Proof that No Indians Lived in Permanent Villages on either Side of the Detroit River When Antoine de Lamothe, *sieur* de Cadillac, Founded Fort Pontchartrain on 24 July 1701

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Although the 21st century was ushered in with two superb books on the history of Detroit: Brian Leigh Dunnigan, *Frontier Metropolis: Picturing Early Detroit, 1701 – 1838* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001) and Timothy J. Kent, *Ft. Pontchartrain at Detroit: A Guide to the Daily Lives of Fur Trade and Military Personnel, Settlers, and Missionaries at French Posts - Volumes I and II* (Ossineke, Michigan: Silver Fox Enterprises, 2001) and FCHSM published *Le Détroit du Lac Érié – Volume 1,* by Gail Moreau-DesHarnais and Diane Wolford Sheppard, *and Volume 2,* by Suzanne Boivin Sommerville in 2016, certain individuals and groups continue to allege one or more variations of the myth that Native-Americans lived in permanent villages and greeted or welcomed Cadillac when he landed in what is now known as Detroit on 24 July 1701. The myth is nothing more than a myth that relies on oral history or on books published during the 19th century. Although the agendas that motivate these individuals and groups to continue to cling to these "romantic" or "alternative" versions of history are beyond the scope of this article, we can examine the primary and established secondary sources that prove that no Native Americans lived in permanent villages in the Détroit River Region when Cadillac landed, and none had lived in the area for approximately 50 years.

Although I could present a 60+ year timeline regarding the Detroit River Region, all but those who are truly interested in history would not bother to read the entire timeline. Instead, I will offer a broad statement about this period and focus the timeline on the period between 1697 and 1703.

1640 – 1701 – The **Iroquois Confederacy** and their attacks on **New France's Native Allies** and on the settlements in the St. Lawrence settlements dominated the history of New France, its Native Allies, and the forts and missions as far west as the Mississippi Valley during the 17th century. Due to the location of their villages in present-day New York south of Lake Ontario, by the 1640s, diseases and war with their neighbors had decimated the population of the Iroquois Confederacy. In an attempt to increase their numbers, the Iroquois Confederacy attacked other Native Tribes and Nations, often totally destroying their villages. The men were often killed, while the women and children were brought back to Iroquoia and adopted into the tribe. The attacks started with the destruction of the **Huron** (Wendat) Villages that lived around Georgian Bay on Lake Huron. Following the destruction of Huronia in 1650, the Iroquois moved southwest and destroyed the **Erie** and **Neutral Nations** that lived on Lake Erie and east of the Detroit River. Following these attacks, many of the Tribes or Nations that had lived in southwest Ontario or in southeast Michigan fled the area and settled as far west as present-day Wisconsin and as far north as Lake Superior. While the Iroquois and other Native-American Tribes used southwest Ontario and southeast Michigan for hunting purposes, none lived in those areas in permanent villages after *circa* 1650.[1]

[1] For those who would like to read a detailed timeline with sources for this period, as well as consult the underlying sources, please see the following sources: Diane Wolford Sheppard, *French-Canadian Exploration, Missionary Work, and Fur Trading in Hudson Bay, the Great Lakes, and Mississippi Valley During the 17th Century* on the History of New France Page on the FCHSM Website; Diane Wolford Sheppard, *A Quick Reference and Research Guide to the Native-American Tribes or Nations Encountered by the French in the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi Valley during the 17th Century* on the Native Americans and *métis* Page on the FCHSM website. José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Frederick Webb Hodge (editor), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution: Vol. 1, 1907 and Volume 2, 1910); William C. Sturtevant and Bruce Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C., The Smithsonian Institution, 1978), Vol. 15, hereafter *HNAI*. Author's note: Hodge discussed the individual members of a confederacy separately; *HNAI* does not. Ruben Gold Thwaites, editor, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers. Available online at: (

