detailed information concerning the distances and the population of these Indian villages is found on another Delisle sketch, "Partie du Mississippi et rivieres adjacentes," AN, JJ, 75-245, with the difference that the distances are given in "nights" instead of in days. Cf. "Cours des Riv. d'Ouabache et Missouri envoyé par le R. P. Marest Jesuite a M. d'Iberville le 10 Juill. 1700," *Ibid.*, pièce 265. Delisle transferred the geographical information of these two outlines on the first draft of his 1701 map, AN, JJ, 75-253; he repeated the data with further additions in his subsequent maps until 1703. The misreading Panissas for Panimaha seems to have led

who are in greater number.⁵¹ I don't know whether it is not the last nation that forced the Spaniards to abandon several considerable mines. At the end of this river which comes from the West, there is a mountain range⁵² whence rivers flow, and to my mind, go down to California. Along this river and inland are several nations, such as the Baotets [Iowa?],⁵³ Ototenta (Otosenta) [Oto], Emissourita [Missouri], Ajooija (Ajuoya) [Iowa]⁵⁴ where the buffaloes which are found everywhere in Louisiana come from.⁵⁵ The Indians have no other fuel than (the dung) of these animals.

From the mouth of this river, there are six leagues to that of the Illinois—this river comes from the east and measures 200 leagues.⁵⁶ The Miami are situated toward its headwaters on another river [the St. Joseph River, Michigan], which falls in Lake Michigan. There are at least 800 men settled at Fort Saint Louis,⁵⁷ 70 leagues* from the Mississippi,⁵⁸ and three Jesuit missionaries.⁵⁹

From the mouth of this river to Quionisagoi (Quinitagoy) [Des Moines?], 60 leagues. It is a river where the Illinois formerly dwelt, [*i. e.*,] on the left of Quionisagoy (Quinitagoy).⁶⁰

the geographer to double this tribe; he located the Paniassas on an affluent of the Arkansas River and on a tributary of the Missouri, keeping, however, the Panimaha on the main Missouri stream.

⁵¹ Cf. M. Mott, "The Relation of Historic Indian Tribes to Archeological Manifestations in Iowa," in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXXVI, 1938, 279.

⁵² The Rocky Mountains?

⁵³ Cf. Mott, *loc. cit.*, 234, 306.

⁵⁴ None of these tribes, except the Ototenta (Otosenta) are on the outline maps previously referred to, but they are all on Bureau's sketch. This draughtsman scattered them between the *Rivière des Ozages* and the *Puinitagoy R.*, locating the Emissourita farthest west.

⁵⁵ The buffalo country is said to be in the vicinity of the Panibouega in AN, JJ, 75-245; the information is repeated in AN, JJ, 75-253, Delisle's basic draft of his maps until 1703.

⁵⁶ The sentence after the dash is not in Father Léonard's copy.

* Fort St. Louis, Illinois, is 70 l. from Mississippi.

⁵⁷ Tonti is speaking of the new Fort Saint Louis, on Peoria Lake, twenty-five leagues downstream from Starved Rock; Saint-Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 350; the migration took place in 1691-1692, cf. the "De Gannes Memoir," in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations*, 327, and Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country*, 23. Bureau located a "Fort Louis" about 100 miles north of the Wisconsin.

⁵⁸ "The [Illinois] river runs 100 leagues from Fort St. Louis [here Starved Rock], to where it falls into the Mississippi." Tonti's second account, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 302. M. de Montigny also gives 70 leagues, in ASH, 115-10:n. 13.

⁵⁹ Father Léonard could not make out whether there were three or five Jesuits at Fort Saint Louis. He wrote "Ou sont 5/3 jesuites missionnaires." The three Jesuits were Fathers Gravier, G. Marest, and Bineteau, Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country*, 23-26.

⁶⁰ Tonti probably had Moingouena, unless the Quionisagoi, Quinitagoy, Puonitagoy of Father Léonard's sketch, Puinitagoy of Bureau's, is one

On the right [of the Mississippi going up] is Omissconsing (Ouisconsing) [Wisconsin], 240 leagues. There are even plains 30 leagues further [inland?]. The Outagamis [Foxes] are located on this river. Thence to the Falls of St. Anthony, 150 leagues.⁶¹ On the right are the Bon secours [Chippewa?] and Noire [Black] rivers; on the left that of St. Pierre [Minnesota], which the French have ascended more than 200 leagues.*

The great Scious (Souys) [Sioux] nation is scattered above the said Falls, and the Indians have no knowledge of the source of the Mississippi River, although there are Sious (people) who came down on it from 30 (20) days above the Falls, making more than 25 leagues a day.⁶²

Here then, my dear brother, is truly the real state of this country. Speak boldly on this subject; the sooner the better, lest others hand in memoirs before you do. I am almost sure that no memoirs are being sent by the ships commanded by M. de Surgères.

I do not know how Father Louis Hennepin had the boldness to lie so impudently in his relation. He was insupportable to the late M. de La Salle and all of M. de La Salle's men. He sent him to the Sious as to get rid of him. He was taken [prisoner] on the way by these Indians with Michel Aco [Accault] and Pierre Dugué [Auguelle]. Afterwards the three of them were freed from servitude by M. Dulude [Duluth], who was passing through that country, and brought back by him to Canada. How can a man have the front to write that he went down to the sea?

of the names of the Iowa, cf. Miss Mott's discussion, *loc. cit.*, 264-265. If Tonti meant the Des Moines River, the distance is only slightly forced.

⁶¹ There is no record that Tonti explored the Upper Mississippi; he is speaking from hearsay; his distances are forced. Although he means 240 leagues from the mouth of the Illinois to the Wisconsin, it is still 200 miles more than the actual distance, and the mileage between Prairie du Chien and St. Paul is nearly doubled. One year earlier M. de Montigny had written: "From [the mouth of] the Illinois River to the fort which the French have in the Sioux country, they count 300 leagues, and from the fort of the French to the old Sioux Country, where Reverend Father Louis [Hennepin], Recollect, went several [eighteen] years ago, they count 200 leagues." Montigny to . . . , May 6, 1699, ASH, 115-10:n. 13. On the sketch maps made on Tonti's letter, neither that of Father Léonard nor that of the Delisle show anything north of the Wisconsin. Bureau as said above placed a "Fort Louis" north of the *Ouescosing*, and located the *Ontagamys* on this river.

* St. Pierre Riv. ascended by the French more than 200 l. (It's where the copper mines are.)

⁶² Either a patent exaggeration or a blunder of the copyists. If we were to take the smaller distance, that given in Father Léonard's copy, 500 leagues in a northwestern direction, the headwaters of the Mississippi would be in central Alberta; if the distance of Delisle's copy were taken, the source of the Mississippi, in the same direction would be in southwestern Yukon; in a western direction, several hundred miles in the Pacific.

Aco who is married in the Illinois country and who is still alive is able to prove the contrary to him.⁶³ I think Pierre Dugué is in France. It is said that there are many falsehoods in my relation. I haven't seen it [yet].⁶⁴ It is a cause of sorrow to me. I am sorry the memoirs I sent were not followed.

One must hold that the Mississippi River runs from the Illinois country which lies by the 40 degrees down to the Omma (Oumas) South-south-west, and from the Ommas (Oumas) to the sea South-south-east and South-south-west. Its great windings make it very difficult to take the rhumbs,⁶⁵ and as one goes down in haste, one hardly stops to make observations.

I do not know whether this will reach you any more than another letter which I wrote you last month, which I addressed to the Rev. Father Superior of the Theatines, in which are [enclosed] two letters of M. de Montigny, one of Rev. Father Briset,⁶⁶ formerly Superior of the Jesuits, one of M. the Bishop of Quebec. Both the former [Laval] and the new [Saint-Vallier] are to write to the Court. Hence see M. Tremblay, treasurer of the Foreign Missions, M. Tiberge and M. de Brisacier,⁶⁷ employ them on my behalf; my Lords [the bishops] are writing to them as well as M. de Montigny their vicar-general.

All the voyages I made for the success of this country have ruined me. I hope the Court will take it in consideration having given satisfaction. Even if you do not obtain what I am asking, if troops are sent to this country as M. d'Iberville tells me they will, at least, secure a company for me.

III

Following are two Tonti autograph documents signed (as referred to above p. 216, n. 8, and p. 228, n. 33). By the first Tonti granted the Jesuits two tracts of land on the Arkansas River,

⁶³ Cf. MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 39.

⁶⁴ That is, the *Dernieres decouvertes*, cf. *supra*, p. 219, n. 18. These few words speak volumes.

⁶⁵ The capricious windings of the Mississippi were a trial for the early explorers. "October 18, [1700], in three hour's traveling we have gone around the compass," Gravier in *Jesuit Relations*, 65:110. The turns, the bends, and the loops of the river were one of the reasons why such a variety of distances is found in the early relations of travelers. Le Sueur was the first to plot the course of the Mississippi in a scientific fashion; Delisle translated the information cartographically in AN, JJ, 75-248, and in ASH, 138bis-3-2.

⁶⁶ Briset probably stands for Bruyas, whose term as Superior General of the Jesuit missions in New France ended August 25, 1698.

⁶⁷ MM. Jacques-Charles de Brasacier and Louis Tiberge were priests, alternative superiors of the Missions Etrangères Clergymen, cf. *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, II, 359.

near his house. It is dated November 26, 1689. The second document is a letter to Saint-Vallier, dated Michilimackinac, July 14, 1699. The editor takes this opportunity to thank Mgr. Amédée Gosselin who kindly sent photostats of the two documents.



Dans Les dessein que nous auons defaire Instriure des misteres de nostre Sainte Religion Le Sauvages qui Sont Sur nostre Riviere des akanzea et Leur procurer La Connoissance et L'amour de nostre Sauueur Jesus Crist et Sçachant avec Combien de zele Les Peres de La Compagnie de Jesus semployent a L'instruction et a La Conuersion des Sauvages nous auons prie Le Reuerend pere dablon Superieur de toutes Les missions de Ladit Compagnie de Jesus dans La nouvelle france de nous donner un Missionnaire pour nostre Riuere des akanzea au quel nous Concedons et accordons Selon le pouuoir que nous en auons fondé Sur La Concession que Monsieur Cauelier de la Salle nous a fait de La dit Riuier de Akanzea en alant a la decouuert de La mere du mexique, sur la prise de possession que nous en auons fait y ayant fait battir Maison et Fort y ayant établi dix abitans Comme il conste par des Conuentions fait avec eux et entre eux en Lannee 1686: nous accordons audit Reuerend pere dablon Supperieur des missions de la Compagnye de Jesus selon nostre pouuoir Si bien fondé et dont nous alons demander le Confirmation en Cour pour le missionair de nostre Riuier de Akanzea deux arpent de front et quatre de profondeur pour une chapelle et maison que nous Luy feront battir a ving arpent de nostre fort a L'est — avec droit de bois de Chauffage desquarir pour charpante et pour palisade de Sa maison et iardin et nous pouruoirons a Sa Subsistance pendant Les trois premier anné de Sa mission Commensan le premier nouembre mil six Cens quattreuing dix ou Cens quattreuing onze en Cas que la guere enpesechase La Communication qui est nesesaire pour obtenir un missionnaire la dit anne 1690 en outre nous luy accordons quarent et deux arpent de front et quatre ving en profondeur alautre bord de la dit Riuier au Sus avec droit de Chasse et de pesche la ditte [*verso*] Ladit Consession Commensant a quinze arpent du village des Akanzea prenant de L'est a L'oest a L'est du dit village pour la plus grande Commodité du missionnair ou nous luy feront pariellement battir une Chapelle et maison a Condition quil nous prestera L'homme qui luy appartiendra pour y traualier, quil fera eriger une Croix de qunze pied de haut quil y fera Semer blé et legumes quil y fera residence au moin les hyver des trois premier années lesquels expire il y fera residence

annuelle sil nest oblige de Sen absenter par maladie ou pour estre rappelé pour quelque temp de Ses Supperieur ou pour quelque autre empeschement que on ne peut preuoir, outre Ce il pretera le Secour spirituel a tous les francois lorquil en Sera requis et nous laissons a Sa liberté de venir dire la Messe dans le quartier des francois proche de nostre fort de deux dimanche l'un et de dire tous les ans une Messe a nostre intantion le iour de St Henry [July 15] afin quil plaise a Dieu nous Conduir au port du Salut, nayant desin dimposer auCune Condition onereuse au dit pere Missionnaire et quil puisse tant soit peut blesser Leurs institut Cest ainsy que nous accordons et Ratifions la dite Consession et permettons de la faire notairisait a la premier ocation et promettons de la faire en registrait au greffe si il est nessesair faict au fort Sainct Louis dans la loisianne ce uing sixiesme nouembre mil six cens quattreuing neuf henry de Tonti
 [Endorsed.] Concession des Akansea par Mr. de Tonti

De Missilimaquina le 14^m Iuillet 1699

Monsieigneur

Ie me suis donne lhonneur descrire a vostre grandeur par Les gens que Mon^r de montigny a faict dessendre ver vous et comme depuis ma dernier Il est Suruenu quelque [*verso*] defiguté entre mon^r de montigny et Les R^{ds} P^{rs} Iesuitte touchant la mistion des tamaroa ie Crue estre obligé dinformer Vostre grandeur de Se qui set passé non pas de la dispute quil on eus mais de leurs de part Mon^r de montigny parti le 6^{me} may et le R^d P^r Bintau le 8 pour aller sestablir au tamaroa iusqua nouuel ordre le quel de campera ou de luy ou de Mon^r de S^t Cosme qui y estoit basty les R^{ds} Peres Iesuitte pretendant que set leur Mission Se qui fera un tres meschant effect alesgar des Sauuages qui saue for bien profiter quand ils sapersoieue de la deshunions quil [*recto*] ya entre les françois. Ie ne doute pas que mon^r de S^t Cosme ne soit Surprit a Sa uenue ne Si attendant pas et il Seroit a Souaité que Mon^r de montigny se trouua au tamaroa quand le R^d P^r y arriua Sela passifiroit bien toute chose, comme vous neste peuestre pas Monseigneur informé ce que Ses cette nationt Sela ma faict mestre la maint ala plume pour vous en Informer, les tamaroa Sont illinois de nationt ausibien que le Caoquia dont party est estably auec eux et lautre party au fort S^t Louis il sont situe Sur missisipy a douce lieu audesous de la Riuiet des illinois Sur La droite [*deleted*] gauche en desandant a nonnante lieu du fort S^t Louis depuis que Ie suis au dit fort [*verso*] Ie faict mon possible pour les attirer chenous Sans que ie nenestpeu venir about

ils se detache souuent des Cabanne qui y vienne et les R^{ds} P^{rs} profit de Se temp la pour les intruir et battisser leurs enfans deuan quils sen retourn che eux il non pas enCorre eu de Missionnaire estably [dans] leur village le R^d P^r marquet y passa comme voyageur le R^d P^r graurier y a este et fut obligé de se retirer parceque cette nations auoit escoute de mauuais discour qui venoit des Sauuage de nostre fort peut sen falut quil ny fut tué cela arriva pendant que Iestoit au nort lhyver passe [*recto*] le R^d P^r Bintau qui nous suiuoit trouua un village de Chasse de Caoquia a lenboucheur de la R^r des illinois ou il fit mission et ensuite remonta la R^r pour reuenir retrouver les illinois voilla Monseigneur au vray ce que les R^{ds} P^{rs} ont fait a lesgar de cette nations quand nous desendions le missipy nous trouuasme les Caoquia et tamaroa lesquelles tesmoignerent une grande envie dauoir une Robbe noir pour les intruire ie leurs fit tellement valoir ceux que iavoit lhonneur daccompagner [*verso*] et lorsque Ie remontay ausy que quand Mon^r de montigny et S^t Cosme son remonté ils ont demandé quun des deu restasse avec eux pour les instruir et mon^r de montigny leurs ayent accorde Mon^r de S^t Cosne il en ont eu une ioy extremesme et il est a soitté pour la gloir de Dieu que les deux Missionair puis saccorder le R^d P^r graurier Sur Ses nouvelle a quitté michilimaquina pour aller en Ses Cartier la et ie ne doute pas quil ne taille de la besogne a Mon^r de S^t Cosme iusqua ce que vostre [*recto*] grandeur est desidé en faueur de lun ou delautre a lesgard de la missions des illinois dieu la comble de Ses benedictions et va toujours en ocmantent pour Sa gloir et Sest lunique disy hau des Sauvages arrivé isy du mon real nous assure que Monsieur le Conte [de Frontenac] est mort et que Monsieur de Callier est a sa place Comme les Sauvages desbitte ordinairement des menterie et que lon ne peut faire aucun fon sur cequil disse lappreantion que Iay eu de faire une beueu ma fait prendre la resolutiion de nescrire aux puissance qua vostre grandeur iusqua ceque nous ayons receu des lestre ayent cru estre obligé de vous informer de ce qui est si desus mentioné Ses pourquoy Ie prend la liberte Monseigneur de vous prier de ne pas fair connoistre que ie me Suis donne Lhonneur de vous escrite, de me faire la grace de me continuer vostre protectiont et de me croire avec toutes les respectueusse sousmission Monseigneur

De Vostre grandeur

vostres humble et tres
obeisant Seruiteur
h Tonti

Notes and Comment

JEREMIAH CURTIN

Readers of 'Quo Vadis' and of other novels written by the Polish Catholic writer Henryk Sienkiewicz may recall that the translator's name was Curtin. Jeremiah Curtin, who was an American Catholic scholar of wide attainments, is usually stated in works of reference to have been a native of the town of Greenfield near Milwaukee and to have been born in 1838 or 1840. He attended Harvard College, was sent as secretary of legation to St. Petersburg, now Leningrad, Russia, where he learned Russian, Polish, and other Slavic languages. Later, through extensive travel and private study he was able to speak no less than seventy languages, two more than the famous linguist Cardinal Mezzofanti. Before he died he wrote his *Memoirs*, the manuscript of which, brought to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1938, is soon to be printed by the Society. Inspection of the manuscript has brought to light a passage, now nearly obliterated—evidently by design but for some obscure reason—in which can be read, following a reference to Detroit, the words: "In that city I was born. Soon after my birth father moved to Milwaukee, then a frontier town." Later he speaks of a first glimmering recollection of a house which he says "was in Greenfield, Wisconsin, on a farm." What are the facts of his place and date of birth? Joseph Schafer, secretary of the Society, has in a recent issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* (March, 1939) recorded the outcome of a line of research to settle these questions.

A photostat copy of Curtin's baptismal record, obtained from the church of the Most Holy Trinity, Detroit, Michigan, revealed that Jeremiah was born on September 6 and baptized on September 17, 1835. The census record of the Milwaukee district, taken in 1850, states that "J. W." Curtin, then 14, was born in Michigan; but the census was taken in June, before he had completed his fifteenth year. In a letter of December 7, 1864, Curtin gives Detroit as his place of birth. Mr. Schafer deems it extremely improbable that in the year 1835 a child and its mother could have traveled from near Milwaukee to distant Detroit within eleven days of the child's birth. Whence came the erroneous data? Mr. Schafer answers this in excellent fashion.

Curtin translated, besides the works of Sienkiewicz, Tolstoi, and Zagoskin, folk tales of many lands; and he wrote a number of books on the folklore of Russia, of Ireland, the Mongols, and the North American Indians. He was connected with the Smithsonian Institution at Washington for several years. He died at Bristol, Vermont, De-

cember 14, 1906, not at Burlington, as usually stated. The stone house at Hales Corners in Milwaukee County, pointed out as his birthplace, is thought by Schafer to have been built not earlier than 1850. While it was doubtless his abode as a youth, a log house was the home of the family while Jeremiah was a child.

W. S. M.

JESUIT PLANTATIONS

Francis P. Burns writes on "The Gravier and the Faubourg Ste. Marie," New Orleans, in the April, 1939 number of *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*. He traces the ownership of the Jesuit plantations along the River front after the Society was declared suppressed by France in 1763. The owner particularly described is Jean Gravier, who died impoverished after having had untold wealth. Legal aspects are well treated, but one of the introductory statements calls for comment, even though it has little to do with the main portion of the article. "In the year 1763, for reasons which have never been quite satisfactorily explained in any of the standard histories of Louisiana, the Order of Jesuits was expelled from the Province of Louisiana by the King of France, and their lands in Louisiana were forfeited to the Crown" (p. 386). A number of historians have avoided the issue of the suppression with similar statements, because the subject is too vast and because the reasons given by European officials contain for the objective historian suspect elements. The reasons nevertheless can be found from the official side, while on the Jesuit side they have been amply exposed, especially as regards Louisiana. In this case it would have been quite an aid to the reader had Mr. Burns utilized the findings of Father Delanglez, which have been published since 1935, and in New Orleans, as *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763*. In view of the archival materials cited in this work, "standard histories" as well as the citations from the older accounts of Father J. J. O'Brien and *Catholic Encyclopedia* could have been dispensed with. Numerous sources have become available, as is clear from the well documented *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, especially the last chapter on the suppression. One may not just overlook this scholarly work, which is an indispensable guide to pertinent documents on Louisiana history.

NEW MAGAZINES

Several newcomers have recently been welcomed to the ranks of notable periodicals. *The Journal of Mississippi History* appeared for the first time in January, 1939, published by the Mississippi Historical Society. In February, the Southern Political Science Association came forth with the first number of *The Journal of Politics*. *The Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations* dates its origin to January, 1939. The purpose and scope of each of the three is amply set forth in the

first issues. In the last named the scope is widest since its papers pertain to political, social, economic, and cultural relations of the United States with Canada and the Latin American Republics.

VARIOUS ARTICLES

The Catholic Historical Review, April, 1939, publishes three more of the papers read at the last meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association. The papers are: "The Jesuit Epic in Mid-America," by Most Reverend Joseph H. Schlarman, Bishop of Peoria, "The Social and Religious Life of the Gildsman of Toulouse," by Sister Mary Ambrose, B. V. M., and "The Rise of Secularism," by Raymond Corrigan, S. J. The consistent policy of the *Review* is thus to publish papers read in convention. Undoubtedly, great benefits to history would follow if the other historical associations followed a similar course and published what is read at their meetings. Lack of funds is one great drawback to publication of notable short works of scholars, which as a result reach the very limited number able to attend the reading. Steps toward salvaging some of the ideas at least have been taken in the April, 1939 number of *The American Historical Review*, wherein may be found a very fine summary of the proceedings at each of the sessions of last December's Chicago meeting. Publication of all papers would assure, where it might be lacking, caution and more careful research. And we are certain that several statements made in papers, or in digressions from them, or in discussions following them, would not have been made if their authors knew they would one day come into print.

The *Report 1937-1938* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association contains "Some Non-Catholic Contributions to the Study of the Canadian American Missions," by Thomas F. O'Connor, in which the writer notes the encouragement to explore the Catholic past, given by such historians and librarians as Wilberforce Eames, Victor H. Palsits, Frederick Saunders, John Nicholas Brown, Winship, Thwaites, Winsor, Parkman, Rt. Rev. William Ingram Kip, Rev. Charles Hawley, Rev. William M. Beauchamp, and James Lenox. Other interesting articles appear in the English section. In the French section is a study of "Le Diocèse de Québec," by l'abbé Ivanhoë Caron, explaining the divisions and subdivisions of the vast diocese from 1674 to 1884. This is followed by a very serviceable table of the dioceses as established in Canada and the United States.

The Canadian Historical Review, March, 1939, has among its articles three of more than local interest. C. T. Currelly describes the "Viking Weapons Found Near Beardmore, Ontario," and concludes that "a Viking was buried near Lake Nipigon," after he had come to the region possibly by way of Hudson Bay, James Bay, and one or other river toward Lake Superior. W. S. Wallace, librarian of the

University of Toronto describes "The Literature Relating to the Norse Voyages to America." Max Savelle, of Stanford University, summarizes the "Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Seven Years' War in America," with emphasis on the European diplomacy as it affected the American, and especially the Acadian question.

In *The Journal of Southern History*, May, 1939, Professor William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University pays just tribute to Walter Lynwood Fleming. The article, "The Contribution of Walter Lynwood Fleming to Southern Scholarship," tells of the decided influence exerted by the Alabama historian as educator, administrator, adviser, and scholar.

The paper of Percy Alva Martin, "Artigas, the Founder of Uruguayan Nationality," which was read several years ago at the Toronto meeting of the American Historical Association, is published in the February, 1939, number of *The Hispanic American Historical Review*. With its publication the editorial board announces regretfully the close of Dr. Martin's six year editorial term, and welcomes Dr. J. Fred Rippy to the vacancy.

The Colorado Magazine, published bi-monthly by the State Historical Society of Colorado, contains the document, "Journal of the Vargas Expedition into Colorado, 1694," edited in translation by Dr. J. Manuel Espinosa (May, 1939). With this expedition went Franciscan missionaries. The conclusion is that these were the first Catholic priests on Colorado soil, so far as recorded evidence goes. Father Garraghan in discussing this point of the first priest there indicates the difficulty of proving by documents that Fray Padilla or Fray de Perea of the 1541 and 1604 expeditions were actually in Colorado (*MID-AMERICA*, April, 1939, 116). Father Garraghan has 1706 as the date for the first recorded entrance of a priest; Dr. Espinosa now moves the date back eight years.

The Romantic Review, December, 1938, has "Anglo-French and Franco-American Studies: A Current Bibliography," by Donald F. Bond. This is a list of "the most significant books and articles of 1937 which deal with Anglo-French and Franco-American literary history, from the sixteenth century to the present." It is a noteworthy beginning of a series of surveys to be published by its author and collaborators each year.

