

suffering and hardship. A long and interesting account is given of Allouez's labors, and of the methods which he employs to win those savages. The superior regrets the necessity of discontinuing the Illinois mission, on account of the hostilities waged in that region by the Iroquois, who desire to exterminate the Western tribes. Beschefer states the need of new missionaries for the West, since four of the seven now there are almost unfit, on account of age and infirmities, for active service; and, were it not for the services of the donnés, the Jesuits could not have maintained those missions to the present time.]—*Jes. Relations*, lxii, pp. 17-18, 193-215.

1684: INDIAN MURDERERS PUNISHED BY DU LUTH.

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

MISCHELMAKINAC, April 12, 1684.

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Gens des Terres: the French appellation of an Algonquian tribe who then roamed through the wilderness north of Lake Superior;

and that he believed himself in safety, on account of the number of allies and relatives whom he had there. The Reverend Father Albnel sent me word that the French, of whom there were twelve at the Sault, had not judged it advisable to arrest him, believing themselves too weak; the Sauteurs, besides, had as much as declared that they would not suffer their lands to be reddened with their blood. I informed the Reverend Father Enialran that I intended to embark at daybreak with six Frenchmen, to join those who were at Sainte Marie du Sault and make myself master there. He was of my opinion; and, as he had some matters to arrange with the Reverend Father Albnel, he got into my canoe.

Arrived at a league's distance from the village the Reverend Father, Messieurs the Chevalier de Fourcille and La Chardonniere, and myself disembarked; and I sent away the canoe, in which were Baribaud, Le Mire, La Fortune, and Macons, while we went through the woods to reach the house of the Reverend Fathers,<sup>1</sup> for fear that the savages might discover me and take offense at my coming, and enable the Folvavoine to escape. Finally, to be brief, I arrested him, and had him guarded day and night by six Frenchmen. Afterward I held a council, to which I desired that all the savages who were present should come, and in which I repeated to them what I had said to the Hurons and Oatouats at the time of the departure of Sieur Péré<sup>2</sup>—namely, that you had given me orders, in case there

also called Têtes de Boule ("Round Heads"). The remnant of this tribe migrated, in the 19th century, to the St. Maurice river, in the Province of Quebec. Up to the present time they retain their nomadic habits, and are "the only tribe in Eastern Canada which persistently refuse to adopt agriculture, either partially or entirely." See James Bain's note on p. 62 of Alexander Henry's *Travels and Adventures* (new ed., Boston, 1901).—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit mission at Sault de Ste. Marie was established in 1669. Its buildings had been destroyed by fire twice before 1684; see pp. 92, 93, *ante*.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Péré was a noted *couvreux de bois*, and made explorations in the Northwest, especially in the Lake Superior région, whither he was sent by Talon (1669) to search for copper mines—one of which was discovered by him three years later. In 1684, he was captured by the

ere among them any sufficiently perverse to follow the example of those who have in the past assassinated us at Lake Superior and in Mischiganeé, who should do the same, I was to separate the innocent from the guilty, not wishing that the entire nation should suffer for the crime, unless it supported the criminals. I told them that they must declare themselves, in order that, if any factious spirits shared in this project regarding the Folavoine, I might learn it, and they would see that I do not fear them enough to be kept from doing my duty. They then held several councils, to which they invited me, and which ended only to exculpate the prisoner so that I might release him—all unanimously accusing Achiganaga and his children, and the belief that Sieur Péré with his detachment could not make himself master of them, and wishing to persuade me that they feared lest all the French there might be killed. I answered that, as regarded the Folavoine, I was not obliged to believe a man whom I considered as having aided to shed the blood of my brothers; that nevertheless, in view of their submission to the orders of Onontio, their Father, I would make no decision until I had more fully investigated the matter. I said, moreover, that if I did not get more convincing proofs against him than those which appeared, I would send him back to them; but that, on the contrary, if it were true that he belonged to the number of the assassins, I would consider in what manner I should dispose of him. And as for the pretended death of Sieur Péré, as well as of the other French, that did not trouble me, since I doubted whether the allies, or any one of the tribe of Achiganaga, would wish to have a war with us in order to sustain an action so infamous as this; and that I therefore felt sure that the French—as they had to attack only some murderers, or at most the men of his family—would get them, alive or dead. These are the only answers that they secured from me during the three days while their councils lasted—after which I embarked, at ten o'clock in the morning, supported only by twelve Frenchmen, to show some seditious persons, who boasted that English at Hudson Bay; but they sent him back to France. In 1687, he was engaged in Denonville's expedition against the Iroquois; he is mentioned, three years later, as being at La Rochelle, France.—Eh.

they would take away the prisoner from me, that the French did not fear them.