Timeline for the Period 1698 through November 1703. The following entries have been excerpted from the Historical Chapter in *Le Détroit du Lac Érié – Volume 1,* by Gail Moreau-DesHarnais and Diane Wolford Sheppard, *and Volume 2,* by Suzanne Boivin Sommerville (Madison Heights, Michigan: French Canadian Heritage Society of Michigan, 2016). The excerpts are limited to those entries which discuss the founding of Detroit, the Great Peace of Montréal in 1701, and the eventual movement of certain Native Tribes to the Detroit River Region. Readers are also encouraged to read Suzanne Boivin Sommerville's translation of Claude Charles Le Roy de La Potherie's *circa* 1702 *Mémoire* about the Strait [*le détroit*] between the Two Lakes Erie and S^te^ Claire *Memoire sur le détroit des deux lacs Eriér et S^t^ Claire* [*sic*] on pages 4-13 of Volume 2.

1698 to 1699, France and New France – A year after **Antoine de Lamothe, *sieur* de Cadillac**, returned from Michilimackinac, he sailed to France to obtain permission for the establishment of a settlement at Détroit. **Pontchartrain** was impressed with the proposal but deferred to **Louis Hector de Callière**, governor of Montréal, and **Champigny**, who were not enthusiastic about **Cadillac**'s plans when he presented them on his return to New France in 1699. **Callière** had two objections to **Cadillac**'s proposal. He acknowledged Détroit's ideal location but believed that the **Iroquois** might object to the post because it would limit their hunting grounds. This might lead to the continuation of their war against **New France**. He also believed that the location of Détroit would place the **Native Nations** much closer to the **English** and increase the temptation to trade with the **English** rather than the **French**. **Champigny** believed that it was impossible for so many **Native Nations** to live peacefully with each other in one place. He also believed that a large group of **Native Nations** could not support themselves by hunting in

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http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/ and https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000833013); Emma Helen Blair, editor and translator, *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), Vols. 1 and 2, especially Nicolas Perrot, *Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America*, and Claude Charles Leroy Bacqueville de La Potherie/LaPotherie, *History of the Savage Peoples who are allies of New France*; Armand Louis Lom d'Acre *baron* de La Hontan and Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor) *New Voyages to North America* (Chicago: A.C, McClurg and Co., 1905). Samuel (de) Champlain, *The Works of Samuel Champlain* (Toronto, Ontario: The Champlain Society, 1922-1936; six volumes); Joseph François Lafitau, S.J., William Nelson Fenton, and Elizabeth L. Moore (editors), *Customs of the American Indians Compared With Customs of Primitive Tribes* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1974 and 1977); Gilles Havard, Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (translators) *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701 – French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). See pages 277-280 for variations in names; W. Vernon Kinietz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes 1615-1760* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Ann Arbor Paperback and The University of Michigan Press, 1972, 2^nd^ printing); Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press: 1987); Richard White, *The Middle Ground* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aetaentsic, a History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987 edition); Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's Heroic Age Reconsidered* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987 edition); Kinietz, pp. 1-160; Conrad Heidenreich, Huronia*: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians 1600 – 1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971); Blair, Vol. 2 (Index Entry), p. 380; Lucien Campeau, S. J., *The Jesuit Mission among the Hurons*, William Lonc, S.J., and George Topp, S.J., translators (Montréal, (Gontran Trottier, 2000), originally published in French under the title *La Mission des Jésuites chez les Hurons 1634-1650* (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1987); René Cuillerier, and José António Brandão, editor and translator, and K. Janet Ritch, *Nation Iroquoise* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2003); Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984); Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse-The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

such a small area. **Cadillac** once more travelled to France in late 1699, where he successfully refuted the objections to his colony.[2]

3 September 1700, New France – **Callière**, as governor-general of New France, negotiated a peace treaty between the **French**, the **Huron-Petun**, the **Ottawa**, the **Abenaki**, the **Native Americans** who had settled in New France, and the **Iroquois**. At the conclusion of the treaty, he announced that a great assembly would take place in Montréal the following summer when all prisoners would be exchanged and the treaty ratified.[3]

