

Encountering Errors:
Interpreting history from incomplete or unreliable sources

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Part One

Preface

I have written over and over again that researchers do the best they can with the sources at their disposal. I certainly do. Even as careful as I have been, though, I have trusted sources I have later learned I should not have trusted. In fact, I wrote a revised version of an item I wrote in 2001 because I obtained further important details not explored or not available to me (or my source) then. My pointing out of errors in the genealogical and historical record written by others and by me is my attempt to make the records as accurate as possible, even though I know there are some things we will never know with certainty.

I wrote the following article originally in early 2003. It was mainly an exercise in research at the time I wrote it, my own challenge to myself. Parts of the article have appeared in my other work. I offer it now as yet another example of how important it is to question sources.

I met and spoke with the author of the article I critique at the Passages Conference in 2001 at the University of Windsor, although I was not able to attend her presentation. That presentation was subsequently published, along with other papers from the conference. Since that time fourteen years ago, Karen Marrero studied at Yale University and received her PhD there in 2012. She graciously allowed me to read her dissertation entitled "Founding Families: Power and Authority of Mixed French and Native Lineages in Eighteenth-Century Detroit," Department of History, Yale University, 2011. Among the papers she has had published is "On the Edge of the West: The Roots and Routes of Detroit's Urban Eighteenth Century."¹ She is currently Assistant Professor at Wayne State University in Detroit. She spoke at the May 10, 2014 meeting of the French-Canadian Heritage Society of Michigan.

I give all of these details about Karen Marrero because whatever the problems with her reliance on secondary sources in her 2001-2003 paper, she is now a scholar of note. **My critique applies solely to the details I mention in her earlier work.** In the process of researching to explain why her secondary sources cannot be trusted, I learned so much about the Pierre Roy family that it enabled me to write further about them in three articles published in *Michigan's Habitant Heritage* that may be read in pdf format on the website of the French-Canadian Heritage Society of Michigan. See the right side of the page at

http://habitantheritage.org/native_americans/french_canadian_and_native_families

¹ In *Frontier Cities*, eds. Jay Gitlin, Barbara Berglund, and Adam Arenson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

Karen Marrero's "Encountering Cadillac"² rightfully criticizes nineteenth and twentieth-century historians of Early Detroit for their biases. In the process, she constructs another of the late-twentieth and twenty-first century's equally biased versions of "history," one built on philosophical constructs that manipulates "facts" to demonstrate a pre-determined thesis. Like too many modern historians,³ she has an axe to grind even as she hews the logs to build her reinterpretation of what Burton called "Detroit's Misty Early Years."⁴ Specifically she sets out to

trace the invention and subsequent reinvention of Detroit's French history, and to follow the separation of this particular history into two possible scenarios: one emphasizing acculturation [*sic*] or passive adaptation in the face of an inevitable exploitation of persons and resources, another stressing strategic and proactive decision-making on the part of those relegated to the periphery.⁵

In developing her apparent thesis, she mires even more the already swampy published history of Early Detroit.

In this discussion, I will consider only passages from her comments on Pierre Roy's Miami wife, Marguerite ⵛabanKiKⵛé / 8abanKiK8é / OuabanKiKoué.⁶

But first, two important comments about Marguerite's husband: **He is not his younger brother.** The second, younger Pierre Roy, in 1679, had as godfather *Pierre* Poupard, who gave the baby his first name, and, as godmother, Jeanne Cavelier. His mother, Catherine Ducharme, gave birth at the home of Antoine Forestier, surgeon, in Montréal, PRDH #40540 Montréal 1679-06-17. This Pierre Roy married Angélique Faye, PRDH #18909 Laprairie 1705-04-20. His elder brother *PIERRE ROY*'s godfather, 3 January 1667,

² Karen Marrero, "Encountering Cadillac," *Le Passage du Détroit, 300 ans de présence francophone / Passages, Three Centuries of Francophone Presence at Le Détroit*, edited by Marcel Bénétou, Publications of the Humanities Research Group, Working Papers in the Humanities 11, University of Windsor, 2003. Marrero delivered her paper to a symposium held at the University of Windsor in July of 2001, a presentation I was unable to attend, although I heard almost all of the others. Four years later, Karen Marrero was a PhD candidate at Yale University in 2005, and received the degree in 2012.

³ For example, Richard White and his "middle ground"; James H. Merrell and his "go-betweens" or mediators at the edge of the woods; and Susan Sleeper-Smith and her "kinship networks". See <http://www.common-place.org/vol-01/no-03/school/>

>Morgan taught us that "interpreting the past means laying your own eyes on the primary sources and seeing patterns there that no one else had seen before. Before there was the Nike ad there was the Morgan dictum: Stop telling me what other historians have said and tell me what you see."< My explorations in the original records have followed this advice even before I read it.

⁴ Clarence M. Burton, "Cadillac's Village or Detroit Under Cadillac," with List of Property Owners and A History of the Settlement 1701 To 1710, Compiled by C. M. Burton, Detroit: 1896, published as a pamphlet in the version I have used at the St. Clair Shores Public Library.

⁵ Marrero, pp. 38-39.

⁶ On the surviving records the "8" is actually a Greek *upsilon* [υ] on top of a Greek *omicron* [ο], producing a symbol which the Jesuits used to represent a sound not found in French, close to French [OU] or English [W] before a vowel. When this symbol was transcribed and printed for publication, no appropriate equivalent was available to the typesetters, so the numeral [8] was chosen to take its place. PRDH transcribes the [8] as [OU]. On the original handwritten documents the symbol often looks somewhat like this Microsoft Word® Wingding 61535 for the Taurus sign of the zodiac, [ⵛ]. My thanks to Jean Quintal for these details and for suggesting I use this Wingding symbol to approximate on a word processor the appearance of the symbol used by the Jesuits. PRDH is *Programme de recherche en démographie historique* (Program of research in historical demography). internet version at <http://www.genealogie.umontreal.ca> Also available in a multi-book format which makes no attempt to link individuals to families. PRDH is committed to correcting any errors that still remain in its data base, even making periodic upgrades to the "certificates" available on its web site.

in Laprairie was Fiacre Ducharme.⁷ **Some Web sites still identify the second Pierre's children by Angélique Faye (Lafaye, Lafayette) as his elder brother's children!**

It has also been published that the elder brother, Pierre Roy, accompanied Antoine Laumet *dit* de Lamothe Cadillac with the convoy that founded Fort Pontchartrain in 1701. Others say Pierre Roy and François Pelletier, *coureurs des bois*, were waiting for Cadillac on the banks of the river in 1701.⁸ There is no documentary evidence for either guess. In 1701, there were three men with the last name ROY, but they were Michel Roy of Ste. Anne, Edmon Roy *dit* Chatelreau (as spelled) of Ste. Anne, and Pierre Roy of Ste. Anne. These three men are sons of Michel Roy *dit* Chatellerault and Françoise Aubé. At no known time is the Detroit Pierre Roy associated with the Ste. Anne where the Michel Roy family lived, Ste. Anne de La Pérade, near Batiscan. The names of the fifty-two known hired men who went to found Fort Pontchartrain in 1701 are preserved on several hiring contracts, including one written in the year of seventeen hundred and one, on the twenty-seventh day of May before noon, by Antoine Adhémar, *notaire royal*, royal notary. (Photocopy) The Ste. Anne Pierre Roy signed the document, as did his brothers Michel and Edmond. The Detroit Pierre Roy consistently said he did not know how to sign. I have one 1732 document, written at Fort Pontchartrain, which he did sign with **a cross**, that I will mention later.⁹

The Detroit Pierre's Miami wife, Marguerite, and her husband are, however, among the "others" documented as present at Fort Pontchartrain in the earliest years, with the first documented mention of them in **1704**. Marrero says Marguerite "lived at the periphery of the founder's [Cadillac's] life," "on the margins"¹⁰ in the older histories. She continues:

[Marguerite] is purported to have married Pierre Roy in 1703, although no record exists of this marriage. By aligning herself with Pierre, she would be eventually separated from her people, who would abandon Detroit during Cadillac's tenure. She would also be separated from her husband, who, for all intents and purposes, would leave Detroit to pursue greater trading freedom among his wife's people at the Poste des Miamis, the site of present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana. Marguerite would disappear into the French social presence at Detroit, raising six [*sic*] children in an atmosphere which was becoming increasingly contentious, due to mounting hostilities between some of the tribes who had settled in Detroit and Cadillac, who tended to side with one tribe against another in a continuing series of disputes. With the baptism of each child, she resurfaces briefly in the record between 1704 and 1717, but it is her lack of immunity to and death from the European scourge of smallpox in October of 1732 which establishes and identifies her finally and forever as Native American. Interestingly, it is highly likely that the outbreak of this disease originated in Post Miami, the adopted home of her French husband.¹¹

This entire passage is footnoted only with a reference to John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, *Indiana to 1816: the Colonial Period*.¹² The citation applies only to the last sentence of the passage as the other details are not found in this book about colonial Indiana. Where Marrero learned these earlier details is not given, except perhaps in her citations of nineteenth-century accounts she criticizes, in particular

⁷ PRDH and photocopies of the baptisms.

⁸ See Diane Sheppard's refutation of this statement on the FCHSM website page http://habitantheritage.org/french-canadian_resources/detroit_river_region

⁹ See www.habitantheritage.org for a photo of the plaque listing the **known** names of the men in the first convoy.

¹⁰ Marrero, p. 38.

¹¹ Marrero, p. 42.

¹² John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, *Indiana to 1816: the Colonial Period*, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1971, 84.

Clarence Burton.¹³ Now I most enthusiastically join Marrero in challenging Burton's misunderstandings and errors, but her alternate "scenario" concerning Marguerite Oubankikow appears to me to be her interpretation, in particular, her assertion that Marguerite's death by smallpox "establishes and identifies her finally and forever as Native American." I will challenge this assertion subsequently.

Did Marrero use only Burton as a source for Marguerite's life? This seems to be the case because she does not cite any primary documents,¹⁴ not even the Ste. Anne de Detroit registers, an important source – but not the only one – for the factual details about Pierre and Marguerite's life together. Even while criticizing nineteenth-century Burton, she apparently did not avail herself of twentieth- and twenty-first-century tools now available to facilitate research into the early history of Detroit, such as the micro-film of the register;¹⁵ micro-films of the colonial correspondence not examined by the early historians, obtainable from the National Archives of Canada; and search tools for some of the surviving documents, such as PRDH¹⁶ and Archiviana at the web site of the National Archives of Canada,¹⁷ not to mention the extant notarial records from New France indexed by Parchemin, full copies of which can be ordered by mail from the Archives Nationales du Québec {Now *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec*, < <http://www.banq.qc.ca/accueil/> > }.