Doctor Louis C. Boisliniere, Jr., published an interesting paper, "Historical Sketch of the First Medical Department of St. Louis University, 1835-1856," in the Washington University *Medical Alumni Quarterly*, October, 1938, and January, 1939.

BOOKS

It is a source of great happiness to historians and their students to read the announcement from D. Appleton-Century of the publication of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton's *Wider Horizons of American History*. Four magnificent essays of the eminent scholar are brought together in one volume: "The Epic of Greater America," "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands," "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," and "The Black Robes of New Spain." Each is the product of a long period of study and thought; each is a summary of many research papers and books, and at the same time is a guide to more research. They are refreshing and stimulating to the writer of history, illuminating to the general reader, and indispensable to the bibliographies for graduate and undergraduate students.

Latin America, A Brief History, by F. A. Kirkpatrick, emeritus reader in Spanish in the University of Cambridge, has recently been published by Macmillan. Written in excellent style it is a welcome addition to the list of textbooks in the field for its readability, viewpoints, and optimism.

The twenty-eighth volume of *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library under the general editorship of Dr. Theodore C. Pease has recently come from the press. It is Volume III of the Law Series, and the first volume of two pertaining to laws of the Illinois Territory. It will be cited as *Pope's Digest 1815, Volume I*, edited with an introduction by Francis S. Philbrick, professor of law, University of Pennsylvania. Professor Philbrick's special introduction is of sixty-five carefully annotated pages, which give an exceedingly useful background study of the life of Nathaniel Pope and the development and revisions of the Illinois Territory statutes. This is followed by the edition of *Laws of the Territory of Illinois, Revised and Digested under the Authority of the Legislature*, by Nathaniel Pope.

A reprinting has recently been made of *From Many Centuries*, by Francis S. Betten, S. J. This book containing nineteen historical essays has proved of great value to teachers of history, since the chapters amplify and throw light on many phases and periods not found in detail in textbooks.

Edward G. Cox last year published the second volume of *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel, including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions*. The list of titles, arranged chronologically, pertains to the two Americas, and is an important bibliographical contribution.

The Commission royale d'histoire of Brussels sponsored the publication of the letters of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, S. J., famous

missionary in Peking, China, during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The letters printed in 591 pages were collected by Father Henri Bosmans before his death and published by Fathers Josson and Willaert under the title *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1623-1688, directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin.*

IN MEMORIAM

Historians miss the kindly smile, the encouraging word, the scholarly guidance, of James Alexander Robertson, who passed to his rest full of years in the beginning of 1939.

Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu suffered a great loss when Father A. Frías, S. J., died in early February. Another Jesuit historian, Father Z. García Villada, was killed in Madrid during the civil war by radicals.

Book Reviews

A General History of the United States since 1865. By George Fredrick Howe, Ph. D. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xxvii+654.

As the title indicates, this volume is substantially a textbook on the college level, covering the period since the end of the Civil War. Its thirty-one chapters are arranged in seven parts, designated as follows: Reconstruction; moving toward world power; becoming an empire; drive for social justice; United States and the Great War; the irresponsible twenties; the sobering thirties. Those titles in turn indicate that a more or less orthodox division was followed in arranging the material.

A commendable feature of this volume is its incorporation of sixty-three illustrative documents, bringing source material directly and rather painlessly to the reader. For example, at the end of the chapter on "Money and Monopoly," we find set forth in their entirety, the interstate commerce commission act, the anti-trust act of 1890, and Cleveland's message recommending repeal of the Sherman silver purchase act of 1890.

Another good feature of the book is its freedom from false patriotism. The chapter dealing with the War of 1898 places McKinley in a rather sorry light, and accords no praise to Congress for its unwarranted and hasty action. An effort is made to give proper prominence to all factors responsible in our national development. The economic factors, for example, are not so stressed as to make insignificant all other influences. The section dealing with the immediate past and the painful present seems to indicate a preference on the part of the author for the methods of Hoover, rather than for those of Roosevelt. The questioning, if not the pessimistic attitude of the author, is reflected in his concluding sentence, "American democracy seemed to be dependent upon a race between education and catastrophe." A good index, and an abundance of supplementary readings, well chosen, increase the merits of this well prepared volume on recent American history.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University

The Sun at Noon. By Kenneth B. Murdock. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. 327.

This readable book is comprised of biographical sketches of three personages of some consequence in seventeenth-century England, all of whom, in the author's concept, spent their lives in warfare for a

common goal—to find the ultimate truth, termed “the sun at noon.”

The initial sketch of Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess Falkland, is regrettably brief, especially so since she stands forth as easily the noblest character of the three. As the outcome of her search for the ultimate truth, she split with her husband and her family and sacrificed everything to which she had been accustomed in order to enter the Roman Catholic Church and finish her days with peace of conscience. Because of her interesting and significant life, as well as for her courage and culture, she deserves a much fuller and somewhat more sympathetic treatment than is here accorded her.

By far the greater portion of the book is devoted to her son, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, who attacked the problem of ultimate truth by making of himself a scholar whose studies, disputations, and convictions resulted in his enslavement to reason as the only thing infallible. Throughout the book Professor Murdock expands upon the dilemma involved in the conflict between faith and reason, or faith and authority, and through his comments he seems to display a certain satisfaction over Falkland's rejection of faith, revelation, infallibility, etc., though he sees, where Falkland refused to, the dangers inherent in enthroning reason and “one's own private sense” as the final test in all matters. He seems not to realize, however, that had Cary been less one-sided and had he acquired his mother's breadth of vision he would not have suffered the sense of futility and helplessness which was his for some time before his early death in 1643.

The final sketch is brief and concerns John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, proficcate of profligates, whose only yardstick was the sensual, and who in his last disease-ridden days was brought to repentance and faith of a sort. From the author's presentation of the life of this utter rake, it is entirely difficult to believe that Rochester spent his life in warfare for “the sun at noon.” Indeed, he seems little different from countless others whose worthless lives are ended by a death-bed repentance. The volume would not suffer through the omission of this third sketch.

The book contains some valuable notes on authorities consulted in its preparation, and there is a very serviceable index.

WALTER M. LANGFORD

University of Notre Dame

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1937-1938. By Pierre-George Roy, Quebec, 1938. Pp. (ii)+383.

The contents of this annual report, less bulky than the two preceding ones, are more diversified. The first pages are taken up with a brief relation of the siege of Quebec, 1759. The text is better than that published eighty years ago. The editor, M. Aegidius Fauteux, confesses his inability to identify its author. All that can be gathered from internal evidence is that he was a civilian, a determined partisan

of Governor Vaudreuil, and consequently, says M. Fauteux, a Canadian. The inventory of the correspondence of Mgr Signay is continued in the second section of the report, and the third part concludes the publication of Abbé de l'Isle Dieu's letters. In the foreword, M. P.-G. Roy alludes to the letters he received manifesting the interest aroused by the publication of these letters, owing to the importance of the abbé's correspondence for the religious history of New France. "Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, let us note here, was also interested in the ecclesiastical affairs of Louisiana. His letters on the sister-colony are not less interesting than those we published. A little later, we shall perhaps be able to publish them. . . ." Students of missionary activities and missionary expansion in the Mississippi Valley—the Louisiana of those days—during the French régime hope the delay will not be too long. The chronology of the three instalments, the first two were published in the *Rapports* of 1936 and 1937, overlaps somewhat. Letters of 1753 and 1754, are found in the first and second instalments, and letters of 1755 in the second and in the third. The gap from 1755 to 1761 is partially bridged by the Louisiana letters. The fourth part of the report contains a bibliography of monographs and histories of the parishes of Canada. The author, M. A. Roy, writes that the complete, impartial, and true history of Canada is one day to be written with the help of the histories of the parishes. He evidently refers to the great help students derive from such monographs. The compiler modestly disclaims to have made a definitive inventory of the sources to be consulted, but he hopes that his work will be of service to investigators. Of this there can be no doubt. Naturally, M. Roy had the Canadian students primarily in view, but his bibliography will prove useful to the investigator of the early exploration of the Great Lakes and of the Mississippi River. Until the end of the seventeenth century the starting points of these expeditions were Quebec and Montreal. It is important to know then when the church registers of the parishes lying on the way to what the French called the Pays d'en Haut, the Northwest, their Far West. Many a missionary ascending the St. Lawrence did ministerial work en route and signed these registers. In some of the parish histories listed, we are told that data are found taken directly from the registers. As a rule it is easier to procure such books than to go to the town where the register is found. This list is easily consulted, since it is divided according to authors, parishes, and dioceses. M. Roy must have smiled when he detected the peculiar typographical error in the title of the *Mandements* of the Bishops of Quebec, p. 284.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

Don Diego Quijada, Alcalde Mayor de Yucatan, 1561-1565. Documentos sacados de los archivos de España y publicados por France V. Scholes y Eleanor B. Adams. Volumes 14 and 15 of Biblioteca

Historica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas. Mexico, D. F., 1938. Tomo I, pp. cvii, 350; Tomo II, pp. 435, Index.

Here are two exceedingly praiseworthy volumes containing documents to the number of seventy-five on subjects interesting to students of Spanish colonial progress in the Americas. Dr. Scholes gives the setting in a clear, comprehensive, and admirable introduction, before presenting the materials with his collaborator in the difficult project, and his preliminary survey carefully calls attention to the principles and the persons involved in the occupation of Yucatan and the difficulties and controversies surrounding the Spanish control of the land of the Mayas.

The arriving Spaniards found far more densely populated areas in the tropical climes than did the French and English in the temperate. The latter dealt with the scattered tribes as independent units, exploited them, but remained apart from their culture. The Spaniards dealt with the Indians as a whole and brought about at least a partial fusion of their race with that of the indigines, and also attempted the fusion of the Indian and European civilizations. Spain had the intention of exploiting the American landfall and its inhabitants, but both the Crown and individual Spaniards were actuated by diverse motives, of which the economic and the religious were prime. Colonists demanded the right to exploit the land and Indian labor; churchmen and many officials inspired by religion and humanitarianism regularly opposed those imbued with the materialistic concept of the natives, and thus, because of the protection they offered and the laws they occasioned, were highly instrumental in fostering what became the distinct Hispano-Indian culture. Many problems had to be solved by each group trying to answer the question, what should be done with the natives? Those deeming them economic assets and liabilities had their troubles over the *encomienda* system and tributes; the religious, especially the Franciscans, had difficulty with idolatry and were confronted by serious problems: Should the pagan religion and all its customs be uprooted completely, or, were some tribal ceremonies to be tolerated as non-religious? If the Indians were established as equals of the Spaniards in the eyes of God, what political and economic equality should they have? These controversial points and their ramifications gave rise to investigations and reports, and hence Dr. Scholes decided to publish the same, not so much for the disputes contained therein, but more for the vast amount of information on the social, religious, and economic conditions.

The introduction tells the history of Yucatan briefly, the administrators, the arrival of the Franciscans, the economic and missionary developments, the Franciscan protective influence over the Indians, and influence as an administrative force, and the hostilities aroused to the time of the appointment of the first bishop, 1560, and the coming of the *Alcalde Mayor*, Don Diego Quijada. Don Diego's régime

offers a splendid example of the problems proper to the widespread Spanish colonies. While the colonizing agencies were hard pressed by problems, the religious too were at work on theirs. The religious leader was the Franciscan Provincial, Fray Diego de Landa, who in 1562 performed his famed investigation of idolatry obtaining in several centers. Dr. Scholes points to this event as one of great significance as an example of mutual action between Christian leaders and native caciques. Idols and idolatry could not have been destroyed by any one or any ten Landas had the natives refused cooperation and hidden away with their practices. Pages and many documents of the book pertain to the celebrated controversy and trials. Sore spots in the disputes between officials, Franciscans, and the new bishop are written of very objectively. Dr. Scholes clears up a number of misconceptions and points the way to many phases still susceptible of research. Quijada on his part, in the face of opposition from mercenary and less humanitarian Spaniards, did what he could to abolish oppressions. His government looms as of great importance in the settlement of the controversy over the legal status, rights, labor, and culture of the Indians.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

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The Legal Crisis in the Jesuit Missions of Hispanic America

The April number of MID-AMERICA carried a treatment of the mission crisis in its connection with the international policy of the crown of Spain. Royal suspicion of foreigners prevented non-Spanish missionaries from filling the vacancies in colonial institutions. The Spanish supply was proving itself insufficient to meet the multiplying needs in the constantly broadening sphere of mission activity. A critical point was reached in the 1640's when the authorities of the Society of Jesus thought seriously of abandoning this work in the Hispanic possessions. Their urgent requests finally won from the crown permission for non-Spaniards to cross the oceans and enter the American and Asiatic sectors. The date of this concession is 1664, the year that marks the beginning of the great wave of German and Italian recruits, who left so deep an impression on subsequent mission history and on colonial development.

The crisis, however, had been something more than governmental disfavor toward aliens. Within the colonial orbit a set of circumstances had arisen, and their maturing constituted a powerful threat to the continuance of this mission work. Not that there was an absence of generous volunteers for the American field. There is no evidence of that condition in the documents on which this study is based, namely, in the letters of the generals in Rome to the Province of New Spain from 1583 to 1659.

The difficulties came from the strain of adapting the Jesuit mode of administration to the new environment. The colonial religious scheme raised serious questions. The Jesuit management of finances, and the contrast in their ranks between the creoles and the Europeans, brought trials and necessitated careful readjustment. The newcomers from a settled old country, steeped in tradition and conscious of their superiority in those

conservative qualities that make for permanence, found in the colonials a remarkable energy and enthusiasm, a readiness to open up fresh lines of work and to exploit untried opportunities, and mixed with this adventurous spirit a certain amount of callow Americanism. The resultant stress called for much patience in governing before a working harmony would unite the minds and purposes of these dissimilar parties.

The liveliest administrative worry in this period was the matter of episcopal jurisdiction over missionary districts. Jesuits had come to America prepared for high enterprise. Their men were well trained and thoroughly disciplined in close organization. They enjoyed the special favor of the hierarchy, of the viceregal officers, and of the royal government. Officialdom furnished them with a set of exemptions and privileges enabling them to go rapidly to work and to carry on unencumbered by exterior restraint. Their privilege amounted to a policy of unusual freedom and a frank recognition that they, as a religious order, had their own special regimen providing for effective and exemplary conduct on the part of their membership. The crown distributed work to them and expected them to make a success of it. Nor was their success questioned. Together with the Franciscans and Dominicans they made an enviable record with their missions, and during the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries they gained the universal good will of the prelates whose helpers they were.

As years passed and colonial government reached the outlying sections, differences of opinion caused friction with the ordinaries. The original mission idea fixed ten years for the religious to do missionary work in a chosen sector. After that period would come the normal appointment of the secular clergy. Such was the spirit of the New Laws and the famous 1573 *cédula* of Philip II. But the theory was more simple than the practice. Actually few mission *partidos* reached civilian status within the specified time. The diocesan clergy failed to become proficient in the native languages, particularly the Otomi, the most difficult tongue. Native political management did not achieve trustworthy development. Native economy could not stand against European competition. The childish simplicity of the tribesmen made them easy prey for grasping individualists.

Then, too, there was the point of relinquishing thriving institutions which the religious considered parts and units of general fields marked off by tribes, languages, mountains, and rivers. Quite naturally, the privileged independence would come

into contact with diocesan expansion. The successfully organized *partidos* would be yielded up to the parochial clergy and the pioneers would go farther in the field. Such a move had been foreseen. In fact the character of the Jesuit order made it a 'light cavalry,' subject to instant orders, ready to go wherever needed, to relinquish any post for another more in distress. From the broad point of view of the general in Rome, the administration was always prepared to make such changes, but the human nature of missionaries on the spot was prone to pine at quitting a cherished position. The local units saw their labors fruitful among their beloved Indians and they feared that others might not carry on the operations with equal facility.

A more severe trial arose in what the religious considered an improper extension of episcopal power, the effort to force them into diocesan organization. There were two grounds for their privileged status of working independently of viceregal and episcopal control in the missions: the internal organization of the religious order, and the external need for a well-equipped body of compactly organized men to conquer the uncivilized and un-Christianized portions of the colonies. When once these territories were sufficiently settled for the ordinary clerical forces to operate, the religious knew that their day of independent action was on the wane. The external need in that sector would pass, and with it the missionaries must go. The point, however, was to determine just when mission territory became diocesan. And the judge in this point was the man who held high control over religious regulations, El Rey, in his capacity of chief patron of all churches in Spain and in the Indies.¹

In several cases it appears that one or other bishop tried to hurry that day. Such a situation seemed chronic to the diocese of Guadiana, the present Durango. That diocese comprised most of the northern and northwestern missions where the best Jesuit work was done. Another focal point was Puebla de los Angeles. The effects of these efforts were serious. Generally speaking, the prelates put such pressure on the missionaries that there was earnest discussion in provincial meetings on abandoning all mission work.

Now why should all this have happened? The prelates appreciated the value of the work done, and the religious respected

¹ A fine brief description of this *Patronato Real* is given in Anton Huonder, S. J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900, "Das spanisch-portugiesische Patronat," 15-20. A useful summary may be found in the present author's *Gonzalo de Tapia*, New York, 1934, "Note on the Patronato Real," 172-179.

the position of the prelates. Perhaps the tithes were a motive, for the endowments supporting mission work were exempt from these payments.² Possibly the best answer is that history was moving onward, that the locale of unrestricted opportunity was receding into the far north, that territory closer to the capital was organized in normal functioning wherein the episcopate were the directors of ecclesiastical work. As their field widened, so might they expect to embrace all the operations within their effective rule. And yet this need not have changed the character of the religious regimen. The religious had to keep their manner of life, but they did not have to keep their stations here and there in the organized bishoprics. It was no small matter to work out this compromise, for, aside from the native difficulty of the arrangement, various human factors contributed irritations and emotional displacements.

To begin, the colonies of Spain in the early days were forcing-beds for lawsuits. The hierarchy of jurisdiction, with its final court in the Council of the Indies, made for interminable appeals. Almost everybody of importance in New Spain was involved in cases concerning property rights and the limits of power in civic offices, and the Jesuits were no exception. Lest they waste time in these cases and alienate good will, the general was at pains to remind them to stay out of legal involvements.³ The colonial era was one of continuous readjustments. The constant shifts of rights resulting from new *entradas* of conquest or economic or missionary penetration, explorations, the creation of new political divisions and bishoprics, all revised the original simple system into a complex fabric of life. The juxtaposition of natives and Europeans, of creoles and Peninsulars, of the secular priesthood with a multitude of orders and their particular privileges—necessary for the work but irritating to officialdom—and the pronounced penchant for litigation in the colonies of Spain, made for decades of legal action to establish and re-establish the rights of persons and corporations.

Individuals might be quarrelsome. The struggle of missionary life did not make for placidity and the calm of leisure. The change in title of productive *haciendas* could not go unfelt in a milieu where there was much fear of insolvency. The wonder is not that there was difficulty but that so much was done. From

² See, on this matter of tithes, the sober and profuse work of Andrés Pérez de Rivas, *Crónica y Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de México en Nueva España*, Mexico, 1896, I, 152.

³ See, for example, Vitelleschi to Lorenzo, May 6, 1626.

the suits and cases there resulted a smoother administrative machinery. One only element of basic risk remained, the *Patronato Real*, with its power to remove, to suppress, to withdraw support and the right to exist. This, however, is not the place to show how that power was used to destroy the missions after 1750. The present task is the tracing of the tension and the ultimate compromise in jurisdiction.

The extension of episcopal power is the nub of the story. In many places the bishops sought to bring the religious under a control proper to the secular clergy but scarcely consistent with the independence requisite for carrying on a religious order. This independence enables an order to achieve close control of its members, to supervise virtuous living and correct ministry, and to beget the special obedience to religious superiors who must necessarily have the freedom to remove men for causes that might not permit of external consultation. The conflict is often called the *doctrina* controversy because it involved what were known in Spanish law as the *doctrinas*.

A *doctrina* was, roughly speaking, a mission district. The word is also used for the systematic catechism of Christian doctrine as it was taught to the Indians. The head of a *doctrina* was a *doctrinero*. If he were a secular priest, he would be called a *cura*, a name signifying his charge and at the same time his dependence on his bishop who could both appoint and remove him, who as an agent of the crown could give him the usufruct of the *doctrina* revenues, and who had the right of regular inspection called visitation. If the *doctrinero* were a religious such as a Jesuit, he could claim no salary, and, as he was not sent by the bishop, he was not in charge of a *cura*. The *doctrina* is sometimes referred to as a *partido* or division of the mission field or of the tribe being evangelized.⁴

From the first days these *doctrinas* were maintained in territories where the heathen predominated in numbers. With no stable residence they formed only the nucleus of a settlement which had to be Christianized little by little. Spiritual jurisdiction among them did not belong to any diocese but was derived directly from the Holy See. Religious were destined to convert them according to the will of the king, to whom the pope had committed the charge of sending men fit for the preaching of the Gospel. These men penetrated into the unorganized territory

⁴ This matter receives classic treatment in Pablo Hernández, S. J., *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes en la Compañía de Jesús*, Barcelona, 1913.

with authority emanating immediately from the Holy Father to whom they were directly subject. They exercised all their necessary ministries without dependence on any diocesan ordinary but only on their religious superior, who was the channel, through his major superior, from the Holy See.

As time brought civilization and Christianity to the natives, the missionaries should ordinarily have come under the control of the bishop in the newly formed diocese. In America, however, there was a scarcity of secular clergy, and to place the regulars directly under the episcopacy would bring a double jurisdiction and tend to hamper the work of the orders and to contravene their regular character.

With this problem in mind, Philip II asked the Holy See for a dispensation from the ordinary discipline as set down by the Council of Trent and published through the Spanish dominions by the same Philip II in 1564.⁵ He wished the religious to continue the administration of the *doctrinas* and of the sacraments as though they were parish priests, yet depending only on their superiors and not on the bishops. This petition was granted by Pius V in his brief *Exponi Nobis* on March 24, 1567.

Opposition to this arrangement broke out in time and the attack was so serious that it threatened to end the corporate work of the Jesuits in their missions. Other orders were not so worried. The Franciscans and Dominicans were on the scene earlier when there was no diocesan clergy, and from this fact it followed that members of these orders were appointed prelates. The effect was a fusion, and a confusion, of jurisdiction, to some extent, though at certain periods these two orders suffered similar missionary ordeals in company with their later co-workers.

By a queer coincidence, the first troubles of the Jesuits had their origins in the urging of viceroys and bishops that the religious take away from them some of their own prerogatives. The first occurrence is in Peru, where the renowned viceroy Francisco de Toledo demanded that the Jesuits accept two diocesan parishes or *curas* with all their rights and possessions and manage them independently of episcopal provision.⁶

⁵ See Hernández, 324.

⁶ These were Indian parishes in the dioceses of Lima and Juli. The fact is plainly stated in a letter from Luis de Velasco, II, to Philip III. Velasco had been viceroy of Peru from 1596 to 1604 and was now viceroy of Mexico. The letter is printed in Francisco Xavier Alegre, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, Mexico, 1842, II, 104-105. On this same point see Arthur Franklin Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru*, Caldwell, 1938, 174.

A concrete example of this whole subject is the story of the *doctrina* of Tepotzotlán which appears in many letters of the *Colección de cartas inéditas de los Padres Generales*.⁷ Tepotzotlán was the center of a small group of Indians about twenty-five miles north by northwest of Mexico City. In 1581 the Archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras, asked the Jesuits to send some men there. The previous curates had not known the native languages, Otomi, Masaguan, and Mexican, said to be the most difficult tongues in the viceroyalty. Due to the death of the incumbent, the *doctrina* was unprovided with its *cura*.

The Jesuits were just beginning to attack the missionary problem, and their Father Visitor, Juan de la Plaza, requested the archbishop to find them a place where they could both aid the natives and learn their speech.⁸ His petition coincided with that of Moya and early in 1581 the Jesuits arrived. Quickly the scattered natives were "reduced" into one pueblo. Alegre tells us that their coming voluntarily and without the use of force was an altogether new thing in New Spain. The conversion of a very "bad" Indian caused it all. Families of other linguistic stock joined the *población*. Instructed and baptized, they soon became exemplary Christians. The archbishop had offered to turn over the regular stipend proper to a *cura*, but the fathers refused to take title to the ordinary revenues and they distributed the surplus of several rich *haciendas* to the natives for the construction of a civilized community.

In the very next year the provincial tried to recall his men from Tepotzotlán because the general, Claude Aquaviva, refused to allow them to become *curas* in the canonical sense. Accepting "presentation" from the archbishop would make the Jesuits subject to the will and appointment of the prelates in the future. Aquaviva felt that such a concession would cut into the religious regimen; it would give his men two superiors with equal authority; it would hamper the provincial power to make readjustments; it would dissipate the "light cavalry" character of the order, both in settling men in fixed positions and in dividing the command.

The Indians heard of this intention and sent delegates to see the archbishop. Alegre copies out their petition.⁹ They asked for a compromise arrangement. The upshot was the appointment of

⁷ For a short description of this *Colección* see MID-AMERICA, April, 1939, 98, Note 1. These letters form the basis of the present study.

⁸ See Alegre, I, 162-171; also Rivas, II, 164.

