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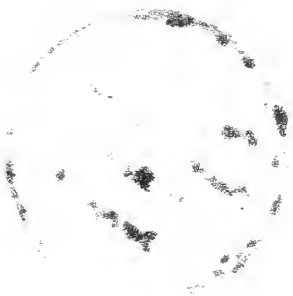

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VOLUME 27 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 16 NUMBER 1

Louis Jolliet

Early Years: 1645-1674

Next September the Province of Quebec will celebrate the third centenary of the birth of Jolliet. This article is intended as a contribution toward a better knowledge of the early life of the discoverer of the Mississippi, while articles on other phases of his career will appear this year in subsequent issues of MID-AMERICA.

The present narrative extends from his birth to his return from the voyage which will perpetuate his name as long as the muddy waters of the Mississippi empty into the Gulf of Mexico. An account of the voyage itself, however, is not included, because the basic sources for this narrative have not been properly analyzed. From the discussion of Dablon's account of the discovery of the Mississippi[1] and from the study of Marquette's map published below, it is apparent that those who have written about the expedition of 1673 have done little more than examine the basic sources in a perfunctory manner; most writers being satisfied to accept uncritically what their predecessors had said. Besides the two basic sources mentioned above, the others will be studied later in articles in this review.

Louis Jolliet,[2] the third child of Jehan Jollyet[3] and of Marie

[1] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, October 1944, 301-324.

[2] In every extant genuine signature he spells his name with two "l's." Cf. E. Gagnon, " 'Jolliet' ou 'Joliet'," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (BRH), XII, 1906, 306-310.

[3] According to Amédée Gosselin, "Jean Jolliet et ses enfants," *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XIV, 1921, section 1, 65, Jolliet's father signed his name as in the text. This article of the late Mgr Gosselin is an important contribution toward our knowledge of Jolliet's movements between 1667 and 1672. We can only regret that he did not publish in full the many receipts which he had before him when he wrote this article, *ibid.*, 71.

d'Abancourt *dite* La Caille,[4] was born near Quebec[5] shortly before September 21, 1645, on which day he was baptized by Father Barthélemy Vimont, S.J.,[6] in the upper story of the house of the Company of New France (the One Hundred Associates), which was then used as the church of the town of Quebec.[7] He lost his father before he was six years old;[8] and six months after the death of Jean Jolliet, his wife married Geoffroy Guillot *dit* Lavalé.[9] We do not know where Louis lived between the date of his father's death and the time when he began to attend the Jesuit College of Quebec. His name does not appear in contemporary documents until August 10, 1662, when he received minor orders from Bishop Laval, "in the sodality chapel of the College of the Jesuits" in Quebec.[10] It is legitimate to deduce, however, that by this time Jolliet had finished his classical course, which took from six to seven years, and hence that since 1655 or thereabouts, he had followed the courses at the college; but whether as a boarder or as a day student is not known.

The future discoverer of the Mississippi was a musician, and it may be that his talent helped him to "work his way through college." After he had become a cleric, Jolliet either played the organ in the Jesuit church or taught music in the college of Quebec. At any rate he is mentioned as "musician" in the entry dated January 1, 1665, in the Journal of the Jesuits: "We invited to supper the Sieurs Morin and Jolliet, our musicians (nos officiers de musique)."[11]

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[4] Father Vimont wrote her name with a "t" when he entered the baptism of her son Louis in the church register. The census taker in 1666 did likewise. The "*dite*" came from her father, Adrien d'Abancourt *dit* La Caille, "the quail." Cf. BRH, XXI, 1915, 235; XXII, 1916, 322.

[5] Cf. Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 65-66.

[6] A photographic reproduction of the baptismal entry is in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1924-1925* (RAPQ), Quebec, 1925, 197; printed and translated into French in E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, découvreur du Mississipi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur de l'Ile d'Anticosti*, Montreal, 1913², 29. This book was first printed at Québec in 1902; there is a third edition dated Montreal, 1926. Some unimportant appendices of the first edition are omitted in the two Montreal printings; the changes in the text are negligible.

[7] Cf. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 29-30.

[8] Jean Jolliet died April 23, 1651, Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 66; he was buried on the following day, C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, 7 volumes, Montreal, 1871-1890, I, 324.

[9] Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 67; Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, I, 292. In the census of 1666, RAPQ, 1936, 54, Marie d'Abancourt is listed as "vefve de Jean Guillot." "Guillot (Godefroy) dit Lavallée, qui se marie à Québec, en 1651, ne signe pas; mais est toutjours nommé dans les papiers du temps, *Gefroy* au lieur de *Godefroy*." Philéas Gagnon, "Noms propres au Canada-Français," BRH, XV, 1909, 92.

[10] Auguste Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr de Laval, premier évêque de Québec et apôtre du Canada, 1622-1728*, 2 volumes, Quebec, 1890, II, 689.

[11] C. H. Laverdière and H. R. Casgrain, eds., *Le Journal des Jésuites*, Montreal, 1892, 330.

Six months later, Godefroy Guillot, his step-father, was drowned in the St. Lawrence, and on November 8, 1665, four months after the accident, Jolliet's mother married Martin Prevost, her third husband.[12]

In the census of 1666, we find the following entry: "Monsieur Jolliet, clercq d'esglise."[13] On July 2 of the same year, Father Le Mercier wrote in the Journal of the Jesuits: "The first disputations in philosophy were held in the [chapel of the] Sodality, with success. All the public officials were present. M. the Intendant [Talon] among others, presented some very good arguments. M. Jolliet and Pierre Francheville defended the whole of logic very well."[14]

In 1667, Jolliet left the seminary and went to France late in the autumn of the same year. Gosselin comments as follows upon the date of his sailing:

> In his book Ernest Gagnon asserts Jolliet left Quebec on the *Saint-Sébatien*, August 28, 1667. Yet Jolliet himself dates his account from the month of October. The census in which he is still said to be *clerc*[15] was taken in September and in October [1667]. This can be readily ascertained by comparing the age of young children [given in the census] with the date of their baptism as found in the church registers.[16]

While Gosselin is quite right in basing his argument on the account of October 14, 1668, his second argument does not prove all that he supposes, particularly the date when Jolliet decided to leave the seminary. First of all, the ages given in the nominal censuses are often approximate or quite erroneous. As a matter of fact, the nominal census of 1667 seems to have been completed in August.[17] Secondly, Jolliet may well have been listed as *clerc* in September 1667, even though he had ceased being a seminarist, because strictly speaking, the fact that he had received the tonsure and minor orders constituted him a *clerc* both in the eyes of the Church and before the law. We do not know when Jolliet notified Laval that he did not feel called to the priesthood, but an entry in the Journal of the

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12 Am. Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 67.

13 RAPQ, 1936, 3.

14 *Journal des Jésuites*, 345.

15 B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, 8 volumes, Montreal, 1882-1884, IV, 65, col. 1.

16 Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 69, n. 3.

17 "Parce que présentement je me trouve fort indisposé, je remets encore au départ des autres vaisseaux qui sont en cette rade à vous envoyer Le Rolle des habitants que vous recevrez fort exact." Talon to Colbert, August 25, 1667, RAPQ, 1931, 75. Gosselin, in a previous note, qualifies the time when the census was taken, September and October, adding: "au moins pour la ville de Québec."

Jesuits might be taken as an indication that it was sometime during the first months of 1667. In the philosophical disputation held on July 15, 1667, Amador Martin and not Jolliet is mentioned as Francheville's co-defendant.[18]

As we have just noted, the account of October 1668 which Gosselin printed in full enables us to determine the date when Jolliet sailed for France. After leaving the seminary, he had to find some means of livelihood. "We do not know for what purpose or on whose advice a voyage to France was immediately decided upon."[19] If his not taking part in the philosophical disputation of July 1667 means that he had already notified Laval of his intention to leave the seminary, then instead of "aussitôt" several months must have elapsed between his decision and his voyage to France. Gagnon speaks of "special studies" as the reason for the voyage, and he asks whether these studies had not been suggested by Tracy or Talon.[20] There is no evidence to support these conjectures. Gosselin is closer to the truth when he writes that it was Bishop Laval who made the voyage possible.

Even if Jolliet did not have to pay his fare, he had to find money somewhere for his other expenses, for he was penniless.

The Bishop of Petraea who knew the young man well, and who appreciated his talents and his fine qualities, opened his purse and advanced the necessary funds. This we learn from Jolliet himself in the document which we shall quote *in extenso*.[21]

Below is the translation of that part of the itemized account of the money borrowed directly or indirectly from Laval by Jolliet. The document is in the archives of the Séminaire of Québec (Laval University), and according to Gosselin, it is signed by Jolliet.

Itemized account of what was furnished to me from the month of October 1667 to the month of November 1668 by my Lord of Petraea in my necessity.

For the passage [and for] a suit of clothes, when I left for France, ninety livres.

Received from Monsieur Poitevin, by order of my Lord [Laval], for wearing apparel as well as for my board and lodging at St. Josse, one hundred and sixty-one French livres.

Received from Monsieur de Lauson by the same order of my Lord of Petraea, twenty-eight French livres.

For the cost of the [return] passage, sixty French livres.

To cover my expenses during my stay at La Rochelle, one hundred and ten French livres ten sols.

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18 *Journal des Jésuites*, 355.
19 Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 69.
20 Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 41-42.
21 Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 69.

All of which together adds up to four hundred and thirty livres ten sols in French money, and five hundred and eighty livres in Canadian money.[22]

Contrary to Gosselin's supposition, Jolliet had to pay his fare before leaving Quebec, for the first item includes the cost of the crossing to France, sixty livres in French money.[23] The "Monsieur de Lauson" spoken of in the third item was Charles de Lauzon-Charny, the youngest son of the fourth governor general of Canada. M. de Charny, as he was known in New France, had left Quebec on October 17, 1666,[24] for the mother country, where his presence was required to attend to family affairs after his father's death which had occurred in Paris in the preceding February. M. de Charny was a great friend of Bishop Laval, and it was only natural that Jolliet should visit him. In Paris, he lodged at the house of the parish priest of St. Josse, the "Monsieur Poitevin" mentioned in the second item of the list, to whom Laval wrote in 1668, shortly after the return of Jolliet to Canada.[25]

From the last entry, it appears that Jolliet did not spend all his time in Paris,[26] but remained quite a while at La Rochelle. In fact, according to the itemized list, he seems to have divided his time equally between the capital and the port. Whether he also went to

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[22] *Id., ibid.*, 69-70. If the transcription of this document is correct, there is an error in the addition; the total should be 449 livres 10 sols, instead of 430 livres 10 sols.

[23] See the cost of the return voyage, the second last item, sixty livres in French money; this was the ordinary fare. Cf. Observations faites par Talon. . . , 1669, in RAPQ, 1931, 103, 105, 106.

[24] *Journal des Jésuites*, 351.

[25] R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 52:42-50.

[26] I have discussed at length a document dubbed by Parkman a "remarkable memoir" of "unquestionable historical value," in *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 215-245. Upon examination this "monument" of impudence proved to be utterly worthless and containing little else than the wanderings of an unbalanced mind. In it Jolliet is said to be a Jesuit *donné*, and that he was sent to France by the Jesuits in 1677. On this occasion he supposedly brought to Paris a map "drawn from hearsay," and claimed the honor of having discovered the Mississippi. According to M. de Galinée—who allegedly gave this information to the author of the memoir—M. de la Salle was the only man in Canada capable of making such a discovery. Every statement in this passage of the "remarkable memoir" is false. Jolliet went to France in 1667, long before the discovery of the Mississippi; he never was a *donné*; neither in 1667 nor at the time of his second voyage, thirty years later, did Jolliet bring a map of the Mississippi to France; the map which he made in 1674 was not from hearsay, for he had actually descended the Mississippi nearly one thousand miles, and had re-ascended it five hundred miles; and this took place more than seven years before La Salle even saw the river. M. de Galinée who was dead at the time when this memoir was written could be quoted without fear of contradiction; unfortunately for the memorialist, he had left on record what he thought of La Salle's ability as an explorer.

Sézanne-en-Brie, the birth-place of his father,[27] we do not know; and as for the "special studies," it is difficult to see what they could have been and how he could have profitably engaged in studies of any kind during such a brief stay in Paris or in La Rochelle. He can hardly have reached Paris before January 1668, and he sailed for Canada, at the latest, in the beginning of August.

The length of time which he spent in France, is deduced from the second part of the itemized account. Although we do not know the date of his return to Quebec, he had already been there for some time by October 9, 1668; on this day he bought from Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye twelve ells of cloth, a hat, and two pairs of shoes. From the same merchant he also bought goods which give some indication of his future activities:

> Trade goods, namely, two guns, two pistols, six packages of wampum; twenty-four hatchets; a gross of small bells; twelve ells of coarse cloth [estoffes à l'iroquoise]; ten ells of canvas; forty pounds of tobacco; cost, three hundred and fifty-four livres six sols.[28]

This itemized account is dated October 14, 1668. In the last paragraph, Jolliet acknowledges that the money was advanced by Bishop Laval, whom he promised to repay. On their part, notes Gosselin, Jolliet's mother and his eldest brother helped him meet his obligations. On October 8, 1668, the bishop had bought a piece of land from the Jolliet estate for 2,400 livres; half of this sum was to be paid to Jolliet's mother, and 300 livres to each of the four children of Jean Jolliet: Adrien, Louis, Marie, and Zacharie. When the deed was drawn, Marie d'Abancourt had consented that, in order to reimburse himself, Laval could retain 180 livres from the installment payments of her share. On November 9, 1668, Adrien Jolliet sent the following note to Laval:

> I agree that my Lord the Bishop of Petraea may hand over to my brother Louis Jolliet the 300 livres due to me as my share of the price of the land which was sold to him. In testimony thereof, I have signed the present note to serve him as receipt. Done at Cap-de-la-Madeleine, November 9, 1668. [Signed] Adrian Jolliet.[29]

All the above financial help, writes Gosselin, was "to enable Jolliet to pay his debts, or to enable him to make the voyage of the Great Lakes which he was about to undertake." However, from the dates of these various documents and from other evidence to be

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[27] J. B. A. Ferland, *Notes sur les registres de Notre-Dame de Québec*, Quebec, 1863[2], 27.

[28] Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 70.

[29] *Ibid.*, 71.

quoted presently, it is almost certain that Jolliet did not make his first western journey in 1668. We are sure that he was still in Quebec on October 14, 1668. The note of Adrien did not reach Quebec before the middle of November, and it is probable that Louis was still in Quebec at this date. But even if we suppose that he was with his brother at Cap-de-la-Madeleine on November 9, when the note was signed by Adrien, the season was too far advanced for him to leave for the West. In 1668 Louis Jolliet had not yet begun the strenuous apprenticeship of a voyageur. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that he would have made his first voyage to the West without his brother, who had gone to the Ottawa country at least twice before, and it is certain that Adrien was in Quebec on April 13, 1669.[30] Now, the journey by canoe from Montreal to the Sault took ordinarily from four to six weeks, and would take much longer in winter. Hence if Louis Jolliet actually went with his brother to the West in November 1668, he would have had just enough time to reach Sault Ste Marie by January 1669, and would have had to return immediately in order to be in Quebec before the middle of April. It should also be remembered that journeys from the West to Lower Canada in winter were very rare occurrences and were only undertaken in cases of the most urgent emergency.[31]

What Louis Jolliet did during 1668 and the early months of 1669 is difficult to say. A Jolliet is mentioned in a document of 1670 referring to events which took place in 1669, and it has been taken for granted that this was Louis; but as we shall see, the evidence for such identification is far from being conclusive.

In his narrative of the 1669-1670 expedition, Galinée mentions having met a "man named Jolliet" on the west shore of Lake Ontario. The antecedents of the expedition and the pertinent passages of the narrative are worth examining here, because they explain the uncertainty which arises concerning the identity of the Jolliet encountered by the Sulpician missionary.

MM. Dollier and Galinée having left Montreal on July 6, 1669, were camping near Tinawatawa, at the western end of Lake Ontario, in the latter part of September. Here they learned that

two Frenchmen had arrived at the village we were going to; they were

[30] *Ibid.*, 75.

[31] Cf. "Narrative of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada, 1689, 1690," in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), IX, Albany, 1855, 463; C. C. Le Roy de Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique . . .*, 4 volumes, Amsterdam, 1723, III, 60-61; P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France*, J. G. Shea, ed. and transl., 6 volumes, New York, 1866-1872, IV, 54.

coming from the Ottawa and were taking back an Iroquois prisoner belonging to the latter.

This news surprised us, because we did not think that there was any Frenchman in service in that direction. . . . At last we arrived at Tinawatawa on the 24th of September and found that the Frenchman who had arrived the day before was a man named Jolliet (un nommé Jolliet) who had left Montreal shortly before us with a fleet of four canoes loaded with goods for the Ottawa, and had orders from the governor to go as far as Lake Superior to discover where the copper mine was; so pure is the copper ore that samples of it which are here scarcely need refining. After finding this mine he was to find out an easier route than the ordinary one to transport it to Montreal. M. Jolliet had not been able to see this mine because time pressed for his return.[32]

He had found Iroquois prisoners among the Ottawa, and was bringing one of them back home to his own country as a token of the peace which the Ottawa wished to have with the Iroquois. "This Iroquois showed M. Jolliet a new route, heretofore unknown to the French, from the Ottawa to the Iroquois country." Had it not been for the Indian's fear of falling into the hands of the Conestoga, the party could have traveled by water as far as Lake Ontario; the only portage necessary would have been at Niagara Falls. As it was, the fear of the Iroquois prisoner forced Jolliet "to travel fifty leagues overland and to abandon his canoe on the shore of Lake Erie." Besides informing the missionaries of this new route, *i. e.*, via Lakes Huron, St. Clair, and Erie,[33] Jolliet also told them "that he had sent some of his party in search of a very numerous nation of Ottawa called the Potawatomi, amongst whom there had never been any missionaries, and that this tribe bordered on the Iskoutegas and the great river that led to the Shawnee." The Sulpicians determined to take this route, especially since "M. Jolliet offered us a description he had made of his route from the Ottawa, which I [Galinée]

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[32] Ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de M[essieu]rs D'Olier et Galinée, BN, Mss. fr. n.a., 7485:16. The document—a copy—is printed in P. Margy, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, 112-166; French text and English translation on opposite pages in J. H. Coyne, Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, IV, part I; this English version was reissued by L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, New York, C. 1917, 167-209. In these publications Galinée is made to say: "qui etoit parti avant nous de Montreal," whereas the manuscript has "qui etoit parti *un peu* avant nous de Montreal."

[33] Cf. Description du Canada et de ce qui sy trouve d'advantageux tant pour les interests de Sa Majesté que pour ceux des colonies françoises qui y sont etablie [sic]. 1671 Archives des Colonies (AC), C 11A, 3:193.

accepted, and I translated it immediately into a *carte marine*,[34] which gave us a good deal of information about our way . . . ."

When La Salle, who was with the Sulpician missionaries at this time, saw that they were determined to follow the route indicated by Jolliet, he "begged to be excused for leaving them so as to return to Montreal." La Salle left Dollier and Galinée at Tinawatawa on September 30; we have no record of his movements until the summer of the following year, 1670, when Nicolas Perrot met him hunting with some Frenchmen and Iroquois on the Ottawa River.[35] As for Jolliet, we do not know when he left for the Iroquois country; hence we do not know whether he was at Tinawatawa on September 30, or whether he left with La Salle on that date. All that we know for certain is that on November 11, 1669, he had not yet reached Quebec.

In order to point out the difficulties that present themselves against identifying the Jolliet met by Dollier and Galinée with the discoverer of the Mississippi, we shall first inquire into the purpose for which this Jolliet was sent to the West.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the discovery of mines in North America was for a long time an obsession with the French. If they had known that rich, easily worked mines of precious metals were thousands of miles away, it is doubtful whether they would have made any great effort to establish themselves permanently in Canada. In the middle of the seventeenth century, although French officials had not as yet given up hopes of finding gold and silver mines near at hand, they seem to have thought that until such mines were discovered, they would do well to exploit the copper mines which they knew existed on the shores of Lake Superior.

In the Relation of 1659-1660, published in Paris in 1661, a Jesuit, thought to be Father Gabriel Druillettes, speaks of having met on the Saguenay River an Indian who gave a glowing account of the mines around Lake Superior, where there were mines of lead nearly pure, and copper mines of such excellence that "pieces as large as one's fist are found, all refined; and great rocks having veins of turquoise [*i. e.*, amethyst]. They also try to make us believe that the waters of Lake Superior are swollen by various streams which carried along with the sand grains of gold in abundance—the refuse, so to

[34] From Galinée's description at the very end of his narrative, it appears that by *carte marine* he means one of the cylindrical projections, very probably the equal-spaced or plate-carrée projection.

[35] *Memoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Relligion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale par Nicolas Perrot*, J. Tailhan, ed., Leipzig and Paris, 1864, 120.

speak, of the neighboring mines."[36] There is also a long dissertation on these mines in the Relation of 1669-1670. Its author, Father Claude Dablon, wrote that in 1667, a huge piece of copper weighing one hundred pounds "was given to us," scl. to Father Allouez. This copper came from a place near the mouth of the Nantounagan [Ontoganon] River. Some fragments were cut off and "sent to Quebec to Monsieur Talon."[37] The intendant speaks of these samples in his letter to Colbert of October 27, 1667:

> A Jesuit Father who came this year from the Ottawa country brought a small piece of copper, extracted, so he assures me, from a rock which he saw several times in Lake Huron;[38] but the distance from here to there is so great that one does not dare to expect great advantages therefrom. The copper, he says, is very pure and very abundant. The piece is being brought to you that you may judge of its purity.[39]

The Jesuit Father in question was Claude Allouez, who had left Three Rivers on August 8, 1665, with western Indians,[40] and had spent two winters at Chequamigon. In May 1667, he left the latter place for Lake Nipigon,[41] and arrived in Quebec on August 3.[42] In his journal, published in the Relation of 1666-1667, when speaking of the shores of Lake Superior, he says that "one often finds at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper, of ten and twenty livres' weight."[43] He also mentions a large rock of copper which had been seen sticking out of the water; "however, when I passed by that spot, nothing more was seen of it; and I think that the storms—which here are very frequent, and those at sea—have covered the rock with sand."[44]

The existence of such a rich copper mine in "Lake Huron," in spite of its distance from Quebec, was good news to Talon. In the instructions given him when he first came to Canada, the king had expressed the hope that copper, lead and iron mines would be discovered.[45] The company which then controlled the trade of the

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[36] JR, 45:218-220.
[37] JR, 54:162.
[38] This is inaccurate, the "rock" of copper had been seen in Lake Superior.
[39] "On vous porte ce morceau pour que vous en connoissiez le carac." Talon to Colbert, October 27, 1667, RAPQ, 1931, 80.
[40] Allouez' journal in JR, 50:248; the *Journal des Jésuites*, 333, has August 7.
[41] JR, 51:64-70.
[42] *Ibid.*, 72; the *Journal des Jésuites*, 356, has August 4.
[43] JR, 50:264.
[44] *Ibid.*, 266.
[45] Memoire du Roi pour servir d'instruction a M. Talon, March 27, 1665, RAPQ, 1931, 19.

colony had sent a German expert to assay the ore on the spot. Talon's personal interest in mines may be gathered from the fact that on his way up the St. Lawrence in 1665, he made several landings, in order to do some prospecting. He collected samples of marcasite, showed them to the German expert, and was told that "there was gold and silver where these samples had been found."[46] The ore sent to France to be melted was found worthless.[47] Talon kept on looking for coal and copper mines around Quebec,[48] but with just as little success.[49] It was during this ineffectual search that Allouez brought the copper samples from Lake Superior. After each of his failures, Colbert had encouraged the intendant, assuring Talon that he would meet with better success next time. And in his answer to the letter saying that the ore brought by Allouez was being sent to Paris, the minister replied that if there really was copper in Lake Huron, and if it could be easily mined, it would be something well worth following up; but, he said, the means of bringing the ore to Quebec should be carefully considered.[50]

Talon received this letter of Colbert in the summer of 1668. Before leaving New France in November, he appointed two men to "make sure whether there was copper in Lake Huron," and gave them a substantial subsidy.[51] Now, we know that Louis Jolliet returned from Europe in the summer of 1668 and that he was in Quebec on October 14 of that year. It is difficult to believe that the intendant would have selected for the expedition a young man only twenty-three years old who had left the seminary the year before and who had been out of the country ever since. He would more likely have chosen Adrien Jolliet, Louis' brother, who was a veteran voyageur. Furthermore, as we shall see presently, the Jolliet who was sent to investigate the copper mine was paid 400 livres; and at this very time Louis Jolliet acknowledges having been advanced 350 livres by Bishop Laval to equip himself and to buy trade goods. On November 11, 1669, Patoulet, acting for Talon, wrote to Colbert as follows:

The Sieurs Jolliet and Péré, to whom M. Talon paid 400 livres and

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46 Talon to Colbert, October 4, 1665, *ibid.*, 33.
47 Colbert to Talon, April 6, 1666, *ibid.*, 43.
48 Talon to Colbert, November 13, 1666, *ibid.*, 55.
49 Colbert to Talon, April 4, 1667, *ibid.*, 68.
50 *Id.* to *id.*, February 20, 1668, *ibid.*, 97.
51 The reason why this sum of money is not mentioned in the itemized account of expenses for 1668, is because it was taken from the funds set aside for the "despenses extraordinaires." Cf. Talon's memoir of 1669, *ibid.*, 107.

1,000 livres, respectively, in order that they might go and find out whether the copper mine, which is beyond Lake Ontario and of which you have seen some samples, is rich and easy to exploit, and whether the ore can easily be brought here, have not yet returned. The former should have been back here any day during the whole of last September, and yet, even now, we have no news whatever of him, so that it is necessary to wait until next year before giving you definite information as to how productive the said mine can be expected to be.[52]

The Péré mentioned by Patoulet was Jean Péré, who, like Adrien Jolliet, was a veteran western trader.[53] We know that he spent the winter of 1667-1668 in the West, for on January 31 of the latter year, he and his partners merged their company with that of five other traders who were then in the Ottawa country.[54] From the letter written by Patoulet in 1669 and by Talon in 1670, it is clear that the Jolliet mentioned by the former is the same to whom Galinée refers in his narrative. He had left Montreal "shortly before us," says the Sulpician. Since Patoulet had been expecting him in Quebec "any day during the whole of the month of September," and since the journey to Sault Ste Marie took about four or six weeks, this Jolliet must have left Montreal sometime in June. Now it is certain that Adrien Jolliet was in Quebec on April 13, 1669, for in a receipt of this date he declared that he "had his domicile at Three Rivers."[55]

The Jolliet who was expected in Quebec in September was still at the western end of Lake Ontario at the end of that month. In view of the fact that he was bringing back an Iroquois prisoner, he can hardly have failed to pass through the Iroquois country. To go from Hamilton, Ontario, even by way of the Iroquois country, certainly did not require six weeks; and as we know from Galinée, Jolliet was especially anxious to return to Quebec as soon as possible. But on November 11, he had not as yet arrived in Quebec, and Talon makes no mention of him in his letter of November 10, 1670. There is no doubt that Jolliet would have reported to the authorities as soon as he reached Quebec, for he was returning from an official mission, and had found a new route which avoid the rapids of the Ottawa River,—a matter of such importance that as soon as Talon heard of this route he reported it to Colbert.

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[52] Patoulet to Colbert, November 11, 1669, Margry, I, 81.

[53] Cf. P[ierre]-G[eorges] R[oy], "Jean Péré et Pierre Moreau dit La Taupine," in BRH, X, 1905, 213-221.

[54] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, I, 634-635.

[55] Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 75.

The silence of Talon in his letter of November 10, 1670, and the fact that there is no record of Jolliet's return to Quebec later on, can only be explained by the fact that he was dead at that time. Hence this Jolliet must have been Adrien and not Louis. The exact date of Adrien's death is unknown. One thing is certain: he was no longer alive on September 12, 1671,[56] and, as we shall see, there are good reasons to believe that he died before or during the summer of 1670.[57]

Finally, if the Jolliet mentioned by Talon were really Louis, his failure to report to Quebec on this occasion would hardly have inspired Talon to commission him in 1672 to find out where the great river of the west emptied its waters.

The earliest positive evidence of Louis Jolliet's presence in the West is dated June 1671. By following the events between September 1669 and this date, we shall try to ascertain when he began his career of explorer.

In the instructions given to Talon before leaving France for his second term as intendant of Canada, the king urged him to continue the search for iron, lead, copper, and tin mines, telling him "to con-

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[56] *Id., ibid.*, 71 and 75.

[57] With regard to the place where Adrien died, Gosselin, *loc. cit.*, 75, quotes from a memoir analyzed at length elsewhere, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 176 ff. The passage reads: "The burial of the brother of Jolliet [this can only be Adrien] who died while in the service of the Sieur de la Salle and who was buried during his absence cost him 53 livres." BN, Clairambault, 1016:44. We must note that this memoir was written at least five years after the event, and that it contains too many inaccuracies—not to use a harsher word—to take for granted such assertions as are not supported by independent evidence. Thus it is difficult to believe that in October 1669, La Salle hired Adrien Jolliet who was on his way to Quebec, while La Salle himself was wandering in the Lake Ontario region until the following summer. Although Bernou, the author of the memoir, does not specify the place where Adrien Jolliet died, he is speaking of Quebec in this passage, and is contrasting the cost of burial in the church with the cost of burial in the cemetery. Adrien Jolliet's name, however, does not appear in the extant burial lists of Quebec. Cf. P.-G. Roy, *Les cimetières de Québec*, Lévis, 1941. As for Adrien Jolliet being buried in Montreal, Gosselin's arguments are invalid; they are based on gratuitous suppositions or are contradicted by positive evidence. It is more probable that he died at Cap-de-la-Madeleine or at Three Rivers.

While this article was in the press, I received volumes III and IV of the *Inventaire des Greffes des Notaires du Régime Français*, A. Roy, ed., Quebec, 1943. On page 54 of vol. III is the following entry: "Obligation de Jeanne Dodié, *veuve Adrien Jolliet*, à Jacques de la Mothe (*20 septembre 1670*)." As is at once apparent, this document 1) bears out what I say here and below with regard to the date of Adrien's death; and 2) confirms the deduction that the Jolliet whom Galinée met at Tinawatawa was Adrien and not Louis.

sider this work as most important for the prosperity of Canada."[58] In a marginal note of November 1670, Talon says that he has sent men to discover copper mines, and less than two weeks after his arrival in 1670, he had already notified Colbert that "the iron-master swears that the iron mine which I showed him is excellent."[59] In the same letter he notes that a Sulpician [M. de Galinée] had made a journey "far to the west." One of the immediate results of this voyage was the knowledge of "a river [the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair] I was looking for, which joins Lake Ontario to Lake Huron, where the copper mine is said to be."

In a long memoir added to his letter of November 10, 1670, Talon informs Colbert that he had sent St. Lusson to the west, instructing him to go as far as he could toward the setting sun, and ordering him to look for some waterway which would lead to the "Sea of the South which separates this continent from China; but only after he had given his first attention to the discovery of copper mines which is the main object of the expedition, and after having ascertained the accuracy of the memoirs which have been given him."[60]

From the above it is clear that the discovery of the route to the Sea of the South was only a secondary consideration. St. Lusson states in the procès-verbal that he was sent by Talon "to seek and find mines of all sorts, but especially the copper mine." The "memoirs" given to St. Lusson by Talon were very probably a copy of the chapter on copper mines of Lake Superior in the Relation of 1669-1670, the manuscript of which had certainly reached Quebec when Talon arrived in August 1670.[61]

In the same memoir to Colbert, Talon refers as follows to the previous Péré-Jolliet expedition:

> I have not been able to figure out why or by what machinations I failed to find here on my arrival the information which I expected from the Sieur

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58 Mémoire succinct . . . , May 18, 1669, RAPQ, 1931, 112.

59 Talon to Colbert, August 29, 1670, *ibid.*, 117.

60 Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, *ibid.*, 136.

61 Dollier and Galinée reached Montreal, June 18, 1670, Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 208, after Perrot and the Ottawa, *ibid.*, 206, *Memoire sur les Moeurs*, 120. In his narrative Galinée wrote that "a Jesuit brother who descended after us" wrecked his canoe in the rapids of the Ottawa River. This "Jesuit brother" was probably one of the *donnés* who generally acted as couriers; cf. *Lettres de la Venerable Mere Marie de l'Incarnation premiere Superieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1681, letter lxxxii to her son, September 1, 1669, 640.

Péré who was sent [to the West] last year [1669], with a gratuity of more than one hundred *pistoles*. This fellow Péré did not come back, but remained with the [Jesuit] Fathers, who have a mission in the Ottawa country, whence he writes very obscurely. This gives rise to the suspicion that his explorations may have been interfered with, and that he has been prevented from sending an unalloyed report.[62]

The French wording of this passage makes clear Talon's implications, which, incidentally, are quite unfounded: "Ce qui donne lieu de douter qu'*on* n'ait retardé les connoissances qu'il devoit prendre de cette mine, et empesché qu'il ne communiquast ses lumieres dans leur pureté." "*On*" in this case can only mean the Jesuits, who had made known to Talon himself, three years earlier, the existence of copper mines in Lake Superior. There is no reason whatever to suppose that they would interfere with Péré's explorations, or prevent him from sending an "unalloyed" report. As M. Roy observes, the reason why Péré remained at Sault Ste Marie was very likely because he considered "trade more profitable than scientific investigations" of mines.[63] Furthermore, when St. Lusson returned to Quebec late in the summer of 1671[64] and brought back in person an "unalloyed" report without having been delayed by the machinations of "*on*," there was nothing in his report that had not already been recorded in greater detail in the Relation of 1669-1670.[65]

St. Lusson left Montreal so late in 1670, that he was unable to reach Sault Ste Marie that year.[66] Forced to spend the winter on Lake Huron, he arrived at the Sault at the beginning of May 1671, and there, on June 4, he took solemn possession of the West in the name of the King of France. It would lead us too far afield

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62 Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, RAPQ, 1931, 136-137.

63 Roy, "Jean Péré et Pierre Moreau dit La Taupine," in BRH, X, 1904, 215.

64 He arrived at Quebec before August 26, 1671. Cf. "Saisie d'une chaloupe et pelleterie a la Req. de François Daumont Sr de St Lusson, contre Nicolas Perrot et ses associés venant du Outaouak," September 3, 1671. This is one of the three documents relating to this seizure; the bundle is listed in P. G. Roy, *Inventaire d'une collection de pièces . . . conservées aux Archives judicaires de Québec*, 2 volumes, Beauceville, 1917, I, 13, no. 96.

65 Cf. Talon's memoir to Louis XIV, November 2, 1671, RAPQ, 1931, 158-159.

66 "Je party donc avec le Sr. de Saint Lusson son [Talon's] subdélégué, et nous arrivâmes à Montréal, où nous restâmes jusqu'au commencement du mois d'octobre [1670]. Nous fumes contraints, dans le voyage, d'hyverner chez les Amikoüets; . . ." *Memoirs sur les Moeurs . . .*, 126; and cf. JR, 55:106.

to analyze the procès-verbaux drawn up on this occasion;[67] what concerns us here is the list of the witnesses of the ceremony.[68]

Two of these witnesses, Jacques Maugras[69] and Jacques Largilier, *dit* Le Castor[70], had been previously associated with Adrien Jolliet. On April 20, 1666, they had signed a contract of partnership with Adrien setting forth the conditions "touchant le voyage quils sont prests de faire pour les Oustahak."[71] Largilier and two other witnesses, Pierre Moreau *dit* La Taupine[72] and François de Chavigny, were among the associates of Louis Jolliet in a contract of October

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[67] The procès-verbal in AC, C 11A, 9:292-293v is a copy tacked on at the end of a "Memoire sur la domination des françois en Canada jusqu'en 1687," ff. 260-291; a few lines were added to this memoir after 1706. The whole document printed in NYCD, IX, 781-804, is entitled "Memoir on the French Dominion in Canada 1507-1706"; the procès-verbal is on pp. 803-804. The original procès-verbal, says the editor of the *Collections* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, XI, 26, "is in Margry I, 96-99," adding that the translation which he reprints "is from NYCD, IX, 803-804 with some errors of nomenclature corrected." Margry printed the copy in AC, and Gagnon reprinted it in *Louis Jolliet*, 49-54. In the Jesuit Archives of the Province of France, cf. H. Cordier, *Mélanges Américains*, Paris, 1913, 63, there is another copy made by Father Tailhan on the copy in the "Archives de la Marine," today in AC. Tailhan printed it in his edition of Perrot's *Memoire sur les Moeurs*, 292-294, but left out the names of the witnesses. Cf. A.-L. Leymarie, *Catalogue Illustré*, Paris, 1929, 277. Tailhan has "July 3 last [1670]," as the date of Talon's order to St. Lusson instead of September 3. Talon could not have ordered St. Lusson to go to the West on July 3, for the intendant arrived at Quebec on August 18. The procès-verbal is dated June 14; Dablon, however, wrote out the date when the ceremony took place: "le quatriéme de Juin." JR, 55:106.

There is a copy of an earlier, much shorter, procès-verbal of the prise de possession in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, Amérique, 5:283; a transcription of it by a professional copyist is in the same volume, ff. 282-282v. It is dated May 16, 1671, the day after the Indians had assembled at Sault Ste Marie; it is signed by St. Lusson, and there is no question of witnesses. According to the *Memoire sur les Moeurs*, 127, Perrot arrived at the Sault on May 5, and according to Dablon, St. Lusson reached the mission "au commencement de May." JR, 55:106.

[68] Strictly speaking the names in the list are not signatures. For instance, Jolliet would not sign his name "le sieur Jolliet," but "L. Jolliet" or "Jolliet"; "le sieur" was added by the copyist, just as he added "sieur" before the name of Nicolas Perrot.

[69] On the June procès-verbal, his name is spelled as he himself signs it, "Mogras," on various contemporary documents.

[70] He signed his name "Lagillier." He first became a Jesuit *donné* and was afterwards admitted into the Society of Jesus. He is the "Iacque" mentioned in Marquette's journal, JR, 59:164.

[71] Gunther Collection in the Chicago Historical Society Library.

[72] "Pierre Moreau, sieur de la Taupine," in Margry; "d[i]t de la Touppine," in NYCD, IX, 804. "Moreau (Pierre) sieur de la Taupine, qui se marie à Québec en 1677, signait 'pierre moreau dit Latopine,' en 1694." Philéas Gagnon, "Noms propres au Canada-Français," BRH, XV, 1909, 148. The "*dit*" is correct; La Taupine (from taupe : mole) was his nickname. On La Taupine, cf. "Jean Péré et Pierre Moreau dit La Taupine," in BRH, X, 1904, 219-221.

1, 1672. Before the names of any of these, under that of Nicolas Perrot, on this list, appears "le sieur Jolliet."

That this Jolliet is Louis and not Adrien will appear from an analysis of a previously unpublished document which is printed in full at the end of this article (Appendix A); although undated, it was certainly written before July 6, 1674. Besides identifying Jolliet as Louis, this and another document also published at the end of this article (Appendix B), confirm our previous identification of Adrien Jolliet, besides giving a closer approximation of the date of Adrien's death.[73]

After the death of her first husband, Adrien Jolliet, Jeanne Dodier had married one Antoine Baillargé, sometime before October 1671. Hardly anything is known about Baillargé, except that he was at Cap-de-la-Madeleine the following February and was apparently still alive when Louis Jolliet left for the West in October 1672.[74] The date of his death, and the date of Jeanne Dodier's

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[73] These documents are in the Gunther Collection of the Chicago Historical Society; permission to print them was kindly granted by Mr. L. Hubbard Shattuck, the Director of the Chicago Historical Society. They are listed in the *Report concerning Canadian Archives for the Year 1905*, 3 volumes, Ottawa, I, xxxiv, and are also listed as being among the papers of Bénigne Basset, P.-G. and A. Roy, *Inventaire des Greffes des Notaires du Régime Français*, 2 volumes, Quebec, 1942, I, 226-227. Without giving any proof for his statement, B. Sulte says that the Jolliet who witnessed the procès-verbal at the Sault was Adrien, not Louis, "Les français dans l'Ouest en 1671," *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, series 3, XII, 1918, section 1, 19. But, comments L. P. Kellogg, "a document of September 12, 1671, shows that Adrien was then deceased, after service with La Salle. So the trader at the Sault in 1671 was in all probability Louis." *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, Madison, 1925, 188, note 14. Of itself the document of September 12, 1671, in which Louis speaks of his brother as being dead, does not prove that the "sieur Jolliet" who witnessed the procès-verbal is Louis. Adrien could have been at the Sault in June 1671 and in Quebec by mid-July, that is, two months before the date when he is reported dead. Thus Dablon, who had been present at the prise de possession on June 4, was installed rector of the college of Quebec on July 12. Cf. "Claude Dablon, S.J., 1619-1697," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 100. And St. Lusson, who after the ceremony went to the Otonagon River, (Talon to Louis XIV, November 2, 1671, RAPQ, 1931, 159; manuscript map of Lake Superior, Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique, B 4044-73; La Potherie, II, 130) was in Quebec on August 26, and Perrot arrived there a week later; *supra*, note 64.

[74] Shortly after the archivist of Three Rivers discovered the papers of Jean Cusson, the notary of Cap-de-la-Madeleine, an article was published simultaneously in the *Revue Canadienne*, XLVI, 1904, 62-65, "Le Greffe du Notaire Jean Cusson," by J. L. Desaulniers, and in BRH, X, 1904, 51-56, "Le Greffe de Jean Cusson," by F. L. Desaulniers, by the same author in spite of the different first initials. The importance of these papers for the history of Cap-de-la-Madeleine between 1660 and 1680 is stressed by the author of these articles because the earliest entries in the church registers

third marriage to Mathurin Normandin *dit* Beausoleil, have not been ascertained.

At the end of June or the beginning of July, 1674, as soon as he heard of Louis Jolliet's arrival in Montreal from Sault Ste Marie, Normandin had papers served on the explorer. From these papers it appears that Louis Jolliet and his brother Adrien had drawn up a partnership contract in 1670, and that in 1672 Louis had "obtained his trade permit [congé] the *second time* he went to the Ottawa country," solely in order to bring back pelts belonging to the partners which had been left in the West in 1671. To enable him to fetch these pelts, Jeanne Dodier loaned a canoe. For this canoe Normandin demands that Louis Jolliet should pay rent, because he "made use of it for himself and for the benefit of his new company."

The "second time" that Jolliet went ot the Ottawa country refers to his voyage of 1672-1674 during which the Mississippi was discovered. The question is: when did he go to the West for the "first time"? Since he was at Sault Ste Marie in May-June 1671, he must have left Lower Canada in 1670, before the departure of the St. Lusson party, and he very likely spent the winter of that year at the Sault. This seems to be confirmed by a passage in the memoir of Nicolas Perrot, in which the latter says that the procès-verbal of June 1671 was signed by "Frenchmen who were trading in those parts."[75] Since Adrien Jolliet did not go to the West with his younger brother in 1670, we are justified in concluding that he died sometime between the date of the contract made that year and the date of the departure of the party for Sault Ste Marie early in the summer of 1670.

It is certain that Louis Jolliet was in Quebec on September 12,

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are dated 1673. In Jean Cusson's papers Desaulniers found the marriage contract of one of his forbears. Among the parents and friends who signed the contract on October 11, 1671, we find: "le Sieur Antoine *Lefebvre* et Dame Jeanne Dodier sa femme," according to the version published in the *Revue Canadienne*; and "le sieur Antoine *Boulanger* et Dame Jeanne Dodier sa femme," according to the version published in BRH. There must be an error of transcription, for Jeanne Dodier, the widow of Adrien Jolliet, cannot have been the wife of two different men at the same time. I did not see the original of the marriage contract, but in the original notarial act of 1674, there is no doubt whatever that the name of Jeanne Dodier's second husband is *Baillargé*. Since in both articles his first name is the same, I concluded that his full name was Antoine Baillargé. This identification is confirmed by the fact that on February 15, 1672,—that is, four months after the date of the marriage contract,—an inhabitant of Cap-de-la-Madeleine, named Antoine Baillargé, was fined 100 sols for gambling. BRH, XXV, 1919, 170.

[75] *Memoire sur les Moeurs, . . . ,* 128.

1671, after his return from the West, but what he did and where he went between this date and October 1, 1672, had not been ascertained.[76] On the latter date he was again in Quebec, as can be seen from the following notarial act:

Before Gilles Rageot, notary, ... were present the Sieur Louis Jolliet, François Chavigny, escuyer, Sieur de la Chevrotière, Zacharie Jolliet, Jean Plattier, Pierre Moreau, Jacques Largilier, Jean Tiberge, all now in this town, who of their own free will have entered into partnership and society to make together the voyage to the Ottawa country, [there to] trade with the Indians as profitably as possible, each and all binding themselves *en droit soy* [?]. [Since they are] leaving tomorrow for the said voyage, therefore the said Sieur Louis Jolliet promises and binds himself to furnish at his expense and cost all the merchandise, [all the] appropriate and suitable goods to carry on the said trade, and as much as they can take along with them; similarly [Louis Jolliet binds himself to furnish] suitable victuals to the said Sieurs Chavigny, Zacharie Jolliet, Plattier, Moreau, Largilier and Tiberge, ... and when returning from the said voyage, all beaver, otter, marten, and moose pelts acquired from the said trade, as well as any other pelts that may be had, will be shared as follows: half of all the said pelts will be divided into seven shares, a share each, and the other half will be for the said Sieur Jolliet, because he is paying for the said merchandise, goods, and victuals as well as for the canoes; [this half] is over and above his share [of one seventh of the half] which he will have like the others, as said above. Also if it is necessary to make presents to the Indians during the voyage, and if some presents are received [in return], these will similarly be shared as said above, as well as [the money proceeding from the sale of] the canoes after their return, namely: half, as for the said pelts, and the other half [to be divided] into seven shares. . . . Done and drawn up in the said Quebec in the forenoon in the house of M[essi]r[e] Jacques de Cailhault, escuyer, Sieur de la Tesserie,[77] royal councillor in the king's Sovereign Council in New France, the first day of October 1672, in the presence of Jean Mainguy and of Baptiste Morin, witnesses, who with the contractants and the notary have signed [this act], except the said Tiberge who, upon being formally asked as required by law, declared that he did not know how to write nor how to sign his name.

Jolliet — François de Chavigny — Pierre Moreau — Plattier — Zacarie Jolliet — Morin — Jacque Largillier — J. Mainguy — Rageot.

On October 3, 1672, Louis Jolliet again appeared before the same notary declaring that the share of Chavigny and his brother's share in one half of the trade profits would be proportioned to their

[76] Jolliet had been in Quebec at least since the beginning of September; for it is clear from Frontenac's letter of November 2, 1672, AC, C 11A, 3:243v, (this passage is inaccurately reproduced in RAPQ, 1927, 18), that the intendant had chosen Jolliet before the arrival of the governor on September 7 or 8, 1672.

[77] Jacques de Cailhaut, Sieur de la Tesserie, was the step-father of François de Chavigny.

investments, and not merely be one seventh as in the case of the other partners whose contribution consisted solely in their services during the journey.[78]

From this second document we learn that Jolliet was still in Quebec on October 3; and from the first document we know the names of six of those who were about to leave with him for the Ottawa country. By means of this latter item we shall try to give a tentative solution to a problem which, to the best of our knowledge, has thus far been left unsolved; namely, who were the members of the expedition of 1673? We know that seven men took part in the discovery of the Mississippi, and we know the names of two of them: Jolliet and Marquette. The question is: who were the other five?

Of the seven men mentioned in the notarial act of October 1, 1672, it is certain that Chavigny did not take part in the Mississippi voyage, because, although he may have left Quebec in October 1672, he was certainly on the Lower St. Lawrence in 1673, for he was with Frontenac at Catarocouy in July of that year;[79] that is, at the time when Jolliet and his six companions were on the Mississippi. It is practically certain that Largilier accompanied him to the Mississippi.[80] Again, in virtue of the contract of October 1, 1672, Jolliet

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78 The originals of these two documents are among the papers of Gilles Rageot. A copy of both is in the Archives de la Province de Québec, Collection Pierre-Georges Roy, Carton Louis Jolliet. A copy of these copies was kindly sent to the present writer by Dr. Guy Frégault, formerly of the Archives of the Province of Quebec.

While this article was being printed, I received *Toutes petites choses du Régime Français*, première série, by P.-G. Roy, Quebec 1944. Referring to the names of Jolliet's associates as found in the act of October 1, 1672, M. Roy asks: "N'avons-nous pas là les noms des braves qui firent la découverte du Mississipi avec Jolliet?" (p. 201). By itself, the fact that they were Jolliet's partners does not prove that they went to the Mississippi with him. As I show in the text it is unlikely that Zacharie Jolliet accompanied his brother in the 1673 voyage of discovery, and it is certain that François de Chavigny was not one of the seven men that took part in the expedition.

79 "Journal of Count de Frontenac's Voyage to Lake Ontario in 1673," NYCD, IX, 113. From a notarial act of April 7, 1674, we know that he was in Quebec on this day; cf. Quebec, Archives judiciaires, Greffe Becquet.

80 We say "practically certain," because his name is not specified in the document quoted below. After speaking with the two men who had assisted Marquette in his last moments, Father Cholenec wrote as follows in his letter of October 10, 1675: "Le R. P. Superieur des Missions des Outaouacs . . . . luy [Marquette] envoya . . . . deux de nos domestiques [Jacques Largilier and Pierre Porteret] qui se sont donnés à nos missions *dont lun avoit fait le voiage avec luy*, pour le prendre à la baye des Puans . . . ." C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII*e *siècle*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1895-1896, III, 607. The reason for saying that the man who had made the Mississippi voyage is Largilier is because Jolliet had hired him in Quebec.

had full control over Moreau, Plattier, and Tiberge. Since it seems quite improbable that he would have hired three new hands at Sault Ste Marie or at Michilimackinac, we can be reasonably sure of six of the seven men who took part in the discovery of the Mississippi: Louis Jolliet, Jacques Marquette, Jacques Largilier, Pierre Moreau, Jean Plattier, and Jean Tiberge.

In the contract of October 1, 1672, the name of Louis' brother, Zacharie Jolliet, also occurs; but there is reason to think that he was not the seventh member of the expedition of 1673. Although Jolliet is very reticent when it comes to giving the names of those who accompanied him in his journeys,[81] yet he would hardly pass over, it seems, the fact that his brother had taken part in the discovery of the Mississippi. Moreover, when Jolliet set out to find the great river, it is unlikely that he would have left unguarded the pelts which had been gathered during the past winter as well as those which had been left at Sault Ste Marie in 1671. It must have occurred to him that it would be safer to leave his forge, the merchandise, and the pelts in the keeping of his brother, who had invested money in the enterprise, than to leave a comparative stranger in charge while he went in search of the Mississippi. This deduction is seemingly borne out by what happened the following year. At the beginning of June 1674, when Louis Jolliet left Sault Ste Marie to return to Quebec, his companions dispersed to various places: Moreau went to the Illinois country; Largilier went to Green Bay; the other two, Plattier and Tiberge, returned to Quebec later in the summer; but Zacharie Jolliet remained in the West, probably at Sault Ste Marie.

To sum up, then, we are certain of the identity of two of the seven men who took part in the expedition of 1673: Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette; we have good probability with regard to the identity of four more: Jacques Largilier, Pierre Moreau, Jean Plattier, and Jean Tiberge. As for the unknown seventh, he may have been one of the two men who were drowned in the rapids above Montreal while returning with Jolliet in 1674. Perhaps some more fortunate investigator may discover positive evidence to disprove or confirm the above reasoning about the identity of the obscure pioneers who under the leadership of Jolliet took part in the discovery of the Mississippi.

We saw that Mathurin Normandin *dit* Beausoleil, as soon as he had heard that Jolliet was in Montreal, demanded that the claims of

[81] In the extant accounts of his travels only one man is mentioned by name.

his wife, Jeanne Dodier, be submitted to arbitration. Louis Jolliet agreed to compromise and on July 6, 1674, an amicable settlement was arrived at before Bénigne Basset, the royal notary of Montreal. This settlement was submitted to two members of the Sovereign Council then in town, who were chosen as arbiters of the case. Their decision, rendered July 7, 1674, is also printed at the end of this article (Appendix B).

On the verso of the document containing this decision there is a declaration by Normandin and his wife before the same notary that Jolliet, in conformity to the above verdict of the arbiters, has given them satisfaction. This declaration was "fait et passé aud. Montreal en la maison du S^{r} Jacques Le Ber, Marchand, L'an gbj^{c} soixante quatorse le vingt . . . ."; at this point the document is torn, and hence gives no clue to the month in which it was written. The important fact, however, is that the document refers to Jolliet as absent.

Whatever may have been the date of this declaration, it is certain that Jolliet was still in Montreal on July 13, 1674, and we also know that he had been in Quebec for some time before August 1. Two months later, he appeared before the Sovereign Council as defendant in a suit brought against him by Éléonore de Grandmaison, the mother of François de Chavigny, the wife of Jacques Cailhaut de la Tesserie, in whose house the contract of October 1, 1672, had been signed. This lady's husband having died in 1673, she now claimed a share of the profits made by Jolliet in the Ottawa country, on the ground that she had contributed 300 livres toward financing the expedition. On October 1, 1674, the plaintiff secured an order from the Sovereign Council that the defendant produce the contract and other papers tending to show that she was really entitled to a share in these profits, and on October 3, the case was tried before the Council. Among the exhibits were the following documents:

The partnership contract drawn up before Rageot, notary, on October 1, 1672, between the said defendant [Louis Jolliet], François de Chavigny, Zacharie Jolliet, the said parties to the suit [Jean Plattier and Jean Tiberge], Pierre Moreau, and Jacques Largilier, to make the voyage to the Ottawa country and to trade there;[82] a note of the said defendant of the third of the said month and year by which it appears that the expenses of the voyage amount to three thousand livres, and that each of the partners were to receive a profit of three hundred livres, and had also bound themselves to pay the Sieur Chartier 300 livres on their return from the said trading expedition; below this note is the receipt of the said Chartier of the second of this month; another note of the said defendant of the fourth day of the said

[82] This is the document printed *supra*, p. 21.

month and year by which he acknowledges that the said plaintiff has contributed three hundred livres, the share of one man, to the common fund, from which she was to have half the profits of one share, the whole profit being divided into as many parts as there are partners; another note of the defendant signed by him but undated, wherein he declares that he made no contract with the said Chartier and the Demoiselle de la Tesserie; a request of the said Plattier signed by himself and unanswered; a memorandum of the plaintiff containing her complaint;—the pleas of the litigants before the said Sieur de Peiras [acting attorney-general] on the fourth [?] of the present month, with Mr. Pierre Duquet, notary, acting as clerk of the court;—the report of the said Sieur de Peiras;—the summing up by the attorney-general; —Everything having been considered, the Council has nonsuited and nonsuits the plaintiff and the parties to the suit [Jean Plattier and Jean Tiberge] of their present petitions and claims; and upholds the sharing, made in ten parts with the defendant, of the pelts acquired in the trade by trading in the Ottawa country, except that they may also have a share, on the same footing, of the pelts belonging to their company which have remained in the Ottawa country, but they may not claim anything from the pelts which may be gathered by the two men who were sent to fetch [the furs left] in the said Ottawa country since the dissolution of their partnership, and the Council sentences the plaintiff and parties to the suit to a equal share of the costs.

FF [Frontenac].[83]

These two episodes, *i. e.*, the claim of Normandin at Montreal, and the law suit at Quebec, are a melancholy commentary on the reception tendered to the discoverer of the Mississippi on his return to Lower Canada in 1674. Instead of being welcomed by "the bells of the churches ringing a full peal" when the explorer who had discovered an imperial waterway arrived at Quebec—a sentimental assertion for which there is not one shred of evidence—he was hauled before notaries, arbiters, and judges, and forced to give a detailed account of his trading activities in the West between 1672 and 1674.

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[83] *Jugements et délibérations*, I, 864.

Appendix A.

Prétantions que le sieur BeauSoleil a contre Monsieur Jolliet tant pour luy que p[r] La Vefue du feu Sieur Joliet aprezent son Espouze

Premierement

1 40 Robes dune peau quil est obligé daporter des 8ta8as appartenant a la Vielle Communauté ./.

2 30 : autres Robes quil apris de lad. Communauté et mise. dans la Sienne sans en auoir donné aucune connoissance A sa soeur ./.

3 Un Canot que sa soeur luy apresté pour aller querir les pacquets d. lad. Communauté ./.

4 Payement de la forge dont il se sert depuis trois ans ./.

5 Une Couuerte blanche p[r] son Compte per[e] que le feu Sieur Joliet Luy a livré
Quand led. Sieur Jolliet aura examiner les articles cy dessus il est prié de faire connoistre ses Intentions Ensuitte dequoy on la deliberera par arbitre. ou deuant qui il luy plaira ./.

6 On demande aussy Raison de Ceux qui sont Redevabl. alad. Communauté [*verso*]

7 de plus au lieu de rendre un canot qui luy fust presté par sa soeur pour aller querir les robes de la Communaute comme il est descrit cy dessus il en a achepté un des robes de Ladite Communauté dans le pays des Outouaks qui luy a cousté six robes desquelles six robes la vefve y devoit auoir trois lequel canot Il a vendu au mary deffunt de sa soeur six robes quoy que led. canot luy fust justement deub et que bien loing de le payer, on debvroit rembourser ladite vefve de la moitie des six robes quil auoit couste vu quelle avoit presté un Canot et que par consequent on luy en devroit rendre un autre.

8 On demande aussi que le Sieur Jolliett ayt a payer les robes qui sont restées aux Outaouaks, appartenant a la dite Communauté, veu qu'il n'a eu son congé, la seconde fois qu'il y est monté, qu'en consideration des robes qui y estoient restées, et que par consequent, il lui devoit plutost faire embarquer, que quatre cens qui n'etoient point dans la dite communauté.
Et en cas que le sieur Jolliett dise qu'il avoit besoing

d'un canot pour faire embarquer les dites robes et que
par consequent le canot qui est dit cy -dessus luy devroit
appartenir, il ne niera pas que tous ces canots devoient
estre, comme il etoit dit dans le marché, au sieur
Jolliette defunt, pourveu qu'ils fussent achetés des
marchandises ou robes de la dite communauté

9 Une chemise un calçon et une cravatte a passouche Lorsquil
descendit la premiere fois des Outaouaks.

[*verso*]

5 sacqs de bled
16# de fil — la forge valoit icy
du fil de fer — 120#
des haches

Appendix B.

Veu par Nous Louis Rouer S^{r} de Villeray et Thierry de L'Estre Le Vallon, Escheuin & Bourgeois de Quebec, *de la ville de Quebec* [italics deleted], le Compromis passé par deuant M^{e} Benigne Basset No^{re} Royal de Cette Isle, entre Louis Jolliet habitant dud. lieu de Quebec d'une part, Et Mathurin Normandin dit Beausoleil demeurant au Cap de la Mag^{ne} et Jeanne Dodier sa femme veufve en premieres nopces de feu Adrian Jolliet, d'autre, et dattes du jour d'hyer par lequel les dictes partyes seroient convenües de Nous, pour arbitres, terminer & decider les differends meu entre eux pour raison de L'Ancienne Societé & communauté D'Entre lesd. Sieur Adrian Jolliet deffunt, & led. sieur Louis Jolliet et Consorts, L'acte de ce jour etant au bas dud. compromis portant L'acceptation par nous faite dud. arbitrage, les memoires respectifs presentes par les dites parties et Icelles oüyes sur Iceux, et sur aucuns faits en resultant; Tout Consideré, nous disons, Qu'au regard des vingt trois ou vingt quatre robbes restéés dans le pays des 8ta8acs, ils seront partagéz entre eux au desir de leur dicte Societé, lorsqu'ils seront arrivéez aud. lieu du Cap, et pour cet effet, seront apportées a communs frais a leurs diligences, particulierem^{t} a celle dud. Sieur Jolliet autant que faire se pourra, selon ses offres; et pour ce qui concerne certain canot fourny aud. S^{r} Jolliet par lad^{te} veufve, pour seruir a apporter les pelleteries qui estoient aud. pays des 8ta8acs, d'autant quallant aud. pays, led. Sieur Jolliet s'en est servy po. son Usage particulier & celui de sa nouuelle Société, ordonner qu'il payera en son Nom, la

somme de trente liures ausd. Sieur Normandin & sa femme Et attendu que tous les Canots de Retour des 8ta8acs procedans de la Societé, doibuent appartenir aud. feu S^{r} Jolliet au desir de l'accord fait entre lesd. associez et que neantmoins la dicte dodier, ou le feu S^{r} Baillargé son second mari en ayant pris un, ils furent contraints de rapporter quelque quantité de castors a la masse des pelleteries appartenantes a lad. Societé au retour de l'annee gbj^{C} soixante & Unze, Led. Sieur Jolliet deffendeur restituera en son nom come dit est, ausd. demandeurs la quantité de neuf Castors, et quand a la forge, Marchandises et Viures denréés, pelleteries et effects quelconques restez aud. pays des 8ta8acs, appartenans a lad. Société ainsi que les vingt trois a vingt quatre robbes susdictes du consentement dud. S^{r} Jolliet, deffendeur, auons Icelui condamné en son nom particulier payer et bailler ausd. demandeurs, la quantité de Douse robbes et demye de six Castors chacune, pour la part appartenante a lad. veufve et succession dud. deffunt Jolliet son mary, sauf aud. Sieur Jolliet deffendeur, pour ce chef & autres susdits, son recours, tant sur lesd. effects que contre qu'il verra etre a faire au cas que led. Normandin, sad^{te} femme et succession dud. deffunt et sans prejudices a ce qui leur peut appartenir en ce qui se trouuera deub du particulier d'aucun de dix autres leurs associéz en lad. Societé dont led. Sieur Jolliet deffendeur, de bonne foy leur donnera connoissance et coppie du memoire qu'il en fera pour remplacer celuy quil dit auoir perdu dans son dernier Nofrage, Auons en outre Condamné led. sieur Jolliet deffendeur, payer ausd. demandeurs la somme de vingt liures pour la valeur d'une chemise, Calçon et Cravate mentiones en leur memoire, et au surplus d'Icelles demandes Incidentes et respectives des partyes Icelles hors de cour et de proces sans depens, et pour leur prononcer la presente sentence auons Comis le sieur Basset Nottaire fait a Ville marie en L'Isle du Montreal, ce septieme jour de juillet gbi^{C} soixante quatorze approuvé deux mots en rature

Roüer de Villeray
De lestre Le vallon

Basset
greffier.

L'an gbj^{C} soixante quatorze et le tresie. Jour du mois de juillet, par vertu de la Commission sus Enoncé Je Benigne Basset Greffier du Bailliage de Montreal y desnommé, ay *signiffié*+ [deleted] et fait a scauoir ausd. Sieurs Louis Jolliet, Normandin & sa femme

quil authorise pour leffect presentes et parlant a Leurs personnes trouvées aud. Montreal, apres leur avoir fait entiere Lecture, de la presente sentence quils ont dit auoir bien entendue, et que par ces presentes et chacun en leur esgard, acquiessé et acquiesse sans pouvoir aller au Contrairre, et ont signé a la reserve desd. Sr Normandin et sa femme pour ne scauoir et de ce enquis suivant L'ord^{ce}+ prononcée approuué un mot en rature

Jolliet

Basset [paraph]

Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River

We have said elsewhere that there were five basic sources for our knowledge of Jolliet's expedition of 1673,[1] and that the expedition itself could not be adequately studied until these sources had been thoroughly analyzed.[2] In a previous article we examined one of these basic sources; namely, the 1674 account of the discovery of the Mississippi. This account is essentially the verbal report of Jolliet, the leader of the expedition, committed to writing by Father Dablon. The evidential value of this report could be higher if we had Dablon's original draft, or better still, if we had Jolliet's account in his own handwriting. In the following pages we shall analyze Marquette's map, which is not only the oldest source for our knowledge of the expedition of 1673, but it is also the single extant autograph document by a member of the expedition. Its importance is readily realized when we remember, first, that it expresses cartographically what was contained in Marquette's journal, which the missionary had before him when he made the map, and secondly that in spite of its sketchiness, it is much more accurate than the maps of the same section of the Mississippi River which were drawn during the next twenty-five years.

There are to my knowledge two analyses of this map, but their authors have not extracted all the information contained thereon. The first in date is by L. G. Weld whose main concern was to determine the location in Iowa of the Illinois tribe inscribed on the map west of the Mississippi, slightly above latitude 40°.[3] The second analysis, by L. P. Kellogg, is incidental to a discussion of an early state of a map illustrating the narrative of the 1673 expedition published by Thévenot in 1681.[4] In her discussion the late Miss Kellogg supposed that Marquette's map was based on information supplied by Indians and drawn before the expedition got under way. At a later date, however, she revised this opinion, and wrote that Marquette

[1] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 301-324.

[2] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," *supra*, p. 3.

[3] L. G. Weld, "Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, I, 1903, 3-16.

[4] L. P. Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map Possibly Identified," *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1906, Madison, 1907, 186 ff.

"began that map at St. Ignace before he set forth, and that later he added the courses of the Mississippi."[5]

What had led her to assert that the map was drawn before the voyage is a passage of a narrative of the expedition which is entitled "Recit des voyage et des Descouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette," saying that before setting out for the unknown:

> We obtained all the information that we could from the Indians who had frequented those regions; and we even traced out from their reports a map of the whole of that new country; on it we indicated the rivers which we were to navigate, the names of the peoples and of the places through which we were to pass, the course of the great river, and the direction we were to follow when we reached it.[6]

As can be seen, Kellogg's later opinion is at variance with the above text, in which it is distinctly stated that the whole map was made before the explorers left Michilimackinac. Kellogg, Weld, and many others mistakenly believed that Marquette was the author of the *Récit*, whereas it is quite certain that it was written by Dablon, and it is also certain that the latter made use of Marquette's map to write the *Récit*. Dablon's mention of a map drawn before the voyage probably refers to the custom of explorers to make such maps on information supplied by Indians,[7] or it was due to the fact that when he wrote the *Récit*, he had Marquette's map before him. If, however, as seems very likely, some other map was made before the expedition started, that map is certainly not the one which we are studying. What Sparks wrote of the Thévenot map is much truer of that of Marquette: "It was impossible to construct it, without having seen the principal objects delineated";[8] and, we may add, it would have been impossible to draw such an accurate map of the course of the Mississippi merely on information derived from the Indians.

Since in discussing Marquette's map we shall have to refer more than once to the Jesuit map of Lake Superior, a few words about this latter map are in place here. Indeed, that portion of Marquette's map north of latitude 43°, is a slightly modified copy of this earlier map.

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[5] *Id.*, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, Madison, 1925, 200, note 29.

[6] R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 59:90.

[7] Cf. JR, 44:236 ff.; La Salle's letter of *post* September 29, 1680, in P. Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, II, 52-53; Journal of the *Badine*, *ibid*, IV, 178; Journal of the *Marin*, *ibid.*, 269.

[8] Jared Sparks, "Life of Father Marquette," in *Library of American Biography*, first series, New York, 1848[2], X, 297.

Dablon wrote as follows in the covering letter of the Relation of 1670-1671:

> At the beginning of the Relation of the Ottawa will be found a map showing the region, with their lakes and rivers, in which the missions of that country are situated. It was drawn by two Fathers, rather intelligent, much given to research, and very painstaking, who did not wish to set down anything they had not seen with their own eyes. They have therefore given only the beginnings of the Lake of the Hurons and of the Lake of the Illinois, although they have traveled considerably over both, which appear like two seas, so large are they. But as the Fathers have not explored certain portions of them in person, they prefer to leave the map somewhat imperfect, rather than issue it with errors, which always creep in when one depends on the mere report of others.[9]

Of the "two Fathers" mentioned here one is certainly Allouez, and the other is Dablon himself rather than Marquette. It is unlikely that Dablon would have omitted giving their names, if Marquette and Allouez had been the two Fathers in question. He certainly would not have been satisfied with saying that they were "assez intelligens";[10] and what he says about having explored Green Bay as well as the northern portions of Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, is true of Dablon himself, not of Marquette.

Between 1665 and 1667, Allouez had explored the shore of the whole of Lake Superior. The geographical information published in the Relation of 1666-1667,[11] was recast and expanded in the Relation of 1669-1670.[12] During the winter of 1669-1670, Allouez went to Sault Ste Marie, along the northern shore of Lake Michigan, up Green Bay and the Fox River to the Mascoutens villages in Green Lake County, Wisconsin. The journal of this journey was forwarded to Quebec in June 1670, and was published in Paris in 1671 as a part of the Relation of 1669-1670.[13] By the beginning of June 1670, Allouez had returned to Sault Ste Marie, whence, together with Dablon, toward the end of August, he left a second time for the Mascoutens villages.[14] Consequently, when Dablon says that the two Fathers "did not wish to set down" on the map of the Ottawa missions, "anything which they had not seen with their own eyes," this applies to Allouez and himself rather than to Allouez and Marquette.