How does Marrero's summary and interpretation hold up, once the documentable facts are examined?

I will begin with the first sentence of her passage: "She [Marguerite] is purported to have married Pierre Roy in 1703, although no record exists of this marriage." The word "purported" is a loaded word, having the connotation that the marriage never took place. It is true that Clarence Burton presents the marriage of Pierre and Marguerite with skepticism in his short biography of her in his "Cadillac's Village":

Oubankikow [*sic*], Marguerite, an Indian of the Miami tribe, the wife of Pierre Roy.

There is no record of her marriage, though the priest called her a legal wife. She died of smallpox, Oct. 31, 1732. She had six [*sic*] children, baptized in the church at Detroit.

Burton's disbelief shows in his use of the word "called": "the priest called her a legal wife". In another section of his "Cadillac's Village," Burton reproduces a letter written to him by Father Christian

¹³ Her fifth footnote is to C. M. Burton, *Cadillac's Village*, or, Detroit under Cadillac: With List of Property Owners and a History of the Settlement from 1701 to 1710, Detroit: 1896, 16-17, which she cites in connection with her discussion of Burton's and Denissen's "dismissal" of Pierre Roy as one of the first white men to settle at Detroit, a legend preserved in Marie Caroline Watson Hamlin's *Legends of le Détroit*, Detroit: Thorndike Nourse, 1884, 28-29, as indicated by Marrero in her fourth footnote. She appears to accept the legend as truth. {2013 addition: Marie Caroline Watson Hamlin, *Legends of Le Détroit*. Illustrated by Miss Isabella Stewart, Détroit, Thorndike Nourse, 1884 [c 1883], is available on the Web in pdf format. Researchers continue to cite her "legend" as fact. }

¹⁴ The closest she comes to a primary document is two references to the English translation of the Cadillac Papers in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Historical Collections*, hereafter MPH, vol. 33, 1904, a transcription and translation that is sometimes inaccurate and definitely incomplete.

¹⁵ Microfilm #1252, Burton Library, Detroit Public Library. My references to this register will be taken from photocopies of the actual records as found on this microfilm. Note: The Drouin Collection on Ancestry.com and Ancestry.ca now (2013) has digital images of both the original Detroit records and transcriptions of the records. {See footnote 24. }

¹⁶ *Programme de recherche en démographie historique* (Program of research in historical demography), Gaëtan Morin Éditeur. < <http://www.genealogie.umontreal.ca> >

¹⁷ < <http://www.archives.ca/MainMenu.html> > The site has hundreds of digital images of pages from the colonial documents. These are, of course, in French. {It is now Library and Archives Canada: Archives Search: < <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/lac-bac/search-recherche/arch.php?Language=eng> > }

Denissen¹⁸ on 9 November 1896. In this letter, Denissen writes: “Peter [*sic*] Roy married, probably in 1703, a Miamis [*sic*] Indian, and took up his residence [a guess by Denissen¹⁹] in the village of the Miamis, who had been induced by Cadillac to come and settle near Detroit.” Marrero’s “facts” thus appear to come from the guesses of Burton or Denissen; but in her questioning of these early historians’ interpretations, she does no better than they did, like them engaging in speculation but expressing her speculations as truth.

Note Denissen’s use of the word “probably”. Burton and Denissen knew the fort suffered a fire that destroyed records on 3 or 5 (depending on how the number written by Cadillac is interpreted) October 1703. The surviving Ste. Anne de Detroit register reports this fire and the attempt to reconstitute the entries recorded prior to 2 February 1704, the baptism of Cadillac’s daughter, Marie-Thérèse.²⁰ Marrero is also aware of the fire and writes categorically: “the record of the marriage was destroyed in a fire at Ste. Anne’s in 1703. Its legitimacy is assumed but acknowledged as impossible to verify.”²¹

Unfortunately, these earlier records burned in the suspicious 1703 fire have not survived, but that does not mean the Roy / 8abanKiK8é marriage definitely occurred there at the fort. Only a fragment of a record for October of 1703 appears at the top of what is now numbered page three, the page containing the endorsement by Father Constantin Delhalle (he consistently signed “constantin delhalle”) and Lamothe Cadillac that a new register had begun after the fire.²² What happened to pages before this current page three will never be known. Page one, as it currently exists, is signed by **J. B. Forestier**, who cannot be documented at the fort until years later.²³ Forestier was only fifteen in 1703.²⁴ No documentation has

¹⁸ Christian Denissen (Rev. Fr.), *Genealogy of the French Families of the Detroit River Region, 1701-1936*, Detroit Society for Genealogical Research, currently in a 1987 revision, but based on work compiled by the end of the nineteenth century. The basic source for Denissen’s *Genealogy of the French Families of the Detroit River Region* was Abbé Cyprien Tanguay’s nineteenth-century (1871-1890), seven-volume dictionary, which itself has been proven unreliable. (*Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu’à nos jours* [originally published] Montreal: E. Sénécal, 1871-90.) Even the 1987 revision of Denissen suffers from not having consulted more modern research, as should be apparent from the numerous corrections published in *Michigan’s Habitant Heritage*, Journal of the French Canadian Heritage Society, (hereafter MHH). Denissen anglicized (gave English spelling) to all first names, thus Pierre becomes Peter, Marie becomes Mary, Étienne becomes Stephen, etc., distorting the actual names on the actual records. He also consistently used Three Rivers for Trois-Rivières, a practice I deplore {Place names and proper names should never be translated as a replacement for the original names.}

¹⁹ See “Cadillac’s Village” or, even better, the source document, AC C 11^E, Postes des Pays-d’en-Haut, Vol. 15 (1705-1749), ff. 3-15v, National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC) microfilm F-413 for a list of the concessions. Very few of the original concessions drawn up at the fort survive, although some of the sale or transfer of property documents of 1707-1710 are extant in the documents at Québec written by Étienne Véron Grandmesnil the younger. I have photocopies of all of these.

²⁰ Marie-Thérèse has traditionally been hailed as the first white child born at the fort. In fact, her brother Joseph, born in 1702 at the fort, is the first documented child, even being identified as such in 1706 by his father, Antoine Laumet *dit* de Lamothe Cadillac. See my articles in MHH, Vol. 24, #2, April 2003, and Vol. 26, #1, January 2005, available on the Early Detroit page at <http://habitantheritage.org>.

²¹ Marrero, p. 44. Emphasis mine.

²² See George Paré’s comments on the careless assembly of the surviving registers. *The Catholic Church in Detroit*, Detroit: Gabriel Richard Press, 1951, pp. 145-150 and footnote 7, p. 168. He reproduces page 3 opposite his page 144.

²³ *The Family History Library*, Salt Lake City, hereafter FHL, microfilm #1026602, includes a title page endorsed by Cyprien Tanguay at Ottawa 4 August 1881, stating that the hand-written transcript (copy) was compiled by a Mr. H. Prudhomme. It was deposited in the Archives 4 August 1881, signed Douglas Brymner, Archivist. This same page on original and copy is titled “Premier Livre de Baptêmes & Enterrements du Fort PontChartrain du Detroit **1703**”, signed **J. Bte forestier**. The first mention of him in the register is 30 December **1713**, marriage after three banns of François Fafart *dit* Delorme, widower of deceased Marie Madeleine Jobin, and Dame Barbe Loisel,

been found to affirm the Roy marriage took place at Fort Pontchartrain. To say it did is a pure guess. Also, no one can say with any certainty where Pierre and his wife lived in 1704, but it did not have to be among the Miami and most probably was not, despite Denissen's assumption. Denissen probably found it difficult to believe that the French had no problem with Indian wives (or Indian husbands) living with their spouses on "French" property. On 7 March 1707, Pierre Roy was officially granted property, within the fort, 25 feet wide on Ste. Anne Street by 27 feet deep, next to "pierre Lamontagne" on one side, and, on the other, next to "us"—Lamothe Cadillac. Surely, Pierre and his wife and family lived there in the fort even before Cadillac wrote the documents by which he granted property to settlers in March of 1707. Cadillac was not in charge of the fort, "sole Master," until his return in 1706, being first an employee of the King and then an employee of the Company of the Colony.

What is certain, though, is that Pierre and Marguerite would not have been identified as married parents of legitimate children over a period of at least twenty-eight years if the priests had not been aware of a religious marriage ceremony performed somewhere.²⁵ They are so identified from the first surviving recorded baptism in April of 1704 up to Marguerite's death and burial, on which entry she is recorded as "femme de pierre roy."²⁶ A copy of a marriage record (or a marriage contract, when one existed) was given to the participants, and this copy was at times used at a later date in a place other than the marriage location. The marriage contract drawn up for **Marguerite Roy**, Pierre and Marguerite's daughter born at Detroit in 1704, and her first husband, **Guillaume Dupont**, was consulted in 1742 in a property inheritance dispute with Claude Dupont *dit* Leblond, Guillaume's brother. The church marriage ceremony is said to have occurred in the *pays d'en haut*, the country up river from the mother colony. The marriage contract, written 25 May 1726, was copied by Rageot, and delivered to the notary Barolet to be used by Marguerite Roy and her third husband, Jean Robin *dit* Latouche, in countering Claude Leblond's

widow of deceased François LeGantier, esquier Sieur de La Vallée Ranée. Among the witnesses: **J. B. forestier**, who signed. Father Deniau recorded the marriage. Forestier is next present 16 August **1716**, marriage of Sieur Bouché [Boucher], widower of deceased Jeanne Beauvais, and Angélique tholome [Ptolomy] *veufve en premiere nopces de deffunct pierre Robert*, widow of deceased Pierre Robert. Among the witnesses: **Baptiste forestier**; Father Pelfresne recorded the marriage. The J. B. forestier signature of 1713 appears to match that on the title page.