⁹ I, 187.

a secular *beneficiado* as the canonical pastor with all his perquisites and responsibilities. To the Jesuits were given the residence and garden which they had been occupying there. They were to live in Tepotzotlán and assist the *beneficiado*. This appointee was a man who got along well with the fathers and the combination worked in harmony for many years. In 1584 the Jesuits opened the Seminario de San Martín as a school for native boys. Two years later the novitiate was moved to Tepotzotlán, and in 1604 a college was founded there. In this institution the Indians came to such remarkable intellectual development that some of their number later on, as priests and religious, became professors of their language and even of so difficult a science as canon law.

In those days men were bold, striking out daringly to build new patterns of life. A later age would point out the folly of expecting consistent unity between the *beneficiado* and his helpers. The fact is that for twenty-two years there was peace between them, until in 1608 we find the *cura* going to Mexico with a set of complaints and a request for an appointment elsewhere. The fathers also had their story of the differences. It finally appeared that a new arrangement was imperative. The *curas* had not learned to speak in Otomi and the seminary and college had won the affection of the natives. The archbishop accordingly asked the viceroy to realign the situation.

The viceroy, Luis de Velasco II, wrote to His Majesty in 1610. The long letter is given in full in Alegre.¹⁰ He said that His Majesty had asked for a report on the *doctrina* of Tepotzotlán. It seemed that, for the discharge of the royal conscience and the good of the Indians in that *partido*, it would be better to give the *doctrina* entirely to the Jesuits. They had done well there as helpers of the secular clergy. However, they did not wish to accept the post as a *cura*. Never had they accepted *doctrinas* in the Indies except the two which Viceroy Francisco forced them to take in Peru, those in Lima and Juli. Disturbance had arisen in Tepotzotlán from the overt acts of the clerics there, who, it was thought, should not be sent back. The Jesuits, on the other hand, had a seminary there for boys, a novitiate, and a college. Velasco's thirty-five years' acquaintance with them in the Indies convinced him that they did not want *doctrinas* for any selfish aims. Everywhere they acted as helpful

¹⁰ II, 103-105. The letter has several references to Peruvian affairs. The reply of the king is likewise given in this place.

associates of the diocesan clergy. The Indians there were very devoted to the fathers. The father general had lately granted, with much difficulty, permission for his men to try out the plan of acting as *doctrineros* in this one pueblo. It would be a great benefit to the natives there. His Majesty should concede this grace to the fathers and give them that *doctrina*.

In 1618 all hearings on the case were finished, and Philip III sent a *cédula* to the viceroy, now the Marqués de Guadalcazar. The incumbent *cura* was to be promoted to the cathedral of Mexico, and the king proceeded:

You know well, from our law and the apostolic bulls, as well as from my right as King of Castile and Leon, that to me pertains the presentation of all the dignities, canonries, appointments and ecclesiastical benefices, both here in Spain and in the Indies, and in the islands and lands of the Ocean Sea. It is likewise mine to provide for the *doctrinas* of those realms, to unite or divide benefices for those of my vassals who have learning, conscience and a good life. And now as I watch over that right and patronage, I give order that . . . you hand over the said benefice to the said Company of Jesus. Done in Madrid, June 5, 1618.

The King.

Aquaviva had given his consent in 1609. In reply to a petition addressed to him by the Seventh Provincial Congregation of the Province of New Spain, he wrote:

Petition: That you grant that our men be allowed to act as parish priests wherever they live, both in the Tepotzotlán College and in the others.

Response: By no means does it seem proper to concede this faculty, for it is opposed to our Constitutions, and experience has taught us that the thing does not work out. Meanwhile let trial be made of it in that one college. Time will show what final decision we ought to take in this matter.

Indeed time would show. At the moment the provincial made a summary note at the end of the document, thus showing his interpretation of the response. He wrote: "Our men are not to take the office of *curas* in other colleges but only in Tepotzotlán."¹¹ From the context this concession for Tepotzotlán appears to have been made before the larger petition was sent to Rome, very likely in the same year.

Year by year brought an increasing number of royal *cédulas*

¹¹ Aquaviva to Mexican Province, Rome, June 30, 1609. This letter and the following letters of the generals are found in the *Colección*.

with further regulations and restrictions. That of 1637 was particularly disturbing. All religious who now exercised the office of *cura* in a *doctrina*, or would do so in future, must submit to an examination in doctrine and language. Likewise they must conform to episcopal provision, collation, canonical institution, visitation, correction, and removal at the will of the ordinary.¹²

The ruling viceroy sent back to Madrid such a eulogy of the Jesuit work at Tepetzotlán that the authorities suspended action on the *cédula* and left them in peaceful possession of the *doctrina*. Not till 1652 did the question come up again. In that year a definitive *cédula* required all religious to conform to the fullest royal regulation under the *Patronato*.¹³ The *doctrina* was given up in the following year. The decision is part of the larger story on which we must now embark.

The history of the Tepetzotlán *doctrina*, its opening in 1581, the agreement of 1618, and the document of 1653, exemplify the general trend of the adjustment in religious jurisdiction throughout Hispanic America. A document of 1640 will show a larger part of the picture. It is headed: Reply of our Father General Mutius Vitelleschi to a memorial which Father Pedro de Velasco, Procurator of the Province of Mexico, presented to him on the subject of *doctrinas*, on April 6, 1640. The memorial follows, and below it is the reply:

Petition: The religious of the Company of Jesus in the Province of New Spain, subjects of Your Paternity, in obedience to the laws of their institute and their duties to their lords the Catholic Kings of Spain, have been and are employed in the conversion and instruction of the barbarian Indians of this province, especially the missions of Nueva Vizcaya. There, eleven of our Company have shed their blood at the hands of the barbarians for Christ. They have entered into the Province of Cinaloa, once all pagan, and they have gained more than 200,000 souls. They have brought more than 130 leagues of that country under the obedience of the Church and of the Catholic King. They have founded pueblos and churches which they now administer, and they visit other more remote provinces of gentiles. There are no other clerics or religious of any other order in their district.

The Company is excused from accepting *doctrinas* of Indians in the now pacified districts which are administered by clerics and other religious. They hold only one of this kind, the *doctrina* in the pueblo of Tepetzotlán in the archbishopric of Mexico. This *doctrina*

¹² The account of this *cédula* is in Alegre, II, 226-227.

¹³ This *cédula* is referred to in several letters given below. Alegre gives it lengthy treatment in his *Historia*, II, 384-389, 401-402.

those of the Company have cared for during the past thirty years, for just and reasonable causes, since the King Our Lord Philip III entrusted it to them, and another rather small one in San Luis de la Paz, of the bishopric of Michoacán. This one the Viceroy entrusted to them in order to further the pacification of the Chichimecos Indians, a project which had involved grave damage and very high expenditure of the royal funds. Once these Indians had come willingly into the *doctrina*, these burdens of government were lifted.

It is well known that the religious of the Company have attended with all diligence and good example to the teaching and instructing of these natives and to the conversion of the gentiles, with many happy results and the discharge of the duty of the royal conscience,—a charge that belongs to the King as he is Patron of this conversion and the *doctrinas* of these natives.

Now we have received intimation of a *cédula* of His Majesty, sent in common to all the religious who administer *doctrinas* in New Spain. He desires complete obedience to the ordinances of His Majesty, basing his claim on the debt owed him by our whole Society and especially by this province, and most of all on the great harm that would follow if we abandoned these *doctrinas* where we are actually supported by the royal funds and liberality.

Under our care is a great number of souls. Their disposition is inconstant. Politically speaking, the peace of this barbarous and militant race is highly desirable, while their disturbance would cause serious and perhaps irreparable consequences. The pacification of the Tepeguan nation alone, who form but a tenth part of the Indians under our charge, has cost 900,000 pesos to the royal treasury.

Wherefore, seeing that this Province of New Spain cannot on its own decision subject itself to the demands of the new *cédula*, disagreeing as it does with our institute and manner of life—and noting that before this *cédula* came we hindered no one but our help was acknowledged gratefully, and we served God Our Lord and His Holy Church, and His Catholic Majesty and the good of souls in these realms—therefore, as the institute which our order professes places the decision in this matter with Your Paternity as our general and head, we ask Your Paternity to give instructions for our conduct in this situation.

Response: I praise and congratulate your province for its affection and devotedness in obeying with all punctuality the orders of His Majesty and the Royal Council of the Indies, as far as our institute can allow. You know I have charged you to do this, for the important obligations which our Company recognizes. In particular your province has done well in sending its petition dutifully to me, in good form, and leaving for me the resolution of the present case in which your province is unable to decide, for such determinations depend on the general.

Now I know the singular zeal of His Majesty and the Royal Council. I am sure, too, that they admire the training, doctrine and exhortation of the Indians, and the sufficiency and good example of those who are their teachers and pastors. Trusting in this piety and Christian spirit of His Majesty I know he will listen kindly when he is informed of all these matters (as I order the Father Procurator to inform him, in the name of the Company and of myself). He will find that his policies will obtain greater advantage and blessing if he keeps the Company in the regime in which it has exercised its ministry for so many years to the glory and service of the Divine and Human Majesties and the increasing profit of so innumerable a conversion of gentiles.

As to our style of government, particularly instituted and distinct from that which others employ, I shall ask His Majesty to deign with His Royal Clemency to retain his esteem for the manner of our past work among the Indians. I shall represent with proper submission that in whatever does not contravene our institute, as in our men being examined in doctrine and language facility by whatever persons are named, he will see us agreeing to his wishes with all promptness and joy. I shall ask that he prevent only what subverts our constitution.

I feel certain that when His Majesty and the Royal Council are informed on this point, the Company will receive new favor and encouragement in its manner of life, its rules and governance. He will recall that in our enterprises among the Indian missions we find no utility nor any human interest save the service of Our Lord and of His Majesty. This is a grand reward, even though it cost us much suffering, labor, hardship, and not a few lives—either taken by the hands of the infidel or hurried to their term by the labor and hard environment. There will be no lack of devotion and obedience to His Majesty, which may the Divine Grace guard. Rome, April 6, 1640. Mutius Vitelleschi.

Therein the reader may see that a critical point has been reached. The very length and diffuseness of the letter testify to the worry felt by the order in Mexico. The authorities wished to force the Jesuits to accept *doctrinas* in the pacified districts and thus to place themselves directly under the bishops. Should the order find it impossible to accept this arrangement, great harm loomed for the Indian system. King, Council, viceroy, and episcopate would feel that their previous liberality was now ungenerously forgotten in the readiness to abandon the missions on account of the regulatory acts which the authorities deemed imperative. On the other hand, the general could not see how to give in completely without dissolving the constitutional principles of his order.

The letters printed below will exhibit the development of this difficulty. It is plain that individual thoughtlessness or arbitrary official action increased the trouble, but cool-headed administrators finally worked out a solution.

An example of the wrong type of official is found in the following document. It is preserved in the *Colección* without any sign of its provenance beyond the superscription. Undoubtedly a copy, it bears the gloss "*Provincia, 1623.*" It is a letter which the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, Diego González de Cuenca y Contreras, wrote to the viceroy of New Spain, the Conde de Pliego, on June 24, 1623. The letter is a scathing criticism of the viceroy for interfering in the *doctrina* régime. He is told that modifications of this system do not belong to him but to the king. The section dealing explicitly with the *doctrinas* is here given:

Now there is this matter of the *doctrinas* of the religious. Assuredly this is the most serious question in the Indies, and one wherein Your Excellency should exercise the greatest caution. For it concerns the supremacy of His Majesty, the good of the Indians, and what is more, the security of your own conscience.

Now many complaints deserving of consideration have come from persons worthy of credit. They say that, under your orders and a pretense of religion, the Indians are being treated in a way that does them great injury and vitiates the principal aim of their *doctrina* and instruction.

Some of your *doctrinero* appointees do not know the language needed for their teaching work. Others use their positions as a step on which to rise to higher ambition. What is worse, these men have boldly made Your Excellency agree with them that if they are removed the public peace will be disturbed and the commonwealth collapse. Now this manner of thought and speech deserves a chastisement that will be an example.

There are cases of similar influence on you. There are also official decisions wherein, with no hesitation over the irregularity of the acts, you have embraced the friars and clerics alike [under your control]. No one during the reign of Your Excellency should dare such things, for it is no less than to say that the King is not the King. It comes to this that the right of the friars is abrogated.

Now the first principle of governing is to agree with the royal authority and obedience, and to recognize your place of service, and to do His will.

Some members of the Council of the Indies have been suffering various indispositions, and hence they have come to no decision on the claim of the ordinaries to visit religious curacies. That decision will come shortly.

One of the weaknesses of your rule, for which they blame Your Excellency, is that you have no prudent counselors, that you deceive those whom you have and then fear them, that you make good ones simply puppets, that you tell them that with no other advice or on your own personal consideration you would have taken better decisions. Let Your Excellency see to this at once, and let the future take care of itself. This bit of advice will not hamper your work. Do not take it amiss, but rather see the kind intention that motivates it.

For the good account of Señor Don Fernando Carillo, and his superior zeal, we are indebted. But just as the Council in its acts never fears to make changes if it sees that they are needed, so Your Excellency will not abandon hope of a reformation in the type of decision that you are obliged to make.

The letters of the generals from Rome manifested their constant concern with the problem. On October 30, 1639, Vitelleschi wrote to Pérez de Rivas, his provincial in Mexico. This letter, beginning "Muy bueno compañero," continues:

There is a novel plan broached in your territory against the religious on the matter of *doctrinas*. For several years they have tried to make it the established system in Peru. If they have not already put it in force—at least in the case of our men—you ought to use all possible influence within the limits of religious propriety and modesty to prevent us from being obligated to what they demand.

On the case which you submit to me, in reference to your own province, this is my reply, as I have on different occasions had to write it to Peru: on the point of subjecting ourselves to examination in doctrine and language, in as far as this will please the bishops and viceroys, we shall accept it gladly. But in no case can we do so when we have to present our men for each *doctrina* in order that the Bishops select their own choice, one whom the superior cannot remove without giving his side of the case as though they were benefices granted [in the canonical sense], and where they might *visit* them as though they were secular curates, in point of conduct and manner of life. It is not just that we cede in matters so damaging to religious government. Such *doctrinas* would subject the Company to intolerable pressure.

If Your Reverence can make a generous arrangement in this way, without doubt it will be the only proper solution, as the fathers in Peru have settled it. If the authorities insist, then Your Reverence, after hearing your consultors and other fathers working among the Indians, will inform me of what you judge prudent in the case so that I may then take the final decision.

The next letter touches the famed controversial subject, the old story of the Venerable Juan de Palafox, Bishop of Puebla.

The *Colección* has many hitherto unpublished documents on the case, but they would add nothing new to the history of the episode except for one thing, the severe attitude shown by the generals toward local administrators for what he considers their importunate and impulsive readiness to fight at the drop of a hat. His counsels of modesty, resignation, and silence under attack, deserve to be better known. As this is not the place to give them in full, the reader must be content to find short indications of them here and there in the letters connected with the present subject. The following is important as part of our general discussion. It is a letter of Vitelleschi to Luis de Bonifaz, provincial of Mexico. He wrote from Rome, March 30, 1644:

I read with no small compassion the story of the deposition of the Duke of Escalona from the viceregal office. I confess my dismay. It is one of the extraordinary effects which this age has brought. Truly Our Lord holds us in His Hand.

I want to discuss the sufferings which the Lord Don Juan de Palafox, Bishop of Puebla, has occasioned. They give me great concern, both in the nature of the negotiations he is undertaking and the fears they engender lest some violence ensue while he holds his power.¹⁴ And I seriously charge Your Reverence before all else to be primarily concerned that all the men of your province speak of this prelate in a becoming manner, bearing patiently and in silence the occasions of mortification. It is best to proceed in this way, particularly in view of our part in the negotiations.

And I mention this because I have been given to understand, with no small sorrow, that our men have not so acted on previous occasions, speaking both among themselves and with seculars in an unbecoming manner. The worst part of it is that the offenders were important persons who should have given an example to the rest. It does not stop argument to say that we are modestly defending ourselves in all possible ways. Let us lay His Lordship under obligation to us, returning [severity] with generosity, overcoming evil with good. Perhaps he will change. Your Reverence should be aware of the widespread fear that if he takes the bridle he may do us much harm, not alone in material matters but in our credit and good name. And be alert then so that on our part we do not fail to act up to our religious profession. . . .

¹⁴ Diego López Pacheco, Marquis de Villena, Duque de Escalona, was removed from office as viceroy on June 10, 1641. Under secret orders from the court Palafox took possession of the government until the new viceroy, García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, should arrive. Some suspicion of disloyalty had brought about the removal of López Pacheco. It was the time of the Portuguese independence movement. The viceroy later proved his complete integrity and was rewarded with the rule of Sicily. See on this matter Alegre, II, 237.

Fourthly, I say that we may not overlook the fact that the Lord Prelate may wish to lay hands on our government and try to change it into the form which Your Reverence apprehends. This will be a sure way to destroy the [Jesuit] provinces of the Indies. May God pardon us if anyone of our men has a part in it! And if any are suspected of having entered into his plan or having given memorials about the alternative [subjecting scheme], it will be necessary for the Company to make an example of them. For it is certain that those who so directly oppose our institute are not its sons nor do they deserve to be treated as such. If Your Reverence, with the circumspection which your prudence assures, will find out who are the guilty ones and what kind of false rumors they have spread, it will be worth your efforts. If you discover any certain facts, you must advise me. Before I received the letter of Your Reverence on this matter and the paper you enclosed, I wrote to M [?] to have no ears for such tales and to take proper precautions. Your Reverence is blameless. May Our Lord not wish to chastise us so severely! At present, though, I have no fear.

On the matter of the *doctrinas* I know nothing to permit except what I have written on former occasions. On the condition of examination in doctrine and language we need make no difficulty but subject ourselves as the ordinaries desire. In other points, as in being visited on conduct and customary method, as if the benefices were granted by the bishops—wherein priests could not be moved without the consent of the ordinaries, and after presenting the causes—, and on the point of presenting three men for the choice of the ordinary, in these and similar points it is not proper for the Company to yield. Before giving up our tenure of the *doctrinas*, and subjecting ourselves to what no one believes to be conformable to our institute,—and after we have labored there for so many years and with so much success—, we shall rather have to give up the care of any missions.

I do not know why the Bishop of Guadiana aims at that novel arrangement. Besides, as Your Reverence well says, the missions of Cinaloa, strictly speaking, are neither benefices nor [canonical] *doctrinas* but reductions or missions like those of Paraguay.

It is good that you keep eight in the Parras and Tepehuanes district, because of the destruction that would otherwise come to those poor souls. Your precaution of speaking to the viceroy is very appropriate. I hope that he will find a remedy, and if not he then His Majesty.

On the matter of tithes there is nothing to do but to follow our right [of exemption] in law as they do in Madrid. Enter your suit there. The gravity of the case demands it. Father Francisco Crespe, our Procurator of the Indies, has begun the case with all earnestness, and his successor, Father Balthasar de Lagunilla, has arranged and furthered it. Rome, March 30, 1644. Mutius Vitelleschi.

A note in a letter from Carlos de Sangro, vicar *ad interim* after the death of Vitelleschi, informs the provincial of Mexico, Juan de Bueras, of the improvement in the general situation. Writing on December 30, 1645, he says:

The high respect in which the Company is held by the viceroys, the Archbishop of Mexico, and the other bishops of the viceroyalty, together with the *audiencia real*, the tribunals, the local governments and the Inquisition, is very welcome news. I refer to what that holy tribunal decided—to use four of our men in the business which it has undertaken—, a signal demonstration of high honor, as His Majesty said when I gave him the account of the ruling of the Inquisition.

The next letter of Sangro to Bueras, on the same date as the one above, shows proof of further effort to keep in harmony with the colonial administration. Mention is made of some mines on a *hacienda* connected with one of the missions. Pertinent extracts follow:

I approve of your method of satisfying the *Audiencia Real* of Guadalajara and its President, about the complaints registered by Father José Pascual and some others of our men. Their conduct was quite in keeping with our institute.

I highly approve your resolution to summon Father Fernando de Mellen out of the missions and to send him to the college at Guadalajara. With this act of yours I hope an end will come to managing those *minas negras*, and consequently a cessation of the many murmurings and complaints which began to arise against our missionaries. I praise your decision to forbid rigorously any of our men from being diverted to an employment so foreign to our profession.

The Company in your viceroyalty is highly favored by the Viceroy, Señor Conde de Salvatierra. I shall be glad to write the letter which he requested. Rome, December 30, 1645. Carlos de Sangro.

Just before his death, Father Francisco Piccolomini wrote of some serious problems. The vicar *ad interim*, Goswin Nickel, signed and sent it from Rome on May 20, 1651. The Palafox case was in process in Rome and the words of the general exhibit the concern he felt over the critical legal position of the order and its relations with the hierarchy.

If the intentions of the Lord Bishop of Nueva Vizcaya are those which Your Reverence outlines, then you must take care to give no cause of irritation to His Illustrious Lordship. I charge you seriously to keep from arousing any ill feeling on his part, no matter how

little he may think of us. Do not refuse to show him your faculties for confession and preaching, nor to have our men undergo the examination if the Lord Bishop wants it. On that score I praise what the men did when they were asked to show their credentials.

Regarding the contents of that Bull which the Lord Don Juan de Palafox received, we have had enough of Z I X [code term not identifiable in the *Colección* code]. I did all that I could to defend our Company with justice. You will be advised of the result.

Your Reverence wrote a sufficiently full account of the great question of abandoning or retaining the missions. [Three lines obliterated here.] Still there is the situation, and nothing prevents our yielding. When it is impossible to avoid every change, it is prudent not to refuse to give in on small matters such as we find in making arrangements for our missions. Consider the whole problem with your consultors and other experienced and zealous men, and write me your answer.

In the following letter Nickel expresses his disappointment over the outcome of the Palafox case,¹⁵ and prays that in the future the Company may be free from such litigation, "*ut sine timore serviamus illi in sanctitate et iustitia.*" He continues to the subject of the *doctrinas*:

The memorial which Your Reverence entrusted to Father Diego de Salazar on the missions has not yet come to me. If the conditions requisite for continuing them are impossible, as Your Reverence says, it will not be difficult to take an immediate resolution. We shall see the memorial and study it, and then advise you what ought to be done. To P. Rada, Provincial of Mexico. Rome, June 20, 1852. Goswin Nickel.

Nickel wrote from Rome on December 12, 1652:

We have seen the information which you sent us on the affair of the Lord Bishop of Oaxaca. But as he is now deceased you ought no longer to urge that suit. God has him with Him in heaven, and there he sees the good works and alms which you offer for him.

So far we do not have the memorial which you made up, to show the propriety of my discarding some missions. That point needs much thought. We shall deal with it promptly when the memorial arrives, and then resolve what ought to be done for the greater service of Our Lord.

The same day he sent under another cover a discussion of

¹⁵ For this case see Antonio Astrain, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1902-1928, V, 356-412; also Alegre, II, 273-358, and Rivas, I, 148-206. Rivas was a notable contemporary of this suit.

the northern missions that were endangered by the attitude of the bishop of Durango:

I have the second letter of Father Rada, noting that the Lord Bishop of Nueva Vizcaya continues to give us what [he feels] we deserve, and that he has presented clerics to be *curas* of the missions of Tizonazo and Labotas, and that our men have entered pleas against his action. They acted with undoubted propriety.

Father Rada adds that the same bishop is making a new attempt to accomplish what he has asked for the Lord Bishops of the Indies for many years, that the religious who manage *doctrinas* should be subject to the bishops. They have put all the other religious under their control, as Father Mutius wrote in his letter of October 30, 1639. That bodes ill for us.

You have express and repeated orders from my predecessors in this whole affair, forbidding your province and the others in the Indies from subjecting yourselves to these conditions. As it is a very grave point I shall not attempt to order anything to the contrary, but I ask you to consider it seriously and see what can be done. Meantime Your Reverence must do all in your power to preserve our men in their profession, using such means as with the consent of your consultors you judge most effective. I shall advise you of my views after I have thought over it, and I shall then direct you in their execution.

An excellent sidelight on the episcopal attitude is given in another letter of the same date from Nickel to the new provincial, Francisco Calderón, who was appointed by him and took office on January 3, 1653. It reads:

I am told that the Lord Bishop of Guadiana is much offended against us because he says that our men acted as judges against His Illustrious Lordship. [The charge is] that one of our men accepted a commission as judge in a suit of the Metropolitan against the vicar of the said Lord Bishop and in favor of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. Assuredly such cases have caused me suffering. And I should have grieved more had I known the irritation that followed, as you indicated it to me, and that in similar cases the superiors have not done their duty but have let pass like conditions without any notice, as I am informed. What kind of men are they, to put our fathers into negotiations so foreign to our profession, particularly when they know that they thus offend the prelates?

Your Reverence must see if what is here put down is true, and give a just penance to the culprits. And command our men seriously not to admit such commissions in any way nor to enter suits that do not concern us but which occasion complaints and offense to bishops and governors. In your province we have suffered much for our own faults. Do not give occasion for new troubles and disturbances.

The Jesuits in Mexico realized the growing antipathy, and they saw clearly the reasons for dislike and irritation. The following document is an excellent illustration of their vision of things and of their generous wish to remove all grounds for unfriendliness. The citation is taken from the requests that were forwarded by the provincial congregation of November 2, 1653, to the general in Rome. He in turn signified his approval with some pertinent advice in the return mail of October 9, 1655.