The advices that I received daily concerning the number of savages of his own tribe whom Achiganaga was gathering at Kiaonan [Keweenaw]—under pretext, he said, of going to war this spring against the Nadoucioux, to avenge the death of one of his relatives, a son of Onenous—led me to believe that it was only to secure himself from our possible pursuit, in case we were assured that his children had killed us. This precaution left me between fear and hope regarding the expedition that Sieur Péré was to make—when on the 24th of November, at 10 o'clock in the evening, he came through the woods to tell me that he was bringing to me Achiganaga and four of his children. He said that they had not, indeed, all been present at the murder; but that he had thought it well to follow in this matter the maxim of the Savages, which is to seize all the relatives; and that the Folavoine, whom I had arrested, was the most guilty, as being the author of the evil. This obliged me to keep him close, and to prevent any one from talking to him, as he had a brother, a sister, and an uncle in the village of the Kiseacons.<sup>1</sup> Sieur Péré told me, finally, that he had released the youngest son of Achiganaga, aged about thirteen or fourteen years, in order to make known to those of their tribe, and to the Sauteurs and the Nocké,<sup>2</sup> who were in the neighborhood, the reason which the French had for taking away his Father and his brothers. He also told them that, if any were inclined to murder against this, the French awaited them resolutely—for they were then in a condition to defy them, having found at Kiaonan 18 Frenchmen, who have passed the winter there. No one attempted to oppose his design.

<sup>1</sup>The Kistakon Ottawas had been evangelized by Allouez and Marquette, when at Chequamegon Bay (1665-70); then removing to Michillimackinac, they settled near the Jesuit mission there. Cf. p. 30, note 1, *ante*.—Eh.

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

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

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

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

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

would not declare themselves, I was going to set about holding their trial; and that the next day I would make known to them what the French and I had resolved.

It is well, Monsieur, that you should know that I only observed all these formalities to see whether they would do us the same justice which they practice among themselves; for I have various examples that in such cases, when the tribe of those who have killed does not wish to have war with the one that has been offended, the nearest relatives of the murderers themselves kill them—that is, a man for a man.

On the 29th, I assembled a part of the French who were here; and, after having had read to them the examinations and answers of the accused, the certainty which we had that they were all three guilty, by their own avowal, decided us to put them all three to death. But, as the French who had remained at Kiaonan to pass the winter there wrote to the Reverend Father Enialran and myself, begging us to treat this affair with all the mildness possible,—because the savages murmured that, if all the accused were put to death, they would revenge themselves upon the French,—I made known to these gentlemen that, this being an unprecedented affair, I believed it was expedient, for the safety of all their companions who were wintering at Lake Superior, to put to death only two. I told them that, in case the savages wished to make trouble, one man more would not greatly weaken their own party, whereas the death of this third savage might have grievous consequences; on the contrary, by only killing man for man, the savages would have nothing to say, since that is their own practice. M. de la Tour, a man of the Fathers, who has served a long time, supported by cogent reasons the opinion I had expressed, which gave all those whom I had called to the council reason for releasing the third man. It was resolved that two of them, the Folaivoine and the elder of the two brothers, should be shot, and that the younger should hold his life by your favor, Monsieur. After this I returned with Messieurs Boisguillot, Péré, de Repentigny, de Manthet, de la Ferté, and Macons, to Le Brochet's cabin, where were present all the elders of the Outaouats of Sable, Outaouats Sinagaux, Kiskacons, Sauteurs, Mississagués,