²⁴ Baptized 16 November 1688 at Montréal; hired individuals to go West 16 April 1712 to 9 September 1715, son of Madeleine Cavelier & Antoine Forestier, a surgeon of the company of La Motte (not Lamothe Cadillac!) of the Carignan regiment, arrived in 1665. The Detroit Pierre Roy's brother, also named Pierre, was born in Antoine Forestier's home. See reference above. See also *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, hereafter DCB. II. J. B. Forestier's brother-in-law was Jean-Baptiste Bissot, sieur de Vincennes, who married Marguerite Forestier 19 September 1696. Vincennes commanded the post of the Miamis at Saint-Joseph in 1696, and his son, is considered the European founder of Vincennes, Indiana. He died between 20 October 1718 and 28 October 1719 at the Miamis on the Maumee River (Fort Wayne, Indiana). Forestier's uncle-by-marriage was the famous explorer Louis Jolliet. René Jetté (with the collaboration of PRDH), *Dictionnaire Généalogique des familles du Québec*, Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983, hereafter Jetté.

²⁵ The first recorded birth of a child born out-of-wedlock at the fort occurred 24 July 1709, Thérèse, daughter of Étienne Véron Grandmesnil and Marie Lepage, widow of François Beusseron. She was baptized the next day. Tanguay inexplicably recorded this child twice, once as the posthumous daughter of Beusseron and again as the daughter of Grandmesnil and his wife, whom he did not marry until 1713. See my articles in MHH, January, April, and July of 2001. Grandmesnil *filis*, and not his father, *père*, worked as Cadillac's agent, despite the identifications of him as Grandmesnil *père* in Burton and in the DCB.

²⁶ Ste. Anne de Detroit Registers, p. 231, photocopy of original from microfilm #1252, Burton Library, Detroit Public Library. All subsequent references to vital records at Detroit are to this original. {2013 addition: The earliest original records are now available on Ancestry.ca, Early U.S. French Catholic Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1695-1954, Détroit, Ste-Anne; Autres Registres [Other Registers] 1704-1744; Détroit, Ste-Anne 1702-1780 [actually begins 1744]; Détroit, Ste-Anne 1780-1801, first 316 images are originals. The rest are transcriptions in this section.}

complaint. The Dupont / Roy contract appears not to have survived [2010 Note: it has! I now have a copy.], but this reference to it is extant.²⁷

Marguerite's second husband was **Jean-Baptiste Dupuis**. The marriage contract for her second marriage, to Jean-Baptiste Dupuis in 1735, survives and says she had inherited from her parents one-fifth of a share in property and a house on the island of Montréal. She reserved this property for herself and did not allow it to enter the community marital property,²⁸ as she was entitled to do under the terms of the *Coutume de Paris*, the Custom of Paris. Marriage documents were necessary to legally transfer property to descendants or other inheritors according to the Custom of Paris, as is demonstrated in the surviving legal documents concerning Pierre and Marguerite's daughter, Marguerite Roy. Modern writers must not make the mistake of presuming our ancestors were ignorant of such matters even though much of their lives was lived "at the margins," as "part of the untamed and unrefined environment"²⁹ of the *pays d'en haut*, the country up-river, part of which became the European settlement of Detroit. Neither Burton nor Marrero knew these documents exist. I may be the first to cite them and to identify *Madame Dupont*, *Madame Dupuis*, and *Madame Robin* as the same woman, Marguerite Roy, daughter of Pierre Roy and Marguerite SabanKiK8é.³⁰

These seventeenth and eighteenth century people traveled a great deal, much more than I imagined before I began to examine the actual documents. Perhaps (notice that I qualify this assertion) the Roy / SabanKiK8é marriage even occurred at *St. Joseph des Miamis* (Fort or Poste St. Joseph, modern-day Niles, Michigan). Records for the earliest years of this mission have not survived, but it was in existence since at least 1690, when Father Claude Aveneau was sent to serve there.³¹ Pierre and Marguerite could have been married for several years previously, even, theoretically, have had earlier children. All we know with certainty is that Father Delhalle and the later priests did not question that they were legitimately married *en face de l'Eglise*, in the presence of a Church representative.

Next, Marrero presumes that by: "aligning herself with Pierre, [Marguerite] would be eventually separated from her people, who would abandon Detroit during Cadillac's tenure."

It is truly a leap in judgment to say Marguerite "stood by her man," so to speak, when the Miami left Detroit after the outbreak of violence in June of 1706. Even if she did remain at the fort with her husband, this does not mean she was permanently alienated from "her people." It is true that Cadillac failed, in 1707, to bring the Ottawa Le Pesant to any justice acceptable to the Miami for his role in instigating the 1706 deaths of many Miamis. They returned to express their outrage by attacking and killing some French

²⁷ See 1742, "Claude Dupont, voyageur, contre Latouche, journalier", #1295, indexed in Roy's *Inventaire d'une collection de pieces judiciaires, notariales, etc.*, photocopy of documents from Archives Nationale du Québec, hereafter ANQ. Guillaume Dupont died in 1729 at Montréal but not before his father, also named Guillaume, gave him an advance on his inheritance in the form of property in Québec City on *rue de la Ste. Famille*, which Marguerite inherited for their Dupont daughter. Marguerite's second husband was Jean-Baptiste Dupuis, a *negociant* or merchant, whom she married in 1735 at Québec City, but who committed suicide in a "moment of foolishness / insanity" just days after their marriage. She married a third time to Jean Robin *dit* Latouche, a former soldier, on 25 April 1739, her thirty-fifth birthday. Photocopies of all relevant documents. Not once on these documents is she called a half-breed or a *métisse*. She is *la femme de* each of these men or *la veuve de* two of them or Madame Dupont, Madame Dupuis, and Madame Robin.

²⁸ Notary Pinguet, 19 May 1735, ANQ, photocopy.

²⁹ Marrero, p. 38.

³⁰ I have reported my discovery to Bertrand Desjardins at PRDH. The corrections appeared on an update of the data. For an account of my proof for the three Marguerite Roy marriages, see MHH, Vol.24, #4, October 2003.

³¹ George Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 24 -54, citation on p. 32. Father Claude Allouez probably ministered there earlier and is said by Charlevoix to have died there in 1689, pp. 30-31.

in 1708. In retaliation, in the spring of 1708, Cadillac waged war against them at one of their “forts,” not long before d’Aigremont’s royally-sanctioned visit to inspect Fort Pontchartrain in July of 1708. In the intervening year, 1707, on Cadillac’s invitation, some of the Miami had relocated from the St. Joseph River to a place closer to Detroit, on what Cadillac calls the *Maurepas* River. (This river is usually identified as the Maumee River, near modern-day Toledo, but perhaps it is the River Raisin, Monroe, Michigan, whose location more closely matches the distance given from the fort at Detroit to the site of the new Miami fort. See my article in MHH, April 2009.) Cadillac negotiated a peace settlement with the Miami after they paid him a number of *pelletteries*, animal furs or skins, to atone for the deaths of Frenchmen.

It is quite possible Marguerite accompanied this group of Miami to the fort closer to Detroit, along with her husband. This same year of 1707 Cadillac would not allow Father Aveneau to return to St. Joseph, instead sending “a Récollet” to the new Miami settlement, probably Father Chérubin Deniau, newly arrived in 1707 to replace Father Delhalle, who had died in the 1706 fracas.³² And it is certain that Father Deniau and Pierre Roy were at a Miami mission called **Saint Antoine de Pades** in the fall of 1707.

While reading the entries for 1711 of the Ste. Anne de Detroit register of Indian baptisms, Gail Moreau-DesHarnais, editor of *Michigan’s Habitant Heritage*, discovered that Chérubin Deniau, *prêtre missionnaire Récollet*, entered three records for baptisms he had performed **four** years earlier, in 1707, at the mission of “Saint Antoine de Pades aux Miamis,” and he certified these additions on 25 November 1711 at Fort Pontchartrain.³³ (FHL 126, Original, p.135)

Je soussigné pretre Missionnaire Recollet Certifie avoir Coppié mot a mot sur l’original des baptemes dela mission de **St Antoine de pades aux Miamis** les trois extraits cy dessus et de l’autre part, enfoy dequoy J’ay Signé le present Certificat ce 25e Novembre 1711

I the undersigned Recollet missionary certify having copied word for word on the original of the baptisms of the mission of **St. Antoine de Pades among the Miamis** the three extracts above and on the other side [of this page], in faith of which [to serve as proof] I have signed the present certificate this 25th of November 1711. (FHL 126) [Original Ste. Anne register, p. 135]

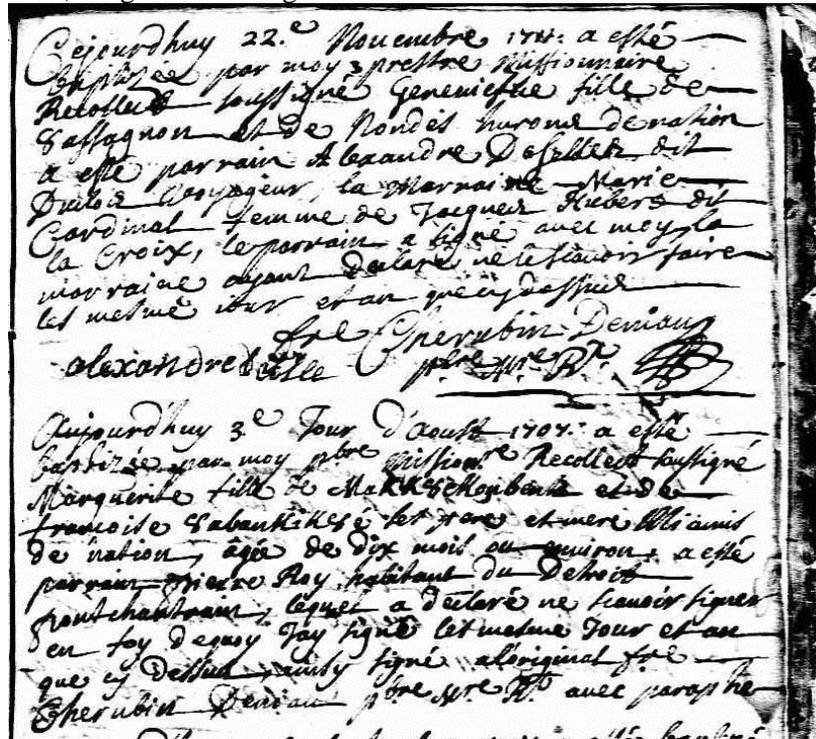
The three entries record the following information:

³² That Cadillac sent a Récollet to serve the Miamis at a new position closer to Detroit and to the English and refused to allow Father Aveneau, Jesuit, to return to St. Joseph des Miamis (Niles, Michigan) can be found in *Mémoire du Roi à Vaudreuil et Raudot*, 6 June 1708, signed Pontchartrain (*RAPQ CD-ROM* transcription, and photocopy of original from the Canadian Archives), and in other correspondence. Word had obviously reached France the previous year. Neither the king nor Pontchartrain was pleased by Cadillac’s tactics. The historians of Detroit, for the most part, ignore this episode, and I have seen the name of this mission of St. Antoine de Pades (or Saint Anthony of Padua) nowhere else in the colonial documents, except that the oldest parish in the Monroe, Michigan, area on the River Raisin was originally given this name. This and the distance mentioned to the Miami fort Cadillac attacked in 1708 lead me to believe that the *Maurepas* River was the River Raisin, but I will never be able to prove it. For d’Aigremont’s 1708 report, see AN, FC, série C11A, vol. 29, fol. 26-77v, NAC photocopy. François Clairambault d’Aigremont was commissioned, in 1707, by Pontchartrain to inspect the posts of Michillimakinac, Détroit, Niagara, and Frontenac. He made his visits and his report in 1708.