Petition: The cathedral churches here institute almost endless suits and trials in relation to the tithes they would collect from our annual revenues, particularly when any new ranches are donated to us. The fathers of the congregation held a long discussion on the point of entering some agreement with those churches. It was proposed, since we are exempt from the payment of tithes, to arrange a substitute, for example, to offer a twentieth or a thirtieth of the fruits, and this not on former holdings but on those that may come to us in the future. The congregation decided to expose their plan to the R. P. N. General, whose known prudence will dictate what we should do in this point.

Response: I am very happy to approve your plan for ensuring peace by striking up an agreement with the churches. I know that several colleges enjoy good revenues. For that reason I am very much inclined toward your suggestion; it will please me quite as fully as it will benefit the colleges, especially since we live in perilous times. Still, be sure to advise the General of the conditions in your agreement so that he may study them and decide whether his approval might involve any prejudice or harm to our institutions. Goswin Nickel.

In 1655 Nickel pointed out two more causes of ill feeling toward his men, and for the matter in hand they have great importance. The Council of the Indies was making its final and irrevocable decision on the permanent relation between bishops and missionaries, and that decision was certainly influenced by the very imprudent action of a certain Jesuit who came to Europe from Mexico with a box of silver that he was bringing from a layman in America to another in Spain. He attempted to enter the metal without passing through the customs. The silver was found and the case went at once to the Council. His personal penalty is not mentioned in this letter of the general, but Nickel writes that the deed "raised up a clamor and angered His Majesty and his ministers. . . . And at the instance of prudent and devoted friends I feel obliged to take effective steps lest it occur again and the Company be discredited as Your

Reverence knows it was on this occasion." He continues: "On receipt of this, Your Reverence will proclaim my order to all for their most exact observance, so that we may be far removed from those greater dangers and disasters that we now apprehend with certain ground for fear." After touching on some other points, he writes:

Finally, you must give strict orders, in my name, that the missionaries be not overwhelmed with the care of temporalities. Some write me that certain establishments seem to be rather *estancias* than missions, that there is a Padre who has three or four thousand animals, and another so many sheep and goats as to surprise those who see [his ranch]. They run the risk that His Majesty may order the stoppage of the alms which he regularly gives for the sustenance of the missionary fathers.¹⁶

The same packet of January 24, 1655 brought another letter from Nickel to Real:

I took particular comfort from the copious and clear report that Father Calderón sent on all the missions, and I judge that they are bringing great glory to God and credit to the Company. And on that score I readily agree with those who think that we should not and could not give them up. And I entertain the hope that it will not be difficult [economically] to preserve them after the Council has decided on the principal point of the canonical institution, as Your Reverence understands.¹⁷ That done, we shall be free from the dangers which might threaten the Company if we had to admit conditions that are so onerous, as other orders have found out.

Your Reverence and the other fathers did very well when you did not accept those conditions and preferred to abandon some or many *doctrinas*. That was always the mind of Father Mutius of happy memory. Nor did he decide it only once. In his prudent judgment it was less harmful not to keep *doctrinas* or missions than to subject ourselves to conditions so contrary to our life and institute. Perhaps with the new policy of the Council things will change and they will end this troublesome situation.

On February 22, 1658, Nickel wrote in the same vein to Real:

The fleet has not arrived, because of the blockade which the English established, as Your Reverence understands. And so we did

¹⁶ In a letter from Nickel to Real, printed below, the king is said to give 24,000 pesos yearly for the missions. This was an appreciable sum, but its inadequacy is seen in the story of Father Kino, whose ranches had to produce thousands of cattle to support his missions in Pimeria Alta and those of Lower California.

¹⁷ The decision had already been taken by the Council, but it would not be announced for some time. See below on the Paraguayan settlement.

not receive the despatches from your province except for a few scattered letters that came in a small boat which was sent after the departure of the fleet.

I shall say no more in particular about keeping the *doctrinas* and missions according to the *Patronato Real*, because Fathers Julian de Pedreza and Diego de Monroy are to advise Your Reverence on the method which has been established in Paraguay without any such hardships as the other orders experience in keeping their *doctrinas*. Truth is that we shall not lack some trials, but we have to tolerate them rather than expose so many souls to danger. The singular liberality with which His Majesty deigns to support our missionaries, giving them as Your Reverence writes 24,000 pesos a year, deserves all our esteem and gratitude.

The following August 20 brought another letter from Nickel to Real. Trouble had arisen, and emotion was ruling the authorities instead of reason. Again the mistake of one man was laid to the blame of the order:

Profound sorrow comes to me with the news that the *cédula* of His Majesty was occasioned by the rebuff given the Señor Viceroy by Father Andrés de Rada. It will be a bad situation, for they want to obligate and subject us to the *Patronato Real* in the point of missions and *doctrinas* in the way they subjected the other religious. If they content themselves with the condition allowed in the province of Paraguay, as was suggested to them, it will be tolerable and you may accept it. To go beyond this will be hard. Your Reverence will do all in your power to dissuade Madrid from obliging us to do what will be so injurious to us, and to urge them to grant your missions and *doctrinas* the same rights that they conceded to Paraguay.

The next provincial, Alonzo Bonifaz, heard from Nickel in a letter sent on November 30, 1659:

Your Reverence must give me the reason why the viceroy forced us to give up the *doctrina* of the Indians at San Gregorio which was in the care of Father Bartolomé González. It was there for the consolation of the poor Indians [of the City] and the other poor as Your Reverence signifies. On our part we had done everything possible to attend to it. As we have kept it for over sixty years we can leave it with a good conscience.

But you have set a bad precedent for our men. Your Reverence writes that you presented that royal provision of petition and charge, by order of the Señor Viceroy, to the Discalced Carmelite Fathers in their chapter, so that if any patent should come from Spain for the provincial, they would not have to admit it or obey it, on the score that His Majesty had given them this particular *cédula*.

And Father Juan de la Real took a bad course in going to the Señor Viceroy to present the patent of provincial which I sent for Your Reverence, especially after I told him beforehand of the trouble that could follow his action.

The behavior of the Captain against our missionaries in Cinaloa is surprising, seeing that we gave no occasion for it. You tell me that the Viceroy, on finding it out, wrote him a severe reprehension and did no more. But I understand that the Lord Bishop of Guadiana, Don Pedro Barrientes, has made or will make a demonstration so that others will not so treat the religious. The experience will do us good and bring credit to our ministry.

The same dispatches brought to Bonifaz a set of instructions to be followed in the pending negotiations wherein the Jesuits were working in Madrid to have the Paraguay settlement applied to New Spain.

After I had concluded all the despatches, I found another letter from Your Reverence dated December 3, 1658. There, after referring to the consultation which you held on order of the Señor Viceroy, regarding the *doctrina* of Tepotzotlán, Your Reverence asked if in the missions of Cinaloa we are to subject ourselves to canonical institution according to the *Patronato Real*, if, for instance, the ministers of His Majesty wish to obligate us to it. Despite the fact that fourteen of the twenty fathers consulting with you thought that we might accept the subjection—six only opposing—, still after treating the matter with the Fathers Assistant I have judged it wise to direct your future attitude in this wise:

1. As long as we do not enter upon an agreement, though others wish to subject us, we are in the same state as before and we enjoy possession and holy liberty without any need of petition or memorial on the matter.

2. In case they try to subject us, Your Reverence and the other fathers must use all possible effort to impede the execution, proposing to the Viceroy and the other ministers that it is contrary to our institute to take charge of the *doctrinas* or missions under such obligations and the grave consequences that would ensue to our government.

3. If neither of the above methods succeeds, then it is proper to appeal to the King and His Royal Council and to represent the reasons that prevent our being saddled with those *doctrinas* on conditions so opposed to our constitutions.

And finally Your Reverence may say that the most that the Company can do in this matter is to undergo any type of examination in language and in letters, and to present three subjects for each *doctrina*. But to change the men or retain them at their posts must be left to the free disposition of the provincial, as he judges fit, and as it has been granted to the province of Paraguay. And if more than this

is demanded, then there is no further possibility of concession, just as no concession was possible for my predecessors.

I feel that if you reply in this manner, with modesty and effectively, they surely must agree to what is most proper for the greater service of God and the most efficacious means for His Majesty to fulfill His holy zeal and also procure the temporal good of the Indies. If any new issue appears in this matter, Your Reverence will inform me so that I may reply.

Goswin Nickel.

Rome, November 30, 1659.

This long set of citations has aimed to show, from the point of view of the Jesuit general and his men in America, the development of the difficulty between mission rights and episcopal authority. From the first days the question had been proposed. It grew in importance with the advancing civilization and the extension of civil power over the formerly unorganized territory. The great problem was to find a satisfactory compromise between the rights of the bishop and the privileged status of the religious. The solution for this perplexing situation was first worked out in the case of the Paraguay Reductions, and the decision was taken on June 15, 1654. Two years later it was applied and went into force. Then came the effort to have New Spain accept the same conditions. The exact date for this decision has not been found by the present author, but it lay at some point between 1660 and 1663.

The status finally fixed by the King and the Council of the Indies may be stated in the following three points:

1. The canonical quality of the missions was changed from that of reductions to that of *doctrinas* or *parroquias*. The religious superior must present three candidates for the office of pastor to the governor for examination. The governor had to select one of these for the place, and to present him to the bishop, who then canonically appointed this man as pastor.

2. The religious pastor, the *doctrinero*, was now subject to episcopal visitation, and he could be removed from office at the instance of the bishop, who, to obtain this removal, must send secret notice and cause for action to the provincial who would then remove him.

3. The religious superior might remove this pastor or *doctrinero* at any time without giving any reason to the bishop.¹⁸

W. EUGENE SHIELS

¹⁸ A very complete account of this settlement is given in Hernández, 327 sq. The 1654 decision remained in force for the succeeding decades of Jesuit mission work in Hispanic America.

The Route of De Soto: Delisle's Interpretation

Four hundred years ago last May, Hernando de Soto led the first inland exploration of southeastern United States to be made by Europeans. Where this journey took him has long been a debated question. There have been many suggestions and solutions offered, the latest of which has been made by the United States De Soto Expedition Commission.¹ Source information concerning the journey has been preserved in four narratives, all of which differ in various degrees with regard to its details. The narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas, seemingly written from memory by a Portuguese who accompanied De Soto, was first published in Portuguese at Evora in 1557.² The account written by the Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, who is said to have obtained his information orally from the reminiscences of two or three persons accompanying De Soto, has been very popular although most commentators consider it highly colored. The book was first published in Spanish in 1605 at Lisbon, though the writing of it was finished in 1591.³ Luis Hernández de Biedma was the *factor* on the expedition; on his return, in 1544, he presented his brief, but important narrative to the king. The first publication of the Biedma version, in French, did not appear until 1841, when it was published by Ternaux-Compans.⁴ De Soto's secretary, Rodrigo Ranjel, kept a diary on the trip, which was the basis for his official report turned over to the Spanish government. Both the diary and the official report have been lost, but Oviedo had access to them and utilized the information found therein for his

¹ *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*. 76th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 71, Washington, 1939. [See Book Review section of this number of *Mid-America* for a review of the work cited. Editor.]

² *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q. ho governador dõ Fernão de soto e certos fidalgos portugueses passaram no descobrimẽto da provincia da Frolida. Agora nouamẽte feita per hũ fidalgo Deluas*, Evora, 1557. There have been various translations of this narrative; the latest, into English, is that of Dr. James A. Robertson, *True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Fernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida. Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas*, Deland, The Florida State Historical Society, 1932-33, 2 vols. The first volume is a facsimile of the original Portuguese edition.

³ Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto*, . . . Lisbon, 1605.

⁴ H. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique . . .*, Paris, 1837-41, XX, 51-106.

account of the De Soto expedition.⁵ However, this part of Oviedo's *Historia* was not published until 1851 in Madrid, so it is only recently that the use of this narrative was made to shed new light upon the route followed by De Soto.⁶

Since the narratives do not agree in the details of either distances or directions, it has been difficult for historians and cartographers to plot De Soto's route with anything like precision. However, several have attempted to do so, and it is these early attempts, especially those of Guillaume Delisle, with which this paper is concerned. As the Delisle map of 1718 is well known for the De Soto line of march shown on it, the attempt is made here to show how the cartographer arrived at his conclusions and what his line of reasoning may have been.

Until the third decade of the seventeenth century the majority of cartographers relied almost exclusively upon the account of De Soto's expedition as given by the Gentleman of Elvas for the nomenclature on their maps of what is now the southeastern part of the United States. The reason for this is that the account of Elvas was published half a century before that of Garcilaso de la Vega, and was well known before the appearance of the latter. The Elvas nomenclature appears on such maps as the Santa Cruz manuscript map⁷ and the Chaves map in Ortelius's atlas.⁸ Even after the publication of the popular account by Garcilaso, some cartographers such as Mercator,⁹ Keer,¹⁰ and Speed¹¹ continued to use the Elvas place names. The first car-

⁵ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-firme del Mar Océano . . .*, Madrid, 1851, I, 544 ff.

⁶ The historical value of these four chronicles is discussed by T. H. Lewis, "The Chroniclers of De Soto's Expedition," in *The Mississippi Historical Society, Publications*, VII, 1903, 379-387; by J. A. Robertson in his translation of *Relaçam Verdadeira*, 397-412; and in the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 4-11.

⁷ Alonso de Santa Cruz, [Map of the Gulf and coast of New Spain]. Original in Archivo General de Indias, 145-7-8, photograph in the Karpinski Collection. H. Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America*, III, 1892, 643, dates it 1521, but in the text says it is more than twenty years later; P. Torres Lanzas, *Relación Descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos, & de México y Floridas . . .*, Seville, 1900, I, 17, lists it without date; W. Lowery, *A Descriptive List of the Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820*, Washington, 1912, 78, gives 1572?.

⁸ A. Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1584, fol. 8.

⁹ G. Mercator, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura*, Amsterdam, 1616, 355.

¹⁰ P. Keer, *Americae Nova Descriptio*, 1614, in *Frontières entre le Brésil et la Guyane Française*, Atlas, VI, Paris, 1899, plate 56.

¹¹ J. Speed, *America with those known parts in that unknowne worlde both people and manner of buildings Discribed and enlarged by I. S. Ano. 1626*, in "A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World," London, 1676, bound with his *The Theatre of the Empire of Great-Britain*, London, 1676, 9.

tographer to adopt the nomenclature in the account of Garcilaso de la Vega, exclusively, was Jean de Laet, in 1625, on his map *Florida, et Regiones Vicinae*.¹²

In view of the importance of Espíritu Santo Bay in Delisle's cartographical work, mention of this geographical feature, as it appears in the above mentioned early maps, should be made. In these maps the name Espíritu Santo was applied both to a bay and a river, but cartographers did not agree as to their respective locations. On the Santa Cruz map the bay appears on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico with the river emptying into it. Chaves places the bay on the west Florida coast at what is now called Tampa Bay, but shows the river entering *Mar pequena** on the northern coast of the Gulf. Mercator, Keer, and Speed do not apply the name to a bay on their maps, but only to the river emptying into the Gulf on its northern coast. *Bahía del Spíritu Santo* on the Laet map is on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, extending between latitudes 29° 20' and 31°, with six rivers flowing into it. On the western coast of Florida, *Bahía de Carlos*, *Bahía de Tampa*, and *Bahía de S. Iosepho* appear, reading the legends from south to north. North of the last-named bay very near the 30th parallel and in present-day Apalachee Bay is *Tacobago*, but no indication is given whether it is an island or a bay. At the east end of this large bay is an inlet into which flows the *R. del Spíritu Santo*. On the north end of this inlet is *Hirrihigua*, the first village met by De Soto, according to Garcilaso de la Vega. This is at latitude 30° 30'. De Soto's route is not marked, but the villages through which he passed, according to the account of the Inca, are shown to the north of Hirrihigua, indicating the line of march to have been directly north to *Cofachiqui*, along the Rio del Spíritu Santo. The route then turns west through *Chalague*, *Xuala*, southwest to *Coza*, and due south to *Tascalusa*. Within the ellipse formed by this route, Laet in-

¹² Printed in Jean de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt oft Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien, uit veelerhande Schriften ende Aen-teekeningen van verscheijden Natien* . . . , Leyden, 1625. This was reprinted at Leyden, in 1630, *Beschrijvinghe van West Indien*. . . . Ten years later appeared a French translation, *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde ou description des Indes occidentales*, . . . , Leyden, 1640. The plate of the map of Florida in the French edition is the same as that of the Dutch edition of 1630. J. Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books relating to America*, X, 1878, 15, states that the maps in the various editions of Laet were unchanged.

* Place names on printed maps are herein italicized; those on Ms maps are in quotes.

scribed many other localities which in subsequent maps are placed in the west toward the Mississippi River.¹³

Jean de Laet was one of the cartographers who made Amsterdam the center of map publishing during the first half of the seventeenth century, when Holland was at the height of its power. As the power of Holland declined, that of France rose, and, coincidental with the rise of France, a new cartographer, Nicolas Sanson, began publishing maps in France about 1650. He was the founder of the French school of cartography, and as a result of his industry and influence, the center of map publishing had shifted from Holland to France by the end of the century. In 1648 appeared the first of Sanson's small quarto atlases which were issued separately for Europe, Asia, and Africa and America. Almost simultaneously he began to publish separate maps. In his map of 1650,¹⁴ Sanson carefully copied Laet's map, *Florida, et Regiones Vicinae*, described above, as far as the region traversed by De Soto is concerned. This map is on a smaller scale than Laet's, and a few villages along the route are omitted. A small atlas concerning America was published by Sanson in 1656 which contains a map entitled *La Floride*. This is a modification of his 1650 map with some additions, but in general the Garcilaso de la Vega nomenclature remains the same. On this map is found *B. de Tacobaga* at the eastern end of present-day Apalachee Bay, at latitude 30° 30', as in Laet's map.

After Sanson's death in 1667, his work was carried on by his two sons in association with Alexis Hubert Jaillot, who was the first of the great Jaillot family of cartographers. In 1674, Jaillot published a map¹⁵ on which the nomenclature for the area under consideration here follows closely that in the French edi-

¹³ The first French edition of Laet's work, *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde*, greatly influenced Delisle in his cartographical work. There are a number of sketches by Delisle in the Archives Nationales, see *infra*, based on the accounts as retold by Laet. Among them is a sketch (AN, JJ, 75:231) showing Delisle's interpretation of De Soto's route according to Laet. In plotting this route, Delisle took the words of Laet at their face value. He knew that the term Florida applied both to the mainland and to the peninsula, but when he read in Laet "il mouilla l'anchre dans la Baye de Spiritu Sancto au Continent de la Floride" (pp. 107-108), he made De Soto land, not on the west shore of the peninsula, but on the mainland at what appears to be the present Apalachee Bay. See also AN, JJ, 75:226, "Coste marine de La Floride tirée de Jean Laet."

¹⁴ N. Sanson, *Amerique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1650.

¹⁵ H. Jaillot, *Amerique Septentrionale divisée en ses principales parties . . . Par le Sr Sanson . . . Presentee a Monseigneur le Dauphin Par . . . Hubert Jaillot, 1674*. An undated edition of this map in color was published later in Amsterdam.

tion of Garcilaso de la Vega's account.¹⁶ On this map the *Bahía del Espíritu Santo* is on the north coast of the Gulf with the *R. de Espíritu Santo* flowing into it, as does also the *Chucagua R.*¹⁷ The 30th parallel and 280th meridian cross in the center of the bay.¹⁸

¹⁶ Pierre Richelet, *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride ou Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la découverte de ce Pays par Ferdinand de Soto*, 2 vols., Paris, 1670. This is not a direct translation, but an adaptation of Garcilaso de la Vega's text. Richelet's book was reprinted in 1709 and again in 1737. B. Shipp translated Richelet's version in *The History of Hernando De Soto and Florida; or, Record of the Events of Fifty-six Years, from 1512 to 1563*, Philadelphia, 1881. The following passage illustrates how Richelet adapted Garcilaso de la Vega:

Garcilaso de la Vega
1605 edition

Del alojamiento de Alibamo que fue el postrero de la prouincia de Chicaça, salio el exercito passados los quatro dias, que por necesidad de los heridos alli estuuo, y al fin de otros tres que camino por vn despoblado, lleuando siempre la via al norte por huyr de la mar, llego a dar vista a vn pueblo llamado Chisca, el qual estaua cerca de vn rio grande, que por ser el mayor de todos les que nuestros Españoles en la Florida vieron, le llamaron el rio grande sin otro renombre. Iuan Coles en su relacion dize que este rio se llamaua en lengua de los Indios Chucagua, y adelante haremos mas larga mencion de su grandeza, que sera de admiracion. f. 229.

Richelet
1709 edition

Les Espagnols au sortir d'Alibamo marcherent à travers un desert toujours du costé du Nord pour s'éloigner de plus en plus de la mer, & au bout de trois jours ils appercurent la Capitale de Chisca, qui porte le nom de sa Province & de son Seigneur. Cette ville est située proche un fleuve, que les Indiens appellent *Chucagua* le plus grand de tous ceux que nos gens ayent vû dans la Floride. II, p. 74-75.

¹⁷ This is the first appearance of the Chucagua River, the Mississippi, according to B. Shipp, *The History of Hernando De Soto and Florida*, 472, note. The name of this river does not appear on Laet's map, *Beschrijvinghe van West Indien*, because he followed the nomenclature of the *Historia General* . . . , Madrid, [1615], VII, 40, and the name Chucagua is omitted in Herrera's adaptation of Garcilaso de la Vega's account. In speaking of the river the two chronicles have:

Herrera

Salidos de Alibamo, a tres jornadas al Norte, llegaron a Chisca, junto a vn rio, que llamaron el grande, por ser el mayor de quantos hasta alli auian visto. . . .

Laet

Ayans cheminé trois jours d'Alibamo vers le Nord, il arriuerent à Chisca assis au bord d'une grande riuere (qu'ils nommerent pour cette cause *Grande*) . . . p. 113.

¹⁸ In giving the cartographical positions of the seventeenth century maps, no effort has been made to translate the locations given in the text into modern terms. The main reason is because of the differences on these maps between the meridian grazing East Florida, today the 80th meridian west of Greenwich, and the 99th, which crosses Mexico City. Thus there is a longitudinal distance of 24° between East Florida and Mexico City on the Sanson map of 1650, a difference of 5° from present-day measurements and the Jaillot map of 1674 shows a longitudinal distance of 24° 30'. In Delisle's map of 1700 the meridian grazing the East Florida Coast is 295°, and in his succeeding maps he consistently uses 296° 30' for that meridian, making the longitudinal distance between East Florida and Mexico City

Jaillot makes a new departure on this map as to the landing place of De Soto. *B. de Juã Ronca* is at latitude $26^{\circ} 30'$, which is actually the position of San Carlos Bay, and on the northern coast of this bay is *Hirriga* where De Soto made his landfall. The villages appear in a line to the north of this place with a jog northwest, to the northernmost point, *Chouala*, on the 39th parallel, the latitude of Cincinnati, Ohio. Then the route continues in a southwesterly curve to *Mauuilla*.

In none of these maps is the route of De Soto indicated by a single or double line from village to village. The first to show a marked line of march was Guillaume Delisle. This route is represented on his map published in 1718. But more than twenty years before, Guillaume's father, Claude,¹⁹ had sketched the route on a map dated 1696, which remained in manuscript. This sketch, with Guillaume's drafts for his map of 1703, is in the collection of manuscripts and maps, formerly belonging to various members of the Delisle family, now preserved in the French archives. "The manuscripts contain not only the notes of Joseph Nicolas Delisle [the astronomer] and memoirs written or received by him, but also notes and memoirs of his father, Claude, and his brothers, Guillaume and Louis de la Croyère."²⁰ Though the practical value of these papers is less today than it was in the eighteenth century, they are important historically, for they contain, besides the astronomical and navigational papers, notes on the history of geography and cartography, and on various voyages into all parts of the world. Boxes [cartons] IX to XII contain material relating to North America, box XVI, letters to and from Guillaume Delisle, and box XVII, the geographer's writings. The remainder of the collection deals with voyages to other parts of the world and memoirs concerning the history and geography of Russia, Siberia, Africa, Turkey, Arabia, Persia, and Egypt. "The geographical maps of Delisle preserved in the

21° and 20°, only 2° and 1° more than the actual distance. Using the East Florida meridian as a guide in these maps, the cartographical positions have been translated into modern terms by subtracting the longitudinal positions as shown on the maps from the East Florida meridian and adding the difference to the modern East Florida meridian, 80°.

¹⁹ In 1696, Guillaume Delisle was only twenty-one years of age; it is more probable that his father, Claude, drew many of the sketches executed before 1700.

²⁰ Louis de la Croyère, half-brother of Guillaume and Joseph Nicolas Delisle, accompanied the latter to Russia with the idea of aiding him in his astronomical researches. But Louis de la Croyère led such a dissolute life that he accomplished little. Cf. L. Breitfuss, "Early Maps of North-Eastern Asia and of the Lands around the North Pacific," in *Imago Mundi*, 1939, III, 93-94.

Dépôt de la Marine make up part of the 'Petites archives' and comprise portfolios 71-75 of the series of 'Cartes géographiques anciennes.' It is a collection of manuscript and engraved maps, in which the maps of Guillaume are in greater number than those of Joseph Nicolas."²¹ The maps, sketches, and drafts of the western hemisphere are found in portfolio 75, *pièces* 125-396;²² of these, the ones showing the route of De Soto will be considered in detail later.