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[9] JR, 54:254.
[10] Cf. "Claude Dablon, S.J. (1619-1697)," in MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 109.
[11] Cf. JR, 50:248 ff., and 51:20 ff.
[12] JR, 54:126-164.
[13] *Ibid.*, 196-240.
[14] JR, 55:184.

The rough draft of this map was very probably made by Dablon himself and completed at Quebec after July 12, 1671. This original draft is lost, so that it is impossible to know how much of the nomenclature of Lake Superior mentioned in chapters X and XI of the Relation of 1669-1670 was on the manuscript sent to France for publication. It is probable that many place-names were omitted by the engraver or by the professional draughtsman who redrew Dablon's sketch in Paris.[15]

That mistakes were made when the map was prepared for the engraver is clear from the following considerations. We must first note that Dablon gives few distances in his description of Lake Superior in the Relation of 1669-1670 or in that of 1670-1671, and the few distances which he does give do not correspond to those shown on the map. Thus, he wrote that the Keweenaw peninsula juts eighty leagues into the lake, whereas if we measure its length on the scale of the map it is only twenty leagues long, or thirty-five leagues if the latitudes marked on the sides of the map are used as a scale. Actually, the length of the peninsula, from the point where the 89th meridian crosses the 47th parallel up to Copper Harbor, is seventy miles. The discrepancy between the leagues on the scale and those on the parallels of latitude was noted by Bourguignon d'Anville two centuries ago.[16] After comparing these two measures, he wrote on Dablon's map: "35 [scl. leagues] environ par Degré." This is a mistake, for thirty-five leagues on the scale equal *two* degrees of latitude; hence seventeen and a half leagues for one degree of latitude, which was the length given to it by Spanish sailors. The French, however, counted twenty sea leagues to the degree of latitude, or twenty-five land leagues. If the discrepancy between the value of the league measured on the scale and on the degrees of latitude is not simply an error of the Paris draughtsman, the only explanation seems to be that the latter meant to give on his scale the value of one degree of longitude at the middle latitude of the map. This would be twenty-five land leagues times the cosine of latitude 45°, or seventeen and a half leagues for one degree of longitude at that latitude.

However that may be, the merit of this map does not depend

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[15] Compare the printed map with a manuscript draft in the Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique (SHB), B 4044-74. This manuscript has been published from the photograph in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions by S. J. Tucker in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Part I, *Atlas*, Sprinfield, Illinois, 1942, pl. II. Cf. the note accompanying this map, *ibid.*, page 2.

[16] Cf. *infra*, note 24.

so much on its mathematical accuracy as on its faithful representation of the region. About this map Karpinski wrote:

> No one can examine this fine delineation of Lake Superior and the northern parts of Michigan and Huron without amazement at the amount of scientific exploration and careful observation which made it possible. Not until the second quarter of the nineteenth century was any cartographical work of the magnitude and character of this Jesuit map executed in the Great Lakes area.[17]

Dablon wrote in his Relation of 1671-1672:

> Last year, we published a map of the lakes and territories where these [Ottawa] missions are situated. We have thought it would be well to republish it this year in order to satisfy the curiosity of those who have not seen it, adding a few new missions which were lately founded in that country: that of St. Francis Xavier, for instance, which quite recently was moved to the [bank] of the river emptying into Green Bay, two leagues from its mouth; and the mission of the Apostles on the northern coast of Lake Huron.[18]

The map which accompanied this Relation in no way differs from that published in the preceding year. From what Dablon says here, it would seem that his revised map was made by simply marking on a printed copy of the last year's map the additions mentioned above; namely, the location of the mission of St. Francis Xavier on the site of present-day De Pere, Wisconsin, instead of at Point Sable, where it appears on the map of 1671;[19] and the mission of the Apostles across from that of St. Simon. In Paris, however, they took no account of these changes, and "the old plate of the preceding year was made to do service."[20]

The delineation of Lake Superior on the Dablon map of 1671, appears on numerous representations of this section of North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Besides, quite a number of tracings and redrawings of this particular map was made during the next hundred years.

Among these manuscripts is a tracing with an abridged title;[21] immediately below the legend "R. Nantounagan," the anonymous author of this tracing added the following inscription: "Dans laquelle le S^{r} de S^{t} Lusson a percé et trouué des galets de sable

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[17] L. C. Karpinski, *Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan*, Lansing, 1931, 99.

[18] JR, 56:90.

[19] For the successive locations of the St. Francis Xavier mission, cf. A. C. Neville, "Some Historic Sites about Green Bay," *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin Historical Society for 1905, Madison, 1906, 143-156.

[20] JR, 55:317.

[21] Lac Tracy ou Superieur auec les dependances de la Mission du Saint Esprit, in SHB, B 4044-73.

desquels on croit que se forme le cuiure."[22] Claude Bernou used the printed Jesuit map of 1671 as a model for his own manuscript map of Lake Superior, and added descriptive legends taken from the Relations of 1670-1671 and of 1671-1672.[23] In the eighteenth century, Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville inscribed numerous legends on the printed map in the Relation of 1670-1671.[24] When redrawing this augmented version, he added the course of the Upper Mississippi as given by Coronelli,[25] and embodied this revision in his map of North America published in 1755.[26]

Marquette's original manuscript map is preserved in the Archives of the Collège Sainte-Marie, Montreal. It is one of the documents handed over to Father Martin in 1844 by the nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec. A facsimile of the map was first published by Shea in 1852,[27] and again in 1861 by Father de Montézon to accompany his editions of the *Relations inédites*.[28] Thwaites wrote about these reproductions: "The facsimile of Marquette's genuine map, as reproduced by Shea and others is not without blunders, which will be detected upon comparison with the photographic facsimile given in the present volume of our series."[29]

I have looked in vain for these "blunders." In some respects the Shea facsimile is better than the photographic copy in the

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22 Cf. *supra*, "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," note 73.

23 SHB, B 4044-46. A contemporary tracing of this map by an unidentified draughtsman is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Ge D, 8078.

24 BN, Ge. DD, 2987-8695, reproduced in Tucker, *Indian Villages*, pl. I. The caption on this map reproduced in G. L. Nute, *Lake Superior*, New York and Indianapolis, 1944, facing p. 40, reads as follows: "One of the earliest maps of Lake Superior. Probably this manuscript was the draft from which the printed form of the Jesuit map of 1672 was made." This map is not a "manuscript" draft; it is the printed map which d'Anville took out of the Relation of 1670-1671, and to which he added many legends. How could this be "the draft from which the printed form of the Jesuit map of 1672 was made," considering that the manuscript additions are in the handwriting of d'Anville, who was born in 1697, twenty-five years after the publication of the map?

25 This map, in SHB, B 4044-38, has no title; it is reproduced in Tucker, *Indian Villages*, pl. III.

26 *Canada Louisiane et Terres Angloises*, Par Le Sr d'Anville, [Paris], Novembre MDCCLV. Compare the nomenclature of the Lake Superior region on this map with d'Anville's *Amérique Septentrionale*, Paris, 1746, and with that on the manuscript map of Chaussegros de Léry of 1735, SHB, B 4044-77.

27 J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, Redfield, 1852.

28 *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France (1672-1679) pour faire suite aux anciennes Relations (1615-1672)*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1861. The map is at the end of volume II.

29 JR, 59:295. "Shea's map was traced, and in this process somewhat changed and 'improved'." Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map," *loc. cit.*, 183, note 1.

Jesuit Relations. Father Steck, who made the comparison suggested by Thwaites, says that "this latest reproduction, however, shows that since the days of Shea the original has been mutilated so that the unmistakable handwriting of Marquette no longer appears on it."[30] As a matter of fact, the original of the map is exactly as it was in the days of Shea,[31] without the least mutilation.[32] A glance at these maps will show that whoever was preparing Thwaites' photographic copy thought that the four original legends in cursive were too finely written to photograph well, and therefore rewrote these legends more clearly, pasting his reproductions of them over the originals. The original in cursive may still be seen, in the "unmistakable handwriting of Marquette," and this settles the question of the authenticity of the map.

The map measures 467 x 350 mm. The projection is the simplest and most conventional one: the cylindrical equal-spaced projection (plate-carrée, quadratische Plattkarte). The latitudes, from 30° to 48°, are numbered on both sides of the map, but the longitudes marked off at the top and bottom are not numbered.

The delineation of Lake Superior is the same as that of the Jesuit map of 1671; except that the northern shore is not shown, for the area represented only extends to latitude 48°. The contours of Green Bay, and of the northern shores of Lake Huron and of Lake Michigan, are also derived from the map of 1671. The west shore of Lake Huron and the east shore of Lake Michigan are indicated by a dotted line. The three lakes are given their seventeenth century French names. Three legends in cursive and one in block letters, taken from the map of 1671, are inscribed on Lake Superior. On the north shore of Lake Huron, Marquette wrote "SS. Ap" [SS. Apostres] intending to indicate the location of the mission of the Holy Apostles begun by Father Nouvel in the winter

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[30] F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, Quincy, Illinois, 1928, 149, note 32.

[31] See the untouched photographic reproduction of the map in Tucker, *Indian Villages*, pl. V.

[32] The "mutilation" theory reappears in a "Reply" to G. J. Garraghan's article, *Thought*, IV, 1929, 32 ff., dealing with Father Steck's book. "This mutilation of the original map made after 1852, whereby the handwriting of Marquette was completely destroyed, is really another of the many enigmas connected with the 1673 expedition." *Father Garraghan and "The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673,"* reprinted from *The Fortnightly Review*, 1929-1930, 10. It would have been more profitable if Father Steck had ascertained what sources were used by Dablon to write the *Récit*, rather than wasted time in looking for "enigmas" where there are none, or in trying to find something improbable in the obvious.

of 1671-1672.[33] The center-top of the map, which is torn, originally contained the name of an Indian tribe beginning with "Ki"; these are evidently the first two letters of the word "Kilistinons" on the Jesuit map of 1671.

The names of four Indian tribes are inscribed in the Green Bay-Fox River region. The first, "folle auoine" written in cursive, is located as on the map of 1671, on the Menominee River; but Marquette does not indicate as clearly as Dablon did whether the village of these Indians was on the Wisconsin or on the Michigan side of the Menominee.[34] The names of the three other Indian tribes are written in block letters: 1) the P8te8tami at Point Sable, where the St. Francis Xavier mission was located before it was moved to De Pere, Wisconsin; 2) the 8tagami on the east bank of the Wolf River, exactly where it is situated on the 1671 map;[35] and 3) the Masc8tens, on the south bank of the Fox River.[36]

The names of the Indian tribes shown in the Mississippi Valley may be divided into three groups. The first group comprises "Kachkaska" on the Illinois River, and the names of three Indian tribes on the banks of the Mississippi: "Pe8area," "Mons8pelea," and "Akansea." Whether "Metchigamea" is meant to represent an Indian village on the west bank of the Mississippi, or one located farther inland, is discussed below. The second group comprises five names placed in echelons east of the Mississippi, which are said to be those of "Nations dans les terres." The third group, west of the Mississippi, includes two clusters of villages, nine in the north, and eight in the south; they are the "Noms des nations esloignees dans les terres."

The Mississippi is marked "R. de la Conception."[37] The legend

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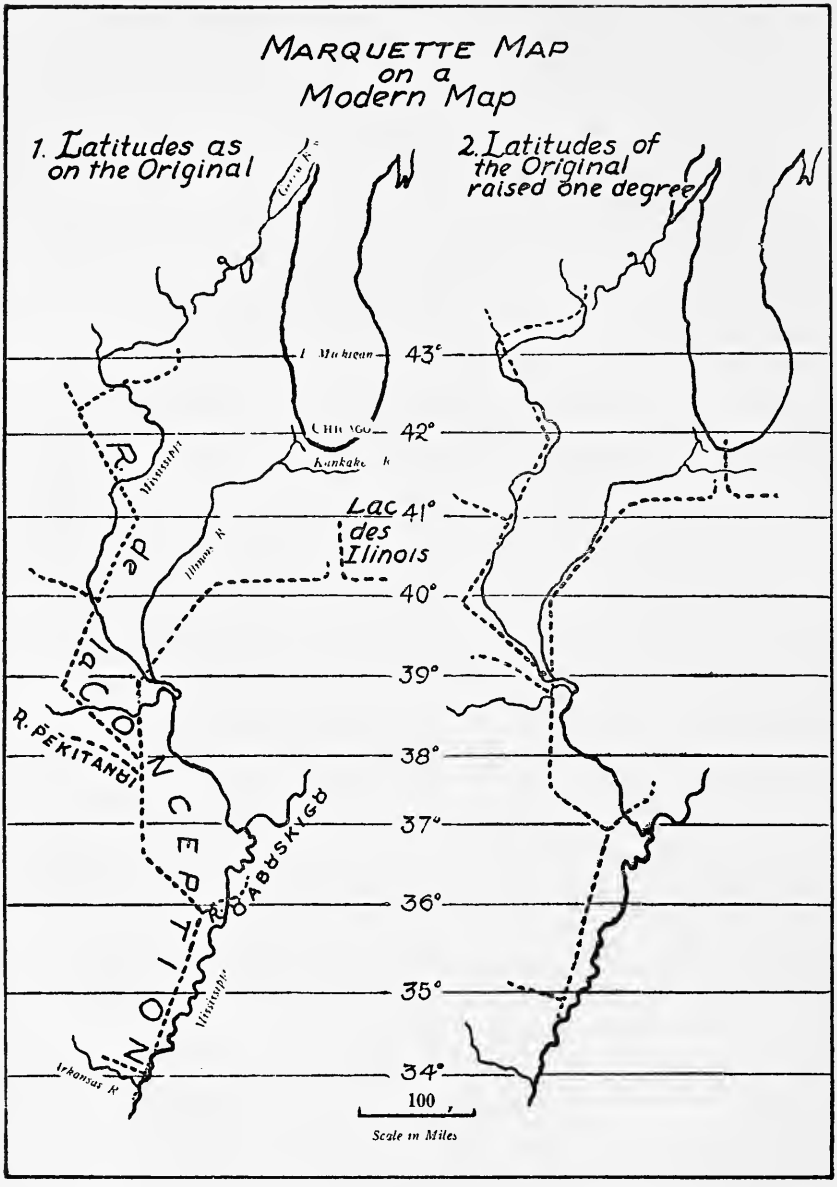
[33] JR, 56:92 ff.

[34] On the site of this village, cf. Kellogg, *French Régime in Wisconsin*, 125, note 47.

[35] *Id., ibid.*, 127, note 50.

[36] Cf. J. J. Wood, "The Mascoutin Village," *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1906, 167-174, and A. E. Jones, "The Site of the Mascoutin," *ibid.*, 175-182. In his discussion, Father Jones erroneously supposes that the text which he discusses was written by Marquette; whereas it is a copy, in an unknown hand, of Dablon's original. Dablon probably wrote "treize" instead of "trois."

[37] There is no reason to question the authenticity of this name on the ground that it is not written in cursive "like other portions" of the map, "but in Roman capitals," (Steck, *op. cit.*, 296). At that rate only the four legends in cursive are authentic, for all the others are in Roman capitals, and there is no difference between the style of the Roman capitals "R. De La Conception" and the style of the Roman capitals of the other legends. Cf. also *ibid.*, 171, note 92. Neither is it conclusive to argue that because Marquette calls the Mississippi by its Indian name in his autograph journal of the second voyage, he therefore had not called it "R. de


MARQUETTE MAP
on a
Modern Map
1. Latitudes as on the Original
2. Latitudes of the Original raised one degree
Green B.
L. Michigan
CHICAGO
Kankakee R.
Lac des Illinois
Illinois R.
Mississippi R.
R. de la CONCEPTION
R. PEKITANOI
R. OUABASKIGO
Mississippi R.
Arkansas R.
43°
42°
41°
40°
39°
38°
37°
36°
35°
34°
100
Scale in Miles

"Bassin de la Floride" is written along the 31st parallel and one degree below, farther to the east, is the word "Floride."

[This map] represents, with the exception of Lake Superior, merely the route traversed by Marquette, even the eastern shore of Lake Michigan being traced by a dotted line, so careful was the author to show only those places with which he was personally acquainted. But this defect, if we can call it such, is compensated for by a style of execution that would do credit to a skilled designer. The Mississippi is shown only from its junction with the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Arkansas where the party turned back. Marquette has drawn those tributaries of the great river, as he describes them in his journal, and he makes no attempt to trace them back to some imaginary sources or to decorate them with possible affluents. It is refreshing to turn to such a work executed with a strict attention to detail, erected on a firm foundation of fact, and one in which the author attempts to impart his knowledge unadorned by any flights of fancy.[38]

Like many others, Crouse erroneously calls the *Récit* Marquette's journal; he also thought that the map was based on the *Récit*, whereas, as we have already noted, Dablon made use of the map to write the *Récit*. These mistaken views of Crouse do not, however, affect his appraisal of the accuracy of the map itself. The excellence of this map will be realized if we consider in detail the course of the Mississippi as shown thereon.

From the mouth of the Mississippi, at latitude 42° 20', the

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la Conception" in his journal of the voyage of 1673. For it is at least possible that like other seventeenth century explorers, Marquette could have referred to the Mississippi by more than one name. Thus, although Jolliet had called it "Rivière de Buade," he later referred to it as "Mississippi"; and La Salle who had solemnly christened it "Fleuve Colbert," in April 1682, opens his letter of October of that year by calling it "fleuve Mississipi," (Margry, II, 288), and "grande rivière" in the last lines of the same letter, *ibid.*, 301. Moreover, when referring to the Mississippi by its Indian name in this autograph journal of his second voyage, Marquette tells Dablon that he is sending to him his journal of the first voyage. Hence he naturally mentioned the Mississippi by its Indian name, because this was the only name by which Dablon could have known the Mississippi unless he had read Marquette's journal of the first voyage. Cf. JR, 55:96, 206. Again, the authenticity of the original of the letter of August 4, 1673, *infra*, note 66, cannot be questioned on the ground that in the extant copy made by a Virginian, the name of Marquette is written "Macput," and that the date is 1675 instead of 1673. Both these errors can easily have been made by the copyist, and Alvord's main arguments are still conclusive. The complete ineptitude of the copyist is further evident from his nonsensical garbling of the Latin text of the letter. By taking the above considerations into account, Father Steck might have spared himself the trouble of resorting to "not improbable" hypotheses in order to explain how the Mississippi came to be called "R. de la Conception" on the map, and why it was called by its Indian name in Marquette's journal of his second voyage.

[38] N. M. Crouse, *Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France 1632-1675*, [Ithaca, New York], 1924, 114.

Mississippi is represented as flowing to the south-southeast, to latitude 41°, and then to the south-southwest as far as latitude 39°. From this point to the confluence of the Illinois River, at latitude 38°, its course makes an angle of 140 degrees. From the confluence of the Illinois River, its course is due south for one and a half degrees, to latitude 36° 30′. The river then turns to the southeast, as far as the mouth of the Ohio, situated slightly below latitude 36°. From the Ohio to the southernmost point shown on the map, latitude 33° 40′, the Mississippi flows south-southwestward.

The two accompanying drawings show graphically how accurately the course of the Mississippi is delineated on this "crude sketch." On the first drawing, the course of the Mississippi River has been transposed on a modern map, keeping the latitudes as they are on Marquette's map; on the second drawing, all his latitudes have been raised one degree to correct the average error of position of identifiable points. No map of this section of the Mississippi made before 1700 either in France or in Canada is as accurate as that of Marquette; and the exactness of the latitudes is itself enough to prove that this map could not have been made before the voyage on information furnished by Indians.

Four unnamed rivers empty into Lake Michigan between Chicago and the peninsula bounded by this lake and Green Bay.

The "R. de la Conception" receives seven tributaries, four coming from the west, and three from the east; of these, only two are named: the Pekitan8i [Missouri], which is shown coming from the northwest, and the 8ab8skig8 [Ohio], coming from the east-northeast. These two are shown at their confluence as broad rivers tapering off into a single line.

Of the five unnamed tributaries of the Mississippi, the Wisconsin and the Illinois can be identified with certainty. The whole course of the former, from Portage to Prairie du Chien, is represented by a thin line, the river flowing in a south-southwest direction. The Illinois is shown at its confluence as a broad stream coming directly from the north for one degree; above this point it is represented by a thin line running upward toward the northeast, and then toward the east to the headwaters near Lake Michigan. There is no means of identifying the rudimentary river which empties into the Mississippi slightly below latitude 41°. The river on the bank of which the Pe8area dwelt is either the Des Moines or the Iowa. As can be seen from our second drawing, the latitude of this river is more nearly that of the Iowa than of the Des

Moines;[39] but to determine which of the two rivers it represents, we must postulate that the error in computing the latitudes was constant, whereas there is a variable difference between the latitudes of several identifiable points on the map and their true positions.

From the following discussion it will appear in the first place, that the southernmost unnamed tributary of the Mississippi is meant to indicate not the Arkansas but the White River; and secondly, that the explorers very probably did not go as far south as the mouth of the White River.

We shall begin by considering the latitudes which Marquette gives for the following easily identifiable points: the mouth of the Wisconsin, the mouth of the Missouri, the mouth of the Ohio, and the Chicago portage.

Latitudes on Marquette's map		*True latitudes*
Mouth of Wisconsin	40° 20′.	43°
Mouth of the Missouri	slightly below 38° .	38° 55′
Mouth of the Ohio	36° .	37°
Chicago Portage	40° 20′.	41° 45′

As can be seen, all of Marquette's positions on the map[40] are from 40′ to 1° 25′ lower than the true ones. Now, the mouth of the southernmost tributary of the Mississippi on the map is placed at latitude 33° 40°, which is a few minutes below the latitude of the mouth of the Arkansas River. Considering, however, the error of all the other positions as shown in the table above, and specifically the error of one degree for the mouths of the Missouri and of the Ohio, if we now place the mouth of the southernmost tributary one degree higher, at latitude 34° 40′, it will coincide with the latitude of the mouth of the St. Francis River. On the other hand, Jolliet told Dablon in July 1674, and also wrote to Laval in October of the same year, that he had gone as far south as latitude 33°, which is the latitude of the present-day Arkansas-Louisiana boundary line. Actually the explorers did not reach this boundary line, though they did go below the St. Francis River to a village which stood on the west bank of the Mississippi.

By means of accounts of later travelers we shall proceed to show where this village was situated in 1673, and also to prove

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[39] Cf. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, 20, note; and Weld, "Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *loc. cit.*, 11, 12.

[40] "On the map," because, as we shall see, the latitudes were computed much more accurately, and it is fairly certain that Marquette did not mark them on his map exactly as they were entered in his journal.

that this village is very probably the southernmost point reached by the expedition.

At this period there were four villages near the Arkansas River, inhabited by Indians of Siouan stock known to the French under the generic name of Arkansas.[41] These villages are mentioned by French travelers during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and although the distance between each of these villages is not always given, in all the accounts the northernmost village, that of the Quapaw, is said to be on the west bank of the Mississippi.

It was in the Quapaw village that La Salle first took possession of Louisiana in March 1682.[42] Three documents dealing with this La Salle expedition give the location of the various Arkansas villages and the distances between each as follows.

According to the narrative of Nicolas de la Salle, there are eight leagues between the Quapaw village on the west bank of the Mississippi and an Arkansas village on the east bank of the river; another six leagues separate this second village from a third one, which is on the west branch of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Arkansas River.[43]

In his letter of July 23, 1682, Tonti says that on leaving the first Arkansas village, they went to the Taensa, "après avoir entré dans deux autres villages des Akansas distant de 6. et trois lieues du 1er."[44] Taken at its face value, this would mean that the third village was six leagues, and the second three leagues, from the first. What he probably meant to say was that there were six leagues between the first and the second, and three leagues between the second and the third. This interpretation is all the more plausible, for in the procès-verbal of his second voyage to the Gulf he gives ten leagues as the total distance between the first and the third Arkansas village.[45] The first village, he says in his letter, was on

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[41] See the variants in F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, 2 volumes, Washington, D. C., 1912[4], *s. v.* Quapaw.

[42] See the first procès-verbal by Jacques de la Métairie in Margry, II, 185, and the second procès-verbal, *ibid.*, 189. No date is given in Father Membré's letter of June 3, 1682, *ibid.*, 208. Tonti's letter written at Michilimackinac July 23, 1682, gives March 14, BN, Clairambault, 1016:166, printed in M. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette. A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O.F.M., La Salle's Chaplain and Missionary Companion 1645 (ca.)-1689*, New York, c1934, 218. No date is found in Nicolas de la Salle's account, Margry, I, 554, or in Tonti's two memoirs, *ibid.*, 599, and L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699*, New York c1917, 298.

[43] Margry, I, 555.

[44] Habig, *op. cit.*, 219.

[45] "The Voyages of Tonti in North America," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 275.

the west bank of the Mississippi, but he does not say on which side of the river the other two were located.

In Tonti's second memoir the location of the first village is not given, but from a comparison with a parallel passage in the above mentioned letter, it is clear that he located the first village on the west bank of the river. In this second memoir, he gives the names of the three villages as well as the distances between them: the first, called Cappa, is eight leagues above Tongengan [Tongigua], the second village; and this second is two leagues from the third which is named Toriman [Tourima].[46]

Another traveler, Henri Joutel, passed through the Arkansas villages three years before Tonti wrote his second narrative. In his journal Joutel gives the following details. He and his companions, coming from Texas, arrived at a village on the Arkansas River on July 24, 1687. This village, called Otsoté [Uzutiuhi],[47] was five or six leagues from another, called Thoriman, which was "situated on a kind of island."[48] On leaving Thoriman, they "entered the Mississippi,"[49] and after four leagues' journey, arrived at a third village "which bears the name of Tongigua . . . . It is situated on the bank of the Colbert River, on the right as one goes up stream . . . . On the 30th [of July, 1687], we left the said village to go to that of the Kappa, which was the last one of this tribe, and which, we were told, was about eight leagues [from Tourima] . . . . This [Quapaw] village is situated on the left bank of the river as one goes up stream, on a bluff or elevation which may well be thirty feet high."[50]

These and other descriptions of this section of the Mississippi by seventeenth century travelers will be quite clear if we remember that they conceived the confluence of the White River and the Arkansas River quite differently from ourselves. We distinguish the mouth of the White River from that of the Arkansas, ten miles farther south; we call the channel west and south of Big Island the lower course of the Arkansas, and we call the river east of Big Island, the Mississippi. In the seventeenth century, the junction of the branch of the White River with the Arkansas was considered the mouth of the Arkansas River. Hence the lower course of the

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46 Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 298.
47 Margry, III, 444.
48 *Ibid.*, 454.
49 *Ibid.*, 457.
50 *Ibid.*, III, 457, 458, 462.

Arkansas was regarded as the western branch of the Mississippi, and our Mississippi was the eastern branch of the river.

In view of this, the location of the three Arkansas villages in these accounts is as follows: Tourima was in the northwest corner of Big Island, two leagues from Tongigua; the latter was situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, slightly above the mouth of our White River; and the Quapaw village was on a bluff eight leagues farther up on the west bank of the Mississippi, that is, in the vicinity of Knowlton, Arkansas, between latitudes 34° 5′ and 34° 10′.

This location of the Quapaw village is confirmed by the journal which Father Gravier kept during his descent of the Mississippi River in 1700. On October 27, they "passed the St. Francis River, at the point of a bank on the northern bank, eighteen leagues from the Akansea."[51] There is no entry for October 28. On the 29th, at noon, the French met "four pirogues of Akansea."

> On the 30th [of October] we encamped one league lower [than the place where they had met the Arkansas pirogues], half a league above the old village of the Akansea,—where they formerly received the later Father Marquette,—which is now recognized only by the old outworks, for not a hut remains. On the 31st, at about 9 o'clock in the morning, we arrived at the village of the Kappa Akansea, located according to the estimate of Father Marquette at latitude 24°.[52]

Gravier inquired from the chief of the village whether he remembered having seen a Frenchman clad like himself, in black. The chief said that he did, but that it was long, long ago.

> I told him that it was more than twenty-eight [*i. e.*, twenty-seven] years ago. He added that they had danced to him the captain's calumet—which I did not at first understand, believing that he was speaking of the calumet of the Illinois, which the Kaskaskia had given to Father Marquette to carry with him in the Mississippi country as a safeguard; but I found in the Father's journal that they had indeed danced the calumet to him.[53]

The journal of Marquette which Gravier mentions is now lost, but from what he says, we see that there is only a difference of a few minutes between the latitude of the Quapaw village as computed by Marquette—24° is clearly an error of transcription for 34°—and the latitude of the same village as calculated from independent accounts. Moreover, since Indian huts on the map at latitude 34° indicate the position of a village, we conclude that this village represented by these huts was the one visited by Marquette.

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[51] JR, 65:114. In his journal, Father Gravier invariably calls the west and east banks of the Mississippi, north and south, respectively.

[52] *Ibid.*, 116.

[53] *Ibid.*, 120.

Against this conclusion there are two difficulties: first, on the map at latitude 34°, the word "Metchigamea" appears instead of "Quapaw," and ends near some huts, which are used by Marquette to designate Indian settlements or villages on the map; secondly, on the map, at latitude 33° 40', on the east bank of the Mississippi, there is another cluster of huts indicating a village named "Akansea." We must explain why the village which we know was inhabited by Quapaw, is apparently called "Metchigamea" by Marquette; and then explain why this village, not Akansea, was probably the terminus of the expedition.

These difficulties come from the fact that Marquette's journal and that of Jolliet are lost. It should be noted at the outset that the following explanation, although only probable, is based on several premises which are certain. These premises are:

1) The name "Akansea" does not appear in Dablon's account of the discovery of the Mississippi which he wrote on August 1, 1674, after interviewing Jolliet.

2) Nor does this name appear in the two extant copies of Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac, and in the extant copy of his letter to Laval, dated October 10, 1674; but the name was on the map which Jolliet drew from memory sometime between August and November of that year.

3) "Metchigamea" and "Akansea" are both Algonquian words.

4) The Indians whom the French called Arkansas spoke a Siouan dialect which none of the members of the expedition understood.

5) The inland villages west of the Mississippi, which were certainly not visited by the travelers, are all indicated on Marquette's map by Indian huts placed *above* the name of the village.

6) Dablon did not have Marquette's journal when he wrote the *Récit*, but he had Marquette's map, as well as a copy of Jolliet's letter to Frontenac; and he had spoken with Jolliet and with some of the men who had taken part in the expedition. Hence what we read in the *Récit* about this part of the journey is not what was in Marquette's journal, but is Dablon's interpretation of the information derived from the above sources.

Now, in the *Récit*, Dablon makes Marquette say the following: "We had gone near the thirty-third degree of latitude having proceeded nearly all the time in a southerly direction when we perceived a village on the water's edge called Metchigamea."[54] These

[54] JR, 59:150.

Indians attacked the small party, but desisted when they saw the calumet. The Frenchmen having landed, "at first, we had to speak by signs because none of them understood the six languages which I [Marquette] spoke. At last we found an old man who could speak a little Illinois."[55] Dablon probably had the details of the attack and of the Illinois-speaking Indian from Jolliet or from some other member of the expedition. The presence of the old man speaking Illinois among these Quapaw would explain the name "Metchigamea" given to the first Arkansas village,[56] for the Quapaw who spoke Siouan would certainly not designate themselves by an Algonquian name; and the "old man who could speak a little Illinois" cannot have told the French that the village where they met him was inhabited by Michigamea, for in this case, all the Indians in that village would have known Algonquian.

When the French asked about the sea and the distance thereto, we further read in the *Récit*, "we obtained no other answer than we would learn all that we desired at another large village called Akansea, which was only eight or ten leagues lower down."[57] From what we have said about the location of the Arkansas villages, Akansea is Tongigua which was not "large," for its very name means "little village."[58] When Dablon says that Akansea is located about "eight or ten leagues" below Metchigamea, he is interpreting Marquette's map on which there is a village of that name below Quapaw; and Akansea, like Metchigamea, can only have been given by an Algonquian-speaking Indian.

According to the *Récit*, the day after their arrival at Metchigamea, the party left for Akansea where "we fortunately found a young man who understood Illinois much better than did the interpreter whom we had brought from Metchigamea." Here inquiries were also made about the distance to the sea; the answer was that it was ten days distant. The explorers were further told that "the

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[55] *Ibid.*, 152.

[56] La Salle arriving at the Quapaw village March 12, 1682, was asked by the Quapaw for help against their enemies, "il leur auroit repondu tant par luy-mesme en langage islinois, entendu de quelques-uns d'eux, que par un des interprètes qui l'accompagnoient . . ." La Métairie's procès-verbal, Margry, I, 182. Previously, Tonti had hailed Indians coming toward his canoe: "Je leur demanday en langage Illinois qui ils estoient. Un Illinois, qui estoit parmy eux, s'écria: 'Akansa!' " *Ibid.*, 598. "On trouva parmi eux [Quapaw] un esclave Illinois qui servit de truchement. Il dit qu'ils se nommoient Akansa." Nicolas de La Salle, *ibid.*, 554. At the Quapaw village, "il c'est trouué une femme metchigamikoüé [Michigamea] qui ma serui d'interprete." Gravier's journal, JR, 65:118.

[57] JR, 59:152.

[58] Margry, III, 457.

hatchets, knives, and beads which we saw [at Akansea] were sold to them partly by nations from the east, and partly by [the Indians of] an Illinois village situated four days' journey from their village westward."[59]

On Marquette's map, however, west of Akansea, there is no village that can be certainly identified as Illinois except Metchigamea; and as we have already pointed out, the huts designating a village are placed *above* Metchigamea, as in the case of all the villages situated inland west of the Mississippi. The source of the above statement in the *Récit* seems to be the following passage of Jolliet's dedicatory letter to Frontenac: "I saw a village which was only five days' journey from a nation that trades with those of California; if I had arrived two days earlier, I would have been able to speak with those who had come from there and had brought a present of four hatchets." When Dablon read this—for he had a copy of this letter of Jolliet—he apparently identified this village which actually appears on Marquette's map fifty miles inland, with that of the Metchigamea, thus interpreting the name as belonging first to a village on the bank of the Mississippi, and then to another village mentioned by Jolliet in his letter to the governor.

From what has been said thus far, the conclusion seems to be that Marquette inscribed Metchigamea on his map because he met an Indian or Indians of that Illinois band in the Quapaw village, or because an Illinois-speaking Indian told him that there was a village inland which was called Metchigamea. The alternative adopted depends on whether one holds that Marquette called Metchigamea the village, at latitude 34°, represented by huts near the west bank of the Mississippi just after this Indian name; or whether Metchigamea is the name of the inland village marked by huts placed above it, fifty miles west of the river.

We can now briefly consider the second difficulty; namely, which of the villages was the southernmost point reached by the expedition: Quapaw, the village on the west bank of the Mississippi at latitude 34°, or Akansea, on the east bank, at latitude 33° 40'? It is of course quite possible that the explorers went down as far as Akansea, but the fact that this village is inscribed on the map is not sufficient evidence that the party actually went there, for on the map there are many names of tribes about which the French merely heard from the Indians, but did not visit. It might be objected that Akansea is shown on the map to be close to the Mississippi, whereas

[59] JR, 59:154.

the names of the other villages which were certainly not visited by the explorers are indicated as being far inland. This objection loses much of its apparent force when we remember that on the extant variants of Jolliet's lost map, the "Tahensa" are also shown as dwelling close to the bank of the Mississippi; yet it is certain that the explorers did not go as far south as the Taensa villages.

Moreover, if they had gone to Akansea, it is unlikely that Marquette would have failed to give at least some indication of the true hydrography of this part of the course of the Mississippi. All that he indicates on his map at this point is a river coming from the west and emptying into the Mississippi across from Akansea. The inadequacy of this representation is easily understood if he had simply been told by a Michigamea at Quapaw that twenty-five miles below, there was another Arkansas village located on the east bank of the Mississippi, across from the mouth of a river emptying into the main stream. Last but not least is the fact that Gravier who had Marquette's journal makes no mention of his having visited any other Arkansas village except that of the Quapaw.

In the same account of his descent of the Mississippi in 1700, Gravier gives another latitude which he read in Marquette's journal, the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio. It is here considered because it enables us to understand how the missionary constructed his map.

Gravier prefaces a digression on the nomenclature of the Ohio basin by saying that

> there are a great many islands and shoals along the course of the Mississippi River. From the Tamarouha [Tamarois] to the Oüabachi [Ohio] River, its course is nearly north south; but three or four leagues from Oüabachi it begins to turn to the north-northwest [north-northeast], and does nothing but meander. We were unable to judge of its direction for the distance covered on the 15th [of October].[60] Father Marquette, who was the first to discover it [the Mississippi] nearly thirty years ago, entered his position in his journal, latitude 36°47′, three leagues from Oüabachi. We encamped in sight of this river which comes from the south [*i. e.*, east] and empties into the Mississippi.[61]

From the above quotation it is not clear whether the "three leagues from Oüabachi" should be counted above or below the

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[60] The translator in Thwaites wrote: "We were enabled to judge of its course by the route that we followed on the 15th," which is just the opposite of what Gravier says: "Nous n'auons pu juger par la route que nous auons faite le 15e quel run de vent elle suit."

[61] JR, 65:106.

mouth of the river. It is possible that the explorers took the latitude at a camping place above the mouth, where the Mississippi reverses its course and flows northward, which is approximately three leagues from Cairo, and then went on to discover the mouth of the Ohio. But it is also possible that they computed this latitude while encamped three leagues below its mouth, after having passed the Ohio. This latter conjecture appears more probable, because their discovery of so large a river would suggest the advisability of recording its position by computing their latitude at that point.

If the latitude was taken where the Mississippi begins to flow northward, there is an error of 13 minutes, for the thirty-seventh parallel cuts through the bend of the Mississippi and the mouth of the Ohio. If the latitude was computed three leagues below the mouth of the Ohio, there is a negligible error of 6 minutes between its true position and that entered in Marquette's journal.

On Marquette's map, however, the Ohio empties into the Mississippi slightly below latitude 36°, almost one degree south of the computed position. The reason for this and similar differences of latitude is as follows. As was seen above, Marquette embodied in his sketch the outline of the 1671 map of Lake Superior after having previously written latitude numbers along both sides of his paper. He correctly placed St. Ignace at latitude 45°, Sault Ste Marie at latitude 46°, and the south shore of Lake Superior along latitude 46°, as on the 1671 map. The River of the Folles Avoines, however, and the Potawatomi village, are located fifteen minutes higher than the position on the map of Lake Superior. Again, on the latter map, the southernmost point of Isle Royale is at latitude 47° 20′, and the lower shore makes a south-southwest north-northeast angle; whereas on Marquette's map the southernmost point of the island is at latitude 47°, and the lower shore runs in an east-west direction.

These inaccuracies of transcription indicate that although the map is, as Crouse says, executed in a way "that would do credit to a skilled engineer," Marquette was not, after all, a professional geographer. In drawing the course of the Mississippi, he faithfully reproduced the various directions of the river as he had observed them; and he inscribed the Quapaw village at the latitude which he had correctly computed; but he was not so careful about entering the intermediary points. As long as his journal was in existence, this lack of care was relatively unimportant, for anyone so inclined could have corrected the errors of positions on the map by means

of the journal, just as Claude Delisle later corrected the sketch maps of Iberville, of Le Sueur, and of other early travelers by means of their journals.

We shall now consider the name of another Indian tribe—Mons8pelea—placed on the east bank of the Mississippi at latitude 35° 15'. Ethnologists call these Indians "a problematic tribe."[62] We are not concerned with identifying them; namely, whether they were Chickasaw or a tribe akin to the Taensa and Natchez; nor is there any point in ascertaining the exact meaning of the word.[63] What is pertinent is that this name is certainly Algonquian and that the explorers obviously heard it—just as the names of the other tribes on the Mississippi and the Illinois Rivers—from Algonquian-speaking Indians.

The name "Mons8pelea" does not appear in the *Récit*. When they were beyond the Ohio, Dablon wrote, the explorers met "Indians armed with guns," who had, besides, "hatchets, hoes, knives, and beads, and glass bottles." These Indians told the French that they bought "cloth and all other goods from Europeans who lived in the east; that these Europeans had rosary beads and holy pictures; that they played musical instruments; and that there were men like me [Marquette] who treated them well."[64] Later when the expedition reached the Arkansas village, they were told that "those Indians armed with guns whom we had met were their enemies who blocked the way to the sea, and prevented them from communicating with Europeans and from trading with them."[65]

The sources whence Dablon derived these details are Marquette's map, a Jolliet map, and verbal information from members of the expedition or an account of the discovery which is now lost. We are omitting here the proof of these assertions, because it only has an indirect bearing on the analysis of Marquette's map. As we

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62 Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, s. *v.* Mosopelea.

63 Cf. C. H. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 2 volumes, New York, 1911, II, 94-103.

64 It is difficult to see how these Indians could have communicated with the explorers considering that Marquette wrote in his letter, *infra*, note 66, "Verum cum ab ipsis nihil inteligerem."

65 JR, 59:146-154. On the anonymous variant of Jolliet's map, the "M8ns8peria" are placed south of the Arkansas; and on the map published by Thévenot, the "Mons8peria" are located both north and south of the Arkansas. These and other early maps of the Mississippi Valley will be discussed in subsequent articles. It should be noted that Tonti, Margry, I, 610, and Nicolas de la Salle, *ibid.*, 568, mention the presence of Mosopelea among the Taensa in 1682.

shall see presently, the explorers met the Mons8pelea on their return journey and Marquette gave them a letter.[66]

The authenticity of the original of this letter can hardly be questioned, because it contains a reference to the "immaculate Virgin," which Alvord rightly considers as particularly significant, and also because it is dated "ad Fluvium Convectionis [Conceptionis]." On this latter point Alvord remarks that "in August 1673, Marquette was the only man in the world calling the Mississippi River by the name 'Conception'."

That the explorers met these Indians on their return journey and not on the way down as Dablon says is deduced from the following facts: 1) the date of their arrival at the Mississippi, June 15, 1673; 2) the date of their portage at Chicago on the return journey, sometime in September 1673; 3) from what Jolliet told Dablon in July 1674 with regard to the distance covered in one day during their ascent of the Mississippi below the Missouri; 4) from the time it took other seventeenth century explorers to travel by canoe from the mouth of the White River to the vicinity of present-day Memphis.

The data pertinent to the identification of the Mons8pelea as the Indians whom they met on the return journey are contained in the dateline at the end of the letter: "Dat[ae] ad Fluvium Convectionis [Conceptionis] ad / / altitudinem Poli 35^{d} / / ad Longitud[inem] forte 275^{d} / / 4th August 1675 [*i. e.*, 1673]." / /[67]

Latitude 35° is the Tennessee-Mississippi boundary line, whereas on Marquette's map, the position of the Mons8pelea is at latitude 35° 15′, the site of present-day Memphis. We take this discrepancy to be another indication of the way in which the map was made and which we have already described. When any latitude on the map differs from the corresponding latitude in a Marquette document, the preference is to be given to the latter. Since on the map only the Mons8pelea are indicated near latitude 35°, and since Marquette gave to Indians a letter in which this latitude is specifically mentioned, we conclude that these Indians were those whom he calls Mons8pelea.

Another point in connection with the above-mentioned dateline is the longitude given. Translated into modern terms the position

[66] C. W. Alvord, "An Unrecognized Father Marquette Letter," *The American Historical Review*, XXV, 1919-1920, 676-680.

[67] The month and the day were clearly not in English in the original; "4th August" is the copyist's translation of Marquette's "4^{a} [die] August[i]."

would be in Guadalupe County, New Mexico, where the 35th parallel crosses the 105th meridian, *i. e.*, 800 miles farther west than their actual position. Neither Marquette nor Jolliet nor, indeed, any seventeenth century French explorer of the Mississippi Valley could compute longitudes. The question is, what led Marquette to give this approximate (forte) longitude which is so very different from the actual meridian? This enormous difference is all the more puzzling seeing that on the map the longitudinal distance of the Mons8pelea from Sault Ste Marie is 350 miles, that is, only 50 miles farther than the actual distance between these two points, since the longitudinal distance between Sault Ste Marie and Memphis is 300 miles.[68] Incidentally, we have here a further indication that the whole map was made after Marquette's return to Green Bay, and that it was made independently of existing maps of the region explored. If the map had been drawn before his departure, or even during his voyage,[69] he would have given longitude 284° instead of longitude 275°, for on the maps of the time the longitude of Sault Ste Marie is 289°.

The explanation for his giving longitude 275° in this letter, seems to be that this was the longitude as marked on some map which the explorers had with them. In all the extant documentation concerning the expedition of 1673, there is not one word about any equipment that would enable them to calculate their position. From the accuracy of the latitudes, however, it is evident that they had an astrolabe, and in view of the time of the year, they must also have had declination tables. Since it was further customary for explorers to carry a map, there is no reason to suppose that Marquette and Jolliet lacked this part of the usual equipment. Indeed, on a basis of the two coordinates mentioned in the dateline of Marquette's letter, we can arrive at a very probable conclusion about the identity of the map which they had with them.

We know that in the second half of the seventeenth century the maps of Nicolas Sanson were very popular not only in France but all over Europe and in Canada. The geographical passages of the Jesuit Relations after 1660 do not make sense unless they are read

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[68] On Marquette's map Mons8pelea is five degrees west of Sault Ste Marie. In view of the projection used by Marquette one degree of longitude is equal to one degree of latitude. The actual longitudinal difference between Sault Ste Marie and Memphis is 5° 40′, which multiplied by the cosine of 40°—the middle latitude—gives 300 miles.

[69] This is Weld's opinion; cf. "Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *loc. cit.*, 13.

with reference to Sanson's maps;[70] and these maps had by this time become the vade-mecum of French missionaries and explorers in North America. Thus, Galinée carried a Sanson map on his 1669-1670 voyage to the west;[71] and La Salle had the Sanson-Jaillot map of 1674 when he descended the Mississippi to the Gulf in 1682.[72] From these instances we infer that Jolliet and Marquette had a map with them. That it was very likely Sanson's map of Florida of 1656 or 1657 can be inferred from the following argument.[73] The first coordinate given in the dateline of the letter, latitude 35°, was actually computed by the explorers. Now this latitude appears on both the Sanson maps of Florida, 1656 and 1657, and on both these maps the 35th parallel crosses the 275th meridian near the banks of a large river flowing to the south-southeast. Hence Marquette would naturally suppose that this meridian represented his actual position while writing his letter with his map before him.

This long analysis could have been dispensed with, if Marquette's journal on which the map is based were extant. Since this important document has unfortunately been lost, anyone wishing to study the voyage of 1673 must of necessity begin by carefully analyzing the few primary sources which we possess. The attempt to write an account of the discovery of the Mississippi on any other basis will certainly have the following result—either a mere repetition, with the usual literary frills, of what has been in print for the past two hundred years, or an elaboration of theories which are quite unsupported by the meager available evidence.

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[70] Cf. J. Delanglez, "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 235. Dablon also made use of Sanson's map of North America of 1650 to compute the longitude of Lake Nikabau. JR, 46:274.

[71] Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 204.

[72] J. Delanglez, "El Rio del Espíritu Santo," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 157.

[73] *Le Nouveau Mexique et la Floride* . . . Par N. Sanson, Paris, 1656. *La Floride* Par N. Sanson, Paris, 1657. On these maps cf. "El Rio del Espíritu Santo," *loc. cit.*, 144.

The Jesuit Archives at Buenos Aires

Just off the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, in a well appointed rotunda of olden stock, are housed the general archives of the Argentine nation, the *Archivo General de la Nación.* All around the spacious rotunda on shelves which run up to a second story are stacked in bundles, designated and numbered, and arranged in chronological order, the ancient records of the Argentine from the period of the founding of Buenos Aires in 1580 up to near the present time. Among these are documents relating to the Jesuits, who, in colonial times especially, were an important factor in the development of the country.

Thirteen thick bundles of the hundreds carry documents relating to the activities of the Jesuits. Each bundle contains numerous records. They begin with the year 1595, fifteen years after the foundation of the city by Juan de Garay. The first two packets are taken up with late sixteenth and seventeenth century documents. The following nine are concerned with the eighteenth century, and two hold documents relating to various years.

There is another archive belonging to the Jesuits themselves housed in the *Colegio Máximo*, the Jesuit seminary at San Miguel, a beautiful suburb west of Buenos Aires. Here are several hundred documents belonging to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

There is a difference between these two deposits. The documents of the *Archivo General* range more widely afield. They include many of domestic import, such as the regulations of Jesuit superiors and official visitors to Jesuit colleges and missions; expense accounts of Jesuits; lists of books belonging to one or another Jesuit library; statistics concerning the fathers and the Indians of the famous Reductions of Paraguay and missions of lower Bolivia; friendly dealings or troubles with officials or bishops, such as the Governor of Buenos Aires, and especially, Bernardo de Cárdenas, the rebel Bishop of Asunción in Paraguay.

Other Jesuit documents here in the *Archivo General* are more of a state nature. Governors appoint missionaries; they ask for the help of the Indians of the missions for the defense of the country or for public improvements. Here we read of the importance of the missions as a defense against the infidel Indian or the incursions of

the English, Dutch, or French; we witness the protection of the mission Indian against exploitation on the part of colonials; we learn of the traffic on the Río Paraná of the *yerba mate*, the Argentine tea.

The documents in the Jesuit seminary at San Miguel are more of a domestic nature. They are chiefly the letters of various generals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the Provincials of Paraguay, resident in Asunción. These are concerned with the appointment of superiors of the colleges or of missions, the last vows of priests, the correction of faults of houses or members, the expulsion of undesirable members, the financial status of houses, travellers to Europe, various disciplinary regulations. These, therefore, are in part domestic and private, the inner administration and problems of the Order. They correspond to the splendid set of Gerarals' letters belonging to the Mexican Province and filed at the Jesuit seminary in Ysleta, Texas.

Another set of documents of rich historical value, especially concerning the history of the Reductions of Paraguay, are not in Argentina at all; they are in Brazil, in the National Archives at Rio de Janeiro. These are the annual letters, the *anuas*, of Jesuit superiors and missionaries written to the Provincial or to the General. Many of these have been published. How did this important collection find its way into Rio, whereas the natural place of lodgment should be either the Jesuit archives in San Miguel or the National Archives in Buenos Aires? The story is this: One of the Argentine scholars in the time of Dictator Rosas of early independence days, Pedro de Angelis, collected by various and sometimes devious ways these annual letters until he possessed a fairly complete set. He offered them for sale to the Dictator, who was not interested. Then he offered them to Don Pedro II, the enlightened Emperor of Brazil. He was interested; he bought them for the nation and lodged them in the National Archives. There they rest today for the consultation of scholars. There is much logic in having the *anuas* in their present abode. Was it not the Brazilian Jesuits, beginning with Father Nunes and Father Nóbrega, who pointed the way to Paraguay in 1551? And some of the Reductions were situated in what is now Southwestern Brazil. Here the martyr missionary, Blessed Roque González, a native of Asunción, was done to death on Brazilian soil, and among the Jesuit letters at Rio are three written by him.

The first and oldest Jesuit document in the Archives in Buenos Aires is dated June 15, 1595. The most numerous and important materials pertain to the specific angle of the Jesuit organization, the

famous Paraguay Reductions. First manuscript notice of these is dated June 22, 1627, and is a report of "Juan Luis de Sayas, Procurator of the Reductions which the Company of Jesus holds in the Provinces of Paraguay, Paraná, Guayra, and Uruay [*sic*]." It speaks of four new reductions founded, of the confirmation by the Spanish Governor Francisco de Cespedes, and of how the fathers and Spaniards "took possession of these provinces of Uruay." The growth of the missions can be witnessed through these documents. In 1646 they were sixteen in number; we watch them expand to twenty-nine during this and the following century. We read how Indians from the missions brought the *yerba mate* down the rivers on rafts to Santa Fé, not to sell but as payment of the tribute to the King. For protection against incursions of slave-hunting whites and wild tribes, the Indians were armed. This was with the King's permission. But in the middle of the seventeenth century a royal *cédula* ordered that the Indians be disarmed; there are lists of the exact number of weapons given up at each mission; then the order was revoked. The correspondence is here.

There are found many evidences of the usefulness of the mission Indians. In 1663 the Governor of Buenos Aires asks for three hundred to build fortifications against the English. He gives minute instructions for 1,000 cedar planks to be hewn in the mission lands and transported with all other materials by the Indians, who were hired for three months at four to six pesos a day. Again, when the Bishop of Buenos Aires wanted to build his cathedral he called upon the Jesuit Provincial of Paraguay for help. Other letters reveal these outpost missions as a prop and a protection to the Spanish provinces in their times of need. It is strange that one of the main difficulties was the rebel Bishop of Asunción, Fray Bernardino de Cárdenas, who marched into the country with soldiers to remove many missionaries. Of course, the Indians fled and remained dispersed for several years. Here we are reminded of the resounding quarrel during that same decade of the 1640's which the Jesuits in New Spain had with Bishop Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. Interminable documents concerning this episode rest in a dozen archives in Europe and America, and, surely enough, the thunders of the Mexican feud were heard rumbling in distant Argentina, for here are copies under date of 1648 of the King's memorial on the Jurisdiction of Palafox and a brief of Innocent X on the same subject.

Dozens of interesting items, shades and sidelights of history, may be culled from the old manuscripts pertaining to the Platean and lower Brazilian areas. Some are of greater importance and some

may be utilized for the color which they lend. When Buenos Aires was relatively less important than the western and northern cities, we see how the missions helped to support colleges in the cities. We learn that in 1697 when the French sacked Buenos Aires, the governor asked the Jesuits for 2,000 Paraguay Indians for the defense of the land. We find definite instructions to missionaries on keeping records: The fathers were to put things in writing lest they be forgotten; they should use the blackest ink; they should keep accounts in a fire-proof place. On the humorous side, the padres in Paraguay were allowed two shirts a week, because of the great summer heats, but they could not use tobacco, nor eat chocolate, nor drink the tea, *yerba mate*. There is even a code of regulations regarding the prisons and prison treatment of criminals and delinquent Indians!

There are scattered through these documents in the Jesuit archives of Buenos Aires some fine records of official visitations made by painstaking superiors. One of these is the complete record of conditions in all of the Jesuit houses and missions, made during a tour of inspection from January to October, 1714, by the Provincial, Luis de la Roca. The analysis of this will form the subject of a future paper. Many of the manuscripts have already found publication and exploitation, as is well known, in the Argentine, in Brazil, and in Peru. Some day the complementary letters, charts, and records in various European depositories will likewise be brought together for publication. The work of gathering and calendaring toward this goal goes on apace, while the number of books and articles deriving from the Jesuit sources is increasing daily.

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Book Reviews

Thomas Francis Meehan (1854-1942). A Memoir. By Sister M. Natalena Farrelly, S.S.J. The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1944. Pp. 139.

For twenty-seven years Thomas F. Meehan was editor of *The Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society, for three years he was its president. This "Memoir" is a slight tribute to his many years as an historical scholar. It consists of three chapters with two appendices.

The first two chapters have been written by Sister M. Natalena Farrelly and deal respectively with his life and his work for the United States Catholic Historical Association. For a man of eighty-seven years who was actively writing to his last day, a biography of forty-six pages must of its very nature be sketchy and unsatisfying. What a reviewer wrote of Meehan's "Life of Thomas Mulry" might well be said of this volume: "The only criticism we can offer is that the biography is entirely too brief to do justice to his memory." Many facts have been assembled here; a multitude of names skip across the pages; much material is awaiting the writer who can breathe the pulse of life into this interesting career.

Chapter Three entitled: "Thomas F. Meehan and *America*" has been contributed by the Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S.J. This is a charmingly written account of *America's* early days, much of it in Meehan's own words. In these days of Catholic Action, it is heartening to realize how intimate an association could spring up between this zealous and learned layman and a group of clerical editors. Such was the friendship between them that Meehan could say in his declining years that he was the oldest Jesuit in the province.

It was a happpy thought to include a selection of his essays in the Appendix. These are valuable and interesting journeys into obscure bypaths of American Catholic history and manifest historical curiosity and patient research. They whet the reader's appetite to enjoy more of his writings, a complete list of which follows in Appendix II. This demonstrates how Meehan, author of only one published book, hid the lamp of his indefatigable pen under the bushel of innumerable magazine articles and contributions to encyclopedias and other collections.

It is unfortunate that Meehan with his vigilant editor's eye was not able to proof-read this volume because there are numerous typographical slips, the most amusing of which is a sentence attributed to him where he writes (p. 104) concerning a zealous priest, the Very Rev. Dr. John Power: "His admirers thought that his abilities ought to have been rewarded with a miller" (miter?).

The volume closes with a satisfactory Index.

HARRY C. KOENIG

The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877. By Peter Beckman, O.S.B. The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1943. Pp. 168.

This doctorate dissertation tells the history of the Catholic Church in Kansas during the administration of John Baptist Miége, S.J., as vicar apostolic. A brief survey of mission history prior to his appointment is given in a nine page introduction. Here the author has attempted no original research. He merely summarizes Garraghan's masterful account in "The Jesuits of the Middle United States."

Because in English and in French there are already published accounts of Bishop Miége's life, Father Beckman devotes his attention chiefly to the missionary activities of the priests and the sisters in spreading the faith throughout Kansas. For this reason the dissertation develops into a veritable catalog of persons and places. The apostolic labors of these heroic men and women are followed from one mission to another for twenty-seven years. All this research is based on the very best sources, but it does not sustain the reader's interest.

While the Church's growth in Kansas during these pioneer days was not as phenomenal as elsewhere, there are not a few interesting episodes such as the political disputes prior to the Civil War, the serious drought of 1860, the sectional divisions during the War of Emancipation, the building of the railroads through the Jayhawker State, and the grasshopper plague of 1874. These events are mentioned by the author, but their human interest value appears to have escaped him. If it was his sole purpose to verify from the sources every settlement visited by a priest during this span of years, then Father Beckman has succeeded admirably and tersely. But the fascinating story of these saintly missioners could have been told in a fresh style that would have invited Catholics to read the early church history of Kansas. As it stands, the book will be used only for reference and for research.

In reading this book the reviewer was deeply impressed by the vital stimulant given to the growth of American Catholicism through the continual benefactions of the famous European missionary societies—the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons, the Ludwig-Missionsverein of Munich, the Leopoldinenstiftung of Vienna. American Catholics need to be reminded that soon it will be our privilege to return those alms ahundred-fold to these war-stricken dioceses which, with the return of peace, will be in as desperate a plight as were our primitive vicariates.

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Austrian Aid to American Catholics 1830-1860. By Benjamin J. Blied, Ph.D. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1944. Pp. 205.

This is the story of the contributions made by Austria to the cause of Catholic churches, missions, schools, convents, seminaries, and orphanages in the United States during the middle thirty years of the last century. The

donations were made possible and practical by the organization of the Leopoldine Society, around whose efforts much of the volume revolves. Not neglecting other less formal types of Austrian contributions or other societies founded for a similar purpose the author is concerned especially with the beneficences which were of such vital aid to the builders and the building of many institutions and thus in the formation of society in the United States.

After an historical prelude Father Blied devotes a chapter to beginnings of the Leopoldine Society and its material contributions to forty-one cities. The survey include estimates of the work of the Ludwig Mission Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Then follows a chapter on what the Austrians and Americans were writing about each other during the period; this is presented in a commendable objective manner, and over and above indicating the mutual dislike in the two countries, it might serve as a guide for possible research in the wider field of American-Austrian relations. The American mission scene and the Austrians in it form the subjects of chapters four and five. The last three chapters on "Austria and American Catholic Institutions," "Austrian Secular Priests," and "Austrians in Religious Orders," reveal a mature comprehension of the history of the Church in the middle western states. In fact, the book is a contribution for its friendly style, for its organization and analyses of sources, and for the ample references to wider reading of the secondary citations.

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History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1604-1943. By Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington. New York, Sheed & Ward, 1944. 3 vol. Pp. xx, 812, 766, 808.

If it is true that some men are fortunate in their biographers it is equally true of the Archdiocese of Boston; for in the three volumes under consideration the Rev. Doctors Lord, Sexton and Harrington present a study equal to any in the field of American Catholic Church history. In as much as he writes the third volume and shares the authorship of the second Dr. Lord plays the major rôle in composition. Presentation by administration was suggested by the fact that only five bishops presided over the destinies of the diocese during its 135 years of existence. Moreover, chronological treatment offered the advantage that events fell into their proper sequence and setting.

Dr. Sexton begins volume one with a comprehensive survey of the religious scene in New England before the creation of the diocese of Boston. Inevitably religious liberty is stressed; denials of it, restrictions, and the long struggle to attain it even in limited form are chronicled. With the background sketched he tells the story of the organization of the diocese, dwells on the dissensions that marked the early days, and outlines the administration of Cheverus, Boston's first bishop. Despite numerous obstacles, progress, while slow, was steady.

Dr. Lord continues the narrative in volume two with an account of the career of Bishop Fenwick. During his tenure of office the chief events were the extension of Catholicity throughout New England, the beginning of Irish immigration, the savage outburst of bigotry culminating in the destruction of the Ursuline convent in Charleston, the rise and spread of the temperance movement, and the coming into the Church of men and women from every class and walk of life, the most noted being Orestes Brownson.

In the twenty years that Fitzpatrick was bishop, covered by Dr. Harrington, Irish immigration reached flood tide and raised many problems. Moreover, there was conflict over the use of the Protestant Bible and prayers in the schools. There was besides a new outcropping of bigotry promoted by the nativist group and the Know-Nothing party, to subside only when the Civil War turned men's minds to other interests.

Dr. Lord resumes in volume three, devoting the whole of it to the sixty-seven years spanned by the incumbency of Bishops Williams and O'Connell. Williams presided for forty-one years. While he was bishop—archbishop after 1875—more religious orders found a home in the diocese, educational problems gave rise to prolonged and acrimonious discussion, St. John's Seminary was begun, a system of parochial schools was inaugurated, and there was a notable development of charitable agencies and activities. Even more significant were the coming into the diocese of Catholic groups hitherto unrepresented, the resurgence of anti-Catholic hostility by the A.P.A., and Archbishop Williams' attendance at the Vatican Council.

Archbishop O'Connell's thirty-six years of incumbency conclude the study. His early career is sketched, his reorganization of the archdiocese, his elevation to the cardinalate in 1911, his activities in the First World War, the expansion of educational and charitable facilities, the K.K.K. episode, the cardinal's several jubilees and participation in the election of Pius XII, are all recorded and evaluated.

The authors are to be complimented on their achievement. In the foreword we are told that twelve years were devoted to the preparation and writing of these volumes. To ascertain the facts they searched every quarter where information might lurk—diocesan archives, the repositories of religious orders and colleges, collections at secular institutions at home and abroad. The list is formidable and assuring. Documentation is generous; the index is most satisfactory. Treatment is uniformly fair and objective; unpleasant facts are not blinked or glossed; the good, the less good, the bad find their place in these pages. In addition to supplying an encyclopedia of information about the archdiocese, other issues, such as the case of Father Rasle, are studied.

Presentation by administrations has advantages but it is not free from limitations. Some may object that it results in a disjointed chronicle of major topics such as immigration, education or intolerance, and makes impossible a general survey of the subject. This is true, but the objective of the authors was not to offer a general study of such topics, but phases of them as they affected the Church then and there. There is too considerable cataloguing of the founding of churches and other institutions, and of episcopal activities. But these events are so close to us that it is questionable whether they can be seen in true perspective, whether a comprehensive

evaluation is already possible. Moreover, these chapters can be skipped by the reader if he so desires. Reviewers will dislike the copyright which seems to preclude quotation, however brief, even in a review.

In conclusion we congratulate the archdiocese of Boston on the setting forth of its history on so grand a scale by acknowledged scholars. They have set an example for other diocesan historians to emulate; they may rest satisfied that their labors have borne such fruit. Those who knew that this project was under way under the supervision of Dr. Lord looked forward to its accomplishment; they have not been disappointed in their high expectations.

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Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico. By Peter Masten Dunne, S.J. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1944. Pp. x, 227.

This is the third volume in a series now being published on the work of the Jesuits in Spanish North America; it follows Jerome V. Jacobsen's *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain* and Peter Masten Dunne's *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast.*

Father Dunne's latest volume is a highly readable and thoroughly moving narrative of heroic Jesuit mission founding on New Spain's northern frontier in the opening years of the seventeenth century. It is the story of the spread of the Faith among the four savage "nations" of the Laguneros, the Tepehuanes, the Acaxées, and the Xiximes, plus related smaller groups in and to the east of the Sierra Madre Occidental. The book unfolds the early and exceedingly difficult years of the mission system which radiated from the principal base at Durango, capital of the province of Nueva Vizcaya. The author presents a dramatic mixture of missionaries and medicine men, miners and hard-fighting Spanish soldiery, savage rebellions and Christian martyrdom; and out of this comes a narrative which is a worthy tribute to the high courage and devotion of that small band of Black Robes responsible for the advance of Christian civilization on this distant and dangerous New World frontier.

The story Father Dunne writes is for the most part well-organized, carefully written, and shows long and painstaking preparation based on a complete devotion to his subject. The enthusiasm of the author is apparent throughout, and this, combined with the drama of the events themselves, makes the narrative one which should appeal as much or more to the general reader as to the specialist.

The volume opens with introductory chapters on the beginnings of Jesuit activity in New Spain and this is followed by several chapters devoted to missionary foundations in the land of the lagoon Indians, especially the mission at Parras, east of the sierras. Returning to the mountain country, the reader finds the fathers vigorously organizing missions and saving souls among the heathen Xiximes, Acaxées, and the sullen and skeptical Tepehuanes, bringing them into pueblos for easier conversion and better organized Christian living. Various crises, such as revolt among the Xiximes

(subdued by the great governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Francisco de Urdiñola) and almost constant conflict with the influence exerted by leading *hechiceros,* or medicine men, liven this phase of the book and build up to the climax in the Tepehuán revolt which set the northern frontier ablaze in 1616-1617. But the savages were subdued by strong military action, and the final chapters deal with the reconstruction of the mission system which had been almost wiped out by the size and savagery of the Tepehuán uprising. Throughout runs the main theme of self-sacrifice and inspiring martyrdom combined with constructive Christian teaching which the Jesuit heroes brought to this far frontier.

The book contains only a few minor errors, such as misplacement or omission of accents on Spanish words and some inconsistency in the use of Spanish surnames, but such errors do not impair the over-all excellence of the work. A few historical inaccuracies were noted; for example, giving credit to Urdiñola for the founding of Saltillo (p. 80). The reader might occasionally object to the author's tendency toward excessive optimism in appraising the work of individual missionaries especially when the recorded events seem, at times, not to bear out all the praise which the author frequently allots to the black robed heroes of the narrative.

The volume is attractively printed and contains portraits of the martyrs and a good map. There is also a well written and useful "Essay on Sources," a bibliography, and an adequate index.

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Louis Jolliet

The Middle Years, 1674-1686

Jolliet's career can be conveniently centered around his three great voyages of discovery and exploration for which evidence is available. His most famous voyage during which he discovered the Mississippi was made before he was thirty years old. As is well-known, on his return journey to Canada in July 1674, his canoe capsized when he was in sight of Montreal, and so he lost the journal of his voyage as well as the map of the country traversed in 1673. On August 1, 1674, after interviewing Jolliet, Father Dablon committed to writing what the explorer was able to recall of his experiences.[1]

His second great voyage took him to Hudson Bay. Since the manuscript and cartographical documentation of this voyage have already been analyzed,[2] it only remains to recount Jolliet's activities on the Lower St. Lawrence during the years immediately preceding and immediately following this northern journey. This we shall do in the present article.

Although it is fairly certain that he explored the Atlantic coast of Labrador in 1689, no document enables us to know, except in the vaguest manner, how far north he went. We have, however, the autograph journal of his last great voyage of exploration in 1694. In that year, he explored and surveyed the northern shore of the St. Lawrence from Mingan to Cape St. Charles, and the sea coast from Cape St. Charles to latitude 56° 11′, near present-day Zoar. The present writer's study of his activities between 1686 and 1700 as well

[1] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 301-324.