³³ Thanks to Gail Moreau-DesHarnais for originally noticing these entries in 1999. See MHH, Vol. 20, #3, July 1999, p. 122. I find it interesting to observe that Father Deniau recorded these events only after Cadillac had left the fort the previous spring, never to return (to our knowledge), and about the time he did, in fact, depart for France in November of 1711, having ignored Pontchartrain’s order to go over land to Louisiana to assume his new command.

3 August 1707, I the undersigned priest, baptized Marguerite, daughter of MaKK8eKonbeke (?) and Françoise **SabanKiK8é**, her Miami father and mother, 10 months old or thereabouts. Godfather: **Pierre Roy, habitant du detroit Pontchartrain**, who declared he could not sign. “aussy signé a l’original fol [folio?] Cherubin Deniau p^{re} m^{re} R^t avec paraphe” Also signed on the original folio sheet Cherubin Deniau, priest missionary Recollet, with *paraphe* (FHC 125) [Original, p. 134]

This 3 August 1707 act is reproduced on the image below, following the entry for 22 November 1711, the baptism of Genevieve, daughter of 8assagnon and of Nondes hurons.



Détroit, Ste-Anne; Autres Registres > 1704-1744 > 70 of 198

27 September 1707, I the undersigned priest baptized Marguerite, daughter of K8essenta and of Kinonsik8é, her Miami father and mother. Godfather: **Pierre Roy habitant du detroit Pontchartrain**, who declared he could not sign. Repetition of “aussy signé a l’original ...” (FHC 125) [Original, p. 134]

27 September 1707, I the undersigned priest baptized Antoine K8essenta, Miami, age about 35, after his having asked us to baptize him and his being examined and instructed in the Holy Religion and declaring that he abjured with all his heart all the superstitions and profane beliefs of his Nation. Godfather: **Pierre Roy, habitant of detroit Pontchartrain**, who declared he could not sign. Repetition of “aussy signé a l’original ...” (FHC 125) [Original, p. 134-135]³⁴

³⁴ This transcription refines and replaces any other citations I have made to these records. It is based on **the original Ste. Anne register** on microfilm at the Burton Library and not on my transcription of the very-hard-to-read and faulty FHL microfilm hand-written copy. In fact I originally saw and recorded the name “Marianne” for the August baptism the first time I myself copied from the FHL version. Both goddaughters are definitely named Marguerite. {On Ancestry.ca, the next image, 71 of 198, is of pages 137-38, pages 135 and 136 of the original for some unknown reason not included.}

The priest adds on each record that he had signed the **originals** “avec paraphe,” with a distinctive scribble or flourish, a design often added to a name or used without an actual signature on many legal documents. Where are the original registers?

Father Deniau had obviously arrived in the *pays d'en haut*, then, by August of 1707, the month of the first baptism, and Pierre Roy was with him at a mission among the Miamis in August and September of 1707. Who is to say Pierre's wife did not accompany him? I have to wonder, along with Gail Moreau-DesHarnais,³⁵ whether Françoise SabanKiK8é is Marguerite's sister. The name appears to be the same, although it was not usual for sisters and brothers to carry the same Indian name at that time.³⁶ The ten-month-old daughter, Marguerite, would have been born about November of 1706, at which time the Miamis had left Detroit, so she could not have been baptized there at her birth. It is even possible that Marguerite SabanKiK8é served as godmother and named both her niece and the other Miami daughter baptized Marguerite, although Father Deniau did not record a godmother's name. It was custom for godparents to give their names to their godchildren throughout the New France years. Since this was not inflexibly the case, I will even advance the theory that the adult baptized was named after Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac, and it is likely the mission was also named to honor his patron saint. As for Pierre Roy's presence at *St. Antoine de Pades*, Pierre was the person to whom Cadillac entrusted his property in 1711. Pierre Roy must therefore have been seen by Cadillac as someone dependable, someone who, in 1707, would likely have encouraged the Miami to relocate closer to Detroit (and to the English) as Cadillac wished them to do. Who would be better to assist this objective than a Miami wife and her sister?

Karen Marrero's assumption that Marguerite “would be eventually separated from her people, who would abandon Detroit during Cadillac's tenure” seems shaky, at best, but she continues to extrapolate from limited “facts,” also claiming Marguerite “would also be separated from her husband, who, for all intents and purposes, would leave Detroit to pursue greater trading freedom among his wife's people at the Poste des Miamis, the site of present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana.”

To be continued

Suzanne Boivin Sommerville

³⁵ MHH, Vol. 20, #3, July 1999, p. 122.

³⁶ According to the linguist J. A. (Jean André) Cuoq, Algonquin “k8é” or “koué” means woman, having the same original meaning as the variant “squaw”, today considered a pejorative word because of the negative connotations given to the word in more recent times. I understand some elements of a deceased parent's or husband's name might appear within a child's or a widow's name, using the particle “ban” added to the deceased's name. Until I know more about these languages, I cannot hazard a guess. See Cuoq's dictionaries and other works on Iroquois and Algonquin languages at Early Canadiana <http://www.canadiana.org/> I have also read that /8a/ means white. Michael McCaffertey, a scholar of Indian languages, informs me that SabanKiK8é means Dawn Woman. Personal e-mails.

Encountering Errors
Interpreting history from incomplete or unreliable sources
Part Two
Suzanne Boivin Sommerville

Please read Part One first.

I closed Part One by writing:

Karen Marrero's assumption that Marguerite "would be eventually separated from her people, who would abandon Detroit during Cadillac's tenure" seems shaky, at best, but she continues to extrapolate from limited "facts," also claiming Marguerite "would also be separated from her husband, who, for all intents and purposes, would leave Detroit to pursue greater trading freedom among his wife's people at the Poste des Miamis, the site of present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana."

Here Marrero takes for granted that Marguerite, at this stage of her marriage, did not "stand by her man," that she did not go with her husband to St. Philippe. Yet, Marguerite and her husband were definitely present there in August of 1720 when Governor-general Vaudreuil gave instructions to Enseign Dumont, about to leave to assume command of both the Ouiatanon³⁷ post (modern-day West Lafayette, Indiana) and Fort St. Philippe (Fort Wayne, Indiana).³⁸ Dumont was to tell Pierre Roy to take himself, his wife and children, and his possessions to Fort Pontchartrain, to winter there, and to return the following spring to the **new** colony.³⁹ Other French / French Canadians were also evacuated.

The couple was still definitely at *St. Philippe Miamis* eight years later when their daughter **Magdeleine** (also spelled Madeleine) married **Pierre Chesne** (*dit* Labutte) on 25 May 1728. Father **Dominique Thaumur** wrote their marriage contract the day before and officiated at the marriage ceremony. The official Church marriage record found its way to the Ste. Anne register, perhaps carried there by Father Thaumur or by the newly-married couple, Magdeleine and Pierre, where it appears as a loose sheet, page 204, inserted within the register proper between entries by Frère Bonaventure for 13 June and 24 September 1728.⁴⁰ Thaumur himself deposited the marriage contract with the notary J. B. Adhémar in

³⁷ The Ouiatanons, or Weas, a branch of the Miamis (Twicktwigs / Oumamis) had formerly lived for a time at the Saint-Joseph River. La Salle found them there in 1679 living side-by-side with Miamis and Mascoutens. Cited by Gilles Havard, *Empire et métissages, Indiens et français dans le Pays d'en Haut, 1660-1715*, Toronto and Paris: Septentrion and Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003. This wonderful new book will eventually be translated into English. It addresses a subject that has been generally ignored by historians, particularly United States historians writing only in English.

³⁸ As summarized on the National Archives of Canada, *ArchiviaNet*: 3611 Extrait du mémoire de Vaudreuil pour servir d'instruction à l'enseigne Dumont qui s'en va commander au pays des Ouiatanons et à la rivière des Miamis - lettres à remettre à Tonty; les voyageurs munis de congés et les marchandises resteront à Détroit jusqu'à ce qu'on sache si les Miamis et les Ouiatanons quitteront leurs villages ou non; ira avec Reaume au village des Miamis et communiquera à Pierre Roy et aux autres Français l'ordre de quitter ce village et de se retirer à Détroit; demandera à Vinsenne "de le venir joindre" au village des Miamis; tâchera de convaincre les Miamis de s'établir à la rivière Saint-Joseph et les Ouiatanons de s'installer sur le Téatiki. Colonial Archives Item part of: Fonds des Colonies. Série C11A. Correspondance générale; Canada MG 1 - Série C11A Microfilm of original, reel no. F-42, Volume 42, fol. 158-160v. The full letter refers specifically to Roy's wife, children and possessions and to the other details.

³⁹ See an English language excerpt of the instructions in Frances Krauskopf, translator and editor, *Ouiatanon Documents*, Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1955, specifically p. 167.

⁴⁰ Contrary to what Marrero writes, the couple did not have to "request permission by church authorities in Detroit to be married at Post Miami in 1728", pp. 45-46. The fortuitous arrival of Father Thaumur, his posting of one ban

Montréal on 30 July⁴¹ as he was traveling to his ultimate destination, Québec City, where I next locate him at Hôtel-Dieu, the hospital.⁴² Even though they grew up in the *pays d'en haut* among the Indians, Magdeleine and her two sisters, Marguerite and Marie Louise, signed these documents, as did Marguerite's husband and several others, despite the fact *Sieur* and *Madame* Roy are said not to be able to sign their names on the marriage documents or as godparents for baptisms at Fort Pontchartrain.