The difficulties in tracing De Soto's route have been acknowledged by all who have attempted to do so, and because of these difficulties a variety of routes have been suggested for the journey,²³ especially east of the Mississippi River.²⁴ The first problem is the question of the landfall of De Soto, that is, the location of his Espiritu Santo Bay. That even the early cartographers held different opinions about the point of ingress has already been noted in connection with the maps previously mentioned. However, it is generally held that the bay where De Soto landed and called Espiritu Santo Bay because he disembarked on Pentecost Sunday, was on the west coast of the peninsula of Florida where Tampa Bay is now. Discussions are as plentiful as dissenting opinions, some of fairly recent date, as to the location of Soto's Espiritu Santo Bay. The chroniclers are vague about the actual point of the landfall.²⁵ Ranjel gives the most detailed description, but it is somewhat confusing. He says: "Land was seen on the northern coast of Florida; and the fleet came to anchor two leagues from shore in four fathoms of water or less. . . . The place where they disembarked was due north of the Island of Tortuga, which is in the mouth of the Bahama channel. The chief of this land was named Oçita, and it is ten leagues

²¹ A. Isnard, "Joseph-Nicolas Delisle, sa biographie et sa collection de cartes géographiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale," in *Bulletin de la Section de Géographie*, 1915, XXX, 60-61.

²² Photostats of the maps in this portfolio which are in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, have been used in this study. They will be referred to as Archives Nationales (AN), JJ, 75.

²³ The various attempts to locate the route are summarized in the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 12-46.

²⁴ Because several of the sketches discussed only show the line of march east of the Mississippi River, this paper is concerned only with that part of the country covered before the expedition reached Mavilla.

²⁵ The Portuguese account says, "anchor cast a league from shore, because of shoals. On Friday, the 30th, the army landed in Florida, two leagues from the town of an Indian chief name Ucita," E. G. Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando De Soto in the Conquest of Florida*, New York, 1904, I, 21-22. Garcilaso de la Vega states, "he came to anchor in a very good bay, which is called Espiritu Santo," B. Shipp, *The History of Hernando De Soto and Florida*, 257. Biedma merely says, "We arrived at the port of Baya Honda," Bourne, *ibid.*, II, 3.

west of the Bay of Johan Ponce."²⁶ Bourne identifies this as Tampa Bay. John Gilmary Shea,²⁷ using the Ranjel account, says De Soto landed at the Bay of Juan Ponce, but he makes no effort to identify the place. Grace King²⁸ also says the landfall was in the Bay of Juan Ponce, and, though she does not identify the bay, she means Tampa Bay, as can be seen from the map of the route in her book. The present Ponce de León Bay is at latitude 25° 15' which is 2° 15' south of the southern point of Tampa Bay. Compared with Charlotte Harbor and Tampa Bay, it is not large. Concerning the Ranjel version of the landing place, Lewis says: "His account of the bay in which the landing was made establishes the fact that it was shallow and could not have been Tampa Bay, and in this regard is corroborated by Soto's letter²⁹ and the Elvas narrative."³⁰ Arredondo in 1742 stated that De Soto's landing place was "on the Bay of Carlos in latitude 27° 45'."³¹ But today's San Carlos Bay is at latitude 26° 30', one degree south of the southern point of Tampa Bay. In the last few years opinions have been advanced that Charlotte Harbor may have been the place where De Soto landed. In his attempt to locate the landing place, Lewis says: "The landing place is generally accepted as being at Tampa Bay, but the depth and numerous inlets as described do not conform thereto. Ponce de Leon Bay is now believed to have been in Monroe county, on the west side of the southern point of Florida, and 'ten leagues west' (really north) would make the location among the Thousand Islands. Probably the real location was Charlotte Harbor; they having entered it from the south end of San Carlos Bay."³² Theodore Maynard also holds to this theory, saying, "the ships came to anchor in blue brilliant weather in Charlotte Harbor,"³³ and in a note he states that "Tampa Bay is often given incor-

²⁶ Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural*, I, 546, translation taken from Bourne, *Narratives*, II, 51-54.

²⁷ J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, 1884, II, 245.

²⁸ G. E. King, *De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida*, New York, 1898, 13.

²⁹ Lewis refers here to De Soto's letter of July 9, 1539, translated from the Spanish by B. Smith, *Letter of Hernando De Soto*, Washington, 1854, 7-10; also by J. A. Robertson, "Letter Written to the Secular Cabildo of Santiago de Cuba by Hernando De Soto. Espiritu Santo, Florida, July 9, 1539," in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 1938, XVI, 174-178.

³⁰ T. H. Lewis, "The Chroniclers of the De Soto Expedition," in the Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, 1903, VII, 385.

³¹ H. E. Bolton, ed., *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, Berkeley, 1925, 121, note.

³² T. H. Lewis, "The De Soto Expedition through Florida," in *The American Antiquarian*, 1900, XXII, 356.

³³ T. Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadors*, New York, 1930, 140.

rectly as the landing place."³⁴ A note by Richard Hakluyt in his translation of the Portuguese narrative³⁵ gives an opinion which does not seem to have many followers. He states that the landing place "was called Baya de Spirito Sancto, being on the west side of Florida, in 29 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$," near today's Deadman's Bay. Laet, as has been seen, locates the bay in which De Soto landed near the 30th parallel.

The advocates of Tampa Bay as the landing place are many. Most of these merely state that the landfall was at Tampa Bay, but others have attempted to locate the point even more exactly. Rye, Monette, and Wilmer³⁶ are among those who have placed it at Hillsborough Bay, Fairbanks and Lowery³⁷ locate the place at Gadsen's Point, and still others at other points within Tampa Bay. In 1934, John R. Swanton published an extract of a document which, in his opinion, contains conclusive evidence that the place name Pooy where De Soto landed was Tampa Bay.³⁸ This document, dated October 13, 1612 and addressed to the king of Spain by Juan Fernández de Olivera, Governor of Florida, concerns the account of an expedition sent to the gulf coast of Florida in June 1612. Notations of the latitudes of points mentioned on the western coast of Florida are in this document. Swanton says, "The latitudes given are evidently too low, but there is no mistaking the points intended. Pooy can only be Tampa, and the Tampa of the explorers, Charlotte Harbor. . . ." In the passage in the document which Swanton used as his premises, is the phrase "la bahia de pooy que es á donde dizen los yndios desembarco el adelantado Hernando de Soto." It led him to conclude:

This was written almost precisely seventy-three years after De Soto landed, and, while I am well aware of the fallibility of Indian tradition when extended over a long period of time, seventy-three years may be spanned by a single life, and the landing happened

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 137, note 2.

³⁵ *The Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida, by Don Ferdinand de Soto . . . written by a Gentleman of Elvas . . . translated out of Portuguese, by Richard Hakluyt [1611], edited by W. B. Rye, London, 1851, Hakluyt Society Publications, IX, 24.*

³⁶ Rye, *ibid.*, xxxvii; J. W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, New York, 1846, I, 17; L. A. Wilmer, *The Life, Travels and Adventures of Ferdinand De Soto, Discoverer of the Mississippi*, Philadelphia, 1858, 312.

³⁷ G. R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida*, Philadelphia, 1871, 74; W. Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561*, New York, 1901, 219.

³⁸ J. R. Swanton, "Landing Place of De Soto," in *Science*, 1934, LXXX, 336-337.

when the parents of most of the adult Indians in Tampa Bay in 1612 were alive. Moreover, the event must have been of exceptional importance to them, as the first intimate contact they had with representatives of the white race. The conclusion seems inevitable that it was in Tampa Bay that De Soto disembarked his army.

After further study, Dr. Swanton published an article wherein he gives his reasons and proofs for declaring the east side of Tampa Bay to be the port, an old Indian town site on Terra Ceia Island to be the Port of the Holy Spirit and Shaw Point to be the landing place.³⁹ The United States De Soto Expedition Commission has recently published its reasons for believing, without a doubt, that De Soto anchored his ships in Tampa Bay.⁴⁰ The native town in which the conquistador established his headquarters was, according to the Commission, on Terra Ceia Island. The conclusions are based, first, among other reasons, upon a comparison of the descriptions of the landing place with the geography of the west coast of Florida; secondly, upon the fact that of the three principal bays, Tampa, Charlotte Harbor, and San Carlos, the former is the one most nearly in a line north of Havana, agreeing with Ranjel's statement; thirdly, upon the testimony of the Indians, taken seventy-three years after the landing; and finally, upon the testimony of López de Velasco as to the identity of the Bay of Espíritu Santo.

These opinions show how various writers interpreted the accounts of the expedition. While few such discussions were in print to confuse Delisle when he was endeavoring to decide just where to start the De Soto route, there was enough evidence available at the time to cause the cartographer no end of trouble in locating the bay where De Soto landed, which was called Espíritu Santo Bay by the chroniclers. Delisle's attempts to decide on the location of this bay are discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

Another problem to confront those plotting the route of De Soto is that of distances, and to a lesser degree, directions, for the narratives disagree in these details of the journey. Modern students, in the main, agree on the general directions taken, but they have access to two additional accounts unknown to Delisle, those of Biedma and Ranjel. The difference between the Elvas and Garcilaso accounts of the expedition, the only two accounts

³⁹ J. R. Swanton, "The Landing Place of De Soto," in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 1938, XVI, 149-173.

⁴⁰ *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 117-138.

Delisle had, did not escape the French geographer. Since the Elvas account has a carefully tabulated list of consecutive distances and directions, it would seem, therefore, a simple matter to express the route cartographically.⁴¹ The narratives differ in the matter of the nomenclature; though they agree generally on the order in which the various places were visited, some omit certain names, and all show some variation in orthography.

Among the drafts and trial sheets used by Delisle in his cartographical studies of America, are several sketches made when he was attempting to plot the route of De Soto. These sketches show his concern over the geography of the country through which De Soto traveled, as does also an extant list of questions on the route, prepared either by Guillaume or by his father, Claude.⁴²

On one of the Delisle sketches of the De Soto route,⁴³ the cartographer followed the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas⁴⁴ and set down the distances and directions just as the narrator has them, disregarding what he knew from other maps and accounts. He made the landing place of the Spaniards in a bay on the northern coast of the Gulf, approximately midway between the peninsula of Florida and the mouth of what is meant to represent the Mississippi River. Because he was familiar with the map of Laet showing the *Bahía del Espíritu Santo* to be on the northern Gulf Coast, Delisle must have thought it plausible to indicate the landing place on that coast, but above all, the distances and directions of travel as set down by the Gentleman of Elvas demanded a wide expanse of country to the west. On this sketch map, Delisle did not label explicitly the bay at which

⁴¹ When there were gaps in a narrative, Delisle found it difficult to plot the route followed by travelers; cf. his letter to Joutel, in J. Delanglez, ed., *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 12, "These lacunae upset all the calculations of the geographer, who cannot make use of the distances and the directions when some are missing."

⁴² Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 115-10:n. 17, *pièce X*, Library of Congress transcript.

⁴³ AN, JJ, 75:231. This is the map referred to in the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 13. The Commission had at hand a photostat of the "Seconde Carte" and surmised that there must be a "Première Carte"; it is this "Première Carte" which is described in the text above. The "Seconde Carte," spoken of in the *Report*, only shows the course of the "Rio Grande ou le grand fleuve" (Mississippi River) and the Gulf coast down to Vera Cruz. Just as he did on the "Première Carte," Delisle crowded the course of the river with numerous geographical notes taken from the Elvas account.

⁴⁴ *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride, par les Espagnols, sous Ferdinand de Soto. Ecrite en Portugais par un Gentil-homme de la Ville d'Elvas*. Par M. D. C., Paris, 1685, translated by S. de Broë, seigneur de Citry et de La Guette. This was the first translation into French of this account, and the one used by Delisle.

De Soto landed. He merely sets down "Habitation d'un Seig^{re}. Indien nommé Ucita que Soto noma le port du S^t. Esprit." According to the Gentleman of Elvas, after disembarking, De Soto and his men traveled one hundred leagues to the west. To Delisle this seemed impossible had De Soto landed on the western coast of the Florida peninsula, for the entire width of that peninsula was known to be much less than one hundred leagues (270 miles), the greatest width of the peninsula being not much more than 2°, which to Delisle's mind meant a little over fifty leagues (135 miles). Even if De Soto had landed on the east coast he could not have marched one hundred leagues to the west. Consequently, Delisle made him land at the old Espiritu Santo Bay in order to get this initial westward leg of the journey on his map. At the end of this one hundred league journey the expedition reached "Anhayca de Apalache" according to the account Delisle was using. Indifferent to anything that was not in this account in sketching the route, he disregarded the fact that Apalache had been placed much to the east of the point at which he places it, that is, not far from the Mississippi River as shown on this sketch.⁴⁵ At "Anhayca de Apalache" the expedition turned to the northeast and, according to the Portuguese narrative, traveled in that direction for a distance of four hundred and thirty leagues (1160 miles) until they reached "Cutifachiqui." Delisle has this leg of the journey sketched on his map, placing the terminus almost on the Atlantic coast. This is obviously impossible. A modern map will show plainly that a march of 1160 miles northeast from Baton Rouge would bring one near New York City. On the other hand, one of that distance east northeast would traverse a region which more nearly corresponds to the descriptions of the narrative but would end up two hundred miles out in the Atlantic Ocean.⁴⁶ It must have been clear to Delisle that the distances as given by the Gentleman of Elvas were unreliable and probably he also questioned the directions given, but he went on with his sketch, and traced the next leg of the trip as set down by the Gentleman of Elvas, two hundred and fifty leagues north from "Cutifachiqui" to "Xuala." From "Xuala" through "Chihaha" to "Coça" the expedition traveled to the west for a distance of one hundred and ninety leagues. At "Coça" they turned south-

⁴⁵ Had the expedition traveled 100 leagues west of present-day Pensacola Bay, it would have crossed the Mississippi River.

⁴⁶ These distances as given by the Gentleman of Elvas are discussed in the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 302-304.

ward and proceeded sixty leagues to "Tascaluca." From there they again proceeded westward, through "Maville," to the "Rio Grande" (Mississippi River), a distance of three hundred leagues, according to the Portuguese narrative. All of this Delisle put on the sketch map under consideration.

The map is covered with notes, which the cartographer took from the Portuguese account in his endeavor to plot De Soto's route according to that narrative. Delisle himself left no legend saying that the material embodied in his sketch was from the account of the Gentleman of Elvas, but it clearly appears that this was its origin.⁴⁷ In the upper left-hand corner he wrote "Route du voyage de Fernand Soto en Floride." His brother, Joseph Nicolas,⁴⁸ wrote as a continuation of the above legend, "en 1539 jusqu'en 1543 tirée à ce que je crois de l'hist. de cette expedition écrite par l'Inca Garcilasso de la Vega sur les memoires d'une personne qui a été dans l'expédition de Soto." The internal evidence of the map and a comparison of the two accounts show that Joseph Nicolas Delisle was in error in his belief.

Another undated sketch of this collection ⁴⁹ shows that Delisle made a further attempt at tracing the route of De Soto. This map shows only the Florida Peninsula and the eastern sea coast as far north as Long Island. In the southeastern part, the geographer tried to make the narratives of the Gentleman of Elvas and of Garcilaso de la Vega agree, and in addition, that of César de Rochefort,⁵⁰ for place names from all three of these accounts are found in this sketch.

⁴⁷ There is a manuscript list of books, memoirs, and maps used for the map of 1703 entitled "Livres memoires Cartes imprimées ou M. S. dont on s'est servi pour dresser la Carte de la Nle France [deleted] Canada du Mississipi et de la Floride qui a été présenté a Mgr le Cte. de Pontchartrain, Examinez et rec[tifiez] les uns par les autres." Among the works he consulted, Delisle mentions "La Conquête de la Floride par Ferdinand de Soto l'an 1539 écrite par un gentilhomme de Portugal de la ville d'Elvas qui accompagna Soto" and "La même histoire écrite Par l'Inca Garcilasso de la vega sur les mémoires d'un au. qui avoit aussi été dans cette expedition." ASH, 115-10:n. 17, *pièce M*.

⁴⁸ For the identification of this handwriting, see AN, JJ, 75:138 and 270.

⁴⁹ "Virginie ou Nouvelle Suede," AN, JJ, 75:221.

⁵⁰ C. de Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique par Mr. De Rochefort*, 2 vols., Lyon, 1667, 210-275. "Le savant Abeille, dans une note placée sur un exemplaire de cet ouvrage, a prouvé que son véritable auteur était Louis de Poincy," Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes*, Paris, 1823, II, 137. Rochefort's history was long regarded as authentic, but the historical value of it has decreased, Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 289, note. It greatly influenced the Delisles, who long considered the information trustworthy. Claude Delisle made a summary of the geographical data contained in the *Histoire Naturelle*, ASH, 115-10:n. 17, *pièce Z*; and as will be seen, prominent features of the Rochefort nomenclature are found in many of Guillaume Delisle's maps and sketches until 1718.

The landing place of De Soto's army on this map is placed in a bay at approximately latitude $28^{\circ} 40'$, which carries no name except "la Hirrihiagua Cacique" (Vega), and just beneath it "Habitation d'Ucita" (Elvas). Between latitude 29° and 30° is an elongated bay into which flows a river called "Hitanachi ou R. de Spiritu S^o."⁵¹ This bay is labeled "Baye du St. Esprit ou Tacobago."⁵² At latitude 27° appears "B. de Calos ou de Jean Ponce de Leon," and at approximately latitude $27^{\circ} 40'$ is a point marked "la Tampa." (Today's Tampa Bay stretches between latitudes $27^{\circ} 30'$ and 28° .) The route is very plainly marked, going in a northerly direction and then a short distance to the west where "Anhayca de Palache" is placed.⁵³ From there the general direction is nearly due east to "Cutifachique" and then directly north through mountains to "Xualla" where it turns west and reaches "Chiaha." Here the clearly marked route ceases, but "Chisca" appears to the northwest of "Chiaha" at latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$. The towns through which De Soto passed are plainly marked, in most cases following the nomenclature as given in the Portuguese account, but in some instances names from Garcilaso de la Vega's account appear also. Occasionally both narrators' names for places are given. While the names directly on the route are from those two accounts, place names from Rochefort's account appear also, applied to general regions, such as "Bemarin," "Amana," "Matique," "Theomi L.," etc.⁵⁴

On this map as a rule, Delisle disregarded distances; in only a very few instances does he attempt to designate the number of days traveled. The directions followed on this sketch are taken from Garcilaso de la Vega's account, and those given in the Portuguese narrative are not taken into consideration.

Among the Delisle sketches in portfolio 75, now under consideration, is a group of three carefully executed maps, one of

⁵¹ "S'il n'y a pas une grande riviere à Auté qui vient de bien avant dans les terres du coté du Nord, comment s'appelle cette Riviere en Indien si c'est point Hitanachi et si ce n'est pas cette meme Riviere que l'on appelle la Riviere d'Apalache ou la Riviere St. Esprit." Delisle, "Questions sur la route de Soto," *ASH*, 115-10:n. 17, *pièce X*.

⁵² "Si à l'endroit ou cette Riviere entre dans la mer n'est pas nommé la Baye ou le port du St. Esprit par les Espagnols s'il n'y a pas près de la une plage qui n'a que très peu d'eau, et s'il n'y a pas une Isle appelée Tacobago." Delisle, "Questions sur la route de Soto," *ibid*.

⁵³ This location corresponds more nearly to that shown by earlier cartographers than does the location Delisle shows on the Elvas sketch. Concerning Delisle's difficulty in the identification of this place, cf. "Questions sur la route de Soto," *ibid*.

⁵⁴ A discussion of the various positions and names of a lake on earlier maps is found in W. P. Cumming, "Geographical Misconceptions of the Southeast in the Cartography of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Journal of Southern History*, 1938, IV, 476-492.

which bears the title, "Carte de la Nouvelle France et des Paÿs Voisins," dated 1696.⁵⁵ The route of De Soto is plainly marked on this map also, and the place names follow those found in the account of the Gentleman of Elvas, though many of those appearing there are omitted. A rather large bay on the west coast of Florida is marked "Baye du St. Esprit ou Tocabago," and at the south end of this bay is found the village "Ucita" at latitude 28° (the same latitude as present Tampa), from which the route marked on this map starts. On the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico is found another "Baye du St. Esprit ou Culata" at latitude 28°, longitude 286°, here 14° west of the east Florida meridian, in modern parlance, near Galveston Bay, whereas on this map it has the position of Mobile Bay. It seems that Delisle had not as yet decided whether or not there was one or two Espiritu Santo Bays.⁵⁶ Other points marked on this map on the western coast of Florida are "B. de Carlos" (the name of the southernmost bay is illegible), "la Tampa" (latitude 27°) and "C. Apalache," which is at latitude 31° and well within that large bay.

The general direction of the route of De Soto as marked on this map is north, forming a decided curve from Ucita to "Anhayca Apalache" at longitude 296° 30' and latitude 31°, then northeast to "Cutifachiqui," which is at longitude 303°, latitude 33° 30', on a nameless river (apparently the Savannah). The route continues on in a northwesterly direction to "Xula" at longitude 301° and latitude 36° 30', then bears in a southwesterly direction to "Coça," longitude 296°, latitude 35° 30', where it turns due south to reach "Tascalusa" at longitude 295° 30', latitude 32° 30', and on to Mavilla at longitude 293° 30', latitude 31° 30'.⁵⁷ From there it curves in a northwesterly direction and the Mississippi River is met at approximately latitude 34° 30'. This map includes North America, north of Mexico as far as was known at that time, and the map is in an apparently finished state, though it was never engraved.

Another map⁵⁸ from this collection, without title or date, is more detailed than the one described immediately above, in that

⁵⁵ AN, JJ, 75:130.

⁵⁶ In a memorandum of considerations to be borne in mind in planning and organizing an expedition to the Baye du St. Esprit, for the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi River, drawn toward the end of the seventeenth century, the writer advised that the leader of the expedition should remember "qu'il paroît dans la carte deux baye du St Esprit l une au nord du cap de la floride et l autre a prez de deux cens lieues plus a l oueste et que c est aparamant celle la pres de laquelle la riviere doit tomber." BN, Mss. fr.n.a., 21393:209.

⁵⁷ Mavilla here is inland some distance from the coast.

⁵⁸ AN, JJ, 75:128.

more rivers and villages are located, though only a few of the towns through which De Soto traveled are shown. Here, as in the 1696 map, the route is distinctly marked. There are some obvious differences between this map and that of 1696. There is no Espíritu Santo bay marked on the west coast of Florida, but "B. de Jean Ponce" and "B. de Carlos" are there. Instead of "La Tampa," "B. de la Tampa" appears at 27° 30'. "B. Tacobago" is nearly at latitude 30°. Present-day Apalachee Bay is drawn in more detail on this map than on the aforementioned one, and "Cap d'Apalache" is at a point on the far western end of the bay at longitude 289° and latitude 30°. The only "Baye du S'. Esprit" appears on the north coast of the Gulf at longitude 283°, latitude 30°, here 12 degrees west of the east Florida meridian, and, as it should be, somewhat east of the mouth of the Mississippi River. But Delisle moved the landing place to the north, making it at "B. Tacoboga" at latitude 30°, two degrees north from the point where he had shown it on the previous map. The name of the village at this landing place is unfortunately illegible on the reproduction which the present writer consulted. The line of march from this point is shown to be directly north to Apalache at longitude 293°, latitude 32° 30', whence it proceeds in a north-easterly direction to "Cofachi" which is at longitude 290° and almost latitude 35°. Then the line runs to the southeast for a short distance to reach "Cutifachiqui" on a river not far from the Atlantic coast at approximately the same spot in which it appears on the 1696 map. From "Cutifachiqui" the routes goes northwest to "Xuala" located on the 36th parallel, then for thirty miles southwest to "Coça" and due south from there through "Tasculuca," longitude 292°, latitude 33°, to "Maoüila" for about two hundred miles, and from "Maoüila" westward to the Mississippi River. The names along the De Soto route as shown on this map are from the Portuguese account, but as in the previous maps, the distances and directions of Elvas have been disregarded by Delisle, who in this instance took them from the narrative of Garcilaso de la Vega. Also worthy of note is the fact that the De Soto route makes an almost complete circle around "Lake Theomi," while this lake is not shown at all on the 1696 map discussed above.⁵⁹

Delisle's first map of America, entitled *L'Amerique Septen-*

⁵⁹ There is another map of this same period, AN, JJ, 75:128, which was engraved but not published. The photostat of the engraved copy which was used for this study has been reduced to such an extent that the names are illegible. Although faint, the route of De Soto is marked, but this reproduction is impracticable for study purposes.

trionale, was published in 1700.⁶⁰ The route of De Soto is not marked, and only a few villages in that part of the country are located. The only bays along the west coast of Florida named are *B. de Jean Ponce*, at latitude 26°, *B. de Carlos*, at latitude 28°, and *B. de la Tampa*, at latitude 28° 30', about one degree north of its true location. There is no name on the northernmost bay, along this coast, but at the inland end of it the village *Ucita* (Elvas) appears, longitude 291° 30', latitude 29° 30', which today would be five miles west of Pine Point and in the Gulf of Mexico. The only *B. du S. Esprit* appearing on this map is a very short distance to the east of the mouth of the Mississippi River. *C. Apalache* is shown just as on the manuscript undated map described immediately above, at the west end of present Apalachee Bay. The lake, which in former maps Delisle called Lake Theomi, is here at longitude 291°, latitude 33° 30' (in Henry county, Georgia), though it is not named, and the river connecting it to the Atlantic runs in a southeastern direction, rather than nearly due south as it had on his previous maps. The few place names inscribed along the route taken by De Soto are the following, taken from the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas: *Ucita*, *Aute*, *Apalaché*, *Cutifachiqui*, *Chalague*, *Xuala*, *Coça*, *Tascaluca*, and *Maouila ou Mobila*. Most of these villages are in approximately the same positions as on the 1696 map.