[2] "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," *ibid.*, 221-250.

as the previously unedited journal of this exploration will be published in the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1944-1945*

When Jolliet left Quebec for the West in October 1672, he had been officially commissioned by Talon to search for a water route to the Sea of the South and for "the great river which they [the Indians] call Michissipi, and which, it is believed, discharges itself into the Sea of California." From Frontenac's letter, it is clear that this commission had been given before the arrival of the governor at Quebec on September 7 or 8, and that Frontenac approved Talon's choice.[3] It was therefore Jolliet's duty to report to Frontenac on his return. This he did, communicating to the governor "the [noteworthy] details which he was able to recall" as well as a "map" of the country discovered. In November 1674, Frontenac notified the minister that his secretary was bringing these documents to Paris.[4]

We have discussed elsewhere what these "noteworthy details" probably were;[5] and in a later article we shall endeavor to reconstruct Jolliet's original map which has been lost. We have no means of knowing whether this map was made shortly after his return to Quebec, or in the latter part of October. One reason for thinking that it was made at a later date is that Jolliet had learned by then that the map which he had left at Sault Ste Marie had perished in the fire that destroyed the Jesuit house there.[6]

From July to November 1674, we can follow Jolliet's movements. We know that he was in Montreal from before July 7 to July 16, and that he arrived in Quebec before August 1. On October 3, he appeared before the Sovereign Council,[7] and a week later he wrote to Bishop Laval who was then in France.[8] Although Frontenac does not say so, it is likely that Jolliet was in Quebec in November 1674,

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[3] Frontenac to Colbert, November 2, 1672, Archives des Colonies, (AC), C 11A, 3:243v. The passage reads "Il [Talon] a aussi jugé expédient .... d'envoyer le S[r] Joliet...."; in the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1926-1927* (RAPQ), Quebec, 1927, 18, it reads as follows: "Il a aussi été jugé expédient .... d'envoyer le S[r] Joliet...."; a difference worthy of note in view of subsequent events.

[4] Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 77.

[5] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 313-314.

[6] Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 77; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (JR) 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, 58:256-262.

[7] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," MID-AMERICA, XXVII, 1945, 24-25.

[8] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *ibid.*, XXVI, 1944, 309-310. This letter as well as other contemporary documents relative to the discovery of the Mississippi will be analyzed in a subsequent article.

and that he did not leave town between this date and the following October when his marriage took place.

Romain Becquet, the notary, in drawing up the marriage contract on October 1, 1675, wrote that the bridegroom was the "Sieur Louis Jolliet, domiciled in this town of Quebec," and that the name of the bride was Claire-Françoise Bissot. Among those who signed the contract were Jacques Lalande, who had married the widowed mother of Claire Bissot three weeks earlier; Louis Rouer de Villeray, first councillor of the Sovereign Council; Jacques Leber, a Montreal merchant; Charles Bazire, collector general of the king's revenues in the colony; and Denis-Joseph Ruette d'Auteuil, the king's attorney general. Villeray and Leber are said to be the friends of the bridegroom, while Bazire and Ruette d'Auteuil are mentioned as friends of the bride.[9] The contract was signed on Tuesday, and the marriage itself took place on the following Monday in the cathedral of Quebec. M. Henri de Bernières, vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec and parish priest of the cathedral, officiated.[10]

"One of those who brought the most glory, if not the most affluence" to the Bissot family, wrote J.-E. Roy, "was certainly Louis Jolliet .... What Canadian family does not seek the honor of being in some way related to this daring explorer? All the great names of the colony are connected with this illustrious man, the son of a poor wheel-wright who worked for a company of merchants."[11] Before his voyage to the Mississippi, Jolliet himself had traded in the West, and the minutes of a law-suit that dragged on through January and February 1676,[12] show that after his marriage, he, too, like his friends and relatives, became a merchant, and that he spent the winter of 1675-1676 in Quebec. Here, his eldest son, Louis, was born on August 11, 1676;[13] and on October 20, he was one of the inhabitants present at a meeting called by Duchesneau for the purpose of regulating the price of beaver pelts.[14]

It was about this time that Jolliet petitioned Colbert through Duchesneau for leave to go to the Illinois country. The exact date

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[9] The contract is printed in E. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet, Découvreur du Mississipi et du pays des Illinois, premier seigneur de l'Ile dAnticosti*, Montreal, 1913[2], 186-188.

[10] Photograph of the entry in the register of the cathedral of Quebec in RAPQ, 1926, facing p. 224; printed in Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 189.

[11] J.-E. Roy cited in Gagnon, *op. cit.*, 190.

[12] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1670*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, II, 34-39, 41, 45.

[13] C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, 7 volumes, Montreal, 1871-1890, I, 324.

[14] AC, F 3, 2:32v.

is not known because the letters of Duchesneau, like those of Frontenac, for the years 1676-1678 have not come to light. That a petition was sent, we know only from the minister's answer dated April 28, 1677, in which he says:

> His Majesty is unwilling to grant the leave asked by the Sieur Jolliet to go to the Illinois country with twenty men in order to begin a settlement there. The number of settlers in [Lower] Canada should be increased before thinking of settlements elsewhere; this should be your guiding principle with regard to newly made discoveries.[15]

It was only logical that Jolliet should have asked for a concession in the Illinois country where, as he had told Dablon in 1674, "a settler would not have to spend ten years cutting down and burning trees, for on the very day of his arrival he could put his plow into the ground."[16] Gagnon[17] comments on Colbert's refusal by saying that it was consistent with what the minister had written to Talon in 1666,[18] but Gagnon fails to call attention to Colbert's inconsistency in granting to Frontenac's protégé, La Salle, in 1678, much more than he had refused to Jolliet in 1677.

Quite improbable theories have been elaborated to explain Frontenac's attitude toward Jolliet between 1675 and 1682; yet the explanation of the governor's antagonism is quite simple: the friends of the explorer and his protectors were Frontenac's political opponents. On returning from his voyage of discovery, Jolliet had paid his respects by naming the great river and a section of the Mississippi Valley after the governor; but he did not feel that he had to espouse Frontenac's petty quarrels and thus turn his back upon those who had befriended and helped him when he was in need. It is to the credit of Jolliet that he did not imitate La Salle's ingratitude toward his benefactors.[19]

Among the witnesses who signed Jolliet's marriage contract on October 1, 1675, were, as we saw, Louis Rouer de Villeray and Denis-Joseph Ruette d'Auteuil. Those who have studied the history of Frontenac's first administration, especially the events of 1675, can easily imagine what the governor must have thought of one whose prominent friends were men whom he considered his "ene-

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[15] AC, B 71:76.
[16] "Relation de la decouverte de la Mer du Sud . . . .," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 323.
[17] Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 194.
[18] Colbert to Talon, January 5, 1666, RAPQ, 1931, 43.
[19] J. Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 213.

mies." Jolliet was also obligated to Laval,[20] who returned to Canada in that year. Besides, he was protected by Duchesneau during the seven years that the intendant remained in Canada, and contrary to the assertions of theorists, he always remained on good terms with the Jesuits.

We do not know what share Frontenac had, directly or indirectly, in Colbert's refusal to allow Jolliet to found a settlement in the Illinois country, which he had discovered four years earlier; but we do know that in the following year, La Salle, who had the support of the governor's agents in Paris, was granted what had been refused to Jolliet, although La Salle had as yet made no discoveries. We also know that at the beginning of 1677, shortly before Colbert sent his "guiding principle" to Duchesneau, these same agents of Frontenac were very active in Paris, and although La Chesnaye had offered to defray the initial expenses for the Illinois project, "Jolliet's petition was not granted."[21]

The news of this refusal reached Quebec in the summer of 1677. Gagnon writes that after his petition had thus been rejected, "Jolliet devoted himself to a project dear to his new family, that is, to the exploitation of the resources of the Lower St. Lawrence and of the gulf. From the Canadian archives we learn that he sometimes served as a public functionary in Quebec. We shall pass these details over in silence, and shall be satisfied with mentioning that on one occasion he was called to give his advice on a particularly delicate subject."[22] We do not know what Gagnon means by "these details" concerning Jolliet's activities in behalf of the welfare of the community, unless he is referring to two notarial documents showing that Jolliet acted as tutor of the younger children of François Bissot, the deceased father of his wife.[23] Gagnon may also be thinking of the meeting of the inhabitants called in by Duchesneau to regulate the price of beaver pelts. This meeting, however, took place in 1676, before the unfavorable answer to Jolliet's petition reached Quebec.

Between the summer of 1677 and the "brandy parliament" (Gagnon's "particularly delicate subject"), Jolliet's name appears several times in notarial acts and in legal records.[24] On June 18, 1678, for instance, one week after the birth of his second child, Charles, one

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[20] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," MID-AMERICA, XXVII, 1945, 6-8.

[21] D. Brymner, ed., *Report on Canadian Archives 1885*, Ottawa, 1886, cxvi.

[22] Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 195.

[23] A. Roy, ed., *Inventaire des Greffes des Notaires du Régime Français*, II, Quebec, 1943, 149, 158.

[24] Cf. Roy, *Inventaire des Greffes*, IV, 31, III, 159, IV, 37.

Pierre Norman summoned "Louis Jolliet, bourgeois of this town [Quebec]," to appear before the Sovereign Council.[25]

Before we discuss the "brandy parliament," a few words should be said about a document written in Paris in 1678, wherein is found an echo of Frontenac's antagonism to Jolliet. When analyzing this document,[26] we showed that, besides being sprinkled with egregious blunders, the text had been carelessly edited and tampered with by Margry, and we called attention to his erroneous attribution of authorship. Margry calls it a letter of Frontenac, although it is actually one of Claude Bernou's memoirs, which he composed in 1678, using as his sources a letter of Frontenac and information received from the latter's partisans in Canada. In a footnote at the beginning, Margry says that his main reason for publishing the document is because "it contains very important statements relative to Cavalier de la Salle and Jolliet."[27] In the entire memoir there is only one "important statement" which Margry had already given as the third "proof" for his contention that La Salle had discovered the Mississippi before Jolliet.[28] We here reproduce the whole passage in its original form, as found in Bernou's memoir.

Et cest pour cela Monsgr quils [the diocesan clergy and the Jesuits] ont entrepris 2 choses de concert avec mr. du Chaisneau et le S^{r} Bazire, la lere (de demander la concession du lac Erié et de Celuy des Ilinois) [the words in parentheses are deleted; the following passage written in the margin takes their place] quayant appris que mr de la Salle auoit dessein de demander la concession du Lac Erié et de celuy des Ilinois dont le ler est une suitte de sa concession du commerce du lac frontenac qui vient la pluspart du lac Erié a lentree duquel il a necessairem^{t} besoin de faire un fort pour empescher les anglois de sen emparer lesquels [four words so deleted as to be illegible] au rapport des RR pp Jesuites mesmes y ont nouuellement envoyé un deserteur nommé turquet pour le reconnoitre sur cet aduis dis ie du dessein de mr de la Salle ils ont resolu de faire demander eux mesmes cette concession [here ends the passage in the margin] pour les S^{rs} Jolliet et Le bert gens qui leur sont entierement acquis et le ler desquels ils ont tant vanté par auance quoyquil nait voyagé qu'apres le Sr de la salle lequel mesme vous temoignera que (le Sr Jolliet a menty) [the words in parentheses are deleted and are replaced by] la relation du Sr. Jolliet est fausse en beaucoup de choses, [the text then continues] Leur seconde pretention est de retablir les congés . . . .[29]

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[25] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 204.

[26] *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 175 ff.

[27] P. Margry, ed., *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, I, 301.

[28] *Report and Collections* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the years 1880, 1881, and 1882, IX, 111.

[29] Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 1016:48v. Compare this text with that published by Margry, *op. cit.*, I, 324.

Among the changes made by Bernou in copying the material out of which this document was compiled, two are of special interest: his softening the very strong statement about Jolliet's veracity, and his altering his petition for leave to begin a settlement in the Illinois country into a petition for the exclusive privilege of trading in the region around Lake Erie and Lake Michigan. Bernou's statement that La Salle was thinking of asking for this privilege is quite gratuitous. There is no trace of any such intention before 1678, that is, two years after Jolliet had asked for the Illinois concession.[30] In 1676, La Salle had his hands so full with Fort Frontenac that he obviously would not think of asking for the exclusive trading privilege in the huge area mentioned in the memoir. Moreover, as La Salle must have known, the discoverer of that territory had a prior right to trade or settle in it. Strictly speaking, La Salle "had traveled" westward before Jolliet; for as we have shown, Louis Jolliet's first western journey took place in 1670,[31] while by 1669, La Salle had gone to the western end of Lake Ontario. It is certain, however, that Jolliet traveled in the Illinois country more than six years before La Salle.[32]

It would be interesting to know the grounds for La Salle's asser-

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[30] The earliest mention of La Salle's "dessein" occurs in an undated Bernou memoir, BN, Clairambault, 1016:50v, printed in Margry, I, 336. Internal evidence shows that it was composed sometime between January and May 1678.

[31] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," MID-AMERICA, XXVII, 1945, 14-15.

[32] At the beginning of 1682, Bernou then better informed wrote as follows: "Pendant que le sieur de La Salle travailloit à la construction de son fort, les envieux, jugeant par de si beaux commencements de ce qu'il pourroit faire dans la suite, suscitèrent le sieur Joliet à le prévenir dans ses descouvertes. Il alla par la baye des Puans à la rivière de Mississipi, sur laquelle ils descendit jusqu'aux Illinois, et revint par le lac des Illinois en Canada, sans avoir essayé pour lors ny depuys d'y faire aucun establissement." Bernou's "Relation des descouvertes . . . . ," In Margry, I, 438-439. On this document cf. J. Delanglez, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, Chicago, 1941, 55-64.

Although Jolliet's priority with regard to the discovery of the Illinois country is here clearly set forth, there are five errors in this short passage. 1) Jolliet went to the Mississippi in 1673, that is, more than three years before La Salle even began to "travailler à la construction de son fort." Cf. "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels 1643-1683," MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 288. 2) Talon, not "les envieux" of La Salle, sent Jolliet to the Mississippi; *supra*, note 3. 3) The intendant did not "susciter" Jolliet "pour prévenir le sieur de La Salle," but commissioned the Canadian at the time when La Salle was wintering in the Iroquois country, after the fiasco of an expedition to which he had been sent in 1670 by Courcelle and Talon. "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels," *loc. cit.*, 286. 4) Not only did Jolliet go down the Mississippi "jusqu'aux Illinois," but went more than 500 miles below the mouth of the Illinois River. "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *loc. cit.*, XXVII, 1945, 44. 5) Jolliet did try "depuys d'y faire un establissement," but was refused by Colbert; *supra*, note 15.

tion that Jolliet "had lied," or as Bernou expresses it more politely, that "the relation of the Sieur Jolliet is false in many particulars." In 1678, La Salle had not come within 400 miles of seeing the territory described by Jolliet in that relation.

While La Salle was telling his fairy tales in Paris, the nomenclature of Jolliet's map of the Mississippi was being revised in Quebec. On Franquelin's map of 1678,[33] the great river is called "Riviere de Messisipi," and not "Riviere Buade" as on the anonymous copy of a Jolliet map;[34] "Frontenacie" is not mentioned at all; and Lake Ontario is given its Indian name only, instead of having also the alternative "Lac Frontenac" as on the anonymous copy, or of being simply called "Lac Frontenac" as on the so-called Jolliet larger map.[35]

The question is whether Jolliet was a party to these changes, and whether he was led to approve of them because of Frontenac's antagonism.

The map of 1678 which is dedicated to Colbert by Duchesneau, has a title which emphasizes one of its purposes: "Carte Gnlle de la France Septen-Trionalle Contenant la découuerte du pays des Ilinois Faite Par le Sieur Jolliet." In 1680, two years after this map was made, Duchesneau wrote that Anticosti Island was granted in fief "in consideration of the discovery made by the Sieur Jolliet of the Illinois country, of which he has given us [Duchesneau] a sketch which served as a basis for making the map sent two years ago to my Lord Colbert, Minister and Secretary of State."[36] In view of this it seems quite likely that on the sketch which Jolliet gave Duchesneau, he himself eliminated Frontenac's names.

It is unlikely that Frontenac saw Duchesneau's map. The governor, however, was soon to learn unequivocally what was Jolliet's stand with regard to the thorniest problem which agitated Canada during the French régime: — the unrestricted sale of hard liquor to the Indians.[37] The contradictory reports sent to France about the evils resulting from this trade had led the king to issue an order that a meeting of the *habitants* be called. They were to give their

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[33] Service Hydrographique, Bibliothèque (SHB), B 4040-11.

[34] Cf. S. J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, volume II, Scientific Papers, Illinois State Museum, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Ill., 1942, 2, note on pl. IV.

[35] SHB, B 4044-37. Cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 54-55.—These as well as other contemporary maps which illustrate Jolliet's voyage of 1673 will be analyzed in a subsequent article.

[36] P.-G. Roy, ed., *Inventaire de Pièces sur la côte de Labrador*, 2 volumes, Quebec, 1940-1942, I, 8.

[37] *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 101 ff.

opinion as to whether the selling of liquor to the Indians should be abolished or continued. This meeting, sometimes called the "brandy parliament," took place on October 26, 1678. Jolliet was one of the twenty who were summoned to give their opinion. "Unfortunately most of those who had been chosen were interested in the nefarious traffic. Fifteen maintained that the brandy trade was absolutely necessary for the welfare of the colony, five acted as men of character and voted against its continuation."[38]

This is not quite correct, for only three voted for complete abolition. The other two, Leber and Jolliet, gave a different opinion. Leber was in favor of selling brandy to the Indians, but was opposed to its being brought for sale to their villages. Jolliet's opinion is as follows:

> To transport liquor to the woods, to bring it to the Indians who trade with the French, must be forbidden under pain of death; the same penalty should be meted out to Indians carrying liquor [to the villages], but the *habitants* should be allowed to sell them [brandy] in the houses and other places where trade is carried on; with moderation, however, being careful to prevent drunkenness, and if some disorder arises, the culprits should be punished. It is not true to say that all the Indians get drunk, for some, like those who live among us, use liquor in moderation. There are some other Indians who are engaged in the liquor trade; they buy brandy in the French settlements and bring it to the woods where they sell it for beaver pelts, in turn exchanging these for brandy and other merchandise. It must be said, however, that these are few, and that they number no more than three for every two hundred.[39]

It has been said that Frontenac's antagonism to Jolliet sprang from his having learned that Marquette had accompanied the explorer to the Mississippi. There is no basis for this assertion. As early as the autumn of 1674, he knew that Marquette had gone with Jolliet,[40] and yet in a letter of November 14, 1674, he shows not the slightest trace of resentment against Jolliet.

The author of this erroneous hypothesis also declares that Jolliet "took this to heart" and that "a number of facts seem to indicate that the affair caused estrangement between him [Jolliet] and the Jesuits."[41] Two of the "facts" mentioned can hardly be said to indicate this very clearly: the fact that a Franciscan, *i. e.,* a

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[38] "La traite de l'eau-de-vie avec les Sauvages," *Bulletin des recherches historiques* (BRH), XII, 1906, 375-376.

[39] Margry, I, 418.

[40] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 312-314.

[41] F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 1673, Quincy, Ill., 1928, 237.

Recollect, was chaplain at Anticosti, and the further fact that two of Jolliet's nephews joined the Recollects during the eighteenth century. I had no idea that the vocation of nephews to a branch of the Order of St. Francis could be cited in proof of avuncular preferences. At that rate the present writer should be a Franciscan, for an aunt of his had long been a nun of St. Francis when he entered the Society of Jesus.

The census of 1681 shows that there was no chaplain, Recollect or other, on Anticosti Island in that year, and there is no evidence that a chaplain was ever stationed on the island.[42] If a chaplain had been stationed there, he would have been a Recollect, quite independently of Jolliet's likes and dislikes, for Anticosti as well as all the islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence were dependencies of Percée Island, and were within the district assigned to the Recollects.

More worthy of comments is the first "fact" brought forward as indicating an estrangement between Jolliet and the Jesuits, namely: "There is nothing on record to show that he ever again in his later career visited the Illinois country." How this indicates "estrangement" is not quite clear. "In his later career" Jolliet's business was in the north. What with his fisheries at Mingan, his seigniorial grant of Anticosti, his mapping of the St. Lawrence, and his class of hydrography at Quebec, he had not much time to "visit" the Illinois country, even if he had felt so inclined. More-

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[42] B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, 8 volumes, Montreal, 1882-1884. For his statement that in 1681 there was a Recollect chaplain on Anticosti Island, Father Steck refers the reader to Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 236. Although the latter writer does not give any source, it is clear that he used Sulte's book for this paragraph, but does not, of course, mention a Recollect as being then on the island. This Recollect, we are further told by Father Steck, was "probably Simon de la Place, whose services he [Jolliet] engaged as chaplain and missionary." Simon de la Place could not have been at Anticosti in 1681, for he came to Canada in 1683. Cf. I. Caron, "Prêtres séculiers et Religieux qui ont exercé le ministère en Canada (1680-1690)," BRH, XLVII, 260. Father Steck's authority for this statement is again Gagnon, 261, note 2. In this note Gagnon vaguely refers to "le Père Sixte Le Tac" for saying that Simon de la Place was in Anticosti not in 1681, but in 1689. The reader may judge for himself whether the text—not given by Gagnon—but on which he bases his assertion, proves his point: "Il [Jolliet] s'y [Anticosti] est retiré avec sa famille & un Père Recollect pour y hyverner, mais comme il n'y a point de bois dans cette isle il a fait dresser une maison en la grande terre; le Père Simon de la Place, Recollect, qui y est actuellement, a soing d'instruire les sauvages qui s'y rendent pour cet effect & mesme est allé cette année 1689 exposer sa vie pour anoncer l'evangile aux Esquimaux." [Sixte Le Tac?], *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, E. Réveillaud, ed., Paris, 1888, 37-38.

over, "in his later career," when Jolliet wanted not only to "visit" the Illinois country, but to begin a settlement there, Duchesneau was told by Colbert that the king "was unwilling to grant the leave asked by the Sieur Jolliet."

The second "fact" is no fact at all. "[There is nothing on record to show] that he at any time espoused the cause of the Jesuits in their controversy with La Salle." The Jesuits never had any "controversy" with La Salle. If Father Steck had studied La Salle's letters instead of taking his cue from Parkman, Margry, Lorin, and other secondary sources, he would have seen that in these letters there are two passages which imply that the Jesuits were carrying on a lucrative beaver trade in their missions, and a critical examination of the contemporary evidence would have shown him that these implications are unfounded, and that La Salle was employing the familiar underworld practice known as "framing," to give some color to his accusations.[43]

The third "fact" has to do with the stand taken by Jolliet in the "brandy parliament."

> In 1678, a year after he had been refused permission to settle in Illinois, he and La Salle were among the twenty men summoned to Quebec by the civil authorities to present their view concerning the sale of liquor to the Indians. On this occasion Jolliet recommended that a moderate sale be permitted in the French settlements, but that the transportation of liquor into the forest be prohibited.

In a note to this passage Father Steck refers the reader to Gagnon, on which he comments as follows: "Now this was certainly not in line with the attitude of the Jesuits toward the vexing problem, but a concession to the stand taken by the government." The truth is that Gagnon, although quoting only a part of Jolliet's point of view, made it a point to underline the penalty—death—demanded by Jolliet for those who transported liquor to the forest; and Gagnon also called attention to the fact that this was in keeping with the compromise advocated by M. Dudouyt, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec in Paris. Now the Jesuits were at one with the bishop and his priests in all that pertained to the selling of brandy to the Indians. All that Jolliet did was to repeat at Quebec, in October 1678, exactly what Dudouyt had told Colbert at Sceaux, in May 1677; with this difference, that the priest did not ask the

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43 *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 247-251.

death penalty for those who transported hard liquor to the Indian villages.[44]

The actual significance of these "facts" can be left to the judgment of the reader. There can be no objection to an author interpreting facts according to his own personal views, but such facts should first be ascertained from primary evidence, especially if they are set forth in a doctoral dissertation. Unless I am greatly mistaken, one of the main purposes of such a work is precisely to establish the facts on a solid evidential basis. While it cannot be said that this quality is very conspicuous in the dissertation here spoken of, this shortcoming is abundantly compensated for by a profusion of surmises, as revealed by the frequent use of "perhaps," "must," "may be," and similar expressions. A critical study of primary sources would have obviated this plethora of irrelevant, and often outlandish suppositions.

Jolliet spent the winter of 1678-1679 in Quebec. On March 10 of the latter year, Duchesneau granted jointly to him and to his wife's stepfather, Jacques de Lalande, all the "isles and islets called Mingan situated along the northern bank [of the St. Lawrence] down to the bay named Lance aux Espagnols [Bradore Bay]."[45] The concession also gave them leave to establish anywhere on these islands cod and seal fisheries.

In order to understand the difficulties that arose in the following year, it is necessary to explain briefly the condition governing land grants on the Lower St. Lawrence.

In the early years of the colony, the fur trade in the Saguenay country was called the Traite de Tadoussac, because it was mainly to this post, where an annual fair was held, that the Indians came to exchange their pelts for European goods. The profits of the trade first went to a society of Rouen merchants, and later to the Compagnie des Habitants (1645-1664) to which these profits had been made over by the Company of the One Hundred Associates[46]

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[44] "Je [Dudouyt] lui [Colbert] dis qu'on pouvoit aisément garder la moderation dans la traitte des boissons d'autant qu'il En avoit desjà osté le principal Empeschement par l'arrest qui déffend les congez d'aller dans les bois et que la traitte se faisant dans les habitations tout se passeroit a la veue et a la connaissance du public et qu'ainsy il seroit facile de reconnoistre les desordres et d'y apporter le remede .... je luy dis que c'estait le transport des boissons qui causoit les plus grands désordres qu'il fallait acoutumer les Sauvages Irocquois à prendre des marchandises et de la boisson moderement comme les Sauvages de Tadousac ...." *Report on Canadian Archives 1885*, cii.

[45] *Pièces sur la côte de Labrador*, I, 5-6.

[46] It is also known as Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France and as Compagnie de Richelieu.

who were the proprietors of Canada from 1627 to 1663. In order to simplify the exploitation of the Traite de Tadoussac, the Compagnie des Habitants sold to the highest bidder the exclusive right of trading in the Saguenay region, and the men who bought this right were called Fermiers de la Traite de Tadoussac.

On October 10, 1663, Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye bought the exclusive privilege of exploiting the Traite de Tadoussac. The money paid for the privilege, however, went to the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales to which the king transferred the proprietorship of Canada in 1664. After the dissolution of this latter company, Louis XIV detached the Saguenay territory from the colony and erected it into a Domaine du Roy, the King's Domain. Thereafter the Crown sold to an individual the exclusive right of trade in that territory, and since, as a rule, the principal shareholders of such companies lived in France, they usually appointed a business manager who resided in Canada to look after their interests.

It should be noted that at first, the Traite de Tadoussac contained no reference to specified boundaries, for it merely entitled its holder the privilege of trading at Tadoussac and of levying a tax on transactions carried on there during the annual fair; and it should further be noted that later on, when the One Hundred Associates handed over the Traite de Tadoussac to the Compagnie des Habitants, they retained their right of making seigniorial grants where they pleased and to whom they pleased.

Thus, on February 25, 1661, the One Hundred Associates granted to François Bissot, the father of Jolliet's wife, trading and hunting rights as well as the right of founding fishing establishments on the mainland wherever convenient from the "Isle-aux-Oeufs to Seven Islands and in the Grande Anse, toward [the country of] the Eskimo where the Spaniards usually [come to] fish." For these privileges Bissot had to pay an annual tax of two beaver pelts or ten livres tournois to the treasurer of the Company of the One Hundred Associates, plus the usual tax to the "community of this country," *i. e.*, to the Compagnie des Habitants.[47]

A glance at a map will make abundantly clear that in 1679, in virtue of his wife's inheritance of her father's rights, and in virtue of the grant made to him by Duchesneau, Jolliet was co-seignior of the islands and the mainland from Egg Island to Seven Islands, and of all the islands that fringe the northern banks of the St. Lawrence from Mingan to Bradore Bay. Jolliet, however, and his heirs at

[47] *Pièces sur la côte de Labrador*, I, 3-4.

a later date, included in their seigniory the hundred miles of coast between Seven Islands and Mingan. Thus on the 1678 map showing the land holdings in New France, Franquelin wrote all along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence from Seven Islands to Bradore Bay: "Seigneurie du Sieur Bissot."[48] In 1685, Marie Couillard, acting in her capacity of Bissot's widow and tutrix of his younger children as well as by the power of attorney which she had from her present husband, Jacques de Lalande, leased to her son-in-law, Louis Jolliet, "all the shoreland which belonged to them from Lisle aux Oeufs jusqu'a lance aux Espagnols, as well as their share [of rights] to the Mingan isles and islets extending from the Rivière St. Jean to the said Ance aux Espagnols."[49]

It was only in 1733 that the Jolliet heirs surrendered their right to the Bissot concession, namely, to that part extending "depuis et compris la de. isle aux Oeufs jusqu'a la pointe des Cormorans qui est a quatre ou cinq Lieues au dessous de la de. riviere Moisy."[50] This shoreland and the islands along it were thereafter reunited to the King's Domain.

On March 11, 1679, that is, on the day after Jolliet received the Mingan concession jointly with Lalande, they both entered into a partnership with Denis Guyon and Marie Laurence, to open a fishery and a trading center at Seven Islands.[51] On May 9, Jolliet bought from Charles Cadieu, Sieur de Courville, a house situated in Quebec, rue Sous-le-Fort;[52] and four days later, he left Quebec "with eight men in order to visit all the rivers and lakes which are included in the Traite de Tadoussac," and descended the Rupert River to Hudson Bay.[53]

From the abridged report of the narrative of his voyage, which is all that has come down to us, one can see that Jolliet fully realized how detrimental the possession of Hudson Bay by the English would

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[48] Carte pour seruir a l'eclaircissement du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France, Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), 125-1-1.

[49] *Pièces sur la côte de Labrador*, I, 252-253; and cf. *ibid.*, 282.

[50] *Ibid.*, 146.

[51] "Acte d'association entre Denis Guyon, J. Lalande, Marie Laurence et Louis Jolliet au sujet d'une entreprise de pêche et de traite aux Sept Isles." Archives de la Province de Québec, Collection Pierre-Georges Roy, *Carton* Louis Jolliet. The list of the documents in this *carton* was kindly furnished to the present writer by Dr. G. Frégault, formerly of the Archives of the Province of Quebec.

[52] Listed in the copy dated December 17, 1710, of the "Inventaire des biens, meubles, papiers, argent monnaye et non monnaye dependants de la succession de Claire Bissot, veuve de Louis Jolliet." Archives de la Province de Québec, Collection Pierre-Georges Roy, *Carton* Louis Jolliet.

[53] "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 245-250.

be to the trade of New France in general and to the Traite de Tadoussac in particular. He was very much interested in the latter, for his concession was contiguous to the King's Domain, and his own trade would suffer if the pelts gathered by the Indians in that part of Canada were brought to the English on Hudson bay instead of to the French on the St. Lawrence.

He returned to Quebec from Hudson Bay on October 25, 1679, three weeks after the birth of his third son. In the month of March 1680, Duchesneau granted to him in fief Anticosti Island "in consideration of his discovery of the Illinois country, . . . , and of the voyage which he had just made to Hudson Bay in behalf and to the advantage of the Ferme du Roy in this colony."[54]

Sixty years later Charlevoix wrote that Anticosti Island

> was granted to the Sieur Jolliet on his return from the discovery of the Mississippi. This was not a very valuable gift, for the island is worth absolutely nothing. It is thinly wooded,[55] the soil is sterile, and there is not a single harbor where a ship can safely anchor[56] . . . . The fishing along the coast is good enough, but I am persuaded that the Sieur Jolliet's heirs would willing exchange their vast seigniory for the smallest fief in France.[57]

This opinion of Charlevoix, that Anticosti was a poor reward granted to Jolliet for his explorations, persisted until the nineteenth century. Of course, the size of the concession—over two and a half million acres, half the area of the State of New Jersey—would not of itself make it a princely domain, but its products made it the most valuable concession in New France. Its streams then as now, abound in fish and its forest was full of game.[58] The legend that

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[54] *Pièces sur la côte de Labrador*, I, 7-8.

[55] Cf. *supra*, note 42, the assertion of the author of the *Histoire chronologique*. Champlain and Alfonce knew better. "Icelle [Anticosti] est couuerte de bois de pins, sapins, & bouleaux." C. H. Laverdière, ed., *Oeuvres de Champlain*, 3 volumes, Quebec, 1870, III, 104. "Et est l'isle de l'Ascension [Anticosti] une isle platte toute couverte d'arbres jusques au bort de la mer, assise sur roches blanches et albastres. Et y a de toutes sortes d'arbres comme celles de France." J. Fonteneau *dit* Alfonce de Saintonge, *La Cosmographie avec l'Espère et le Régime du Soleil et du Nord*, G. Musset, ed., Paris, 1904, 485.

[56] "There are but three bays called harbours: Fox Bay, Ellis Bay and English Bay; but they are only safe in certain conditions of the wind—and then for vessels of light draught." J. U. Gregory, *Anticosti. Its Shipwrecks*, Quebec, 1881, 15.

[57] P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France, avec le Journal Historique d'un Voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1744, III, 63.

[58] "Et y a, en la terre, forces bestes saulvaiges comme hours, porcs espiz, cerf, biches et dains, et oyseaux de toutes sortes, et forces poulles saulvaiges, lesquelles se tiennent ès boys." Alfonce, *op. cit.*, 485. Cf. Gregory, *op. cit.*, 14-15; J. Schmitt, *Monographie de l'Ile d'Anticosti*, Paris, 1904, 11-12, 343-345.

it was thinly wooded also persisted until the nineteenth century. But the density of its forest was not realized until the twentieth century, when expert foresters estimated that it contained over two billion cubic feet of timber. At this time they also found that by systematic cutting the forest of the island could be exploited indefinitely.[59] If Anticosti had remained the possession of Jolliet's heirs, they would certainly be unwilling today to exchange it even for the largest fief in France. In July 1926, Gaston Menier, the owner of the island, sold it to the Anticosti Corporation for 6,500,000 dollars.[60]

The concession in fief of Anticosti Island to Jolliet was objected to by Josias Boisseau who was then general manager in Canada of the Ferme du Domaine du Roy.[61] On April 10, 1680, he had an act drawn up by a notary, wherein he stated that on the preceding March 14, he had petitioned Duchesneau to annul the concession made to Lalande and Jolliet,

> because of the prejudice the said concession may cause to his Majesty's domain of Tadoussac .... The said Lord Intendant without adverting to the consequences and to the damage which the said concession of Anticosti, and the trade which the said Lalande, Jolliet and other relatives of the said Sieur [Charles Aubert] de la Chesnaye carry on at Seven Islands and in the surrounding country, does to the Domain and to the Ferme of his Majesty, issued a ruling on the 29th of the said month of March [1680], which, among other privileges, allows the said Sieur Jolliet to go and settle on the said Island of Anticosti.[62]

This judgment, the petitioner repeated, cannot fail to be very prejudicial to the King's Domain; and he remarks that Anticosti is the key to Canada. Because of its strategic position, governors and intendants have always been unwilling to give the island as a concession. This has been recognized by his Majesty, "for when the king wished to entice the Sieur Des groiseliers [Médard Chouart *dit* des Groseilliers] from the English and have him return to this colony, he only granted the usufruct of the island for thirty years, and not the property thereof."[63]

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[59] D. Potvin, *En Zigzag. Sur la Côte et dans l'Ile*, Quebec, 1929, 55-58. Cf. also V.-A. Huard, *Labrador et Anticosti*, Montreal, 1897, 221-258.

[60] Potvin, *op. cit.*, 77.

[61] Born in 1641, he seems to have come to Canada with his wife in 1679. Frontenac was godfather of his eldest child who was baptized at Quebec August 14, 1680. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique*, I, 63.

[62] Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 329-330.

[63] The privilege was for twenty years. Cf. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), IX, Albany, 1855, IX, 974; and *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 184-185.

These statements of Boisseau are somewhat confused. Anticosti Island was granted to Jolliet alone, in consideration of his services to the colony in general and to the shareholders of the Ferme du Roy in particular. What really alarmed the general manager was the trade which Jolliet, together with Lalande and their associates, was carrying on at Seven Islands, close to the King's Domain. He repeated his protests again and again in Quebec, and his complaints are embodied in a memoir which reached Paris in the following year. We are not interested in the memorialist's accusations against all and sundry, but only in those against Jolliet. Before examining the indictment, however, we must place the document in its setting.

By 1680, the question of the coureurs de bois had become very acute. From the very beginning of his term Frontenac had been ordered to rid the colony of these undesirables.[64] In 1674, he wrote to Colbert that there were only six left;[65] but for reasons which do not concern us here, his zeal in carrying out the orders of the king soon abated, and the coureurs de bois so increased that before long they numbered 800;[66] mostly because, wrote Duchesneau in 1679, they were covertly protected by the governor.[67] Naturally, Frontenac claimed that it was the intendant who protected the coureurs, but the proofs sent by Duchesneau in 1679 were so decisive that they convinced even Colbert, who would have preferred to believe the worst of the intendant, and to absolve the governor. The minister wrote to Frontenac that there was no doubt either in his own mind or in the mind of the king that Frontenac himself, and not Duchesneau, was guilty.[68]

In 1680, Duchesneau sent further proofs;[69] and we know from a letter of Louis XIV that Frontenac also sent his version of the affair. At least two of the governor's letters of this year have not come down to us; but we know from this letter of the king that Frontenac's account contained the same accusations against Jolliet as does the memoir here mentioned.

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64 Louis XIV to Frontenac, June 5, 1672, June 5, 1673; Colbert to Frontenac, June 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 9, 23, 24.

65 Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, *ibid.*, 57, 68. "In the first two years .... you [Frontenac] have entirely destroyed the bush-lopers." C. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, J. G. Shea, transl. and ed., 2 volumes, New York, 1881, I, 41.

66 Louis XIV to Frontenac, April 30, 1681, in P. Clément, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, 7 volumes, Paris, 1861-1873, III^2, 645; Duchesneau to Colbert, November 13, 1680, AC, C 11A, 5:178; Louis XIV to Duchesneau, April 30, 1681, AC, B 8:81.

67 Duchesneau to Colbert, November 10, 1879, NYCD, IX, 131.

68 Colbert to Frontenac, April 4, 1680, RAPQ, 1927, 113.

69 Duchesneau to Seignelay, November 13, 1680, NYCD, IX, 143.

The memorialist begins by saying that the only reason why there are still coureurs de bois in New France, is because they are protected by Messrs. Duchesneau, de Comporté, and Aubert de la Chesnaye. The first paragraphs of the document deal with the illicit trade in and around Montreal. Besides Duchesneau and La Chesnaye, Charles Le Moyne and Jacques Leber are singled out as the outstanding offenders in this region. The memorialist then passes to what took place on the Lower St. Lawrence.

In 1679, he says, La Chesnaye, under the pretext of a fishing expedition, sent a ship commanded by his nephew "to trade in forbidden places," *i. e.*, in the King's Domain; and what was worse, the pelts gathered during this expedition were brought to the English. All of this, he adds, is attested by unimpeachable, duly legalized testimonies. When Duchesneau's attention was called to these violations of the trading laws, the intendant did not even listen to the accusations.

> The men called Lalande and Jolliet, brother-in-law and nephew of La Chesnaye, respectively, having taken ship toward Tadoussac, under the pretext of their Anticosti fishing concession, were accused and convicted after their return [to Quebec] in the month of March of last year, 1680, of having enticed the Indians [to trade with them], and not only did they bring pelts to the English but they even traded with the governor of Hudson Bay, and received gifts from him.[70]

Jolliet could not have gone to Hudson Bay at this time as alleged. We know that he was in Quebec on November 9, 1679,[71] and also on February 4, 1680,[72] and that it was impossible to make a round trip from Quebec to Hudson Bay during the winter in the intervening time. The Anticosti concession was granted after the northern voyage, and it was given to Jolliet alone, as a reward for the discovery of the Illinois country and because of the information he had brought back to Quebec from Hudson Bay in 1679. There is not the slightest indication that Lalande was one of the eight men who accompanied Jolliet to Hudson Bay, and when the latter met Baily at the mouth of the Rupert River, he did not "trade" with the Englishman. As for the presents, they consisted in "a sack of hardtack and a sack of flour,"[73] which Baily gave to Jolliet and his men because they had no provisions for the return journey.

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[70] "Mémoire et Preuve de la cause du désordre des coureurs de bois, avec le moyen de les détruire." RAPQ, 1927, 121.

[71] He signed his Map of Hudson Bay on this day. "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 241, note 82.

[72] *Inventaire des Greffes*, III, 181.

[73] "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay," *loc. cit.*, 250.

It may perhaps not be out of place here to call attention to the travesty of facts commonly indulged in by Frontenac's protégés, partisans and hangers-on. Their letters, reports, and books are the basis for most of the history of the governor's first term. This "authentic" documentation has, on the whole, been accepted uncritically by immature dissertation writers or by self-styled impartial historians, who express pained surprise or stand ready to cry "prejudice" whenever one checks the statements of their fustian heroes against independent evidence, especially if it so happens that these statements turn out to be falsifications with malice aforethought.

With the above accusations the memorialist of 1681 had only begun his indictment of Jolliet and Lalande. He went on to say that those guilty of the crime of "trading in forbidden territory" should have been fined 2,000 livres, their ship and cargo confiscated, and an exemplary punishment meted out to the culprits. Instead, on the 28th of the same month of March 1680, "M. Duchesneau issued in his own house an ordinance signed by himself and by one of his secretaries, allowing the accused to leave for another fishing expedition, merely forbidding them to trade with the Indians or to entice them to trade, under penalty of 2,000 livres fine and confiscation of the ship and cargo."

On the same day, the memorialist continues, Boisseau presented a second request, thinking that Duchesneau would modify the provisions of the above mentioned ordinance; but all that the intendant did was to issue a second ordinance similar to the first, in order to "save the accused who could not have been acquitted had the case been tried before the Sovereign Council." Boisseau protested loudly, and made it known that he would notify the Fermiers, his employers in France, of the glaring injustice of these two ordinances. To pacify him, Duchesneau issued a third ordinance, dated April 4, condemning "these Lalande and Jolliet fellows" to pay a 500 livres fine, confiscating their ship and forbidding them to repeat the offense.

The sequence of events, designedly confused by the memorialist, can be approximately re-established. While Jolliet went to Hudson Bay, his partner, Lalande, went to their joint concession and traded at Seven Islands. In March 1680, Boisseau having heard that trade had been carried on there, concluded that since the post was near the King's Domain, Lalande had been trading in the "forbidden territory." When he further learned that Jolliet had been given Anticosti Island in fief, he saw an opportunity for making La Chesnaye and Duchesneau appear in a very bad light before the minister,

thus diverting the attention of the authorities in Paris from Frontenac's own violations of the king's ordinances.

If the Sieur Boisseau thought that by the confiscation of Jolliet's ship all trade activities near the "forbidden territory" would be stopped, he was soon undeceived.

> And when, after Boisseau had seized the confiscated ship, the time to leave for trading drew near, La Chesnaye, an associate of those Lalande and Jolliet fellows, his brother-in-law and nephew, respectively, took all the men who were equipping the ships of the Ferme and set them hurriedly to refit his own ship, the *Sainte-Anne*, on which Jolliet and Lalande left during the first days of May, before any ship of the Ferme was ready to sail.
>
> They returned to Quebec last September [1680] with their ship loaded with pelts and other merchandises.[74]

After this, Boisseau complained more than ever. He accused Lalande and Jolliet of having enticed the Indians to Seven Islands, and of having traded within the limits of the King's Domain. He claimed that they had left men behind to winter in those parts, and said that by their trade they were ruining the Traite de Tadoussac.

Boisseau went to Duchesneau and asked that justice be done. All the redress which he obtained from the intendant consisted in the issuing of a private ordinance dated September 27, 1680, which permitted Lalande, Jolliet, and their partners to unload their pelts, and forbade them from then on to trade within the limits of the King's Domain. As for La Chesnaye he was completely exonerated.

In his *Rapport*, M. P.-G. Roy notes that the memoir from which we have quoted was "dictated, if not written by M. de Frontenac himself."[75] Although, as we shall see, the same accusations against Jolliet were also sent to Paris by Frontenac, we learn from a letter of M. Dudouyt to Bishop Laval that this memoir is not the governor's. In this letter Dudouyt says that there had been much talk against Duchesneau in Paris. It would have been desirable, he adds, to have had someone who could have taken the defense of the intendant. "It was said (on a dit) that there was nothing so weak as his procès-verbaux," *i. e.*, his proofs that Frontenac was protecting the coureurs de bois; and it was also said that "the summary which Boisseau himself made of his own [procès-verbaux] was so well done that nothing could be better."[76]

By "on a dit" Dudouyt means that Frontenac's partisans in Paris

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[74] Mémoire et Preuve...., RAPQ, 1927, 122.
[75] *Ibid.*, 124.
[76] Dudouyt to Laval, May 10, 1681, Archives du Séminaire, (Laval University), Quebec, *Lettres*, Carton N. no. 57.

had disparaged Duchesneau's procès-verbaux and had extolled the Sieur Boisseau's memoir. The king, however, took quite a different view of the matter. To Duchesneau he simply wrote that the intendant had shown too great partiality toward La Chesnaye and that he had encroached upon the rights of the governor when he took it upon himself to allow "the man named Jolliet" to leave Quebec for the Lower St. Lawrence. The rest of the king's letter deals mostly with the coureurs de bois and with the absolute necessity of living on friendly terms with Frontenac.[77]

To the governor the king wrote in quite a different manner. He begins by saying that he has received Frontenac's letters of May 20 and of November 14, 1680. These letters do not seem to be extant, but from what Louis XIV says it appears that Frontenac had asked his Majesty to distinguish between what had happened before he received the king's letters of 1680 and his conduct thereafter. To this the king answered that he knew one thing: "You did not obey my orders concerning one of the most important points which regard my services," namely, the governor had not maintained friendly terms with Duchesneau. After adding that Frontenac's animosity against the intendant "appears in all your letters,' he goes on to say:

> You accuse the said intendant of carrying on trade and of profiting, together with the Sieurs de la Chesnaye and de Comporté, from the illicit trade of the coureurs de bois. In proof of your accusations, you mention what happened in the law-suit which the man Boisseau brought against Jolliet and others, because of their alleged trade at Seven Islands, to the prejudice of the Traite de Tadoussac. This has nothing to do with the coureurs de bois, since it is clear from the documents which you yourself have sent, that you conceded the Mingan Islands to the said Jolliet, where he has begun an establishment, and that he only traded with the Indians who brought merchandise to his settlement. On this subject I shall repeat once more what I have said in my preceding letters; namely, everything which you write about the said intendant with regard to his trade and his support of the coureurs de bois appear to spring from a spirit of recrimination rather than being based on a real foundation.[78]

Frontenac was far too wise not to realize that he had made a mistake in supporting the Sieur Boisseau and in sending a report which duplicated that of the general manager of the Ferme du Roy. In a letter to Colbert, he said that he had merely done his duty and obeyed orders.[79] To Louis XIV he wrote that he was unfortunate

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[77] Louis XIV to Duchesneau, April 13, 1681, AC, C 11A, 5:339; and April 30, 1681, AC, B 8:20.

[78] Louis XIV to Frontenac, April 30, 1681, Clément, *op. cit.*, III², 645.

[79] Frontenac to Colbert, [1681], RAPQ, 1927, 118.

to have incurred his Majesty's displeasure for protecting the interests of the Fermiers of the King's Domain; adding that he had supported Boisseau only because of the king's own orders and only after the said Boisseau had shown him the secret instructions which he had received from his Paris employers. As a further justification, Frontenac enclosed copies of the letters which he himself had received from the Fermiers thanking him for the "protection extended to their agent in Quebec, and begging him to continue it."[80]

Judging from their actions, the Fermiers in France were not very much impressed by the wonderful summary, in the memoir, of Boisseau's procès-verbaux. They probably came to the conclusion that their interests would be better protected in the hands of a man of less uncontrollable temper. On one occasion, when a coureur de bois refused to change his testimony previously given under oath, Boisseau threatened to throw the man out of the window, then to lock him up in the cellar and let him starve there, and finally kicked him out of the house after slapping his face, all the while "jurant horriblement contre Dieu Et comme un lyon."[81] What is certain is that by July 15, 1681, Boisseau had ceased to be general manager, for on this day he is referred to in the court records as "cy devant agent des sieurs interessez."[82] After November 1681, his name disappears from the records; he seems to have returned to France that same year.[83]

Duchesneau answered as follows the accusations in Boisseau's memoir:

> Boisseau greatly maligned me by saying that I gave permission to the man named Jolliet to send out ships on a fishing expedition to the detriment of the authority and the right which M. the Governor has to grant these permissions. In the suit which was tried before me, there never was any question of such permissions, but rather he [Boisseau] wanted me to forbid the said Jolliet from settling on his concessions and from fishing in those places, contending that this would be prejudicial to the Ferme du Roy. Seeing that M. the Governor delayed granting these permissions [to leave for his concession] until I had issued my ordinances to that effect, I myself granted them, but I was very careful to avoid attributing to myself powers which I do not have. I simply decreed that, as far as I was concerned, I allowed the said Sieur Jolliet to settle and fish in those places which had

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[80] *Id.* to Louis XIV, November 2, 1681, *ibid.*, 124.
[81] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 632.
[82] *Ibid.*, 600.
[83] His wife, however, remained in Canada at least until October 1682. Cf. *Inventaire des Greffes*, IV, 94.

been conceded to him with such precautions and defensive measures as were needed for the protection of the Ferme.[84]

On May 29, 1680, the king ratified the Mingan concession,[85] and on October 24, 1680, that is, about the time when Boisseau was making his masterful summary, the royal decree was entered in the registers of the Sovereign Council.[86]

The document granting the Mingan concession to Jolliet and Lalande, the postscript containing the royal ratification and its registration with the Sovereign Council, are printed in Gagnon's book on Jolliet.[87] Farther down in his book, Gagnon writes: "The seigniorial grant of the Island of Anticosti was ratified by Louis XIV on May 29 1680, and the sovereign added a further favor by conferring on Louis Jolliet the title of 'hydrographe du roi'."[88] The Mingan concession, not the Anticosti, was ratified on May 29, 1680. I have found no document containing the ratification of the Anticosti fief; the undated endorsement on the original document merely means that the title was filed with the clerk of the Sovereign Council. Gagnon thus made the ratification of the Mingan concession serve for Anticosti as well; but a simple consideration of the dates involved clearly shows that the title granted by Duchesneau in March 1680, cannot have been ratified in Paris in May of the same year.

In a note appended to the above quotation, Gagnon warns us not to confuse the title of "hydrographe du roi" conferred in 1680, with that of "professeur d'hydrographie à Québec" which Jolliet received in 1697. Jolliet did not receive the title of "hydrographe du roi" in 1680. The first man who was officially appointed "hydrographe du Roi à Québec" is Franquelin who received the title in 1686, with a salary of 400 livres per annum.[89] Since one of the obligations of the "hydrographe du roi" was to teach navigation at

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[84] Duchesneau to Seignelay, November 13, 1681, AC, C 11A, 5:294v. Two years later, Duchesneau's successor wrote to the minister: "Il n'y a rien à craindre pour la ferme du costé d'Anticosti, ou du poste du Sieur de [sic] Jolliet, car non seulement il n'y a faict que très peu de castor, le capital de sa traitte consistant en loup marin et en huyles, mais encore les dites pelleteries sont appartez à Québec par la barque du S[r] Radisson." De Meulles to Seignelay, [November 4, 1683], *Collection de Manuscrits .... relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, 4 volumes, Quebec, 1883-1885, I, 318.

[85] *Pièces sur la côte de Labrador*, I, 7.

[86] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 424.

[87] Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 213-215.

[88] *Ibid.*, 229.

[89] "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 37.

Quebec, he was also "maitre d'hydrographie."[90] Thus there was no difference whatever between the title "hydrographe du roi" and "maitre d'hydrographie"; in the documents of the period the two expressions are used indifferently to designate the same office.[91]

In the spring of 1681, the seignior of Anticosti seems to have brought his family to the island. In the census of this year, he is listed as residing there with his wife, four of his children, five menservants, and a maid. The census taker noted that they had six guns, and two heads of cattle, and that two acres of land had been cleared.[92]

There is a disagreement with regard to the location of the original Jolliet settlement on the island. Some think that he built a house on English Bay, others on Ellis Bay; the first opinion being apparently based on a document of 1725.[93] Even if one could determine the location of the two houses which stood on the island in that year, it does not follow that one of them had been built by Jolliet in 1680 or in 1681. I formerly held as more probable the Ellis Bay site,[94] because this bay is one of the few ports of the island, besides being a much better harbor than English Bay, and also because on Jolliet's map of 1698, Ellis Bay is called "Haure pour les

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[90] In 1687, Denonville and Champigny wrote to Seignelay asking that Franquelin be employed as mapmaker exclusively, and that the teaching of navigation be entrusted to the Jesuits, AC, C 11A, 9:10v; but the authorities in Paris left things as they were. Nothing came of the same suggestion made three years later by Denonville after his return to France, *ibid.*, 193.

[91] Franquelin who was teaching navigation at Quebec is called "hydrographe du roy" in the following official documents, *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, III, 416, 419, 669, 680, 737, 782; and is called once "maître de géographie du roi," *ibid.*, 579. After Jolliet had been officially appointed "maître d'hydrographie," he is invariably called "hydrographe du roi" in documents posterior to 1697. Cf. *Ibid.*, IV, 730, 942, 1015, 1079; BRH, XXII, 1916, 336; *Pièces sur la côte de Labrador*, I, 271. Note also that in 1695, Jolliet asked to be appointed "to the position of hydrographer at Quebec, which was held by the Sieur Franquelin." E. Richard, ed., *Supplement to Dr. Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives 1899*, Ottawa, 1901, 27.

[92] Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, V, 88. If this census was correctly transcribed there are several inexplicable errors in this entry. The age of Jolliet is given as 42, he was 36 years old; his wife's age is said to be 23, she was 25. The names of the children and their ages are as follows: Louis, 5; Jean, 3; Anne, 2; and Claire, 1. With the exception of the oldest child, the ages of the other three do not agree with their ages as given in the baptismal records. 1) Jean who is apparently Jean-Baptiste was born in 1683; 2) Anne was born in 1682; and 3) Claire in 1685, that is, two, one, and four years, respectively, after the date of the census.

[93] Cf. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 333.

[94] "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 59.

navires."[95] This second reason was considerably weakened when I observed that on the same map, Jolliet indicates four "abrys pour des navires" on the north shore, and two "rivières pour des barques" on the south shore of the island. The following positive evidence clearly proves this opinion to be untenable.

On Franquelin's map of 1681,[96] a circle legended "Habitation du S[r] Jolliet" is clearly meant to indicate a spot on the north shore of the island, near a bay called "Port aux Ours," which corresponds to present-day MacCarthy Bay, the "Grand McCarthy" of French maps. Again, Jolliet himself inscribed "maison Jolliet"[97] next to a square at the the same spot on his map of 1684.[98] Finally, in the following year, Franquelin wrote "Maison de M[r] Jolliet" at the same place as on his map of 1681, also specifying the place with a square.[99] Now in the title of Franquelin's map of 1685, it is expressly stated that the map was made on the "memoirs and observations of the Sieur Jolliet," and since we know from a letter of Denonville that Franquelin was given the sketches of Jolliet to draw this map, it would seem that Jolliet built his first house on MacCarthy Bay. From the fact that his main establishments were at Mingan on the mainland across from this bay, and from the fact that Jolliet himself does not indicate any house on Anticosti on the above mentioned map of 1698, we conclude that in later years the house on this island was abandoned or destroyed, and that Mingan had by that time become his headquarters on the Lower St. Lawrence.

For the next four years the documentation concerning the whereabouts of Jolliet is fragmentary. He was absent from Quebec in July 1681,[100] but he was back again by September of that year;[101] the court records show that he was away during the summer

[95] Reproduced in Schmitt, *Monographie de l'Ile d'Anticosti*, facing p. 26.

[96] SHB, B 4040-3.

[97] ASH, 123-8-1. On this map, cf. "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 241-245.

[98] This is the house referred to by Lahontan: "Elle [Anticosti Island] appartient au Sieur *Joliet*, Canadien, qui y a fait faire un petit Magasin fortifié, afin que les marchandises & sa famille soient à l'abri des surprises des Eskimaux." *Nouveaux Voyages .... dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, 2 volumes, La Haye, 1703, II, 8.

[99] ASH, 126-1-2.

[100] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 593.

[101] "Un certificat en parchemin donné par Monsieur Duchesneau lors intendant en ce pays que le sr. Claude Porlier estoit au Montreal lorsque l'incendie de cette ville de Quebecq arriva la nuit du quatre au cinque aoust mil six cens quatre vingt deux et que toutes ses marchandises brulerent et tous les papiers que deffunct le sieur Louis Jolliet avoit mis chez luy en datte du neufe septembre de la d. année," *i. e.*, 1681. Listed in the copy of the "Inventaire des biens ...." dated December 17, 1710, Archives de la Province de Québec, Collection Pierre-Georges Roy, *Carton* Louis Jolliet.

months of 1682.[102] There is positive evidence that he was in Quebec in January and February 1683,[103] which shows that he had returned before the winter set in. We know that he was in Quebec in October, November, and December 1683,[104] as well as in January and in March 1684.[105] On February 19, 1685, he stated that on the previous Tuesday he had bought for Louis Rouer de Villeray a piece of property situated "en la coste de Ste Geneuieue," and a house in Quebec for Charles Denys de Vitré.[106] On March 2, 1685, he appeared before Gilles Rageot,[107] and in September of that year he was again in Quebec,[108] having perhaps remained there all summer.[109] From all this, it seems legitimate to conclude that during these years Jolliet spent the winters in Quebec and the summers on his concessions on the Lower St. Lawrence.[110]

On November 10, 1685, he wrote from Quebec the earliest autograph letter which has come down to us.[111]

To my Lord, My Lord the Marquis de Seignelay, Minister and Secretary of State.

My Lord:

It is not without reason that from the very beginning ship captains coming to New France have always been apprehensive of the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence [Cabot Strait] and of the navigation from

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[102] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 799, 807, 810, 813.

[103] *Ibid.*, 858, 867.

[104] *Inventaire des Greffes*, II, 223; contract between Jolliet and Claude Baillif, dated Quebec, December 1, 1683, in the Library of the Chicago Historical Society, Gunther Collection; *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 904, 910-911.

[105] *Inventaire des Greffes*, II, 225. "Un compte de ce que le dit sieur Jacques de Lalande avait fourny au dt. deffunct sieur Louis Jolliet et un acte passé au bas du dt. compte par lequel la dt. demoiselle Marie Couillard se trouvait redevable de la somme audt. sieur Jolliet .... passé par feu Me François Genaple notaire en cette prévosté en date du neufe mars mil six cent quatre vingt quatre." Listed in the copy of the "Inventaire des biens ....," dated December 17, 1710.

[106] The deed is in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

[107] *Pièces sur la côte de Labrador*, I, 252-254.

[108] *Inventaire des Greffes*, IV, 136.

[109] In the *Inventaire des Greffes*, II, 234, a notarial act dated June 14, 1685, is listed as follows: "Marché entre Léonard Paillard et Louis Jolliet." I have not seen this document and cannot say whether Jolliet was present when this deed was passed.

[110] I have found no documentary proof for the statement that by 1685 Jolliet "had already spent two winters at Anticosti." P. Margry, "Louis Joliet," *Revue Canadienne*, IX, 1872, 131.

[111] A clerk in Paris wrote on the first page: "Le Sr Jolliet 10.9bre 1685 envoye un Carte du Golphe et fleuve St Laurent quil dit tres bonne." The same clerk wrote on fo. 134v, "observations de la navigation du fleuve de St Laurens sur lesquelles La Carte envoyée à Monseigneur par Mr de Denonville a esté dessinée."

Anticosti to Quebec,[112] a distance of more than one hundred and thirty leagues.

It is known, my Lord, that several ships sent by his Majesty as well as by merchants, have been shipwrecked in the said river, for lack of accurate and reliable navigation maps.

Since I completed my studies of philosophy and mathematics eighteen years ago, I have acquired much experience during the voyages I made to the Mechisipi River, the Illinois country, the lake of the Pouteouatami [Green Bay], the country of the Ouenibegons [Winnebago], Lake Superior of the Outaoüas, Baye du Nord [Hudson Bay], Anticosty, Isle Percée, Belle Isle and Newfoundland, always with dividers or compass in hand, noting every cape and spit, as well as the bearings from one to the other. This experience emboldens me, my Lord, to present to you this map which is [the result of] my work during the past six years. You will see marked on it all the coves, islands and islets, all the coasts and sand bars from Quebec to Newfoundland. The pilots of the ships of his Majesty and of other ships have nothing to fear if they use this map and navigate by it.

I do not hesitate to say that this map is complete, for I inserted in the final draught the information, and the noteworthy details observed during forty-six voyages on a bark and three in a canoe. Coves and anchorages, good and bad, as well as the bearings, are faithfully entered.

I am not adding the map of the Illinois [country], of the Mechisipi, or that of the overland route to the Baye du Nord, because the maps [of these regions] which have been sent to his Majesty these past years were all based on my memoirs, and those very enterprises which are now in progress in Canada are the result of the information which I brought back.

[Hence] it only remained, my Lord, to give you a map of the St. Lawrence River, as accurate and as trustworthy as possible for the navigation of barks and vessels, made by a man with several years of experience. He begs you to accept it as coming from one who considers himself, with all possible respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Jolliet.[113]

Eighteen years back would bring us to 1667, the year when Jolliet left the seminary, and six years back, when he began the survey of the St. Lawrence, would be 1679, the year when Duchesneau granted the Mingan concession. The journeys he speaks of were made during the spring and summer months; for he evidently does not mean that in five years' time, he made forty-nine journeys from Quebec to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, but rather that

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[112] "J'aymerais mieulx aller de France à l'Acadie que de monter de là le fleuve Sainct Laurens jusques à Quebec à cause des grands risques qu'il y a à monter ce fleuve." Mémoire sur l'Acadie, [1683], *Collection de Manuscrits .... relatifs à la Nouvelle-France,* I, 292.

[113] Jolliet to Seignelay, November 10, 1685, AC, C 11E, 13:135-136. The letter is printed with slight changes in G. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France,* Paris, 1885, 14-15.

whenever he sailed he noted down all that would be useful to pilots and all that helped to make the navigation on the river safer.

Father Steck sees in the second paragraph of this letter an attempt on the part of Jolliet "to counteract the influence of what Thevenot put out as Marquette's narrative." After quoting Jolliet's reason for not sending maps of the Illinois country, of the Mississippi, and of Hudson Bay, Father Steck goes on to say: "The circumstance that this was written four years after the appearance of Thevenot's volume and that no allusion is made to Marquette in connection with the Illinois and the Mississippi is very significant, especially since Thevenot had a map of the Mississippi region."[114]

The significance of this "circumstance" is not at all striking for anyone who has some knowledge of the cartographical output in New France between 1675 and 1683, and who is not preoccupied with looking for *midi à quatorze heures.* First of all, it is plain that Jolliet does not specially single out the map of the Illinois country or that of the Mississippi, but lumps these together with his two maps of the Labrador peninsula which he had sent to Paris in 1679 and 1684. Secondly, he clearly wished to remind the minister that the Franquelin and Randin maps of the Illinois country and of the Mississippi, which had been sent to Paris since 1675, were all based on his memoirs or on his sketches. Finally, if, as is quite probable, Thévenot's *Recueil,* published in 1681, had by this time found its way to Canada, Jolliet knew that the map published by Thévenot was not Marquette's map, for he would immediately recognize it as a variant of one of his own maps.

What Jolliet says about "those very enterprises which are now in progress in Canada" refers to an important expedition in preparation. In October 1685, the shareholders of the Compagnie du Nord, having learned of the latest treason of Radisson which, they claimed, cost them more than 400,000 livres, prevailed upon Denonville to send an expedition to Hudson Bay to expel the English.[115] The information which Jolliet brought back is contained in his report of 1679.[116]

From the wording of the letter it is clear that the map of the St. Lawrence River was an autograph map. Marcel prefaced his pub-

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[114] Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition,* 238.

[115] I. Caron, ed., *Journal de l'expédition du Chevalier de Troyes à la Baye d'Hudson en 1686,* Beauceville, 1918, 2-5; G. Frégault, *Iberville le Conquérant,* Montreal, c1944, 80-84.

[116] "The Voyage of Louis Jolliet to Hudson Bay in 1679," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 249. Cf. De Meulles to Seignelay, [November 4, 1683], *Collection de Manuscrits,* I, 318.

lication of the original text by saying: "We have not been able to find out, although it would be very interesting to know, to which map the following letter of Jolliet refers."[117] The reason why Marcel was unable to identify this map, which Harrisse had listed fifteen years earlier,[118] is because he had apparently not seen a letter of Denonville in which the following passage occurs:

I have had the Sieur Franquelin make drawings of the Sieur Jolliet's sketches.[119] The latter is seriously interested in his work and has made a thorough study of the river. He has had a great share in many of the discoveries made in this country. He is a good man who could teach navigation and form pilots in this country, if you were kind enough, my Lord, to give him some subsidy each year.

The said Jolliet, my Lord, is hoping that his work of the past several years which I have the honor of sending to you, will be rewarded with some pecuniary bounty. He has a fishery at Anticosti, an island which has been granted to him. I am sending in his name a memoir on sedentary fishing to M. Morel, who will speak to you about it. It would be well to employ our Canadians in this occupation. You will see [on the map], my Lord, how many settlements there are on both sides of the lower course [of the St. Lawrence River].[120]

Denonville was so impressed by the work of Jolliet that, besides the above passage in the general despatch, he sent a special letter to the minister in behalf of the explorer. The governor begins by expressing the hope that the minister will be pleased with the work of Jolliet who, as a reward, is asking to be allowed to teach navigation at Quebec.

I am also asking, my Lord, for some bonus for the map which I am sending you. It is the result of forty-nine voyages[121] which he made in order to acquire a thorough knowledge of this river, [the navigation of] which is very difficult in several places, especially for those who are not accustomed to sail it. As soon as the ice melts, the Sieur Deshayes[122] will verify the accuracy of this map. However, he tells me, my Lord, that he cannot do this

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117 Marcel, *op. cit.*, 14.

118 H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir . . . .à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des pays adjacents 1545-1700*, Paris, 1872, 205, no. 209.

119 Carte // du Fleuve St. Laurent // dressée sur Mémoires et // observations du Sr. Jolliet en 46 // Voyages. // Par J. B. Louis Franquelin.1685. // in ASH, 126-1-3; photograph in the Karpinski Series of Reproductions. The map represents the St. Lawrence from Quebec to a "Riv. par 51d15m dou le Sr Jolliet est retourné," that is, to beyond today's St. Augustin River.—I have not seen the map listed by Harrisse as being in ASH, 126-1-1; from his description of it, it is a larger and a later state of the one mentioned above.

120 Denonville to Seignelay, November 13, 1685, AC, C 11A, 7:104.

121 As can be seen, Denonville added the three journeys made by canoe which Jolliet mentions in his letter to the forty-six in a bark.

122 On Jean Deshayes, see the references in "Franquelin, Mapmaker," Mid-America, XXV, 1943, 36, note 27.

with a launch, and that he needs a bark and a canoe.[123] He is sending you his reasons.

To have a better knowledge of the Bay [Gulf] of St. Lawrence than we have now is most imperative, because we lack maps.[124] If a bark is necessary [to survey the Gulf] it would be a good idea if this survey is thoroughly made. Had I dared, I would have sent back to France the said Sieur Deshayes, because I believe that the Sieur Jolliet would have done the work well. However, since you gave orders that Deshayes should come here, I did not think that I should interpret them. Be kind enough, my Lord, to let me know your decision on this matter, and whether [for the survey of the Gulf] you wish to employ Jolliet who owns a bark. He gave me a memoir on a fishery project in which he could be successful if you were kind enough to help him.[125]

I am sending an estimate of the expense necessary to equip the bark of the Sieur Deshayes, so that you may judge and give the necessary orders.[126]

In the general despatch from which we quoted above, besides Jolliet, Denonville had also proposed Franquelin as teacher of navigation in Quebec. It is the latter who was appointed royal hydrographer in the following year.

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123 The punctuation of this passage in Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 242, is faulty, and the identification of "il" as Jolliet contradicts what Denonville says in the next paragraph. The passage should read as follows: ".... surtout à ceux qui ne sont pas accoutumez d'y venir. Sitost que les glasses seront [is the reading of the original, not "sont" as in Gagnon] passées, le sieur des Hayes verifiera si cette carte est juste. Mais, Monseigneur, il [Deshayes, not Jolliet] me dit...."

124 When Denonville wrote these lines, he very likely had in mind what he experienced a few months earlier when his ship was nearly wrecked off the coast of Newfoundland. Cf. Denonville to Seignelay, August 20, 1685, BRH, XXII, 1916, 82-83.

125 I did not find this memoir of Jolliet. It may be that the three paragraphs in Margry, "Louis Jolliet," *Revue Canadienne*, IX, 1872, 131, are a résumé of the project referred to by Denonville.

126 Denonville to Seignelay, November 13, 1685, AC, C 11A, 7:117-117v. The letter is printed in Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 241-243.