Having wrongly concluded Marguerite stayed put at Fort Pontchartrain until she died there, Marrero says: "With the baptism of each child, [Marguerite OuabanKiKoué] resurfaces briefly in the record between 1704 and 1717." Resurfaces briefly? Here are the extant references in the Ste. Anne de Detroit registers showing both Pierre's and Marguerite's presence at Fort Pontchartrain; they are recorded not only for the baptisms of their children (names underlined) but also when they themselves served as godparents:

27 April 1704, baptism of ***Marguerite, fille legitime***, legitimate daughter of **Pierre Roy and Marguerite OuabanKiKoué**. Godparents: Henry Belille [*chirurgien*] & Isabelle Coup [Couc]. Godfather signed and the godmother declared she could not sign. Delhalle. (FHL 13)⁴³ [Original, p. 4 or 5; number is hard to read.]

21 April 1706, baptism of ***Pierre, fils legitime***, legitimate son of **Pierre and Marguerite OubanKiKoué**, with Pierre Tichenet & Isabelle Coup (Couc) as godparents. Pierre Tichenet signed. Delhalle. (FHL 14) [Original, p. 5 or 6] Note: between this record and the next in May of **1708**, their names are not recorded in the register.

19 May 1708, baptism of ***Marie Louise***, daughter of **Pierre Roy, habitant du Détroit, and Marguerite Oubankik8é**, Miami de nation, *ses pere et mere en legitime mariage*, her father and mother legitimately married. Godparents: Sr Louis Gastineau, *marchand*, & Marie Dussaut [Marie Renée Tupin dite "Dussaut"], *femme de Sr* [Jacques] *Langlois, habitants du fort*. Gastineau signed. Deniau. (FHL 42) [Original, p. 38]

25 May 1710, [Jetté has 1711⁴⁴] baptism of ***Magdelene***, daughter of **Pierre Roy and Marguerite 8banKiK8e**, *Staoise [sic] de nation* [earlier called Miami by the same Father Deniau], *ses pere et mere en legitime mariage*, her father and mother legitimately married, born today. Godparents: Paul Guillot, *commis du magasin du Roy*, clerk of the king's store, & Marie Magdeleine Parent. Both signed. Deniau. (FHL 55-56) [Original p. 52]

30 June 1710, marriage, after three consecutive banns, of Michel Bissaillon, son of Benoist Bissaillon and Louise Blaye of Ville de Clermont in Auvergne and Marguerite Fafart, daughter of François Fafart [*dit* Delorme] and Marie Magdeleine Jobin, his wife, of this parish. One of the witnesses: **Pierre Roy**, present for Bissaillon. [Original, p. 89]

and dispensing the other two "pour bonnes et Justes raisons," for good and just reasons, is all that was required. Photocopy of church record.

⁴¹ Photocopy of record deposited 30 July 1728 in the Étude of J. B. Adémar, ANQ.

⁴² The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. II, says Father Thaumur went to the mission of the Tamarois (Cahokia, Ill.) in 1718 and lived ten years in the mission of Ste-Famille des Tamarois. But, as I myself learned, on his journey to the Tamarois, he stopped at Fort Pontchartrain to sign the register once on 3 August 1718 (p. 66) Again according to the DCB, he returned to Québec in 1728, and illness prevented him from going back. I found Thaumur documented at Hôtel-Dieu by 24 septembre 1728, FHL microfilm #1287130 Hôtel-Dieu de Québec.

⁴³ *Family History Library* (FHL), Salt Lake City, Utah, microfilm #1026602, a hand-written transcription (copy) of the original, one which has many errors and misreadings {but the only version I had available at first}. The Drouin transcription also has problems, based on the few pages I photocopied.

⁴⁴ Jetté. Corrections have been made to this work, which presents records only to 1730.

22 September 1710, **three** baptisms, of Jean and Joseph, sons of M8namahan and Michapiahan, 8tagamis [Renard or Fox / Mesquakie]; and Marie, daughter of hechK8ian and LantgilaKK8a, also 8tagamis. Godparents for all three: Jean Contant & **Marguerite 8abanKik8e**, *femme* Pierre Roy, wife of Pierre Roy. Deniau. (FHL 105) [Original, pp. 113-114]⁴⁵ The entry is among the earliest recording the presence of *Renard* / Fox Indians at the fort. Cadillac had invited them to come.

12 November 1710, baptism of Jacques, *un petit esclave de Pierre Roy agé 7 à 8 ans, panis* [a young Panis slave belonging to Pierre Roy, about 7 to 8 years old. Panis Indian is a general name given to Natives taken as slaves, usually by other Natives, although some are definitely Pawnee and others are definitely not slaves]. Godparents: Jacques Dumay & Marguerite Fafart, *femme Bisailion*. Deniau. (FHL 109-110) [Original, p. 120] Indian slavery had been declared legal in New France in 1709.

4 October 1711, baptism of Michel, *filz de Sasteretsi*⁴⁶ and Datyrez, Hurons. Godparents: **Pierre Roy, habitant**, & Dame Barbe Loisselle, *veuve de Sr dufiguier De Rané*. Godmother signed. Deniau. (FHL 123) [Original, p. 133]

30 October 1711, baptism of Magdeleine *fille de* Joseph Montour et de Isabelle Ononthio. Godfather: **Pierre Roy**, habitant, & Marguerite Fafart, *femme de Turpin*. Deniau. (FHL 124) [Original p. 133] **Jetté does not list this child, nor does PRDH as of 2002.**

11 April 1712, baptism of a *petit esclave* belonging to Joseph Senecal, Joseph, nation unknown, about seven years old. Godparents: Laurent Trutaud, *armurier*, & **Marguerite 8abanKik8**, *femme de Pierre Roy*. Godfather signed. Deniau. (FHL 129) [Original, p. 138] This act is one month before the beginning of the Fox wars on 13 May.

20 April 1713, baptism of **François**, son of **Pierre Roy and Marie 8banKik8e**, *ses pere et mere en legitime mariage*, her father and mother legitimately married, born tonight. Godparents: François Roy [Pierre's brother, who gave the child his name] & Marguerite Parent. Deniau. (FHL 63) [Original p. 58] **PRDH did not list this child the last time I checked.** See my references to him in MHH, 2008-2009.

2 June 1714, baptism of Jean Baptiste, *esclave* of Sieur Louis Gastineau. Godparents: Jean Baptiste Trudaud [Trudeau], *forgeron*, & **Marguerite OubankiKa8e**, *femme de Pierre Roy*. Deniau. (FHL 75) [Original, p. 77]

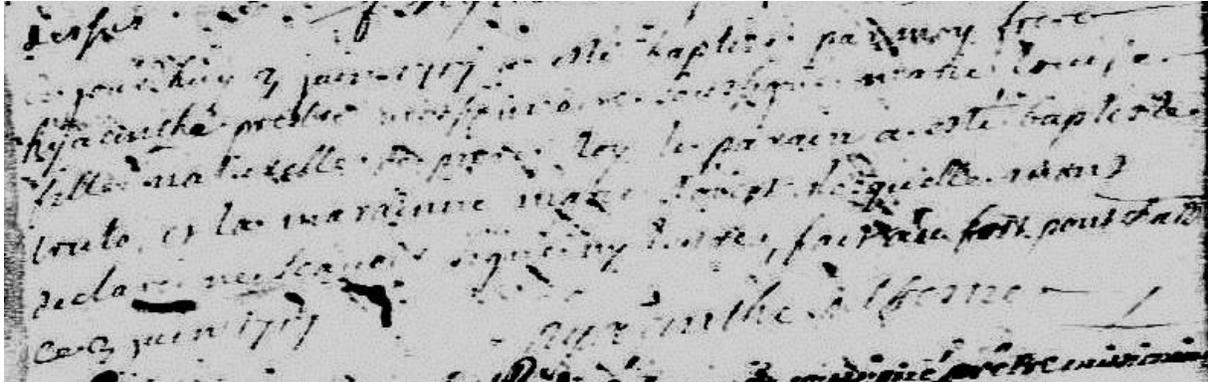
29 June 1714, baptism of Pierre, *esclave* of **Pierre Roy de ce lieu**, slave of Pierre Roy of this place, nation [of the slave] unknown. Godparents: Jean Baptiste Trutaud & Magdeleine Parent. Deniau. (FHL 76) [Original, p. 78]

4 November 1715, marriage after three banns of Jean Baptiste Fafart, son of deceased Jean Fafart and Marguerite Couque, his wife, of this parish, and Marguerite Joseph [Jetté says Queroti], dau of Joseph and Josephe, Hurons de Nation. Witnesses: Michel Massé [husband of Marguerite Couque / Couc]; François Fafart *dit* Delorme, uncle of the groom; Joseph Besnard; Jacques Hubert; **Pierre Roy**; Jacques Cardinal. Signed by Michel Massé, Joseph Besnard, Jacques Hubert. Pelfresne. (FHL 90) [Original, p. 92]

⁴⁵ These are among the earliest references to Fox Indians present at the fort. They are found in the *Second Livre des baptêmes Des Sauvages*. Second Book of the Baptisms of Indians. No first book survives, and the third is very limited in scope. Cadillac did not leave the fort until spring of 1711, so he was present when these Fox were baptized.

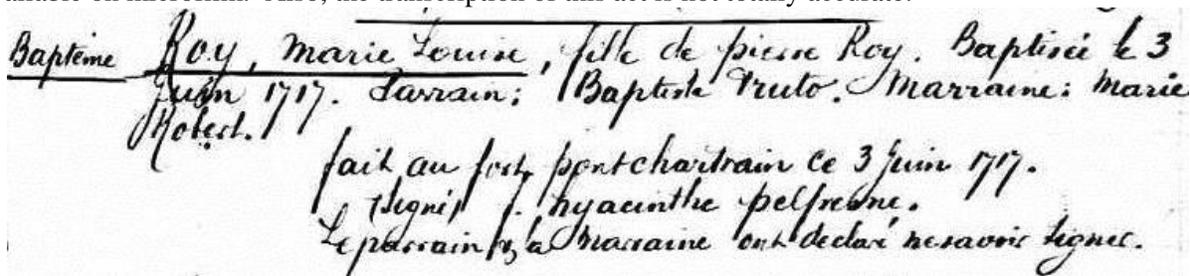
⁴⁶ *Sasteresti* is a hereditary name for a chief among the Huron / Wendat-Petun {later called Wyandotte at Detroit}.