After the publication of the map of 1700, Delisle had more detailed manuscript data from Iberville, who had already sent accounts to him on returning from his first journey to the Mississippi Valley in July 1699. Subsequently the two men carried on a correspondence regarding the geography of that part of the New World,⁶¹ and Delisle became intensely interested in the course of the Mississippi River.⁶² In 1701 he drew a sketch⁶³ in which he embodied much of what Iberville had told him. More interested in the Mississippi Valley, he laid aside, for a time, his problems concerning the route of De Soto. There are no names of Indian villages in the southeastern part of present-day United States

⁶⁰ *L'Amerique Septentrionale. Dressée sur les Observations de Mrs. de l'Academie Royale des Sciences. & quelques autres, & sur les Memoires les plus recens. Par G. De L'Isle.* Paris, 1700.

⁶¹ For this correspondence, cf. ASH, 115-10:n. 17, pièces M, Q, T, Y; n. 18, 19, 20.

⁶² Cf. "Lettre de Mr. Delistle à Mr. Cassini, sur l'embouchure de la Riviere Mississippi" in J. F. Bernard, *Recueil de voyages au Nord*, 1732, IV, 555-568, and see Claude Delisle's autograph draft of this letter, ASH, 115-10:n. 17, pièce B.

⁶³ "Carte des Environs du Missisipi. Par G. De l'Isle, Geographe," AN, JJ, 75:253. This is a basic draft which the cartographer used for later maps.

taken from the De Soto accounts on the 1701 sketch, with the exception of "Caftaciqui," which he places on the Santee River at latitude 33°. ⁶⁴ "Les Apalaches habitation des Espagnols" appears on the coast of present Apalachee Bay at the mouth of the "Riviere d'Apalache." "Baye de Spiritu Santo" is located on the western coast of Florida, between latitudes 27° and 28°, and there is no indication of a bay by that name on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Delisle made additions to this draft and then had it engraved with the date 1701. ⁶⁵ However, this was not published.

His map of 1702⁶⁶ is another engraved version based on the 1701 draft. Again De Soto nomenclature has been disregarded. "B. du S^t. Esprit" remains in the same location as in the 1701 map. "Lac de Theomi" is on this map at latitude 33° in a ridge of mountains, whereas on the preceding map the lake, though present in approximately the same position, was left nameless.

In 1703 Delisle published his map of Mexico and Florida. ⁶⁷ Between the time that Delisle drew his map of 1702 and the publication of his 1703 map, he had received letters, copied memoirs, and had interviews with Iberville and others who had returned from the Mississippi Valley. As a result of the added information thus obtained, Delisle changed the manuscript copy of his 1703 map. This had been ready for engraving, for on the copy that went to the engraver, one of the several *papillons* had been placed over the most part of Spanish Florida and New Mexico. As the map was printed, the *Baye du S^t. Esprit* is still on the west coast of Florida at approximately latitude 27° 30', just about one degree north of the *Baye de Carlos*. Again, as on his maps since 1700, Delisle almost disregarded De Soto nomenclature, as taken from the two accounts. But here are still found some of the names appearing in Rochefort's history, notably, *Bemarin*, *Amana*, and *Matique*. However, *Cutifachiqui* appears in its usual place on the Santee River at latitude 33° and *Apalache* is in the

⁶⁴ There are no longitudes given on this sketch.

⁶⁵ Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique (SHB), C 4040-4, photostat in the Karpinski Collection. The words "Donné par Mr. d'Iberville en 1701" were added to the title of the engraved copy.

⁶⁶ "Carte du Canada et du Mississipi. Par Guillaume De l'Isle de l'Academie Royale des Sciences. 1702." Paris, Affaires Etrangères.

⁶⁷ *Carte du Mexique et de la Floride des Terres Angloises et des Isles Antilles du Cours et des Environs de la Riviere de Mississipi. Dressée Sur un grand nombre de mémoires principalement. sur ceux de Mrs. d'Iberville et le Sueur. Par Guillaume De l'Isle Géographe de l'Académie Royale des Sciëces.* Paris, 1703. The manuscript draft entitled, "Carte du Mexique de la Floride et des terres des Anglois en Amerique avec les Isles adjacentes" is in AN, JJ, 75:266.

center of present Wilcox county, Georgia. *Chalague* is a territory, around Augusta, Georgia, today. The lake is present, though unnamed, and just above it, the *Pays des Cofachi*. On the manuscript copy of this map, Cutifachiqui is absent entirely, even though the *papillon* does not extend as far east as the Santee River upon which Delisle usually located this town.

For fifteen years after the publication of his 1703 map, Delisle published no maps of America. During that time he was assembling additional material. By the *Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississipi* in 1718,⁶⁸ Delisle made public his conclusions regarding the route De Soto followed. The manuscript draft in color, which he sent to the engraver, is in the Archives Nationales.⁶⁹ On this draft the route is plainly marked with a dotted line. "Tampa" is at latitude 28° 30', but "La Baye du S^t. Esprit" is mapped as a large bay, with several islands, extending practically the entire width of the peninsula of Florida between latitudes 26° and 28° (the southernmost point shown on the map). The landing place of the conquistador, labeled "Debarquement de Fernand Soto l'an 1539," is shown to be on a northern extremity of this bay at a point slightly north of latitude 27° 30', actually the southern extremity of Tampa Bay. The trail goes inland in a northeasterly direction forming a small curve to another point on the north of the bay. From that point it goes north northeast and then northwest to a place marked "Icy etoient cy devant les Apalaches." Turning to the northeast the route goes through "Ocuté" and the territory called "Apalachicoli," to "Cutifachiqui," which is reached after a slight jog to the southeast. This village is shown to be on the "R. Santé ou Jourdain," longitude 297° and slightly below latitude 34°, which would place it in Marion county, South Carolina. From there the trail goes north through mountainous country to a village of the "Cheraqui," and thence in a northwesterly direction for a short distance to "Chouala," longitude 295° 30', latitude 36° 30', in Alleghany county, North Carolina. From "Chouala" through "Chiaha" to the "Conchatez" villages, located in Marion and Grundy counties, Tennessee, the direction is west-southwest. The route goes on through "Tascaloussa" in a direction southwest by south to the northern end of the "Baye de la Mobile." From there a gen-

⁶⁸ This has often been reproduced, most recently in J. A. Robertson's translation of *Relaçam Verdadeira*.

⁶⁹ "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi. Dressée sur un grand nombre de memoires entr'autres sur ceux de Mr. le Maire. Par Guillaume Del'isle de l'Academie Royale des Sciences." (Paris, May 1718) AN, JJ, 75:234.

eral northwest direction is taken and the Mississippi is crossed at "Pointe d'Oziers," latitude $34^{\circ} 30'$, exactly at Helena, Arkansas. In comparison with his former maps there are comparatively few decidedly De Soto names on this one. Noticeable too, is the disappearance of Lake Theomi and also of the Rochefort nomenclature.

An often used version of the 1718 Delisle map is that published by B. F. French.⁷⁰ Upon examination various important changes in the De Soto route may be observed, though French says in his preface, "The valuable and rare map accompanying this volume is a well-executed *fac simile* of the original. It aspires to a degree of accuracy that is of great importance both to the historian and antiquarian." Whoever made this map for French's publication, used the variant which appeared in Bernard,⁷¹ and not the original published map of 1718. In French's version, *Espiritu Santo Baye* appears to be a rather small bay at approximately latitude 28° , and *Tampa* is placed on the coast in the same latitude. The landing place is at *Tampa* and bears the legend *De Soto landed 31 may 1539*. This is the only English legend on the map. *Ucita*, *Cale*, *Capachiqui*, *Mauvila*, and other De Soto names are along the route which follows the same course as in other variants of this 1718 map, until the village of *les Conchatez* is reached. At this point the route on the original map goes southwest by south to Mobile Bay, but in French's version the line of march is shown to be directly west to the *R. Tombbeckbe* (Tombigbee) and on to *Chisca*, which is very near the Mississippi River. The cartographer may have intended this spur from the Tombigbee River to *Chisca* to represent the course taken by the small party De Soto sent out in search of copper.⁷² At the Tombigbee River the route is shown to go to the southeast to *Tascaloussa*, then southwest to *Mauvila* and south to Mobile Bay, thus proving to be quite different from that drawn and published by the cartographer himself. To date there seems to be

⁷⁰ B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Philadelphia, 1850, part ii, frontispiece.

⁷¹ In 1734, in J. F. Bernard, *Recueil de voyages au Nord*, V, 37, appeared a variant of this map on which the route and the nomenclature along the route remains the same as that originally published. The few changes and omissions are not connected with De Soto's trip. The map having been cut at longitude 298° and latitude 28° , does not show the landing place. The same plate was used for the map appearing in the Amsterdam, 1737 edition, of Garcilaso de la Vega's account printed in his *Histoire des Yncas, Rois du Perou*.

⁷² J. A. Robertson, *True Relation*, II, 109.

no evidence that Delisle himself made changes on the 1718 map as originally published.⁷³

De Soto's route, as finally plotted by Delisle, cannot be expected to be in complete agreement with that laid down by the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, yet it follows the latter surprisingly close, considering the circumstances under which Delisle worked. In the first place, he never visited America, and consequently had no first-hand knowledge of the topography of this region. He had to rely entirely upon data furnished him by travelers, many of whom did not themselves go over the territory in question. The many changes and corrections on his sketches show how puzzled the cartographer was by these reports. In the second place, he had only two of the original narratives, lacking the one, that by Ranjel, which has proved most useful to later students. He was not able to check the various sources with the existing sites, as Dr. Swanton and his Commission have done, nor was he able to identify place names through a knowledge of Indian languages. Consequently his line of procedure was quite different from that of later scholars. Certain points along the route, such as Apalachee, Coça, and some places west of the Mississippi River, Delisle located with sufficient precision.⁷⁴ The curve De Soto made to reach Cutifachiqui is shown by Delisle to be about a degree and a half east of that traced by the Commission, thereby placing the village on the Santee, instead of on the Savannah River. The northernmost point reached by the expedition as shown by the Commission is at the same latitude as that shown by Delisle, but approximately two degrees to the west of Delisle's interpretation. From Xualla to the point where the expedition turned south, Delisle places the route about three degrees east of that located by the Commission, but on the next leg of the journey to Mabila, the Commission's route is about one degree east of that of Delisle.

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⁷³ In his *Découvertes et Etablissements de Cavalier de La Salle de Rouen dans l'Amérique du Nord*, Rouen, 1870, G. Gravier published an adaptation of this map, using only that information which would further his purpose. He retained the route as it was published by B. F. French. The Delisle map in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, II, 294, is a sketch drawn after Delisle's original 1718 map.

⁷⁴ *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, 291.

Mlle. De Roybon D'Allonne: La Salle's Fiancée?

The story of La Salle's financial affairs in the New World is replete with woes. Shipwrecks, thefts, embezzlements, disloyalty, and endless discouragements of a soul-trying nature were his. Especially embarrassing were the reverses he met until 1681, when he returned to Fort Frontenac, present-day Kingston, Ontario. The single-decked ship *Frontenac* was lost in January 1679.¹ The *Griffon*, first large sail boat on the Great Lakes, in which he was heavily interested, was totally lost on its return voyage.² A ship bringing supplies from France went down at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.³ Added to these maritime misfortunes was the desertion of some of his men, who pillaged his stores and made off with his peltries.⁴ M. Thouret, one of his business associates, died.⁵ Creditors in France and in Canada were becoming impatient and could no longer be satisfied with promises, and one, François Plet, a Parisian merchant who had advanced much to La Salle, came to Canada to investigate.⁶ Clearly, some of the reverses could be attributed to lack of business acumen on La Salle's part. Conscious of this deficiency La Salle proposed to entrust the trade of Fort Frontenac to a clerk to be selected by his business associates in France, and, thus unburdened of financial details, set himself free to fulfill his commission to explore the west.⁷ For three years he had had repeatedly to postpone the great undertaking with which his name has become indissolubly linked—the descent of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Only two years remained before the expiration of his commission.

With this great adventure in mind La Salle, in 1681, was in dire need of money. From his arrival in New France he had

¹ P. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1876-1888, II, 67, 214, 228; cf. I, 296-298, 576; M. B. Anderson, *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavalier de la Salle from 1679 to 1681*, Chicago, 1901, 22 (to be referred to *Relation of the Discoveries*); cf. the letter of Frontenac to Colbert, October 9, 1679, Archives des Colonies (AC), C 11A, 5:6.

² Margry, II, 67, 73, 76, 228; *Relation of the Discoveries*, 44-46.

³ Margry, II, 63, 65, 68, 228; Frontenac to Colbert, October 9, 1679, AC, C 11A, 5:6.

⁴ Margry, II, 67, 70, 106-107, 109; *Relation of the Discoveries*, 172.

⁵ Margry, II, 222.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 69, 110, 223, 232, 262.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 86, 91, 223.

tapped every source, had borrowed from family and friends in France, from fellow adventurers, supporters, and merchants in Canada.⁸ Owing to his brother's impatience in 1679 his credit both in the homeland and in the colony was practically ruined,⁹ and in 1681 the merchants of Montreal and Quebec were suing him.¹⁰ He could turn nowhere for backing. All had lost faith in him, except a woman who was then at Fort Frontenac, Madeleine de Roybon d'Allonne. In 1683, when La Salle was on the eve of his departure for France, never to return to Lower Canada, accounts were drawn up listing those to whom he owed money and the extent of his indebtedness to each. One of his obligations reads:

2,141 livres to Mademoiselle d'Allonne. A note of the said Sieur de la Salle, dated Fort Frontenac, August 24, 1681, by which note he acknowledges owing her the said two thousand one hundred and forty-one livres, which he promises to repay, viz., eight hundred livres in beaver pelts in the autumn of the same year and the rest next spring in various merchandise suitable for trade, which M. de la Forest will have near Montreal.¹¹

The identity of this woman who still believed in La Salle is given in an article published a few years ago in the *Larousse mensuel*:

Born at Montargis about 1646,¹² probably of a family that came originally from Dauphiné, she was the daughter of a Gâtinais lordling, who had served as man-at-arms in the king's company and had held a small position at court, that of carver. Like many other ladies of noble birth of the time, Miss de Roybon doubtless came to Canada to find a husband. She found adventure. La Salle made her land grants around his fort [Frontenac], which, however, were contested. . . . It

⁸ E.-M. Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*, Villemarie, 1866, III, 313; *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, (1663-1710)*, 6 vols., Quebec, 1885-1891, II, 332; Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Mss. fr. n. a., 9293:19v, 107, 131-121v, 125, 301-302, 304; Archives de la Marine (AM), B 1, 52:248-250, 590v-591; Margry, I, 280, 291-292, 423-424, 425, II, 83, 113-114. In November 1683, a list of La Salle's creditors was made, it was drawn a second time and amplified in October 1701, AC, C 11A, 19:156-161, and presented to Champigny, the intendant of New France; in the list printed in Margry, I, 427-432, there are several omissions.

⁹ Jean Delanglez, *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, Chicago, 1938, 27-32.

¹⁰ *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 368, 724; Margry, II, 25-26.

¹¹ *Estat de ce qui est dû . . .*, October 1701, AC, C 11A, 19:158; Margry, I, 431.

¹² See C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, Montreal, 1871-1890, III, 356, and *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXV, 1919, 278.

seems as though Le Sage in his *Aventures . . . de Beauchesne*,¹³ to draw the character of his strange Mlle. du Clos, borrowed several traits from the no less strange Mlle. d'Allone.¹⁴

Elsewhere in the same article the author says: "La Salle spent most of his time at Fort Frontenac during the years 1675-1677 and 1678-1679." Besides the garrison and workmen, in 1677, "there were a few settlers, in all about fifty people. . . . According to all appearances, the fort housed for La Salle a much more agreeable company—Madeleine de Roybon d'Allonne, one of the most romantic women who came to New France. La Salle must have made her acquaintance at Quebec." The same author wrote to the present writer concerning some obscure points of La Salle's life in America: "What was the name of La Salle's fiancée? She was related to the best families of the colony, Parkman tells us. This circumstance rules out Madeleine de Roybon d'Allonne, who came alone of her kind to Canada. It is nevertheless undeniable that she held a great place in his life. I have been asking myself for a long time whether she was not the 'creature' with whom he was living at Fort Frontenac."

To reconstruct what M. de Bonnault is inclined to consider La Salle's romance in America, the first fact to ascertain is the date of the arrival of Miss de Roybon in Canada, and the second, the date of her going to Fort Frontenac. Unfortunately, neither date has been learned. That of her arrival in Canada will probably remain unknown, but her coming to Fort Frontenac can be ascertained with some probability from extant documents.

La Salle, it may be asserted, did not enjoy the agreeable companionship of Miss d'Allonne at Fort Frontenac from 1675 to 1677, for the reason that her name does not appear on the roster of persons at the fort, made at the end of this period.¹⁵ The names were taken in the presence of Frontenac himself, and the purpose of the roll call was precisely to show evidence of progress since 1675. If the young lady rejoicing in so glamorous a name as de Roybon d'Allonne had been present and if the new settlement could already boast of the presence of an authentic noblewoman, it is difficult to believe her name would have been omitted. Nor can it be said that she may have been absent, in

¹³ Le Sage, *Les Aventures de Monsieur Robert Chevalier, dit de Beauchesne, capitaine de Flibustiers dans la nouvelle France*, 2 vols., Paris, 1732. The adventures of Mlle. Marguerite du Clos are in Vol. II, Bk. IV and V.

¹⁴ M. Claude de Bonnault, "Cavelier de la Salle," *Larousse mensuel*, X (October 1935), 231.

¹⁵ Margry, I, 296-298.

Montreal or in Quebec, on business, or ill, because the names of absentees are entered on the list and the cause of absence given.

La Salle left for France in November of 1677, returning to Quebec on September 15, 1678.¹⁶ During the last quarter of this year, more probably, he met Madeleine either in Quebec or Montreal. She accompanied him to Fort Frontenac either in December of 1678 or at the latest in the following spring. The movements of La Salle seem to give substance to this hypothesis. As will be seen, in 1679, one of his business partners in Paris had heard that La Salle had married. For six weeks after his arrival in mid-September 1678, he lay ill at Quebec, according to his letter to Thouret.¹⁷ On October 26, he was sufficiently recovered to attend the "brandy parliament."¹⁸ He left Quebec November 10, arriving in Montreal November 21. Thence he departed five days later¹⁹ and reached Fort Frontenac December 16.²⁰ He went to Niagara, where the *Griffon* was being built. With the work in progress, he returned to his fort,²¹ and remained there until July of 1679.²² The land grants to Miss d'Allonne, mentioned by M. de Bonnault and specified in the document of a later date printed below, were made either at this time or in one of the two subsequent visits paid by La Salle to the fort.

From July 1679 to the end of February 1680, La Salle was on the shores of Lake Michigan and in the Illinois country. He left Fort Crèvecoeur for Fort Frontenac, March 2, 1680.²³ The

¹⁶ Mémoire sur la conduite du S^r de la Salle, dated November 11, 1680, AC, F 3, 2:58, printed in Margry, II, 31-32; Memoir of Tonti, in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, New York, 1846, part i, 52. Tonti in his first memoir, Margry, I, 574, has September 13. Bernou (*Relation of the Discoveries*, 14), and Hennepin (*Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683, 16), have "à la fin de septembre." These two narratives are really one and the same thing.

¹⁷ Margry, II, 75. This is not mentioned in Tonti's first memoir.

¹⁸ *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 253; Margry, I, 414-417.

¹⁹ Margry, I, 574; cf. *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 332.

²⁰ Margry, I, 575; cf. *Relation of the Discoveries*, 14; *Description de la Louisiane*, 22.

²¹ Tonti's first memoir, Margry, I, 578; Tonti's second memoir is printed by French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, part i, 53; *Description de la Louisiane*, 42.

²² La Salle left Fort Frontenac in the second half of July, cf. *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 333, rather than at the beginning of August, as stated by Bernou in the *Relation of the Discoveries*, 28. Having passed through the Seneca country, Margry, II, 35, 215, 217, 219, he reached the shipyard of the *Griffon* late in July. The ship was ready to sail August 7, Margry, II, 214; cf. Margry, I, 579.

²³ La Salle has March 1 in one of his letters, Margry, II, 117; this is repeated by Bernou, *Relation of the Discoveries*, 148. March 2 is found in an earlier letter of the explorer, Margry, II, 55, and in the deposition of Moysse Hillaret, Margry, II, 109. Tonti has March 10 in his first memoir, Margry, I, 583.

reason he gives for the journey was the need of anchors, cables, and rigging to complete the boat in the stocks on the shores of Lake Peoria. He would have sent men to Niagara for these, but, since they were badly shaken by tales of terrible perils awaiting them on the Mississippi journey, he feared that once they had arrived in Niagara they would not return to the Illinois. Hence, La Salle decided to make the journey himself.²⁴ If Miss Roybon was his fiancée, a final motive for the greatest feat of determination and endurance of his whole career is supplied. He came into Fort Frontenac on May 6, 1680,²⁵ after a trek of more than two months through ice, snow, sleet, and water.

Shortly after his arrival, he went to Montreal on business,²⁶ stayed a week, then returned to Fort Frontenac to await news from his associates in France, due with the ships. He would have stayed longer but for bad news from the west coming at the end of July. He departed for the scene of the massacre and the west in the first week of August.²⁷

A year later, July 1681, he was again at Cataracouy. Fort Frontenac apparently was not his objective when he left the mouth of the St. Joseph River, Michigan, May 25, 1681. He had gone to Michilimackinac, expecting to find La Forest there, but the latter had changed his plans. "I was obliged," wrote La Salle, "to come to Fort Frontenac, where I received such pressing letters from M. de Frontenac, that I had to go to Montreal. This was a useless loss of time, for I did not find him there."²⁸ While in Montreal, La Salle made his last will.²⁹ It was after his return to his fort on Lake Ontario that Miss de Roybon loaned him 2,000 livres. Shortly thereafter he left for Michilimackinac, this time on his way to the Gulf.

The passage in Parkman referred to by M. de Bonnault reads as follows: "On one occasion La Salle's forbearance was put to a severe proof, when wishing to marry a damsel of good connections in the colony, Abbé Cavelier saw fit for some reason to interfere and prevent the alliance."³⁰ Parkman gives as his au-

²⁴ Margry, II, 51, 55; *Relation of the Discoveries*, 134.

²⁵ Margry, II, 64; *Relation of the Discoveries*, 168.

²⁶ Margry, II, 69; *Relation of the Discoveries*, 170. From a later letter of La Salle, Frontenac, it seems, had ordered him to come to Montreal, cf. Margry, II, 119.

²⁷ Margry, II, 69, 73. He was at Teioaiagon August 22, *ibid.*, 115. Cf. Bernou's version in *Relation of the Discoveries*, 170.

²⁸ Margry, II, 158; cf. another letter of La Salle, *ibid.*, 119, and *Relation of the Discoveries*, 296. Frontenac was in Quebec at this time, cf. *Jugements et délibérations*, II, 581 ff.

²⁹ AC, F 3, 2:80, printed in Margry, II, 183.

³⁰ *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1907, 102.

thority a "Letter of La Salle in the possession of M. Margry." Until the letter is found it is safer to suspend judgment about the intention to marry, the "good connections," and the interference, since they may have been an interpretation of Margry. Parkman does not seem to have seen the letter, but merely to have taken Margry's word for it. If Jean Cavelier interfered it must have been in the first months of 1679.

Where M. de Bonnault speaks of the "creature" with whom La Salle was living at Fort Frontenac, he has in mind a passage of the notorious document entitled by Margry "Récit d'un ami de l'abbé de Galinée." The passage reads:

About this time an inhabitant of Quebec came to France and told the elder brother of M. de la Salle that the latter nobleman had seduced a woman in Quebec, whose name he mentioned. The bishop had been unable to make La Salle leave her; he had taken her to his fort where he was living with her in a most scandalous manner. This elder brother, a very pious ecclesiastic, was of great assistance to La Salle in the way of credit and money for his affairs in Canada. The news greatly disturbed him. The only way for him to set his mind at rest was to go there himself and either to withdraw his brother from this alleged debauchery, or to ascertain his innocence and go on helping him, without hesitation, as he had done before. He left [France for Canada] and finding no one in Quebec who had heard anything of this supposed debauchery, he set out for Fort Frontenac to dispel whatever doubt might still be lingering in his mind. There he found a well regulated household [receiving] frequent instructions, and his brother very assiduous in attending all the services to give an example to his entire household.³¹

This story, like most of the *Récit*, is made out of whole cloth. From the context, the date given, *vers ce mesme temps*, places the happening after La Salle's return to Canada in September 1678. At that time, the elder brother, Abbé Jean Cavelier, was still in Canada, hence he had not to come back from France. After Cavelier left New France in November 1679,³² he was not seen again on the Lower St. Lawrence until nine years later, and then he did not pass through Fort Frontenac.³³ There is no record

³¹ Archives Nationales, K 1232:64-65; Margry, I, 381-382. In the margin of Margry's manuscript copy, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 9288:30-30v, there is the note: "Était-il marié?" Margry was led to ask himself this question because the French text reads that when Cavelier arrived at Fort Frontenac, "il n'y trouva qu'une famille bien réglée, des instructions fréquentes, et son frere fort assidu a tous ces exercices pour donner exemple at toute sa famille." Later Margry cancelled the question.