Visitor to Paraguay in 1714

In a former article* we offered a sketch of the historical documents of the two archives in Argentina referring to early Jesuit activity in the La Plata region. One collection is in the Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires, the other is in the private Jesuit archives in the Colegio Máximo, at San Miguel, a suburb of the Argentine metropolis. Here we propose to widen our survey of the documents preserved in both Archives, pointing out how they bring to light various interesting details concerning the colonial history of south-central South America. It is concerning the Paraguay Reductions that these pieces are most illustrative. We shall deal specifically with a magnificent batch of reports, all the result of an official visitation made by a provincial superior of the Province of Paraguay. The Provincial's name was Luis de la Roca and in January, 1714, he began an extensive visitation of the colleges and missions belonging to the Jesuit Province of Paraguay. It took him a full year to complete his work and as the result of it he has left to posterity, embodied in official instructions, a veritable treasure chest of minute and colorful data on the organization and daily life of the missions. This group of documents is even more minute ancient lore than the reports made on each mission in the other American Continent, in New Spain, when in 1678 the Provincial of that Jesuit Province, Father Thomás Altamirano, sent north into the missions as official Visitor Ortiz Zapata. The regulations of Paraguayan Roca are more rich and colorful than the reports of Mexican Ortiz.

A document of the early eighteenth century illustrates how important for the protection and well-being of the La Plata provinces the Paraguay Reductions were considered to be. In 1711 the Spanish Government was in dire need of money to carry on its war in Europe, that of the Spanish Succession. There was question of raising the tribute tax which the Indians were paying to the King. The Governor of the Province of Paraguay through his secretary, the *Maestro de Campo*, Bartolomé de Lagnos, gathered information from various sources as to the possible effect of this upon the Indians of the Reductions. Fourteen questions were proposed to prominent residents

* "The Jesuit Archives at Buenos Aires," MID-AMERICA, January, 1945.

of the Province of Paraguay. The answers have come down to us. They bear witness to the importance of the Reductions for the protection and prosperity of this part of Spain's empire in the New World. The answers are in general agreement and may be epitomized thus: The Indians are now quiet under the care of the Jesuit fathers, but if the tax is raised there might be danger of disturbance or revolt. This would be a disaster, for the missions are a prop and protection to the country. There is always danger of attack from the Portuguese, but the Indians are a bulwark against such aggression and in the past they have often defended the province. They are inconstant by nature and are attracted to any novelty, therefore no change should be made in their regime since they have been quiet and content. Should the twenty-nine reductions rebel, there would be danger of invasion on the part of the English, the Portuguese or the Dutch.

The Indians came to be a defense to the provinces of Paraguay and La Plata because first they had to learn to defend themselves. The question of firearms for the Indians comes up constantly in these records. In 1664 Don Pedro de Roxas y Luna, royal *oidor* at Buenos Aires, puts two questions to Father Andrés de Rada, "Visitor General of the Provinces of Paraguay." The first concerns the missions in general, the second concerns the arming of the Indians. Regarding firearms the *oidor* inquires: "With whose permission and for what reason were firearms given to the Indians of these provinces, what was the number of weapons which they were allowed to have and how many do they have now?" Both are answered together by Rada and his answer fills thirteen folio pages.

The first part of the answer is an epitome of the history of the origin of the missions and their early career: In 1592, Aries de Saabedra (sic) being governor, the King ordered the fathers to preach the gospel in Paraguay. In 1605, the governor reporting on the innumerable amount of infidels there, the King again wrote a *cédula*, ordering evangelization of the country. Finally in 1608 the Jesuits arrived, Father Diego de Torres going to Asunción and by order of the King founding the Jesuit Province of Paraguay. Torres sent two fathers to the mission of Guayra, two to that of Paraná, and two to the mission of the Guaycuru Indians. And he gave an account of everything to the King by a letter dated November 25, 1609. His Majesty expressed himself as well served in a *cédula* of July 19, 1621. All these documents are in the royal files of Buenos Aires.—So the document goes on, sketching the history of the expanse of the missions and giving a list of those existing at the time

(1664): there were eleven reductions in the jurisdiction of the Governor of Paraguay, and eleven in the jurisdiction of the Governor of Buenos Aires.

Andrés de Rada now comes to the second question, that of firearms for the Indians. He defends the arming of the Indians: the Viceroy, the various governors, the *Audiencia* of Chuquisaca, the bishops—all saw the threat of danger to these provinces arising from the Portuguese *bandeirantes* of Brazil, because the reductions were far removed from aid by any Spanish armed force. Father Ruiz de Montoya, the report continues, proposed before the Royal Council the use of firearms by the Indians and received the royal permission for such use, as can be seen in many royal *cédulas.* Father Andrés de Rada winds up his reply to the royal *oidor* of Buenos Aires by quoting the very words of Don Jacinto de Láriz in favor of the institution, who in 1647 had made a thorough examination of the whole question of firearms and expressed himself as satisfied with the spirit of the armed Indians and the manner in which the institution was carried out. The padre concludes by quoting a royal *cédula* of September 22, 1649, approving the use of firearms by the Indians in order to defend themselves against the Portuguese raiders of Brazil.

The record of the investigation of Don Jacinto de Láriz has been published. There are fifteen reductions on this list with the figure of their Indian population and the number of soldiers each one furnished to the Guaraní army. Santa María was credited with a population of 2,000 Indians and its quota to the army was 500 armed men. This is the largest figure for population. The lowest in population was Santa Ana with 1,075 souls, furnishing to the army 350 armed men. The largest quota to the army was furnished by Concepción which gave 800 soldiers, having a population of 1,469. The lowest army quota was that of Los Martyres. It enjoyed a population of 1,186, but furnished only 293 armed men. The total Indian population for the fifteen missions at that time was 21,116; together they furnished a force of 6,968 armed and trained Guaraní Indians.

The impression created by these and many other similar records is that the Jesuit missionaries were often put on the defensive by the inimical attitude of bishops and governors, or the false accusations of their enemies.

For instance, there were recurrent suspicions and jealousies concerning the production and disposal of the *yerba mate.* There is an interesting document in this connection dated April 20, 1682. The

piece contains official questions and answers. The questions demanded by Government were answered in the presence of Francisco Luis de Cabrera, Alcalde ordinario de la Ciudad de Sta. Fé de la Vera Cruz. Here are some of the questions the Jesuits had to answer through trustworthy witnesses, four of them who put their signatures to the written replies. 1. Whether the *yerba mate* which the Indians carry down the river (the Paraná) in rafts to Santa Fé belongs to these Indians and is given as payment of tribute to His Majesty, or is used to buy useful things for their churches and pueblos, and in no manner belongs to the fathers or to their colleges. The answer is: This *yerba mate* belongs to the Indians. 2. Whether the Fathers are aware of the great distances between the reductions of Paraná and Uruguay and Asunción de Paraguay, so that they are unable, nor have ever been accustomed to ask the permission of the Governor of Paraguay each time they go down the river in rafts? The answer is: The distance is very great and they have never been accustomed to ask this permission. 3. Whether the fathers know that in the river route by which the Indians go down in rafts from the reductions to Santa Fá there is no city or pueblo under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Paraguay, but only under that of the Governor of Buenos Aires? Answer: Yes, the fathers are aware of this. 4. Do they know that in the missions (the word used is *doctrinas*) of the Río del Paraná there are only four which belong to the jurisdiction of Paraguay, namely, Itapúa, Loreto, San Ignacio, and Yabebiri? Answer: Yes, they know there are only four. 5. Are they sure that the *yerba mate* carried down in rafts to Santa Fé is small in quantity and that which is carried to Paraguay is greater? Answer: Yes, they know that the *yerba mate* which the Indians transport to Santa Fé is small in quantity. 6. Do the witnesses know that the fathers do not horde the *yerba mate* in barns and traffic with it as their own? Answer: The fathers do not horde the *yerba mate* in barns, nor do they traffic with it. 7. Are the items contained in the foregoing questions well known and public? Answer: Yes, they are.

These are not even half of the questions put to presumably trustworthy colonial laymen concerning the correct and honest conduct of the missionaries in regard to the traffic of their neophytes in the *yerba mate* down the Paraná River, and up the Paraguay River to Asunción. There were in all fifteen questions and fifteen answers, each answer carrying four signatures. And a final note is humorous: Father Valeriano de Villegos testifies that the four persons answering the above questions are fully trustworthy.

There is a similar document of questions and answers dated June 19, 1699, where Father Martín, procurator of the *doctrinas del Paraná y Uruguai* answers among others these pertinent queries: How many rafts are accustomed to go down the river each year? (Answer: Twenty-two *poco mas o menos.*); has a certain great ship gone down the river loaded with *yerba mate*; in the past six years has a large amount of the *yerba* been shipped to Corrientes; last year (1698) did thirty-three boats go down the river? (Answer: Yes, thirty-three went down the river to Buenos Aires carrying a thousand Indians ordered by the Governor for the guard and defense of the city.)

The above documents (and there are many like them in this collection) are historically significant. It has got into history that the Jesuits of these reductions trafficked commercially like great landowners in the products of their missions and that they thereby became rich, even (according to one legend) horded and buried gold. From this and similar documents we learn how the missionaries were watched by a sometimes jealous and even inimical officialdom. Officialdom was often spurred on to such investigation by other landowners who resented the presence and the prosperity of the missions. Private owners had reason for resentment or jealousy. The reductions had acquired the best lands, they were well administered, they were prosperous. Other people would like to get these lands. Eventually some of them did when the Jesuits were expelled in 1768. In Brazil, at least, Jesuit success in the missions and their *protection of the Indian against slavery*, had much to do with their expulsion in 1759 from that Portuguese colony.

Let us come now to the minute report of Roca's visitation. In January, 1714, the Provincial, Luis de la Roca began an extensive visitation of the colleges and missions belonging to the province of Paraguay. He began with the college at Tucumán, then he went to Santiago del Estero, and on to Buenos Aires. After that, the Provincial went north to the missions. To Yapeyú or Santos Reyes, to La Cruz, San Thomé and twenty-six others. While making these rounds, the Visitor took in the Jesuit college in Asunción. Some of the regulations he left behind him are colorful. For instance we have this: Since the college at Asunción enjoys an abundance of slaves, some of them should be sent to the missions to learn music, carpentering, iron working and other trades. A clean and intelligent slave should be made infirmarian. And the slave who helps in the sacristy should learn to sew, so that time otherwise wasted could be

spent in repairing the vestments. About slaves, a visitor at Córdoba remarked that the slaves in that college were not tidily clothed.

Roca orders severely at Tucumán that the ornaments of the sacristy be loaned to nobody. At the college at Buenos Aires the corridors and patios are not sufficiently lighted at night, and the veil of the high altar of the church which covers the retable is torn and should be mended. The clock in the church tower should be properly mended once for all, for if it has to be taken apart so often, it is better that it do not strike at all, because even if it does not strike the hour, the people will have confidence in it, provided it keeps good time.

At the mission of Yapeyú, birth place of General San Martín almost a century later, the Provincial recommends the teaching of trades to as many Indians as possible; there must be military drill once a week on a day when other work is less engrossing; one of the fathers every two months should with note-book in hand, look over all the jewels and ornaments of the church and note down if anything is missing or in disrepair. At La Cruz he recommends that whenever new houses be built for the Indians they be made of stone. Here again, there must be military drill each week and practice with the bow and arrow, with sling, with lance, and with firearms. Then we read the following under number six of the Provincial's orders or recommendations: "I order urgently that the tower [of the church] be covered, lest it rot and that what threatens ruin to the door of the church be repaired." Let the wall around the pueblo be completed for its greater defense. At harvest time let all other work be suspended, for the getting in of the crops is then the most important thing to be done.

At La Cruz the Provincial orders that the herds of sheep which were put to graze on lands borrowed from the mission at Yapeyú be removed. The uniforms of the *cabildo* (Indians who formed the town council) and of the soldiers are shabby. Get new ones. At the mission of San Juan Bautista we find this as the seventh order: "Since the chapels in the plaza threaten collapse, let them be taken down before an accident happens." And under number eleven: "Because of the great glory of Our Lord and the spiritual benefits derived from it, I ordain that there be constructed, as in other pueblos, a good, strong and commodious house, where widows and orphans may be taken in, and also the wives of those who have fled the pueblo." At San Francisco de Borja we have the following regulation under number nine:

For progress in spirit and to promote more frequent assistance at church devotions, put into practice what was decided on in consultation, namely, deprive of their ration of the *yerba mate* those who do not come to church. And before Mass do not give any orders to corregidors, captains or caciques. Wait until Mass is over. From their example the rest will be encouraged to come. Sound the bell early for the recitation of the rosary, even if some work will thus be left incomplete, and speak frequently with the Indians and try through kindness to attract them.

At San Angel under number six: "The wall around the garden which is the cloister should be made of *tapia francessa* because that which is made out of stalks or canes is neither strong nor decent." But at San Miguel the Provincial orders that the houses of the Indians be rebuilt in stone, for they all threaten to collapse, and "let the rest of the walls be made of good adobes and not of *tapia francessa* which does not last." Here at San Miguel the visitor is insistent on a rebuilding program. He says:

As for the other works mentioned in the memorial, let everything else be suspended to build the houses of the Indians for all the pueblo for they all threaten to fall to ruins . . . . Let all things be done efficiently and carefully so that it will not be necessary to build and tear down or to repair every year. And because the necessity of the houses is extreme, in order to carry on the work speedily, we have them [the Indians] work on holy days of obligation [*en tiempo de sacras*] a third part of the people working in shifts either of a week or of fifteen days . . . . And because the people of the pueblo are not much given to work I order vigilence in urging them to labor, so that they do not waste their time which begets many disorders.

At San Lorenzo the Provincial said that the two patios of the house are very open to those who enter the church so that wooden screens should be placed before the doors of the church. The window facing the street, in the room where the house boys live, should be screened up right away, for, although it is high, it give occasion for inconveniences.

It is interesting to see come out from the sources some of the difficulties which one mission had with another concerning property, animals, and the like. Roca leaves instructions for the superior general of all the reductions consisting of twenty-six points. Number twenty-three is the following: If the suit between La Cruz and San Borja cannot be composed by one of the fathers, we shall appoint judges to settle the matter. Ordinarily permanent judges were appointed to settle such differences.

Other points which Provincial Roca left as directions for the superior general were: Infidel Indians who come to the reductions to be instructed or to see how their fellow tribesmen fare, should be

well treated; that runaway Indians be not lost, follow out the directions given by Father Garriga, and those who will be recovered should be secured in irons for such time as is deemed necessary; those Indians who accompany the missionaries in their journeys down the rivers should be strong of body and of absolutely reliable character; let no father handle any business unless it be in writing; adjust the difficulty between San Miguel, La Cruz, and Concepción according to the papers I have left; concerning the war with the Bohanes and the Garruas follow out the instructions given; if a missionary should oppose the training of the Indians for war apply the directions left in the secret memorial.—Such are a few of the directions for the general superior left by the minute and energetic Roca.

The final act of his visitation of the reductions was to appoint fresh Jesuit officials, one group for the Rio Paraná, another for the Rio Uruguay. For each group of missions Provincial Roca appointed fathers consultors, spiritual fathers, ordinary and extraordinary confessors, admonitors, and judges to act in suits between the missions. Of these, four were appointed for the upper Paraná, and two for farther down the river. Four judges for the western bank of the Uruguay, and two for *la otra banda.* Finally he appointed for each river fathers who would act as superintendents of war.

And so the recommendations of the Provincial Visitor, Luis de la Roca, go on and on for dozens of Jesuit establishments. They usually consist of fifteen or twenty points. The first three or four points are usually the same: 1. Let the regulations of former visitations be well observed; 2. Let the spiritual jubilees of the month and the year be published and carried out according to the ordinances of previous visitors; 3. Let the Saturday spiritual instructions in doctrine be regularly carried on and with the encouragement of frequent confession and Communion; 4. Let the Blessed Sacrament be brought to the sick publicly from time to time. The weekly military drill is insisted upon for each mission. Likewise, the commodious house for widows and orphans. The rebuilding of the Indian dwellings in stone is very frequent, as is the strengthening of the walls around the garden or around the whole pueblo. So the houses of the Indians were eventually, for the most part, rebuilt in stone, as one can see to-day at the ruins of San Ignacio Miní on the rim of Northern Argentina: on three sides of the large plaza (which is about the size of a city block) the Indian dwellings are three rows deep on each of the three sides and about a hundred yards long.

They are built of great squares of red rock marvelously chiselled and marvelously fitted.

We get a good view of the working of the *Patronato Real* at the end of the account of Roca's visitation. We read under date of December 10, 1714, the following:

> The very Reverend Provincial, Luis de la Roca, of the Society of Jesus in the Province of Paraguay, informs His Grace [the Governor of Paraguay] that, in the Province of Uruguay belonging to that government and diocese, there stand vacant and without curate and proprietor the missions of Santa Cruz, Los Martyres, San Francisco Xavier, Conceptión, San Miguel, Yapeyú, San Carlos and Santa María. For this reason and in conformity with the royal patronage, the presentation is made to Your Grace in order that in the name of His Majesty you might nominate one of the following. [Now come three names for each of the above-mentioned missions.] Which religious I propose to Your Grace in order that you will make a choice and present them to the Ordinary [the Bishop] according to what His Majesty has ordained and ordered in the Royal *Cédulas*.

The Provincial now assures the Governor that these men are all competent and have been examined and approved by the Bishop both for their doctrine and for their knowledge of the Indian language.

Thus the energetic and minute Luis de la Roca visited all of the twenty-nine reductions which were listed in 1713 as belonging to this group of missions. He visited, besides, four colleges: Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, Buenos Aires and Asunción. He began in January of 1714, he was at the last mission, Santiago, October 29, and under date of November 6 he left a memorial of twenty-six points to the superior of all the missions. December 10 he wrote to the Governor asking for official selection and confirmation of the men he proposed to fill vacancies in the missions above listed. He moved right along and we can follow him. For instance, he was in Santos Apostoles August 3, in San Carlos August 6, in San José on August 8, in Candelaria on August 30, in Santa Ana September 1, and on the fourth of that month he arrived at San Ignacio Miní, whose splendid ruins in great red stone lie to-day on the Argentine side of the lordly Paraná as it runs down southwest, dividing northern Argentina from southern Paraguay. But when Father Luis de la Roca visited the mission in 1714, the houses of the Indians of San Ignacio were not yet built in that fine red stone.

There are dozens of interesting items which space forces us to omit. Buenos Aires is referred to in 1624 as *La ciudad de la Trinidad del puerto de Buenos Ayriz.* We read of attacks made against the missions by the Brazilian Paulistas. We see how the Jesuits gave

an account to the king of the manner in which they made use of their privileges. There are frequent complaints of, and petitions to, the king against the enforced labor of mission Indians on plantations of the *yerba.* We read of the arrival from Spain in 1690 of forty-four Jesuits. Each one is described as to height, color, and cast of features. There is a witness to the financial straits of the Province of Paraguay when the Provincial, Hilario Labrador, writes in 1708 in answer to a rector, telling him that the poverty of the colleges and the difficulty of supporting novices is no sufficient motive to defer the admission of young men. We are reminded in reading this, of the letter of General Vincent Carafa to the Province of New Spain forbidding the Mexican Jesuits, because of lack of funds, to admit novices until further notice. We read how the Reductions helped support the colleges in their poverty, and how they helped magnificently to defray the travelling expenses of procurators on their way to Europe.

The Jesuit Archives in the seminary at San Miguel, even though most of them are of a more private and domestic nature, carry a good deal of general interest. There are complaints of the General about the inefficient handling of the farms belonging to the University of Córdoba, for the income is so slight they cannot finance the college. We learn here that in 1697 the French moved in by sea and sacked Buenos Aires. The Governor of the province asked the fathers for 2,000 Indians from the reductions to defend the port. When the fathers come down the River Paraná to Santa Fé in rafts, there must be for them a tent or awning, both for safety and decency. General Tamburini asked the Pope to grant the bishops near Paraguay the power to dispense in any kind of matrimonial impediment with papal power. There comes up repeatedly with different generals the question of hearing the confessions of the Carmelites (Las Monjas de Santa Teresa) who had a convent across the street from the college in Córdoba. Permission was usually granted as an exception to the contemporary Jesuit custom, because of the difficulty the nuns would have in procuring other confessors. In 1944 the convent was still there and the Jesuits from across the street were still hearing their confessions.

General Tamburini in 1718 writes to Provincial Juan Bautista Lea warning against cruelty in the punishment of delinquent Indians, and ordering that the regulations left by Visitor Antonio Carriga be carried out. Imprisonment should not go beyond ten years and during this time kindness and gentleness should characterize the treatment meted out. The irons used should allow the possibility

of walking about the prison cell and the *zepo*, or stocks, should be used only in the case of those who before a secular judge would receive capital punishment. That which cannot be excused, writes the General, is the abuse of retrenching the food of prisoners little by little until they are in danger of perishing from hunger. "Nor do I know how such an excess could be committed without the taint of homicide and the incurrance of irregularity." One of the fathers was once sentenced to a term of imprisonment in a Jesuit house. The General recommends kindness and gentleness in regime and treatment.

Communications between Rome and Paraguay were slow and the route dangerous, especially in time of war. Therefore copies of the same letter were sent by two and sometimes three different routes, designated on the letters as *prima via*, *secunda via*, *tertia via*. A good example of the difficulties of government under such circumstances is the following. Father General Tamburini writing under date of April 28, 1725, says: "I order that without any delay there be put into execution the order to dismiss from our houses in the missions the six boys who are servants in them and I am greatly surprised that new representations have been made to me in the point, since I wrote on November 29, 1718, that without fail the order be put into execution." Three or four years for an exchange of letters was common, and once the reply to the *postulata* of a Provincial Congregation sent to Rome in 1717 was received back in the Province nine and perhaps ten years later, for it bears the date from Rome of May 31, 1725.

There is, therefore, a rich collection of Jesuit documents in and near Buenos Aires, including those of the National Archives in the Capital and those in the private archives of the Argentine Jesuit province housed in San Miguel. Many other sidelights on history may be gleaned from them outside of those few indicated here. Thus history breathes from old records and letters; thus old truth and ancient lore flow from the documents of long ago.

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Antoine Laumet, *alias* Cadillac
Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694-1697

When an article which I wrote on Cadillac was published last year,[1] a friend of mine described that article as "iconoclastic." The epithet was meant in its etymological sense, signifying that the image of Cadillac was shattered, and the real features of the person known under that name stood out at last in proper relief.

The comments of Mr. Malcolm W. Bingay in the Detroit *Free Press* (Jan. 30, 1944) on the same article, caused, he says, "a lot of brickbats bouncing off the bean." (Feb. 2, 1944.) Civic-minded Detroiters took him to task because he was "hurting Detroit." I myself would like to ask, as Mr. Bingay does, "What's all the shooting about?" There was nothing about Detroit in the article in question. I merely ascertained the true identity of the man known as Cadillac, who played an important part in the early history of the Middle West and of Louisiana, and I recounted his activities prior to his public career in present-day United States.

In a later column in the Detroit *Free Press*, (Feb. 11, 1944), Mr. Bingay published a letter of protest in which the writer says: "We have known much of the case against Cadillac.... There was a side of Cadillac which surely could be presented to his credit...." It is quite possible that the writer of the letter has "known much of the case against Cadillac," during the ten years covered by the incriminated article, but little of that "much" is to be found in the histories of Detroit or in any of the biographies of its founder.

The author of the same letter invited Mr. Bingay to examine "particularly twelve volumes of records copied from the French archives," housed in the Burton Historical Collection at Detroit, assuring him that he would find in the material there "some additional facts well stated and authenticated." When I was in Detroit last February, I took occasion to examine again the first of these volumes which I had previously studied some years ago. I did not ask for the other volumes because, according to the library card, there is nothing in them which is not printed in translation in volumes XXXIII and XXXIV of the *Collections and Researches* made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, two volumes which I used extensively to write Cadillac's commandantship at Detroit.

[1] "Cadillac's Early Years in America," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 3-39.

Had Mr. Bingay accepted the invitation, he would not have found in the "twelve volumes of records copied from the French archives," any fact regarding Cadillac's early years in America which is not contained in my article; on the other hand he would have found that very few of the many facts which are recorded in the said article are even remotely suggested by these twelve volumes of transcripts.

In passing let us note that it is not quite correct to refer to the contents of these volumes as "facts well stated and authenticated." For the letters and memoirs transcribed therein consist mostly of statements by Cadillac which absolutely need to be checked against independent evidence. Cadillac is far too unreliable to make his uncorroborated testimony acceptable, especially when his own interests are at stake.

With regard to the creditable side of Cadillac the following facts are certain: he was a good husband and a very devoted father. As for his public career, the only phase of his life in which I am interested, our main evidence consists not so much in the convergent testimony of his contemporaries as in Cadillac's own writings; and no matter how skillful be one's exegesis, nor how far fetched be his admirers' interpretation of this evidence, it is impossible to speak of it as being on the creditable side.

I.

In the postscript of a letter dated September 28, 1694, Cadillac wrote: "I am setting out today for the Ottawa country."[2] This date marks the beginning of the twenty-five years of Cadillac's public career in present-day United States, a career which is as colorful as his first ten years in Acadia and in Lower Canada. During this quarter of a century he served three years as commandant at Michilimackinac, ten years as commandant at Detroit, and three years as governor of Louisiana. The remainder of this period was spent either in Canada or in France, making ready for his next office.

In this and in subsequent articles we shall deal with his commandantship at Michilimackinac from 1694 to 1697. How he came to be sent to the West was seen in the previously mentioned article. These three years of Cadillac's public career are scarcely better known that the first decade of his life in America, less well known

[2] Cadillac to —, September 28, 1694, Archives des Colonies (AC), C 11A, 13:191v. The letter is printed in the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1923-1924* (RAPQ), 80-93; it is translated into English in the *Collections and Researches* made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society (MHS), XXXIII, 1904, 54-71.

than his governorship of Louisiana, and still less well known than the ten years which he spent as commandant at Detroit.

He was sent to Michilimackinac[3] a quarter of a century after the foundation of the Jesuit mission there. At that time, and until the first years of the eighteenth century this outpost was the most important French military and trading station of the upper lakes.[4] It was the gateway to the Northwest, the fur trade metropolis of the Great Lakes.

During the 1690's the permanent settlement there comprised an agglomeration of three villages, French, Huron, and Ottawa, situated on today's East Moran Bay.[5] Owing to the strategic and com-

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[3] From *michi* or *missi* meaning "great," and *mikinac* meaning "tortoise"; but see *Handbook of American Indians, s. v.* Michilimackinac, and the etymology of the word in C. C. Le Roy, Sieur de Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique . . .*, 4 volumes, Amsterdam, 1723, II, 66. According to one of Cadillac's memoirs, the meaning is "Tortoise Island." P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, V, 75. Margry, *ibid.*, 679, tells how he acquired the manuscript which is now in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. The date at the end, July 31 [*i. e.*, 21], 1718, is very probably the day when the copyist finished transcribing it. From the fact that in 1696, Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 882: 146v, and to Lagny, *ibid.*, 137, that he was composing "une petite relation historique," and from the fact that he makes no mention of Detroit, we conclude that the original was written between 1696 and 1699. Compare the title and the opening paragraphs of this document with an extract from a Cadillac memoir dated October 20, 1699, AC, C 11A, 17:101, and AC, C 11E, 14:44.

Throughout these articles, by Michilimackinac we mean the French post which was situated on the north shore of the strait, where St. Ignace, Michigan, now stands. Cf. E. O. Wood, *Historic Mackinac*, 2 volumes, New York, 1918, I, 16-17, for the various applications of the name.

[4] Cadillac to [Lagny], August 3, 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:11. This letter is blunderingly translated in E. M. Sheldon, *The Early History of Michigan from the first Settlement to 1815*, New York and Chicago 1856, 70-80. Cadillac's relation in Margry, V, 76; Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America*, R. G. Thwaites, ed., 2 volumes, Chicago, 1905, I, 146.

[5] See the sketch map in Woods, *op. cit.*, 24, and those in R. McCoy, *The Massacre of Old Fort Mackinac* (*Michilimackinac*), Bay City, Mich., 1940[3], 2 and 25. According to Cadillac the Indian population at and around Michilimackinac was between six and seven thousand souls, and there were 800 or 900 warriors. Frenchmen returning from the post told Callières that 900 braves were on the war-path. Callières to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:383-383v. Joutel, Margry, III, 513, says that the Ottawa were more numerous than the Hurons; at a later date, La Potherie, *op. cit.*, II, 270, wrote that 300 Ottawa warriors roamed the country side.

In the last decade of the seventeenth century, the French village was composed of sixty houses, "besides many other persons who are residents here during two or three months of the year." Cadillac to [Lagny], August 3, 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:12; Lahontan, *op. cit.*, I, 146, who was at Michilimackinac in the 1680's says that the coureurs de bois had "a very small settlement there," but gives no figures. On a "Plan de Missilimakinak," [1716], in the E. E. Ayer Collection, *Cartes marines*, no. 109, reproduced in McCoy, *op. cit.*, 36, a note says that the old post, St. Ignace, was now abandoned, but that formerly, during the trading season as many as 600 coureurs de bois used to gather there.

mercial importance of Michilimackinac, a fort was built in 1684 on the site of present-day St. Ignace,[6] and a permanent garrison was stationed there. The first commandant was Olivier Morel, Sieur de la Durantaye.[7] He was replaced in 1690 by Louis de La Porte, Sieur de Louvigny,[8] who was succeeded by Cadillac in 1694.

While the military commandant at Michilimackinac had jurisdiction over all the French in the Northwest,[9] there also resided at the post in 1694 the superior of all the Jesuit western missions. At that time, these missions were directed from fixed residences. Besides the one at Michilimackinac, there was also a residence at Sault Ste Marie, and another at De Pere, Wisconsin.[10] Owing to the two different languages spoken by the Indians settled at Michilimackinac, two missionaries were stationed there, one for the Ottawa, and the other for the Hurons.[11]

In 1694, the Superior of the western missions was Father Henri

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[6] This first "fort" was merely a stockade and was different from the fort built by La Durantaye in 1687. Margry, V, xxix, and La Potherie, II, 232. This second fort is called a "réduit" in the expense account of July 25, 1689, AC, C 11A, 10:238. In his letter of October 20, 1691, RAPQ, 1928, 69, Frontenac told Pontchartrain that it had been built by Louvigny. Between 1691 and 1694, the lodgings of the garrison were destroyed by fire and were rebuilt in the latter year; Etat de la depense . . . , October 26, 1694, AC, C 11A, 13:119. To pay his court to his patron Cadillac christened it "Fort Buade" after his arrival in the West, Cadillac to Lagny, August 3, 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:10; cf. also his memoir in Margry, V, 75. In a letter of 1694 to Pontchartrain, Cadillac simply says that he is about to leave for "le fort de Michilimackinac"; Demande des officers et de particuliers du Canada, AC, C 11A, 13:41.

[7] On this officer, cf. B. Sulte, "Morel de la Durantaye," *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, series 2, I, 1895, section 1, 3-24; P[ierre]-G[eorges] R[oy], "Olivier Morel de la Durantaye Capitaine au régiment de Carignan," *Bulletin des recherches historiques* (BRH), XXVIII, 1922, 97-107, 129-136. La Durantaye was recalled from the West by Frontenac because "il ne [le] croyoit pas à devotion." Champigny's memoir to Pontchartrain, May 12, 1691, AC, C 11A, 11:267. Cf. the extract from the intendant's letter of May 10, 1691, *ibid.*, 203; the letter, *ibid.*, 252-260, is printed in BRH, XXXIII, 1927, 712-725.

[8] Cf. Pierre-Georges Roy, *La Famille De La Porte de Louvigny*, Lévis, 1939, 1-44.

[9] Cf. Denonville to Seignelay, June 12, 1686, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), IX, Albany, 1855, 295; and *ibid.*, 625. Cadillac's commission in Margry, V, 58; his relation, *ibid.*, 75; and his letter to Pontchartrain, August 31, 1703, *ibid.*, 308. This letter is translated in MHS, XXXIII, 161-171.

[10] Cf. Dablon to Pinette, October 24, 1674; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, Cleveland, 1896-1901, hereinafter quoted as JR, 59:68-72. Between the date of Dablon's letter and the coming of Cadillac, the residence of the superior of the western Jesuit missions had been transferred from Sault Ste. Marie to Michilimackinac.

[11] Carheil to his father, October 13, 1691, P. Orhand, *Un admirable inconnu. Le Révérend Père Étienne de Carheil, S.J.*, Paris, no date, 242; Cadillac's memoir, Margry, V, 80.

Nouvel, who had been more than twenty years in the Great Lakes region. It was his second term as superior, his first having lasted from 1672 to 1681, in which latter year he was succeeded by Father Jean Enjalran. After the return of Father Enjalran to Lower Canada in 1688, Father Nouvel was again superior of the western missions until 1695, when he was succeeded by Father Jacques Gravier, who, theoretically at least, was in charge of the missions until 1700. The last superior at Michilimackinac was Father Joseph Marest.

To these missionaries with whom Cadillac came in contact must be added Father Pierre-François Pinet, who had arrived in Canada in 1692, and after studying Algonquian, was sent to Michilimackinac to take care of the Ottawa Indians. Biographical details about these Jesuits whose names often recur in Cadillac's correspondence will be given in their proper place. But the name most often met with during the three years which Cadillac spent at Michilimackinac is that of Father de Carheil. By giving here the part played by this missionary in the West during the years immediately preceding the coming of Cadillac, it will be easier to understand his subsequent relations with the new commandant at Michilimackinac.

Étienne de Carheil was born in the parish of Carentoir, diocese of Vannes, Britanny, in 1633. He entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of twenty and landed at Quebec, on August 6, 1666. After two years' study of the Huron language, he was sent to the Cayuga villages and founded the St. Joseph mission among these Indians. He returned to Quebec in 1683, and remained there teaching in the Jesuit college and performing other priestly duties until 1686, when he was sent to Michilimackinac.[12]

Speaking in general of Cadillac's public career in America, Farmer writes:

> He was opposed in many of his plans, not only by the trading companies, but by the Jesuits as well. The latter order, for many years, was the dominant political force in the New World, as well as the strongest religious power. That the order hindered Cadillac's project is clearly shown in the correspondence of the period which is still preserved in France and Canada. While yielding to the Jesuit fathers all deference in religious

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[12] Orhand, *op. cit.*, 9-65. Rochemonteix follows Orhand adding extracts from letters in the Jesuit Archives, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII*e *siècle*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1895-1896, III, 407 ff. With regard to the state of affairs at Michilimackinac before the coming of Cadillac as well as the latter's relation with the Jesuits there, Rochemonteix's account, III, 487-508, is inadequate. Instead of examining the documents themselves, he merely utilized a few extracts from the letters and memoirs which Margry printed in the introduction to the fifth volume, lxix-cxiv, of his compilation.

matters, Cadillac would not yield to their dictation in matters pertaining to the civil state. He not only knew his rights, but was able to maintain them, even against large odds, and did so with spirit and determination. He had rare penetration, could discern motives and plans, and as nothing escaped his observation, the members of that order found "a foeman worthy of their steel." As a scholar Cadillac was nearly the equal of the best of them; and whether wielding pen or sword, he grasped it with no uncertain hand.[13]

The above is typical of the manner in which many have written about Cadillac's public career at Michilimackinac, but above all at Detroit. One wonders whether these generalities are not perchance an indication that those who speak thus have failed to read even superficially "the correspondence of the period." We shall have occasion to observe whether the Jesuit Fathers clashed with Cadillac "in matters pertaining to the civil state," or whether they came out as defenders of "religious matters," when the moral law was openly flouted by the "deferential commandant." Cadillac's "rare penetration" is one of the numerous qualities to which he himself bears eloquent testimony. With regard to his "observation," as we shall see, it did not take the Jesuits in general, and Carheil in particular, very long to realize what manner of man Frontenac had sent to be commandant at Michilimackinac. We have considered elsewhere the extent and depth of Cadillac's "scholarship," and from our very next footnote, the reader may judge how firmly Cadillac grasped the sword when he had an opportunity of wielding it.

As far as character went, Cadillac and Carheil were at the opposite poles. While the former was slippery, pliant, opportunistic, the latter, like his Breton compatriots, was rugged, uncompromising, and all of a piece. He was absolutely fearless. It took physical courage to remain for fifteen years (1668-1683) among the Iroquois, where the life of a missionary was in constant danger. This physical fearlessness stands out in sharp contrast with Cadillac's attitude, who made no bones about his "prudence" during a battle with the Indians.[14] Carheil's moral courage was on a par with his physical courage, and manifested itself in a frankness verging on rudeness. He never minced words when he thought that the progress of reli-

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[13] S. Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, Detroit, 1884, 327.

[14] During a skirmish with the Miami, "the said Sr. de La Mothe, for fear he should get wounded, stationed himself behind a tree which was eighteen feet in circumference, nor did he venture out except to go and get out of the range of the shot. This is such a public matter, and the Sr. de la Mothe makes so little effort to hide it, to his very great disgrace, that [we] feel [we] cannot help informing you of it." Vaudreuil and the Raudots to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1708, RAPQ, 1940, 447, translation from MHS, XXXIII, 405.

gion and the welfare of the missions were jeopardized by those who supplied the Indians with brandy. As will be seen, it did not matter to him whether those who were thus instrumental in corrupting the Indians were coureurs de bois, soldiers, officers, or officials.

We must now go back a few years and recall events which greatly influenced the situation in the West.

The fiasco of the Denonville 1687 expedition against the Iroquois and the powerlessness of the French exemplified by the Lachine massacre, 1689, had made such a bad impression on the western Indians that they seriously considered an alliance with the Iroquois and the English. The situation was so grave that a meeting of officers and missionaries was held at Michilimackinac and it was resolved to send word to Quebec to notify the governor of the dispositions of the Indians.[15] The letter was written by Carheil[16] and was addressed to the successor of Denonville, for the name of the new governor was not yet known in the West.

The Indians, says Carheil, principally the Hurons and the Ottawa, have come to the conclusion that their protection by the French was illusory. The French were no match for the Iroquois as was made evident by the campaign of 1687, by the Lachine massacre, and by the unconditional return of the Iroquois prisoners. The French were so helpless that they even sent an embassy to the English begging them to restrain the Iroquois. Their so-called protection was not only useless, it was positively harmful, for it prevented the western Indians from trading with the English, who paid a much higher price for their pelts. While doing nothing themselves, the French expected the Indians to wage war against the Iroquois, and now they were trying to make a separate peace with the latter, ready to abandon once more their allies, the Ottawa and the Hurons. The Indians would much prefer to protect themselves rather than buy French protection at such a price. Why, it is they, the Indians, who are protecting the French, not the French the Indians! The last time they went to Montreal they were surprised to hear Onontio [Denonville] threatening to abandon them, as if they had not been abandoned long ago, and as if all these peace negotiations with the Iroquois were not a virtual abandonment.[17]

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[15] Cf. Narrative of the most remarkable Occurences in Canada, 1689, 1690, NYCD, IX, 463; Margry, V, 48.

[16] "You will see from the copy of the letter of Father de Carheil who gives more details that, although uncivilized, these Indians know well that which is advantageous to them." Frontenac to Seignelay, April 30, 1690, RAPQ, 1928, 29-30.

[17] See the résumé in NYCD, IX, 463.

Such, my Lord, are all the reasons they gave to convince us of the necessity of sending an embassy to the Seneca. From this one can see that our Indians are much more clear-sighted than they are thought to be, and that it is hard to conceal from them anything that harms or helps their interests. The respect which I owe to all persons to whom God has given authority to govern us would have prevented me from expressing as freely as I did sentiments so unfavorable, had I not believed that the common good of the colony demands that you should know what the situation is. But what I have said will put you in a position to judge of our Indians' dispositions, of what they may do against us by helping our enemies, and what necessary remedies should be applied. One thing is certain: if the Iroquois are not checked by extensive military operations against them in your part of the country, or by similar operations against the Dutch who are behind all this, the Iroquois will surely come here and make themselves masters of everything. It is enough for us that you should know what the situation is; we rely on your wisdom; and in spite of the danger in which we are, we shall wait in perfect confidence to see in what manner divine Providence will be pleased to dispose of us.[18]

This letter reached Quebec toward the end of 1689.[19] To remedy this situation, Frontenac, the recently arrived governor who succeeded Denonville, sent Louvigny to Michilimackinac with a large number of Canadians and thirty soldiers.[20] From an ordinance of Frontenac issued on this occasion, we learn that the primary purpose for sending such a force to the West, was not to obviate the danger of the Indians going over to the English, which had been Carheil's reason for writing his letter, but to remedy the abuses arising from the extension of *congés*.

These trade permits were good for one year, but said the governor in the above-mentioned ordinance, the grantees remain in the West, have merchandise brought to them from Lower Canada, and use the same permit year after year. Hence he was sending orders

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[18] Carheil to [the successor of Denonville], [November, 1689], in Orhand, *op. cit.*, 177-186 and in JR, 64:22-38. The apograph in the Legislative Archives of Quebec, printed in JR, is endorsed: "Reçue, par Mr le Comte de frontenac. A Quebec le 17 Septembre 1690." The letter is calendared under this date in D. Brymner's *Report on Canadian Archives 1887*, Ottawa, 1888, cclxx. The date of the letter is as given above; it was sent to Seignelay April 30, 1690, but this mail was thrown into the sea; cf. Frontenac to Seignelay, November 12, 1690, RAPQ, 1928, 36, and AC, F 3, 6:275. September 17, 1690, is probably the date when duplicates of Carheil's letter and of Frontenac's letter of April 30, 1690, were made; both were inclosed in the governor's letter of November 12, 1690.

[19] Zacharie Jolliet, the bearer of the letter, arrived at Quebec "toward the end of December, [1689]," La Potherie, III, 60, and P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France*, J. G. Shea, ed. and transl., 6 volumes, New York, 1866-1872, IV, 54. These two authors made use of Monseignat's narrative in NYCD, IX, 463 ff.

[20] Frontenac to Seignelay, November 12, 1690, RAPQ, 1928, 36. Cf. NYCD, IX, 470.

to La Durantaye to have those traders leave the West and bring to Montreal all the pelts they had gathered.[21]

This ordinance was annotated in the following year by the intendant, Jean Bochart de Champigny, who realized that Frontenac was implying that both Denonville and Champigny had been negligent in enforcing the orders of the king with regard to the trade permits. No *congés*, he noted, had been granted since 1686, no pelts had been sent from the West in 1687 and 1688, and

> since I came to this country [in 1685] not a single Frenchman has brought merchandise to the Ottawa country without permission [*i. e.*, without a trade permit]. The Sieur de la Durantaye, who is in command out there, was ordered to enforce the trade regulations and the ordinances issued by M. de Denonville and by me; he did enforce them, and no complaints ever reached us.

It is unnecessary to make a detailed analysis of this long Frontenac ordinance or of the extensive comments of Champigny, for our purpose is merely to explain the conditions in the West previous to the coming of Cadillac. Frontenac was merely looking for a pretext to recall La Durantaye, who had been appointed by La Barre. As for the *congés*, the governor wished to control this privilege himself, and thereby gain adherents. It seems clear enough that he was simply acting on the principle that to the victors belong the spoils.[22]

In this question of La Durantaye's recall, Champigny took the side of the latter, partly because of his personal dislike of Louvigny, and partly because he had proof that when the new commandant left for Michilimackinac, he circumvented the trade regulations by taking along a greater quantity of merchandise, including much brandy, than was allowed by the ordinances; and he later obtained proof that Louvigny had begun his term by carrying on a lucrative trade in the West.[23]

When Louvigny left for Michilimackinac, the thorny question of selling hard liquor to the Indians was less acute than during Frontenac's first term as governor.[24] One reason was that the wars of 1684 and 1687 had absorbed the attention of the colony, and another, that the royal ordinance of May 24, 1679, had laid down

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[21] Ordonnance de Mr le comte de Frontenac . . . . , AC, F 3, 6:366-368.
[22] Besides the references to Champigny's letters, *supra*, note 7, cf. Charlevoix, IV, 137-138.
[23] Champigny's annotations to Frontenac's ordinance of April 8, 1690, AC, F 3, 6:367-367v.
[24] Cf. J. Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 101-123.

directions with regard to the brandy traffic.[25] The main clause of this ordinance was the prohibition of "carrying brandy or causing it to be carried to the Indian villages situated far away from the French settlements." As we have said elsewhere, this ordinance satisfied nobody, neither those who wished to sell unlimited quantities of hard liquor to the Indians, nor those who wanted the traffic abolished altogether or at least greatly curtailed. Moreover, the ordinance could be interpreted in such a manner as to render it nugatory.

The ordinance forbade the carrying of brandy into the depths of the wilderness, but as Champigny wrote, some contend that this prohibition

> still leaves them free to carry brandy to all the Indian villages of the colony, including Michilimackinac, three hundred leagues from Montreal, ... and other distant posts established on the banks of the rivers. As though the rivers of this country did not flow through forests. I believe that the king's intention is that no brandy at all should be brought to the Indians.[26]

La Barre[27] and Denonville[28] had supplemented the royal ordinance of 1679 with regulations of their own, and the latter governor sent stringent orders to La Durantaye to see to it that these regulations were carried out to the letter. In compliance with these orders, La Durantaye bridled the license of the coureurs de bois and restricted the brandy trade in the West. Frontenac, however, had different ideas on the matter, and he probably thought that Louvigny would interpret the ordinance accordingly.

The missionaries at Michilimackinac knew from bitter experience what excesses brandy caused among the Indians. Hence they were determined to keep it out of the West, and viewed with suspicion all

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[25] *Édits, ordonnances royaux, déclarations et arrêts du Conseil d'État du Roi concernant le Canada*, 3 volumes, Quebec, 1854-1856, I, 235.

[26] Champigny to Seignelay, May 10, 1691, AC, C 11A, 11:255-255v.

[27] Ordinance issued by La Barre at Montreal, June 13, 1683, in Archives de la Province de Québec. The Bishop of Quebec wrote to the Minister in the following November: "M. the Governor spent the summer at Montreal where he became thoroughly acquainted with the disorders caused by the sale of brandy to the Indians. This forced him to issue a severe ordinance which will put an end to the evil provided its provisions be enforced." Laval to Seignelay, November 13, 1683; Archives of the Archbishopric of Quebec, *Lettres*, I, 243. Cf. also "Ordonnance de M. de la Barre rendue au sujet des boissons enivrantes," of September 28, 1684, AC, F 3, 2:142.

[28] Reglemens . . . . pour estre observés par les sujets du Roy dans toute l'estendue de ce pays sur le fait des traites qui se doibvent faire chez les Sauuages les plus esloignés, January 26, 1686, AC, F 3, 6:243-245. The king approved these regulations in the following year, see Louis XIV to Denonville and Champigny, March 30, 1687, printed in T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, eds., *The French Foundations 1680-1693*, *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XXIII, Springfield, Ill., ©1934, 115.

convoys coming from Lower Canada. This is illustrated by what took place when Courtemanche brought to Michilimackinac the news that Phips had failed before Quebec.[29]

A few days after his arrival, wrote Courtemanche in his journal, the Ottawa Indians asked whether he had brought some brandy. He answered that he had some for himself, and that he was willing to share it with them to celebrate the victory of the French over the English. A few days later, the Jesuits and Louvigny, disturbed by the news that some of the French had brandy to barter for pelts, appealed to Courtemanche, who thereupon ordered his men to take all possible precautions lest disorders ensue, "because the Reverend Fathers had orders from the Bishop of Quebec to refuse the sacraments to those selling brandy to the Indians." One night, however, a Frenchman sold a barrel of liquor to the Hurons.

> Very early next morning the Reverend Fathers came to tell us that the whole Huron village was afire. We ran thither, a few of my men and myself, to take care of the situation as best we could. However, we were extremely surprised to find on arriving only four or five who were a little tipsy (entre deux vins) singing and making merry, and committing no other crime than that of being a little gay. The Sieur de Louvigny and the Reverend Fathers forced me to promise that I would sell no brandy to the Indians. I kept my word, but my men sold it for four days and four nights, and there were no signs that they had sold so much as one drop.
>
> When we were ready to leave, I was glad to hear the Fathers say that they were satisfied with my conduct. They praised me and made many complimentary remarks. After they had praised me about [the use I had made of] the brandy I had brought with me, I told them that my men had been selling it for the last four days and four nights, without any one noticing it. This extremely surprised them and left them speechless.[30]

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[29] Cf. Frontenac to Seignelay, May 10, to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1691, RAPQ, 1928, 62 and 69; NYCD, IX, 496, 516. La Potherie, III, 132.

[30] Journal du Sr de Courtemanche envoyé aux 8ta8acs par monseigneur le gouuerneur, April 22 to June 18, 1691, AC, C 11A, 11:205-207v; this journal is printed in RAPQ, 1922, 234-236. With regard to this assertion, there is the following statement signed by Duluth who had practiced the Indians much longer, who knew them much better than Courtemanche, Frontenac, Cadillac, and most of the other "colonials."

"Attestation du Sieur duLhut capitaine reformé du dettachement de la marine sur les desordres que cause lyvrognerie des sauuages en Canada. —Je sousigne certifie auoir demeure en diuerses fois lespace de dix années tant au pays des Outaouas a la Decouverte que iay fait du pays de Nadouessioux qu'au fort Sainct Joseph etabli par ordre de monsieur Le marquis de Denonville notre Gouverneur general a la tete du detroit Du lac Erié qui est dans le pays des Iroquois ou jauois lhonneur de Commander pendant lequel tems ie nay iamais veu traiter de l'eau de vie qu'il ne soit arrivé de grands desordres jusqu'à voir le perè tuer son fils, et le fils jetter sa mere dans le feu et que je soutiens que moralement parlant il est Impossible de traiter de l'Eau de vie Dans les bois et dans les missions etrangeres sans sexposer a tomber dans ces malheurs en foy de quoy Jay signe Dulhut [parafe].

From the above letter, it seems quite clear that Louvigny was fully coöperating with the missionaries just as his predecessor, La Durantaye, had done, and that in this particular case the Jesuits were overly apprehensive about the effect of brandy on their Indians.

In the following year, 1692, the Jesuits of Michilimackinac sent a petition to Pontchartrain in which they depicted the conditions at the post when a large quantity of brandy is brought there, and they asked the minister to regulate the traffic.[31] They had written that in 1691, when one hundred barrels had been brought to the post by Indians returning from Montreal, the orgy lasted six weeks, each village getting drunk in turn.[32] In 1691, the Jesuits had also written to Frontenac about the same conditions. An extract from one of these letters, dated Michilimackinac, has been preserved. The writer, as Frontenac told Lagny, was Father de Carheil.

M. de Louvigny, who brought your orders here, has seen the extraordinary disturbances caused by the brandy trade. If you wish to contribute to the service of God and of the king, to the increase of religion, to the establishment of trade, to the continuation of the war with the Iroquois, to the satisfaction of all the responsible Christian [Indian] elders and warriors who have charge of the affairs of our Indians; finally if you wish to save your own soul, and if you have at heart the eternal salvation of the souls of the French and of the Indians who trade with them, you will not allow this wretched liquor to be transported [hither] and you will execute the orders of the king, which expressly forbid the carrying of brandy into the depths of the wilderness.

At the end of the letter are four requests which the Ottawa elders and warriors addressed to M. the governor, as a result of a great council held by them.

The fourth thing they told me [*i. e.*, the missionary] is that they have no more to say to M. the governor with regard to the brandy trade. If, they said, after having told him that they looked upon this trade as a kind of authorized pillage of their beaver pelts, guns and other necessities, as though they were children or men out of their mind; and if knowing this, the governor nevertheless allowed brandy to be brought to them, it must be because he and my Lord the bishop are conspiring to rob them, and neither the governor nor the bishop nor the missionaries are their fathers. They said that I myself was in the plot, that I did not let you know their pitiful complaints, and finally, that if I had done my duty and warned you of the disorders and if you had not put a stop to them, it was you who were not doing your duty, thus were forcing them to cease regarding you as their father.[33]

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[31] Petition to Pontchartrain of 1692, AC, C 11A, 12:125-126v.

[32] Extrait d'une lettre ecrite de Missilimakinac, May 27, 1691, AC, C 11A, 12:132-132v.

[33] Extrait d'une autre lettre ecrite de Michilimackinac du 30 juin 1691 a M. le Comte de Frontenac, gouverneur en Canada, AC, C 11A, 12:140-140v.

In November 1690, Louis Phélipeaux, who became Count de Pontchartrain the following August, succeeded Seignelay as minister of the colonies. Hence the letters and petitions of the Michilimackinac missionaries were given to him. He urged Frontenac to apply the ordinance of 1679 and to chastise the violators.[34] The king ordered the governor and the intendant to put an end to the illicit trade carried on with the Indians "in the depths of the woods"; he commanded them to forbid "officers and soldiers destined to remain in the distant posts" from engaging in any kind of trade. As for selling intoxicating liquor to the Indians, since the question had been settled long ago, his Majesty was simply sending a copy of the ordinance of May 1679.[35]

In their joint answer, the governor and the intendant promised, of course, to follow the king's instructions;[36] and in a letter to Pontchartrain, Frontenac assured the minister that, as far as in him lay, he would remedy the disorders sometime caused by intoxicating liquors. If the truth were told, the minister would learn "that no one is more opposed to drunkenness than I am, and that when the case arises, I often chastise drunken [Indians]"[37]

In an ordinance of 1693 which Frontenac issued to nullify a previous order of Champigny, the governor repeated the assertion that he was just as much opposed to drunkenness among the Indians as the intendant was. He forbade the French to sell brandy in the Indian villages, but authorized its sale in the western posts, and declared that the Indians themselves were free to transport to their villages all liquor bought in the posts from the French stationed there.[38] This, Frontenac claimed, was absolutely necessary, since otherwise the Indians would become alienated from the French.

At about the same time that Frontenac issued this ordinance, other memoirs were sent to Paris deploring the baneful effects of brandy on the Indians of Canada. The petitioners asked that its sale be limited, and gave the same reasons that had been given for the past twenty years.[39] Of course, Frontenac knew that the missionaries would protest against his ordinance of 1693, for, to all intents and purposes, it nullified the royal ordinance of May 1679, which by

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[34] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, April, 1692, RAPQ, 1928, 100.
[35] Louis XIV to Frontenac, September 15, 1692, *ibid.*, 80-83.
[36] Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1692, *ibid.*, 104-113.
[37] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, September 15, 1692, *ibid.*, 120.
[38] AC, C 11E, 14:3v-4.
[39] The first memoir was written by Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, and is dated October 24, 1693, AC, C 11A, 12:380-381v; the other two were probably written by Jesuit missionaries, *ibid.*, 382-383v, and 384-388.

itself was insufficient, unless supplemented by regulations in Canada, to curb the brandy trade. To forestall these protests, Frontenac wrote at length to Lagny venting his spleen against the Jesuits in general and against those of Michilimackinac in particular. In this letter he again claimed that he was opposed to drunkenness among the Indians, but he was unwilling to regulate the traffic.[40] This unwillingness was actually at the root of the whole trouble. His theoretical opposition to drunkenness among the Indians was not enough to remedy the evil. If the Indians were given as much brandy as they wanted, they would inevitably drink to excess and frightful disorders would just as inevitably follow. It was because of this fatal sequence that the missionaries complained against the unrestricted sale of liquor to the Indians, but Frontenac never admitted that their complaints had any factual basis. He could not plead ignorance, for these facts were well-known to everyone in Canada, and he could not be unaware of what was taking place at Michilimackinac any more than the intendant was.

In a letter written to Pontchartrain ten days after that of Frontenac to Lagny, Champigny sent the minister an account of the conditions in the West:

> It is a very great abuse to pretend that the brandy which he [Frontenac] permits the French [to carry to the West] is for Michilimackinac, because, without exception, the voyageurs who go thither under the pretext of manning this and the other posts do nothing of the sort. Instead, in groups of two or three they scatter through the woods and trade with any and all Indians whom they meet, and only after having done their trading do they repair to Michilimackinac, coming here all together for greater safety. I shall not repeat what endless disorders have been caused by the brandy trade since the time when the French began to go to this post. I shall only observe that last year when the Sieur de Louvigny, who is in command there, attempted to prevent brandy from being sold by the French, a sedition broke out, and one Frenchman seized his gun and threatened to kill the commandant. I must also inform you that the French prefer brandy to all other exchange goods, because of the great profits they derive therefrom. They sell one *pot* [3.94 plus American pints] for one hundred livres worth of pelts, while the ordinary price is fifty livres a *pot*, to say nothing of the fact that the poor Indians are robbed of their pelts, even of those which they wear as garments.[41]

This brief account of the state of affairs in the West previous to the coming of Cadillac is necessary in order to clear his difficulties with the Jesuits there. His commandantship at Michilimackinac

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[40] Frontenac to Lagny, October 25, 1693, BN, Clairambault, 879:332v-334.

[41] Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1693, AC, C 11A, 12:285.

cannot be adequately dealt with unless one takes into consideration the struggle of the missionaries against the unrestricted sale of intoxicating liquor to the Indians, a struggle which was already half a century old when Cadillac set foot in America. His commandantship at Detroit is merely a continuation of his Michilimackinac tactics, and he did not change his spots when he became governor of Louisiana. It is absurd to consider these three phases of his public career in America as though there were a sharp line of cleavage between them; and one must remember that his earlies activities shed light on his character also.

We have noted elsewhere how Cadillac found favor with Frontenac, and how the governor helped him in many ways, first making him a lieutenant, then a captain in the colonial troops.[42] When Louvigny asked to be relieved of his command, Frontenac seized the opportunity to send Cadillac to take his place,[43] and a few weeks after the latter's departure for the West, he informed Pontchartrain of this new appointement.

> You would hardly believe the good effect produced by the favor shown to the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, captain, in making him a naval ensign.[44] He is a man of distinction, fully capable, and of great courage. I have just sent him to Michilimackinac as commandant of all the posts of the Upper Country, where he will replace the Sieur de La Porte de Louvigny who has asked to be relieved and who is going to France to see his father .... During more than four years spent in those distant parts, he has performed his duties very well and everyone is satisfied with him. I hope that his successor will be as successful, having all the adroitness, firmness, and tact which is required for managing the Indians of those parts, who are not easy to govern.[45]

The governor's praise of Cadillac pales into insignificance in comparison with the eulogy of Frontenac which the new commandant sent to Paris, first in a long letter dated September 28, 1694, and especially in an interminable narrative of the events which took place in Canada during the years 1693-1694.

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[42] "Cadillac's Early Years in America," *loc. cit.*, 32-37.

[43] "His [Cadillac's] plan for the defense of the lakes seems to have indicated him as the logical successor of M. de La Porte-Louvigny." Margry, V, lxviii. This can hardly have been the case, for Frontenac had made short shrift of the "plan" in 1693; that is, in the year preceding his appointment as commandant at Michilimackinac. Cf. "Cadillac's Early Years," *loc. cit.*, 37-39.

[44] See "Cadillac's Early Years," *loc. cit.*, 39, what Cadillac himself thought of this "good effect."

[45] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1694, AC, C 11A, 13:58. This letter is published in RAPQ, 1928, 186-195, as of November 4, 1694, the date of the postscript. Another translation of the above passage is in MHS, XXXIII, 72. Cadillac's commission is of September 16, 1694, Margry, V, 58-59.

He starts his narrative with an account of the peace negotiations begun by the Iroquois in 1693 and continued through 1694. After telling what took place at the powwow of September 22, 1694, he goes on: "But as the Count has just notified me that he has decided to send me to command the upper nations at Fort Michilimackinac, permit me, if you please, to think of packing up my baggage and setting off, being persuaded, moreover, that you will be kept thoroughly advised."[46]

He calls the attention of his correspondent to the masterful way in which Frontenac dealt with the Iroquois, and mentions the "tears of joy" shed by the whole colony in 1693, when a large convoy of canoes loaded with pelts arrived at Montreal from the West. The arrival of this convoy, he says, is above all the result of the governor's humbling the proud Iroquois, who had been blocking the roads, thus preventing the transport of furs which the French had gathered in the West. In passing we may note that the time during which no convoy could come from the West includes the first four years of Frontenac's second administration.

The trouble, according to Cadillac, was that whereas other governors had *carte blanche* in all that pertains to the government of the colony, the Court was always hampering Frontenac. All this is merely a prelude to a plan of Cadillac's which he had probably mentioned to the governor and which he now proceeds to explain to his correspondent.

This plan consists in dividing Canada into two parts: the upper colony, that is, the West; and the lower colony, namely, the St. Lawrence Valley and the Atlantic seaboard. These two parts are complementary, for "the latter without the former would be a body without a soul." Sedentary fisheries on the Atlantic coast will never make New France a prosperous colony: "the game is not worth the candle." It would be much better if the people of Lower Canada devoted themselves to agriculture. The colony, however, cannot sustain itself solely by agriculture; hence the necessity of the beaver trade in the Upper Country. "Were we to abandon the upper nations, which would be the case were we to cease furnishing them with the merchandise they stand in need of, can there be a doubt but the English would substitute themselves in our place?"

At this point of the memoir one begins to see what Cadillac is after. The new commandant undoubtedly knew that the market was becoming saturated with pelts. He had certainly heard of the

[46] This and several other passages of the document lead me to believe that the addressee was Lagny.

complaints of the contractors against the quantity and quality of the furs which, according to their contract, they were forced to take at a fixed price; and Cadillac foresaw that the influence of the contractors would determine the king to put a stop to beaver hunting for an indefinite period, at least until the surplus in the warehouses had been disposed of and until prices were higher. "It is certain that should our Indians perceive that their beavers and peltries were despised, and that they were furnished only with very dear and ill conditioned goods, the consequence will inevitably be that they will listen to suggestions which will be more advantageous to them."

The Court, he continues, has always been opposed to the coureurs de bois, and to the evils arising from their bushranging. But such an adventurous life appealed much more to the Canadians than a laboriously monotonous life on a farm, and besides, the profits were incomparably greater. Cadillac then undertakes a defense of the coureurs de bois, who by trading with the Indians in their villages are keeping the English out of the West.

When this lengthy discourse was written, he did not know that Frontenac would send him to Michilimackinac. The real point of the memoir is contained in the last paragraph which was written after he had received news of his appointment.

In 1693 and again in 1694, orders had been sent from Paris forbidding an officer sent to Michilimackinac to take along with him more merchandise than could be bought with his yearly pay.[47] This, writes Cadillac, is unbearable, for Michilimackinac "is the most terrible place imaginable to sojourn in. Neither bread nor meat is eaten there, and no other food is to be had but a little fish and Indian corn, which most of the time is worth fifty francs the minot." Beaver and moose, he continues, are useless, for it costs too much to send men to the hunting grounds which are two hundred leagues from the fort. The king's intention cannot be to oblige a soldier, let alone an officer, to live without bread, without meat, and without peas for a whole year.

It should be observed that at the time these lines were written, Cadillac had never been in the West. This gloomy description was penned to awaken the sympathy of his correspondent. The interested reader may compare this somber outlook with what Cadillac wrote three or four years later about the healthy climate of Michilimackinac, the healthy food eaten there, and the abundance of fish pre-

[47] Cf. Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, [1693], AC, C 11E, 14:20v; *id.* to *iid.*, [May 8], 1694, AC, B 17:79.

pared with moose, deer or buffalo grease, which "I think is as good a sauce as any made by the Carthusians and the Minims."[48]

The order of 1693 caused Cadillac great worry. Why had such orders been sent? Did they orginate with the Court in Paris, or were they suggested by memoirs received from America, and if so, who could have sent such memoirs? He did not remain long in doubt as to this latter question, for by the end of this paragraph, he has it answered to his own satisfaction:

Those poisoned memoirs cannot go down and cross the ocean except by means of the missionaries who wish to be masters wherever they are; who cannot tolerate anyone above themselves; much less inspectors over their interests. A poor officer, who will be obliged to manage more than forty nations, of entirely opposite humors and inclinations, and of wholly different interests, will have for reward, after a year's deplorable misery, the chagrin of seeing himself in debt at his return. It is an excellent policy to disgust the bravest men. If they be memoirs of the intendant [Champigny], I perceive no other motive that can have led him to that course than jealously of the count, or an unwillingness to refuse to subscribe to the intentions of Father de Carheil who has been his regent [*i. e.*, his former teacher],[49] and is the missionary at Michilimackinac.[50]

The last page of this memoir is missing; as it is, however, it shows in what frame of mind Cadillac was when he set out for Michilimackinac. The missionaries he speaks of are the Jesuits who, as already noted, had been established there for a quarter of a century. On the other hand, Cadillac had never been in the West, and had very probably never seen Father de Carheil, but he had undoubtedly heard of him from Frontenac.

I have said elsewhere that no statement of Cadillac's is to be accepted unless corroborated by independent evidence, because when his interests were at stake, almost every statement of his which can

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[48] Cadillac's relation in Margry, V, 83.

[49] We have only Cadillac's word for this statement which cannot be checked because we do not know when and where Champigny was born or where he studied. We know, however, that Carheil taught at Amiens in 1655-1656; at Rouen in 1656-1660; and at Tours in 1661-1662. This sentence is the source—not indicated as usual—for Margry's statement that "Un d'eux [Jesuits] même, qui avait été son régent, le Père de Carheil, lui [Champigny] faisait encore la leçon en 1702." Margry, V, xxxiv. The last sentence refers to a letter sent by Carheil to Champigny, August 30, 1702, printed in JR, 65:188-252, where the addressee is erroneously said to be Callières.

[50] Cadillac's narrative of events in Canada, 1694, NYCD, IX, 577-587. —It must be observed that this translation is taken from this compilation. When I was gathering the documentation several years ago, I copied few documents which I knew were in print in the original or in translation. This was a mistake, for the published original text is often mutilated, and the translation, as here, is awkward and too literal.

be checked turns out to be inaccurate, misleading or totally false. This applies particularly to the above quotation. It was not the "poisoned memoirs" of the missionaries or of Champigny that brought about the regulations of 1693 and 1694, but a scheme devised by Frontenac to distribute to his supporters many more than the twenty-five *congés* which he was allowed to grant annually.

This scheme consisted in sending to distant posts bearers of "orders" who organized a convoy, and carried along as much merchandise as they pleased. Since these "orders" were not *congés*, they had not to be viséd by the intendant, nor was the latter allowed to inspect the cargo of the convoy. Thus the governor's couriers could safely load their canoes with barrels of brandy and peddle it to the Indians in exchange for their pelts. Such "orders" were sent under the flimsiest pretexts, and soon there was a procession of "couriers" along the route to the West.

It did not take the king very long to see through this scheme of Frontenac, and the governor was explicitly commanded by the regulations of 1693-1694 to grant no more than twenty-five *congés* annually, and that when "orders" had to be sent to distant posts, they should be entrusted only to those who had received the regular trade permits.[51]

It is not difficult to see how these royal regulations would affect Cadillac's interests. Ever since his coming to America, he had not been doing so well. With his new appointment, however, he "had struck it rich." But he foresaw that this opportunity would be jeopardized if he were prevented from selling the only "merchandise" he ever had in mind. The missionaries, he knew, were against selling brandy to the Indians because of the inevitable disorders which accompanied the liquor traffic, because of the injustice done to the natives, and because this trade, as Frontenac and Cadillac understood it, ruined the missions. The missionaries who were the main obstacle on his road to riches, therefore became at once Cadillac's personal enemies; and since he modestly identified himself with the commonwealth, this made them enemies of the state. Under the circumstances difficulties between the Jesuits and the commandant were inevitable.

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[51] The above résumé is based on the official correspondence for the years 1691-1694. Cf. especially, Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, [1693], AC, C 11E, 14:20-20v; the king's instructions were embodied in the ordinance issued by Champigny, September 11, 1693, AC, C 11A, 12: 262-263. See also Frontenac's ordinance of September 12, 1693, AC, C 11E, 14:3-3v; and Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, [May 8], 1694, AC, B 17:78-78v.

The *leit-motiv* of all the letters which he wrote during his three years in the West is the same as that of the above memoir, which was written, it must be remembered, before he left for Michilimackinac. The letters all contain variations of the same themes: the ambition of the Jesuits; their objections to inspectors reporting what was taking place in the missions; and their resentment because the presence of such inspectors curtailed the profits of their alleged trading activities. These accusations showed little originality, for Cadillac was merely repeating what Frontenac had written twenty years earlier. It is somewhat amusing to hear the two compeers claiming that before they came upon the scene, nobody had had perspicacity enough to penetrate, or courage enough to lay bare, the wily schemes of the Jesuits of Canada.

As we shall see, the only reason why the Jesuits opposed Cadillac was because he not only allowed the unrestricted sale of brandy to the Indians, but did all in his power to increase it. And the reason why the commandant was so incensed against the missionaries was his realization that their opposition was the cause of a slight curtailment of the enormous profits which he made from the trade. When he arrived at Michilimackinac, his whole capital consisted in his pay of 1,000 livres a year. Three years later, he was able to send to France 27,596 livres 4 sols, which represented only a part of the net profit he made by cheating the Indians and the French.[52]

The actual origin of his difficulties with the Jesuits of Michilimackinac was as follows. Before leaving Montreal, Cadillac and Frontenac together had concocted an ordinance according to which the sale of brandy to the Indians was allowed, but to make them drunk was forbidden. In his later disputes with the Jesuits Cadillac constantly appealed to the fact that he was obeying his ordinance, but was careful not to let the missionaries know that the provisions of this ordinance were quite different from those of the royal ordinance which he was supposed to promulgate in the West. Even Champigny was not aware of this until the following year.