3 June 1717, baptism of *Marie Louise*, **fille naturelle de Pierre Roy**, natural or illegitimate daughter of Pierre Roy.⁴⁷ No name given for the mother. Godparents: Baptiste Truto [Trudeau, who often appears in connection with Pierre Roy] & Marie Robert [probably Marie Louise Robert]. Last record in this section signed by Pelfresne. (FHL 69) [Original p. 63]



Ancestry.ca Early U.S. French Catholic Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1695-1954 D > Détroit, Ste-Anne; Autres Registres > 1704-1744 > 36 of 198

Yes, this last record is accurate: “fille naturelle,” illegitimate daughter of a man named Pierre Roy, not Marguerite. I am again grateful to Gail Moreau-DesHarnais for originally noticing the true reading of this act. Yet the transcription on the FHL microfilm of this record affirms this Marie-Louise is Marguerite’s illegitimate child, as reported even by Jetté in 1983. Her name is not even mentioned in this entry! Abbé Cyprien Tanguay, the celebrated author of the first French-Canadian genealogical *Dictionnaire*, in seven-volumes, certified the transcription now available on FHL microfilm, but in this case, as in many others that have since been corrected, he (or someone else) not-so-simply guessed, or altered the content of the record, or at least approved the reading that became the standard reference until the registers became available on microfilm. Also, the transcription of this act is not totally accurate:



D > Détroit, Ste-Anne > 1704-1780 > 21 of 253

The transcription available on Ancestry.ca, Drouin collection, like the original, does not record the name of a mother, but it omits that Marie Louise is “fille naturelle”. But this is a topic for another day. Marguerite cannot even be documented at the fort in 1717, contrary to Marrero’s declaration: “With the baptism of each child, she resurfaces briefly in the record between 1704 and 1717.”

There are no entries after 30 October 1716 until this 3 June 1717 one. There are none after 25 March 1718, the last entry by Father Pelfresne, until baptisms were performed in **August of 1718** by the missionaries **Calvarin**, **Jean Mercier**, and **D. Thaumur** (the same priest who would officiate at the Chesne / Roy marriage in 1728). These priests were on their way to Illinois country, and all of these ceremonies are for Natives. The godparents are French Canadians. The register then jumps to November

⁴⁷ I am again indebted to Gail Moreau-DesHarnais, who was the first to notice the true reading of this act. Personal communication, 1999.

of 1719,⁴⁸ when Frère Antoine de Lino makes his first entry. After his arrival, Father de Lino performs several baptisms for children born in the interim when, it appears, no priest was present. It **appears** the fort was essentially deserted during 1718, although French Canadians were present to serve as godparents at the August baptisms. Yet I count at least 18 hiring contracts specifically for Detroit in 1718, and a total of 66 for the year, with destinations in the *pays d'en haut* or other specific locations such as Michilimackinac and Baye des Puants, modern Green Bay, Wisconsin.⁴⁹

Although the Roy family does not appear in any of these religious entries at Detroit for mid- to late-1717 and early 1718, they can be documented in 1718 — **in Montréal**. Marguerite even served there as godmother for her brother-in-law's child. Here's how the record appears on the PRDH "certificate".

```
44951 Montréal 1718-04-05 Birth :1718-04-05
Rank Name Age M.S. Pr. Sex50
01 JACQUES ROY---c p m
-----
02 JACQUES ROY FATHER OF 01 SPOUSE OF 03---m p m
-----
03 MARTHE FRENCH MOTHER OF 01 SPOUSE OF 02---m p f51
-----
04 FRANCOIS ROY-----p m
-----
05 MARGUERITE ROY SPOUSE OF 06---m p f
-----
06 PIERRE ROY SPOUSE OF 05---m---m
-----
07 BELMONT Occupation :PRETRE---c p
```

On this 5 April 1718 entry, Marguerite is recorded not with her Indian name but with the last name of her husband.⁵² But Marguerite was not alone in Montréal in 1718. Her sister was also there. A 20 July 1718 baptism, three months later, reads:

{in the margin} B: Pierre miamy

Ce vintieme iuillet de l'an mil sept cent dix huit a ete batise pierre aage de trois jours fils d un miami et dune miamie le parrain fut mr pierre roy et la maraine mari (?) miamie soeur de la fesme de pierre roy fils Belmont ptré nom unconnu {this last added after the record but within the text of the record and evidently refers to the actual names of the *Miamis*.}⁵³

{in the margin} B[aptism] of Pierre miamy

⁴⁸ The FHL version wrongly dates this record 1718. Once more, thanks to Gail Moreau-DesHarnais for looking carefully at the original record and for sending me a copy before I began to examine the originals myself. Our examination of the actual original register in 2005 confirms the 1719 date.

⁴⁹ Répertoire des engagements pour l'ouest conservés dans les archives judiciaires de Montréal (1670-1778), read on RAPQ CD-ROM version.

⁵⁰ "M.S." refers to marital status, "c" meaning celibate or unmarried; and "Pr." indicates the individual is mentioned as present or, in the case of father and mother, assumed to be present barring any indication to the contrary on the actual entry. Fathers and mothers were, nevertheless, not necessarily present unless so stated or demonstrated by a signature. PRDH, a demographic study to begin with, only considered them to be alive.

⁵¹ On their marriage record, Marthe French is identified as originally from Deerfield, New England, having been taken from there during the attack by French and Abénaki in 1704, and later becoming a French citizen. PRDH #48043 Montréal 1711-11-24.

⁵² Photocopy of the record.

⁵³ Photocopy of the record.

This twenty of July of the year seventeen hundred and eighteen was baptized Pierre, three days old, son of a Miami and of a Miamie [female]. The godfather was Mr. Pierre Roy, and the godmother Mar?, Miamie sister of the wife of Pierre Roy, son [or junior].
Belmont, priest
Name unknown

When I examined the book version of PRDH years ago, I noted that it misidentified this child as Pierre ROY [sic]. The record, though, is now corrected on the online version “certificate”.

The father of the Pierre *fiils*, husband of the *Miamie*, was also named Pierre Roy, and to further confuse accurate tracking of records, Pierre *père*, the father, had another son named Pierre, as I have previously indicated,⁵⁴ the second one, in 1705, marrying Marie Angélique Faye, very definitely not a Miami. About all that is certain about this record is that a Miami(e) sister of the wife of *pierre roy fiils* was the godmother and one of the three men of this family named *Pierre* Roy was the godfather. Pierre senior, the father, was still alive in 1718.

The godfather could not have been Pierre and Marguerite’s son, also named Pierre, baptized 21 April 1706 at the fort of Détroit, because he had died and had been buried in June of 1716, age ten. Present at his burial was his aunt, born Marguerite Roy in 1674. a nun in the Congregation de Nôtre-Dame de Montréal, who joined the community at the age of fifteen, taking the name *Soeur de la Conception*.⁵⁵

12037 Pointe-aux-Trembles 1716-06-19
Rank Name Age M.S. Pr. Sex
01 PIERRE ROY 010 c d m

02 PIERRE ROY SPOUSE OF 03 FATHER OF 01 --- m --- m

03 MARGUERITE RABAKIKOI SPOUSE OF 02 MOTHER OF 01 --- m --- f

04 LAURENT ARCHAMBAU le pere --- --- p m

05 ANDRE ARCHAMBAU fiils --- --- p m

06 LOUIS BAUDRI --- --- p m

07 LANOUE --- --- p f

08 DE LA CONCEPTION Occupation : SOEUR --- c p f

09 SEGUENOT Occupation : CURE --- c p m

I decided to view the actual record on microfilm to determine how far off someone’s reading of “Rabakikoi” might be from OuabanKiKoué. The entry actually reads ᵂabaKiKᵂi. This Pierre is definitely the son of Pierre and Marguerite. A notation in the margin, not recorded by PRDH, even identifies him as “neveu de la Sr de La conception,” nephew of (religious) Sister de La Conception,⁵⁶ Pierre Roy’s sister, Marguerite Roy. It is documented that both Pierre and his wife, Marguerite, were with their family and her sister’s family in the Montréal area in 1718, perhaps even from about 1716 to 1719. (I truly believe some records are just waiting to be found!)

⁵⁴ See Part 1.

⁵⁵ See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 574-75, for this interesting woman. She died in December of 1749.

⁵⁶ Register of L’Enfant Jésus de la Pointe-aux-Trembles, FHL microfilm #1018016, photocopy, and FamilySearch, Quebec, Catholic Parish Registers, 1621-1979, Pointe-aux-Trembles, L’Enfant-Jésus-de-la-Pointe-aux-Trembles, Baptêmes, mariages, sépultures 1674-1754, Image 407 of 867.

So much for Marrero's "Marguerite would disappear into the French social presence at Detroit, raising six children in an atmosphere which was becoming increasingly contentious, due to mounting hostilities between some of the tribes. . . ."

It simply must not be imagined that these individuals and families ensconced themselves at a distant post and never left it, or that they were cut off from all communication with the mother colony. Pierre's friend, Jean Baptiste Trudeau, voyageur, who also lived at the fort, acted for Pierre Roy, "absent, at Fort Pontchartrain," in a property arrangement on 31 July 1710. Pierre's sister, Marguerite Roy of the Sisters of the Congregation of Nôtre-Dame de Montréal, was also present and signing "marguerite roy delaconception."⁵⁷ Pierre Roy himself returned to Montréal by 8 July 1711, to accept from his father 300 *livres* in card money as a portion of inheritance granted to him ahead of time. Since de Lamothe Cadillac had already arrived in Montréal by this time, I have to wonder whether Pierre Roy traveled from Fort Pontchartrain with him. Pierre was back at the fort by the fall of 1711 to witness the inventory taken of Cadillac's property, and Cadillac sailed for France in November. Another notarial document was transacted in the mother colony two years later, on 10 September 1713, Pierre Roy *père* acting for Pierre Roy *fiils*, presently absent at *detroit du lac Erie*. The transaction involved a plot of land Pierre Roy *fiils* purchased on the island of Montréal at *La pointe St Charles sur le bord du fleuve*,⁵⁸ at Pointe St Charles on the bank of the river, *Le St. Laurent*. This property was later sold back to the previous owners, the final payment accepted by Pierre in person in 1718.⁵⁹ The Pierre Roy family would settle elsewhere by 1720.