Fall – winter 1700, Great Lakes – During the winter, **Augustin Legardeur, *sieur* de Courtemanche**, and **Jean Enjalran, S.J.,** went on a diplomatic mission to the **Native Nations** in the Great Lakes. Their objective was to persuade the **Native Allies** to accept the treaty signed in Montréal and to bring their prisoners to Montréal in 1701 so that the treaty could be ratified.[4]

16 October 1700, New France – **Callière** and **Champigny** informed **Pontchartrain** that **Cadillac** and **Alphonse Tonty** planned to establish the post at Détroit the following spring, travelling via the Ottawa River so that they would not upset the **Iroquois** and endanger the peace until **Callière** had the opportunity to explain the post to them.[5]

27 May 1701, Montréal – **Bochart de Champigny**, intendant of New France, representing **Louis XIV**, hired the first group of men for the expedition to Détroit; **Antoine Adhémar**, royal notary, drafted the contracts. Additional men were hired on 28 and 31 May and 3 June 1701.[6]

31 May 1701, France – **Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain** informed **Cadillac** that he had transmitted **Cadillac's** proposal regarding the settlement at Détroit to **Callière** and **Champigny**. He ordered

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[2] Jean Delanglez, S.J., "The Genesis and Building of Detroit," *Mid-America, an historical review* (Chicago, Illinois: Loyola University, The Institute of Jesuit History, Volume 30, Number 2, April, 1948), pp. 75-104, hereafter, Delanglez, "*The Genesis and Building of Detroit*." (This article thoroughly discusses Cadillac's plan, the objections to the plan, the *Compagnie de la Colonie*, and Cadillac's departure for Détroit. It is accompanied by an appendix which contains a transcription of the 27 May 1701 contract, a list of those hired between 28 May to 3 June 1701 and Delanglez' attempt to identify many of these men); *DCB*, Cadillac's biography; *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, pp. 42-44, pp. 96-118. See Suzanne Boivin Sommerville (translator), *Mémoire sur le détroit des deux lacs Eriér et S[t] Claire* [*sic*] by Claude Charles Le Roy de La Potherie, hereafter, Boivin Sommerville, *LaPotherie* – see Vol. 2 of this book.

[3] *DCB*, Callière's biography; *LAC*, Mikan #3050119 – 1700 Treaty, item 1 contains the marks of the Native Americans; *PAC1900-1901*, 100-101 [1700 Treaty]; Gilles Havard, Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (translators) *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701 – French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), p. x; Richard A. Preston, *Royal Fort Frontenac* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958), pp. 199-201; John Romeyn Brodhead (agent) and E.B. O'Callaghan, M.D. (editor) *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons and Co, 1855), hereafter *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 715-720. In October, Champigny and Callière made a number of proposals regarding how the trade at Forts Frontenac and Détroit should be handled. In addition to other recommendations, they recommended that the first profits from sales at Fort Frontenac be used to reimburse the individuals who had loaned money to René Robert Cavelier, *sieur* de La Salle, to establish the fort.