If we had no evidence on this point except the letter of the intendant, the admirers of Frontenac and Cadillac might contend that this evidence is invalid as coming from a man prejudiced against

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[52] Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:93. This letter is translated in MHS, XXXIII, 86-94. In the preceding year, October 15, La Touche had written to the minister, "Nobody ever made so much money in so short a time," as Cadillac did at Michilimackinac. AC, C 11A, 15:165.

the two partners; but as we shall see, Cadillac himself admitted three years later that he published at Michilimackinac an ordinance quite at variance with the one based on the decrees of the king.

On November 5, 1694, Frontenac and Champigny signed a letter in which the following passage occurs:

> Both of us have carefully considered what was the best course to follow with regard to supplying brandy to the distant posts. His Majesty did us the honor of informing us that those who live in those distant posts should have enough brandy for their needs; but at the same time, they must be prevented from abusing this permission and from buying as much brandy as they wish to carry into the depths of the wilderness, where they would seek out the Indians hunting there, and sell the brandy to them. This is against the intention and the ordinances of his Majesty. To prevent this abuse and its consequences;—namely, to prevent the French from robbing the Indians, as has often happened in the case of some who, after making the Indians drunk, obtain all their pelts for a small quantity of brandy,—to prevent such an abuse, we have found no better way than to allow each man to take one *pot* a month, and to forbid him from employing it except for his personal use. This measure should cut short all abuses, and will not contribute to drunkenness among the Indians, the prevention of which the Sieur de Frontenac has always expressly recommended to all the commandants whom he sent to these posts, as the Sieur de Louvigny can testify.
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> The Sieur de Frontenac is so opposed to drunkenness and to the disorders caused by it that, fearing lest it might give rise to brawls and fights between the Iroquois and the Ottawa who came to Montreal, and lest these Indians should use this pretext [of being drunk] to satisfy their mutual hatred and enmity, the Sieur de Frontenac thought fit to forbid the selling or giving of brandy to the Indians until after the meetings wherein the peace conditions were to be discussed, and until both [Iroquois and Ottawa were about to] return to their respective country.[53]

One would be more readily inclined to believe the sincerity of Frontenac's opposition to drunkenness among the Indians if he had taken effective measures against it. Instead, he nullified the ordinance upon which he and Champigny had agreed, by giving secret instructions to Cadillac as appears from the following letter of the intendant:

> In September 1694, I issued an ordinance which I showed to M. de Frontenac.[54] In conformity with the orders which his Majesty sent us in his despatch of May 8,[55] I ruled that each individual leaving for the distant

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[53] Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 5, 1694, RAPQ, 1928, 207.

[54] Ordinance of Champigny, September 11, 1693, AC, C 11A, 12:262-263.

[55] Cf. Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, [May 8], 1694, AC, B 17:82-82v.

posts could take thirteen *pots* of brandy for his personal use and no more. M. de Lamothe, captain, commandant at Michilimackinac in the Ottawa country, took a copy of this ordinance before leaving Montreal, where it had been made public in his presence with the understanding that he would promulgate and enforce it at Michilimackinac. Instead, he kept it under cover, and published another ordinance which merely forbade making the Indians drunk. I felt it to be my duty to speak about this to M. de Frontenac. He told me that he had given orders to M. de Lamothe to act as he did, and that ended the matter. However, I should like to let you know, my Lord, how important it is to enforce his Majesty's regulations in this matter .... otherwise pretexts will never be lacking for continuing the brandy traffic in the distant posts, where it is carried on simply because of the exhorbitant profits made by the French, to the detriment of the Indians who despoil themselves of everything in order to obtain brandy simply for the purpose of getting drunk. If, in certain circumstances, it is necessary to give some brandy to the Indians, it would be better to give it to them as a present from the king, with such prudence that no harm would ensue.

The commandant of a post so distant as Michilimackinac takes upon himself great authority, especially since there is a considerable number of Frenchmen and of Indians there, as well as a garrison, and much business is transacted. It would therefore be well to have on the spot an honest man, a subdelegate of the intendant as it were, who would receive all presents sent to the Indians and would see to it that these presents are actually given to them.[56]

This letter, which speaks for itself, enables us to appraise Frontenac's loud protests that he was opposed to the brandy trade at their true value. It is impossible to believe that he was unaware of the Indians' racial weakness with regard to intoxicating liquor. The fact that he let them be supplied an unlimited quantity of brandy and still expected or even ordered them to stay sober, clearly shows how much reliance can be given to his repeated statements that he was more opposed than anyone else to drunkenness among the Indians and to the disorders which inevitably followed.

An incident recorded in one of Cadillac's letters several years later throws considerable light on his own attitude at this time, and reveals the true worth of his loud denials that the brandy trade was the cause of all the disorders about which the missionaries complained.

In a letter dated August 30, 1702, Carheil wrote to Champigny that the commandants appointed to Michilimackinac had come there

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[56] Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 6, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13: 255v-266. Of this letter, Margry printed only the page immediately preceding the passage quoted in the text. He evidently saw that this document placed his hero in a rather sorry light, and he was clearly not prepared to make radical changes in his interpretation of Cadillac's commandantship at Michilimackinac.

solely for the purpose of trading, making an agreement to this effect with their soldiers, without troubling themselves about anything else. They have no dealings with the missionaries, except with regard to matters wherein they consider the latter useful for the furtherance of their own temporal affairs; and beyond that they are hostile to the Fathers as soon as the latter take a stand against disorders which being in accord neither with the service of God nor with the service of the king, are nevertheless advantageous to the trade of the commandants, who sacrifice everything to that trade. That is the sole cause of the disorderliness in our missions, which has so desolated them through the ascendancy that the commandant have obtained over the missionaries, by assuming all authority over both the French and the Indians, that we can now do nothing except labor in vain under their domination.[57] They have carried this to such a point as to institute criminal proceedings and groundless juridical indictments against us for performing the very functions of our ministry and for doing our duty. This was the consistent policy of M. de Lamothe, who would not even allow us to use the word "désordres" and who even brought suit against Father Pinet for having used that word [in a sermon].[58]

Three weeks after Carheil wrote those lines, Cadillac sent from Quebec a lengthy report to Pontchartrain on the advantages of Detroit and on the necessity of lending support to that recently founded settlement. In this report he narrated what allegedly took place at a meeting held at the governor's house in Quebec. At this meeting, he said, seeing that Michilimackinac was an obstacle to the development of Detroit, he had asked that the old post be abandoned, that the mission be closed and that the two Jesuits stationed there be sent to Detroit to take care of the Hurons and of the Ottawa, who, according to him, had moved thither from Michilimackinac. These recommendations, he went on to say, were supported by Ruette d'Auteuil whose remarks Cadillac records as follows:

If that mission [Michilimackinac] remains, as it is now the scene of all debauchery, serving as retreat for all [who are] in rebellion against the orders of the king, and for the libertines who set out from Montreal every day, going there by way of the Grand River [the Ottawa], and taking with

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57 Compare the French text in Thwaites with the extract in Margry, V, cv, who here as in many other places suppressed or garbled the evidence to give some verisimilitude to his silly theories. After misquoting Carheil's letter, he begins his comments thus: "Le passage est clair." A comparison between what Carheil wrote and what Margry says he wrote makes something else much clearer. What M. de Kerallain wrote of a Canadian author is also applicable to Margy: "Il ne lit point les textes qu'il a sous les yeux; quand il les lit, il ne les comprend pas; quand il les comprend, il les fausse aussitôt qu'il y voit la moindre utilité." Cited by C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIII*e *siècl*e, 2 volumes Paris, 1906, I, 109, note 1.

58 Carheil to Champigny, August 30, 1702, JR, 65:201. The translation has been revised.

them an enormous quantity of brandy which they sell to the Indians, it will be impossible for the Company to keep up the post on the Strait [Detroit]. For, so far from the Indians of Michilimackinac and the neighborhood coming to Detroit to trade, those of Detroit will go to Michilimackinac an account of the attraction of finding brandy there, of which they are deprived not only at Detroit by the good order that has been established there, but also at Montreal. And addressing himself to the Superior of the Jesuits [Father Bouvart], he [Ruette d'Auteuil] told him that they [the Jesuits] had at all times complained of the abominations and the scandals caused by liquor at Michilimackinac, and that they were right; but that he was surprised to see that, although the governor general had provided a remedy for it by the wise orders he had given regarding Detroit, and by the just measures which the Company had taken with its agents, so that everybody could bear witness that nothing contrary to what had been ordered went on there, yet these same abominations and this same disorderly conduct were perpetuated at Michilimackinac by rebels and libertines, and nowadays they [the Jesuits] looked on without saying a word and without complaining of them.[59]

This fine speech breathing righteous indignation which is supposed to have been made by d'Auteuil is from beginning to end a pure invention of Cadillac who had every reason for writing in that vein to Jerome Pontchartrain; for at the time of this letter, one year after the foundation of Detroit, that village was far from being the prosperous settlement described in Cadillac's earlier letters and reports. He had come to the conclusion that Detroit and Michilimackinac could not subsist together, and that one of the two posts must go. The true reason behind this view, a reason which he does not mention to Pontchartrain, was that he could not bear the thought of having someone else trading in the Northwest, and wanted all trade to be carried on at Detroit; not because he had the development of the post at heart, but because he personally would profit by this trade.

The irony of the situation was that at the very moment when the Jesuits were being accused by Cadillac in this letter of "not saying a word," of not complaining of the disorders at Michilimackinac, the fierce denunciation of Father de Carheil, which we have quoted in part, was already on its way to Quebec. More important still is the fact that in this same letter Cadillac, who a few years previously had been ready to sue the Jesuits of Michilimackinac because Father Pinet had used the word "désordres" in a sermon, puts into the mouth of d'Auteuil an eloquent denunciation of these very "désordres," which he describes all the more vividly because he was

[59] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MHS, XXXIII, 145.

himself an eye-witness of them, and makes his spokesman end with a demand that the mission be closed because of those "désordres" which he himself had done so much to promote.

We have commented on this later letter at such length because through it we can see in their true perspective the dealings of Cadillac with the Jesuits during his stay at Michilimackinac, and can evaluate at their proper worth the letters, reports and memoirs written by himself and by Frontenac during this period.

(To be continued)

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Notes and Comments

After a pardonable delay there has come from the press of the Illinois State Historical Library a set of two volumes which will receive a handsome welcome. The title of the set is self explanatory: *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939*, compiled by Jay Monaghan. The work is further described as Volumes XXXI and XXXII of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, whose general editorship has been for more than a decade in the capable hands of Paul M. Angle.

Lincoln Bibliography is a definitive compilation. It is a vast work and its utility can scarcely be described. Fortunately the best appreciation of the volumes has already been written. It is the Foreword of the volumes, written by James G. Randall, in which the scope and significance of "Lincolniana" are aptly set forth. This Foreword is followed by Mr. Monaghan's Introduction, wherein is traced the development of Lincoln bibliographies and Lincoln collections. In this the compiler explains the old and new definitions of Lincolniana, adopting the one prepared by Theodore C. Pease and Paul M. Angle. Accordingly, the two volumes include: "All printed books and pamphlets dealing principally with (1) Abraham Lincoln (2) his ancestry (3) his wife, children, stepmother and sister .... or (4) having the name of Abraham Lincoln prominently in their titles." All other materials are excluded, "except where they contain sufficient informational material to render them permanently valuable."

The list begins with 1839 and gives the items published year by year through the following hundred years. There are 2,017 items in the 519 pages of the first volume, and the list ends with number 3,958 on page 470 of the second. Then follow about forty plates of title pages in foreign languages. The excellent index runs over ninety pages. The editing and printing is exceptionally well done, while the price for the set, five dollars, is reasonable beyond expectation. A wide distribution of these valuable volumes will be the reward to the compiler and editor.

* * * *

Guide to the Manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society, edited by Alice E. Smith, was published in 1944 at Madison, Wisconsin. This carefully prepared calendar falls into the classification

of books which are essential for the scholar but which cannot adequately be reviewed. Its advent, however, must be noted and advertised, even though only a thousand copies have been printed. It should receive a warm welcome from the many historians familiar with the great collection of documents resting in the Wisconsin depository.

Edward P. Alexander, Director of the Wisconsin Historical Society, in his Foreword, characterizes the volumes as a work of coöperative scholarship, and mentions the workers who aided the Editor upon whose shoulders the major tasks appear to have fallen. The list of materials does not, of course, include those in the Draper Collection, since these have long been published in the *Descriptive List of Manuscripts*, and it excludes also numbers of bundles of papers of ten or fewer items. According to the Editor of the *Guide*, almost 100,000 pieces have been added to the Wisconsin Historical Society's collection since 1940, when the number of unbound pieces was 620,000 and the volumes 2,500.

By picking some of the 802 entries in the *Guide,* one can illustrate the types of manuscripts in the collection. Thus, item 40 describes the papers of William W. Bates, a shipbuilder at Manitowoc and Chicago; item 140 is a box of miscellaneous letters received by George Clinton while governor of New York from 1777 to 1795; item 240 is a copy of records of a court proceeding of Fort Chartres, Illinois, dated 1768; item 340 is ten boxes of papers regarding *Jesuit Relations*, including documents running from 1612 to 1865 not used by Thwaites, and correspondence concerning the editing and publishing of his work; item 440 is the Correspondence of the Madison Park and Pleasure Drive Association; item 540 is a box of papers of Lewis S. Patrick on Marinette history; item 640 is the register of the Southwestern Wisconsin Veteran Soldiers' and Sailors' Association; and item 740 consists of diaries of John K. Williams. These and other papers of attorneys, explorers, missionaries, judges, governors, societies, churches, banks, legislators, and sociologists, to mention a few classifications, indicate the rapidly accumulating body of documents available for those who are writing the history of the great mid-western commonwealth.

* * * *

The American Association for State and Local History last year published *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada, A Handbook*, compiled and edited by Christopher Crittenden, Editor, and Doris Godard, Editorial Associate. The previous edition of the

Handbook in 1936 had 583 historical organizations accounted for in its pages, while the present has 904 in its coverage and another 463 merely listed. This is a very handy book with an excellent index.

In connection with this list of active historical societies and groups we must note a book on their historical development in the United States. It is entitled *American Historical Societies, 1790-1860*, by Leslie W. Dunlap, Assistant Librarian, University of Wisconsin, and was privately printed at Madison in 1944. The first 133 pages are given to the history of the foundings and activities of the societies, while the last portion is devoted to a brief description of the sixty-five societies of pre-Civil War days.

As for the purpose of the study of local history one can do no better than read an article in *Michigan History Magazine* for January-March, 1945, written by Dr. Edward P. Alexander, President of the American Association for State and Local History, and entitled "Getting the Most Out of Local History." Herein is found sufficient inspiration for the student of the past of his locality, with some sage advice to teachers on the gathering and uses of materials.

There is in this respect another article of note: "The Institute of American History at Stanford University," by Edgar Eugene Robinson, which appeared in the Teachers' Section of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1944. This has much to do with the definition of the scope and purpose of American history, but it is more significant as an expression of the action taken out West to encourage and to enforce the study of the history of our country in schools and colleges. Conferences of university, college, and high school teachers of California have been held to discuss and to check a trend toward teaching various courses under the guise of "American History." Other articles bearing self-explanatory titles have appeared regarding history as it is and as it should be taught. Among these we recall "History: Its Place in Liberal Education," by Hans Kohn, in the *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* for May, 1944, and "Why Teach American History?" by Max Savelle in *The Educational Forum* for May, 1944. Along more particular lines there is an article by Erna Gunther, "Museums and the Teaching of History," in the January, 1945, *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, another in the July, 1944, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* by Eugene C. Barker, "A Plea for More History in Business," and two articles in *Social Studies* for October, 1944.

These, however, are only some of the many addresses and writings in the historical periodicals, which were occasioned by the accusations that students of the present day, particularly in the armed

forces, were deficient in their knowledge of American history. As we have stated before in these comments, there is ample opportunity for reading and studying our national and local past. Problems and defects in teaching we may have, but no one can gainsay our interest.

* * * *

The Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, which was formed in 1934, has recently published the eighth volume of its first series of books. It is *Argentine Riddle*, by Felix J. Weil, (The John Day Company, New York, 1944, pp. 297). The purpose of the Association is stated broadly in its title. The first six volumes of Series I of its publications, as well as the three volumes of Proceedings of Series II and the one volume of Series III, adhered to the program arranged originally by librarians and bibliographers. But this last work was issued in coöperation with the Latin American Economic Institute, before which Mr. Weil delivered two lectures in 1942 and 1943 that finally emerged as *Argentine Riddle.*

The first reaction to the book is a feeling of curiosity. Why should an association devoted to library and bibliography problems straggle into the Argentine muddle by publishing what appears to be another diagnosis of La Plata ailments? Felix J. Weil, of the Institute of Social Research of Columbia University, was formerly director of a large grain exporting company and/or director of some leading Argentine corporations. He saw that there was much confusion in our textbooks regarding the Argentine economic affairs and that the country seemed to be an enigma. To him the politics and economics were no mystery or no riddle. He presents his reasons for his attitude in a popular style with innumerable statistics, and with various deductions and predictions. His citations are chiefly from official figures, newspapers, current magazines, political speeches, and several books by journalists. These are all subject to comment, criticism or enlargements. Since so much of the book is of a controversial nature it will take some time to evaluate it as a contribution, though it has assembled a vast number of facts available for disputants. An excellent opportunity for a critical study of statistics is opened in the pages of the "Excursus on the Injudicious Use of Statistics." Mr. Weil warns against distortions of the Argentine picture by those who quote statistics uncritically but passes up the special study of statistical errors. Certain biases lend a color of propaganda to many pages of the book.

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DOCUMENT

The Relation of Philipp Segesser

Translator's Introduction

Philipp Segesser was born in Luzern, Switzerland, September 1, 1689. He was the third of a long list of seventeen children born to Heinrich Ludwig Segesser and Maria Katharina Rusconi. The elder Segesser was a "senator and provincial governor."

Philipp was admitted into the Society of Jesus in 1708 at Landsberg. There is proof that his entrance took place on October 16, since the Father Rector of Landsberg College, Anthony Kleinbrod, then affirmed his intention of acting as spiritual father for him, inasmuch as Father Kleinbrod calls him "*carissimus* Philipp," that is, by the Latin term of address used for novices. No data are available for the early Jesuit life of Philipp. He was at Luzern College in 1717, very probably teaching, for on April 1 of this year his father offered nine hundred minted guilders to this college on his behalf.

From 1719 to 1722 Segesser was studying theology at Ingolstadt. On June 8, 1721, Trinity Sunday, he celebrated his first Mass, hence he was ordained priest sometime during the preceding week, in all likelihood. The years 1722 to 1723 found him in the ministry in Oettingen. Nothing is recorded of his activities to 1726. In May of this year comes the first hint of his interest in the mission field. A letter dated in Neuburg on the Danube, May 4, expresses hope that God will fulfill his desire to become a missionary. From 1727 to 1729 there are records of brief visits to members of his family, probably in anticipation of his departure to the mission fields. In a letter written in April, 1729, to his brother missionaries in Hochdorf, there is information that his wish to become a missionary had been granted.

The chronology of Segesser's journey from Central Europe to New Spain shows the uncertainty of eighteenth century transportation to the New World. He left Munich in the middle of May, 1729, for Genoa, where he arrived on June 7. Danger of war delayed departure from Genoa until August. A forty day voyage brought him to Cádiz, where the usual ten day quarantine was imposed. He had been seasick during the entire voyage, except when his ship lay at anchor in Toulon. He learned in Cádiz that the Indies fleet had sailed five days before his arrival in Spain.

Segesser remained in Spain for more than a year. November 16, 1730, he sailed from Puerto Santa Maria bound for the West Indies aboard a ship which was transporting the Archbishop of Mexico. The voyage to Havana, via Santo Domingo, took seventy-eight days. He arrived there in early February, probably the second, 1731, and was still there in April, along with more than one hundred other missionaries awaiting ships to the mainland.

We next hear of Segesser's whereabouts from a letter dated June 18, 1731. He was then seven miles beyond Mexico City, en route to the Sonora missions, and he mentions being ill. His travelling companions to Durango were Fathers Ignatius Keller of the Bohemian Province and Kaspar Stiger of the Austrian. At Durango on their arrival, July 19, they were greeted by Bishop Crespo, whose petitions to King Philip V had been instrumental in getting them for the northern missions. Segesser and Keller, now joined by Father John B. Grazhofer, resumed their journey on August 2, with an escort of soldiers.

On October 7, 1731, they arrived at Cuquiarachi, close to which was the Presidio of Fronteras, about thirty miles south of present Douglas, Arizona. Here they met in conference with the older missionaries to decide upon the sites of new missions. After this Segesser went to Mission San Ignacio to learn the language while Grazhofer stayed at Tubutama and Keller at Cucurpe. Segesser travelled north at the end of this year to see San Javier del Bac, though this famed Kino mission of Arizona was not officially established until some time between the middle of May and the middle of June, 1732.

According to the plans three new missions were to be founded, and the official description of how this was done has been published by Dr. George P. Hammond in *The New Mexico Historical Review* for 1929, under the title of "Pimería Alta After Kino's Time." Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza, father of the Anza of California renown, commandant at the Presidio of Fronteras, personally led the expedition of padres, soldiers and Indians, first to Santa María de los Pimas, about ten miles below the present Arizona boundary. Here Keller was installed in April. The second mission was likewise solemnly founded in the valley of the Santa Cruz River. It was situated at Guevavi, a few miles north of the Arizona border and about ten miles northeast of present Nogales. The date was May 4, 1732. Here Father Grazhofer was left, and here he died shortly afterwards of poison. Father Segesser was accompanied to the third of the sites, San Javier del Bac, ten miles south of present Tucson, where there were already many Christians since the time of Kino. Segesser had just begun his organization of the mission and the visitas, when, as he says, he was called to Guevavi. Thenceforward, he labored in many of the northern missions until death took him at Ures on September 28, 1761.

The "Relation of Philipp Segesser" was written by him in his seventh year in the Pimería. It was addressed to his younger brother, Ulrich Franz Josef, and to his uncle, Jost Ranutius, the elder, after having been prepared at the latter's request.

A study of the missionary's report shows it to contain two general kinds of information. The one has to do with Segesser's personal understanding of the natives among whom he worked, with details of his daily life, and

with his somewhat dramatic account of an Indian uprising and its suppression. This section is written in a fairly straightforward narrative style. The other type of information falls into that category referred to as "natural history." Here the relater includes facts and opinions about wild and domesticated plants and animals, metals and mining, weather, and heavenly bodies. These, often listed in the manner of a glossary, were placed by Segesser, or by his relatives, in the middle of his report, so that the continuity of the narrative was interrupted.

The translator has seen fit to combine the narrative portions of the relation into a unit, and to organize the remaining "natural history" sections into an appendix of six parts. Thus, without loss of any content, it is hoped that the continuity and clarity of the narrative will be improved. A word should be said about the translator's point of view on his obligations. Emphasis has been placed upon the retention of Segesser's meaning rather than upon the retention of his style. To retain both were impossible. The padre provides a clue to the problem implied here when he says in his concluding paragraphs: "I close this report with the plea that whoever takes the time to read these hurriedly written lines will forgive my errors and the confusion of this simple presentation. I have in truth almost forgotten my mother tongue, since no one here reminds me of it."

Segesser makes several references in his report to his "homeland" or "fatherland," though it is not always clear whether these words refer to the Germany of 1737 or to Switzerland. However, the "mother tongue" which he had almost forgotten is the German language.

His "Relation" was first published in a *Zeitschrift* entitled *Katholische Schweitzerblätter*, in 1886. It was prefaced with a biographical sketch of the missionary. The editor, probably a relative of the priest, who signs himself as Dr. Ph. A. v. Segesser, was Dr. Philip Anthony von Segesser. The present translation is made from camera negatives secured by the translator in Bonn am Rhine in 1933. There, in the Jesuit college library, through the kindness of the Jesuit historian, Father Alfons Väth, he was permitted to photograph a number of items, of which the Segesser relation was one. What the fate has been of the *Jesuitenhaus*, or of its occupants, the translator does not know. Even without consideration of the possible results of the war on Bonn, the Segesser report is a rare item.

By chance, the year of the Indian disturbance, 1737, described by Segesser, is a kind of hiatus year in Bancroft's chapters on Sonora.* Hence, it is felt that this document may fill in a few pages of Sonora history, entirely apart from its value as a documentation of a short space of time in the life of a very humble Swiss Jesuit.

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* H. H. Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, San Francisco, 1884, I, 520-526, 543 n. 49; *Ibid.*, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, San Francisco, 1889, 361-362.

The Relation of Philipp Segesser

The Pimas and Other Indians

Although I have promised so often to send you an extensive description of the people and customs of Upper and Lower Pimería, I have heretofore been unable to do so. My cares have been so numerous and my labors have multiplied so greatly that I have had to perform the task of two or three men.

My superiors ordered me to both Upper and Lower Pimería, first to be missionary at San Xavier del Bac, in Upper Pimería. At that time San Xavier was the most distant and the last mission in this northern American hemisphere and was unoccupied by permanent father missionaries. I might have become the founder of this mission had the superiors permitted me to remain there and put forth the necessary energy to carry further the things which had been begun.

However, I was sent to mission Guebavi because of the death of Father Joannis Bapt. Grashover, from the Austrian province. This father had hardly been in his mission a year when he died in my arms from poison given to him by the Pimas (a fact which they later admitted). His innocent soul was delivered up to his precious Creator.

In mission Guebavi I, too, became ill in a few months, though at San Xavier del Bac I had been as healthy as a fish in water. However, *melior est obedientia quam victima.* [Obedience is better than sacrificial victims.] I became so miserably ill that it was necessary for me to be carried on the shoulders of the Pimas to another mission named Curupe [Cucurpe?], a painful journey which was completed in nine days. I was escorted by Father Ignace Keller, from the Bohemian province, who this year took his four solemn vows. Father Keller was accompanied by some Spaniards who with him placed the sedan chair on their own shoulders at dangerous places so that the incautious though painstaking Pimas would not let me roll down into a gorge. After an illness of five months I returned to Guebavi.

Within three months I was again taken sick, and because I did not have adequate care at Guebavi I was removed by Captain Don Juan de Ansa, who happened to be with me on business, to his presidio. There his wife restored me completely to health with her household remedies. Because of the baneful influence of mission

Guebavi, the Father Visitor called me to Pimería Baja and entrusted to me mission San Francisco Borgia, called Tecoripa, where for three years I have labored in the sweat of my brow in enduring health.

Though I promised an extensive report concerning these people and countries, I am not minded to repeat the abundant writings which the zealous father missionaries have sent from various parts of the world to the dear fatherland. Neither shall I speak about my journey, of which I have already made mention in other letters, nor shall I describe dangers of sea and land, which I would without doubt never have overcome without earnest prayers to the blessed saints. Rather, I shall confine myself to that which is perhaps unique to Pimería, and shall, therefore, begin with the nature of this country.

Mission Tecoripa includes the village of Tecoripa itself, five other villages, and four boroughs inhabited by Spaniards. The boroughs are silver mines in which assemble those who are concerned with mining. The usually numerous miners were really under the jurisdiction of the secular clergyman, but because he was aged and lived far from here he requested me to administer the Holy Sacraments to the needy, which I did with permission of the superiors. The care of souls extends in a circuit of one hundred and fifty miles, two miles being reckoned for one hour. The region is generally rough and includes thorn-covered mountains where it is often impossible for miles at a time to find water. Unbearable heat begins in this region in February and lasts until October. May, June, and July are the hottest months. December is like April in Germany—now rain, now sunshine. The fields become green and the trees bloom at this time.

The Pimas are chestnut-colored. Mestizos of Spanish blood are lighter in color and easily recognizable. Spaniards who grow up in this country and are called creoles, are white like Europeans, though some are sunburnt. The Pimas are particularly careful of their hair which reaches below the waist with most of them. Most Pimas have black hair, but in one village there are some with red hair. One cannot mete out greater punishment to Pimas than to cut their hair. They prefer death to losing it. Some tie up their hair into a knot, others wind it around the head like a turban. On Sundays and Feast Days all come to divine service with hair streaming. They are fond of decorating themselves with shells and beads. Pearls, if they have any, are garnered from them by the Spaniards. The Pimas hang whole clusters of colored rose wreaths about their necks, especially the womenfolk. I have seen a few who bored their noses and ears

through the middle and wore glass things in them. In Pimería Alta they suspend shells, pebbles, and hard wild fruits on the deerskins which they use for clothing themselves. These ornaments make quite a clatter, especially when they dance.

The Pimas of mission Tecoripa are well clothed with cotton and linen. Every year the missionaries buy from three to five thousand dollars worth of these materials and divide them among the Indians. The money is provided by the miners in return for mission field produce. Pimas, as is true of all Indians, like best clothes, ribbons, and braid of red color. Some clothe themselves in red velvet which they procure in trade for horses, mules, and deerskins, or by their labor.

They have a very good ear for music, can sing the Gregorian chant from books, even though they cannot read. They can blow the fagot and play the organ (where there is such). The latter skill they learned from Franciscans who, at times, come to this region to gather alms. That which the Pima sees or hears a single time he can reproduce very shortly better than his master. Though none can read except the choirmaster, yet they can sing the Holy Mass in unison from beginning to end. This they do also with psalms and vespers of various feasts, holding exactly to the time which the choirmaster indicates. After Mass the entire congregation as a choir sings the Christian doctrine, as do the right reverend saintly sisters at St. Anna in the Vale, at Luzern. Whatever they sing or pray the missionary expounds in his sermon. So is it done among the converts in Pimería Baja.

Those who live in Pimería Alta, and for whom I was the first missionary, had remained until my arrival in heathendom and ignorance because, prior to that time, they had not had, so to speak, any illumination from divine law. Some of them were astonished when I would say that they lived about the same way as did the birds of the air, for, in truth, they had no knowledge of God, of Heaven, of Hell, and of other secrets of the true faith. Yet it seems that the light of nature made them aware that there must be a ruler of the world, even though they lived as the dear cattle according to their desires, because they had great hope that their Montesuma would return and would rule them as once he did.

Withal, the Pimas have a notion about the administration of three of the sacraments: baptism, marriage, and penance.

Their baptism is performed as follows. Preceding the baptism a general invitation is issued to the neighboring tribes who then

gather in a clearing and begin the ceremony or *kilbe* in the way described below.

A Pima lights a fire with two little pieces of wood, though not from another fire, because the fire must be a new one (in the same way the Church specifies that fire on Easter Saturday be lighted by flint and tinder). This fire is kindled by placing one rather thick piece of wood on the ground and twirling a longish piece like a distaff between the hands upon it. Twirling is continued until a hole is made and flame finally breaks forth, lighting both little pieces of wood.

While the fire is being kindled a medicine man distributes maize and other grain among the people about him . . . .* Later this grain is prepared and eaten in the form of tortillas and pap. Next the master (so I call him who performs this office) places the child on his lap, takes a very sharp thorn with which he then pierces designs above the child's eyes, around the eye sockets, on the eyelids, lips, chin, arms, and chest. Then he rubs in color so that the outlines remain permanent, in the same way that the Jacobin brothers transfer their drawings from Rome or Compostela. It is the medicine man's duty to remove the child's upwelling blood on cloth or fresh linen and to present this cloth to the child. Through these designs the father knows his child and the village its inhabitants, and they take the view that he who is not so marked will not reach Montesuma.

Marriage is arranged as follows. The father of the girl visits the father of the boy whom his daughter wishes to marry. They then consider the matter, as do Spaniards when they wish to arrange for the marriage of their children. If agreement is reached, they invite their friends to a dance. Here they gather together a large quantity of cloth and matting and enough maize and fruits to last overnight. Then the girls and women begin to dance. On the backs of the dancers are baskets into which the bride and groom throw certain objects, and later they begin the meal with half a roasted ox. When the meal is ended the elder makes a wise speech, instructing the bride and groom how they should live together. They lack nothing but the authority of the Church to unite them properly. On occasions they let three girls dance and the one that has the most endurance is taken home by the groom. Such dances sometimes continue through the night without cessation.

* This distribution is accomplished, says Segesser, "gleich der bruder Fritsche die nuss an dem schmutzigen Donstag." Literally translated: ". . . . in the same manner that brother Fritsche distributes nuts on dirty Thursday." This may have reference to a European village ceremony on Maundy Thursday.

I now speak of [their idea of] the sacrament of confession and absolution of sins. Sometimes a Pima lives with other wives than the one he has married in the manner just described. (This often happened in Pimería Alta.) When I confronted them with this violation they answered: "Don't you see that the rooster has more than one hen, a stallion more than one mare? And you say that we shouldn't have more than one wife!" In such event they hold a council on the petition of the married wife. They summon the adulterer, order him to kneel in the center of a circle, charge him with his evil conduct—although most of those present are just as blameworthy—and the oldest woman present beats the back of the accused several times with a spear shaft, with the injunction that for the future he remain free from sin.

From this it is to be concluded that the light of nature suggests to the Pimas that they should live differently from their animal like existence, although, as I have said, they have not the faintest thought or knowledge of God, of Heaven, of Hell, or of Salvation. A very old Pima at San Xavier del Bac came every day to visit me, sat at my doorstep and waited until I gave him food, which food provided him, as I hoped, with the bread of eternal life. To him I explained the Omnipotence of God and how He had created everything. Since *omnipotence* is translated in the Pima language by the word *apertumaca* (to the extent that it is explainable in the Pima language) he kept repeating continually, walking or sitting as he greeted me, the word, apertumaca, and finally said that he wished to see this omnipotence. So he brought his two grown sons to me that I might baptize them with him.

The Pimas are very generous, share everything, and own everything in common, even their clothing. When one is having a meal and has not enough even for himself and another comes along, the visitor nevertheless gets half share. While I was away from mission San Xavier del Bac for some weeks to nurse the sick Father Augustin, a Pima harvested thirty malters of wheat. After my return I wished to buy from him a part of the harvest but he explained that he had none left for himself and had to get his nourishment from wild roots. Friends and neighbors had relieved him of the harvest. That which they have they eat in a day, and they observe very exactly *nolite esse solliciti in crastinum*, [not to be worried about tomorrow]. Apart from this they are overbearing and are easily vexed if they are not given praise.

Cleanliness is not found among them, rather the opposite. When a cow is slaughtered they besmear themselves completely with

its blood. Others paint themselves with yellow, red, or white paint so that they more resemble spectres than human beings. They paint themselves in this way especially when they dance. Dances occur in Upper Pimería every night, accompanied by singing or yowling with no articulated words, until the father rings *satis* ["enough!"] with the church bell. The nightly dances make most Pimas lazy and inactive and they lounge about unless the father drives them to work like donkeys, whereas other Indians like the Opatas and Yaquis are very little behind the Spanish people in industry and at times even excell them in diligence and skill.

Notwithstanding all this, there are those among the Pimas who are very skillful and who fabricate things of fibers, straw, cotton, and other material in a way that moves Europeans to wonderment. So, for example, they make black and white fiber baskets covered with all kinds of figures, and woven tightly enough that they are water-tight and water can be stored in them as in a cask. They know how to make wool and cotton sashes which are as pretty as costly ones. These they bind about their bodies and heads. Also they make cotton tablecloths and other things which are only a little inferior to those made in my fatherland. What they see they imitate, insofar as they are ordered to do so. If one asks them to make something one receives the invariable reply that they do not know how, but if one orders them to make something they make it, because what the Pima has once seen made, he can imitate.

In Pimería there are two types of houses. Some are earthen, like mine, and I maintain that a better type of house cannot be found in all Sonora. It is true that the manner in which earthen houses are made here has already been described by other padres. It is as follows. Good earth is dug up, and then doused with water. Then the Indians tread this mass the way the brickmaker does his lime, throw chopped straw into it, and mix everything well. Then the mass is tightly pressed into a wooden form like the iron form used by bricklayers, and the thick bricks (which are about two fingers thick and two and one half spans in length) are allowed to dry on the earth until they become hard.

These bricks, which we call *adobes*, are made into walls, layers of bricks being covered with layers of mud instead of with lime plaster. The walls become so hard that it is almost impossible to break them. The thickness of the wall is regulated by the number of workmen one has or by what kind of wall is desired. In my house the walls are two ells thick; the church walls have a thickness

of two and one-half ells because the church wall is higher and supports heavier rafters.

The absence of stone houses in these regions is not explained by a lack of stones or lime, but by the shortage of masons. In Puebla de los Angeles, in Mexico, Guadiana, Chihuahua, one certainly sees nicely built European type houses. But here a master builder costs eight dollars, an assistant three dollars [per day?]. (This was the same wage as was paid in Puerto S. María in Spain, where during my stay a house was being built for missionaries going to the Indies. The cost of all laborers may be noted from the fact that I had to pay tailoring costs of three dollars for a shirt, three dollars for trousers, five dollars for a cloak, and withal the masters do not get particularly rich.) Up to now I have seen in this region only one two story house. The rest have only a ground floor, partly because of the great heat, partly because of the scarcity of building masters who would know how to make higher structures.

The rafters are placed in a horizontal position. In my house, however, I made the roof somewhat sloping, the better to shed water. After the timbers are put in place it is necessary to join them. Since there are as yet no sawmills here the boards must be sawed by hand to be fitted, and what fearful toil that is! Upon these boards, or lacking them, upon the rafters, are laid covers of reeds, palms, or straw. These covers must be well plaited so that water does not penetrate. Next comes a layer of hair or straw, half an ell thick, and finally a sprinkling of earth. Everything must be very substantially made otherwise the walls dissolve in a short time. This, then, is the construction of earthen houses (that is, *adobes*).

Other people, usually Indians and Pimas, make their houses of plaited mats, in the style of beehives. These have little entrances through which the missionary must crawl on all fours when he comes to hear the confession of the sick. The straw huts have a single living room where father, mother, children, dog, cat, and chickens live together, and in which fire is built. It is no wonder, therefore, that houses often go up in flames.

To change the location of a house, eight or twelve Indians (according to the size of the house) carry it elsewhere on their shoulders. Straw houses are less pervious to water than are adobes. They are also very warm in winter. Winter warmth is required by the Indians who are sensitive to cold. In summer, when Europeans suffer under the heat of the sun, Indians and Pimas sit around a fire and warm themselves. They can do this because they are insensible to heat, being children of the warmth and sunlight in which they

are born. But they are very sensitive to cold to which Europeans, especially those who come from Germany, are inured.

Now I must mention one evil habit of the Pimas. It is a very common thing among them for a husband to lend his wife to someone else for a while, if in return he receives a horse or a piece of cloth. Withal, they love their children as do monkeys their young; the livelong day mothers have no more important occupation than that of catching the children's lice, which they do not kill and throw away but bite and then eat. When I asked them why they did this they asked me whether I hadn't noticed that hens also eat their lice.

The usual fare of the Pimas is maize. Missionaries derive the greater part of their income, with which they meet necessary expenses, from raising this crop. The missionary who has the largest harvest is also in the best position to take care of church decorations and clothing for his people. Wheat also is planted in many places in the province of Sonora. Because I was in a very dry section where it hardly rained at all last year (1736), I harvested no maize. This circumstance was most unfortunate for me this year. Besides maize, the Pimas use wheat, pease, and various abundant herbs for nourishment.

They make particular use of *mescal*, the root of a stomach-soothing herb. In Ingolstadt, mescal is called *aloe*, although it is actually not aloe, as I will explain elsewhere.* After the root is dug, fire is built in a trench and stones are heated therein. Mescal roots are then spread upon the red-hot stones. When the roots are roasted to a yellow color they are ground between stones into a porridge which is as sweet as honey.

A very good brandy is made from cooked or roasted mescal. The late Bishop of Guadiana, my very great benefactor, Benedictus Cespo [Benito Crespo] forbade the making of this brandy because the Pimas get drunk on it. Drunkenness has led to deaths. Despite the prohibition he permitted the drawing off of several bottles because when the beverage is used in moderation it has healing qualities.

In the mountains there are many edible fruits which serve the Pimas when they are unable to get grain. Among such fruits is the *Pitaia* [*sic*].† This has an exceptional flavor, is covered with thorns like the chestnut, is blood-red in color within, and contains little black seeds, like the fig. The Pimas make pitahaya wine which is pleasant to drink but is intoxicating. When I was in Guebavi I once

* See below, Appendix 1.
† See below, p. 180.

ordered that the Pimas of village Sonoita (which belonged to my mission) should come to Guebavi on a certain day to clear my acres and uproot thorn-bushes. The magistrate, as I call the chief among them, agreed that on this day they would first clear the acres at their village (acres which were already planted) and would then come to Guebavi.

On the appointed day, accompanied only by a boy, I rode to the two hour distant village. There I found my gardner lying on the ground drunk. Only with difficulty did I learn from him that a drinking bout was in progress at the house of the magistrate. I proceeded there immediately. When I was still a bow-shot distant from the house I was discovered, and the magistrate came toward me and invited me to have a little drink.

I asked him whether the field had been cleared, and whether they were going to keep their word to their father missionary. To this he answered: 'Father, what do you say! Taste the wine, how sweet it is. It is certainly a fine drink.' Thereupon some Indians brought a gourd dish filled with wine, to propitiate me Since I wished to have nothing to do with the intoxicated Pimas, I sat cautiously to horse so as to be ready any instant for flight. Thereupon the magistrate called his companions to greet me, according to the custom of the region. Then one should have seen the capers they cut! Some, who could not even walk on their quaking knees, were dragged up by the others, and all shouted very tearfully: "Father, the drink is good! Get off your horse and join us, the wine is good!"

I did not consider it advisable to tarry longer with those drunkards. So although I could hardly contain my laughter I turned to the magistrate and said, very earnestly, 'Tomorrow, we will look into the matter.' Then I returned quickly to my house. On the occasion of a similar drinking-bout these Pimas killed one of my servants who was supposed to guard some horses. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the bishop has threatened with excommunication those who give assent to such drinking-bouts.

The Pimas make wine also with the mulberry which grows plentifully in Pimería Alta. I used mulberries and mescal for the preparation of a very good vinegar.

The Papagos are Indians who live near the Pimas and who work with the latter. Papagos eat horsemeat when they can get it. They, as well as the Pimas, also eat mice and even poisonous snakes without injury to themselves. They cook or roast these animals in fire and they maintain that the fire removes all poison. I myself have seen roasted mice and boiled snakes. They will not, however, eat

dog or chicken meat or any foods cooked in the Spanish style. Birds, which are very numerous, are shot by them with arrows, but not for eating purposes. Rather, they are hunted for their feathers with which the Indians decorate themselves.

Posoli is the name of the dish which is given to the Indians when they work on church fields. With this field produce the missionary pays for wax candles, wine for mass, church ornaments, and his own household. In the early morning the Indians are given a porridge made of unsalted maize flour and milk. When the work is done they get *posoli*, which is maize or wheat flour cooked in a kettle with ox-flesh. It is said of the California Indians that they will not come to religious instruction unless *posoli* is promised them.

To the missionaries the Indians' work is very necessary for raising crops used in defraying the expenses of divine service which is celebrated here with no less splendor than it is in Europe. My neighbor missionary burned one hundred and twenty-five pounds of white wax during the feasts. I am hard put to it to make both ends meet, notwithstanding which my church is as well decorated as is the high altar of the college church at Luzern on Easter Sunday. Here one candle of yellow wax costs a Spanish dollar.

The Pimas like nothing better than tobacco and sweets. For a pipe full of tobacco a Pima will work gladly all day. In my opinion one could convert all the Indies with tobacco. This year I used more than one hundred-weight and for this I spent one hundred and forty Spanish dollars. I wished to buy the same quantity for next year but the merchants brought none, which is a great lack. In these regions everyone uses tobacco, and because they see that I do not they say that I am a saint, which would certainly be an easily attained state of holiness.

Some Indians imbibe tobacco from pipes, as it is done in Germany. Others smoke long sticks of tobacco leaves rolled together. Still others pulverize the tobacco and pack it in little paper tubes which they light. Those who cannot afford paper use tender maize leaves instead.

The Pimas must be kept in bounds through fear and love. Neither great severity nor great liberality lead to the desired end—*medium tenuere beati.* Among the errors of the Pimas not the least is their unfaithful and thievish manner. Associated with this is their habit of lying. Even in unimportant matters the Pima will rarely speak the truth, and what he can seize without fear of discovery, he takes, especially foodstuffs, ribbons, string, and the like. However,

sugar or a piece of silver are as safe as though they were kept under ten locks, even if left openly on the table.*

No Pima will admit theft unless he is caught in the act. An example of this statement follows. For five months I collected not a single egg from my hens, although I had more than fifty of them (at times as many as two hundred), and I could not understand what was wrong. I believed that a conjurer must be up to his tricks, or that a concealed animal or snake was devouring the eggs. I also examined the wall from top to bottom, and ordered the houseboys to keep a watch for the egg thief, because it was unbelievable to me that my hens did not lay. Finally one of the boys brought me the skin of the snake which was (supposedly) eating the eggs.

To get on the track of the matter I secretly secured two eggs which I placed in the chicken coop. Then I tied the coop door so that it could not be opened without my knowing it. After lunch I looked to see if the snake had eaten the eggs. I found that the rope which had secured the door was out of place. I asked: "Who went to the hen-house during mealtime?" No one. We looked for the eggs and, behold, they were gone! Then I questioned all the boys as to which of them had gone to the chicken coop during mealtime, threatening them with the switch to bring forth the truth.

Thereupon one of them admitted he had seen the culprit. I then called the accused and asked him if it was true that he had entered the chicken coop. Upon his denial I confronted him with his accuser, but he still did not wish to admit the charge. Hence, I found it necessary to bring out the truth with lashes and, lo, hardly had he felt the weight of the Sirtux [*sic*] when he admitted having taken the eggs and having fried and eaten them in the bushes back of the house. I then asked further how often this had happened and if he had ever had partners in crime. Again he did not wish to confess, and a second salving had to ease the way. Then he confessed that his accuser and all the rest of the houseboys would get up during my rest hour, collect the eggs, cook them in the kitchen, and eat them. All had heard me make inquiry for five whole months and none had told me the truth until I had caught him.

Thus are constituted all Pimas. The worst of the matter was that two boys got sick from these hard boiled eggs. Their bellies swelled up without my knowing the cause thereof. Both of them died. I never again had a shortage of eggs after my discovery of how they had disappeared.

* See above, p. 151, for reference to the Pimas' love of 'sweets.' Apparently Segesser distinguishes between 'sweets' and 'sugar.'

Abduction is not unusual among the Indians, especially among Apaches, though it is found among Pimas and Opatas as well. The Opatas and Pimas are neighbors, but their languages differ. The Apaches, a savage and untamed people, live in the high hills towards the north, and are sworn enemies of the converted Pimas and Opatas. They busy themselves mainly with stealing, robbing, and murdering. They lie in ambush in narrow passes, allow travelers to reach the middle of a pass, then attack them from above with a hail of arrows. They are very cunning and active and murder people in the most gruesome manner if they cannot carry them off alive. To check them the king of Spain ordered a fortress built on their border. Since they are very numerous and the soldiers are, on the other hand, few, the latter cannot offer resistance everywhere.

Apaches are large of body. They carry bows and arrows as well as lances. The lances are usually taken from Spaniards. While I was at the fortress I saw some Apaches who were armed with such lances. A short time ago Apaches came to the fortress (where I had earlier recovered my health) to see Captain Don Juan Bautista da Ansa [*sic*]. The reason they gave for visiting the captain was a desire to make peace with the Spaniards. As an indication of their peaceful intentions they brought with them a cross. They invited the captain to accompany them to a council, where they wished to swear allegiance to him. But the captain refused not only because he was unwell at the time but also because their proposal seemed to him dangerous.

Thus it happened that a visiting Spaniard resolved to go in place of the captain. He stuck to his resolve despite all dissuasion, for he wished to have the honor of winning these barbarians to Christianity. He, with a few soldiers, went with the Apache delegates to the council place where they were apparently received in a friendly fashion. When they carelessly dismounted, however, the savages seized the Spaniard and cut him to pieces and injured the soldiers with arrow shots so that those who got away returned in a pitiable condition. Simultaneously, other swarms of Apaches descended from their mountains and drove away more than three hundred horses from two missions, Arispe and Cuquiarachi.

Generally they attack Spanish villages during divine service, mostly during Passion Week, and usually more often during the winter than in the summer season. In winter the nights are long and the Apaches like to march in the moonlight. During the summer the Apaches usually hunt for food. When the Bishop of Durango, D. Benedito Cespo [*sic*], travelled through New Mexico

visiting his diocese, the Apaches, concealed in high grass, approached unnoticed, suddenly frightened the pack animals and horses, and killed many of the animals with arrows. The bishop himself, through whose coach five arrows had passed, was barely able with his servants to escape with his life, as he himself told me. It is unbelievable what numbers of cattle and horses these Apaches steal annually and how unsafe they make the roads, and how many murders they commit. The entrance to their region, it is said, is so narrow, that there is hardly room for men to enter it single file.

Besides the Apaches, there are to the west still other barbaric enemies, the Seris. Some Seri villages have, however, accepted the Christian doctrine. When the Seris rebel they are more cruel than the Apaches. They spare no one and burn and destroy everything. All of these enemies give the captains and soldiers enough to do. Many soldiers are killed. I myself have often travelled through the lands of these savages and have not, God be praised, been subjected to dangers either by Seris or Apaches. Those whom I met were friendly. At certain times the Pimas take the field against both these enemies and steal their children. These they generally sell for three hundred Spanish dollars. As soon as such children are married, however, they are free, and the purchaser has no further right over them. In Guebavi I was presented with the gift of an Apache youth who, during my illness, had been brought from a distant region by some Spaniards.

The Mokis [*sic*] border on the Apaches. Down to the present time they have not subjected themselves to the Spanish king. About them I have positive information that they are very rational, conduct themselves well, (even pursue *studia litteraria*), engage in agriculture, but are idolatrous and worship idols. The Franciscans have already several times sought entrance into the Moqui country, but until now have found the gate locked. It is said that the Moquis want no other padres than "those with black horns." Our padres have not entered this region hitherto because of the prohibition of the bishop and the viceroy. It is proposed to proceed gradually, not in leaps. Furthermore, the number of padres is so small that they can hardly uphold the light of the faith among the converted folk. The father missionary can not go according to his desires where he will, and one must form a different impression of his office than I, and others, erroneously had, as we shall shortly see.

Another tribe which really belongs to the Pimas but which is farther distant calls itself Copamaricopa [*sic*]. Many of these are baptized because they bring their children to the missions when they

come to work. They live, however, as though they were not baptized, which is to be understood because during the entire year they are so far from the missions that they could hardly travel to the padre in a month's time. The Copamaricopas have brought tidings about people on the other side of the Red River (Río Colorado) who are entirely white like Spaniards. One speculates that these were carried there from other parts of the world in storm-driven ships.

If other things are true which these wild Pimas tell, there are supposed to be seen in this same region people who have only one leg and who are yet able to walk as rapidly as people with two. This was told me as truth by the old padre, Augustín de Campos.* In time, if God keeps me, better information can be given about such matters, since preparations are being made just at present to explore these regions and to see if this part of the earth is bordered by sea or by more land, a fact not yet known.

Among the Pimas there are two kinds of sorcerers. The one kind are simple conjurers who perform dances and mimicry, imitate animals, and also present the royal dance which in olden times virgins had to present before the above-named Mexican king, Montesuma, which was a sight worth seeing.

Besides these conjurers there are in this country many witch doctors (*hechicheros*) who cause much damage with their deceptions and who communicate with the devil. At first I did not believe until I saw and heard for myself how, unnoticed, these knaves blow with a quill the poison which the foul fiend has poured into their bodies into the mouths of someone whom they wish to harm. The victim then dies quickly in extraordinary pain. I myself have stood at the death bed of some and have seen how they vomitted forth a horrible white stuff. This was the poison which they had received.

When I was at San Ignacio it happened that two servants of Father Augustín de Campos abruptly took sick and I, not knowing the cause of their sickness, administered extreme unction. But then the rumor started that a certain Francisco had earlier quarrelled with them and had positively done them this evil. The old padre ordered that he should be brought in and if he would not confess, to bring forth the truth with lashes. Thereupon the said Francisco admitted that because of the quarrel which had occurred he had administered the poison. The old padre ordered him to accompany the judges to the persons and to remove the poison from their bodies. So it

* Campos had slipped mentally at this time; cf P. M. Dunne, "Captain Anza and the Case of Father Campos," MID-AMERICA, XXIII (Jan. 1941), 45-61.

was done, and the village judges brought on a piece of wood, as I myself saw, the poison that the wicked villain had drawn out of the bodies of the sick. The old father asked if he had withdrawn all of the poison, to which he answered yes, though he could not say whether the poison had already attacked the intestines. Both the sick ones quickly recovered. A similar thing occurred with Father Kaspar Stiger, as he wrote me.

About myself I do not wish to speak in this report, because my younger brother shrewdly remonstrated with me on this matter, saying that my deadly sickness could have been caused by the climate or by a change in the air. Yet during the time I was asleep the judges, unknown to me, brought to my bedside a sorcerer who took a thing like a pea out of my mouth, after which I was improved. At the mission of Father Augustín de Campos, deciding to end a rumor, I climbed a high mountain with one of these sorcerers to see a cave where, according to the sorcerer, the evil spirit distributed those things by which people and cattle were murdered. I found nothing, however. The sorcerer said that the devil had become frightened and had taken everything away with him. Only a little white skin remained there. The sorcerer said this was the devil's skin, but I considered it to be the skin of a bird.

When we returned, the old padre asked the sorcerer to explain why he was so deceitful. However, the sorcerer maintained that what he had said was the truth, and to prove it he would tell the father, with his permission, what the devil had revealed to him on the previous night. After permission was granted he told the father things which no human being could have known, as the padre himself assured me. Such experiences as this one made me more careful in my dealings with the Indians.

Nocturnal dances are the reason for the many sorcerers. Indians take their children to these dances so that they see and hear with better opportunity what no eye should see and no ear should hear. When I was at San Xavier del Bac I took a walk with an Indian. We happened upon a place where the Indians had held a nocturnal dance. The place was full of circles, like a labyrinth, and my guide showed me, upon my inquiry, the spot where the devil in very terrible shape entered the circle, the Indians or Pimas then having to follow him into it. He also showed me where the devil again stepped out of the circle. I well perceived the great harm done by these nocturnal dances, but could not forbid everything lest the people flee into the mountains and wilderness. When I said that I did not want them to dance they asked me why I wished to forbid

dancing. In other missions where they performed labor, they said, the missionary allowed them to dance. They told me that if I forbade dancing they would return to their wilds where they could dance undisturbed. One must deal circumspectly with these people, therefore, if one does not wish to lose everything.

On another occasion I was told by the same guide at San Xavier del Bac that there frequently appeared among them a person whom they did not know and who was dressed like a Spaniard. He incited them to carry on with their nocturnal festivals. Who could this stranger be but the Evil One who mingles with them so as to maintain his kingdom and so as to hold the artless Pimas in their ignorance? This is also the reason why he orders sorcerers to murder missionaries and thus get them out of the way, as was confessed by the one who poisoned Father Stiger. The sorcerer later removed the poison from the father, who then recovered.

Special dances are participated in by the Pimas, usually by the women, when the men have returned from a campaign against the Apaches and have brought back booty. After campaigns they always return with such tokens of victory as the hair, hands, and feet of those they have killed. The women hoist these tokens on long poles when dancing the war dance. Then they carry the poles from house to house so that one will give them donations (in the manner of house to house visits made by European jesters on old Shrove Tuesday). One learns from captives that the Apaches also perform such dances when they overcome the Pimas. These jubilees sweep through all Pimería like wild-fire because a victory is communicated with unbelievable rapidity by the Indians of all tribes.

I have spoken figuratively of wild-fire. However, in this country there occur real wild-fires. The grass here is never mowed, one reason being that it need not be stored for the winter. Real, lasting winters are unknown. High grass is sun-dried down to the roots and when the Pimas skirmish with enemies in the mountains and light the grass, wind carries the fire along unchecked until it reaches any large brook, when it is extinguished. Such conflagrations cause great damage to the country, destroying cattle pastures, and so on. The Pimas also customarily start such fires to corner game, although this practice is prohibited and is heavily punished.

It is another matter when dry grass is intentionally set afire immediately before the rainy season. Then, because of the rain, large quantities of young tender grass sprouts forth from the ashes. Then cattle find their paradise and grow fat. This fattening is necessary since here we have no butter and one must, therefore, use dried

animal fat (instead of butter) in cookery the year throughout, even on Fridays and Saturdays. If Pimas and also Spaniards knew how to make regular butter they would have many more cattle. That is, they would have to slaughter fewer of them. Perhaps I can now teach them the art of butter making with the apparatus which has been sent to me.

Above, I said that the Pimas are very generous and prove themselves charitable toward their countrymen and Spaniards. Therefore, it is astonishing that they forget this love just when it is the most needed. If one of them is taken sick they set next to him a receptacle of water and another containing maize porridge. Then they immediately depart from the house and leave him lying alone on a cover.

None takes the responsibility of visiting the sick one or in any way waiting upon him. At the most, they remind the missionary to come to hear confession. Since they usually neglect this also, the missionary commissions one or two so-called *fiscals* who look after the houses and inform him of cases of sickness. If the sick person dies the fiscal brings his body to church on a horse. The deceased is unaccompanied by his relatives who also do not appear at any Christian service. The relatives immediately burn the house of the deceased. If the chief of a village dies he is buried in the center of the village and the village is then deserted en masse.

When I was at San Xavier del Bac I went to visit some parishioners in a village named Tubac, but found several houses burned and others empty. I could not understand why no one had called me to visit a sick person. After much searching I finally found the inhabitants in another place where they had put up their huts. They explained to me that their magistrate had died and that in fear they had moved away. This is sometimes done even by Spaniards and creoles who no longer wish to live in a house where someone has died.

The Pimas, even converts, place food on the graves of their dead in the belief that the deceased will eat in the other world. Also they cover their own faces with a finger-thick layer of porridge, so that only the mouth and the eyes are exposed. Finally, for half a year up to an entire year they raise a horrible wailing plaint three times a night.* They liberate the horse which has carried the deceased to the grave. The magistrate of Sonoita was carried to his grave on a horse which I liked very much and desired for myself,

* " . . . erheben sie ein halbes oder ganzes Jahr lang dreimal während der Nacht ein entsetzliches Klagegeschrei."

but they did not wish to give it to me, rather they wished to set it free. The dead are not buried in a coffin but are interred wrapped in several covers. Deceased children, who this year died almost entirely of malicious pustules, are decorated with expensive silk stuffs and ribbons, which missionaries give to Indians, but which Spaniards provide for themselves.

Although the father missionary must also bury Spaniards and must administer the last sacrament to adults within a distance of thirty miles, the pastor, who doesn't lift a finger, still collects his dues from the Spaniards. In order that the worthy pastors in the homeland shall have an understanding of the emoluments of Sonora and Pimería pastors, I will set forth some taxes.

When a Spaniard's servant marries, the servant must pay the pastor (even when I perform the function) twenty-four and one half Spanish dollars. A common free man pays thirty dollars; a wealthy one, forty-five Spanish dollars. From the most wealthy the pastor demands as much as seems proper—whether it be for marriage or burial. The burial of an Indian, either adult or child, costs sixteen and one half dollars, provided that the large cross not be carried in the forefront of the procession. Cost of carrying the cross is twenty-five Spanish dollars. Burial of a Spaniard costs thirty dollars, not counting Mass [stipend] and offices for the soul. From all this nothing remains for the missionary, although he takes care of everything and the pastor does nothing. The rule for the missionary is *omnia gratis*.

The Missionary's Daily Routine

To satisfy the curiosity of some who wish to know how the missionary must perform his many tasks and duties, I will here say something about this.

I remember that my most highly esteemed brother said before my departure: "My brother will soon become a pastor in the Indies." I must admit that he spoke the truth, because with some differences the life of the American missionary is almost like the life of a European pastor. Hearing confession, preaching, reading Mass, administering sacraments, all these are performed by the one as they are by the other.

However, the American missionary must journey twenty or thirty miles on horseback over roads which the European pastor can travel on foot. The latter can retire for his night's rest in a bed, after having partaken of a good roast and a glass of sweet wine; the

former must find his rest after one swallow of water dipped from any lake, or when in the field must do without. The latter can take care of his household business in comfort with his friends or other reasonable people; the former has for this his careless Indian youths and must lay his own hand to the plow if he wishes to get anything for himself and his Indians. The European pastor has his rich income. The American missionary must live by his avowed poverty and must say his prayers by candlelight.

Every day I must awaken the houseboys and supervise the morning prayer, because the Pima is so careless that he no longer knows on one day what he was ordered to do the day before. For that reason an old father missionary in Puebla de los Angeles said to me jestingly during my journey to Mexico: "Since the Pope ordered one to believe that the Indians have a rational soul, one would have to believe it; but one had not seen it."

After the morning prayer a bell is rung as a signal for Mass, the choir master prays the rosary with the people and afterwards sings the All Saints Litany. Besides the prayers which the Indians say in their own languages, the king and the superiors of the Order have directed that the Indians learn also in Spanish the Christian doctrine and the necessary prayers. The missionary must, therefore, know Spanish. A knowledge of Spanish is also required of the missionary so that he may hear confession of the many Spaniards settled in this country. With Spanish, the missionary may also do business with the merchants of this nation. Some missionaries who were with me in Spain wished to learn no other language than that of the Indians to whom they were designated. Thus, they hoped to avoid having traffic with Spaniards so as to prevent making the Indians suspicious. But a difference must be made between necessary and superfluous intercourse. The latter is at all times to the bad, for, despite excellent royal decrees, there are Spaniards of evil disposition who do great harm to the missionaries.

After Mass the Christian doctrine is prayed or sung, although if there is pressing work to be done the latter is sometimes omitted. Afterwards the father and his ever-present guests partake of a breakfast of chocolate. In this mission much chocolate is used because of the many guests who frequent the mission. Three hundred pounds hardly last through the year, and what a quantity of sugar is used for it! In Pimería Alta I used hardly any chocolate. Here, however, I can say truly that during the three years of my residence I have not been five days without guests. Each one brings a greeting or a letter from someone else, even if the latter at times does not

know anything about it. But each guest expects his chocolate anyway.

After breakfast the father has to give the cook his directions for the mid-day meal and must provide him with the wherewithal for it from the storehouse. To give the cook the keys to the storehouse would mean, according to the Pima custom, to give him leave to eat everything available, and all at one time. An entire ox seems meager fare for a three or four day period for my Pimas, although there are only about twenty-four who sit at table. For the guests there are chicken and veal, if such be available.

The houseboys have to take care of feeding the hens, ducks, and geese. The housemaster is supposed to provide wheat for the feeding, but since he is often not at his post the padre has to take care of this business himself. The padre must also give the gardener his orders for gathering in the produce and must direct the herdsmen to care for the stock. Meanwhile, he may get a report that there are children standing at the church door waiting to be baptized, that a magistrate has made a request for seed maize, or that someone is ill or dying. And so it goes the livelong day.

Besides spiritual duties the missionary has continually to take care of worldly business which he by no means dare neglect. I have already said above that the California Indians do not come to Christian service when they do not see the maize pot boiling. And so it is in all missions. Where there is no bread the children do not appear. Therefore, the missionary must above all things provide meals, for then the Indians gather around and then he can achieve the desired results with them. Providing food for the Indians seems very laborious to many fathers for they had an entirely different view of things when they left their beloved province to devote themselves to missionary work. That is the way it was with me. I well remember what was said to me and to others by the father provincial when I made a request to be sent to the missions. His words were: *Nescitis quid petatis.* [You know not what you ask.] I experienced it!

It happens that I left my paternal hearth to enter a spiritual station principally because I saw that business and agriculture were not for me, but in this mission I encountered much more of that sort of anxiety than I would ever have had in my fatherland. However, it must be considered that God ordained such difficulties so that He could express His divine will through His servants. He does not fail to extend His divine grace in support of the missionary, so that the latter takes on work and consolation and recognizes in

himself God's providence. Otherwise it were almost humanly impossible for a person to endure all the pain and labor needed in the management of these missions (more in some than in others, to be sure, though all missionaries are busy enough).

Thus there remains little time to the father missionary for the performance of his spiritual labors (unless we wish to say that the entire day is spent in spiritual business, even though it may be temporal). In order to write these fugitive lines—as I promised to do —I had to set aside other business with which I will, however, immediately catch up.

In the meantime, we shall view further how the daily order or, better said, disorder, is carried on. Let us imagine that the abovementioned business has been attended to and that I think I have earned an opportunity to say my horary prayers. Along comes the cook and demands pepper, ginger, and safron. The house servant announces that two messengers have arrived, one from Saguaripa, the other from Ures, each with a letter. I order that for the time being they be fed and promise to give them tobacco when I have finished my prayers. Then the cook comes once more and asks for lard and eggs which he had earlier forgotten to request. While I say my prayers the houseboys set the table for luncheon. Again much is forgotten. Now knives, and at other times forks, are not placed.

Spaniards use neither forks nor knives but eat with their fingers. Some even do not use soup-spoons but soak up the soup with bread. In my house, however, I maintain order. It is enough that I must stand for the Spanish method of preparing food. To one who was used to a good Tyrolean, Neckar, or Alsatian wine, it is a great disappointment never to find dry table wine. Perforce one must be satisfied with the water jug and must even thank God that the water is fresh and plentiful, which often it is not. It is satisfying that there is always milk to be had at the end of the meal. I had thought that only the Swiss drink milk, but have learned that in this country Spaniards like it just as much.*

After luncheon prayers are said. Then the cook is given directions to send food to the homes of the sick. He is instructed not to leave the dishes with them. Dishes must be returned at once to be washed and dried.

Then the father goes to the chicken-coop with the houseboys

* See below, Appendix 4.

to gather eggs, and to see whether a bird of prey has carried away any hens.

Now comes the siesta, the time when it is customary here for everyone to take his afternoon repose, except the father who uses this most quiet hour of the day to write or read whatever seems necessary. Birds also sleep during siesta. When they awaken the turmoil begins again. Then the cook demands meat for the evening meal, the *fiscus* requests maize for *posoli*, and the baker flour for baking. And finally, after instruction in the catechism (held every day except Sunday), it is necessary that the father go, shovel in hand, to the garden and work there until the Ave Maria chime so that things do not go to ruin. Then when one returns home tired out the servants are assembled to pray the rosary, the Litany, the Salve Regina (which I have taught them to sing as we do), as well as the *Alabedo* [*alabado*] or "praise be the all holiest altar sacrament."

Evening meal follows the prayers, after which I record the day's sales and purchases, supplies used, and any noteworthy occurrences. All these items are recorded in special books so that no shortages will be found at the customary visitation of the superiors. When all these things have been attended to the rest hour at last arrives for the missionary. During this time he is somewhat in communion with God, and expects throughout the night to be called to a sick-bed.

This is the schedule which remained the same from the first moment of my arrival here until the present, and it will remain this way until God bestows better understanding upon the Pimas so that they will take hold of things tolerably well without being admonished and ordered to do so. They do nothing for the church and for the house of the missionary without receiving an order. Unless directed to do so, they would not even feed or water a tethered horse or mule. Their attitude is the more noteworthy because they are able and mindful in their own affairs. Today on the feast of St. Jacob, when I think especially of my father professor, Jacob Begler, I ordered the sexton to place six candlesticks on the altar. But because I did not also fix him up with candles I found when I went to the altar that the candlesticks were empty and unlighted. So it goes with everything. Even the houseboys would not go to sleep in their proper places if the father did not watch them and seek them out from other nooks.

One can easily realize from this presentation what the mis-

sionary's work consists of and what the difference is between a European and an American pastor.

Besides, we are daily exposed to mortal danger. Thus, in Tabatana [*sic*] where Father Jakob Sedlmaier is at present, the Pimas shot arrows through the window at the now deceased Father Sagliardi of Italy while he slept in his room. They were set to flight by his cries for help and later were captured by the judges and given their deserved punishment. Father Juan Baptist Grashofer in Guebavi was almost certainly done away with by poison, as explained above. Another, Father Saetta, was clubbed to death in his room at Caborca by the Pimas; his blood is still visible on the walls. The apostate Indians of California only a year ago gruesomely murdered two father missionaries, as I wrote in an earlier letter. Conditions in all Pimería can best be judged by the rebellions which I myself experienced. These rebellions were perpetrated by the Pimas in both Upper and Lower Pimería. During both rebellions I was by necessity forced to venture into danger.

On another occasion I wrote how at Guebavi the Pimas deserted me all at once, drove away horses and cattle, and left me alone with a boy who was too little to flee with them (and who was forgotten by them) along with my Nicolas. Simultaneously, they broke into my house at San Xavier del Bac, the other mission under my care at that time, stole everything, including the new, beautiful, and precious vestments in five colors and all appurtenances which our viceroy had given to us when we were sent to these new missions. They tore the vestments into a thousand pieces and used two chalices for their festive drinks, broke them, and also slaughtered and ate all the livestock.