Both Pierre and Marie are documented at Fort Pontchartrain in June of 1714. Then Pierre was definitely at Fort Pontchartrain 4 November 1715, but he was not necessarily present for the 3 June 1717 baptism of his or a Pierre Roy's natural daughter Marie Louise, conceived in about September of 1716 (if she was a baby), although the name "pierre roy" is definitely given as father.⁶⁰ I can hypothesize as well as anyone, and it would not surprise me to learn that, if Pierre and Marguerite were separated, it was because of the danger inherent in remaining at the fort in the early years of the Fox wars, or, perhaps, because of their son Pierre's ill health and eventual death. It may be Marguerite who "abandoned" or at least temporarily left Pierre and not the other way around. They may even have sent their children to live with relatives and to be educated in the mother colony. But this is pure speculation.

As I stated above, there are no surviving entries (that mention the Roy family) in the Ste. Anne registers after 30 October 1716 until the 3 June 1717 baptism of Marie Louise, natural daughter of Pierre Roy and an unnamed mother. There are none after 25 March 1718, the last entry by Father Pelfresne (who apparently would not be replaced until 1719), except for the baptisms entered by the missionaries on their way to Illinois country.

There are several very good explanations for why the fort seems practically deserted, both after 1712 and after 1716. The ongoing war between the Fox / Renard / Mesquakie and other Western Indian Nations, begun in May of 1712 and reaching a crucial point in 1716 with French involvement would be reason enough for families to go elsewhere; the illegal *coureurs de bois* were even granted amnesty if they would

⁵⁷ Adhémar, #8568, photocopy.

⁵⁸ Adhémar, #9315, photocopy.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Endorsement 31 July 1718, indicating that Pierre Roy, present, had been paid by Nicolas Lefebvre and his wife, Marie Anne Ducharme, the remaining amount of money due for them to repurchase the property they had sold to him.

⁶⁰ Bertrand Desjardins informed me in a personal communication that PRDH "assumes" the father is present at the baptism of a child, as well as the mother, unless they are specifically said to be absent in the record, an assumption that can be proven to be false. I proved conclusively to Desjardins that Cadillac was definitely not present at the 1695 baptism of one of his children in Québec City because he was then at Michilimackinac serving as commandant and writing a document from there the very month his child was born.

join in this initiative against the Fox and then return to the mother colony. In addition, and of equal significance once word arrived from France, is the 1716 royal cancellation of the concessions of land Cadillac had made from 1707 to 1710. The force of this edict would later be modified to respect those concessions that had been accepted in good faith, although issued in improper form by Cadillac, if the lands had been developed. Those plots of land that had actually been developed by the *habitants* of Detroit remained in their possession; but in the interval, no one knew the status of his or her⁶¹ property, and Alphonse de Tonty, commandant beginning in 1717, even demanded that those holding property documents give them to him and would not return them.

Although Marrero claims Pierre Roy “was not present to father the last child of his wife, Marguerite” (whom Marrero identifies as “a girl born in 1721 [*sic*], listed as an *enfant naturel* [*sic*] or illegitimate child”),⁶² she does not cite her source for this girl child. I count only seven events listed in the register for 1721, from 16 February 1721 to the end of December.⁶³ None names Marguerite as the mother of an extra-marital child. Could this 1721 be simply a typographical error for the published – but false – attribution of an illegitimate child born to Marguerite in 1717? I’ve made enough typos to understand, if this is what happened. Either way, it appears to be wrong.

Before 1720, Marguerite and her husband and family were definitely living at St. Philippe, the Miami mission located near the place later known as Kekionga, modern-day Fort Wayne, Indiana, as I cited above. Otherwise Governor-general Vaudreuil would not have ordered *Enseigne* Dumont to tell them to go to Fort Pontchartrain. They were still present at St. Philippe in 1728 for their daughter Magdeleine’s marriage and marriage contract, which were written in their home. I can cite several permissions granted before this date to François Roy, brother of Pierre, to take supplies to this Miami post, for example, **1721** August 6, permission granted by M[onsieur the governor] *général* to the man named François Roy to leave with a canoe equipped with four men, including him, to go to take to Pierre Roy, his brother, interpreter at the Miami post, the provisions and belongings that he needs.⁶⁴ These permissions specifically state François Roy is allowed to take provisions and supplies for his brother and for his brother’s family. Note: Pierre is identified as an interpreter, not a trader, and permission is not granted for trade merchandise to be transported. It is true, that Pierre and François Roy entered into a three year agreement with Lieutenant De Noyelle, commandant, at Fort St. Philippe on 24 May **1728** to share profits from the commerce they would conduct at “Fort St.-Philippe Village des Miamis”.⁶⁵ And, as Marrero says, in **1732** on 3 June, Pierre Roy and Commandant d’Arnaud entered into a trade agreement.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Marie Lepage held her deceased first husband’s plot of land outside the fort in her name even though she had remarried to Joseph Vaudry, and she transmitted that property to her children by Vaudry. See my articles in MHH, January, April, and July, 2001.

⁶² Marrero, p. 45.

⁶³ In a document “Given at Quebec this 4th of November, 1721,” and entitled “Cadillac Again Petitions to Be Put in Possession of Detroit,” Governor general Vaudreuil’s annotation reads: “In this stretch of land to the northeast of the fort [are, in 1720-21,] . . . four [original] concessions granted by M. de La Mothe to the (persons) named Delorme, Desrochers, M. Aubin and the widow Beausseron [Marie Lepage]” but all “the houses [are] within the fort.” MPHC, 33: 679. Also photocopy of the original document.

⁶⁴ “1721, août, 06, Permission accordée par M. le général au nommé **François Roy** de partir avec un canot équipé de 4 hommes, lui compris, pour aller porter à **Pierre Roy**, son frère, **interprète au poste des Miamis**, les provisions et effets dont il a besoin.” Located at the Canadian Archives Web site with the ArchiviaNet search engine. See also 1722, septembre, 04; 1723, avril, 28; 1724, août, 12. I have copies.

⁶⁵ Photocopy of an agreement written on 24 May 1728 by Father Dominique Thaumur at St. Philippe and filed in the papers of J. B. Adhémar on 5 September 1728 by François Roy, who had returned to the mother colony with the first peltries to be sold for the profit of the partnership of the two Roy brothers and “DeNoyelle,” as he signed it. The contract specifically states no secret commerce would be allowed. De Noyelles would not contribute as much as the two others, and an adjustment was to be made at the end of the contract. Nicolas Joseph Noyelles (de), sieur de

She does not say that d'Arnaud was stationed at Detroit at the time,⁶⁷ that this agreement was written *au Detroit Erié*, nor that Pierre Roy signed it with a cross. I have a copy of the original now held by the Chicago Historical Society.⁶⁸ Pierre's wife died this very year, about five months later, so it is not likely she was, in this instance, "separated from her husband, who, for all intents and purposes, would leave Detroit to pursue greater trading freedom [*sic*] among his wife's people at the Poste des Miamis." I will return to the 1732 date of this agreement shortly.

When and why Marguerite, Madame Roy, traveled from the Miami post on the Maumee River at modern-day Fort Wayne, Indiana, only to die at Fort Pontchartrain on the last day of October of 1732 will never be known with any certainty, but it is fact that her daughter Magdeleine gave birth three years earlier, 23 May, to her only son, Pierre Chesne, baptized the next day on 24 May 1729 at *Ste. Anne du Detroit*. The reason for Marguerite's presence at Detroit in October of 1732 could be as simple as her desire to see her daughter and grandson; or perhaps she wished to minister to her sick daughter, since Magdeleine died of an unidentified cause in November. Possibly, Marguerite brought one or both of the girls named Marie Louise with her to seek a husband. A Marie Louise Roy married Alexis De Ruisseaux (Trottier *dit* Desruisseaux) 6 Jan 1735 at Detroit, slightly more than two years after her mother's death. The Marie Louise born in 1708 would have been twenty-six in 1735; Marie Louise, the child of 1717, would have been age eighteen in 1735; but, although no age is given for the wife of Alexis De Ruisseaux, she is clearly said to be daughter of Pierre Roy and Marguerite *Oabankicoües vivants demeurant au miamis*, when **both** were alive residing with the Miamis (p. 245 original). Marie Louise Roy died in December 1735,⁶⁹ (p. 255), no age given, after the birth and death of her daughter, "la petite des Ruisseaux". Madame Philis, *sage femme*, mid-wife, giving her *parolle*, testimony, about the event, reported the infant had been *ondoyé*, administered baptism by a lay person. The record is damaged. (p. 254). Or, what is equally possible, Madame Roy went to Fort Pontchartrain because she wanted to escape the mysterious

Fleurimont, lieutenant in 1721, married Marie-Charlotte Petit (Charles & Marie-Madeleine Gauthier) 8 August 1718 at Montréal. Jetté.

⁶⁶ Marrero, p. 46, citing Barnhart and Riker, *Indiana*, 83. D'Arnaud had a monopoly of the trade at the post when he formed the partnership. It was to last three years.

⁶⁷ D'Arnaud signed the register on 17 October 1732, serving as godfather for Genevieve Charlotte, daughter of "Claude dudevoir et Elisabeth Cardinal", with Genevieve de Ramezay, wife of Boishebert, the godmother. Original, p. 230.

⁶⁸ Societé des S[ieurs] Darnaud et Roy, 3 juin 1732, Chicago Historical Society, French America collection, II, 319.

⁶⁹ Marie Louise Roy was thus still alive when her sister Marguerite, in May of 1735, declared being in possession of a one-fifth interest of property inherited from her parents. Since Pierre (in 1716) and Magdeleine (in 1732) were deceased by 1735, this suggests, but does not prove, that both girls named Marie Louise may have inherited, along with François and Marguerite. When I originally wrote this article, I asked: "Is there yet another child born to Pierre Roy? Are there any documents transacted by Uncle François Roy in connection with this inheritance?" Well, I found a document written on 20 December 1733, in which François Roy, as partner of his brother and guardian of the minor children of **deceased** Pierre Roy and Marguerite "8abankiquay", his wife, along with Joseph Trutteau, assistant guardian, met to divide the real property in Montréal owned by François Roy and the inheritors of Pierre and his wife. Unfortunately, the names of the Roy children are not given! J. B. Adhémar, photocopy from ANQ. No precise death record appears to survive for Pierre Roy.