Achilings,<sup>1</sup> a part of the Hurons, and Oumamens, chief of the Amikois. I there declared to them anew that, as they were aware of the murder of the two Frenchmen at Kiaonan, and knew all the murderers, I was surprised that no one dared to declare himself in favor of giving us satisfaction; that, nevertheless, Onontio's blood had been shed, that it was still warm, and that other blood must be shed to satisfy it. I therefore made known to them that, since we had been killed by two different tribes, one man of each should die therefor, and that they should meet the same death which they had inflicted on the French, and should therefore be shot. As for the third, I said that you granted him his life on condition that he make known to all his allies the favor that you, Monsieur, had shown him. I added that if I were not relaxing the rigor of our laws, I would put to death all six of them as being guilty of participating in the robbery, and possibly of contributing to the murder by their evil counsels; but that I hoped that the mildness I had shown on this occasion would not be condemned by you. This decision to put them to death was a very hard blow for them, for they had thus far believed that I would not venture to undertake this. The Outaouats of Sable and the Outaouats Sinagaux, in order not to have trouble with you, Monsieur, had seemed to blame their conduct, and not to care what became of them; now Le Talon rose, and after a long harangue concluded that, if I had a heart, I would grant them their lives. The chief of the Outaouats Sinagaux said that he had taken captive some Irocois whom Monsieur de Courcelle had demanded of him, whom he had surrendered and whose lives had been spared; and that I therefore ought to do the same. Oumamens, whom the Sauteurs had employed to speak for them,—not being able to speak for themselves, as they were parties in the trial,—thanked me for being content with so little, and praised the good heart of the Frenchman, who was going to release the

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

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

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

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

When *Sieur Péré* arrested them, those who had committed the murder confessed; and when asked what they had done with the merchandise, they answered that it was almost all hidden. He had himself conducted to the hiding-places, and was greatly surprised, as were the Frenchmen with him, to see that it was in twelve or fifteen different places; and that through their carelessness the bales, the tobacco, and the powder were ruined, as they had put them in the pine woods, under roots that were soaked in water on account of ten or twelve days of continual rain, which had inundated all the land, because snow and freezing weather had come unexpectedly soon. They had, therefore, the utmost difficulty in withdrawing the goods. They next went to look for the bodies, and tried, but unsuccessfully, to recover them, as the wretches had thrown them into loose soil, and in a hole which they had made; and, not even satisfied with this, had put branches across them to prevent them from floating when the country is under water in spring. By this precaution they hoped that the French, finding no indications that the missing men had been killed, would believe that they had been drowned by capsizing—which report they had in fact circulated, saying that they had found on the other side of the portage,<sup>1</sup> in the lake, a demolished boat, which they believed to be the property of Frenchmen.

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

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

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

Charles *Aubert de la Chesnaye* was one of the most wealthy, influ-

The savages who were present when *Achiganaga* and his children were arrested wished to dance the calumets for *Sieur Péré*, and to give him some slaves, which was only meant to patch up the assassination committed upon the French. He perceived their intention, and therefore would not allow it, telling them that a hundred slaves and a hundred packages of beaver could not make him traffic in the blood of his brothers; and that, when he had sent them to me, it would be for me to decide. I said the same thing here in the councils, so that they might not in future believe that they could save by presents those who might commit similar acts.

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

The criminals being in two different places, *Sieur Péré*, forced to guard four of them, detached *Messieurs de Repentigny*, and *de Manthet*, and six other Frenchmen, to go to arrest the two who were among their people eight leagues away in the woods, which order they vigorously carried out. Among others, *Messieurs de Repentigny* and *de Manthet* showed that they feared nothing where honor called them. *Sieur de la Chevrotiere* rendered very useful service, both in person and by his counsels, as he indicated the place where the criminals were; *Achiganaga*, who had adopted him as his son, had told him the place where he was to hunt during the winter. I enclose herewith, *Monsieur*, a list of those who composed the detachment; and, as I prevented them from taking along any wares, since this was not a trading expedition, I have led them to hope that, in case they should be unable to dispose of their merchandise this spring, you would be kind enough to continue them for a year, so that they may have an opportunity to do their trading,<sup>1</sup> ential, and public-spirited merchants of Canada. He came to Canada in 1655, and died in 1702.—Ed.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Mitasse: an Algonkin word adopted by the French Canadians, as the name of the leggings, worn by the Indians and hunters in winter; defined in Chapin's *Dict. Canad.-Français* as "a gaiter of deer-skin or cloth, ornamented with designs in beads or moose-hair of various colors." Crawford Lindsay, of Quebec, informs the editor: "What the Indians and French Canadians call *mitasse*—the English inhabitants call 'neap'—a blanket over-stocking that we wear inside moccasins for snowshoeing."—*Jes. Relations*, lxxvii, p. 344.

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

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

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

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

VILLEMARIE,<sup>1</sup> *Journe* 6, 1686.

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

You will see by the letters that I write to Monsieur de la

<sup>1</sup> Villemarie ("city of Mary") was the name first given to Montreal by the religious colony who established that settlement (1641); they dedicated it to the Virgin Mary.—Eh.