The cause of this unrest was a false report given out by some uneasy Spaniards who wanted to frighten the Pimas. They alleged that Captain Don Juan de Ansa would come and slaughter all Pimas. Nothing more was needed completely to confound the Pimas of Pimería Alta and to cause them to flee to the mountains. However, through the arrival of the said captain and through the persuasion of the padres quiet was speedily restored. I told fathers Kaspar Stiger and Ignatius Keller, who were with me and who accompanied me in seeking the fugitives, that I had on another occasion brought my Pimas back from the mountains. With the padres and some of the Pimas we negotiated with the others, using kindness instead of force, to persuade them to return. Through our intercession, none was punished.

The Disturbance of 1737

Another far greater and more dangerous disturbance occurred during the present year, 1737, in my neighborhood and mainly in the villages under my supervision. This turmoil caused me so much trouble, labor, and damage that the latter cannot be repaired for several years. During Lent it is customary for the missionary to visit all of his missions so as to give the parishioners opportunity to confess according to church rule. I got word that some unrest was in the offing and was warned to cease hearing confession. But for that very reason it seemed to me necessary to pursue my duty. Therefore, I visited all my villages, everywhere heard confession of the inhabitants, and judging by appearances found everything quiet.

Taking advantage of opportunity I visited a *real mineral*, situated more than a hundred miles from my house at Tecoripa, and heard confession of the Spaniards living there. When I returned to Tecoripa I found the village completely deserted with the exception of the magistrate and his family and the old choirmaster. These people could tell me nothing except that during the night the populace had fled from the village, some on foot, some mounted. Their tracks led to St. Martial, one of my villages. Precious comfort! And what results had I hoped for from the confession!

Since I found myself thus deceived I immediately made a report to the secular magistrate and urged him to accompany me in a search for the fugitives. I did not know the reason why they had fled, and without delay I sent some Spaniards to the other villages to reconnoiter. They brought back the report that there was not a living soul in the villages; all footsteps led in the direction of the aforementioned St. Martial. All this occurred in the week before Passion Sunday. The magistrate wrote me saying he was ready to accompany me at any time. I suggested he meet me the next day in the village of Guasi. This he did. From Guasi we dispatched Indians who were strangers to the fugitives to seek out the place where the Pimas had assembled. Our messengers were instructed to order the Pimas to return immediately to their villages so that the father and the magistrate could visit them, village by village, and determine who were absent.

These messengers returned with the report that the Pimas had neither fled from their villages nor had assembled to commence a rebellion. Instead, they had been called to a somewhat distant village to see a magistrate who had risen from the dead, a *hechichero* or medicine man, and also to hear the preaching and relating of

wonderful things about the other world by Father Baierca who had died several years ago at Mission Belem in the Yaqui province and who had reportedly returned from the dead. Thus did certain witch doctors deceive the Indians to get them away from the missionaries.

When the falsity of these pretexts was explained and when it was pointed out that they were the misrepresentations of the envious Evil One, the Indians obeyed the admonitions to return to their former dwellings in their villages. After their return I visited all the villages with the magistrate, counted the inhabitants, gave orders that those who were missing be sought out and informed of their error. I explained that this time they would not be punished, but that should the offense be repeated the magistrates would receive the most strenuous punishment if they did not try to prevent such an exodus or at least immediately report it to the father missionary or to the superior magistrate. All thereupon kneeled and prayed God for forgiveness for having lent ear to the suggestions of the evil enemy and his heretical teachers and witch doctors, and all promised earnestly in the future to give no credence to their lies. Following this I exorcised the places where such assemblages had taken place with the usual church exorcism during the performance of which several Indians are reported to have fainted. After this was done in each village I returned home again with renewed hope on the Friday preceding Palm Sunday.

On Sunday the Pimas arrived in great numbers from all villages to embrace the blessed palm branches. Also during Holy Week divine service was extraordinarily well attended. Therefore, I took the opportunity emphatically to lay bare before those present the falsehoods of the Evil One, and to show them that for one hundred years during which Pimería had been converted to Christianity there had never occurred such a general commotion, a fact which should have been disquieting to all right thinking people.

Among other causes which are to blame for unrest are the heathenish dances and other inadmissible practices which the Pimas resort to. After so many years of upbringing in the Catholic Faith and in good instruction, nothing more should be heard of such heathenish and godless behavior.

I was not much astonished that those in Pimería Alta, who had in former times neither seen nor heard anything of missionaries, should be so credulous as to know nothing of the true light of the faith. But that those in Pimería Baja who, as already explained, had been enlightened for a hundred years should so conduct them-

selves seems to prove that the Pimas appear more Catholic than they actually are. Who would have thought that the Pimas after recognizing their great error and repenting it would not conduct themselves peacefully, and that these simple appearing people would know how to deceive more intelligent folk? Yet, so it happened! And it came to pass that their former innocence and their former promises to improve themselves were only a cloak to their wickedness and to the cunning of the Evil One.

Thus, on Wednesday after Easter Sunday, there came to the mission the visitor general who journeys to Rome every second year. This year, following his arrival in Mexico with the new fathers missionary, he immediately began his visitation and and arrived in my mission on the day indicated. His name is Father Andreas Xaverius Garzias. In each village the Pimas received him with the usual rejoicing, and he bestowed upon them a fatherly blessing. After his arrival I spent the entire day with him without any worry and with great consolation. Exactly this circumstance, however, provided the Pimas the desired opportunity to get started unobserved. They procured food for a journey and received assurances from some who had arrived to greet the visitor that once they reached their destination they would require nothing in addition.

The *padres hospites* then retired. Because it was very warm the visitor requested that I leave the house doors standing upon. I usually locked these doors at night to prevent my servants and boys from making nocturnal departures. So I ordered my boys to go to sleep, and likewise went to my room to rest. The next morning, as I always did first thing, I tried to awaken the boys. I called them repeatedly, but receiving no reply looked for them and found none in his place.

To avoid making a disturbance and awakening the guests I went into the village. There I found no one either except the magistrate, who knew as little about the matter as I did myself, and the father visitor's servants who slept in the vestibule. Everyone else had fled, as before, only this time the flight was far more general. Their few household belongings and the already ripe grain were left behind. Also all my houseboys, except my Nicolas, were gone. Only one other, about the age of six, had remained. When I asked him why he had not gone with the others, he answered "Because I did not wish to go with them!" The sexton had taken everything with him.

As I later figured it out, during the night sixteen tribes in a circuit of one hundred and fifty hours gathered together at one

specified place, as though the Evil One had brought them together. They were summoned by flying messengers—the Pimas seem more to fly than to ride on horseback—to appear at a given place. If one wishes to know how the Pimas reckon hours and days without being able to read, then note that they can count to twenty on the fingers and toes. If they wish to count to forty, they say: "Twice as much as the number of fingers and toes." Also they reckon time by the moon and specify, for example, the full moon as the occasion for some transaction. They never make a mistake as to the specific time.

The father visitor did not know whether or not the flight of the Pimas signified an uprising in which all Spaniards would be slain (as an earlier rumor had it). When he saw that I was deserted by all, even by the cook, he said he wished to depart that evening so as to avoid causing me inconvenience through his presence. However, I fancied that fear had moved him to depart. Fortunately, the soldiers who had arrived here the previous week for the necessary protection of the church in all eventualities had not yet returned to their fortress, but were helping to eat up my small quantity of bread. For the safety of the father visitor I sent these soldiers to accompany him until the next day. I, myself, slept with him in the field and returned home the day after that.

I did not know the destination of this present exodus, but dispatched two soldiers to search out the direction of the tracks. They reported that all of the Pimas, great and small, had fled by the same path as before, on foot and on horse. Certainly, not a single one of my horses was to be found. The Pimas had taken all of my tame horses (more than a hundred in number), thus the more easily to remove the women and children to the specified place. Some horses which were tied up in the yard had been released and taken along by the houseboys. So it was that I no longer had my riding horses and had to make use of unfamiliar ones.

I now hastily informed the superiors how things stood, so that they would be on guard. They immediately admonished the captain in the fortress (three hundred miles distant from here) to render me necessary aid with his soldiers and other Spaniards.

Be of good cheer, Father Philipp! The corn-husks will empty themselves and the cattle will come to the butcher, but what of it. Why do the Pimas cause such turmoil and expense!

In these circumstances the most important thing was to find out where the Pimas had gone, and what the goal and purpose was of this general gathering which had put the entire country in terror. For on that night every Pima had fled without having given any

previous indication of such an intention. This applied not only to those who lived in villages but also to those who worked in the mines. I, and others, were of the opinion that had an emperor wished to execute something like this he could not with all of his shrewdness and care have succeeded as well as did the villain who instigated this unrest and this flight.

After some days a man who was a house steward (or, as he is called here, a *majordomo*) arrived in a neighboring village. This man had a Pima mother and a Spanish father. He was the only one who had not fled with the others. Because he was somewhat more reasonable and loved me with a loyal heart, he brought me the report that the assemblage was to take place about thirty miles from my village on a high mountain, called the Black Mountain. This distant place was chosen because, for one reason, the idol could not manage to tell his lies at the place of the earlier assemblage owing to the powerful exorcism which I had carried out (as already stated), and also because, for another reason, they believed the father would not follow them that great distance.

The majordomo said further that the messengers who had summoned the Pimas had alleged that Montesuma had arisen from the dead and had ordered all Pimas to betake themselves to the other side of the Black Mountain because the world would be changed (that is, would come to an end), Spaniards would be turned to stone, and Pimas alone would survive. Later the Spaniards would rise again and serve the Pimas, as now they were served by them. They were not to concern themselves with nourishment; everything would be found in abundance. There would be a moat from which each one could pull out on a little string whatever he wished, such as the most beautiful clothes, and so forth.

Montesuma was the monarch who was considered a god in this part of America and who was finally killed by the Spaniards in Mexico, as I believe I have already earlier written. His tribal home had been in Pimería Alta, and the Pimas believed that he would return and rule them again. Therefore, the sly instigator of this unrest allowed it to be everywhere circulated that Montesuma, or as they call him, *Arisbi*, had arisen from the dead.*

I took fresh courage from these reports because I recognized them to be evidence only of a wicked deception by the hellish enemy, and not a rebellion. I prevailed upon the majordomo to proceed to the place of assemblage and there pretend that he, too, was a

* See below, p. 170.

fugitive so that he might join the others. Moreover, he would be able to observe carefully all their actions and report to me so that I could take all necessary precautionary measures. He promised me he would do this and would return within a few days unless he were killed as a spy.

In the meantime I had noticed that in all of my villages great damage had been done by the fugitives. Field produce had been left for cattle fodder. Grain had been cut before the flight began. Sheep, goats, and cattle had been slaughtered. And food stores had been broken into and emptied. Even this gave me hope that the commotion could not last long. For with such a crowd the food stores would soon give out, and the mountain fruits were not yet ripe in this season. Nevertheless, all preparations were made to march out against the recalcitrants unless they returned of their own free will.

The majordomo who had been sent out came back after five days and reported the following things.

There was a great multitude of people in an almost inaccessible valley. The pass at the Black Mountain which led into the valley was so narrow that a horse could hardly get through it. There were about three thousand people assembled there with as many horses, because each person had at least one horse. They had taken from the missions and from the Spaniards all horses which they could get their hands on. In the middle of the valley were some straw huts erected in a circle (here called *corral*) within which stood a long thin pole. To this pole were fastened various silk ribbons stitched with the feathers of different birds.

In the same place stood an altar decorated with ornaments stolen from the church of mission Belem. Entrance into the huts was forbidden everyone on pain of death. Even a runaway wild horse which had broken through the straw door of the corral was killed on the spot. Mornings and evenings a man of short stature came forth from another hut, opened the door of the corral, and seated himself beside the door on a stool (which had also been brought from Belem). This one was the false prophet and the devil's servant.

All the arrivals had to approach him and after he had made the sign of the cross they had to kneel and make the same sign. The Arisbi*—so I shall henceforth call him—who pretended to be the interpreter of Montesuma, laid his hand upon their heads, and

* See above, p. 169.

took away from them all rosaries and consecrated things (which the Pimas and Indians carry about their necks in clusters). If they were wearing good clothes they took them off and gave them to him so that, as he pretended, he could dress those who would soon rise up from the dead. Morning and evening the Pimas prayed the rosary in unison and sang the Christian doctrine, as is customary in the villages. Then the Arisbi began to preach the Christian doctrine from his stool. The majordomo said that Montesuma, dressed in a white shirt and wearing on his head a white cloth biretta (shaped like those worn by priests in church) spoke from an altar. The Arisbi permitted the Indians to view Montesuma only by moonlight so that he alone might hear and tell them what Montesuma said.

Montesuma stated that no one should return to his village because during the return journey the earth would open up and swallow them. The earth was full of dead people and, therefore, putrid. It was as thin as pasteboard and in a short time would burst, whereupon all Spaniards, as well as those Pimas who would not come to him and swear allegiance to him, would instantly be swallowed. Only those who had come to this valley would be spared. They would never suffer want because though all would eat out of a receptacle which stood by his side, yet this receptacle would never be empty. Also exceptionally clear water would well up. All could drink this with delight and would become as beautiful as the moon and the stars. The world would smell like musk and balsam. Thereafter, Spaniards would rise again to serve the Pimas. All these things would happen within four days, so he told them.

When an old woman died the Arisbi ordered that she be laid in a high tree so that all could see how in four days she would regain life. However, the corpse remained there until the unbearable odor could no longer be endured. Not only well people but also the aged, the sick, and the ailing were brought to the assembly place despite great distances and the rigors of the journey, because all wished to see Montesuma.

During all this, the Arisbi performed his leaps, and climbed up and down the pole like a snake. While on top of the pole he would blow some fiery arrows out of his mouth, telling the onlookers they should have no fear. If the soldiers came they would be swallowed by the earth in the middle of the road and he would shoot any survivors with these fiery arrows. He also put on false shows to make the Pimas believe whatever he said. Occasionally he produced a tobacco pipe and handed it to Montesuma who then

blew clouds of tobacco smoke out of his mouth, though in such a way that someone else could take his place. Six girls, among them unfortunately two from my village, were chosen to wait upon Montezuma. When the Arisbi performed his tricks, the girls were locked up so that they could not perceive the deception. The Arisbi's horse (stolen from my neighbor father missionary) had to be led to water by the girls in a kind of procession.

At assembly time the Arisbi called the people with a little bell at whose tone all came a-flying like birds, each desiring to be first After the function alms were collected. Since the Arisbi and his servants could not eat everything, they buried the remainder, on the pretext that deceased friends would come at night and eat it.

Among other things the Arisbi also told those assembled what I was doing in Tecoripa, and that soldiers were arming to take the field against them, but that they should have no fear. If the father came alone they would receive him in a friendly and respectful way so that he should himself be convinced of the truth of what the Arisbi said. The soldiers would not reach the place. The Arisbi perhaps imagined that I was as much of an ignoramus as the two Spaniards whom the judge of Aguache had sent to the interpreter of the Arisbi with a very silly message, ordering them to cut short the celebration and return to the villages. However, on order of the Arisbi these Spaniards likewise sank to their knees before Montezuma and participated in the ceremony with the Pimas, as they themselves later told me, and were of the opinion that they had done a very holy thing.

Because my majordomo remained near the Arisbi while he carried on his teachings, the latter noticed him and asked him with what intention he had arrived so late. To this the majordomo replied that he certainly wished, like the others, to enjoy the prophesied blissfulness. However, he said he was astonished by such a question, for if the real Montesuma were there the Arisbi could ask Montesuma what was in the late-comer's heart. Thereupon, he gradually withdrew, after he had taken a puff on the tobacco pipe offered him by the Arisbi, a pipe also smoked by Montesuma. In this way, no doubt, he acquired his illness. Because from then on he has been insensitive in his lower body and in part of his upper body except at night, when he is wracked by the most terrible pains. He is able to walk only when doubled over, aided by crutches. Nevertheless, he returned and told me this story, which I have up to this point summarized, and in this way he gave me courage to

seek out the assemblage and to get more nearly to the bottom of the matter.

Following the majordomo's return I reported immediately to the father visitor and asked permission to go to the assemblage place. He answered that Captain Juan Baptiste de Anza had likewise asked that I go with him and that I might, therefore, accompany the said captain if I was not afraid to do so. Moreover, I was to provide supplies for the entire company. Hence, I departed with the necessary provisions and the soldiers stationed there, leaving behind a garrison for house and church. We used borrowed horses, since mine had all been led away by the Pimas. In two days we joined the captain and his company. Together we totalled sixty persons as we proceeded against the assemblage.

It was reported that all the Indians were armed with bows and arrows and were not of a mind to come back. For the rest, disunity had already broken out among them. Some from one village had recognized the Arisbi as a deceiver, had wanted to take him captive and deliver him to me. Others, however, had won out and had agreed to defend themselves and the Arisbi to the last. After the above-mentioned majordomo had escaped them, they left the valley and withdrew to a mountain, near to the Black Mountain, which was very difficult to climb but which, because of lack of water, they soon had to leave.

Here I must insert a short report about the poison which the Pimas smear on their arrows, since I forgot to tell about this in the proper place above. There is a shrub called *herba de flechàs*, resembling the birdberry tree, whose sap is white like milk and drips plentifully from a broken branch. The Pimas gather this sap and with it paint their stone arrowheads which are shaped like snakes' tongues. When one is wounded by such a poisoned arrow, he quickly swells up and in a short time dies. There is no remedy which will deprive the poison of its efficacy. The strength of the poison is sometimes increased by the following method. A piece of liver is washed in the sap. Then a poisonous snake is struck in the mouth with the liver, causing the snake to bite the liver and empty its poison therein. Following this, arrowheads are painted with this liver. However, the poison tree alone is so powerful that if one but sleep under it he swells up like a drum.

I now return to the subject at hand.

Since we did not know exactly where the fugitive Pimas were established we took the road on the far side of the Black Mountain, because we assumed that they would await us on the near side.

Thus, we would be more apt to come upon them from the rear. As we were small in number, sufficiently strong in the open but not in the mountains, we decided to send a few of our men ahead to find out if things could not be settled peaceably.

Two Pimas who returned from the assemblage and who fell into our hands gave us full reports and promised, if we would spare them, to make an arrangement whereby we could capture the Arisbi.

We were especially concerned about demonstrating to the Pimas that the Arisbi was not a god but very much a human, and that despite his pretensions to immortality he was certainly mortal. I made a solemn promise to St. Anthony and also to the most pure Virgin of Loretto, who has an exceptionally beautiful and costly chapel at Matape, the mission next to mine, that the affair be brought to order without more bloodshed than demanded by justice.

And, lo! that very same night the Evil One informed the Arisbi that the soldiers were coming and would kill him. Thereupon, the Arisbi ordered the Pimas to flee and return to their villages. He also wished to save himself in flight. On St. John's Day they were without fail to assemble again, for on that day the world would be overturned and only their place would be safe.

In this dispersal of the Pimas one can see the dispensation of Providence. For had they resisted we would without doubt have had a hard battle. They were three thousand strong, armed with bows and arrows, and fortified in their mountain. We were small in number. However, they scattered during the same night as the arrival of the two Pimas who did not yet know what had occurred and, like us, were of the opinion that we would meet with all of them together.

Therefore, the next day we sent the two Pimas to inform the assembled natives that if they conducted themselves properly the captain, on intercession of the padres, would protect them. Protection would apply to all except those who had instigated the unrest. In this way we were hopeful the more easily to win over the deceived people and to bring the ringleaders to their deserved punishment.

This was the plan of men. God knew much more certainly how to end the matter—without doubt through the intercession of the most virtuous Virgin Mary and of St. Anthony. For the one whom we above all wished to apprehend fell into our hands in trying to escape, because he did not know from which side we were approaching. God had kept this hidden from the Evil One. The Arisbi believed we would move up from the side of my villages and therefore took flight on the other side with some of his country-

men. He was not a Pima, but belonged to an enemy tribe, and it is therefore remarkable that he could dominate all the Pimas. In his flight he came toward us a half day's journey, when he met the two Pimas we had dispatched. These told him that soldiers were in the vicinity. This report so confused him that instead of hastening his flight he deliberated and spent time gathering some head of stock which he wished to drive with him so that he would not lack food. This he did in a remote mountain vale until, to his undoing or perhaps for his salvation, he found that his pursuers had blocked the road of escape.

The messengers brought back the report that they had met the Arisbi with a few followers and that he was planning without delay to betake himself into the interior mountains. Immediately upon receiving this report the captain changed horses, left me behind with the impedimenta, and hurried on horseback with only twenty-five soldiers and the two Pimas in a bee line to where the Arisbi had last been seen.

At the time the two Pimas rejoined us we had already made a long march. We had dismounted at about two in the afternoon to rest for the remainder of the day. But the captain broke camp without food and without further preparation. Yet he did not reach the Arisbi at the designated place because the latter had hurriedly gone farther ahead with his companions and his stock. The captain followed their tracks until nightfall and until the fatigue of the horses forced him to come to a halt. Then he sent for other horses and planned to await us. On his advice we broke camp early in the morning and followed his tracks with the baggage. None of those, who were with us, knew the way, since none had ever been in this region. It grew late and we did not know how far the pursuers had got. I wished to stop because the mules were pretty tired. As I stood in thought a messenger from the captain arrived and told us that the fugitives had been overtaken at the seashore (on a mountain near the village of San José de las Guaymas) and were being held prisoners.

It is almost impossible to imagine how the fugitive with his stock could have gone so far in so short a time. The captain chased him an entire day in full gallop and would not have reached him had not the sea cut off further flight.

Upon receiving the captain's note we pushed on with renewed strength without tarrying to eat until we met the captain and his soldiers. They had not eaten for two days, but were able on the

following day, the day of the Holy Ascension, joyfully to celebrate our salvation.

Hardly had the supposed deity been taken than the mere report of his capture was sufficient to cause the Pimas to return to their villages. Each one hurried home as fast as he could so as not to be caught. We found at the spots where the assemblages had taken place nothing but countless bones of devoured stock. Worst of all was the fact that almost all horses from my mission were dead; the survivors had their tails and manes cut off. Even today I cannot reckon the damage which was suffered by my mission through this turmoil.

In the meantime, the captain examined the matter and found everything as I have so far described it. Because there was no grass, hay, or sweet water at the place of capture we could not remain there with so many horses and mules. Here at the seaside, salt water allows nothing to grow except palm trees. Hence, it was necessary to hasten the death sentence so that we could begin the journey home.

The Arisbi admitted that the Evil One had revealed to him lies which he should tell the Pimas. According to him revelation had come through a little carved wooden idol which he had hidden in the altar. He considered this to be the truth because he could now well see how he had been deceived.

Until the captain sought me to prepare the Arisbi for death I had no words with him. I wanted above all to know where the devilish idol and other sorcerer's material were, and found them to be in a cave where the Arisbi had concealed them when forced into flight. Along with them were rosaries, religious objects, lace and ribbons, household stuff, also a cross made of brass, and another cross made of beads and sea shells. One would think that God had had dealings with the devil from the way this rascal knew how to confound evil with good, to mislead the Pimas.

In appearance the Arisbi was puny and short of stature. He had already had communion with the Evil One for several years. As soon as I came to him he embraced me, kissed my hands and feet, and showed himself ready for everything that I wished to tell and advise him about. It was in this way that I found out the truth of his dealings with the devil. To all appearances he withstood his punishment bravely, holding in his hands the while a figure of Our Dear Lady of Loretto, until he received the musket shot and fell to earth dead. Earlier he had explained to his countrymen that everything which he had told them was pure falsehood, and that

he had himself been deceived by the Evil One. His body was hung on a palm tree.

Immediately after the execution we started homeward to visit the Pimas who had returned to their villages, and to punish the ringleaders and instigators of this unrest. All who had betaken themselves to the assemblage, from the smallest to the largest, were punished according to their deserts. Two of the leading agitators and instigators were not given sufficient respite by God so that they could fall into the hands of earthly judges, rather He called them to account through speedy death.

From all this one must conclude how little the Pimas can be trusted and how easily they allow themselves to be misled, and how they have in no way as yet cast out false beliefs from their hearts. The unrest caused such confusion of spirit that even some of the most reasonable became doubters. They wondered if there was some truth in the matter and heard with joy that Montesuma had arisen and had come to take over the government. However, on Whitsuntide-holiday, after the usual divine service, I assembled all the people in front of my house with the Arisbi's little Montesuma bell. In the presence of all the judges, the señor captain and the soldiers, I ordered a fire built and with the Holy Ghost preached a fiery sermon. Then I publicly burned the idol and all the other magical utensils so that they saw what sort of a god or Montesuma they had been praying to.

I close this report with the plea that whoever takes the time to read these hurriedly written lines will forgive my errors and the confusion of this simple presentation. I have in truth almost forgotten my mother tongue, since no one here reminds me of it. I hope one will be satisfied with my simple report about this country and its inhabitants, a report which upon request of my right reverend uncle, the choirmaster and custodian, Segesser von Brunegg at Münster, I could not refrain from writing.

I present to all relatives and acquaintances, as well as to all those who read this description, holy prayers, so that I may measure up to my calling, in the work for my mission, for the Glory of God and the salvation of the souls of the Pimas entrusted to me, and so that I may eventually receive the crown of eternal glory through the due administration of my apostolic office.

From Tecoripa in Pimería Baja, not far from Sonora in America, July 31, 1737.

Most unworthy servant and missionary of the said mission.

PHILIPP SEGESSER, Soc. Jesu.

Excerpt from a Letter

Most worthy mother and brother!

Why is it that I did not receive correspondence this year with the arrival of the merchants? Such a failure has never before occurred. I am afraid that things may not be as they have been and I am very eager to receive news. At about this time a year ago I completed with great care a lengthy MS so that it should reach the beloved Fatherland and my younger brother and after him your worthy cousin, secretary at Münster. However, I have as yet heard nothing about this from Mexico, perhaps because of the great unrest and fear which the abominable plague has caused there.

It is rumored that this plague has now somewhat abated, though still continuing, and that more than ten thousand souls have been carried off by it.*

* Translator's note. The above letter, or excerpt from a letter, not identified as to time or place of writing, is evidently an inquiry on Segesser's part about the fate and whereabouts of the Relation.

Appendix

1. Vegetation and Garden Crops

Pimería Baja lies in the so-called torrid zone. Being exposed, therefore, through the greater part of the year to great heat and warm winds it suffers drought and water shortage. Water from the meager brooks or springs is collected in deep ditches. When brooks dry up or are exhausted and the plantations can no longer be watered, everything wilts. Vegetation revives again only during the rainy season in winter.

Lack of water explains why the Pimas cannot be brought together in larger villages. Without considering the Pima preference for an unrestricted life in the wilderness, only as many can be united in one place as the sufficiency of water permits. In the mountains and in Pimería Alta one does not suffer as much from heat and from drought as one does in Pimería Baja. I would have liked to bring together several tribes at mission Tecoripa, where the soil is good and fruitful, but the water deficiency did not permit this.

At Comuripa and Pecatecavi soil and water are sufficient because these villages are situated on the Rio Grande, [The Yaqui River]. This river swells during the rainy season like the Danube in Germany, although in summer it contains hardly as much water as does the Emme at Lucerne. When the Rio Grande overflows it floods the entire country and like the Nile makes it fertile the entire year, even though no rain falls. On the other hand, when this river does not overflow, there is no harvest. Two years ago the river rose so high that it destroyed entire mission villages and churches in the Yaqui country.

Other villages like St. Martial and St. Joseph are situated in the most beautiful country, but have no water and the inhabitant must nourish themselves on fruits from the hills or on what I send there. In St. Joseph I planted a wheat field near a small brook. However, the Pimas prematurely cut the crop and carried it away to an assemblage, a matter to which I have referred elsewhere.

In this country there are exceptionally curative and sweet-smelling herbs and roots which are known for their qualities as household remedies. Those which are common both to Pimería and the homeland are rue, mint, and salvia. The latter grows in all fields to about average tree size, has an exceptionally powerful odor, blooms two or three times a year, and resembles spikenard.

Anise, caraway, and camomile are also found here. The latter is called *malzanilia* [*sic*] and is a curative for various sicknesses. There are two kinds of camomile, domestic and wild. Blossoms of the wild variety disseminate an extraordinarily powerful odor. There is a large, tree-like shrub which bears fruit similar to the acorn. It is called *cohobe* fruit, tastes like a hazelnut, and is very oily. Oil pressed from it is highly prized. The Fathers Procurators in Rome made very urgent requests for cohobe because of its very high value in Rome. I do not doubt that physicians and apothecaries in Germany know this fruit, though perhaps by another name.

The same must be true of the *contra hierba* root, because its strength and virtue can hardly have remained unknown. It is an efficacious antidote. Likewise, there is found here the so-called bezoar, locally known as *piedra besar*, a stone found in the stomachs of deer in very arid, waterless regions. Indians well know the value of these stones. For them they demand an ox, a woman's dress, or goods of equal value, though the stone may weigh only two or three ounces. On the other hand, a deerskin is itself worth not more than two Spanish dollars.

I proceed now to those shrubs and trees which seem to bear special mention. First, there is the pitahaya about which I have already spoken because of its sweet juice. I recall that one time in the reading at table in a college (I do not remember where, now) the appearance of this plant was correctly compared with that of an organ. It has pipes of different sizes grouped about like a kind of fritter.

I add only the comment that this tree, very tall and thorn-covered, would go well in a royal garden and that the fruit is fit for an emperor's table. I wonder why the apothecary at Ingolstadt does not grow pitahayas in his botanical garden, because the juice of the tree is regarded as a curative. He does grow the *tuna* plant, as well as other kinds of vegetation from this country. In winter he keeps tunas in his hothouse. It were desirable that they were so raised here. Tuna plants, because of their sharp thorns, ought all be burned up in a Babylonian fire stove. Thorny plants and shrubs like the tuna are very numerous also in California. Their presence hampers the recapture by soldiers of rebellious and apostate Indians who have murdered missionaries and burned churches.

In Ingolstadt, the tuna is called also *Indian fig*. There are two kinds; one bears white, the other red fruit. The fruit are cones which grow on the edge of the leaf. Ripe fruit is removed with a fork and scraped with glass so that the little spiny-thorns do not enter one's hands. The fruit is then opened with a knife and the contents removed and eaten. I ate some tuna fruit in Ingolstadt. It was good, but was far inferior in flavor to the pitahaya.

Another tree, called *mezquite*, is the same which the Spaniards call *áloe* in their country. The growth called *áloe* in Ingolstadt is called *magei* [*sic*] here. In several years' time it produces one stalk, as I saw in the bishops' garden at Eichstädt. Juice extracted from the maguey is refreshing to those who have inflammatory fevers. This juice is highly prized in Pimería. I have some maguey plants in my garden, but my Pimas do not know how to extract the juice.

The mesquite tree looks like an oak. Its blossoms have a penetrating, pleasant scent. The fruit of the tree resembles green peas, but is longer and thinner. Pimas dry and pulverize mesquite fruit into a flour from which they make a porridge which is considered a delicacy. The fruit served me on journeys for quenching thirst. The tree is thorn covered and grows as a shrub along all roads.

Another tree, called *auina*, grows much taller than does the mesquite. From it are cut leaves of blood-red color. Auina bark can be used for dyeing, as can the bark of the *presil* [*sic*]. Both kinds of trees grow in large numbers about my house and I could fill several boat-loads with brasil. With brasil I have dyed beautiful easter eggs, never before seen

either by Pimas or Spaniards. Brasil wood is harder than the wood of the walnut. Therefore, large war vessels are built from it in Havana.

The green tree, *palo verde*, is so-called because it has green bark. It resembles an apple tree. Its blossoms and fruit are like those of the mesquite, except that the fruit is somewhat broader. The wood is very resinous, burns like pinewood when newly cut, and the ashes may be used for soap making.

The silver-fir grows in Pimería Alta but not in Pimería Baja where the heat is too great. Lime, maple, and willow trees are found along streams. The lime is red in color and its wood is as hard as the oak. Oak trees grow in the hills. They bear little acorns which are sweet-tasting and are eaten like nuts by the Spaniards.

The *bochote* tree has a unique trait. It blooms like the white lily and produces a fruit as large as a cucumber. This fruit consists of a very hard shell within which is a kind of cotton filled with kernels. When the overripe fruit bursts, the cotton flies away like thistledown. Pimas spin this cotton like real cotton, but the spun yarn serves for nothing else than candle wicks.

Tow and flax are unknown here. However, if the seeds which I distributed grow and prosper this will be changed.

Among the trees and shrubs not listed by me is a bush from which flows the mastic used for incense at Christian service.

All German and European field flowers grow here on bushes and trees. Tree lilies and tuberous flowers are in color and scent like those in Germany, although they are smaller. They appear around Christmas time in the rainy season and bloom at least twice a year, to the delight of travelers.

After I had planted gardens in Pimería Alta, both at San Xavier del Bac and at Guebavi, and had stocked them with various fruit trees, I had to leave for Tecoripa. My fruit trees were bearing fruit for my successors, but in Tecoripa I could almost have begun a new garden with less trouble than the expenditure of labor that was required to bring the old one again to flower. The Tecoripa garden had become completely overgrown with mesquite and innumerable wild shrubs. Fences were down, trees were withered and ruined because they had not been irrigated, and everything had been devastated by ants. There had been no resident missionary at Tecoripa for five years, and the Pimas unless supervised do not concern themselves with anything except maize, gourds, melons, and peas.

I have two gardeners, but they do not understand anything and have all they can do to take care of the daily irrigation which is managed with water bags carried to the trees and vines on a mule. Therefore, I have to make the best of gardening with the help of the houseboys, clearing the ground, cultivating the trees, planting new plants, and so forth.

I found lemon, orange, fig, pomegranate, pear, and apple trees, but all except one lemon and one pomegranate were so dried up and neglected that they did not bear fruit for two years. The vines had to be cultivated anew, and only this year are they richly hung with grapes.

I have trees in my garden which are not found in Europe. For example, the *chapote* which grows as tall as a large walnut, loses its leaves in July, but keeps its fruit until new leaves appear, at which time the fruit ripens. Chapote fruit is somewhat similar to the white plum, is three-cornered,

and contains three large stones or seeds, and a few small ones. The *quaiaba* is a shrub which bears a fruit like little limes.

Flowers are not grown here in gardens. Enough flowers, and very beautiful ones, grow in the fields.

On the other hand, one plants *carabansas* [garbanzos], round and longish peas, lentils, and much Turkish pepper. This kind of pepper, which we grow as a decorative plant in Luzern gardens, is very much used in this country where it serves in place of real pepper. Spaniards call it *temoli* and along with their *olla* prize no food higher than that which is spiced with Turkish pepper. It bites the tongue mightily. One prepares it as follows. The red fruit is placed on glowing coals until it is easily ground up. The grinding or crushing is done in a mortar or on a stone, while water is occasionally poured upon it. The ground up pepper is then dumped into hot lard and cooked with pieces of meat. Turkish pepper is too hot for me; I burned my tongue upon it only once.

The garbanzo is a kind of pea which always goes into the olla, that is, the kettle in which meat is cooked.

The olla must appear on the table at all meals. Sometimes it is accompanied by a large quantity of veal (for the Spaniards seldom eat beef), cabbage, bacon, garlic or whole onions, and peas, all mixed up and cooked together.

The above-mentioned things are the only ones which have until now been planted here in gardens. Henceforth, however, we will plant various vegetable seeds which arrived from Europe.

Peas do not grow more than a span above the earth. Those which are trained up on stakes are less productive than the low growing ones. A measure of these peas is worth six or eight dollars.

2. The Rainy Season and Travel

The rainy season is granted to these hot lands by God's care in the months of July and August.* This season is of great value because enough can be planted and harvested at this time to last for the entire year. No other time of year is as beautiful as these two months when everything becomes green and is covered with blossoms.

But it is a great deal of trouble to travel in this season. From early morning until about two in the afternoon there are no storms, then thunderstorms rage with unusual ferocity. The traveler must equip himself with a tent for a refuge, because villages are quite far apart and there are no houses along the way. When I visit villages I have to take along at least

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* Translator's note. Segesser's contradictory remarks concerning the time of occurrence of the rainy season cannot easily be reconciled. The "rainy season" for both Pimería Alta and Baja is concentrated in the months of July and August, and may extend into September. Pimería Alta, however, experiences a secondary rainy period in December and January.

Since Segesser so positively singles out both July and August, in the one case (above), and the "winter months," in other cases (pp. 145, and 179), as rainy periods, it must be assumed that he is confusing the primary and secondary rainy periods experienced in Upper Pimería with conditions found in the Lower Pima province.

thirty horses for myself and the servants as well as five or six mules for carrying the necessary luggage. This includes church accouterments for masses, bread and provisions for the servants and for the village magistrates who all come to dinner when the missionary arrives, a bed, kitchenware, field tents, and what is even more essential than these, drinking water, because this cannot be found everywhere. Sometimes an escort is necessary. If it is, request is made of the captains, although at times Pimas and Indians are dressed up as soldiers. The latter are often braver than are the Spanish soldiers themselves.

The pay of a soldier amounts to four hundred Spanish dollars. He is required to keep ten horses. These cost him nothing to feed; he has only to see that they not get lost and therefore has them guarded night and day. In this country the soldier does not wear a cuirass. Instead he uses a deerskin jacket to prevent the penetration of arrows. Also he carries a shield of thick paper with which to catch flying arrows, a carbine, a sword, and a pike or lance, the latter being very much feared by the Indians.

The roads are very rough and lead through great wildernesses. Since there are no roads in the mountains, one travels generally along water courses where the thorns frequently gash one so deeply as to draw blood. To be sure, I had the essential roads chopped clear so as to avoid always tearing the clothes.

3. Metals and Mining

Almost all mountains in Pimería Alta are rich in metals. At present, this fact avails little because of the shortage of people capable of working a gold or silver mine. Most are poor or lazy and indolent and opine that the gold and silver ought to rain down upon them. Actually a great quantity of pure silver was found this year (1737) near Guebavi, my former mission. With this silver was a lump which could not be moved by many oxen, even though it lay free and was unattached to the rocks. According to reports this silver block weighed one hundred and fifty *arrobas*, that is, three thousand five hundred pounds. Many other pieces were found varying in weight from twenty to fifty arrobas, along with numerous smaller pieces.

Such a thing had never before been seen. Silver ore which sometimes contains parts of pure silver is not infrequently found in these mountains, but this discovery in Arizona, in the vicinity of my former mission, had no precedent. It is quite possible that I rested on the very spot where the discovery was made at the time that I was sent to the silver mines of Arizona. However, I did not discover the treasure, for through holy baptism I searched for another kind of treasure—for souls.

The silver discovery was prized at several millions of dollars and was placed in custody (because it was considered to be treasure-trove) while a reply was awaited to the report sent to the government.

I do not consider this silver to be a treasure, because it did not lie in one heap nor was it buried deeply in the earth. Rather, it was scattered here and there, in some places deeply covered, in others so lightly that grass and earth hardly concealed it. A Yaqui Indian first discovered it. The Yaquis are in general excellent miners. The merchant inquired as to where

the silver had been refined. The Indian answered only that the silver was good and could be relied upon. Since he came frequently, he aroused suspicion of the Spaniards. They sought him out and found him in the act of digging silver. Now the matter became known and Spaniards arrived in swarms, some even from Chihuahua, but they came too late to share in the treasure.

In my opinion, Pimas and Indians and even Spaniards settled at the place many years ago, carried silver there and refined it. Then attacks, murders, or other circumstances destroyed the settlement and it was deserted. The straw huts fell in and over a long period of time decayed, but the refined silver remained abandoned in ditches where the straw huts had stood. This I think to be so because the silver was of a sort, judging from a piece of it which came to my hand, that had been purified by fire.

This is my opinion. In Mexico will be found the correct one.

Everywhere there are people who seek metal up hill and down dale, but there are few persons who wish to work. Since there are no inns in this country, these fellows move from house to house with their bare-boned nags and somehow earn a right to sponge and lounge about. If our king in Spain, God keep him, were to give the order to round up all these spongers, he would not need as many foreigners to protect his realm.

For the rest, there are in this country many kinds of ore, especially much copper, yet nothing is exploited except gold and silver. There is also some lead which is used for separating silver, because *asoge* [*sic*] or quicksilver is very expensive here.

In a silver mine not far from my mission were found dice of various sizes, like those in Baden, Switzerland. These dice are of black material which nobody recognizes. It is neither stone nor bone nor iron. In another mountain cavern somewhat farther distant, though still within this rectorate, there are various sized shells attached to rocks, like those found in the ocean.

During the rainy season one cannot work in the mines, partly because of the water, partly because it is necessary to plant and sow. This year, 1737, is on the whole a year of ill fortune, and the mines, too, yielded little.

4. Livestock in Pimería Baja

On various farms belonging either to the missions or to Spaniards are found large numbers of cattle. These roam free on the pasture and but few of them are tame. Yet these free ranging cattle are accustomed to run to a place called the *rodeo* upon the call or whistle of the herdsman. There the choice for slaughtering is made. Cattle are not worth much. An ox or a cow brings ten Spanish dollars; a steer, five; a calf, two or three. Calves are not slaughtered; steers are chosen instead. Sheep are preferred to calves for slaughtering.

A few years ago in mission Matape, which borders on my mission, there were supposed to be eighty thousand head of cattle (to be on the safe side, I say forty thousand). These were all white in color. At the present time, so few cattle are found at mission Matape that they barely provide enough for consumption. After the death of Father Capus

[Kappus] who was from the Austrian province and who, as was said, had once been a page to the virtuous Emperor Leopold, the care of stock was completely neglected. Those cattle not eaten by Indians were driven away. It is well known in this country that those things which are conserved by some are squandered by others.

As already said, there are few tame cattle here because the inhabitants do not know how to make use of milk. When they desire to milk a cow they first allow the calf to suck. Thus, the ignorance of Pimas and also of Spaniards is very damaging to livestock.

There are innumerable sheep in this country. In a space of three years a good acquaintance gave me four thousand sheep as tithes. Tithes are collected by the bishop of Guadiana to whose diocese this country belongs.

Cattle, horses, and mules, too, are very numerous. Mules are much needed for the transportation of merchandise. There are no freight wagons, rivers are not navigable, and roads are so narrow, rough, and steep in many places that one dreads peering down the precipices.

Horses are left in the fields the whole year round and get no other nourishment than the grass and straw which stand in the fields. There are two kinds of wild horses. The one kind is characteristically given to taking flight. Horses of this kind do much damage in that they lead tame horses away with them. They are usually captured during the dry season when they come at night to a familiar area which has been fenced in during the day with but one entrance left open. If they then go into this entrance they are hindered from leaving by horsemen who ambush them. Then, in time, they are tamed. The other kind of horse is less wild. Horses of the latter sort run together in *manadas*. They are, therefore, more easily rounded up than are the wild ones.

A manada is made up of twenty-five mares and one stallion.* They are herded for a few days until the stallion knows them. Then they may be turned loose to roam about with the assurance that they will not be lost. The twenty-six horses in the manada are provided with an ass so that mares will produce mules conceived by it. Mules are much more highly prized than are other foals. Those to whom the care of the manada is entrusted walk or ride every day in the fields to prevent wild beasts from harming or in other ways disturbing the young animals.

The taming of wild horses is a very dangerous business and it is amazing that there are those who expose themselves to such danger. Many accidents occur in the taming of wild horses. Hardly a year ago one of my parishioners mounted a half-broken mule to ride to another village. On the way he was thrown, but hung by one foot in the stirrup and was dragged over sticks and stones for a long distance. No one knew what had happened to him, so he lay in distress for three whole days and nights without food or water. When he was finally discovered and carried to the nearest village I was called to attend him. I rode twenty miles to reach him. He still lived. I heard his confession and administered extreme unction. Then, because I had nothing else with me except a little wine for mass and remembered the samaritan in the evangel, I prepared a salve

* Segesser uses the word *marabe* interchangeably with *manada*.

of wine and lard over the fire. I requested that he be completely salved several times with this preparation. And, lo! through the mercy of God, this man improved and later worked in my house as a servant!

It is fearsome to watch how wild horses toss about those who tame them, and how the unseated riders, one tossed here, the other there, get up again and remount, as though they had fallen onto a soft feather bed.

Far more dangerous than the taming of horses is the breaking of mules for riding. Even tamed mules are always somewhat unsafe. On the other hand, when once a horse has been broken it makes a very good saddle animal. This is especially so at my mission where, because of the stony ground, a horse develops hard hooves and therefore has great endurance on journeys. Horse shoes are not made in this country.

The *mula* or mare among mules is valued incomparably higher than the stallion. She always has a better gait than the *machor*. There are mulas which cannot be purchased for one hundred dollars, although a good tame horse sells for ten dollars, and an unbroken horse for three. An ass, useful in the *manadas*, generally costs one hundred dollars. This year I purchased two such. Because these animals are stupid and careless they are frequently rended by lions and tigers. This has happened to two of my asses in the space of one month.

This mission (Tecoripa) has twenty-six *marabes* which means about 1443 head of horses and mules. If a horse perishes it is not buried but simply lies there. Wild animals and birds, called *auras*, consume it right down to the bones in a day and night. Thus there is no danger that the carcass will fill the air with its stench.

5. The Animal Kingdom

The Pimería lion is not like the African lion; it is a leopard. Great numbers of these lions are found in Pimería, and they do much damage to manadas and to cattle. Tigers are not as numerous as lions.

The wild pig of Pimería has a sort of navel in the middle of its back. A horrible odor emanates from this navel which must immediately be cut from a slain pig to make its meat edible.

There are said to be stonebucks or wild goats in Pimería, though I have seen none of these myself. On the other hand, I have seen deer, bucks and does, and a wild goat called *vecendo*. The latter can be domesticated. I have some which follow me everywhere like dogs. They come even into the garden without doing any damage. When I sit, they lie at my feet. They are as large as stags. According to my knowledge the vecendo is an elk. I often use vecendos as examples to my Indians so that they may observe how these unreasoning beings recognize their benefactor.

Wild mountain cats found in these regions are quite destructive. The Pimería fox is like the European fox, only somewhat smaller. However, there is another kind of fox called *coite* [*sic*]. It is a very ugly beast, as large as a dog but smaller than a wolf. The country swarms with coyotes. Since there are no hunters and since miners prefer using their powder in the mines to using it for hunting, these harmful beasts of prey multiply unhindered and can be slain only with the herb which is brought here to kill them from Puebla de los Angeles.

This herb has the remarkable property of killing only fur-covered animals. They die within twenty-four hours after having eaten the herb. It is harmless to birds of prey, and it may even be given to human beings as medicine. The method of its use is as follows. An animal is killed, cut into chunks, and the chunks are then mixed with the pulverized herb, in the same way that meat is salted. The mixture is then placed in the skin of the slain animal and is left to hang for three days until it begins to decay. In the evening the chunks of meat are distributed where vultures and other birds cannot reach them. The foul-smelling meat attracts beasts of prey who eat it and who burst from having feasted upon it, unless they can immediately get water. I often use the herb to get rid of Pima Indian dogs which annoy me greatly in my house. The Pimas themselves kill no animals except those which they steal for food as, for example, the ox which they stole from me today and killed.

A very beautiful but very harmful animal is the *sorillia* [*sic*]. Its color is a mixture of black and white, though some zorrillas are entirely of one color It is as large as a porcupine (an animal also found here), and it has a tail more large and beautiful than a squirrel's. If a zorrilla enters a chicken-coop it bites the heads off all the fowl and sucks out their blood. Its water is so noisome that whoever is overtaken by it is unable to endure the stench. A father missionary was once overcome by it.

The country is full of hares and conies which are very good to eat, though the Spaniards here do not eat them. So much the better for others! During journeys these animals are often eaten in place of other foods.

I proceed now to describe vermin. It is not remarkable that in this hot region where the earth is covered with thorns and weeds there are many kinds of vermin. Roads and paths and even houses are full of snakes against which one has to keep careful guard. Snakes have killed many of my horses. A snake-bitten horse can be helped if blood-letting is immediately resorted to. In mission Guebavi at my house the boys killed a medium-sized snake from whose stomach they took an entire hare. It is hard to conceive how so small a maw can encompass so large an animal. A few days ago I saw from my house a hare which leaped about as though tied to a rope. On approaching it I discovered a snake lying in the grass about three feet from the hare. This snake attracted or made fast with its power the hare which could not escape. As soon as the snake was killed the hare hurriedly made off. The Pimas say that this is a frequent occurrence.

Another little animal found here is called *salamanqueza.* It resembles a lizard but its feet are round like little roses. Its bite is more poisonous than that of any other animal. There is said to be no remedy for its poison. It frequented the houses and walls of my other mission, Comuripa. This was the reason for my insistence before the visitor general on the need for another missionary. Because of the great distance separating the missions I could not alone properly take care of Comuripa. The father provincial and the viceroy will consider the matter.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Owing to page limitations several pages on the more ordinary animals, birds, and fish will appear in a later number.)

Antoine Laumet, *alias* Cadillac

Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694-1697

(Continued from April)

II

Cadillac left Montreal for Michilimackinac on September 24, 1694; owing to bad weather, however, he had only proceeded some sixty miles up the Ottawa River by October 6. Seeing that his men were unwilling to go farther, he continued his journey with five Frenchmen and two Indians. He was sorry afterwards that he had let most of the men of his convoy return to Montreal, for the rest of the voyage was "frightful on account of the quantity of floating ice in the great lakes which we had to cross."[1] This must have been an unusual year, for as a rule there are no ice floes at the beginning of October either in the Ottawa River or in the Great Lakes. We know that he did not have to cross any of the Great Lakes, for he followed the ordinary route debouching in Georgian Bay, then through the North Channel to Michilimackinac, where he probably arrived toward the end of October or in the first week of November.

In her biography of Cadillac, Agnes Laut has the following: "Cadillac's experiences at Mackinac from 1694 to 1698 [*i. e.*, 1697] are so terse as to be almost a blank. As he wrote, 'I am warrior, not writer.' The few reports he did send were either in cipher or carried by Napoleon to Russia and there lost."[2] Although one must be prepared to meet with astounding statements in this biography of Cadillac, the above passage is one of the most amazing. First of all, in spite of his contrary assertion, Cadillac was a good writer, and a very bad warrior. Secondly, he never wrote a single report in cipher. Thirdly, Napoleon's reasons for carrying Cadillac's

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[1] Cadillac to Lagny, August 3, 1695, AC, C 111E, 14:10. On the translation of this letter in Sheldon, *Early History of Michigan*, see *supra*, p. 110, note 4. "He was obliged to leave in this town [Montreal] the best part of his convoy on account of bad weather, for the season was already far advanced. He pursued his way with a few lightened canoes, placing six men in each, in order to reach his post sooner." Callières to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1695, AC, C 111A, 13:382v. Monseignat gives a third version, NYCD, IX, 594.

[2] A. C. Laut, *Cadillac: Knight Errant of the Wilderness, Founder of Detroit, Governor of Louisiana from the Great Lakes to the Gulf*, Indianapolis, 1931, 104.

reports on the American West to Russia—of all places—may be known to Agnes Laut, but to no one else.

It is obvious that the archives were not consulted in writing this "life" of Cadillac, notwithstanding the repeated assertions that the author went to the sources. In the following pages we shall see whether Cadillac's experiences at Michilimackinac were "almost a blank," and whether Napoleon carried his reports to Moscow and lost them there.

We may note in passing that similar statements are too often indulged in by many a writer on the French régime in North America. There could be no objection to such flights of imagination, were a clear distinction made between their romantic fancies and the facts that can be gathered from valid evidence. Instead, writers posing as authorities on the subject claim in book reviews and articles that they learn nothing new from works which are based exclusively on contemporary evidence. In fact, it savors of impertinence even so much as to suggest that they need to learn anything at all.

Less than five months after his arrival Cadillac was at war with the Jesuits, the occasion being a sermon preached by Father Pinet on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1695. It is to this sermon that Carheil alludes in his letter to Champigny from which we quoted at the end of the preceding article.[3] The story as found in the procès-verbal shows that Cadillac was a true son of a seventeenth-century *avocat en Parlement.*

On March 25, 1695, Cadillac went to the Jesuit chapel at Michilimackinac and remained there after benediction of the Blessed Sacrament to hear the sermon of Father Pinet. Toward the middle of the sermon, the preacher "clearly and distinctly said that there were here [Michilimackinac] Frenchmen whose conduct with Indian women was scandalous. It was a shame, he said, to see women visiting certain houses at every hour of the night, and he added that this was a matter of public knowledge."

On leaving the chapel, Cadillac called in one Belhumeur, the sergeant responsible for the police of the post, and asked him whether he had known that any soldier of the garrison led a dissolute life, or was guilty of "scandalous disorders with Indian women." Belhumeur answered that he had no such knowledge and vouched for the good lives led by the soldiers of the post "since our [Cadillac's] arrival here."

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[3] *Supra,* p. 130.

"Ten or twelve days later," Cadillac investigated the rumor and found that it had originated with one Jolicoeur, who had heard it from a servant of the Jesuits; Jolicoeur had jokingly accused one La Violette of consorting once with an Indian woman. The accusation, says Cadillac, was false, and it was the rumormonger himself who was guilty.

Cadillac also inquired from Pierre d'Ailleboust, Sieur d' Argenteuil, the lieutenant at Michilimackinac, whether he was aware of the disorders mentioned by Pinet in his sermon. He too said that he had no knowledge of them; and yet, because of the small number of Frenchmen who spent the winter at the post, as also because they were all living in the proximity of the fort, if there had been any such disorders, everyone would have known about them. In spite of making further inquiries, the commandant could find no trace of disorderly conduct among the French at Michilimackinac.

On the following day, Cadillac told Father Nouvel that the complaints mentioned in the sermon had no foundation whatever, and that he "could not understand why the Reverend Father Pinet had preached as he did." Cadillac then goes on to say that as far as he was concerned the matter would have ended there, and on taking leave, he asked Father Nouvel to let him know of any scandal, so that he, in conformity to the orders he had received from Frontenac, might put an end to it.

Nouvel, however, did not curb Pinet's "indiscret zeal," for after the sermon on Sunday, March 27, the same Father told the congregation to remain in their seats and said: "It has been reported to me that people found fault with my sermon on the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady. I have, however, said nothing which I am not ready to repeat, and I do not feel that I need to justify myself." Pinet's reason for preaching as he did was that people had reported to him the goings-on at Michilimackinac. Moreover, he said, he himself was not blind, and he could see what was taking place around him. Let those who feel guilty apply the rebuke to themselves; as for himself, he had no intention of making any further apology.[4]

One reason, Cadillac tells us, for drawing up the procès-verbal in which all this is narrated, was to avoid walking into any trap which the Jesuits might set to catch "the commandants of this post."

[4] Procès-verbal of March 29, 1695, BN, Clairambault, 882:139-141.

Another reason was to prove to the governor how relentless, he, Cadillac, was in suppressing scandals.

After Pinet's second sermon, the commandant called in a dozen soldiers and asked them whether they knew anything about "infamous misconduct and scandalous public disorders." They unanimously answered that "since the arrival of M. de Lamothe" they had no knowledge whatever of any disorders either by themselves or from hearsay.

On Monday, March 28, Fathers Nouvel and Pinet called on the commandant and assured him that Father Pinet had meant no personal offense to him by what he said in his sermon.

Further light on this incident is to be had from the following passage, which occurs in a series of extracts taken by Frontenac from a diary kept by Cadillac at Michilimackinac. The passage forms part of a report sent by Frontenac to Lagny, Cadillac's protector in France:

> From the ninth article of the *exposé*, it is easy to see that Father Nouvel acknowledged the public fault of Father Pinet, since the superior brought him to me to justify himself. I then asked for a written declaration to the effect that he had inadvertently said in his sermon that there were scandalous disorders. They both promised that they would give such a declaration.[5]

The *exposé* here referred to is a summary of the various incidents connected with Father Pinet's two sermons. In the ninth article, it is said that after the two Jesuits had assured Cadillac that he was not implicated,

> there was an exchange of views, which ended by the two Fathers agreeing that this preacher [Pinet] would give in writing to this commandant a declaration which would satisfy him and would fully exonerate him. This commandant was quite willing to wait for this declaration, at the convenience of this Father [Pinet].[6]

We thus have two different interpretations of the visit of Fathers Nouvel and Pinet. In the original there is no question of Pinet's being brought to the commandant to justify himself, but simply to assure Cadillac that whatever he had said in his sermon, did not imply that the commandant was remiss in the performance of his duty, in the suppression of scandals and disorders. The

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[5] Extrait de certains articles tires du journal enuoyé a M. le Comte de Frontenac par M. de Lamothe Cadillac, commandant à Michilimackinac du mois d'aoust 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:15.

[6] Exposé fait aux Reverends Peres Jesuites de Michilimackinac estant priez dy repondre en Dieu et conscience et suiuant les lumieres du St. Esprit, April 17, 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:7.

reason for the difference is that between the date of the *exposé*, April 17, and the sending of his journal to Frontenac at the beginning of the following August, Cadillac had clashed with the Jesuits over the brandy question. It is not surprising, therefore, that he noticed in the facts connected with the episode of the sermons quite a number of peculiarities which had at first escaped his "rare penetration."

On Tuesday, May 29, the four missionaries who were then at Michilimackinac went to pay their respects to Cadillac. When taking their leave, they said that they would be in retreat for the rest of the week, "which led this commandant to think that they doubtless did not want to remember the written declaration" which had been promised him.

At the beginning of the following week, Cadillac again went and reminded Nouvel of the promised declaration. On his way from the fort to the house of the missionaries he met a "very intelligent and very learned" Jesuit [Father Binneteau], to whom he mentioned the purpose of his visit. Binneteau told the commandant that no written declaration could be given, because the scandals which Pinet referred to were public scandals in the Huron village, and were known to be such by the missionaries, although not by the French.[7]

In the journal sent to Frontenac, Cadillac says that this "philosophical distinction" between scandals in general and "public scandals" was the result of discussions and deliberation on the part of the four Jesuits. He thought, he says in the *exposé*, that he had been patient enough, and that the philosophical distinction was very weak, considering "the keenness of these fertile minds." Thereupon, he again summoned the French soldiers of the post, who testified that they had no knowledge of public scandals, and that everything in the procès-verbal, which Cadillac once more read to them, was true.

> Shortly afterwards I went to confession to Father Nouvel, who did not want to give me absolution. He claimed that I changed [in the procès-verbal] certain words of the preacher and had made additions, and that someone had reported this to him. This was merely a supposition of his, for I had really changed nothing in the deposition of the witnesses. Upon my saying that I was not conscious of any guilt in this respect, he told me to burn the procès-verbal, which I refused to do. Seeing that he persisted in his unwillingness to give me absolution, I left the confessional. My reasons are stated in the case of conscience, which the Sieur [Jacques Arrivé

[7] Exposé . . . , *ibid.*, 7v.

dit] Delisle certifies having brought to them, but they refused to answer it.[8]

The questions proposed in the "case of conscience" are as follows. May a confessor refuse absolution to a penitent for a sin not mentioned in confession? If, however, upon being asked by the confessor about this sin [the additions, alterations of certain words of the procès-verbal], the penitent answers that he is not conscious of any guilt in this respect, may the confessor endeavor to convince the penitent that he has actually committed this sin and that in coming to confession he is committing a sacrilege? Furthermore, after the penitent has repeatedly examined his conscience with regard to this particular sin, and has found that he has not committed it, must he confess this sin as though he had committed it? Finally, if the confessor is told by the penitent that his conscience is clear with regard to this particular sin, may the confessor tell the penitent that he is scandalized? Is it not better in such circumstances to leave the confessional in order not to give further scandal?

If the facts are such as narrated by Cadillac in this "case of conscience," Father Nouvel was clearly at fault. The principles of moral theology demand that the confessor believe the penitent, especially when the latter repeatedly asserts that he cannot in conscience admit having committed the sin of which he is accused by the confessor. We say "if the facts are such as narrated by Cadillac," because while the latter could say and write anything he wished about what had taken place in the confessional, Father Nouvel could not under any circumstances correct the commandant's version. Cadillac knew quite well that because of the seal of confession, he could say what he liked without fear of contradiction.

It is true [says Cadillac in his journal] that they gave me every imaginable satisfaction with regard to the two sermons, except that I could never wring from them the promised declaration worded as I had requested. Father Pinet, who had at first been ordered to remain here, received a counter-order from his superior.[9] He is leaving now with Father Binneteau for the Illinois country. Father Nouvel maintains that I should be sufficiently satisfied.

By this time the Jesuits of Michilimackinac had realized that Cadillac would always find a way of proving his point, no matter what they themselves might say or write. We shall see many ex-

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[8] Extrait de certains articles . . . , *ibid.*, 15-15v.

[9] A simple consideration of the dates shows that there is no causal relation between the sermon and the counter-order. The implied blame existed only in Cadillac's imagination; it flattered his vanity to think that he was instrumental in the removal of Father Pinet.

amples of this technique during the years immediately following the founding of Detroit. To give him the declaration "avec les clauses que je demandois" would be tantamount to giving him carte blanche. Armed with such a document, he could insist that any subsequent disorders or abuses which the missionaries complained about, were just as imaginary as those mentioned by Pinet in his sermon. As will be shown presently, whenever proofs of misconduct were brought to his attention, Cadillac refused to accept them because they were not "convincing."

The incidents in connection with the sermons of Father Pinet were merely a skirmish. The real battle was fought over the sale of brandy to the Indians. Cadillac wrote in his journal: "With regard to matters of conscience, principally with regard to the [sale of] brandy, it is certain that we (*on*) are very much restricted here. For once these two Fathers [Nouvel and Carheil] have made up their mind about something, they never let go."

As a proof of Carheil's stubborness, Cadillac tells the following story. A man by the name of Dubau [Dubosc], who had sold brandy to the Indians, received absolution on condition that he give an alms of 600 livres to the church. While the man agreed to give this alms, he wanted to distribute it as he pleased. As Carheil refused to permit this, Dubosc appealed to Nouvel. It was finally settled that 200 livres were to be given to the church, and 200 livres to the most needy among the Indians, the remaining 200 livres were to be distributed as Dubosc saw fit. Cadillac ends his story by saying: "It is said (*on dit*) that there are others who had to pay twenty *pistoles*. This is the lightest penance."

The money which Dubosc and others had to pay in such cases was not a "fine," nor was it a "penance," but it was, as Cadillac himself calls it in an ungarded moment, a "restitution." In confessing sins against justice, a person must promise to make restitution, and unless he fulfills this promise, the absolution which he receives will have no effect. The money was a compensation for the injustice done to the Indians. Father Le Clercq emphasizes this point quite clearly:

> You will please note that they [the brandy peddlers] make them [Indians] drunk for the very purpose of more easily cheating these poor barbarians, who are then deprived of the use of reason, and they do this in order to have their pelts for almost nothing. If the Indians were in their right mind [*i. e.*, sober], they would not sell their pelts except for a just and reasonable price. Such trade is fraudulent, and [those who engage in it] are obliged to make restitution in proportion to the true market value of the merchandise. When these barbarians are drunk, they

have neither the freedom nor the judgment to make a [valid] contract, the essence of which requires free and mutual consent on the part of the vendor and of the buyer.[10]

Therefore, when Father de Carheil ordered Dubosc to pay 600 livres, it was because Dubosc himself had estimated that he had defrauded the Indians of that amount; and in telling the penitent that the restitution must be made to the church, the confessor was obeying an ordinance of Saint-Vallier dated October 31, 1690. After having implored God's help, says the bishop,

We thought that as a means of stopping drunkenness, the confessors should not give absolution to those who make Indians or Frenchmen drunk, unless they make over to needy churches, to hospitals, or to other works of mercy, according to the advice of the confessor, all the profit derived from such traffic, allowing them to retain only the cost of the liquor, so that they may pay the merchants [who had sold it to them]; by the obligation which we thus impose on confessors of giving such a penance to those who out of greediness seek the perdition of souls, we let tavern keepers and others who sell liquor know that they must make a moderate use of the freedom given them to engage in such trade, which is only allowed insofar as they themselves are certain of the use made of this liquor.[11]

After the departure of Fathers Pinet and Binneteau, Nouvel and Carheil renewed their complaints to Cadillac with regard to one Beauvais and asked the commandant to send him back to Montreal. "I told them that I did not see that the accusations against this man were at all proved." The woman with whom Beauvais had been living at Michilimackinac had left for Montreal, and he had assured Cadillac that there would be no more complaints about his conduct. "I told them that I found it strange that they kept after this man, and that the only reason for this which I could see, was that he was attached to my service, but that I was determined in spite of everything to keep him here until I was convinced of his guilt."[12]

While visiting Cadillac on this occasion, Carheil accused him of permitting the brandy trade and of shutting his eyes to the scandalous conduct of the French with Indian women, all of which was against the orders of the king. "I answered him that I would carry out the orders of my superiors, and that I knew my job (*métier*) too well to change or modify them in any way." Cadillac carefully avoided mentioning the ordinances of the king which forbade the

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[10] C. Le Clercq, *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspesie*, Paris, 1691, 427.
[11] H. Têtu and C. O. Gagnon, eds., *Mandements, Lettres pastorales et circulaires des Évêques de Québec*, I, Quebec, 1887, 268.
[12] Extrait de certains articles, . . . , AC, C 11E, 14:16.

sale of brandy to the Indians in the distant posts. Instead, he referred to the "orders of his superiors," that is, to the ordinance which Frontenac had told him to promulgate at Michilimackinac.[13] It was only natural that he would not wish to change or alter its provisions, still less replace it by that of Champigny which was drawn according to the king's instructions, for the spurious ordinance enabled him to sell brandy as freely as he wished.

It is only fair to observe, that, although the ordinance served him well, Cadillac, as a mere subaltern, had to obey his superior officer, namely, Frontenac. The latter, therefore, was ultimately responsible for this disobedience to the king's instructions with regard to the sale of brandy to the Indians.

As for the *métier* which he knew so well, one wonders in what military academy he had learned it. It can hardly be maintained that privateering on the Atlantic coast or being a foreman of a dozen workers for a few weeks at Port Royal was the best preparation for commanding a frontier outpost, and for learning how to deal with the Indians.[14]

We read in the extracts from the journal that when Cadillac told about having orders from his superiors,

> He [Carheil] told me that I must obey God and not the temporal powers when they ordered something contrary to the law of God; that the permission to sell brandy was opposed to the designs of God; that the knowledge I had or ought to have, of its being opposed to the will of God, necessarily obliged me not to obey the temporal powers when they allowed the brandy trade; that since it was the will of God to take the brandy away from the Indians, and since the will of the Indians was to drink brandy in order to get drunk, I ought not to go against the will of God and bow to that of the Indians. They have no right to drink brandy, because the beavers do not belong to them but to God, who gives them to the Indians in order to be made use of, not that they may buy brandy. Consequently, since I knew that the Indians were putting the beaver pelts to bad use, I might not permit to exchange them for brandy, no matter what orders I had received from my superiors.
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> I answered that his speech reeked of sedition from a distance of a hundred paces, and I asked him to change his tune. He repeated that I was not executing the orders of the king and that I was giving myself important airs. In truth, when I heard him say this, I too became heated. I took him by the arm and put him out of the fort, calling him a seditious man and a rebel, for the fine lecture he had given me.

As in the case of the confessional episode, we have no other

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[13] *Supra*, 129.

[14] "Cadillac's Early Years in America," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 11, 24.

evidence than Cadillac's own word for all this. Upon the departure of Father Pinet, Carheil had stepped into the breach. In his sermons he inveighed against the disorders which occurred "on the shore of Michilimackinac, so notorious for the brandy trade which is carried on here" and for all the consequent infamies, thereby insinuating, says Cadillac, that

> the commandant tolerates the disorders and that they leave him unconcerned. He is the most violent, the most rebellious, the most seditious man I know. He has exasperated me hundreds of times, in the hope, I think, that I would strike him, but I have always despised his babbling. Two days before the departure of the convoy [for Montreal] he came and told me that I was not executing the orders of the king, and shaking his fist under my nose, said that I was putting on important airs which did not sit me well. I admit, Sir, that I almost forgot that he was a priest. I was about to break his jaw, but instead, thank God, I took him by the arm, pushed him out of the fort and told him never to come back.
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> It often happens also that these Fathers preach against drunkenness and scandal with the Host in their hands, which appears quite extraordinary to everyone here, and I believe that this is the only place where it is done.[15]

Rochemonteix, who took the narrative of the fist-shaking incident from Margry's abridged account, asked whether it is believable that a "man who left in Canada the reputation of a saint" would forget himself in such a manner and act in so undignified way. "This is scarcely a recognizable picture of Father de Carheil, who was a man of strong character, frank to the point of being rude, but always master of himself and respectful of authority."[16] Margry himself, says Rochemonteix, warned the reader that Carheil's descriptions of the disorders at Michilimackinac in his letter of 1702 should not be believed outright any more than what Cadillac wrote about the missionaries.[17] As we have already remarked, we have no other evidence than these extracts made from the commandant's journal under the direction of Frontenac, and Cadillac so often changes or twists the facts, or invents them when it suits his purpose, that his unsupported testimony is practically worthless. In this particular instance, however, when we consider Carheil's habitual intransigeance, and remember that the work of the missionaries among the Indians was being made useless by an adventurer who wanted to get rich quickly by selling brandy, his reaction as described by Cadillac can be accepted as substantially true.