In **1733**, the two Marie Louises and François Roy, Pierre's son, were younger than 25, the official age of majority, and Marguerite was 29. Who was the fifth inheritor of **1735**? Since François Roy, brother, as a partner of deceased Pierre Roy, received part of the Montréal property, I believed he was the fifth inheritor. I recently discovered another candidate for this one-fifth inheritance, articles in progress, yet another son of Pierre Roy and Marguerite, **André Roy dit Pacane**, clearly identified as brother of a François Roy, interpreter, who sent his wife, for safety, away from Fort Miami (Fort Wayne, Indiana) to Fort Pontchartrain in 1749. The brothers are specifically identified as the sons of a Frenchman and a Miami whom he had married. [I have written about this previously-unknown son, **André Roy dit Pacane**. See MHH, Oct. 2008 and Jan. 2009.]

illnesses that were ravaging Miami territory. Barnhart and Riker report: “To avoid the plague many of the Miami fled from their village.”⁷⁰

The original belief was that the illness was caused by poison put into the liquor the Indians had obtained in trading with the English. One container was even reported to have had a human hand in it. In a letter dated 1 May 1733, Governal-general Beauharnois in the mother colony refers to having already informed Pontchartrain in France “of the ravages caused by small pox among the Villages of the Five Iroquois Nations.” He also writes: “From the News I have received I learn that It is decreasing there But that It has spread among all the nations, and that the Miamis and Poutouatamis Among others have lost many Persons. Brandy which they went to get from the English, has also contributed to their ruin.”⁷¹ Thus it seems the smallpox traveled from Iroquoia to the Miamis via the Indians who had gone to trade with the English. Considering the time it took for messages from the *pays d'en haut* to reach the mother colony, the trading evidently took place sometime before the fall of 1732.

Finally, what seems most convincing to me, Marguerite, Pierre Roy’s wife, could have accompanied her husband in the spring of the year when he was going to conduct business with Jean Charles d’Arnaud, appointed that year, 1732, as commandant for the Miami post on the Maumee River, who was stationed at Detroit in 1731,⁷² and who was also at Fort Pontchartrain in June of 1732. Many historians confuse the appointment date with the actual date an individual reached the location of the position he had received. Marguerite could have arrived at Fort Pontchartrain long before she could have been infected with the smallpox that traveled from the Iroquois in New York via the Indians who traded with the English. Thus Marrero’s “Interestingly, it is highly likely that the outbreak of this disease originated in Post Miami, the adopted home of her French husband.” is also subject to question, as is any suggestion that Marguerite may have functioned as a carrier of the disease.

For Marrero, though, Marguerite was fulfilling her destiny to confirm Marrero’s thesis, because, Marrero asserts: “it is [Marguerite’s] lack of immunity to and death from the European scourge of smallpox in October of 1732 which establishes and identifies her finally and forever as Native American. [underlining mine]” Marrero does not stop to consider that Marguerite could have been exposed to the disease any number of times⁷³ but succumbed only in 1732, twenty-eight years after she appeared for the first time in a now-known French language document.

Once again I decided to examine an original source, the registers of Ste. Anne de Detroit, to determine exactly when this outbreak of smallpox is first documented at Fort Pontchartrain and also to count the number of deaths attributed to this cause. Marguerite’s death is the first, thus the contract her husband signed with a cross in June was agreed upon almost five months before the word “la picotte,” smallpox, appears in the register of Ste. Anne de Detroit. On the next such entry, 16 January 1733, “la picotte” is again clearly readable.

⁷⁰ Barnhart and Riker, “Wea and Piankashaw” also carried “the malady back to their villages.” p. 84.

⁷¹ As translated in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. xvii, pp. 172-73.

⁷² S. Dale Standen, “Arnaud (Darnaud, Darnault, Jean-Charles d’),” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. III, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974, pp. 16-17. He signed the register at Fort Pontchartrain 1 September 1730 and 17 October 1732, photocopies.

⁷³ I know of smallpox outbreaks in 1702-03 and 1717, the 1717 one definitely affecting Fort Pontchartrain. In 1702 Cadillac wrote that, allegedly wanting to scare the Indians away from going to trade in Albany, he told the Indians at the fort about the 1702 outbreak in the mother colony, which Cadillac said had been carried to Québec City by English blankets. The church registers in the mother colony for 1702 and 1703 have many, many deaths of French, Canadians, and Indians.

Marguerite, was buried at Fort Pontchartrain in the cemetery of Ste. Anne on 31 October 1732, after receiving all the sacraments: “Margueritte 8abanquiKouet [*sic*], *femme de Pierre Roy, morte dela picote*”, the latter phrase inserted above the line: wife of Pierre Roy, died from smallpox. (p. 231) *Picote* is another name for *la petite vérole*. Her daughter Magdeleine died a few weeks after her mother, on 20 November 1732, *femme de Sieur labutte* (Pierre Chesne’s *dit* name is La Butte), after receiving all the sacraments, about 22 or 23 years of age. No cause for her death is given. Correspondence of the time indicates there was also an infectious fever in the area.⁷⁴

Recorded in 1732, though, after Marguerite’s burial record, is the death and burial on 17 November of Antoine, *pathocas de nation*, belonging to *Sieur La butte*, about 13 or 14 years old, who had been baptized during his illness because he had shown *beaucoup dapparences damour de l’etre*, much evidence of love (desire) to be baptized. *Sieur Labutte*, Marguerite’s son-in-law (Pierre Chesne *dit* Labutte), witnessed the burial. No indication is given of the nature of the illness causing the death of this *pathocas* (Padouka, in English Comanche).⁷⁵ The burial of the wife of *Sieur La butte* is recorded next, on 20 November 1732 (p. 232), followed by the burial of “marie francoise du tremble,” twenty years old, no cause given, and then, on 16 January 1733, of “Jean baptiste esteve *dit* lajeunesse,” about 17 or 18 years old, “mort de la picotte.” Two and a half months had elapsed, then, between the first and the second deaths specifically identified as caused by smallpox, and the second death was of a French Canadian, born at the fort,⁷⁶ not a Native American. French Canadians born in the New World also contracted the disease. Between the first and the second death from smallpox, three individuals associated with the family of *Sieur La Butte* had died. A cluster of victims also appears within another family.

The mention of death by smallpox disappears after the last such case so identified on 5 March 1733, *pierre*, also *patocas de nation*, about nine or ten years old. Twelve of twenty individuals who died from October to March are said to have been ill with smallpox, ten of these twelve are French Canadians.⁷⁷ Two Renards (Fox / Mesquakie) are included among these twenty deaths, but they did not die from smallpox; at least the record does not say they did. Of course, no indication is given of the number of individuals, of Native, Canadian, or European origin, suffering or dying with the disease who were not given a religious burial in the cemetery of Ste. Anne. Yet the point must be made that it was not only Native Americans who contracted “the European scourge of smallpox” and dying from it does not automatically mark one as Native American.

Marrero’s guesses and broad-brush interpretations do not hold up well when examined in the light of documents she apparently never attempted to locate, at least as of her writing of this article. Of equal

⁷⁴ Letter from Beauharnois to the minister, 1733 May 30 at Montréal: “la petite vérole et une fièvre maligne continuent de faire des ravages à Détroit ainsi que chez les Miamis et les Ouitanons”, C11^A, Volume 59, fol. 8-9v, excerpt from *ArchiviaNet*. Beauharnois must have received this news from the first convoy to reach the mother colony from Fort Pontchartrain that spring.

⁷⁵ See DCB II, p.xxxviii. Dutisné encountered them in 1719. Their hostility threatened French alliances with other Nations until Étienne Véniard de Bourgmond was successful in re-establishing good relations. My translation, as my copy of DCB II is in French. Bourgmond served at Fort Pontchartrain from 1702 to 1706. [2012 note: Apache]

⁷⁶ 29 August 1716, baptism of Jean Baptiste, belonging to Pierre Esthier [*sic*, Estève] *dit* Lajeunesse and Magdelene Frappier *ses pere et mere en legitime mariage*, born today. Godparents: Jean Baptiste Forestier, *chirurgien* [surgeon, as was his father and brother], who signed, & Marie Cardinal. Pelfresne. (FHL 80, original 81) Pierre Estève *dit* Lajeunesse, a soldier, and his new bride were among those who married in 1706 with the intention of traveling with Cadillac’s convoy that year to settle at the fort. See my articles on the convoy of 1706 in MHH, 2002.

⁷⁷ A 1733 October 14 letter from Beauharnois and Hocquart to the minister in France says there were close to 2000 deaths in the colony from “la petite vérole.” Work had to be suspended. C11^A, Volume 59, fol. 163-206, excerpt from *ArchiviaNet*. My examination of the registers for Montréal and Québec City for 1733 shows that almost all of the deaths recorded are French Canadians, page after page, often of young children. The outbreak prevented the domiciled Indians from trading with the English.

concern to me is the ease with which Marrero uses insufficient evidence in order to shore up her predetermined thesis. Like her, far too many others rely on the published histories or indexes (perhaps because it is easier or they cannot read French) without asking themselves whether these works could be partial, biased, or absolutely wrong. Marrero at least challenges the older histories and their version of the truth. The fascinating early history of Detroit deserves better.

Even as the story of what became modern-day Detroit began, some of the Odawa / Ottawa of Michilimackinac themselves refused to move to the new post, despite the standard history's insistence that the Jesuits alone prevented them from going. An annotator of Cadillac's 1702 letter to Pontchartrain gives one of the reasons (there are others) some of the Ottawa stood their ground and stayed in Michilimackinac:

In their speeches to M[onsieur] de Callières [then governor-general], the Indians said that the land was under water and worthless; to make it productive, irrigation would be necessary, which, the Indians say, they are unable to do.⁷⁸

Much of the published history of Early Detroit continues to be “under water and worthless,” swampy with misconceptions and falsities. The tools are now available to irrigate the territory, and to let the sun shine on “Detroit's Misty Early Years,” if only modern historians would examine the **extant** French records, some of which, like the notarial records I have been examining for seven years now {at the time of the 2006 version of this article}, are only beginning to be read. I am doing my part to reclaim the land of my ancestors. The mists may not vanish entirely, but I know there are dozens, perhaps hundreds of documents still waiting to be mined for the treasures they hold.

Suzanne Boivin Sommerville

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⁷⁸ Résumé of Cadillac's 25 September 1702 letter, AC, C 11^A, Vol. 20, f. 130v, photocopy, but Delanglez's translation: Jean Delanglez, “Cadillac at Detroit,” *Mid-America*, XXX: 1948, p. 162. Not too long ago, I met a woman who had been raised in the Southwest of the United States. She had never heard of a Drain Commissioner until she moved to Detroit! The early maps of Detroit record several *marais*, swamps, including one called *Le Grand Marais* on the east side of the modern city {and also several creeks now running underground}.