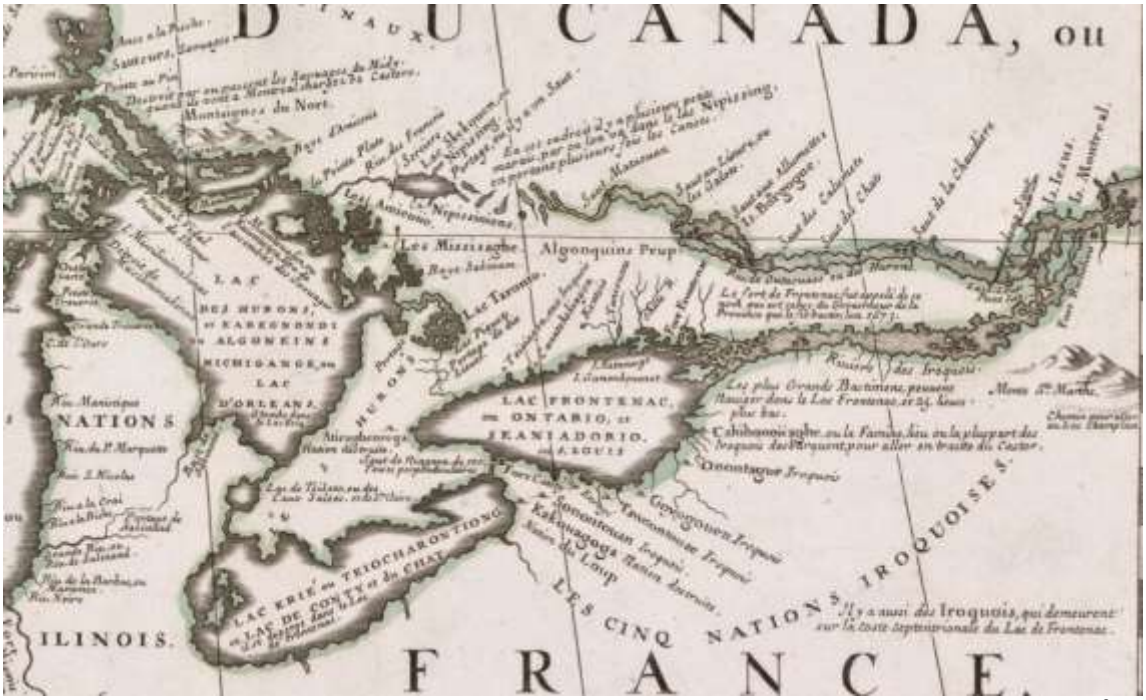
[4] Ruben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1902), pp. 200-203, hereafter *WiHC*, Vol. 16.

[5] *WiHC*, Vol. 16, p. 202 (extract of a 16 October 1700 letter from Callière and Champigny to Pontchartrain); *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 712-713.

[6] Delanglez, "The Genesis and Building of Detroit," pp. 97-104; E.Z. Massicotte, "Répertoire des engagements pour l'ouest conservés dans les Archives Judiciaires de Montréal (1670-1778)," *Rapport de L'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1929-1930* (Québec: Rédempti Paradis, 1930), pp. 205-206, hereafter *RAPQ1930*. See the Contracts Chapter for a translation of the contract as well as a copy of the signatures on the original contract.

Cadillac to obey their decisions about the new establishment. **Pontchartrain** advised Cadillac that the trade at Détroit had been handed over to the *Compagnie de la Colonie*; **Pontchartrain** planned to urge the *Compagnie* to give **Cadillac** an addition to his salary for as long as he remained at Détroit. **Cadillac** did not receive this information until after he had arrived in Détroit.[7] [Note: this letter would not arrive from France until after the 1701 convoy left on 5 June 1701]

3 to 5 June 1701, Montréal – **Cadillac** departed for Détroit with 25 canoes, 52 *voyageurs* or hired men, and about 50 soldiers. The names of only a few soldiers who were in the first convoy have survived. Cadillac was accompanied by his lieutenant, **Alphonse de Tonty; Pierre Dugué, *sieur* de Boisbriant; Chacornac, *baron* de Johannes**; a **Récollet**, (no name is given but possibly **Father Constantin Delhalle**; the **Jesuit**, **François Vaillant de Gueslis, S.J.**; and **Cadillac's** son **Antoine de Lamothe de Cadillac**. They travelled via the Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing, to the Rivière François, to Lake Huron, and then south to avoid the **Iroquois**, who had not yet responded to the plans for the post at Détroit.[8]



Portion of Vincenzo Coronelli's 1688 map, *Partie occidentale du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France*[9]
Cadillac's party travelled northwest on the Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing, west on the *Rivière François* to Lake Huron and then south through Lake St. Clair to the site selected for Détroit. As the map indicates, numerous portages were required between the Ottawa River and Lake Huron. Following the founding of Détroit, those who travelled to Détroit most often came via Lakes Ontario and Erie to the Detroit River. The Iroquois lived south of Lake Ontario, in the area marked on the map as *Les Cing Nations Iroquoises*.