The extracts from Cadillac's letter and journal were enclosed

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[15] Extraits de certains articles . . . , AC, C 11E, 14-17-17v.
[16] *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, III, 488, note 4.
[17] Margry, V, cii.

with a long letter of Frontenac to Lagny. After complaining of Ruette d'Auteuil, of Villeray, of Champigny, of the members of the Sovereign Council, and of nearly every public official in New France, the governor proceeds to give his version of Cadillac's first ten months at Michilimackinac.

This year, poor M. de Lamothe Cadillac would have to send you a journal in order to acquaint you with all the persecutions he underwent at the post where I sent him and where he is doing wonders, having acquired much influence over the Indians who love and fear him. But he did not have time to make a copy of this journal in order to send it to you. I am forwarding a letter of his addressed to you and another addressed to M. de Pontchartrain. I have had extracts made from letters which he wrote to me, in which there are some facts which will no doubt appear unbelievable.

Only two months ago, the Fathers of Michilimackinac sent me a marvelous account of him, calling him the wisest man, the most prudent, and the most opposed to disorders, whom I could ever sent to that part of the country. Whether they have [since] found that he was too clever and too keen, I do not know; anyway, they have decided to change their tune, and now he is no longer suitable to them. Finally, by means of open intrigues, they (*on*) have found a way of stirring up against him three or four officers who were in posts depending on his. These officers upbraided him in such an extraordinary and unheard of manner that I was obliged to put them in jail when they came back here. I set them free only a few days ago, although they assuredly deserved a longer punishment.

One Father Carheil, a Jesuit, who wrote to me such insolent letters a few years ago, played an astonishing part in all this. I shall write briefly to the Reverend Father de la Chaise about him so that he may take care of the matter. The superiors here are full of promises that they will send the necessary orders, but thus far I have seen no results. If, however, such a state of affairs goes on, some remedy will have to be applied, for it would be impossible for officers to remain at Michilimackinac, among the Miami, the Illinois, or elsewhere, because they are persecuted, their conscience constrained, and are refused absolution as soon as they do not do everything that is required. With regard to absolution, there are even shameful transactions going on out there. M. de Tonti would have written to you about this, except for the fact that to free himself from all these torments he was forced to go to the country of the Assiniboin. He left M. de la Forest [in charge] during his absence, and the latter, for all his ability and his moderation, will find it quite difficult to succeed.

If M. de Lamothe is attacked, between now and next year, when he will be able to send you an exact and detailed account of all that has happened, he will need your support. You must come out boldly and say that he is doing his duty very well. I did not think that I had to mention the above matters to M. de Pontchartrain, because I do not know whether they will dare to bring them up openly. Rather, according to all appearances, they will act covertly. I have therefore simply told M. de Pontchartrain that he [Cadillac] is discharging his duty very well. The extraordinary kindness which you showed him while he was in France

[in 1692-1693],[18] makes me trust that you still remember what you said, namely, that you hope to obtain a naval lieutenancy for him. He assuredly merits it, for he is clever, very courageous, and very talented.[19]

Before examining some statements in this passage, we must first note that Frontenac speaks of extracts which he had made from the letters which Cadillac had sent to him. However, the title of the document which has come down to us reads as follows: "Extracts of certain articles from the journal sent to M. the Count of Frontenac by M. de Lamothe Cadillac." It must also be noted that we do not have Cadillac's letters of that year to the governor, which very probably contained an elaboration of the entries in the journal. Finally, a distinction should be made between Frontenac's comments on the contents of Cadillac's letters, and the contents themselves, which in some cases does not appear very clearly.

For instance, we do not know whether Frontenac is repeating what the commandant had written, or whether he is drawing a conclusion when he says that the Indians love and fear Cadillac. We are not considering the queer pairing of these two emotions toward Cadillac which are supposed to exist in the breast of the Indians, for love and fear of a person do not usually go together. If there is one thing of which we are certain, it is that wherever Cadillac went he soon succeeded in making himself cordially hated by the Indians.

As for their fear, the Hurons were not afraid to send a delegation to the Seneca in order to make peace between the western Indians and the Iroquois, independently of the wishes of the French. The Iroquois in turn sent a delegation to Michilimackinac, bringing along two Ottawa prisoners as a token of their sincerity.[20] And all of this went on before the very eyes of M. de Lamothe who was unable to put a stop to it. In the postcript of this very letter to Lagny, Frontenac says that after he had written it, he received news from M. de Lamothe "which worries me a little [that is, a good deal], because the Hurons are alienated from us and they wish all the other nations to make peace with the Iroquois independently of me. This is a situation of the utmost importance which, if possible, must be remedied, as I have already begun to do and will

[18] Cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 45; "Cadillac's Early Years in America," *ibid.*, XXVI, 1944, 36-37.

[19] Frontenac to Lagny, November 2, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:325v-326v; printed in RAPQ, 1929, 267-268. Margry, V, 62-64, dates the extract from this letter, October 2, 1695.

[20] Cf. Callières to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13: 385-385v.

continue. You will see all this narrated in detail in my long relation,[21] and from the letter which the said Sieur de Lamothe is sending to M. de Pontchartrain you will learn more particularly what determined the Indians to take this pernicious step."[22] To the minister Frontenac wrote that the "Sieur de Lamothe did everything to prevent the [Iroquois] emissaries from being listened to, but he was unsuccessful."[23]

We do not have the letters in which the Jesuits of Michilimackinac sang the praises of Cadillac, as though he were a paragon of all virtues, and consequently we cannot compare what they actually said with what Frontenac says they wrote. Carheil and Nouvel were the only Fathers then at Michilimackinac, and it is difficult to believe that Carheil would subscribe to an eulogy of Cadillac after reproaching him publicy for having not only shut his eyes to the disorders, but for promoting these disorders in his eagerness to sell brandy. The Fathers of Michilimackinac had not found him "too clever or too keen," for when they investigated the cause for the increase of disorders, they found that Cadillac was largely responsible for them.

In his speech to the western Indians at Montreal as reported by La Potherie, Frontenac gives the names of the officers in the West. They were Augustin Le Gardeur de Tilly, Sieur de Courtemanche among the Miami on the St. Joseph River; Nicolas d'Ailleboust, Sieur de Manthet at Chicago; Pierre d'Ailleboust, Sieur d'Argenteuil, Cadillac's lieutenant at Michilimackinac; Jacques Arrivé *dit* Delisle, sergeant at Michilimackinac; Jean-Baptiste Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes among the Miami; Pierre You de La Découverte, and Nicolas Perrot among the Marameg, in present-day Bayfield County, Wisconsin.

Frontenac told the Indians that all these officers were subject to Cadillac, and that the latter alone was qualified to interpret his intentions. None of the above was clapped into jail when he returned to Lower Canada. Who then were the insubordinate officers who upbraided Cadillac "in an extraordinary and unheard-of manner"? It is somewhat peculiar, too, that Frontenac does not mention this grave breach of discipline in his letter to the minister. Yet, insubordination toward one "in whom you [the Indians] must

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[21] In the Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1694-1695, NYCD, IX, 610-632.

[22] Frontenac to Lagny, November 2, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:329; RAPQ, 1929, 270.

[23] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:292; RAPQ, 1929, 279.

place the same reliance as if your father himself [Frontenac] was addressing you,"[24] is a much more serious offence than many of the petty trifles which he reports at length in this same letter.

Commenting on the passage about Father de Carheil's insolent letters, Rochemonteix finds it strange that in his letter of February 21 [April 30], 1690,[25] Frontenac does not in the least blame Carheil,[26] but that five years later the governor speaks of "insolent letters." Frontenac is not referring to Carheil's letter of 1689, but to those of 1691, in which the governor was told a few unpalatable truths.[27]

As for the "shameful transactions" in connection with giving absolution, we have already seen what they were. Frontenac could not plead ignorance of the ordinance of the bishop, for it was promulgated at Quebec one year after his arrival there, and was subsequently made known everywhere in New France.

With regard to what Frontenac wrote about Henri Tonti, he either invented the reason why Tonti went to the Assiniboin country, or else he read this reason in one of Cadillac's letters. The real reason why Tonti left Michilimackinac in August, 1695, is given by Cadillac in an autograph letter of the following year; namely, to know as soon as possible the outcome of Iberville's expedition against Port Nelson.[28]

These few examples should make it clear that it would be rash to accept the testimony of Frontenac or of Cadillac whenever the Jesuits are concerned, especially in what pertains to the brandy trade. The only reason why the Jesuits clashed with the commandant was their opposition to the brandy trade; and not, as is asserted by Farmer and a host of others who claim to have read the "correspondence of the period," because the missionaries meddle with "affairs of state." The brandy trade with the Indians, as practiced by Frontenac, and especially by Cadillac, flouted the moral law, which the missionaries were in duty bound to defend.

In conformity with what he wrote to Lagny, Frontenac makes no mention of the "persecutions" undergone by Cadillac at Michilimackinac in his letter to Pontchartrain. He simply wrote:

The Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac sends me word that he has the honor

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[24] NYCD, IX, 625. Cf. La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, IV, 67.
[25] *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France*, III, 240, note 1.
[26] Frontenac to Seignelay, April 30, 1690, RAPQ, 1928, 29-30.
[27] *Supra*, 119.
[28] Cadillac to [Lagny], [after June 16, 1696], BN, Clairambault, 882:138. The passage is translated in "The Voyages of Tonti in North America, 1678-1704," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 288.

of writing to you to inform you of all that he knows about [the delegation of the Hurons to the Seneca]. What he says agrees with the reports of those who came from out there. Whatever may be said about him he is doing his duty very well; he is wise, prudent, and perhaps keener than might be desired by certain people [the Jesuits, of course] with whom he has to deal. Kindly allow me to support a placet which he is sending to you. I am giving this support because I must bear testimony to truth, and to the services which he is rendering.[29]

As we have seen, Frontenac wrote that he was forwarding a letter of Cadillac to Lagny together with another letter to Pontchartrain. The last letter does not seem to be extant, but among the extracts from the letters sent to France in 1695 which are now in the official files, there is a summary of a letter of Cadillac. According to this summary, the commandant had written that he was continuing the war against the Iroquois; that he was preparing a relation and a map of all the lakes and rivers of the country; that their own names, the names which they give to the sections of the country in which they dwell, and their customs, make it appear that the western Indians are closely related to the Jews.[30]

If this résumé is complete, Cadillac did not unburden himself to Pontchartrain, but sent his jeremiads to Lagny. His letter to the latter is summarized and commented upon in the following pages.[31]

Cadillac recounts the difficulties which attended his departure from Montreal in the preceding year. After his arrival at Michilimackinac, according to instructions received from Frontenac, he urged the western Indians to continue the war against the Iroquois. He briefly alludes to what had by now beome an obsession with him; namely, the only way of ridding the colony of the Iroquois menace was to conquer New York;[32] and then passes to what was uppermost in his mind—the brandy trade.

Far be it from him, he says, to criticize the decision of the Court which forbids transporting brandy to Michilimackinac, but he feels that he must give his opinion in a matter in which the interests of the king are at stake. Michilimackinac, he goes on to say, is not a deserted place, it is one of the largest, and most developed French villages of Canada; hence the same privilege which is granted to

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[29] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:292v.

[30] Le Sr de la Mothe Cadillac, de sa lettre du 16 aoust 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:261v.

[31] Le Sr de la Mothe Cadillac, au fort de Buade, sur l'Isle [?] de Missilimakina, le 3e aoust, 1695, AC, C 11E, 14:10-13v. Cf. *supra*, p. 110, note 4.

[32] Cf. "Cadillac's Early Years in America," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 35-36.

the other French settlements should be granted to Michilimackinac, the privilege of procuring brandy for one's own use.

The few pages devoted to this subject, full of rhetorical questions and exclamations, were a sheer waste of time. The French could drink brandy at Michilimackinac. Each man leaving Lower Canada for the post could take thirteen *pots* for his personal use. An ordinance issued by Frontenac and Champigny to that effect had been promulgated at Montreal in Cadillac's presence in September 1694.[33] It does not seem that he himself cared about brandy, and it was a matter of indifference to him whether the French at the post had any brandy at all, for altruism was not one of Cadillac's main virtues. But he was very much concerned about the sale of brandy to the Indians, which is the theme of the last two thirds of his letter to Lagny.

Why, he asks, cannot the Indians as well as the French drink brandy bought with their own money? Is it to prevent them from getting drunk, or because they will be reduced to extreme poverty, and will be unable to go to war after having deprived themselves of their arms and clothing in order to buy brandy? If these are the reasons that determined the Court to forbid selling brandy to the Indians, these reasons are very false indeed, as anyone who is acquainted with the customs of the Indians will testify. It is forbidden by law, he continues, to give the Indians brandy in exchange for their arms, and when they go to war they do not need any clothes, for they strip themselves naked, and those who can afford it paint themselves black and red from head to foot.

There was, as he says, an ordinance which forbade selling brandy to the Indians in exchange for their arms, but this same ordinance also forbade the selling of liquor in exchange for their clothing, and the penalty for violation was the same in both cases.[34] Of course, it would have weakened his case considerably had he quoted the whole ordinance, and he was evidently relying on the fact that Lagny was ignorant of it.

The sale of brandy to the Indians for the pelts which they wore as garments was a crying injustice against which the bishops of Quebec, the diocesan clergy, the Sulpicians and the Jesuits had inveighed for the preceding fifty years. But the "clever, keen witted" Cadillac immediately saw that all the talk about stripping the Indians of

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[33] *Supra*, 129.

[34] Ordonnance de M. Duchesneau portant deffense aux cabaretiers de traitter des armes *et hardes* des sauuages et de leur donner des boissons ou de leur prester de l'argent sur ces effets, July 27, 1680, AC, F 3, 5:374.

their clothes was a misrepresentation of facts known to "everyone acquainted with their customs." The bishop and his clergy, the Sulpicians and the Jesuits knew much better than Cadillac that the Indians did not smother themselves in clothes when they went to war; but it was still an injustice to make the Indians drunk in order to exchange their garments of pelts for a fraction of their true value.

The prohibition of transporting brandy to Michilimackinac, Cadillac assures Lagny, has greatly discouraged the French who are there; and the fact that liquor is no longer sold to the Indians has caused a great commotion among the latter. We are then given a speech which the Indian chiefs supposedly made on March 21, 1695. They are reported to have asked Cadillac that brandy be given them, otherwise they would their beavers to "Orange or Corlaer [Albany, N. Y.]." It is rather peculiar that a few years earlier these chiefs had energetically protested against brandy being sold at Michilimackinac.[35] We are also told that the reason why the Hurons sent envoys to the Seneca at the beginning of July, 1695, was to contact the English through them, so as to make sure that an unlimited amount of liquor would be brought to the West. The main reason why the Hurons wanted to trade with the English, however, was that they would be paid a much higher price for their pelts than they received from the French.

In his letter to Pontchartrain, Frontenac elaborated on this question. The Hurons, he says, are most greedy of all the tribes; it is they who planned the step in order to obtain merchandise from the English at a much cheaper price; and the reason was that in the previous year they had experienced great difficulties in selling their pelts by weight to the monopolists. This was not the real reason either, for if the French had been satisfied with a smaller profit and had supplied the Indians with abundant goods, the western trade would have been unquestionably theirs, and, in the end, they would have made just as great if not greater profits. It is true that the fur trade was controlled by a trust, but surely this does not excuse the traders for cheating the Indians. Moreover, the Hurons went to the Iroquois not because they were the most greedy of all the Indians, but because they belonged to the same linguistic group. They had lived for nearly half a century among Algonquin-speaking tribes, and were the natural intermediaries between the Algonquin and the Iroquois. The accusation of greediness is par-

35 *Supra*, 119.

ticularly inappropriate, because those who made it were incomparably more *intéressés* than the Indians ever could be.

The other reason why the Hurons preferred to trade with the English, wrote Frontenac to Pontchartrain, is because "they would not be bothered by the missionaries about the brandy question, as they are now more than ever before and in the most exasperating manner, in spite of all the remonstrances of the Sieur de Lamothe and of his care to prevent all kinds of disorders. For he does not doubt that the English will abundantly supply the Indians [with brandy], and will leave them full liberty in this matter."[36]

It never seemed to have occurred to Frontenac—to say nothing of Cadillac, who seems to have had very rudimentary notions of right or wrong when his interests were at stake—that, even if there had been no public disorders, the moral law forbids a vendor to take advantage of the drunkenness of a buyer in order to cheat him. Even if the English had imitated the French in this respect, two wrongs do not make a right. As for saving Canada for France by unrestricted sale of liquor to the Indians, everyone knows that the final conquest of Canada was not effected by English rum.

According to Cadillac, the Indians relish their beggary, and ask for nothing better than to be left in their misery and to die in their wretchedness. Hence, there can be no harm in making them more miserable by selling them brandy.

Up to this point, except for vague references to *"on"* and "some people," Cadillac has said nothing about the missionaries, but at the end of his letter to Lagny he deals with the last objection thus:

> It will perhaps be said that the sale of brandy makes the labors of the missionaries fruitless. This proposition must be distinguished. If it means the labors for the increase of their trade which these missionaries have always been carrying on, I concede the proposition. If it means that the sale of brandy hinders or is an obstacle to the progress of religion or the knowledge of God, I deny the proposition. For it is an undeniable fact that a great number of Indians who never drink brandy are not, on that account, better Christians.
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> Have all the Sioux, who are most numerous, have all those Indians in the Lake Superior region, who do not want so much as a sniff of brandy, made greater progress in religion on this account? They do not even want to hear about [the Christian] religion, and only laugh at it. Yet books and tomes are boldly flung before the eyes of Europeans, which speak of nothing else except the conversions, thousands of them, in this country, and the poor missionaries running to martyrdom as flies run to sugar and honey.

[36] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1695, RAPQ, 1929, 279.

I, for one, who am an eyewitness of all that is taking place here, do not believe that I shall ever be inclined to write in such a vein.

This interesting passage of Cadillac's letter to Lagny is deserving of comment. The *nego* of the scholastic distinction is particularly ridiculous, for it comes to saying that because some Indians do not like brandy, therefore brandy is not an obstacle to their conversion. Cadillac's scholarly training, of which recent writers make so much, does not seem to have included simple logic.

The *concedo* of the distinction contains Cadillac's earliest positive statement that the Jesuits were engaged in trade. But why is his accusation so indefinite, after nearly a year in the West? Could it be that the "clever and keen" commandant had no evidence of their trading, and merely repeated the general accusation current among a certain coterie in New France? It would seem that, if the Jesuits had actually been engaged in trade in the West, a man whose observation nothing escaped should have been able, in ten months' time, to find some clear, specific instances of such trade. Duly authenticated procès-verbaux on the matter would have been much more effectual than all his letters, reports, and memoirs. This general statement affords a good example of how reliable Cadillac is; for a few years later he admitted that the Jesuits did not engage in trade in their missions.[37]

The "books and tomes" referred to at the end of the above quotation are the *Jesuit Relations*. Either Cadillac never opened those tomes which were "flung before" his eyes, or if he did, he spoke against his better knowledge. For the one thing which strikes the reader of the *Jesuit Relations* is the small number of conversions therein recounted. Although the second alternative is not intrinsically impossible, in the present case, the first alternative happens to be correct; Cadillac never opened those "books and tomes flung before" his eyes. He is either parroting what his Quebec patron had written twenty years earlier[38] or repeating what he may have read in the pseudo-Le Clercq.[39]

No Jesuit ever wrote any *Relations* such as Cadillac described, but a few years later he himself wrote such a fanciful "eyewitness" description of Detroit that, although the younger Pontchartrain would have been satisfied if the settlement had been only a fraction as thriving and prosperous as depicted in Cadillac's "eyewitness"

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[37] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, MHS, 33:148.

[38] *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 20 ff.

[39] C. Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, J. G. Shea, ed. and trans., 2 vols., New York, 1881, I, 381-382, 399-401.

relation, the minister could not bring himself to believe his fairy tale.[40]

The comment about "the missionaries running to martyrdom as flies run to sugar and honey" is rather out of place coming from one who has given so few proofs of physical courage. Did Cadillac write in this fashion because he realized his deficiencies in this respect? Or was it because the fearlessness of the Jesuit missionaries was a by-word in New France? or is it because "they had fallen, one after another, on the field of honor under the tomahawks of the Iroquois"?[41]

Before the 1696 abolition of all *congés* became known in the West, Cadillac had news to send from Michilimackinac. At the close of 1695, Iroquois deputies had been received by the Indians of the Lake Superior region, belts had been given and accepted, and peace was all but concluded. The Iroquois left the West on October 10, 1695, after holding several councils with the western Indians, to which councils Cadillac was not invited. However, he learned the outcome of these deliberations from Onaské, chief of the Kishkakon. A few days after the departure of the Iroquois deputies, a band of western Indians returned from Montreal thoroughly disgusted with the French. They described in graphic terms the powerlessness of the French, and gave out that "they were returning with their old shirts and—what grieved them more—without having had a drink."[42]

The above and the following details are taken from a relation by Monseignat, who further wrote that Cadillac pacified the disgruntled Indians as best he could, and won over two Indian chiefs. In the general council held on October 24, 1695, these chiefs persuaded their fellow tribesmen to go to war against the Iroquois. Before they left, however, Cadillac had to comply with their wish to have two Frenchmen accompany them, and had to "give them a little brandy," otherwise it would have been impossible to get them to start.

The war party finally left, met an Iroquois band, routed it, and brought some thirty prisoners and the booty to Michilimackinac. After this *coup de main* there was no prospect of immediate peace between the western Indians and the Iroquois. Cadillac, says Monseignat, is to be thanked for all this. But, he asks, what will

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[40] Pontchartrain's marginal comments on Cadillac's letter of September 25, 1702, AC, C 11A, 20:130.

[41] E. Salone, *La civilisation de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, n. d., 105.

[42] NCYD, IX, 645. Cf. La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, III, 261.

happen when no one will be at Michilimackinac to safeguard the trade relations with the West, to foil the designs of the English, and to prevent the alliance of the western Indians with the Iroquois? Unless merchandise is sent to the West, the Indians will go to the English, who are not so far distant as the French, who sell their goods much more cheaply and who will supply the Indians with all the liquor they wish. When this happens "will the missionaries be in security in their new churches; and, how fervent soever be the zeal with which they are animated, will they dare preach the Catholic religion in sight of Protestants? Even though they would, will the latter permit them?"

Monseignat ends this section of his relation by saying: "Public interests have required this digression which is long, 'tis true, but too short for the importance of the subject. Those who read this Narrative are at liberty to make such reflections on it as they will think fit."

The above narrative is merely a paraphrase of two letters of Cadillac, one to Pontchartrain, the other to Lagny, from which we shall presently quote at length. Before taking the "liberty to make such reflections on this digression as we think fit," we shall observe first, that when Monseignat wrote his narrative he knew that all *congés* were abolished; secondly, we shall note how Pontchartrain regarded the sending of merchandise to the West. The minister wrote advising that the western Indians be the middleman between their more distant fellows and the French. "The English," he said, "do not go to trade in the interior. They leave that to the Indians themselves, and wait for them in New York or in New England." The authorities in Paris knew that objections would be raised by those who were making huge profits carrying on this internal trade against the king's ordinances.[43]

As soon as brandy, which was the principal medium of exchange, could no longer be shipped to Michilimackinac, and when Frontenac realized that he would not longer be able to help his hangers-on by giving them trade-permits, he no longer wished to keep the fort as a means of occupying the West. Hence he did not care whether the western Indians would ally themselves with Iroquois or would transfer their allegiance to the English. And when it became clear to Cadillac, a year later, that with the abolition of *congés* the brandy traffic would virtually cease in the West, he refused to return to his post at the fort.

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[43] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, April 28, 1697, NYCD, IX, 662-663.

In the meantime, on returning from their raid against the Iroquois, the Indians asked for some brandy to celebrate their success.

> The Sieur de Lamothe was under the necessity then of ordering ten *pots* to be distributed among those who had returned from that expedition. It was but little among two hundred men who were so very dry, and unused to drink. They found means to get some more from the French and sang through the night, but there was no disorder. The missionaries, however, found fault, and complained of it to the Sieur de Lamothe who answered that the action the Indians had achieved ought to serve as their excuse; if a little hilarity grieve you so much, how will you be able to endure the daily exposure of these neophytes, for whom you feel so much affection, to the excessive use of English rum and to the imbibing of heresy.[44]

La Potherie, who was not one of Cadillac's defenders, wrote: "I believe, Sir, that the reward went a little too far; at least the Jesuits were not pleased."[45] It is unnecessary to remark that Carheil was not thundering against the "ten *pots* to two hundred men" given in December, but against the unlimited sale of brandy that had gone on since the arrival of the commandant at Michilimackinac.

D'Argenteuil, Cadillac's lieutenant, arrived in Quebec with despatches from Michilimackinac toward the end of October, 1695. He returned the following June with the news that Frontenac had invited the western Indians to join the expedition against the Iroquois planned for the summer of 1696. Onaské, the Kishkakon chief whom Cadillac had won over in 1695, pleaded that he "was under the necessity of repairing his fort to place his women and children under cover. The other chiefs answered in like manner." Cadillac continued his urging and wrote that he "expected" at least four hundred Indians to proceed to Fort Frontenac where they would join the invading army.[46] But a recent feud between the Ottawas and the Hurons "combined with visions of some among them [Indians] who announced in their village that the bad weather which prevailed was evidence that Jesus disapproved of their going to war. It appeared very extraordinary that these Indians, who invoke this sacred name so seldom and hold it capriciously in veneration, should make use of it merely to justify their disloyalty."

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[44] Monseignat's narrative of the most remarkable occurrences in Canada, 1695-1696, NYCD, IX, 648. On this translation, see *supra*, 125, note 50.

[45] La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, III, 267.

[46] Only "a few Ottawa" took part in the expedition, NYCD, IX, 650. "Nous avons été assez heureux que les Outaouas n'aient eu aucune part dans cette expédition, ce qui fait connaître à nos ennemis que nous sommes en état de leur faire la guerre de nous mêmes, et à nos alliés que nous pourrons nous passer d'eux, cela doit nous rendre redoutables aux uns et aux autres." Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 320.

We are then told that two days before the governor left Quebec for the Iroquois country, a boy went to Frontenac saying that he came from Boston, where he had seen Iberville burnt at the stake, and that an English fleet had sailed for Quebec. They discovered that the "boy" was a girl and that by her warning she hoped to stop the expedition in which her brother and her sweetheart were to take part. "It is not at all likely that a girl would have adopted so bold a trick of her own mere notion."[47]

The implication is clear. For just as the girl did not "adopt so bold a trick of her own mere notion," so somebody must have prompted the Indians of Michilimackinac to invoke the sacred name as a cloak for their disloyalty. This pious subterfuge may indeed have been employed by the Michilimackinac Indians, but it was only an excuse for which they did not need to be prompted by anybody. They remembered quite well what had happened on two previous occasions when they had gone to the help of their "protectors." In 1684, they left the West for Fort Frontenac, only to be told when they arrived at Niagara to go home quietly, for the war was over and peace had been signed. In 1687, after going with Denonville to the Iroquois country, they were disgusted to find themselves waging war "against corn and canoes." The chief who had done most to persuade his fellow tribesmen to raid the Iroquois in 1695, was now opposed to the expedition. Besides, the Hurons and the Ottawa were suspicious of each other, owing to the treacherous killing of the son of The Rat and of some Huron women by an Ottawa party. Neither tribe felt safe in leaving their women and children at the mercy of the other. These facts, rather than the machinations of the Jesuits, were the reasons why the western Indians refused to join Frontenac's expedition.

This expedition, which was intended to wipe out the Iroquois, was not very different from the expedition led by Denonville nine years earlier.[48] After twelve days in the Iroquois country, Frontenac returned to Quebec, where he found the king's order abolishing all *congés*.

> You were right (Frontenac wrote to Langy) in saying that, although you have no knowledge of complaints against the Sieur de Lamothe, it does not follow that no complaints were made. I believe this, too. However that may be, he intends to justify himself boldly, as you will see from a

[47] Monseignat's narrative, NYCD, IX, 648-649.

[48] Frontenac to Louis XIV, October 25, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 308; *idem* to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, *ibidem*, 310; Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1696, *ibidem*, 320. H. Lorin admits that it was "un simple pillage." *Le Comte de Frontenac*, Paris, 1895, 451.

letter addressed to you and from another which he wrote to M. de Pontchartrain, which he is asking me to send you unsealed.[49]

These two autograph letters of Cadillac are undated. One is addressed "my Lord," scl. Pontchartrain, the other "Sir," scl. Lagny.

The opening paragraphs of his letter to Pontchartrain are the source of Monseignat's 1696 report from which we have quoted above. In these paragraphs, Cadillac explains how he won over the two Indian chiefs who led the raid against the Iroquois at the end of 1695. He then goes on to say:

I am beginning to break down under the weight of the continual persecutions which I endure from the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who are stationed in the various posts dependent on this one. I have already sent my complaints several times to M. the Count de Frontenac about their dogmas [!] and their doctrines [!] against me, but whatever expostulation he sends them, or whatever orders he gives them, they have paid no attention and have not become more moderate.

The remoteness [of this post], the influential relations which they have everywhere, their mighty protectors throughout the world enable them to succeed in all their undertakings whether useful or prejudicial to the commonwealth. Anyone who opposes them in this country is made to feel their indignation, and goes to his grave a pauper.

The sale of brandy which the Indians have so earnestly asked for,—the refusal of which brought this colony to the brink of ruin,—is the main reason why these Reverend Fathers direct all their blows against those who feel obliged to tolerate the traffic for the good of the colony.

The propagation of the Faith is the first article of their creed. Their other reasons, pecuniary interests and politics, are hidden in the folds of this ample cloak. According to their maxims, anyone who tries to uncover these reasons becomes the enemy of an indefatigable, undying corporation which is rarely frustrated in its projects.

If perchance something should be alleged against me to your Highness, I beg you not to condemn me before I have given an account of my conduct; or rather, I beg you to listen to the testimony which M. the Count de Frontenac will kindly send you.

I did nothing in this country except in conformity with his instructions, and in spite of everything I have scrupulously carried out his orders and his intentions, which are always beneficial and advantageous to the service of the king and the good of the colony.

In the course of the peace and trade negotiations between our Indians and the Iroquois and English, I promised to sell them brandy if they slaughtered our enemies; and I kept my promise according to the orders which I had received. I am persuaded, my Lord, that you will not bear a grudge against M. the Count de Frontenac for giving me this order, or against me for executing it so opportunely. I was able by this means to retain under the domination of the king all the nations that were thinking of abandoning us. They had been approached by the enemies of the State

[49] Fontenac to Lagny, October 25, 1696. BN, Clairambault, 874:29-29v.

and Religion and would have been received with open arms. So inopportune a loss would have weakened the strength of the colony and would have increased that of the Iroquois and of the English. Two reasons caused this aberration among these tribes; first, the prohibition against selling them brandy; secondly, the lower price paid for beaver pelts, as I had the honor of explaining to you in my letter of last year.[50]

It is the first reason which causes the complaints of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers who maintain that it is an obstacle to the propagation of the Faith. As for myself, I believe it expedient in the present circumstances to have fewer Christians than to have, through our fault, so many enemies on our hands. Besides, the English would have no scruples about giving the Indians as much brandy as they wish, and if the English ever come and trade here, what will become of those missions which have cost his Majesty so much money? In fine, my Lord, this zeal, whether true or apparent, seems to me most inopportune.

Cadillac then refers to a map which he had left in the colonial office when he was in Paris in 1692-1693.[51] He says that he is having another map made of all the Great Lakes, and that he is writing a comprehensive relation of all that he knows about Canada. "I shall have the honor of presenting it to you, if my friends think that I should, when I am in Europe." He ends his letter by asking for a lieutenancy in the navy.[52]

We have already called attention to the fact that the real cause of the difficulties between the Jesuits and officialdom in New France in general, and Cadillac in particular, was the unrestricted sale of brandy to the Indians. If the Jesuits had countenanced the traffic, and had been willing to remain passive, ignoring the abuses arising from it, we should never have heard of their ambition, their encroachments on the authority of civil power, their lucrative trade, and all the accusations which have been handed down by seventeenth-century pamphleteers and repeated *ad nauseam* by modern littérateurs, "impartial" historians, and immature dissertation writers.

Cadillac knew that the Jesuits were opposed to him because he

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[50] These two reasons are mentioned by Monseignat in his account of the events of 1694-1695, NYCD, IX, 632, and by La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, IV, 78-79. The latter adds that the second reason was alleged by the Hurons only. This, he wrote, could easily have been remedied, but there was no appearance that the sale of brandy would ever be allowed, as it was the cause of too many disorders, of too many crimes. "It was more glorious for the Count de Frontenac, and at the same time more advantageous for the propagation of the Faith to run the risk of losing a few of our allied nations rather than tolerate such disorders." From Frontenac's own letters we know that the governor's attitude was the exact opposite.

[51] The map was drawn by Franquelin. Cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1943, 45, 68.

[52] Cadillac to [Pontchartrain], BN, Clairambault, 882:145-146.

had renewed and fostered the brandy traffic on a large scale. There is a notable difference, we may observe, between what he wrote this year to Pontchartrain and what he had written to Lagny in 1695 about the effect of brandy on the conversion of the Indians. To Pontchartrain he virtually admits that hard liquor is an obstacle to conversion, but adds that he, in contradistinction to the missionaries, thought it better to have fewer converts and more allies. It is somewhat strange that one who boasted of being an expert on Indian affairs should have ignored the fact that the best allies the French ever had in America were the Indian converts.

If the commandant knew that brandy was detrimental to the propagation of the Faith among the Indians, the missionaries knew it much better than he did. When they saw the work of a life time jeopardized in a few months by the brandy traffic, it is not surprising that they did all in their power to prevent its continuance. As Carheil wrote, it was useless for the missionaries to stay if the unrestricted sale of hard liquor was tolerated or abetted.[53] If brandy was the only means of keeping the Indians allied to the French, then the Jesuits had better leave, and let the far-seeing colonial statesmen carry out their much vaunted "*politique indigène*," which chiefly consisted in selling brandy to the Indians. There were other mission fields besides New France, where the work of evangelization would not be impeded by greedy adventurers.

A few words of comment on the second last paragraph of Cadillac's letter to Pontchartrain are in place here. His version differs considerably from that of Monseignat regarding the reward of the Indians who raided the Iroquois in the latter part of 1695. According to Monseignat, only ten *pots* were distributed to two hundred men. According to Cadillac, the selling of brandy was simply resumed, and no mention is made of any restriction. Furthermore the commandant declares that he had promised to sell brandy to the Indians, and that he received an order from Frontenac to keep his promise. As a matter of fact, as soon as the governor heard of the possibility of peace between the Huron-Ottawa and the Iroquois, he dispatched a courier to Cadillac ordering the commandant to "spare neither presents nor intrigues" to prevent the cessation of hostilities between the two groups of Indians.[54] The courier arrived at Michilimackinac at the beginning of February, 1696, and Cadillac in-

[53] Carheil to Champigny, August 30, 1702, JR, 65:190.
[54] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 308-309.

terpreted Frontenac's message as an order directing him to sell brandy.

In his letter to Lagny, Cadillac also refers to a relation which he intends to write as well as to his return to France "next year."

> From the letter which I have the honor of writing to my Lord de Pontchartrain, you will see how I stand with the missionaries of these parts. I should prefer to remain silent this year. I have stated at length to M. the Count de Frontenac what my complaints were. It is for him to provide. I do not doubt that he will give you a hint as to what those complaints are.

The commandant then expatiates on the difficulty of keeping "thirty-two or thirty-three" self-willed Indian tribes from warring against each other. While they are fighting among themselves, they cannot harrass the Iroquois, and trade, too, suffers from their internecine warfare. "As for me, I am so worn out that I have several times asked M. the Count de Frontenac to be relieved. This year again, I am strongly petitioning for a furlough; I venture to hope that he will not refuse it, and that he will be kind enough to ask the Court for leave to go to France." Cadillac trusts that Lagny will make use of his influence to obtain this furlough and to secure for him a naval lieutenancy. "My sojourn in this country did not make me richer or poorer." The commandant evidently preferred to say nothing about the 27,000 livres of clear profits which he actually sent to France in the following year.

> The reward of my exertions consists in having unintentionally drawn upon myself the hatred of M. de Champigny, because I resisted the abuses introduced by the missionaries, abuses that go counter the orders of the king and the customs of the Gallican church. As soon as one lifts a finger against those Fathers, one is sure to get a threshing from M. the intendant. If I had kept silent, or if I had dissembled about what I thought it my duty not to tolerate, I would be better off. M. the Count de Frontenac knows my troubles and my needs. He is giving me proofs of his kindness, but the opposition which he meets from M. de Champigny with regard to my interests prevents him from doing more for me. I hope, however, that having shown too much complacence in the past in this respect, and knowing—as he indubitably does—that all I have accumulated here is much trouble and small profits, he will not fail this coming autumn to remedy the situation in spite of the opposition which he may run into. I have all the more reason for believing that he will help me, since he does me the honor of writing that he is satisfied with my conduct.

After telling how he happened to send Tonti to Hudson Bay, Cadillac then expresses the hope that Frontenac will be successful in his campaign against the Iroquois, and notes that the Indians at Michilimackinac are making canoes in preparation for going to join

the governor.[55] He then gives a brief account of the raid against the Iroquois, and tells how as a reward he had allowed the resumption of the brandy trade.

> Let the sale of brandy be forbidden again, and I can assure you that if there is any intention of restricting the Indians in this matter, they will soon find new ways to renew their relations [with the Iroquois]; and if they are deceived a second time, I do not believe that they will ever trust us again for the rest of their lives. Should this happen, I will manage to console myself, provided I be recalled from this post, which I hope to leave honorably.
>
> I cannot understand why the Court pays any attention to the cackling and complaints of the missionaries of this country. If the people at Court knew and were persuaded of the missionaries' goings-on, they would certainly prevent them from troubling those who seek only the glory of God and of the king, but who, because of an old and deplorable custom, are less believed than the missionaries are. How many idle tales, how many little stories they invent, how many fables they spread far and wide, as though these were the truth regarding the Indians and their progress in religion. Thirteen hundred leagues away from here, all their tales pass for gospel truth. Those who are on the spot blush at the impudence of men who dare to write in such bad faith.[56]

There would be no deception of the Indians in withholding brandy from them, for they themselves had repeatedly asked the French not to bring any brandy to their villages. The real deception lay in taking advantage of their drunkenness to rob them of their possessions. Of course, Cadillac would not want to remain in any post where brandy could not be sold; this was made quite clear during the following year. As the last paragraph is reminiscent of what Cadillac had written in 1695 with regard to the *Jesuit Relations*, it is unnecessary to repeat here what was said above in this connection. We may call attention to the passages where the commandant speaks of himself as the champion of the glory of God, after he had done his best to wreck the western missions. His complaint about less credence being given to his word than to that of the missionaries is almost comic. Perhaps this is an indication of a conscience that was not altogether clear. Still more amusing is the fact that such a complaint comes from a man whose name was soon to become synonymous in New France with disregard for truth. Champigny was not opposed to Cadillac because the latter fought the abuses introduced by the missionaries, but because the commandant had promulgated in the West an ordinance which was at

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[55] See *supra*, note 46.
[56] Cadillac to [Lagny], BN, Clairambault, 882:137-138v.

variance with that issued by the intendant himself, and because he knew that Cadillac had revived the old abuses and had introduced far worse abuses than had ever existed in the West before his coming. As for the orders of the king, there was only one man at Michilimackinac who contravened them, and that man was Antoine Laumet, *alias* de Lamothe Cadillac. A detailed proof of this last assertion will be given in our next article.

(To be concluded)

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The Discovery of the Mississippi
Primary Sources

In preceding articles we analyzed two of the main sources for our knowledge of the voyage of 1673, namely, Dablon's account and Marquette's map.[1] In the present article we shall study three other primary sources; namely, (1) a passage in Frontenac's letter of November 14, 1674, wherein he notifies Colbert of the return of Jolliet; (2) a letter of Jolliet dated Quebec, October 10, 1674, to Bishop Laval; (3) Jolliet's letter to Frontenac inscribed as a dedicatory epistle on the map which he drew from memory after his return to Quebec.

I have noted elsewhere that there is no way of knowing whether this map was made shortly after his return at the end of July, or in the latter part of October. I also pointed out that one reason for believing that it was made in October was because Jolliet had learned by then that the map which he had left at Sault Ste Marie had perished there when the Jesuit house was burned down.[2] From the wording of the dedicatory letter it is clear that it was written after the map had been drawn. Whether the letter to Laval antedates the dedicatory letter to Frontenac or *vice versa* is immaterial. What is important is that these letters are the only two Jolliet documents pertaining to the voyage of 1673 which have come down to us, and both of them are copies of lost originals.

The remainder of the manuscript evidence—as distinguished from the cartographical sources—for our knowledge of the expedition of 1673, which comprises four contemporary documents, will be examined in a subsequent article.

[1] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 301-324; "Marquette's Autograph Map of the Mississippi River," *ibid.*, XXVII, 1945, 30-53.
[2] "Louis Jolliet. The Middle Years: 1674-1686," *ibid.*, XXVII, 1945, 68.

Attention has already been called to the fact that it is necessary to make a minute analysis of the manuscript and cartographical documentation, because the journal of the expedition is lost.[3] By isolating the facts, by separating them from the dross under which they have been buried during a century of historical writing, we shall have an outline of the voyage from contemporary evidence stripped of the fanciful speculations of writers whose imagination got the better of their critical sense. Finally, this analysis will enable us in due time to ascertain the sources used by the author of the "Recit des voyages et des Descouvertes du Pere Jacques Marquette."

(1) Frontenac's Letter to Colbert

We begin with the letter of Frontenac to the minister although it is clearly of a later date than the two Jolliet letters, because it contains information supplied by the explorer to the governor shortly after his return.

On arriving at Quebec toward the end of July 1674, Jolliet told the story of his voyage down the Mississippi of the preceding year to Frontenac and to Dablon. He related the unfortunate accident that befell him in sight of Montreal, when he lost his journal, the map of the country which he had explored, everything else he had. We know that Dablon wrote down this story and sent it to France. Frontenac, however, was far too preoccupied with other matters to give much thought to a discovery which trebled the French empire in North America. The governor was then engaged in his quarrel with Perrot, the governor of Montreal, who had been guilty of an "extraordinary insult to one of my guards."[4] Besides, M. de Fénelon had "taken it into his head to preach on Easter Sunday in the church of Montreal a sermon injurious to me and conducive to sedition among the people."[5]

At the end of a forty-seven page letter in which the above quarrels are narrated at great length, Frontenac finally mentions Jolliet's return from his voyage.

When I arrived here from France, I was advised by M. Talon to send the Sieur Jolliet to discover the Sea of the South. He returned three months ago and has discovered admirable countries. The navigation over the beautiful rivers which he found is so easy that from Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, one could sail a ship to the Gulf of Mexico. There is only one

[3] "Marquette's Autograph Map," *ibid.*, 53.
[4] Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 66.
[5] *Ibid.*, 70.

unloading place—a portage of about half a league—where Lake Ontario falls into Lake Erie. We could have a settlement [on Lake Ontario] and build another ship on the Lake Erie side.

These projects could be carried out when peace is restored and when it pleases the king to exploit these discoveries.

He [Jolliet] went to within ten days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico, and he believes that by way of the western tributaries of the great river which he found, which is as wide as the St. Lawrence before Quebec and which flows from north to south, there may be a water route to the Vermilion Sea or to the Sea of California.

I am sending by my secretary the map which he made as well as the noteworthy details which he was able to recall, for he lost all his memoirs and his journals in the shipwreck [which occurred] in sight of Montreal, after a voyage of 1,200 leagues. He nearly drowned and lost all his papers. A young Indian from these countries whom he was bringing to me was drowned, to my great regret.

He left with the [Jesuit] Fathers of Sault Ste Marie on Lake Superior copies of his journals, which we cannot have until next year. From them you will learn more particulars of this discovery which he accomplished very creditably.[6]

A recent writer asserts that not only Dablon "but also Governor Frontenac realized that the information obtained by Jolliet regarding the Mississippi River was of the highest importance."[7] This is hardly borne out by the letter from which we have just quoted. A further indication of Frontenac's lack of interest in the discovery may be gathered from the following. In his voluminous correspondence during the next eight years, the governor mentions the great river only once, and even this reference is incidental and indirect. There is hardly any doubt that the discovery of the great river and the route to the Gulf made little impression on Frontenac, precisely because he did not realize that the information communicated to him by Jolliet "was of the highest importance."

As can be seen, the governor's secretary who wrote this letter was not quite clear with regard to the geography of the Great Lakes, for he makes the St. Lawrence flow from east to west. The same secretary was also confused with regard to the portage. He gives as the length of the portage at Niagara Falls, which Jolliet never saw, the length of the Chicago portage, which is half a league.[8]

The distance between Jolliet's terminal point and the Gulf of Mexico—given as ten days' journey—is different from Jolliet's letter

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[6] *Ibid.*, 76-77.

[7] F. B. Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, Quincy, Illinois, 1928, 182.

[8] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 322.

to Laval, where he says that when he decided to return he was five days' journey from the sea. He wrote to Laval what he had already said to Dablon, that latitude 33° was the lowest point reached. If he told Dablon that he was then five days' journey from the sea, the Jesuit disregarded it. For all Dablon knew, the latitude of the north shore of the Gulf where the Mississippi disembogued was 31°, as all the maps of the time showed; hence he figured that the explorers were fifty leagues from the Gulf.[9] The fact is that at the Arkansas village they were still more than 700 miles from the Gulf, and that at the rate they traveled since they began the descent of the Mississippi (an average of 55 miles a day), it would have taken nearly two weeks to reach the mouth. However, neither Jolliet nor Dablon nor anybody else, least of all Frontenac's secretary, knew the distance along the Mississippi from the Arkansas River to the Gulf.

A water route to the Vermilion Sea mentioned by Frontenac's secretary as a means of going to Japan and China, was an obsession in New France during the seventeenth century and until late in the eighteenth. It should be noted that Dablon entitled his account of the voyage of 1673, "Relation de la decouverte de la Mer du Sud," although he knew then that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Pacific Ocean, the Mar del Zur of contemporary maps.

The passage of Frontenac's letter wherein reference is made to copies of Jolliet's journals left at Sault Ste Marie has been commented on as follows: "This statement contradicts what Dablon wrote on August 1 and Jolliet copied on October 10; namely, that Marquette was keeping copies of the journal that has been lost."[10] No such contradiction is present. First of all, Dablon wrote, "Father Marquette has kept a copy of the lost relation," that is, of the journal as he calls it in the next paragraph. Secondly, Jolliet did not copy the Dablon narrative on October 10. This date is the date of Jolliet's letter to Laval, and the copy of Dablon's narrative referred to was not made by Jolliet, but by some unknown scribe in Paris. Thirdly, even if these two assertions were true, there would be no contradiction, for Marquette could have had copies of the journal, and Jolliet could have made several other copies during the winter of 1673-1674, which he spent at Sault Ste Marie. Finally, the reference to "journals" is an interpretation of the governor's secretary. Jolliet did not lose several "journals" when his canoe capsized. He made

[9] *Ibid.*, 319, 321. The terminus of the expedition is discussed in "Marquette's Autograph Map," *loc. cit.*, 41-44.

[10] Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 187, note 152.

mention of only one journal to Dablon, and in the dedicatory letter on his map as well as in his letter to Laval, he says explicitly "mon journal."

(2) The Letter to Laval

Elsewhere, we have discussed this copy of Jolliet's letter to Laval, noting the variants between the extant manuscript and Harrisse's reproduction of it.[11] These variants in Harrisse's text are changes in capitalization, accentuation, spelling, and paragraphing; also "three words in a line of four are omitted, and one word is substituted for another." The sentence in which these variants occur reads as follows: "ils ne manquent point [*pas* in Harrisse] de fruits, comme prunes [*pommes*, *marons*, *grenades*, the three missing words] ananas, mures semblables a celles de france."

Jolliet begins his letter by saying that it is not long since his return from his voyage to the Sea of the South. We have previously shown that he reached Quebec in the second half of July 1674;[12] hence two and a half months had elapsed before he wrote this letter. We have seen from Frontenac's letter, written a month later, that the explorer had been in Quebec three months by November 14. The reason why Jolliet says that he had returned from his voyage to the "Sea of the South" is because Talon had commissioned him to find this sea.[13] He knew of course that the Mississippi did not empty into the Gulf of California, but he hoped that the Pacific Ocean could be reached by way of one of the tributaries of the great river.

Jolliet then tells the bishop of the accident near Montreal, but gives more details than those in Frontenac's letter with regard to the young Indian who was drowned: "I am very sorry [over the loss] of a young slave, ten years old, who had been given to me. He was endowed with a good disposition, very intelligent, diligent and obedient. He could make himself understood in French, and was

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[11] "The 1674 Account of the Discovery of the Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, 309-312.

[12] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years: 1645-1674," *supra*, 24.

[13] This is clear from Frontenac's letter to Colbert of November 2, 1672: "Il [Talon] a aussi jugé expédient pour le service d'envoyer le Sr Joliet à la découverte de la mer du Sud, par le pays des Mashoutins, et la grande rivière qu'ils appellent Michissipi qu'on croit se décharger dans la mer de Caflifornie." RAPQ, 1927, 18. In the introductory paragraph of his "Relation de la decouverte de la Mer du Sud," Dablon makes it appear as though finding the mouth of the Mississippi was the primary objective of the expedition, "sur tout de sauoir dans quelle mer [the Mississippi] s'alloit decharger." Farther in the same relation Dablon himself makes it quite clear that a waterway to the Pacific Ocean is "ce que l'on cherche."

beginning to read and write."[14] He speaks of his own miraculous rescue through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. At latitude 33° he decided to return for fear of falling into the hands of Europeans. There are no portages or rapids on the river which he descended; it is as wide as the St. Lawrence at Sillery[15] and its waters empty into the Gulf of Mexico. This last item was a conclusion based on the latitude reached and on the geography of the continent as portrayed on contemporary maps.

It will be well to make a comparison here between a passage in Dablon's narrative and its counterpart in Jolliet's letter to Laval.

Dablon's Narrative	*Letter to Laval*
Nos voyageurs comtent [*i. e.*, comptèrent] plus de 40 bourgades, dont la pluspart sont composeés de 60 et 80 cabanes quelques unes de 300, comme celle des Ilinois qui a plus de huit mille ames.	J'ay eu connoissance sur notre notre route de plus de 80 vilages de sauuages chacun de 60 et 100 cabannes, Je n'en ay ueu q'une de 300 ou nous estimions quil y auoit bien dix milles ames.

The discrepancy in the number of villages (80 in one, 40 in the other) is either a mistake of the copyist of the Laval letter or the larger figure represents the number of huts indicating the Indian villages on Jolliet's map. On the copy of this map there are 31 names of Indian tribes in the Mississippi Valley. In one instance 26 huts designate a single village; elsewhere on the map each hut represents a separate village. Thus there are 4 Akansea villages, 3 8a8iatanon, 15 Cha8anon, 18 Mataholi, 20 Taensa; and one hut is left nameless. The total number is 87; and hence Jolliet could truly write to Laval that "he had heard of more than 80 villages during his journey."

The discrepancy between the number of huts in each village (60 and 80 as against 60 and 100) is attributable to the copyist, who first wrote 80, then corrected the figure by inserting "1" before 80

[14] We simply do not know who taught French to this Indian. Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, 135, surmised that it was Father Druillettes; Father Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition*, 181, note 130, that it was Jolliet himself and Marquette. The reason why the latter rejects Gagnon's surmise is invalid for it is practically certain that Jolliet "spent the time between his return from the south and his departure for Quebec .... at Sault Sainte-Marie."

[15] The St. Lawrence is 1650 feet wide before Sillery, nearly half its width, 3150 feet, before Quebec, as is said in Frontenac's letter. The latter measurement coincides with what Jolliet told Dablon, namely, that the Mississippi "a pour l'ordinaire un quart de lieüe de large," about 0.6 mile.

and rounding the "8" into an "0." If the change in the number of "souls" in the Illinois village is not also an improvement of the copyist, it simply means that Jolliet improved his story with the telling.

A last remark concerns the size of the buffalo herds which the explorers saw. Dablon wrote: "le Pere en a conté jusques a 400. dans une seule bande." Jolliet said to Laval: "J'en ay ueu et compté Jusques a 400 ensemble dans une prairie." These two statements are neither particularly disturbing nor contradictory. Jolliet may well have told Dablon that Marquette counted 400 buffaloes and that he too counted 400 in one herd; when he wrote to Laval, it was only natural that he should speak of counting them himself. If other members of the expedition had written about it, they, too, could have said that they counted 400 in one herd; Jolliet was not the only man of the expedition who could count up to that number.

(3) The Dedicatory Letter

The importance of this letter for our knowledge of the voyage of 1673 comes from the fact that it was originally inscribed on the map which Jolliet drew from memory between August and November 1674. The letter, however, is secondary to the map itself; for as will be seen, it contains little which is not in Dablon's narrative, in Frontenac's letter to Colbert, or in Jolliet's letter to Laval.

Several facsimile or photographic reproductions of the map with the letter have appeared during the past sixty years;[16] there are also facsimiles, as well as many transcriptions and English translations, of the letter alone. Yet there is no critical edition showing how the three extant copies of the letter differ from one another, because it was not recognized that they are copies of a lost original. Some writers believed that the three examplars were written by Jolliet himself; others, while conceding that the oldest of the three versions was not inscribed on the map by Jolliet himself, assert that at least one of the other two is in his own handwriting. As a matter of fact, none is in Jolliet's handwriting, and all three were written by different men.

The handwriting of the oldest copy has not been identified; hence we shall refer to its author as the anonymous copyist. The second copy appears on the so-called "Jolliet larger map," the author of

[16] The latest and most satisfactory reproduction is in S. J. Tucker, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Illinois, 1942, p. IV.

which is very probably Franquelin.[17] The third copy is inscribed on Bernou's reduction of this Franquelin map. Bernou's reduction is often erroneously referred to as "Jolliet's smaller map"; but the handwriting is unmistakably Bernou's own.

Since it is clear that Bernou had before him the above mentioned Franquelin map, the three copies of the dedicatory letter are simply two different reproductions of the same original, the anonymous author transcribing it as Jolliet wrote it, while Franquelin introduced changes which Bernou copied. For this reason we have used the anonymous copy as the basic text in our critical edition of the letter.

The text here printed is as exact a reproduction of the text on the anonymous map as can be given in ordinary type. In the critical apparatus no account has been taken of different spellings, punctuation, paragraphing, or capitalization of the other two copyists; nor have we indicated which of the words abbreviated by the anonymous copyist were written in full by Franquelin and Bernou. Words added by Franquelin have been inserted in parentheses ( ), and his omissions are also indicated in parentheses with words omitted italicized. Brackets [ ] instead of parentheses indicate the Bernou variants, italics being used to indicate omissions. In the case of substitutions, the original reading and the substitution are both given, in parentheses or in brackets or in both as the case may be; and each substitution immediately follows the corresponding reading of the text of the anonymous copyist.

A Monseigneur

Le Comte de Frontenac Cons^{r} du Roy en ses conseils, Gouuern^{r}, et Lieutenant gñal po^{r} Sa Maj^{te} en Canada([ſ]) Acadie Isle ([de]) Terre neufue & aũes pays de la ([nouuelle France]) ([France Septentrionale])

Monseigneur

Cest auec bien de la ioye que iay ([le bonheur aujourdhuy]) de vo^{s} presenter cette carte qui vous fera cog^{re} La situaõn des riuieres et des lacs sur les quels on nauige au trauers du canada([ſ]) ou ameriqſ septentrionale qui a plus de 1200 lieües de L'Est a Louest.

Cette grande Riuiere [*au dela des lacs Huron et Illinois*] qui porte ([uñe]) ([le]) nom ([scau]) (de

[17] "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV, 1934, 54-55.

la) [de] Riu. ([Buade]) ([Colbert]) po^{r} auoir este decouu^{erte} ces [années dernieres] [dernieres années] 1673 et 1674 par les l^{ers} ordres que vo^{s} me donnastes entrant dans ure gouuernem^{t} de la nouuelle france passe [au dela des lacs hurons et Ilinois] entre La Floride et le Mexiq$\int$, et po^{r} se descharger dans la mer coupe le plus beau pays qui se puisse voir ([sur la terre]) Je n'ay rien veu de [plus] beau dans La france cõe La quantité des prairies que iy ay admire([es tous les iours]) n'y rien d'aggreable cõe La diuersité des bocages et des forests ou se cueillent des prunes, ([des]) pommes ([des]) grenades ([des]) citrons, ([des]) meures, et plus^{rs} petits fruicts qui ne sont point en Europe, dans Les champs on fait Leuer Les cailles, dans les bois on ([*y*]) uoit ([voler]) les perroquets, dans les riuieres on prend des poissons qui no^{s} sont inconnus po Le([ur]) goust figure et grosseur.

Les mines de fer, ([*et*]) les pierres sanguines qui ne s'amassent iamais que parmy le cuiure rouge n'y sont pas rares, non plus que L'ardoise, le salpetre, [le charbon de terres, marb(r)e, et moulanges] [les marbres, moulanges, et charbon de terre] po^{r} du cuiure Le([*s*]) plus [gros] [grand] morceau([*x*]) que iay ueu etoit [*gros*] cõe le poinct, et tres purifié, il fut decouuert aupres des pierres sanguines qui sont beaucoup ([meilleures]) que celle([s]) de france et en q^{tite}.

Tous les sauuages ont des canots de bois de 50 pieds de long [*et* (*de*) *plus*] po^{r} nourriture ils ne font (point) (pas) ([d'])estat des cerfs ils tüent des bufles qui marchent par bande[s] de [30] [40] et 50, ([*mesme*]) Jen ay ([mesme]) compté jusqua 400 sur le([*s*]) bord([*s*]) de la Riuiere et les coqs d'inde(s) y sont si communs qu'on n'en ([fait]) pas grand cas.

Ils font ([du]) ([des]) bled([s]) dInde(s) La plus part trois fois l'année et tous ([les]) ([des]) melons d'eau po^{r} se rafraischir [dans] [pendant] les chaleurs qui ([ne]) ([ny]) permettent point de glace([s]) et fort peu de ne([i])ge([s]).

Par une de ces grandes riuieres qui viennent de L'Ouest et se decharge([nt]) dans la Riu. ([Buade]) ([Colbert]) on trouuera passage po^{r} entrer dans La mer vermeille,

Jay ueu un village qui n'estoit qu'a ([cinq]) (vingt) [20] iournée([s par terre]) d'une nation qui a cõmerce auec ceux de la Califo([*u*])rnie si J'([*y*])estois arriué ([deux]) ([2]) iours plustost iaurois parlé a ceux qui en estoient venus et auoient apporté 4 haches pour present.[18]

On auroit veu La description de tout dans mon iournal si le bonh[r] qui m'auoit tousiou[r]s accompagné dans ce voiage ne m'eust manqué un quart d'heure deuant que d'arriuer au Lieu d'ou i'estois partis, iauois euité ([tous]) Les dangers des Sauuages, iauois passé 42 rapides ([et]) iestois prest de debarquer auec (*toute*) la ioye qu'on pouuoit auoir du succes d'une si longue et [si] difficile entreprise Lorsque mon canot tourna hors des dangers [ou Je] [Jy] perdis 2 hões, et ma cassette a la veüe [*et a la porte*] des premieres [maisons] [habitations] francoises que iauois quitté([es]) il y auoit presq∫ deux ans, Il ne me reste que La vie et la volonté po[r] L'Employer a tout ce ([qui]) ([qu'il]) vous plaira ([avec toute la Joye possible])

Monseigneur

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant seruiteur
([*et suiet*])
Jol([l])iet.

Before comparing the geographical information contained in the letter with what we learn from the other documents, a few observations are in order. Although the anonymous copyist made no deliberate change in Jolliet's original text, he was very careless. Thus in the first line he omitted three words (le bonheur aujourdhuy) which are found in Franquelin's copy and were certainly in Jolliet's letter, for they are necessary to make sense. The two omissions in the second paragraph (sur la terre, tous les iours) make more complete sense although they are not absolutely necessary. In this same paragraph, the omission of the combined *de* and article before each kind of fruit mentioned except the first kind, is not what an ordinarily educated Frenchman would do. Why the five words (auec toute la Joye possible) were left out before the clausula is difficult to say; on the other hand, it is fairly certain that the two words "et suiet" before the signature were in Jolliet's original. The latter

[18] This paragraph is inserted as a descriptive legend in Franquelin's and in Bernou's map just below the Illinois River.

uses these words in the dedication of another map to La Barre, Frontenac's successor as governor of New France.[19] Finally, the copyist misspelled Jolliet's name, which in every genuine signature is always written with two "l's"[20] and was correctly copied by Franquelin.

But though Franquelin was more careful than the anonymous author in copying the dedicatory letter, he changed or was told to change the name "Buade" given to the Mississippi by its discoverer. This name occurs twice in Jolliet's original, first in the second paragraph of the letter and again in a paragraph which the mapmaker took out and inserted as a descriptive legend in the map itself just below the Illinois River. In the second paragraph Franquelin's change from "Riuiere Buade" to "Riuiere Colbert" does not make sense. Jolliet makes it quite clear that he christened the Mississippi "Riuiere Buade," Frontenac's patronymic, because it was discovered in consequence of one of the first administrative orders of the governor shortly after his coming to Quebec in 1672.

Since we see that Franquelin was more careful in copying the dedicatory letter than the anonymous author, we are virtually certain that the spelling and syntax of this text is substantially Jolliet's own. Although he had received the best education available in New France, there are in his writings what one might call "colonialisms" which would pass muster in Quebec, but not in Paris. Jolliet wrote French well, but Bernou, who copied the letter from the Franquelin map, wrote French better. Besides the use of less precise prepositions and redundant adverbs of place, a common colonialism in seventeenth century Canada is the loose use of relative clauses, which is apt in some contexts to make a sentence ambiguous. An educated Frenchman of the seventeenth century, like Bernou writing in Paris, would mechanically make the sentence less equivocal by bringing the relative clause nearer to its antecedent or by repeating the noun when the pronoun would be vague in reference.

This last observation with regard to relative pronouns is illustrated in the title of Franquelin's map: "Carte de la descouuerte du S^{r} Jolliet .... et par une mesme nauigation a celuy des Ilinois au bout duquel on va joindre la Riuiere diuine par un portage de Mille pas *qui* tombe dans la Riuiere Colbert et se descharge dans le sein Mexique." Bernou's copy reads: ".... par un portage de milles pas: *cette riuiere tombe.*" Since the relative pronoun *qui* might refer to the "portage de mille pas," Bernou repeated the noun with

[19] "The Voyage of Louis Jolliett to Hudson Bay in 1679, "MID-AMERICA, XXVI, 1944, 241, note 82.

[20] "Louis Jolliet. Early Years," *ibid.*, XXVII, 1945, 3.

the demonstrative adjective *cette riuiere*. Another example of Bernou's editing is found in the second paragraph, where he transposed the words "au dela des lacs Huron et Illinois" to the end of the sentence. It is obvious that this adverbial expression makes better sense immediately after the verb than at the beginning of the sentence where Jolliet originally had it.

We have already said that the geographical information contained in this letter is found in the other documents analyzed previously.

What Jolliet means by the east-west width of North America—1,200 leagues, nearly 3,300 miles—is not clear. The east-west distance from Quebec to Prairie du Chien along the route which he followed is roughly 1,500 miles, less than one half the distance in his letter. Frontenac's secretary wrote that Jolliet's canoe capsized after a voyage of 1,200 leagues. We do not know whether this is meant to give the total distance travelled or the distance between Quebec and the southernmost point reached by the expedition. In the latter case the actual distance is still 800 miles short of the given figure; while the round trip from Quebec to the Arkansas village and back to Montreal by the route which Jolliet followed is 4,700 miles.

The statement that the Mississippi is located between Florida and Mexico is also found in Jolliet's letter to Laval. That the mouth of the river must be in the Gulf of Mexico is clear from Dablon's account.

The route to the Vermilion Sea is explicitly mentioned in Frontenac's letter to Colbert and in Dablon's narrative. In his dedicatory letter, however, Jolliet is more emphatic than the governor and the Jesuit in saying that the Vermilion Sea could be reached by ascending one of the western tributaries of the Mississippi.

It is impossible to identify the village visited by Jolliet from which Indians of a western village who traded with California Indians had departed two days before his arrival, after having brought a present of four hatchets.[21] As can be seen from the above critical text of the letter, Franquelin's copy—and of course that of Bernou—gives twenty days' journey instead of five as the distance between this village and that of the western Indians. From the wording of this sentence it seems that the anonymous copyist reproduced the original correctly: "a village which was *only* five days' journey distant."

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[21] Cf. "Marquette's Autograph Map," *ibid.*, 46-47.

The last item of geographical information concerns the route which Jolliet followed on his return. When, in sight of Montreal, he met with the accident in which he lost all his papers, "iauois passé 42 rapides." Dablon, who had his information from the explorer, wrote that the accident took place at Sault St. Louis near Montreal "apres en [*i. e.*, saults or rapids] auoir franchy plus de 40." From Sault Ste Marie to Montreal the only route with so many rapids is the common route taken by Indians and traders: through the North Channel to Georgian Bay, up the French River to Lake Nipissing, and then down the Ottawa River to Montreal. Incidentally, this information disposes of the opinion that Jolliet passed through Fort Frontenac on his journey and supposedly met La Salle there.

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Antoine Laumet, *alias* Cadillac

Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694-1697

(Concluded)

III

At about the time when Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain that the Indians complained of the low price paid for pelts, a measure was being passed in Paris which purported to effect radical changes in the economic life of New France. The measure was the royal declaration of May 21, 1696, which abolished all *congés*, ordered the withdrawal of the garrison from the western posts and the return of the French to Lower Canada, and forbade all trade in the woods. Henceforth the Indians would have to bring their pelts to Montreal and sell them to the French there. How this royal declaration came to be issued will now be told.

A memoir written in February 1705 explains at length the origin of *congés* and the emergence of the *coureurs de bois*.[1] All the evils of Canada, wrote the memorialist, spring from the beaver pelt monopoly, or as he says in the title of his paper, from "the assembling of the beaver pelts in the same hand." After the West Indies Company had allowed the settlers of Canada to trade in beaver pelts on payment of 25 per cent. in kind, so many pelts were brought to the warehouses of the Company in Quebec that the price of felt hats, the only industry which used the pelts, fell 50 per cent. A further drop in the price of hats led to the creation of a monopoly. In 1674, the West Indies Company which controlled this monopoly found the privilege too onerous, and in May of that year the king attached to his own demesne all the rights of the companies which had thus far exploited Canada. A new *ferme* was established and was called *Domaine d' Occident*. At a meeting of the agent of the *fermiers* or contractors with the representative of the people of Canada, it was decided that all the beaver pelts would be brought to the warehouses of Quebec, that a fixed price would be paid for the furs according to their quality, and that the agent would buy the pelts with bills of exchange payable in France. Since the contractors had to take all the pelts, good and bad, that were brought to them, the hunters were sure of finding a market for their spoils,

[1] Mémoire historique à Monseigneur le Comte de Pontchartrain sur les Mauvais Effets de la Reunion des Castors dans une mesme main, AC, C 11A, 22:356-376.

and all those who could do so went to the woods to catch beavers. As the beaver "frontier" receded, bolder and more adventurous men were needed. These were the *coureurs de bois* who were hired by the merchants to go to the distant villages of the interior and buy furs gathered by the Indians.

At the beginning all that was needed to go or to send hired men to the Indian villages was the leave of the governor, but before long the number of *coureurs de bois* increased out of all proportion to the population of Canada. Because of the complicity of the merchants and of officialdom, the repeated orders of the king to rid the colony of these adventurers were not carried out.[2] In 1680, Duchesneau recommended to the minister a general amnesty for the *coureurs de bois*, and a severe punishment for those who did not take advantage of it.[3] Louis XIV granted such an amnesty in May 1681,[4] and at the same time renewed the prohibition against fetching pelts from the Indian villages.[5] The Indians themselves had to come to Montreal and dispose of their pelts there. The king, however, empowered the governor to grant twenty-five *congés* each year to poor families; he ruled that each *congé* must be visaed by the intendant, and that no one could be given a *congé* two years in succession.[6]

In his letter thanking the king for the amnesty and the twenty-five annual *congés*, Frontenac said that now it would be possible to restore order and that the allowed number of trade permits would be distributed in the following spring.[7] Frontenac was recalled in the following year. Great abuses in the distribution of *congés* occurred during the governorship of La Barre.[8] His successor, Denonville, took energetic measures against the *coureurs de bois*,[9] but by

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[2] Duchesneau to Colbert, November 10, 1679, AC, C 11A, 45:38-46; *id.*, to Seignelay, November 13, 1681, *ibid.*, 290.