³² Delanglez, *Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 28 and 30.

³³ Cf. Joutel's journal in Margry, III, 519-520.

that Cavalier ever went to Catarocouy during the thirteen years he spent in Canada. There is another contradiction in the paragraph of the *Récit*, namely, even if Cavalier had come back in 1679, he could hardly have been edified at the good example given by La Salle, because when he would have arrived at Fort Frontenac, the explorer was on the shores of Lake Michigan. As was said, La Salle returned to Fort Frontenac in 1680. In his letter to Thouret of that year, he not only does not mention this visit in speaking of his brother, but accuses him of having done more harm than all his competitors put together.³⁴

The author of the *Récit*, however, had heard of some rumors that reached Paris in 1679. Some of La Salle's correspondents "thought it to their interest that he should remain a single man; whereas, it seems that his devotion to his purpose was not so engrossing as to exclude more tender subjects."³⁵ Among these correspondents was M. Thouret who had advanced large sums of money to La Salle. Writing to the explorer, he seems to have objected to any thought of marriage. La Salle answered:

They write me too that you have been uneasy about my supposed marriage. I was not even thinking of marriage at that time; and I shall not marry till I have given you reason to be satisfied with me. It is a little extraordinary that I should have to give an account of a matter which is quite free to everybody.³⁶

La Salle wrote this passage of his letter about the end of September 1680, one year and a half after "that time" when he had no thought of marriage. He says nothing of his present intentions, except that he would not marry until he had satisfied Thouret. Could he have been considering matrimony at the time of the letter? One wonders. If he was thinking of marrying at "this" time—an hypothesis not ruled out by the text—it is difficult to find whom his choice could be except Miss de Roybon. The "fiancée" assuredly was a woman of Fort Frontenac, not of Quebec or Montreal. For all we know, Madeleine was the only unmarried woman at the fort, certainly the only lady of sufficiently high social status for La Salle's consideration. On her part she was enough interested in him to loan him 2,000 livres, a tidy sum in those days, and, perhaps, her dowry.

Away from Fort Frontenac for two years, La Salle returned in September 1683, to find the fort and its surroundings in a

³⁴ *Journal of Jean Cavalier*, 27-32.

³⁵ Parkman, *La Salle*, 312.

³⁶ Margry, II, 88.

ruinous state, due it is stated in a memoir presented to M. de Seignelay, to organized pillage connived at if not abetted by the new governor, Lefebvre de la Barre. "Coming back from his discovery [of the mouth of the Mississippi] and arriving in Quebec, all that the sieur de la Salle was able to obtain from M. de la Barre was that his fort be given back, but without any compensation for what had been stolen and for the wrong done him and his creditors."³⁷

While in Quebec, a list of La Salle's creditors was drawn up and the amount he owed each one set down. In this list, as was said before, dated November 3, 1683, is found the statement that Miss de Roybon loaned him 2,141 livres in 1681. La Salle had not yet reimbursed her; he did not wish to depart merely leaving her a note of indebtedness. She had followed him to Quebec, and he compensated her as best he could in the circumstances. The following holograph note speaks for itself:

Robert Cavalier Escuyer S^r Da la Salle seigneur et gouverneur au Fort frontenac en la nouvelle France reconnois avoir laissé a damoiselle de Roybon la jouissance de la maison et de la terre quelle a occuppee jusqu'a present au fort frontenac scavoir la maison qui a esté cy devant a Cauchois et l'habitation que Michaut avoit vendue au S^r Dautray que jay depuis racheptee jusqu'a ce que iaye payé lad^{te} damoiselle de Roybon de ce que ie luy doibs pour l'interest de son argent sans que personne luy puisse inquieter faict a Quebec le 6^e novembre 1683.

Dela Salle

On the back of this note is written: "pour Mademoiselle dalonne a Quebec."³⁸ A few days later, La Salle embarked for France, he was never again to see Miss de Roybon. She returned to Catarocouy. The following year, she saw the army La Barre was leading against the Iroquois melt away under the palisades of Fort Frontenac.

During this time La Salle was searching for his "fatal river." Judging from a letter of Jean Michaud, a settler of Lachine, Miss d'Allonne was not indifferent to his fate. The letter deals with some property Michaud owned at Fort Frontenac, which she wished to acquire. Others wanted it and had asked for it, but Michaud preferred to transfer it to her "in preference to all others," because he was persuaded of her honesty and because he knew that by dealing with her everything would be done according to the rules of equity. After some domestic details the

³⁷ Margry, III, 36.

³⁸ Archives du Séminaire de Québec (Laval University), *Polygraphie*, Carton 27, No. 60.

writer continues: "I must tell you that I have reliable news of M. de la Salle, which come from France and which was learned through the Spaniards. He has built a fort in New Mexico assisted by the Indians who inhabit those parts. Therefore, with the help of God, we hope shortly to see him, having brought his undertakings to a successful issue."³⁹ The hope expressed by Jean Michaud was frustrated. La Salle was killed in the wilds of Texas five months after this letter was written.

Miss d'Allonne was still at the fort in 1687, when Denonville perpetrated his treachery against the Iroquois. The campaign of the governor against the Seneca, was, as is well known, a complete fiasco. It only enraged the Indians. Denonville had hardly returned to Quebec, when the Iroquois braves began raiding the French settlements in retaliation.

Oneida, Onondaga, Mohaks were swarming around Cataraquoy. An Indian party seized "three soldiers and Mademoiselle d'Allonne; they made her climb on a stump with the hat of the Black Kettle on her head."⁴⁰ Her capture, at the beginning of August 1687,⁴¹ brought her to the fore and very much in evidence for the next few months. Her capture and its sequel is found in an anonymous account, dated Quebec, October 30, 1688:

Miss d'Allonne and three soldiers belonging to the garrison of Fort Frontenac, having been surprised, by 40 Iroquois of the Mohawk, Onondaga and Oneida cantons, who lurked around the fort, and having found means to give intelligence of their capture to Sieur d'Orvilliers, the commandant, that officer sent proposals for a conference to the Indians, informing them that if they would send three of their men to the Prairie he would delegate as many. The Indians having consented, Sieur d'Orvilliers sent Father de Lamberville, the Jesuit, with two soldiers. This Father spoke to them first, and asked them why they were seizing our people since we were at war only with the Seneca. They answered, wherefore had we taken so many of their tribes; if we would restore them, they would give up our people. The

³⁹ "Je vous diray que Jay veu des Nouvelles certaines de M^r de La Salle qui viennent de France que lon a aprises par Les Espagnols. Il a faict un fort dans le Nouveau Mithsy avec Les Sauvages qui habitent ces cartiers ainsy nous esperons Dieu aidant Le voir en peu Triomphant de ses entreprises," Jean Michaud to Miss d'Allonne, November 2, 1686; the letter is in the Otto L. Schmidt Collection of the Chicago Historical Society.

⁴⁰ Belmont, *Histoire du Canada*, published by the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, Series 1, No. 4, Quebec, 1840, 26. The Black Kettle, la Chaudière Noire, was a famous Onondaga chief, cf. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), Albany, 1855, IX, 556, 681, 684; C. C. Le Roy, Sieur de Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Amsterdam, 1723, III, 159-161.

⁴¹ NYCD, III, 527, 529.

Father having stated that they were at Quebec and that notice of the present demands must needs be communicated to Onontio, they inquired respecting the condition of their men, and having been answered they were confined merely with a view to their safer detention, the Father presented them two belts to oblige them not to injure our prisoners, nor to take part with the Seneca. They received the belts, and went to rejoin Miss d'Allonne, but with faces so sad and so pensive that she thought they were going to dispatch her. She, however, suffered only fear, and was immediately conveyed, with the other two to Onondaga.⁴²

Miss d'Allonne did not remain long in the Onondaga village. When Dongan heard that "a gentlewoman . . . taken at Caderachqui"⁴³ was prisoner there, he prevailed upon the Indians to bring her to Albany. She was at Albany when Father Vaillant came as Denonville's envoy in the hope of getting the intractable Dongan to alter conditions "which were for the most part such as honor did not permit us to accept."⁴⁴ These conditions were the return of the Indians entrapped at Fort Frontenac, because, said Dongan, they were British subjects; compensation for the plundering by the French of English traders on their way to Michilimackinac; the razing of Fort Niagara and Fort Frontenac. "The Jesuit played his part with ability, and proved more than a match for his adversary in dialectics, but Dongan held fast to all his demands,"⁴⁵ which wrote the governor of New York to Denonville, were "soe just and reasonable."⁴⁶

In Albany, Miss d'Allonne was seconding the efforts of Father Vaillant after her own manner. Dongan having assembled the Indians, he told them of the embassy of the Jesuit and what it meant. The sachems left everything in the hands of their good friend Dongan.

After the propositions were over the Capt^{ne} of the Onnondages called Canadegai, told his Excell: [*i. e.*, Dongan] that Madam Toulon who was taken at Cadarachqui meeting him upon the street, said shee was glad to see him and invited him to a house to give him bread and comeing in found father Valiant there, who was desyreous to discourse with him; what will you discourse says the Indian, doe you speak first, whereupon the Priest askd how it was with the five nations, and how they were inclined, what says the Capt^{ne} doe you ask me, how

⁴² "Relation of the Events of the War, and State of the Affairs in Canada," NYCD, IX, 389.

⁴³ Dongan to Denonville, October 31, 1687, NYCD, III, 517.

⁴⁴ "Relation of the Events . . .," NYCD, IX, 389.

⁴⁵ Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, Boston, 1891, 162.

⁴⁶ Dongan to Denonville, February 17, 1688, NYCD, III, 519.

it is with them when you daily converse with his Excell: who is there head, I should rather ask you how affares goe, that hes been so long in agitation with him, to whom he referred all things, and whose commands we only will obey or do you intend to pump me.⁴⁷

Vaillant and his party returned to Montreal in February 1688, bringing eight French prisoners to exchange for the eight Iroquois in French hands.⁴⁸ Miss de Roybon was not among them.⁴⁹ We learn from the anonymous account already quoted that "in the month of July 1688 deputies arrived at Montreal from Colonel Dongan, who brought back thirteen of our French people, among the rest Miss d'Allonne."⁵⁰

Whether she stayed in Montreal or went back to Fort Frontenac is not known with certainty. More likely, she remained at Montreal, because, as she herself was to say in later years, when she was taken prisoner the Iroquois had burnt her house and robbed her of her possessions. It is asserted, it is true, that in July 1689, when Iroquois warriors lured Father Milet and a surgeon out of Fort Frontenac under the plea of helping a dying person,

Miss d'Allonne, who was then at the fort, wanted to accompany them. So that the three of them went to the enemies' camp, whence they did not return to the fort. They took the surgeon with them to Lachine; he escaped as I said before, and they sent Miss d'Allonne to their villages after having much mishandled them.⁵¹

This text probably led M. de Bonnault to write that she was twice in the Iroquois country.⁵² The author of the *Recueil*, apparently writing from memory, erroneously makes Miss d'Allonne a companion of Father Milet's captivity. No contemporary document relating Father Milet's capture makes mention of Miss d'Allonne. Apart from this lack of evidence, the statement in the *Recueil* seems incredible, for no sane person who had once suffered at the hands of the Iroquois, would out of mere curiosity

⁴⁷ "Answer of the Six Nations to Governor Dongan," February 13, 1688, NYCD, III, 535.

⁴⁸ Dongan to Denonville, February 17, 1688, NYCD, IX, III, 520.

⁴⁹ There seems to be an error in Belmont, *Histoire du Canada*, 28, where he has Miss d'Allonne returning to Montreal, March 30, 1688. See next note.

⁵⁰ "Relation of the Events . . .," NYCD, IX, 391. Cf. Denonville to Dongan, August 20, 1688, NYCD, III, 556, and 563.

⁵¹ *Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre tant des Anglais que des Iroquois depuis l'année 1682*, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Series 3, No. 2, Quebec, 1871, 25, also in *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, Quebec, 1884, I, 551. The author of the *Recueil* is said to be Gédéon de Catalogne.

⁵² *Larousse mensuel*, X, (October 1935), 231.

wish to put herself in a position to renew the experience. Gédéon de Catalogne mixed up the date of her kidnaping at the beginning of August 1687—which he does not mention at all in narrating events of that year—with the capture of Milet at the beginning of August two years later.

Madeleine certainly was at Montreal in 1690 and lived there until her death in 1718. "On January 14, 1690, Mademoiselle de Roybon d'Allonne, age about 44, bought from the Sieur Jean Vincent Philippe de Hautmesnil, a plot of ground 60 x 115 feet on St. Vincent Street, Montreal."⁵³ On this spot she pledged she would build two houses. In 1701 she authorized Charles de Couagne, a merchant of Montreal, and Sieur Dufresne to sell one of her houses. When she learned that her agents would remit to her 600 livres, while they were being paid 750, she protested.

M. Massicotte tells the story as he found it in the court records of Montreal and passes to the main part of his article. The agents had things their way, but Miss de Roybon was not so easily disposed of. She appealed the case to the Sovereign Council of Quebec. The registers of this court merely have: "Magdeleine de Roibon Dalonne, porté au long au plumitif."⁵⁴ However, a woman of her mettle, trained in the wilderness, and once a prisoner of the fierce Iroquois, was not to be overawed by real estate agents. She seems to have secured an ordinance in Montreal, September 3, 1701, upholding her rights. From the Quebec court records this ordinance appears to have allowed *her* to sell a house to the highest bidder "and with the proceeds to pay what she owes to said de Couagne." Said Couagne and his partner were forbidden "to trouble aforesaid Miss until said house and appurtenances be sold." It was Couagne's turn to appeal to Quebec. Miss d'Allonne, bent on fighting her own battles, retained no lawyer in Quebec, but went thither herself, and availed herself of the services of the court crier only. Promptly upon her arrival she entered a protest with the court, asking that Couagne pay all her expenses from Montreal to Quebec and return. Here is the verdict:

Was said by the [Sovereign] Council that the appeal [of Couagne] was in order, while the ordinance [of Montreal] was not, hence the said Council did and does condemn said Miss d'Allonne to pay to said de Couagne within a month from this day, the sum of 323 livres 9 *sols* 6 *deniers* she still owes him, else and failing which and the delay

⁵³ E. Z. Massicotte, "Un fait divers d'autrefois," in *Bulletin des Recherches historiques*, XXV, 1919, 277.

⁵⁴ *Jugements et délibérations*, IV, 591, 592.

elapsed, aforesaid Couagne is allowed to sue, and said Miss d'Allonne is hereby condemned to costs and her claims for expenses against de Couagne nonsuited.⁵⁵

Three years later Miss de Roybon was in the news. She played a leading part in an episode which has all the earmarks of a plot in a mystery story. The episode, aptly labelled "un fait divers" by M. Massicotte, is here set down from his version based on the judicial records of Montreal:

At 1.00 a. m., Wednesday, June 3, 1705, a man whom Miss de Roybon did not know, "a layman as far as it seemed" and "carrying neither light nor candle" knocked at her door and handed over to her a newly born child. The mysterious messenger told her that the child had only been privately baptized [ondoyé] and that she must have him baptized in the church [baptisé] as soon as possible. He recommended to take good care of the child assuring her she would be well paid. There and then he gave her a sum of money which she omitted to count. Finally he told her the names of a few nurses and made her promise to keep the secret. Either willingly or from fear, she accepted the child. The following day she looked for a nurse. She chose Suzanne Jousset whom she called "la Joussette" and sent her to have the child baptized in the church.

Abbé Yves Priat was then the parish priest of Montreal. He refused to baptize the child before knowing who had baptized it privately. Miss de Roybon contended that she did not know. Brought before the judge, she told under oath what we have just narrated, adding that it was all she knew.

Did the parish priest solve the mystery, or did he realize that it was insoluble? Be that as it may, a few days later he wrote the following entry in the baptismal register: "On June 14, 1705, was baptized Louis, son of an unknown father and of an unknown mother. The godfather, Louis Moriceau, and the godmother Susanne Jousset . . . declared they could not sign their name. Priat, pre."⁵⁶

When twelve years later she made her last will, there is no mention of the child. "Did she bring him up? Did she know his parents? Until other investigators find definite information, these questions must be answered by fiction writers." M. Massicotte wrote these words twenty years ago, the mystery of Miss de Roybon's nocturnal adventure is still unsolved.

After the foundling episode, Miss d'Allonne's name reappears twice in the records. The first time, in a petition signed by her to Raudot, the intendant of New France, wherein details about

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 710-711.

⁵⁶ *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXV, 1919, 278.

the land grants given her by La Salle a quarter of a century before are found, and a last reference to the money she gave to the explorer, and the second time, when she made her will.

To my Lord the Intendant:

Demoiselle Magdeleine de Roybon d'Allonne humbly begs and sets forth that, having gone to considerable expense and given all her attention to the first establishment of Fort Frontenac, Monsieur de la Salle, then seignior and governor of the said place, in consideration of her efforts and the great establishment she had made, granted her a tract of land, two leagues front by one in depth [seven square miles] in fief and seignior, from the Tioneguinnon River toward *l'Ance au Baril*.⁵⁷ On this seignior she had considerable work done as well as on four [other] *habitations* which she acquired near the said fort. She would not have abandoned the seignior but for the war with the Iroquois, whose frequent incursions drove the settlers out of those parts, and who took said petitioner prisoner after burning her house, ravaging her wheat fields, killing her cattle, and stealing her merchandise.

When the revenue contracts of Canada changed hands and were given to the burghers and inhabitants thereof, the goods belonging to the said late Sieur de la Salle were seized, although His Majesty only allowed the new revenue contractors to seize them on condition that they pay his debts. They have not done so. The said Demoiselle has not been paid some 2,000 livres, the note for which she produced as required by the Crown and in compliance with the order of M. de Callières, then Governor general. After the peace [1701], she asked permission to go to Fort Frontenac. She had already set out with the intention of settling anew on her establishment, when she was dissuaded and prevented from going, and the merchandise she was bringing with her was seized. This was done by the gentlemen directors of the Company, who used the authority of M. the Governor [Vaudreuil]. In her present fear and just apprehension, she has recourse to you [Raudot].

Therefore, my Lord, in consideration of the herewith enclosed titles to the land in question, may it please you to order the said Sieurs directors to appear before you and give reason why they oppose her

⁵⁷ See the map in Margry, II, frontispiece. East of Cataracouy is a small bay legended *Toneguignon*, but the *Ance au Baril* is not shown. Noticeable is the *Pte a la Dolone* near the fort. Was this point named after Miss d'Allonne? Is *Dolone* a corruption of her name? Dongan uses this form in NYCD, III, 529. The Governor of New York, it is true, was not very particular about the spelling of French proper names—no more than the French themselves were at that time, even about their own name, cf. J.-E. Roy, "Le Baron de Lahontan," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society in Canada*, Series 1, XII, 1894, Section 1, 120—but in this case Dongan is answering a paper handed to him by Father Vaillant and his English interpreter where the same form, *Dolone*, occurs, NYCD, III, 527.

establishment at the said Tioneguinion River, and be sentenced to restore all they have seized, and be forbidden from preventing her and troubling her in the said place, so that justice be done her.

(signed) M. de Roybon Dallonne.⁵⁸

At the foot of the page is Raudot's order to the Directors to appear before him. What the outcome was is unknown. It was probably pigeonholed, since the men involved were all-powerful in the colony. Madeleine was then sixty years old. Ten years later she made her last will. She asked to be buried, as it is customary, with the poor people. Her house in Montreal is to be sold. The proceeds are to be distributed to various women friends, to the poor, and to the church of the Recollects. The proceeds from the sale of movables and utensils should be given so as to have prayers said for the repose of her soul. One item refers to her days in France. "Ditto, declares that 50 years ago, in France, she pledged herself for 75 livres, French money, and she does not know whether this debt was paid or what became of the creditor. At any rate, the executor of the present last will will kindly consult several casuists about this."⁵⁹ "Fifty years ago" brings us back to 1667, the year La Salle came to Canada, a mere coincidence, no doubt.

On January 8, 1718, deeming her end near, she repaired to Adhémar, the notary of Montreal, and made several changes in her will. A week later, another will with slight alterations was drawn. Instead of having Etienne de Radisson as executor, she now appointed Mme. La Source, "her good friend, executrix, and revoked all other wills, codicils, which she made in the past or might make in the future in which the following words are not found *Credidi propter quod*." Miss d'Allonne did not change her third testament. She died two days later, January 17, 1718.⁶⁰ She was 72 years old.

The recital of the available evidence explains the question mark in the title of this sketch. If Madeleine de Roybon d'Allonne was the girl whom La Salle at one time may have considered marrying, no positive proof has thus far come to light. In the autograph extant papers of the explorer, her name appears only

⁵⁸ The document is in the Otto L. Schmidt Collection of the Chicago Historical Society.

⁵⁹ E. Z. Massicotte, "Les Testaments de Mlle de Roybon d'Allonne," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXVIII, 1922, 95.

⁶⁰ Cf. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique*, III, 356, gives 1646 as the date of her birth; the act of January 14, 1690, *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXV, 1925, 277, gives her age "about 44." She was three years younger than La Salle.

once, in the Quebec note of 1683. Had she been mentioned by name in the La Salle letter spoken of by Parkman, which Margry said he possessed, it is unlikely that Margry would have withheld the name from Parkman, even though at the time Margry had been unwilling to communicate the letter itself. Later, when Margry published the La Salle papers, he did not produce any letter in which the explorer spoke of "a damsel of good connections in the colony," whom he intended to marry at the time when he was thwarted by Abbé Jean Cavelier. The suspicion is that Margry was merely leading Parkman on. As the matter now stands, such a letter of La Salle wherein he would speak of a damsel would either confirm or disprove the circumstantial evidence recited above. At any rate it would erase the question mark in the title of this article, and Miss de Roybon d'Allonne, because of her place in La Salle's affections, would become a more important historical character.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Notes and Comment

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON

James Alexander Robertson, distinguished friend and honored colleague of historians, bibliographers, and archivists, died at Annapolis on March 30, 1939.

He was born at Corry, Pennsylvania, on August 19, 1873, of Scottish ancestry. In 1896, he was graduated from Adalbert College, Western Reserve University, with the degree of Ph. B., and immediately began a career, which, though varied, always associated itself with books and with history, latterly with Latin American history.

Unlike many of his generation, he was not trained in the methods of research by formal graduate studies, but by the pursuit of practical ends. Immediately upon leaving college, he joined the editorial staff of the *Jesuit Relations*. Perhaps it was the habit of system and industry derived from six years' discipline here, which enabled him so light-heartedly to begin and carry through to completion so many pieces of work. Before the *Jesuit Relations* were finished, he had embarked, in collaboration with Miss Emma Blair, upon a project for publishing in translation the documentary records of the Philippine Islands. Seven years, from 1902 to 1909, were spent in collecting this material in the libraries and archives of Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, England, and the United States. The results were fifty-five volumes, carefully edited and translated, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*. In recognition of this accomplishment, Western Reserve University conferred upon Mr. Robertson the degree of L. H. D. in 1906. In these ten years after finishing college, Dr. Robertson had not only carried to completion the colossal work on the Philippine Islands, but he had also prepared and published *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, by Antonio Pigafetta in three volumes and had ready for the press his Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, which was published in 1907, and a *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands*, published in 1908. These were but an indication of what was to follow, for during his whole life, he continued to write, translate, and edit at a prodigious rate.

In 1909, Dr. Robertson joined the staff of the historical research department of the Carnegie Institution. He left this to go to the Philippine Islands in 1910, as librarian of the Philippine Library at Manila. He remained in that position until 1916, and during that time negotiated for the Philippine Government the purchase of a large and important collection of documents from the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas at Barcelona.

From the Philippines, Dr. Robertson returned to America to resume work with the Carnegie Institution, but the next year was appointed chief of the Research Division of the Bureau of Foreign

and Domestic Commerce. This office he held until 1923 when he re-entered academic life as research professor of American history at the John B. Stetson University. For the ten following years he devoted himself to research, publication, and editorial work for the Florida Historical Society. The volumes published during his editorship show the great activity of the society under his leadership. From 1935, he was archivist of the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

This record of Dr. Robertson's successive official titles represents but one side of his career. His less formal institutional connections are equally important. For many years Dr. Robertson was continuously active in the organization and administration of various cooperative historical enterprises. Only a few of these may be mentioned here. In 1916 he helped to found the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and from 1918 until his death was its editor. Later he was the moving spirit in establishing both the Society of American Archivists, and the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association. In connection with the latter he assumed additional editorial responsibilities.

The number of publications in which Dr. Robertson participated seem legion. Even to enumerate all of his own works would be such a formidable bibliographical task that none are here listed. And at the time of his death, he had several volumes ready for the press and work in progress, which, it is hoped, may be finished by others. He had also collected an unusually fine private library, which included a vast collection of Filipiniana such as only the skill of a professional scholar could have brought together.

Few men have undertaken so much as James Alexander Robertson and few men have accomplished their tasks so well, and at the same time, generously offered their assistance and friendship to their colleagues. And possibly Dr. Robertson's greatest achievement, after all, was personal and one which can never be recorded: throughout his life he was unsparing of his time and his energy in inspiring, advising, and assisting other historical students, and in particular those at the beginning of their careers. In this our loss is irreparable.

RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER

FOR BRAZILIAN STUDIES

At the Conference on Bibliography and Concentration of Research Materials in the Field of Latin American Studies, held at Ann Arbor, last July 21 and 22, one of the morning sessions was devoted to the development of Brazilian studies. The discussion opened with considerable emphasis upon the linguistic difficulties in this field for English-speaking students, due, in the first place to the lack of courses in Portuguese in nearly all college curricula, and, in the second place, to the need for books, dictionaries, grammars, and readers for beginning students. For the English-speaking student there are two or

three Portuguese grammars; such a dictionary as Michaelis (which does not represent the Brazilian vocabulary) is, of course, adequate, but the cost is prohibitive. For the student of Brazilian Portuguese, all of these difficulties are further magnified. Owing to the differences between Portuguese and Brazilian, there is a real need for special vocabularies of the language. The best dictionary for this is doubtless that of Carlos Teschauer, *Novo dicionario nacional*, Porto Alegre, 1928; another, more difficult to use, is by Plinio M. da Silva Ayrosa, *Diccionario portuguez-brasiliano e brasiliano-portuguez*, São Paulo, 1934. Beyond these, there are many aids, to be found, however, only in the larger libraries or in collections which specialize in Latin American studies. The Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library has in preparation a checklist of linguistic items of all Indian dialects of the Americas there available. As one of the by-products of this compilation, a short list of periodical articles, including glossaries, vocabularies, and grammars of the Brazilian language has been collected. The list is not exhaustive, but it does contain certain important fugitive material upon this subject. These are as follows:

Ayrosa, Plinio M. da Silva, *ed.*

Diccionario Portuguez e Brasiliano obra necessaria aos ministros do Altar . . . Lisboa, 1795.

In: *Revista do Museu Paulista*, v. 18 (1934), pp. 17-322.

Ayrosa, Plinio M. da Silva

Termos Tupís no Português do Brasil. São Paulo, 1937.

Diccionario Brasileiro da lingua Portugueza . . .

In: *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, v. 13 (1889), 145 pp.

Escragnolle Taunay, Affonso d'

Lexico de termos vulgares, correntes no Brasil, sobretudo no Estado de São Paulo, e de accepções de numerosos vocabulos, ainda não apontados nos grandes dictionarios da lingua portugueza e colleccionados por Affonso d' Escragnolle Taunay.

In: *Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geog. de São Paulo*, v. 16 (1914), pp. 7-223.

Figueira, P. Luiz

Grammatica da lingua do Brasil composta pelo P. Luiz Figueira. Novamente publicado por Julio Platzmann. Leipzig, 1878.

Garcia, Rodolpho

Diccionario de brasileirismos (Peculiaridades pernambucanas).

In: *Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Brasileiro*, v. 76 (1915), pp. 633-947.

Nimuendajú, Curt

Idiomas indígenas del Brasil.

In: *Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*, v. 2 (1931). pp. 543-618.

d'Oliveira, Brigadeiro Machado

Brasileirismos.

- In: Revista do Arquivo municipal, v. 24 (1936), pp. 119-130.
- d'Oliveira, J. J. Machado
 Vocabulario elementar da lingua geral Brasilica.
 In: Revista do Arquivo Municipal, v. 25 (1936), pp. 129-174.
- Platzmann, Julius
 Grammatik der Brasilianischen Sprache, mit Zugrundelegung des
 Anchieta, herausgegeben von Julius Platzmann. Leipzig, 1874.
- Prazeres Maranhão, Francisco de
 Collecção de etymologias Brazilicas.
 In: Revista trimestral de historia e geographia ou Jornal do Instituto
 historico e geographico Brasileiro, 2d ser., v. 8 (1846), pp. 69-81.
- Sampaio, Theodoro
 Da evolução historica do vocabulario geographico no Brazil.
 In: Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geog. de São Paulo, v. 8 (1903), pp. 150-
 169.
- Souza, Bernardino José de
 Onomastica geral da geographia Brasileira.
 In: Revista do Inst. Geog. e Hist. da Bahia, No. 53 (1927), 319 pp.
- Teschauer, Carlos
 Porandúba Riograndense. Porto Alegre, 1929.
- Valle Cabral, A. do
 Etymologicas Brazilicas.
 In: Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, v. 2 (1877),
 pp. 201-204, 404-406.
- Vocabulario Geographico Brasilico
 In: Revista do Inst. Geog. e Hist. da Bahia, No. 54 (1928), pp. 191-
 400.

RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

It was not long ago that artists condoned anachronisms in their work. That he had depicted Champlain, founder of New France, in the armor of a medieval knight, did not at all perturb the painter of a past century. In a picture familiar to all Americans, Washington crosses the Delaware under the Stars and Stripes, a banner which came into use some time later. The dying Wolfe of Benjamin West, as Professor H. J. McAuliffe points out in a recent article, is surrounded by a group of men, some of whom were not present at his death; one or two, in fact, were not even in the battle on the Plains of Abraham.

At long last, however, historical research is becoming a tool in the hands of the artist, if we may judge from the work of Mr. Calvin Peters, who is at present engaged in putting on canvas the history of the old fur-trading center of the Northwest, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

Although Prairie du Chien is a place of little importance today, its

pristine greatness appears in a statement of Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, found in the Introduction of P. L. Scanlan's *Prairie du Chien*:

"Because of its commanding position on the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin, Prairie du Chien's history is involved in international relations. After France's cession of Western Louisiana to Spain in 1762 and the revolt of the English colonies that had far echoes in that distant region, Prairie du Chien stood at the meeting place of three great nations, while American, British, and Spanish agents vied for the allegiance of the upper Mississippi Indians, and the riches that came from their trade."

Here it was that Marquette and Jolliet first looked on the broad Mississippi; here a great fur trade developed; here Black Hawk was turned over to Zachary Taylor, after his defeat at Bad Axe. These are but a few of the incidents that Mr. Peters is depicting on canvas.

In how many paintings of Father Marquette's discovery of the Mississippi do Indians accompany him! Yet at this stage of the journey, he numbered no Indians among his companions. Two Miamis had accompanied him for a short time before he reached the Wisconsin, but had left him when he entered that stream, as he narrates it in the *Jesuit Relations* (59, 105-107). And so in Mr. Peter's painting, we see Marquette, Jolliet, and two Frenchmen in the first canoe and three other Frenchmen in the second. The two leaders of the expedition appear to be discussing the discovery. Dr. Scanlan tells us that Jolliet and Marquette set out in separate canoes; but it is not at all improbable that both should be in the first canoe as they approached the great river.

The second painting shows a group of French-Canadian traders bartering with Indians—Chippewas, from the woods of Wisconsin, whose loaf-shaped huts squat in the right background, and Sioux from the north and west, whose tepees cover the left side of the picture. The village of Prairie du Chien was the center of the fur trade in the upper Mississippi Valley. Through the influence of Colonel Robert Dickson, superintendent of the Indian Affairs in the Northwest for the British, it became a neutral ground for the Indians where no war could be fought (Wisconsin Historical Collections, X, 213).

"The Capture of Fort Shelby by the British" entailed the greatest amount of research on the part of the painter, especially to ascertain the type of uniform worn by the British officers and men, and to discover the exact shape and size of the fortification. The Americans began Fort Shelby in June 1814, and completed it the following month, while, at the same time, the British at Mackinac prepared to march on Prairie du Chien. Under the command of William McKay, an army of six hundred and fifty, of whom one hundred and twenty were white men, chiefly of the regiment of Michigan Fencibles, attacked Fort Shelby. The Americans, seeing the hopelessness of their position, capitulated. The artist shows Colonel McKay encouraging a motley group of Fencibles, Canadians, Sauks, and Sioux, who surround the

lone cannon, which was ably manned by James Keating, a gunner of the Royal Artillery.

Peace came soon after and the British reluctantly left Prairie du Chien. American troops arrived June 20, 1816, and Colonel William Sutherland Hamilton began the erection of a new fort, to be known as the Log Fort Crawford. This is the scene depicted in the next painting.

The other completed work is one of great interest. Black Hawk, valiant leader of the vanquished Sauks, stands a captive before Colonel Zachary Taylor, commander of the second Fort Crawford. In the doorway behind the colonel is Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, who later escorted the prisoner and his companion, The Prophet, to Jefferson Barracks. Chetar, and the one-eyed Decorah, captors of the Sauk chieftain, sullenly stand guard.

The surrender is significant in American history. It ended the last attempt of the redmen to forstall the advance of the whites in the old Northwest Territory. After this, the tide of white settlements rolled relentlessly westward.

Three more paintings will complete the series: the Capture of Red Bird, leader of the Winnebago uprising of 1827, who died in one of the dungeons of the original Fort Crawford; the erection of the second Fort Crawford; and lastly, the Massacre of the Bad Axe, in which Black Hawk's people fell before the onslaught of the whites and their Indian allies. The scene of this battle is fifty miles north of Prairie du Chien and is the only painting that does not depict an incident that actually took place near the village.

The progression of the artist is, as may have been noticed, not chronological. These three incidents occurred before the surrender of Black Hawk (1832). The capitulation of that chieftain, marking as it does the end of an epoch in the history of the old Northwest Territory, forms a fitting close to the series of historical paintings.

Historians cannot but be pleased with such work. An accurate history of a section of America appears on the walls of the museum. The artist has shown what an excellent historical source painting can become.

W. B. FAHERTY

A MISTAKE

The last July number of MID-AMERICA, in the section captioned Documents, published "Tonti Lettters." The name of Jean Delanglez, who wrote the introduction and edited and translated the letters, was unfortunately omitted, and the mistake was not discovered until the edition was in the mail. The usual investigation procedure was promptly inaugurated with the usual unhappy results for the editor—who offers all apologies.

Book Reviews

The Enigma of James II. By Malcolm V. Hay. London, Sands and Company, 1938. Pp. xvi + 243.

Of the pivotal years in English history, 1671 is one of the most important. In that year, James, Duke of York, brother and heir of Charles II, became a Catholic. The momentous interplay of political forces that followed, up to the "glorious revolution" of 1688, which put William of Orange on the throne of England, all centered about that essential fact of James' conversion to the Catholic faith.

James was then about thirty-eight years old. He had proven his skill and courage in wars. He was popular, even with a Parliament that had no great love for the Stuarts. After the restoration of Charles II in 1660, James reorganized and commanded the English navy, with a resolute foresight and personal gallantry that won him enthusiastic acclaim. But by becoming a Catholic he committed the unpardonable sin. Parliament, which in 1665 had voted him a grant of £120,000, eight years later passed the Test Act, excluding him and all other Catholics from public office. Charles, against his inclinations and his principles, signed the Test Act. He did so through fear of a dominant majority, made up in part of sincere Protestant fanatics, who believed that to tolerate the Catholic minority (of a percentage probably about equal to that of the Catholics in the United States today) would be to destroy Protestantism in England, and in part of greedy politicians and their hangers-on who dreaded that a resurgent Catholicism might make them disgorge their loot of ecclesiastical property.

James hated intolerance, and was stubborn in his purpose to free both the dissenters and the Catholics from the persecuting laws. He carried out a policy of religious toleration in his colony of New York, sanctioning the practice of toleration by Governor Andros in 1674 and the formal charter of religious liberty under the Catholic governor, Thomas Dongan, in 1683.

One reply to that attitude of James was the villainous Titus Oates Plot of 1679, and the consequent attempt by Parliament to debar James from the succession. But Charles stood firm against this new attack. Charles died in February 1685, a Catholic on his death-bed, and James at once succeeded him, the last king of England to make public profession of the Catholic faith. (Even if it be true, as reported on good authority, that Edward VII, like Charles II, died a Catholic, his was a private, not a public, profession of the Catholic religion.) Two years later, James II proclaimed, as his brother had done before him, a "Declaration of Indulgence," granting freedom of conscience even to the Catholics whom Charles had not included in his Declaration.

Then began the campaign of calumny against James, which was to continue down to our own day, and was to create what Major Hay had called "the enigma" of James II. From Gilbert Burnet in James' own time to Winston Churchill in ours, James' enemies have succeeded in having this man of demonstrated courage scorned as a coward, this generous and open man labeled a hypocrite, this man who endured so much in his efforts for religious toleration branded as savagely intolerant. A tradition of historical falsehood was to be built up, so strong as to deceive even Lingard. Historian after historian, Macaulay, Lecky, Buckle, Bagehot, Fortescue, Gwatkin, Trevelyan, Fisher, Winston Churchill, and many others, passed on the ancient lies. Nor is it, after Lingard, astonishing that lesser Catholic historians came to accept unquestioningly the historical slanders, and to berate James II as having brought upon his fellow-Catholics "the hatred inspired by the perfidy, cruelty, and tyranny of the absconded sovereign" (W. S. Lilly, in article "England," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, V, 452b).

Here and there a voice was raised in protest against this perpetuated calumny. Isolated and detailed studies of the Titus Oates Plot, of "the Bloody Assizes," and the like, showed the bias and distortion upon which the charges against James were built. In 1928, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, in his *James the Second*, a brilliant analysis of James' character and of the complex situation he had to face, refuted many of the lies about him. But Mr. Belloc, excellent historian though he is, chooses not to do reverence to the mechanics and apparatus of scholarship nowadays often more highly prized than historical truth itself, and hence is anathema to the pundits. Mr. Belloc could convert only those who needed no conversion.

What Major Hay has done in *The Enigma of James II* is to take up the central accusations against James, his cruelty, his fanatical intolerance, his hypocrisy, his cowardice, his tyranny, dissect out the sources of these accusations, and confront them with indisputable evidence to show their falsity. He has worked directly from the contemporary documents, patiently, measuredly, keeping his temper in the midst of infuriating dishonesty and smug pre-judging. He gives chapter and verse for every authority quoted. He lists six pages of sources in his bibliography. He quotes *in extenso* the documents which have been garbled. In a word, he observes all the niceties of historical presentation, all the punctilio of citation, which Mr. Belloc refuses to observe. His manner is more considerate of the fashion in historical writing than is Mr. Belloc's; but the conclusions of both are exactly the same.

Major Hay does not claim to solve completely the enigma of James II. His view of James is not as comprehensive as Mr. Belloc's. Yet both let us see that it is not alone the bigotry of James' critics which makes him a puzzling figure. James was intelligent; but, as Mr. Belloc says, "he thought in straight lines"; he could not scheme against schemers. He let himself be duped, by Sunderland, by Shaftsbury, by Churchill,

even by the meanly treacherous William of Orange. He seemed incapable of believing in treachery; he pardoned the traitors, and continued to trust them. Up to the very end he dealt affectionately with William and with his strange daughters, Mary and Anne, through all their lying and plotting against him. Was it only the sudden realization of how horribly he had been duped that made him, after a lifetime of courageous effort, drop his hands in despair when William invaded England?

One wonders whether or not *The Enigma of James II* will clear his name of the scorn heaped upon it for centuries. False history has an amazing tenacity of life. Armored in emotional obsessions it seems impervious to reason. It makes its own "proofs"; it recognizes no others. Refutations seem to have little or no effect upon it. For all those who are not quite blinded by prejudice, Major Hay's fine book must shatter the ugly legends about James II. But for how many more must there remain forever a greater enigma than that of James, the enigma of the vitality of falsehood?

W. KANE

Loyola University

A Short History of the Americas. By R. S. Cotterill, Ph. D. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xv + 459. Maps.

The last eighteen months have been fruitful in Latin American studies and publications. To pass over congresses, conferences, and meetings organized in order to promote mutual understanding and good will, there lies before this reviewer four different texts which have appeared in 1938 and the first half of 1939, namely, D. R. Moore's, F. A. Kirkpatrick's, Tom B. Jones's, and finally Cotterill's *A Short History of the Americas*.

This work was an ambitious undertaking, for it surveys the history of the Western Hemisphere from the coming of Columbus to the latest developments of 1938 and 1939. To do this in one volume of moderate size, for the two Americas both for the colonial and national periods, meant that the problem of composition would be one of relative emphasis and distribution. In this reviewer's opinion the subject has been vigorously tackled and successfully solved. Of necessity many stories are briefly told, as that of Cortés for instance and Pizarro, but the general distribution and the equalization of emphasis seems excellent indeed.

Most often and quite naturally the one who writes a book knows more about the subject than the one who reviews it. But in a work which covers as wide a field as this the reviewer may be able to pick out a corner or a section in which he happens to possess some more specialized information. Here is a good testing point for the exactitude of the author. The present work passes well the test. The mission both as a frontier institution and as a benevolent means of civilizing the

Indian is here clearly sketched. The vigorous and deep indentation west of the Tordesillas line of 1494, an indentation made by the Portuguese, became possible through the advance of the missionaries up the Amazon and its tributaries. Following the Black Robe came the soldier and clinched the territory for Portugal. Anyone acquainted with mission history in the Americas will appreciate the following: "The mission station was the advance agent of Spanish authority—occasionally so far in advance that authority could not follow" (104).

The author builds up well and comprehensively the background of the discovery of America, possibly diminishing a bit too much the importance of Columbus. It is refreshing to have him remark on the exaggerated descriptions on the part of certain authors of the Maya and Aztec civilizations. He points out clearly their barbaric spots and stains, the human sacrifices, lack of alphabet, and the rest. Since in chapter seven, entitled "Slaves and Furs" he deals with Spanish expansion in the Southwest and mentions the Jesuit missions of the west coast he might well have included in his bibliography for this chapter Herbert E. Bolton's *The Spanish Borderlands*.

There are some good maps, good illustrations of old maps, and appended to each chapter a selective bibliography with evaluating comments. This book is a solid contribution to the historical literature of the subject which it covers.

PETER M. DUNNE

University of San Francisco

George III and William Pitt, 1783-1806. By Donald Grove Barnes. Stanford University, California, Stanford University Press, 1939. Pp. xiii+512.

This book will provoke much discussion for it is revisionist history with findings at variance with the views of most scholars here and abroad. Indeed it is not too much to say that the author was not a little surprised at the conclusions forced on him by the evidence. For he tells us that in accepting the view that Pitt established modern cabinet government on the ruins of the king's personal government so that cabinet government might be said to have begun with the long ministry of 1783 to 1801 he merely set himself the task of tracing the steps in this change. But intensive study of the period, particularly of the unpublished correspondence of the two chief characters, soon raised a doubt as to the correctness of this assumption. In the end this suspicion gave place to the belief that this generally accepted view did not accord either with the facts or with the opinions entertained by King George and Pitt. Wherefore he concludes "the commonly accepted thesis that 1783 marked the beginning of the decline of the royal power must be dismissed as a myth" (476).

At the outset Dr. Barnes disclaims any intention to whitewash George or to blacken Pitt. If the contrast between these two person-

alities is sharply drawn there is no undue stressing of the strong points or glossing over of the weaknesses of either. Throughout the period under discussion George grew ever more convinced of a three-fold implication of his prerogative: the right to choose his own ministers, to veto laws, to prevent the introduction as a government measure of what he disapproved. In his battle he was aided by dissension among the Whigs and by their serious mistakes, no less than by turning their own tactics against them. Setbacks there were, but they were temporary, and George's remarkable persistence prevailed. In 1801 he was as strong and as independent as in 1783.

Early in his career Pitt showed his colors when he refused to resign although hounded by the opposition after the defeat of important measures. Of special interest is the account of Pitt's career as a reformer. Undeserved praise has been accorded him. The fact is that at the beginning he was an ardent champion of reform despite royal disapproval; for a while he was satisfied with a sort of compromise to the effect that he might introduce and support reforms as personal, not government, measures; in the end his ardor cooled to such a degree that he adopted the 'time-not-ripe' policy. In short, he was no true reformer.

Dr. Barnes insists that Pitt proved himself no war minister, and that he made his own the dictum of his famous father: "men not measures." To his way of thinking there was only one man, himself, fully qualified by ability and family connections to wield supreme power. With such a conviction Pitt could not be a believer in political parties or party government. Nor was he the founder of the Tory party. "In many respects," writes Dr. Barnes, "the honor of being one of the patron saints of the Tory party is the strangest of all achievements which have been thrust upon Pitt" (489), because "to his dying day Pitt seems to have thought of himself as a Whig" (489).

Dr. Barnes has produced an excellent study of a period of the greatest importance in the political and constitutional history of England. It enriches history, it marks progress, and gives evidence of ripe scholarship; it is impartial, convincing, carefully documented, and written in an easy style. The publishers have contributed to the success of the undertaking, but it would appear that some publishers of books with whose views Dr. Barnes disagrees have refused permission to quote the passages from which he dissents. Thus is the path of the scholar beset with obstacles.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College

America in Midpassage. By Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard. New York, Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. 977. Illustrated.

The historical views of the distinguished authors of *America in Midpassage* are no secret to the American public and the scholarly

fraternity. The same may be said of the speed and clarity of their style. And so when they write out their views on the Rooseveltian New Deal they will command a wide and attentive audience.

Mr. Beard once put down his *credo* in a notable essay called "That Noble Dream," which he printed in the *American Historical Review* in October 1935. He rejects the dogmatism of those who contend that they can produce a picture of history "exactly as it happened." In his incisive criticism the older Von Ranke ideal is dealt a withering blow. All the truth cannot be found with certitude, nor can any individual portray the complete story of any sizable episode. Following up this thought he urges his right to offer his partial interpretation of the human past, in his characteristic emphasis on the economic factors that condition the actions of men, parties, and nations.

The volume under review is in consonance with this reasonable position. It is a frank attack on the problem of our past fifteen years from the economic approach. It is outspokenly interpretative, very much so, and one might almost call it special pleading were he misled by the frequent castigation of the "Lords of Creation" and the not infrequent use of the collectivist measuring stick.

Such a view, however, would be unfair to the apparent honesty and deep disinterestedness of the authorship. The book is a sincere effort to diagnose the ailments of America in her time of current trial. The story is, for more than half of its length, occupied with government and the causes of our newer constitutional attitudes. Appended in four hundred pages is an account of manners, arts, entertainment, social and scientific thought.

Contemporary history, no matter how skillfully done, can never receive full approval. The perspective needed for wisdom is necessarily lacking. Objectivity of appraisal is scarcely possible. Error due to abundance of detail is unavoidable. Thus qualified, the reviewer urges attention to *America in Midpassage*.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University

Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission.
76th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 71. Washington,
Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. xvi+400.

In 1936 an act was passed by Congress authorizing the President of the United States to appoint a commission to make a thorough study of Hernando de Soto's expedition into the wilds of North America, in order that the four-hundredth anniversary of that event, occurring in 1939, might be observed with suitable celebrations. The President appointed the following as members of the Commission: Hon. W. G. Brorein, Miss Caroline Dormon, Col. John R. Fordyce, Mr. V. Birney Imes, Mr. Andrew O. Holmes, Dr. Walter B. Jones, and Dr. John R. Swanton, chairman. On the death of Hon. W. G. Brorein, Mr. Carl D.

Broroin was appointed to fill the vacancy. The interest of most of these members in the De Soto expedition problems antedated by many years their appointment to the Commission. Perhaps most noteworthy are the efforts of Dr. John R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution. During the past twenty years his persistent research has determined various facts concerning the expedition.

Three years of intensive study in the archives of Spain and America and in the field have resulted in the publication of this final report, which "does not profess finality in the sense that the exact line of march pursued by De Soto and Moscoso has not been established for all time," but which is presented in such detail that it will be an invaluable aid to those who seek information concerning any phase of the expedition or of the country through which it passed. However, indisputable finality about the route of De Soto will never be attained, for records and documents are relatively few, and differ in many details. In this report there is an adequate discussion of these records of the expedition, giving the comparative value of each and the various editions and translations through which each has passed. Previous attempts to locate De Soto's route are taken up in detail, and the discussion of these covers thirty-five pages.

To ethnologists, the chapter on the Indians encountered by De Soto will be of special interest, for an attempt is made to identify the various tribes and villages met by the expedition, as well as a list of Indian words found in the narratives, with their possible origins. Before discussing the details of the journey, the Commission has given us the background of the organization and personnel of the expedition, including a sketch of the early life of Hernando de Soto, accounts of the vessels, the weather during the trip, and the domestic animals brought to North America. Students of Pánfilo de Narváez should be pleased with the chapter on his landing place and route, and, as the landing place of Narváez is essential to a study of the landfall of De Soto, this leads to an excellent chapter on the latter. The problem of De Soto's landing place has long interested Dr. Swanton and his findings and reasons for placing it on the southeast side of Tampa Bay on Terra Ceia Island are adequately summarized.

A large proportion of the book concerns the almost day by day account of the journey of the expedition, with exacting attention paid to the identification of each point along the route. The positions of certain of these points seem to be assured as reasonably as could be desired, others are established on relatively satisfactory grounds, while the rest are still in doubt, and probably will forever be so. Much valuable information is found in the appended material in the form of lists, tables, and maps. Among the lists is an extensive one of the participants in the expedition and the towns from which they came. A bibliography of 141 titles, a general index, and an index of modern geographical names in the United States help to make the book easily

consulted, as do the summaries to many of the chapters and the general summary at the end.

The reconstruction of the route of De Soto's expedition has been so thoroughly and painstakingly done in this report that a careful study of it must be made by those who consider it worth while to continue the spirited disputes that have long existed over the course taken by the conquistador and, after his death, by his successor, Moscoso. The entire report is a noteworthy contribution to the memory of the valiant leader of the first expedition of Europeans into the vast, forbidding Florida.

BARBARA BOSTON

Edward E. Ayer Collection,
The Newberry Library

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VOLUME XXI

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