[3] Duchesneau to Seignelay, November 13, 1680, NYCD, IX, 140.

[4] Amnestie pour les coureurs de bois de la Nouvelle France, *Edits, ordonnances royaux*, I, 249-250; *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France, 1663-1710*, 6 volumes, Quebec, 1885-1891, II, 655.

[5] Edit du Roi qui défend d'aller à la traite des pelleteries dans la profondeur des bois et les habitations des sauvages, *Edits, ordonnances royaux*, I, 248-259; *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, II, 652. Cf. the ordinances of June 13, 1673, and of April 15, 1676, in *Edits, ordonnances royaux*, I, 73, 86.

[6] The text of the ordinance is in AC, F 3, 6:10. Cf. Louis XIV to Frontenac, April 30, 1681, AC, C 11A, 5:356-356v; to Duchesneau, April 30, 1681, AC, B 8:80-81v.

[7] Frontenac to Louis XIV, November 13, 1681, RAPQ, 1927, 126.

[8] Louis XIV to La Barre, July 31, 1684, NYCD, IX, 233; April 10, 1684, AC, C 11A, 6:248v; Seignelay to La Barre, April 10, 1684, *ibid.*, 243. But see La Barre's answer, November 13, 1684, AC, C 11A, 6:347-347v.

[9] Reglement . . . sur le fait des traites . . . , January 1686, AC, F 3, 6:243-245.

1686, ranging the woods had become too much a part of life in New France to be eradicated by edicts, decrees, ordinances or proclamations. Seven years after the amnesty of 1681, Denonville wrote that the number of *coureurs de bois* was increasing every day.[10]

The king's purpose in allowing twenty-five *congés* annually was to help poor families, but as Lahontan, who was in the West and in Lower Canada from 1683 to 1692, observed,

> God knows how many more have private Licenses .... Each License extends to the lading of two great Canows;[11] and whoever procures a whole or a half License for himself, may either make use of it itself, or sell it to the highest Bidder. Commonly they are bought at six hundred Crowns a-piece. Those who puchase 'em are at no trouble in finding Pedlars or Forest Rangers to undertake the long Voyages, which fetch the most considerable Gains, and commonly extend to a Year, and sometimes more. The Merchants put into the two Canows stipulated in the License, six Men with a thousand Crowns-worth of Goods, which are rated to the Pedlars at fifteen *per Cent.* more than what they are sold for in ready Money in the Colony. When the Voyage is perform'd, this Sum of a thousand Crowns commonly brings in seven hundred *per Cent.* clear profit, and sometimes more, sometimes less; for these Sparks call'd *Coureurs de Bois* bite the Savages most dexterously and the lading of two Canows, computed at a thousand Crowns, is a purchase for as many Beaver-skins as will load four Canows ....[12]

We have already noted that after his return to Canada in 1689, Frontenac found a way of distributing more than the twenty-five annual *congés*.[13] This method consisted in sending "orders" to the western posts, the bearers of which orders were allowed to load their canoes with merchandise to defray the expenses of the journey. Between 1689 and 1693, however, because of the danger of falling into the hands of the Iroquois, few canoe loads were brought from the West, the region which supplied three-fourths of the furs. During these years pelts accumulated at Michilimackinac, but in 1693, two hundred canoes arrived in Montreal "freighted with a prodigious quantity of peltries." There was, wrote an annalist, "gaiety in the hearts" of the colonists;[14] Cadillac adds that the whole colony "shed tears of joy."[15]

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[10] Memoir of Denonville, August 10, 1688, AC, C 11A, 10:66-66v. See also his report of January 1690, NYCD, IX, 442-443.

[11] The ordinance of May 2, 1681, AC, F 3, 6:10, allowed the holder to a trade permit to load one canoe. See also Champigny's annotations to Frontenac's ordinance of April 8, 1690, *ibid.*, 367v.

[12] Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, I, 99-100.

[13] *Supra*, 126.

[14] Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1692-1693, NYCD, IX, 569. Cf. La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, III, 185.

[15] Cadillac's memoir of 1694, NYCD, IX, 585.

When the contractors in France heard about the prodigious quantity of peltries that had come from the West, there was little "gaiety in their hearts," and their tears, if any, were not tears of joy. They complained to the king, who then sent his first warning to Frontenac and Champigny. If, said Louis XIV, orders must be sent to the West, let them be entrusted to those who have regular *congés*; and, he added, if the contractors continue to lose money in proportion to the increase of the quantity of pelts, he would have to cancel their contract.[16]

Frontenac sent prolix explanations to the minister,[17] while Champigny in a long memoir argued with the contractors.[18] The latter answered the intendant point by point, blaming the Canadian officials for the "excessive increase of the beaver trade and for the bad quality of the pelts" accepted in Quebec. The market, they said, was very limited, for the pelts could only be used by hatters. As they could not export the surplus, they had to choose between keeping the furs in the warehouses or selling them at a loss. They suggested means of lessening their losses until the war in Europe was over, thereafter they intended to cancel their contract.[19]

Throughout 1695 expedients were devised in New France to forestall the outcome of the complaints of the contractors in France.[20] The latter, in a memoir dated 1696, reviewed the development of the beaver trade in Canada and enumerated the various causes that had left such an enormous quantity of pelts in their hands.[21] This memoir had already been written when news reached Paris that another huge cargo of pelts had arrived in Montreal from the West.[22] Thereupon the contractors sent another memorandum to the king in which they proposed the only effective measure that could save them from utter ruin, namely, "to forbid all trading in the woods under severe penalties, even death, and to forbid the governor and the intendant to grant any *congés* whatsoever, under penalty of recall."[23]

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[16] Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, May 8, 1694, AC, B 17:75-84v.

[17] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, November 4, 1694, RAPQ, 1928, 187.

[18] Mémoire pour le Castor, October 26, 1694, AC, C 11A, 13:198-199.

[19] Sur le Memoire de M. de Champigny concernant le Castor, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:200-201, 202-203.

[20] Cf. Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 6, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:354-354v; Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, November 10, 1695, RAPQ, 1929, 290.

[21] Commerce du Castor de Canada, 1696, AC, C 11A, 14:255-262.

[22] Callières to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1695, AC, C 11A, 13:385-385v.

[23] Mémoire sur le Commerce des Castors, 1696, AC, C 11A, 14:275-275v.

On April 4, 1696, Pontchartrain sent a short express note to Frontenac saying that he had been ordered by the king to tell the governor to grant no *congés* and to accept no pelts whatsoever until the arrival of the ships bringing the orders of the king. His Majesty, said the minister, "has ordered me to make it quite clear that you will be held personally responsible for any violation of his intentions."[24]

The contractors had evidently carried the day. The first memoir of 1696 mentioned above was used as a basis for drafting a declaration which the king signed on May 21, 1696. After a brief outline of the reasons which led the king to allow the granting of the twenty-five annual *congés*, the declaration reads as follows:

We have been informed that under various pretexts more [than twenty-five] *congés* have been granted under the name of permits [Frontenac's orders]. In consequence thereof, the contractors have been overburdened with pelts of all kinds which they cannot sell, with the result of a fall in price and the closing of the [hat] factories in the kingdom. Furthermore, in order to get beaver pelts, the grantees of these permissions and *congés* went to the depths of the woods and to the most distant regions of North America where they have given free rein to their licentiousness and debauchery, and have been the cause of all kinds of disorders and crimes. Because these men accepted pelts of all kinds, the Indians have neglected to cure them properly. The inhabitants have neglected to till the soil, to develop fisheries or to engage in other suitable gainful employments; the beaver trade has prevented people from settling within the limits of the colony; it has jeopardized the profits of the [French] merchants, and has made imminent the ruin of the colony unless a prompt remedy be applied.

For these reasons, having sought the advice of our Council, with certain knowledge, We, in virtue of the fullness of our power and royal authority, have by these presents abolished and do absolutely abolish all *congés* and permissions to go trading among the Indians; and We declare null and void all *congés* which have been and will be given to that effect. We hereby have invalidated and do invalidate articles 351 and 352 of the contract of May 18, 1687, and all orders and acts conformable to the same. In consequence, We expressly inhibit and forbid all persons of whatever quality and condition, from the day of registration of the present declaration, under any pretext to go trading in the interior, on penalty of being sent to the galleys. Under the same penalty We order all Frenchmen who reside among the Indians or who have gone to their villages, to depart from the same within a period to be specified by the Sieur de Frontenac . . . . together with the Sieur de Champigny . . . . Wishing, however, to maintain such a beaver market as is necessary for consumption and trade within the kingdom, and in order that both the Indians and the merchants may profit from this trade by furnishing pelts of good quality, We command that henceforth no pelts

[24] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, April 4, 1694, RAPQ, 1929, 298.

be received except in public places of the colony where they are to be brought by the Indians as was done before the said *congés* were issued.[25]

Five days after the date of the above declaration, the king sent a long memorial to Frontenac and Champigny. After reviewing the reasons why the *congés* were abolished, he commented at length on their dispatches of the preceding November dealing with the defection of the western tribes.[26] He had asked the members of the Council of State, he said, to examine anew what Frontenac and Champigny had written concerning the peace negotiations between the Hurons, the Ottawa, and the Iroquois; persons who knew the state of affairs in Canada had also been consulted and had declared that the western Indians, in spite of all that had been done for them, could not be depended upon, and that owing to the remoteness of their villages, the royal treasury could not bear the expense necessary to keep in touch with them. His Majesty therefore has "resolved to abandon Michilimackinac as well as the other posts of the interior, with the exception of Fort St. Louis in the Illinois country." In this manner it will be possible to keep the colonists together in Lower Canada, where they will be able to defend the colony more effectively. The permanent abolition of trade in the depths of the woods will force the Indians to bring their pelts to Montreal, and the inhabitants and the merchants will share the profits of the trade, which until now have been monopolized by the *coureurs de bois* to the detriment of the colony as a whole. At the end of his letter, the king commanded Frontenac and Champigny to order the return of all the French from the posts. No trade goods whatever were to be brought to the interior, except such merchandise as was necessary for the subsistence of those who were engaged in bringing back the pelts acquired before the publication of the declaration abolishing all *congés*.[27]

This royal declaration caused consternation among the small group who had thus far profited by the *congés*, especially among the protégés of the governor to whom the majority of trade-permits were given or sold. Frontenac had come to look upon the *congés*

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[25] Declaration du Roy Portant suppression des 25 congés et deffences d'aller en traitte aux 8taoüacs apeine des Galères, AC, B 19:118-121, printed in *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à l'historie de la Nouvelle France*, 4 volumes, Quebec, 1883-1885, II, 219-221.

[26] *Supra*, 199-200, 204.

[27] Mémoire du Roi pour le gouverneur de Frontenac et l'intendant Bochart de Champigny, May 26, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 301-307. Cf. Pontchartrain to Frontenac, *ibid.*, 299-300; to Champigny, AC, B 19:103v-104v.

as "his patrimony";[28] they were "post offices" with which he rewarded his followers. The measure also caused dismay "among those whose private interests would suffer, as well as among some who loved Canada and who foresaw a diminution of wealth for the colony."[29] The common people, however, were unaffected, for they had little to lose by the abolition of *congés*. Although the intention of the king in allowing twenty-five *congés* had been to help poor families, the trade-permits were actually so distributed as to help everybody else.

Frontenac's reaction to the declaration is expressed in his letter of October 25, 1696, to Pontchartrain. He begins with an account of his expedition to the Iroquois country in the summer, and then passes to the abolition of *congés*. The contractors, he says, have grossly exaggerated the quantity of pelts left in their hands, and their so-called losses are merely the result of maladministration. He then tells the minister that he will recall all Frenchmen from the West and will grant no more *congés*. He cites as an instance of his obedience to the orders of the king the fact that he had allowed only one man, La Forest, to apprise Cadillac at Michilimackinac of the outcome of the expedition against the Iroquois, and had forbidden fifty Frenchmen who had taken part in this expedition to return to the West. "I would fail in my duty to the king, were I to omit mentioning the murmurs caused by the declaration of his Majesty, as well as its sorry and inevitable consequences for the colony." These consequences were the alliance of the western Indians with the Iroquois, their trade with the English, and the occupation of the West by the latter. All of this is simply a repetition of what Cadillac had written in the preceding year, some expressions of the commandant are repeated verbatim in the governor's letter.

In the royal declaration and in the king's memorial there is a passing mention of the licentiousness of the *coureurs de bois*. Frontenac seized upon this as an occasion to vent his spleen against the Jesuits.

> The licentiousness, debauchery, disorders and crimes of which the French traders are accused would be difficult for those people to prove who, because of their own private interests, have long wished to be the only ones allowed to trade [in the West] or to be better able to hide the trade in which they have always been and still are engaged. They have made use of these pretexts more than once.

[28] Mémoire historique . . . sur les Mauvais Effets . . . , AC, C 11A, 22:376.

[29] Memoire sur les affaires du Canada, 1696, AC, C 11A, 14:304.

This so-called licentiousness, he goes on to say, has been greatly exaggerated. Five or six Frenchmen during the governorship of La Barre and since that time two more have gone to live among the Indians. Frontenac adds that he himself had forced Frenchmen who had married Indian women to return to the French settlements.

As for drunkness, the missionaries will never be able to prevent the English from supplying those regions with liquor, once the French cease to bring brandy there. The only difference will be that the English will supply the Indians with as much liquor as they want, and there will be no one, as is the case at present, to repress the excesses that may arise. Thus the obstacle [brandy] which they have so long claimed to be the only one to the propagation of the Faith will not be removed. Their continued harping on this string for more than forty years may easily win over those who do not know their other motives and their interests.

If a few Frenchmen have been too fond of women, I hope, my Lord, that you will do me the justice of not believing that I ever tolerated such disorders when I knew of them. Whenever the missionaries brought their complaints to me or to the commandants on the spot, the guilty ones were punished on the mere reports of these Fathers. This will no longer be possible after all the commandants are recalled.[30]

We have quoted this part of Frontenac's letter at length for several reasons. First, because it is typical of the insinuations met with throughout his correspondence. He first says "ils," then speaks of "les missionnaires," and finally of "ces Pères." Since the Jesuits were ordinarily referred to as "les Pères," and there were no other missionaries in the West, Pontchartrain could not fail to identify who "ils" were who wished to monopolize the fur trade.

Another reason for quoting this passage is to give a concrete example of the standard duet sung by Frontenac and Cadillac. When commenting on a passage of Cadillac's letter to Lagny of 1695, we called attention to the fact that after one year in the West, the "clever and keen" commandant had found no evidence of trade on the part of the Jesuits, and that he had to repeat the general accusations sent to France by a certain coterie,[31] accusations which had been given a new lease of life by Frontenac at the beginning of his first term.[32] Now, in 1696, although he had been in constant touch with Cadillac throughout the whole year, the governor is reduced to repeating the same vague accusations made by the commandant in 1695.

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[30] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, two copies signed by Frontenac in AC, C 11A, 14:154-167, and in BN, Clairambault, 879:350-363. The letter is printed in RAPQ, 1929, 308-318.

[31] *Supra*, 206.

[32] *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, 20 ff.

Frontenac's implication that the complaints of the missionaries against the licentiousness and debauchery of the *coureurs de bois* had brought about the abolition of *congés* is simply ridiculous. The Jesuits had inveighed against the liquor traffic for the past fifty years; for more than twenty-five years they had thundered against the licentiousness of the French traders; and all this time they had sent letters, memoirs and petitions to the Court. In spite of this, nothing was ever done. In 1695, however, as we have seen, the French contractors, who were losing money because of the enormous quantity of pelts that was being sent them from Canada, took the matter into their own hands, realizing that they would be ruined unless the *congés* were abolished. Less than one year after their appeal to the king, the decree of abolition was issued. Frontenac was well aware of all this, just as he was well aware that his sending men to the West with his "orders" was equivalent to granting many more than the twenty-five *congés* he was allowed to give annually. Realizing that the declaration left him without his principal means of rewarding his protégés, realizing also that the declaration curtailed his own profits derived from the sale of *congés*, it was only natural that he should use the king's reference to licentiousness as a means of blaming the Jesuits.[33]

In a letter to Lagny of the same date as his letter to Pontchartrain, Frontenac notifies his correspondent that he is sending his secretary to Paris to explain the state of affairs. The abolition of *congés*, he says, would not affect him personally, but he foresees as a consequence the imminent ruin of the colony. He is not at all attached to the prerogative of distributing trade-permits "as M. the intendant seems to be. For the past seven years he has been using all sorts of devious means to take the privilege away from me." The granting of *congés* was not Frontenac's exclusive privilege; they had to be visaed by the intendant and were to be distributed to poor families, not to officers, protégés or political allies. "I would be delighted if the public clamor and the unusual murmurs of the people of this country against the abolition of *congés,* would force

[33] As is to be expected the letter of the governor is echoed in Margry's introduction to the fifth volume of his compilation. He admits, however, that the abolition of *congés* is due "to some extent" to the Jesuits. According to Margry, the measure was also partially due to Champigny whom Margry never forgave for refusing to be browbeaten by Frontenac. Finally, the contractors also came up for censure because of their unwillingness to lose money in order to build the fortune of Messrs. Frontenac, Cadillac and the rest of the great "colonials." See Margry, V, lxxvii-xc.

the Court to restore them. I would easily console myself if the Court empowered him [Champigny] or someone else to distribute the *congés*. This would free me from much trouble; for I did not please those to whom I granted the permits, and I displeased those to whom I could not grant them."[34]

A letter of Champigny of the same date confirms what Frontenac says about the murmurs of the people, but contradicts the governor's statements about his detachment and "consolation." After speaking of the many abuses arising from the *congés*, such as the licentious life of the *coureurs de bois* and the trade of the commandants, Champigny goes on to say:

> I must represent to you, my Lord, that a few articles of his Majesty's declaration appear very harsh, and that its enforcement might bring about the ruin of the colony. I take the liberty of suggesting some middle course, such as to keep only two posts among the Ottawa [Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph, near present-day Niles, Michigan] and to grant twenty-five *congés* annually as was done until now, but with several restrictions which I could not insert in our joint letter,[35] because M. de Frontenac did not approve of these restrictions.[36]

Indeed, Frontenac was not interested in *congés* with restrictions; he wanted to have a free hand, and to supplement the twenty-five *congés* with "orders" and "permissions." Since these latter were not *congés* they did not have to be visaed by the intendant, and the canoes of the bearers of such orders were exempt from his inspection.

In carrying out the provisions of the declaration of May 1696, Frontenac used many pretexts for delaying the recall of the French traders, but insisted on its immediate execution with regard to the missionaries. His argument was very simple: All Frenchmen must be recalled, but the Jesuits are Frenchmen, therefore . . . Furthermore, he forbade the sending of new missionaries to the West. The Jesuits of course protested against such discrimination. They did not think, they say in one of their memoirs to Pontchartrain, that it was his Majesty's intention that they should abandon their missions. They had tried to explain this to Frontenac, but "he did not even do them the favor of listening, because he thinks perhaps that they have obtained these orders which do not please him, but my

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[34] Frontenac to Lagny, October 26, 1696, BN, Clairambault, 874:27.
[35] Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 26, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 320-325.
[36] Champigny to Pontchartrain, AC C 11A, 14:197-198.

Lord de Pontchartrain knows better than anyone that they [the Jesuits] had nothing to do with the king's declaration."[37]

All the documents from which we have been quoting were in the king's hands by the beginning of 1697. His reply to the governor and the intendant leaves no doubt about his position. All the objections, he says, against the abolition of *congés* were already known when his decision was taken; hence the provisions of the declaration of 1696 must be carried out to the letter. If, however, Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph have not been abandoned on receipt of the present letter, Frontenac may leave the garrison in these two posts until further notice. But as the only purpose of retaining these garrisons is to control the Indians and prevent them from doing anything prejudicial to the colony, his Majesty "does not want the officers and soldiers in those posts to carry on any kind of trade, either directly or indirectly, under any pretext, his intentions being to punish offenders severely." All the needs of the garrisons are to be supplied by the intendant. So that no one may plead ignorance, the king is sending an ordinance[38] which is to be published throughout the colony, especially at Michilimackinac and at Fort St. Joseph, and he warns Frontenac and Champigny that "they will be held responsible if I hear that the execution of this ordinance is being eluded by means which I cannot foresee." Louis XIV did not forget how some of his previous orders had been "carried out." With regard to the missionaries, the king specifically stated that it had never been his intention to prevent them from going to their missions in the interior, and that his declaration recalling the French from the West did not apply to them at all.[39]

This detailed account of the abolition of *congés* was necessary at this point, though it involves departing from the chronological order of events, in order to explain Cadillac's return from Michilimackinac and the letters which he wrote after his arrival in Quebec.

The declaration of May 21, 1696, was duly engrossed in the

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[37] Requeste a Monseigneur de Pontchartrain au nom des Jesuites qui sont en Canada, BN, Clairambault, 881:107-198. In a letter to Laval of June 8-14, 1696, M. Tremblay wrote: "C'est Mr. Riverin qui y [abolition of *congés*] a le plus contribué." Archives du Séminaire (Laval University) Quebec, *Lettres*, Carton N, no. 106, p. 13.

[38] Ordonnance pour la conservation des postes de Frontenac de Mississilimakinac et de S[t] Joseph de Miamis en Canada, April 28, 1697, AC, B 19:264-265v; a copy of this ordinance under date of April 27, is in AC, F 3, 8:25-26.

[39] Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, April 27, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 328-332.

registers of the Sovereign Council and was published in the colony.[40] With regard to its promulgation in distant posts, Frontenac claimed that it was too late to make it known this year. In the spring of 1697, Champigny, who was equally responsible for its execution, spoke again to Frontenac reminding him to send the declaration to the distant posts. This was unnecessary, replied the governor, for, even before the declaration was received in Quebec, word had been sent to Cadillac to make the French return from the West; there would be no sense in sending another order to Michilimackinac now, and it was better to await the possible return of Cadillac himself.[41]

Frontenac's expectations were realized on August 29, when Cadillac reached Montreal "with a number of Indians belonging to the Upper nations and several canoes of Frenchmen."[42] Although no document gives the number of voyageurs who had come down with him, it is quite clear that they were few in number. Whatever order Frontenac may have sent to Cadillac, he did not notify him that all the French traders had to return. This appears from a letter of the governor which is dated two days after the letter of Champigny summarized above. The declaration, he wrote, has been promulgated and its provisions are being carried out to the letter.

> Orders have been given for the general recall, next year, not only of all the voyageurs, but also of all the soldiers in the posts as well as their commandants, not excepting the Sieur [Alphonse] de Tonti. I gave orders that if the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac should come down with the convoy of French and Indians whom we were expecting, Tonti should return speedily to Michilimackinac with the Indians and five Frenchmen only, and take command there during the absence of the Sieur de Lamothe.[43]

Another indication that Frontenac had not previously sent Cadillac the order for the return of all Frenchmen is found in a letter of La Touche, the intendant's delegate at Montreal. It is quite clear that if the commandant had received such an order he would not have dared to disobey it by acting as this letter narrates.

> I must also tell you, my Lord, that several individuals declared to me under oath, as appears from the copies of the declarations and petitions which I am sending to your Highness,—the originals are in the hands of the in-

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[40] On September 24, 1696, *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 49-50.

[41] Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 13, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:126.

[42] Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1696-1697, NYCD, IX, 671. Three hundred Indians were in the convoy, Cadillac to [Lagny], October 20, 1697, AC, C 11E, 14:28; Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 342.

[43] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 341.

tendant—that the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, ... who was in command at Michilimackinac, whence he returned a month and a half ago, has taken and extorted from the voyageurs a great quantity of beaver pelts, by threatening that otherwise he would force them to return to Montreal as was ordered by the king's declaration which commanded all Frenchmen to return hither.[44]

A few days after his arrival in Montreal, Cadillac proceeded to Quebec with some Indian chiefs and there took part in a meeting in Frontenac's house on September 11, 1697.

As we have seen, the king had written that if the garrisons of Michilimackinac and of Fort St. Joseph had not returned to Lower Canada by the time that Frontenac received the memoir of 1697, the governor was empowered to leave a few soldiers and a commandant in each of the two posts, but under no pretext whatever could they engage in any kind of trade. Frontenac thought that the garrisons would be unable to subsist under those conditions; but not wishing to settle the question by himself, he called a council to discuss what was most advisable. This council was made up of the intendant, five officers, and the Sieur de Lamothe "who had recently returned from Michilimackinac where he was in command, and who therefore had a better knowledge of the dispositions of the Indians."

Almost unanimously,[45] the council agreed that it would be impossible for officers and soldiers to subsist in those places on their pay. Moreover, it would be very costly to send them their pay each year in the form of provisions or merchandise, for beside the fact that these shipments would often be very uncertain, strong escorts would be required to protect the convoy. This would be equivalent to sending more Frenchmen every year to these posts, which seems to me contrary to the intention of his Majesty.

Consequently, Frontenac resolved to recall not only all the French traders, but also all the soldiers and officers who were in the western posts, because he did not think that the thirty soldiers which he was permitted to leave at Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph would be a match for the western Indians should these ally themselves with the Iroquois and the English. Such an alliance, the governor warns, will certainly come about as soon as the Indians realize that the soldiers are no longer supported by the French traders.[46]

In their joint letter of October 25, 1696, Frontenac and Champigny had expostulated with the minister to keep the western

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[44] La Touche to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:162.
[45] The dissenting voice was Champigny's.
[46] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 341.

posts,[47] and Champigny had suggested that if all the posts could not be kept, at least those of Michilimackinac and of St. Joseph be not abandoned and that a small garrison be maintained in each post.[48] The council's decision to abandon these posts was evidently due to the king's ordinance of April 1697, forbidding further trade by the men and officers of the proposed garrisons.

In the same letter to Pontchartrain, the governor told the minister that, on returning to Quebec, Cadillac had given an account of his administration in the West, and that he was well pleased with the commandant's vigilance and good conduct.

> I should have like to be able to induce him to return to Michilimackinac where he has been so successful, but when he described the quarrels and difficulties which he had with the missionaries when he wanted to correct the abuses which they had introduced there, I yielded to his representations all the more willingly since the Sieur de Tonti had already left to take his place, and hence that post is not without a commandant."[49]

We have seen what those abuses consisted in, namely, in the opposition of the missionaries to the unlimited sale of brandy to the Indians. In passing, we may remark that if there had been real abuses it should not have been difficult to specify what they were, especially for a "keen and clever" man who had spent three years in the West, whose observation nothing escaped.

The true reasons why Cadillac did not want to return to Michilimackinac are quite different from the reason mentioned by Frontenac. They were first, his fear of the wrath of the voyageurs from whom he had extorted furs; and second, because he would no longer be able to carry on the lucrative trade of the past three years, a trade which had netted him 27,000 livres of clear profit. Finally, since no more traders were allowed to go to the West, Cadillac would no longer be able to levy a substantial tax for "protection."

A few days after Frontenac had written to Pontchartrain, Cadillac sent an account of his three years in the West to the Minister and another report to Lagny. In the first he wrote that when he left Michilimackinac, the Ottawa country was "in good order,"[50]

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[47] Frontenac and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, RAPQ, 1929, 322.

[48] Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 25, 1696, AC, C 11A, 14:198. The following year the intendant explained why he changed his mind with regard to the garrison in the two posts, Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 13, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:127-127v.

[49] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, RAPQ, 1929, 342.

[50] The author of the Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, 1696-1697, wrote that "great confusion" reigned in the territory which Cadillac had left in good order. NYCD, IX, 667, 672. Cf. also La Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amerique*, II, 288, 298.

but that on arriving in Quebec, he saw the impending ruin of the colony owing to

> the abolition of the twenty-five *congés* which have always been the means of maintaining the good will of our allies toward us .... The king has judged advisable to keep Michilimackinac and the post on the St. Joseph River. Allow me, my Lord, to point out to you that it is absolutely impossible to keep those posts without the help of the voyageurs. With the abolition of *congés*, the voyageurs are forbidden to go to those places; in any event they could not carry on their trade there without a garrison.[51]

To prove his point he compares the difficulty of provisioning Fort Frontenac with that of supplying Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph; the cost of sending provisions under escort would be prohibitive, because of the distance from Lower Canada to either of these two posts, and because of the dangers to which the convoys would be exposed.

The same arguments are substantially repeated in his letter to Lagny. After saying that Frontenac had given him public approbation of his conduct at Michilimackinac, he goes on to say:

> M. de Champigny does not seem to be so well satisfied with my services and makes no secret of it. The only pretext for his resentment is that, three years ago, I did not want to publish an ordinance of his at Michilimackinac. I had contrary orders from M. de Frontenac, and I have always executed his orders thinking that he was the only one in this country to interpret the intentions of the king. You did me the honor of enjoining me to follow such a course both in your letters and when I took my leave of you. If the Jesuits had not stirred trouble for me, M. de Champigny would be wholly on my side, but because I suppressed the abuses which these missionaries had introduced, I did not serve the king to the satisfaction of the intendant. Yet, this year, I have had 102 Iroquois killed without costing his Majesty one *sou*, and thanks to my savoir-faire, I managed to provide subsistence for the garrison for the last two years without expense and without the intendant's sending any convoy.[52]

Since this passage merely reproduces what Cadillac wrote to Lagny in 1696, it is useless to repeat the comments which we have already made on its contents.[53] If Cadillac had possessed a little more moral courage, he would have dispensed with his cant about the service of the king and openly stated that he obeyed Frontenac rather than Louis XIV, because the orders of the governor were much more profitable than those of the sovereign. As we have seen, the commands of the king regarding the trade of officers and

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[51] Cadillac to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1697, AC, C 11E, 14:26.
[52] Cadillac to [Lagny], October 20, 1697, *ibid.*, 29.
[53] *Supra*, 214-215.

the sale of brandy to the Indians were so clearly stated that no "interpretation" was called for.

It is unnecessary to analyze the subsequent correspondence relative to the abolition of *congés* and the maintaining or closing of Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph. The following passages may be quoted to bear out what we have already said. When the report of Frontenac's council reached Louis XIV

> His Majesty was surprised that after so much insistence on their part to keep Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph, they should now abandon these posts under the pretext that officers and soldiers cannot subsist there without trading. This appeared to his Majesty a very weak reason and it convinced him more than anything else of the truth of the information he had received: that these establishments had been founded rather to satisfy the greed of a few officers than to defend the colony.[54]

The king thought that the French had made or were about to make peace with the Iroquois; but should the war continue it would be sufficient to send a few reliable men with arms for the Indian allies. The narrator of the events of 1696-1697 had wondered how the abolition of *congés* should be explained to the Indians.[55] The king answered that those sent to the Indians with presents, as well as the missionaries, should tell them that "his Majesty thereby wished to furnish them French merchandise at a lower price, and to pay the Indians a higher price for their pelts than was paid when trade was carried on in the woods. Once convinced by experience that this is so, they will hasten to Montreal with their pelts, and will be more closely united with the colonists than by the so-called more convenient trade in the woods."[56]

In his letter of the same day Pontchartrain substantially repeats what is contained in the above instructions of the king. "I must tell you that you have put too much credence in those men who through covetousness and greed are in favor of trading in the woods." Frontenac, he continues, should have foreseen the economic consequences caused by the enormous quantity of beaver pelts sent to France, as for the impossibility of officers and men subsisting at Michilimackinac and Fort St. Joseph unless they be allowed to trade, Pontchartrain says:

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[54] Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, May 21, 1698, RAPQ, 1929, 356.

[55] Narrative of the most remarkable Occurrences in Canada, NYCD, IX, 675.

[56] Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, May 21, 1698, RAPQ, 1929, 357.

They do not subsist on trade goods. All that is necessary will be sent to Canada in the same manner as when *congés* were granted. It is not from the Indians that they received their clothes, their bread, their salt, their drink. Hence this new objection can only come from the desire of the officers to engage in trade, as it is said the Sieur de Lamothe did, who, I am told, has come back with a great deal of money. I agree with you that the few soldiers in the forts would not be able to keep the Indians allied to us if the latter did not find it advantageous. I formerly made use of the same argument to show you how unfounded was the contention that these outposts served to prevent the Indians from allying themselves with the English. With regard to these forts being used, in case of need, as places where the French ranging the woods could gather and unite their force with the soldiers against the Indians, allow me to tell you that this reason is no better than the other. How would it be possible to assemble men scattered ten, twenty, thirty leagues from the posts? It is much more likely that, if the Indians intended to unite with our enemies, they could cut the throats of all the Frenchmen scattered among them without giving them time to assemble and fight.[57]

In his answer Frontenac denied that the garrisons had ever received from Quebec what was necessary for their subsistence, because to send the needed supplies would have entailed enormous expense.

We simply allowed the licensees to load their canoes with merchandise and with all that they judged necessary to defray the expenses of their journey and of their stay there. It is quite true that some brandy has been brought to the West, because it is the only beverage that helps them to digest the fish and the poor food which is available there; for wine, bread or salt are unknown in those places, and even the missionaries are obliged to use Spanish Mass wine.

If an officer or a soldier wants to buy wheat or some other commodity, he must buy it from the Indians with the merchandise he has brought along, "and if they thereby make some small profit it should not be begrudged them in view of the risks and hardships which they undergo among those barbarous nations. I even think that if the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac as well as others made some profit there, it is but a light reward for his services."

The governor says at the close of his letter that Cadillac who is bringing the mail to France will give a detailed account of the conditions of this country, of which he is fully informed. "I am convinced that you will be pleased with his report, if you graciously allow him to see you. I have already informed you in several of

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[57] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, May 21, 1698, RAPQ, 1929, 361-362. This quotation from the minister's letter is a pointed answer to Margry's ridiculous *chaîne de postes*.

my letters that he has always performed his duty faithfully in all that pertains to the king's service, and particularly while in command in the Ottawa country where he remained three years. He is a man who certainly deserves the honor of your protection."[58]

By October 1698, which is the date of the above letter of Frontenac, Cadillac had been in Quebec for more than a year. No sooner had he arrived there than Joseph Moreau and Louis Durand presented a petition to Champigny in which they detailed at length the extortions of the commandant at Michilimackinac. The following account of the subsequent lawsuits in which Cadillac was involved is based on Champigny's letter of July 3, 1698, supplemented by other sources which corroborate the intendant's narrative.[59] We have left out all that is irrelevant and have eliminated the legal seventeenth century jargon which in places makes Champigny's report difficult to understand. Although the letter has been translated into English, its literal rendering makes the whole letter almost unintelligible.

Champigny begins by saying that while Cadillac was still at Michilimackinac, he had received several complaints against the commandant who was contravening the king's orders and exerting pressure on the traders in the West. The intendant notified Cadillac to put a stop to his exactions, but the latter kept on replying that he would prove how groundless the complaints were on his return to Montreal.

The complaints of Moreau and Durand, as set forth in their petition to Champigny, were as follows. In April 1696, Cadillac's wife hired them to take a canoe of merchandise to Michilimackinac. Each of the two voyageurs was to be paid a salary of 100 livres, and each was allowed to take 100 livres worth of merchandise which they could sell at Michilimackinac for their own profit. They further made a verbal agreement with Mme. Cadillac to take two canoes to her husband instead of one, which was all they were allowed in virtue of the *congé* granted by Frontenac.[60] Wishing

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[58] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, October 10, 1698, RAPQ, 1929, 365-370.

[59] Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1698, AC, C 11A 16:87-96v, translation in MHS, XXXIII, 86-94. The various documents which Champigny mentions in this letter are in AC, F 3, 8:70-81v. The proceedings of the Sovereign Council in connection with the lawsuit are in *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 165-168, 180-183. Six documents are in the Archives of the Province of Quebec; they are listed *en bloc* in *Inventaire d'une collection de pièces judiciares...*, P.-G. Roy, ed., 2 volumes, Beauceville, 1917, I, 32, no. 266. Some documents dealing with the arbitration are translated into English in MHS, XXXIV, 215-220.

[60] See MHS, XXXIV, 217.

to make the best of their opportunity, Moreau and Durand loaded the two canoes with four or five hundred livres worth of merchandise of their own, over and above the 100 livres worth specified in their contract with Mme. Cadillac.

While they were preparing for the voyage, Louis de La Touche, who had been delegated by the intendant to see to it that the regulations concerning brandy were observed, discovered the second canoe. He promptly seized it, confiscated the goods, sold them at auction and applied the proceeds to the hospital of Montreal. Forty *pots* of brandy which were in the seized canoe were not confiscated because, it was claimed, the liquor was for the personal use of Moreau or his companions and had been put in the second canoe by mistake.

La Touche's inspection, we may remark, was not very thorough, for in spite of this confiscation, not one but three canoes loaded with merchandise were brought to Cadillac by these same men. When the convoy arrived at Michilimackinac Cadillac sold on credit to Moreau and Durand a part of the cargo for 7,000 livres. Nearly half this sum was the price set by Cadillac on 198 *pots* of brandy at 25 livres a *pot*, though the cost to himself at Montreal had been 3 livres a *pot*. All this, as Champigny points out in his letter, was directly against the express orders of the king as well as against his own ordinance of 1694.

A month after this very profitable transaction, Cadillac summarily clapped Durand into jail because, after wounding the dog of an Indian of Michilimackinac, he would not pay damages. Durand thereupon sent word to the commandant that he would not fulfill his contract regarding the 7,000 livres worth of merchandise, and when Moreau declared that he was unable to meet this obligation alone, he, too, was sent to jail by Cadillac on the ground that he had tried to free his partner.

While the two traders were in prison, Cadillac went to their cabins and took not only the 7,000 livres worth of merchandise, but also their own merchandise, their arms, provisions, clothes, canoes, and all their possessions. Not content with this he broke open their private chests and stole several promissory notes, a bond, bills, and other papers belonging to them. Cadillac justified this theft on the ground that Moreau and Durand had brought to Michilimackinac more than the 100 livres worth of merchandise to which they were entitled by their contract with his wife. The two luckless traders were therefore in a sorry plight when they were let out of jail a few days later. As Cadillac refused to return any of their

belongings, they had to live on loans, but they were resolved to secure redress from the burglar as soon as the commandant returned to Quebec.

Their chief claims in the above mentioned petition to Champigny were first, that Cadillac should pay their wages, 100 livres each; secondly, he should compensate them for all the goods which he had stolen; thirdly, he should reimburse the amount of the stolen bills and also of the stolen bond as well as the amount of the notes, which they were unable to cash at Michilimackinac, for their debtors had naturally refused to honor bond and notes which were no longer in their possession. Since Cadillac was refusing to produce the notes even now, they suspected that he had cashed them himself and had pocketed the money. As for the goods in excess of the 100 livres worth to which they were entitled, they had the same right to them as did Cadillac, who had also fraudulently taken more goods than was allowed by his *congé.*

On his part Cadillac claimed that the profits from the goods in excess of 100 livres belonged to him; that far from his having to make compensation, they owed him money. For, he said, at the time when he took back the merchandise which he sold them, he found that some of it was missing. Finally, he disclaimed all responsibility for what was owed to Moreau and Durand by the signers of the promissory notes and for the bond which he had taken when he burglarized their chests.

The claims and counter-claims of the litigants were embodied in a writ prepared by Champigny for the Sovereign Council before which the case was to be tried. The parties to the suit, however, decided to submit their respective claims to private arbitrators instead of having it brought to trial.[61] Inquiries were made by the arbitrators as to the cost of merchandise in the Sioux country where Moreau had gone after his release from prison. Cadillac objected to this, because the cost of merchandise was much higher there than at Michilimackinac, where he had seized the property of Moreau and Durand. Besides, whatever business Moreau had transacted in that country was null and void, because Cadillac himself had issued orders, which had been sanctioned by Frontenac, against going to the Sioux country. To this Moreau countered that what was forbidden was to go to the Sioux country *via* the Fox villages, that many traders had gone there by other routes, and that Cadillac him-

[61] Cf. MHS, XXXIV, 215-216.

self had sent trading parties to the Sioux villages by way of the Illinois country.

At this point Frontenac stepped in. Dupuis, who had been delegated by Champigny to make the above mentioned inquiry for the arbitrators, was called in by the governor and was sent to jail for carrying out the instructions of the intendant. This intimidated the arbitrators, Pachot and Hazeur, and after being threatened by Frontenac, they washed their hands of the whole business and allowed the litigants to have the case tried before "whomsoever and in what manner soever they saw fit."[62]

Meanwhile Durand who had lost less than his partner withdrew his complaints, but Moreau carried on the fight and brought the case to the intendant who reported on it to the Sovereign Council. What Cadillac feared most was a verdict that would force him to make good the damage. To forestall such a decision, he challenged Champigny's fitness as a judge, because the intendant was prejudiced against him. According to his petition, he was apprehensive lest Champigny "take occasion of the lawsuit to punish me for not having wanted to published your ordinance at Michilimackinac, and I specially remember the threats in the letters which you did me the honor of writing that you would ruin me at Court."[63] In another petition of the same days, Cadillac asked that the case be tried before the godfather of his wife, René-Louis Chartier de Lotbinière, the provost of Quebec.

The councillors disregarded these petitions and upheld the intendant's verdict ordering Cadillac to pay 3,723 livres 4 sols 11 deniers to Moreau.[64] Two weeks latter Cadillac appealed, and demanded that the case be tried in France,[65] knowing quite well that Moreau was too poor to go and defend his claims in Europe. Besides, the attorney general had pointed out that such an appeal was expressly forbidden by royal ordinances.[66] At this stage Frontenac again came to the rescue. He went to the Council and berated the councillors, telling them that if they disregarded his remonstrances with regard to letting Cadillac sue in France he would consider

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[62] MHS, XXXIV, 220. Cf. *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 167.

[63] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 166.

[64] *Inventaire d'une collection*, I, 32, *pièce* 3.

[65] Declaration du S[r] de Lamothe Cadillac, March 8, 1698, AC, F 3, 8:78-79.

[66] AC, F 3, 8:70-73. *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 175. See what Frontenac himself had written concerning those who appealed to France from the verdict of the court of Quebec, Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 70.

what he would have to do. The council decided that Champigny in virtue of his powers as intendant should try the case. Frontenac, who was present when the councillors gave their decision, told Champigny that he would have to answer to his Majesty for abuse of power and contravening the king's orders.[67]

We may note, by the way, the light which this episode throws on Margry's panegyric of Frontenac. He tells us that Frontenac treated the Canadians kindly and that he helped the poor.[68] Moreau was both a Canadian and very poor. Frontenac's interference with the regular administration of justice in this case shows that he ceased to be kind when poor Canadians sought redress against the vexations of a French adventurer who happened to be the governor's protégé.

Champigny, however, knew that he was within his rights, and despite the threats of Frontenac re-tried the case and ordered the ex-commandant to pay 2,565 livres 4 deniers As soon as the verdict became known, Frontenac forbade Moreau to leave Quebec; and Cadillac secured from the governor an order forbidding the seizure of his own property. Moreau appealed to Frontenac through the intendant, but all the redress he got consisted in threats, ill-treatments and abuse, while Cadillac received further assistance.

Why is it, asked Champigny, that so much protection should be extended to Cadillac in view of his bad conduct, of his mal-administration, of his contraventions of the king's orders while he was in command at Michilimackinac?[69] The exactions, the petty tyranny of the past three years was being brought to light in the Moreau suit and in other lawsuits against Cadillac, for many had been wronged by the commandant. In the letter from which we have already quoted, La Touche goes on to say:

> Nobody ever made so much money in so short a time; nobody ever caused so great an outcry on account of the wrongs he did to those who advance goods for that kind of trade, making it very prejudicial to the commerce of colony. In my opinion, all the beaver pelts which the said Sieur de Lamothe has gathered at Michilimackinac should be seized, and a part returned to those from whom he extorted them as appears from their declarations and petitions. People have assured me that if they thought they could obtain justice, many more persons would have sued him. But as the said Sieur de Lamothe is protected by M. the Count de Frontenac, they did not dare to complain. The said Sieur de Lamothe tricked them into

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[67] *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 174-175, 182.
[68] Margry, V, cxlii.
[69] Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:93v, MHS, XXXIII, 92.

believing that he would return to Michilimackinac, in order to intimidate them and prevent them from lodging complaints. One remedy remains—to stop payment on his bills of exchange in France until he has satisfied the merchants who are his principal creditors.[70]

Champigny also knew of people who had claims against the protégé of the governor; they were waiting for the time when the judges could again administer justice without exposing themselves to Frontenac's harsh treatment.[71]

A week after the date of the letter which we have summarized in the preceding pages, the intendant wrote again to Pontchartrain. He begins by telling the minister how with the support of Frontenac and Caillières Alphonse Tonti had eluded the declaration of May 1696 and the ordinance of 1697, which were intended to put an end to the disorders in the West, which disorders, he adds, "had been brought to their peak by the Sieur de Lamothe, a captain in this country, who returned last September from Michilimackinac after having been years in command there. I will give an account of his administration when I write at greater length."[72]

This account was never sent, for reasons which will appear below. Relying on the protection of the governor the ex-commandant thought that everything was permitted to him; he accused Champigny of his own contraventions of the orders of the king and was forced to apologize publicly to the intendant.

In one of his letter Pontchartrain had urged Champigny to live in harmony with Frontenac and to forget his resentment for the good of the colony. The intendant wrote:

For your sake and for that of M. de Frontenac, I have decided to overlook and forget the grief and unpleasantness caused by the imprisonment of the Sieur Dupuis, when M. de Frontenac encroached on my powers by preventing the execution of the sentence against M. de Lamothe, captain, in his suit against Moreau .... Deferring to his [Frontenac's] wishes I discontinued the proceedings against that officer for his irregularities while in command at Michilimackinac, which consisted especially in the considerable trade, even in the brandy trade which he carried on there against the orders of the king. He claimed, however, that he had received contrary orders from M. de Frontenac, who told me so himself. Finally, I overlooked and forgot the injurious calumny of that officer who told me that he believed I had a share in [the profits of] the brandy trade that was

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[70] La Touche to Pontchartrain, October 15, 1697, AC, C 11A, 15:163.
[71] Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:94v-95, MHS, XXXIII, 93. Matthieu Sauton, for instance, who had also been robbed at Michilimackinac sued Cadillac in the following year, *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain*, IV, 358-359.
[72] Champigny to Pontchartrain, July 12, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:99v-100.

carried on the Ottawa country .... But that officer has begged forgiveness for this calumny in the presence of Messrs. de Conté and de Vaudreuil. He has settled with Moreau. It only remains for me to ask you, my Lord, that you forgive him, too ....[73]

Shortly after the date of the above letter, Cadillac left for France, having settled with Moreau and Durand. It was all well and good to appeal to France from the verdict of the Quebec court, but it was another matter to bring his case in person before the French judges. Beside the fact that such an appeal was illegal, he would have to explain his trading activities in the West—another breach of the king's orders—and in Paris there would be no governor to browbeat the judges. Cadillac also knew that Champigny was taking the depositions of all those whom he had defrauded, and that the intendant's indictment would be in the hands of the minister when he arrived in Paris. The prospect of what was in store for him in France frightened him so much that he "sought the intervention of an influential person to oblige the plaintiff [Moreau] to compromise."[74] At first Moreau absolutely refused to listen to a proposal which he considered very disadvantageous, but he finally agreed to settle his account with Cadillac. On October 9, 1698, Moreau "acknowledged having received from the Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac all the money that was owed to him in virtue of the verdict of my Lord the intendant rendered on April 22, from which debt the said Moreau discharges the said Sieur de Lamothe."[75]

The contemporary records of Cadillac's years at Michilimackinac, as distinguished from the gratuitous assertions of his panegyrists, show that he was a failure as a leader, as a colonizer, and as an administrator. He did not extend in any manner the zone of French influence in the West; he was unable to prevent the Ottawa and the Hurons from establishing relations with the English through the intermediary of the Iroquois; he did not succeed in keeping the western Indians at peace among themselves. When he left Michilimackinac, the various tribes of the territory over which he had jurisdiction were fighting one another more vigorously than ever.

His single outstanding achievement consists in having reintroduced the brandy trade on a greater scale than at any time before his coming; and was thus the direct cause of the excesses arising

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[73] Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 14, 1698, AC, C 11A, 16:120v-121.

[74] *Inventaire d'une collection*, I, 32, *pièce* 5.

[75] *Ibid.*, *pièce* 6.

from the liquor traffic among the Indians. Naturally, the Jesuits combatted a "policy" which threatened the ruin of their missions. *Inde irae.*

At the end of this first series of articles on the founder of Detroit, I wish to make it clear that Cadillac's trading activities and his violation of the royal ordinances are easy to explain and even to extenuate, in view of the conditions of the times and the man's own temperament. The French colonial officers were paid ridiculously small salaries and somehow had to find means of making both ends meet. Cadillac was, moreover, inordinately greedy, and was one of those who "looked upon their place as a Gold Mine given 'em, in order to enrich themselves; so that the public Good, must always march behind private Interest."[76] What cannot be extenuated is Cadillac blaming everybody else, and the missionaries in particular, for imaginary abuses, while he himself was mainly responsible for having introduced or increased real abuses at Michilimackinac.

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[76] Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, I, 326-327.

The Relation of Philipp Segesser

(Continued from July)

5. The Animal Kingdom

The scorpion found here is of a different variety from the bottled scorpions sold by Italians in Germany. It is called *alagran* [*sic*] and is very numerous. One must be very careful when one goes to bed that no such animal lies under the covers. The scorpion's bite, while poisonous, is easily cured.

The common scorpion is colored green, has four feet like the lizard, lives in holes and hill caves, and is very dangerous. However, it is encountered less frequently than is the alacrán.

The horrible animal, tarantula, is numerous but because it is easily seen I have never heard of anyone being bitten by it. The tarantula resembles a hairy spider, is as large as a toad, and walks along on tip toe.

A variety of black spider which I frequently saw in Germany is here extremely poisonous and seems to be a sworn enemy of mankind. When one approaches this spider it jumps froglike upon one's hands or feet and delivers a quick bite. Thereupon the bitten member swells rapidly and if the little wound is not immediately cauterized the victim soon dies. This spider does more harm than any other animal. Almost daily there come reports about the beginning or the end of such bites. One time, with the grace of St. Paul [and a remedy?] (which I use also for snake bite), I healed such a bite. May God reward those who sent me this excellent healing remedy.

The chameleon is also often seen here. It makes a show with its kingly crown but harms no one. However, I observed that it lives not alone on air but also with its tongue. This is as long as the entire animal, and with it the chameleon cleverly manages to catch gnats and flies for nourishment.

Grasshoppers are sometimes as large as tree frogs and do great damage, just as they do in Germany. I do not wonder that St. John in the wilderness ate grasshoppers, because Spaniards in this country roast and eat them, too.

Here is found a kind of wasp which stings no one but which flies in and out of houses as though they were bee hives. Doors and windows stand open because of the great heat, and the wasps have free access. They hang their clay houses anywhere and everywhere. These houses are many-sided little pipes. They are fastened together like those which boys blow and pull through their mouths to produce various tones. Wasp nests likewise give forth tones when they are blown. After the wasps have built their little pipes they fill them with the most horrible spiders, then close up the pipes with clay. In a short time white worms grow out of these spiders and these worms then turn into wasps. Wasps are a great inconvenience in the house. No closet or chest can be so tightly locked that

they cannot force their way into a crack and everywhere fasten their little pipes. For this reason I order the houseboys to kill them whenever they find them.

A certain kind of bee builds its nest in the trees and gathers a very sweet, sugar-white honey. But the nest is not made of wax, rather of a very thin and delicate web, like that in which silk worms wrap themselves. This year these bees are especially numerous.

Here follows something about birds. Quail, grouse, doves of various sizes, turtle-doves, geese, cranes, snow geese, and ducks are numerous. There are also pheasants and turkeys. Indians who bring such fowl to the father missionary receive their value in maize. Because of the many guests, such fowl are always welcome.

An eagle, black in color with brown feathers, is found mostly along the banks of the above-mentioned Rio Grande. There it is on the look out for fish which besides deer are its favorite food and which it, like the Indians, eats raw. The Pimas shoot this eagle with arrows and decorate themselves with its feathers.

A short time ago some Pimas brought me a live eagle, injured only in one wing. I am writing at present with one of its feathers. It is stated as a fact that a few years ago in Guadalajara an eagle which had two or three heads was shot and sent to the king of Spain.

A vari-colored black and brown bird, similar to the eagle, is found in great numbers. It is called aura. Auras, as already explained above, eat all dead animals with such celerity that in little more than a day there remain nothing but their bones. It seems to be a particular act of Providence that these birds are so numerous here for otherwise the plague would frequently occur, since nothing is buried.

Birds of prey are plentiful. They do not allow my chicks to grow up. Perhaps we will set them high barriers.

The *quagamaias* bird, large as an ostrich, as well as red and yellow parrots, I could do without. Both kinds of birds are very ill tempered and talkative.

There is a very beautiful, completely red bird called the cardinal, probably because of its color. I had already seen this bird in the royal chambers at Sevilla, as also a little sky blue bird which now flies about my house.

Besides little parrots, there is no more diverting bird than the nightingale, here called *bischontli* [sinsonte]. Parrot-like it can imitate all other birds.

One sort of bird I will send stuffed when opportunity affords. In this bird one can recognize the wonderful omnipotence of God. It is called *curparosa* and like the bee takes its nourishment from the flowers, always on the wing. When I saw it for the first time I believed it to be a kind of wasp. Wrens and wood mice are large in comparison with it, yet it has a complete bird shape. This extraordinarily delicate little bird is colored the beautiful blue of the ice-bird.

So much for birds. Less may be said of fish which are scarce here because of lack of water. For this reason I cannot hold rigidly to fasts since one has to eat what there is. Hence, there is nothing more than lentils and dried peas and these only in the house of the missionary, because what the Pimas sow for themselves is eaten in one day. The ox must do for fish and the precious fast must be replaced with sour sweat and work. In the large river which flows near two villages of my mission is found a fish like the catfish in the Danube, but it is rarely caught. Salt fish are brought from the sea. No one buys these, however, except the father missionary and now and then a rich silver merchant.

The river fish compared above to the catfish is here called *boyre*. Also a fish like the pike is sometimes brought in. The *camarón* looks like a scorpion, but has a good flavor.

Sea snails creep as far as this region but they are not for me. In the brooks one sees here and there little perch which are prized according to their worth. Other fish are not found. The divine teacher says in the Evangelium: *Comedite quidquid apponitur vobis.* [Eat whatever is placed before you.] Pimas and Indians have only two or three fast days in the year. Because they subsist mainly on hill fruits they really fast the whole year round, however.

6. "Astronomical Remarks"

Here I direct attention to the heavens. Since the course of the stars is the same everywhere in the world I shall mention only certain occurrences which I have noticed in the course of the previous and present year. Last year, 1736, while on a journey, I saw an eclipse of the moon. I did not know that an eclipse of the moon would take place and when it did I saw with astonishment how the moon darkened in a hitherto unobserved manner. The eclipse began with small black circle of light. Immediately thereupon the entire circle appeared blood red and fiery. Then for two or three hours the moon did not give off any light whatsoever, although it was not completely dark either. The eclipse ended with a black ring, on the opposite end from its starting place.

I talked about this matter with another father who, to be sure, knew little of mathematics. He gave me his opinion of the matter which I here set forth.* The mathematicians in Ingoldstadt might have a disputation about this. I have not the time to think it over.

In February of the present year there appeared an especially brilliant star. It lagged every night so that constellations like Orion and Sirius [*sic*] far passed it in their courses. This lagging star was seen until the month of June. Early in June it did not appear for two or three nights, although

* The "explanation" of the red circle around the moon is kept in the original in the interest of possible clarity. Translation would only render an obscure meaning more obscure. " . . . dass vielleicht die Opposition sich mit dem Meer ereignet habe und da dieses diaphan, habe es solche rothe Farbe verursacht bis es zur Erde gelangte."

its place in the heavenly circle had been approximately at zenith on retiring bell. I had never seen it before and its unusual course and immobility amazed me. The soldiers who were with me at the time, however, said that it appeared in the same place every year.

During the same period of time when this star was visible we also saw a small comet. At first its place was near the western horizon, but it lagged farther and farther until it associated with the above-mentioned large star. The latter, however, had no tail like the comet. Thereafter, the comet was observed circling about the large star until finally on the night of Ash Wednesday it disappeared and was seen no more.

I do not know whether or not these things were better observed in Europe. If they were, one of our mathematicians in Ingoldstadt may give more information about them. These signs were forebodings of evil times which I soon had to experience. Comets seldom bring good things with them.†

† Here Segesser makes obvious reference to the events of the 1737 uprising.

Notes and Comments

Among the most interestingly written books that have arrived on our desk during these past few years is *The Jesuits in Old Oregon*, by William N. Bischoff, S.J. The publication date as announced by The Caxton Printers, Ltd., of Caldwell, Idaho, was August 31, 1945. In getting out this volume of 258 pages The Caxton Printers have exercised their art in a manner highly pleasing to the eye. Excellent aids are presented in the form of six maps and a Biographical Appendix, which supplies ample data about each of the important missionaries who labored in Old Oregon. The footnotes are placed at the end of the volume, a position that gives some pain to the more scholarly minded, but gives reviewers at least some opportunity to carp a bit.

The story of the arrival, the progress, the difficulties, and the expansion of the Jesuits in the Inland Empire of the vast Northwest and Alaska is told with a captivating verve. The author relishes his work. Father Bischoff has long been gathering materials for this study. He constantly lets the documents speak for themselves. The letters of the pioneers of the past add not only authority but a distinctive flavor to the book. His use of secondary materials is judicious, and the summaries of events, described at length by other writers, are good. The coverage in the volume as to time and area is wide. The first two chapters are preliminary, with emphasis upon Father De Smet's journeys. The third chapter deals with the foundation of St. Mary's Mission among the Flatheads, again with De Smet in a feature rôle. The next eight chapters describe the origins and development of each of the Jesuit missions in each of the larger areas—Montana, Idaho, Washington and Alaska, Wyoming, South Dakota, and Oregon. Besides accounting for the missions Father Bischoff gives brief descriptions of the educational foundations of the Jesuits, the parochial and secondary schools and the colleges, with special pages for Gonzaga University, Spokane.

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History of Saint John's Seminary Brighton, by John E. Sexton and Arthur J. Riley, has just been published at Boston. This is indeed a fitting amplification of the monumental *History of the Archdiocese of Boston*, produced last year by these veteran collaborators. Fathers Sexton and Riley have done well by their Alma Mater

on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the opening of St. John's Seminary in Brighton, Massachusetts. In the introduction and opening chapter the history of the early training of men for the priesthood is told. Then six chapters follow with the account of the founding of the Seminary, its expansion, and the rectorships down to 1944. The 233 pages required for the narrative are copiously illustrated with pictures of the men responsible for the training of the clergy and with scenes from their environment. The last eighty-six pages are filled with documents, names of donors of bursaries, and a list of the alumni from 1884 to 1945. These latter will rejoice much in the possession of so readable a volume on the institution of their formation, and the laity will profit by this description of the purpose, development, and character of a Catholic seminary.

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Album of American History, Volume II, 1783-1853, came from the press in mid-September (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1945, $7.50). While this volume like the first of the *Album* does not lend itself readily to the art of book reviewing, it does call for notice. Under the general editorship of James Truslow Adams the complete set is designed to illustrate the history of our nation with an ample selection of contemporary pictures, sketches, drawings, broadsides, and excerpts from newspapers and periodicals. Thus the work may be a teaching aid and an interesting medium for instructing people of all reading levels in the manner of our national development. The running story follows very broad lines chronologically. In this volume it is divided into ten chapters, each consisting of the story and a large block of the 1,300 illustrations. The attractiveness of the *Album* cannot be gainsaid. The managing editor is R. V. Coleman, the associate editor is Thomas Robson Hay, and the art director is Atkinson Dymock. Considering the scope of the project we may say that the editors have achieved very well the purpose stated in the foreword of presenting a "picture of how our history *looked*." Teachers of history will find the book very useful, but they should be reminded to recall to their students the purpose of the illustrations and to test their own powers of criticism and interpretation on them, lest this good aid become a source of historical perversion.

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Historical Records and Studies of the United States Catholic Historical Society now numbers thirty-four volumes. The most

recent work, published under the editorship of the Rev. Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D., contains four papers. The first of these is an address, "The Plan of Pope Benedict XV for a Just and Durable Peace," by Charles Callan Tansill. The second is a dissertation for the Master of Arts: "The Episcopacy of Leonard Neale, Second Archbishop of Baltimore," by Sister Bernetta Brislen, O.S.F. The third paper, entitled "Catholic Eastern Churches in New York City," by Sister Mary Constance Golden, is of a popular nature. The last is a Master's dissertation by Rev. Arthur F. Nugent on "The Constitution and the Declaration."

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The Oxford University Press has recently published *Documents of the Christian Church* as selected, edited and translated into English by Henry Bettenson. The volume of 456 pages is designed as an aid to students of the history of Christianity. The documents have already been published in Greek and Latin, but in this volume they are brought together under headings that make for far more convenient reading.

* * * *

One of the ten interesting articles in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for July 1945 is an appreciation of José Toribio Medina, by Maury A. Bromsen. In ten pages the author has given a remarkably human portraiture of the great Chilean. Father of more than three hundred works, Toribio Medina (1852-1930) is characterized as "literary critic, translator, naturalist, bibliographer, geographer, and entomologist, as well as paleographer, numismatist, biographer, ethnologist, lexicographer, and archaeologist—all blended into a cordial and democratic personality. He was one of the New World's most eminent historians, a peerless book analyst and cataloguer .... a superb publisher .... a profound humanist."

* * * *

The editorship of *The Hispanic American Historical Review* has passed from the capable hands of John Tate Lanning of Duke University into the capable hands of James Ferguson King of the University of California, Berkeley. At a very considerable sacrifice of his research talents Dr. Lanning has for years carried on his editorial work and maintained a high standard for the *HAHR.* Only those who have the responsibility of meeting deadlines can appreciate the editor's position. Few realize the sacrifice of time

and the drudgery entailed and few estimate the contribution of time made to scholarship on the part of editors. It is pleasing to note the willingness of Dr. King to continue the sacrificial rôle. We feel that the *HAHR* is still in good hands.

* * * *

The William and Mary Quarterly for April 1945 contains "Sex Composition and Correlated Culture Patterns of Colonial America," by Herbert Moller. The first part is devoted to statistics on the numbers of males and females arriving and surviving in the American, that is, English colonies, to 1790. Owing to the paucity of the records, the author concludes that the differential sex composition will never be exactly known, but apparently from 1620 to 1770 there were always more men than women among the free whites. The social consequences of disproportion are grouped under four headings, namely, the results of the shortage of brides, racial miscegenation, family mores, and women and religion in the colonies.

* * * *

The Presidential Address delivered by Dr. Paul Kiniery before the members of the American Catholic Historical Association on December 28, 1944, appears in *The Catholic Historical Review* for January 1945. It deals with the question: "Will History Repeat?" in the peace conference to come. Other papers read at the meeting are published in the July number: "Americanism, Fact and Fiction," by Thomas T. McAvoy, and "A Myth in 'L'Américanisme'," by Vincent F. Holden, and were part of a symposium on the very difficult subject of Americanism and the papal attitude toward it. Under the heading of Miscellany goes the paper of Joseph P. Ryan, "American Contributions to the Catholic Missionary Effort in China in the Twentieth Century."

* * * *

Attention may well be called to an article which appeared in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March 1945. It is the report of a learned committee on "Projects in American History and Culture." In this report the committee makes suggestions regarding fields of American history that need study, fields for research and writing. Among the suggestions is this, that the first rate graduate student should "be permitted to write his dissertation upon some subject which will train and tax his powers of interpre-

tation, of 'synthesis'." Apparently, strange compilations are passing as dissertations in some schools. Possibly the committee is referring to some of the overgrown Master of Arts theses which assume doctoral dissertation proportions when sufficiently padded. Be this as it may, the professors directing research can obtain useful suggestions from the article. The committee then suggests for study projects of high significance and priority, such as: Candid Resurveys of the Public Domain, Agriculture and Soils Erosion, Conservation of Natural Resources, The American Mind and Machines, Improvableness of the American Mind, Ethnic and Minority Groups, Religion and Secularization, Mining Industries, Transportation, Wit, Humor, Folklore, Political History, The Great Plains, Lumbering, Cultural and Social Life, and The American City. We pray that the events of the past six years and their forerunners do not crowd these suggestions out of the minds of the coming generation of students of history in the dawning era of atomic energy.

* * * *

The North Carolina Historical Review for April 1945 has an interesting continuation of the story of Alfred Mordecai. In the January number of this quarterly James A. Padgett edited "The Life of Alfred Mordecai as Related by Himself." This gave an ample account of the career of the Jewish West Pointer and Army officer from North Carolina who lost his fortune in the Confederate cause during the Civil War. The continuation by Mr. Padgett is "Life of Alfred Mordecai in Mexico in 1865-1866, as Told in his Letters to his Family." These letters copiously annotated describe the work of Mordecai as assistant engineer of the Imperial Mexican Railway during the colorful period of Mexican history known as "The French Interlude." The originals are in the Library of Congress.

More general in scope but on the same general topic of Confederates in Mexico is Carl Coke Rister's "Carlota, A Confederate Colony in Mexico," which appeared in the February 1945 *Journal of Southern History*. The leader of the *émigrés* and prime mover in the plan to bring southerners to the Empire of Maximillian was Matthew F. Maury. Establishing themselves at Carlota the colonists began the production of sugar and coffee, but one by one became disheartened and ill and turned their steps homeward.

* * * *

Of wider interest is "Ante-Bellum Attempts of Northern Business Interests to 'Redeem' the Upper South," by George W. Smith, which

appeared in the May 1945 number of *The Journal of Southern History*. From the findings about the business interests in the North and their war propaganda it would appear that the Civil "War itself was but another mode of fulfilling imperialist ambitions in the Old Dominion" (p. 213).

* * * *

The Kansas Historical Quarterly for August 1945 proudly places on its cover the picture of General Eisenhower and in its opening pages publishes an illustrated article entitled "General Eisenhower of Kansas." This contains excerpts from recent speeches of the General of the Armies. His native city, about which he said: "the proudest thing I can claim is that I am from Abilene," is now planning a shrine to his memory.

* * * *

The Americas, A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History continues to be published by the Academy of American Franciscan History, established last year in Washington, D. C. Generally a variety of cultural articles appear. In the January 1945 number, for instance, we find: "The Soul of Spain," by David Rubio; "The Sons of St. Francis in Texas," by Carlos E. Castañeda; "García Moreno of Ecuador," by Sister Mary Loyola; two articles on the political situation in Cuba; "The Franciscan Provinces of Spanish North America," by Marion A. Habig; and "Some Remarks on the Term 'Aztec Empire'," by R. H. Barlow. Thus a wide variety of interests is touched. Most useful to scholars who frequently become confused in their terminology about the Franciscan provincial organization, were the articles by Father Habig.

* * * *

The Pacific Historical Review for March 1945 has among its excellent articles "Early Japanese Isolationism," by Gustav Voss, S.J., which describes the early Spanish and Portuguese contacts with Japan and gives the reasons why the Japanese considered the Christian religion as an evil. Another illuminating paper is that of Walter Kirchner, "The Duke of Alba Reconsidered." While this does not whitewash the activities of the Duke in the Low Countries, it does consider the possibilities of a re-evaluation of his life as a whole, to supplant the common evaluation of his achievements from his few years of control in the Netherlands.

In the March 1945 number of *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* there can be found the annual record of all of the important events happening in Illinois during the year 1944. This calendar, "Illinois in 1944," is arranged by Mildred Eversole. A new feature begins in this same issue. It is headed The Illinois Bookshelf, and consists of a review of some significant book of the past. In this instance the selection is Thomas Ford's *A History of Illinois*, published in 1854.

* * * *

"Michigan and the Great Lakes Upon the Map, 1636-1802," by Louis C. Karpinski, appears in the September 1945 number of *Michigan History*. It is an interesting and popular survey of the published maps of Michigan and of the cartographers of the Great Lakes.

* * * *

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly in its July-September number for 1945 has "The Writing of History in Ohio, 1935-1945," by Francis P. Weisenburger. This is a supplement to the same author's "Half Century of the Writing of History in Ohio," which listed the historical writings in Ohio and by Ohioans to 1935.

* * * *

Articles of a general interest published in the *Report, 1943-1944,* of The Canadian Historical Association are: "Cartier visite la rivière Nicolet en 1535," by Gustave Lanctot, and "The Irish in Quebec," by Brother Memorian Sheehy.

* * * *

During the course of this year the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* published in Quebec is celebrating its golden jubilee. Founded in 1895 the *Bulletin* has made valuable contributions to history. The esteemed editor, historian and archivist, Pierre-Georges Roy, has received the tributes of the scholarly world on this occasion. MID-AMERICA wishes to add its felicitations and express its good wishes for the continuous success of the *Bulletin.*

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MID-AMERICA

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