[7] *PAC1900-1901*, p. 354.
[8] *LAC*, Mikan #3050230 (Callière and Champigny's 5 October 1701 memorandum to Pontchartrain); *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 109 (excerpts from Callière and Champigny's 5 October 1701 memorandum to Pontchartrain – states they departed at the beginning of June); *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 202 (excerpts from Cadillac's 14 November 1704 memorandum to Pontchartrain – states they departed from Lachine on 5 July); George Paré, *The Catholic Church in Detroit 1701-1888* (Detroit, Michigan: The Gabriel Richard Press, 1951), p. 132. See the *List of Men Who Arrived With Cadillac on 24 July 1701* in this chapter. Also, Suzanne Boivin Sommerville has read the original documents in the original hand-written French.
[9] *BAnQ* (www.banq.qc.ca), *Accueil, Collections Collection, numérique Cartes et plans*. Vincenzo Coronelli was a Franciscan monk who lived in Venice (www.wikipedia.org., accessed 5 June 2013). He never visited New France.

23 July – 7 August 1701, Montréal – **Callière** held the Great Peace conference in Montréal. Over 1,300 **Native Americans**, representing over 30 **Native-American Nations** living as far apart as the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi Valley, gathered in Montréal. The return of the prisoners held by both the Nations allied with the **French** and by the **Iroquois** was the major stumbling block during the conference because a large number of the prisoners died while in captivity or they were adopted. The peace accomplished a great deal for the **French** and the **Native Americans**. In addition to promising to live in peace, the **Native Americans** agreed that they would bring their grievances against other tribes to the governor, rather than immediately striking back at another tribe. **Callière** also extracted an important promise from the **Iroquois**. They agreed to remain neutral if any future conflicts arose between the **French** and the **English**, thereby stripping the **English** of their first line of defense and offense against New France.[10]

July or August 1701, Montréal – During the peace conferences in Montréal, **Chichikatelo/Chickikatako**, the **Miami** chief, told **Callière** that they wanted to move to the St. Joseph River (Fort St. Joseph, near present-day Niles, Michigan) and that he wanted **Callière** to invite all of the **Miami** to settle there. In his address to the **Native Americans** prior to their departure from Montréal, **Callière** informed **Chichikatelo** that he could inform the **Miami** that **Callière** would be pleased if they moved to Fort St. Joseph. The chief fell ill a few days later and died.[11]

24 July 1701, Détroit – **Cadillac** founded *Fort Pontchartrain du Détroit*. Tradition states that construction of Ste. Anne, the first church in Détroit, was begun on 26 July, the feast of Ste. Anne, but the date is not given in official correspondence. The name Ste. Anne du Détroit does not appear on the 1711 inventory of Cadillac's possessions that include church items or in the parish register until 1718. Regardless of the date the church was actually built or named, Ste. Anne du Détroit is the second oldest continuously operated parish in the United States.[12] As noted below, Cadillac reported in 1701 that the first building erected was the *magazin* (storehouse for trade goods and supplies), not the church.

24 July to fall 1701, Détroit – Construction of the palisade surrounding Détroit was completed within about a month of their arrival. The palisade surrounded an area of about one acre. **Cadillac**'s men built the square fort with oak stakes measuring fifteen feet that were set in the ground about three feet. Bastions were constructed at each corner and each curtain wall measured thirty fathoms. The south side of the palisade was forty feet from the river and the gentle slope from the river to the fort formed a natural glacis or slope making it easier to fire on forces attacking from the river side. Cadillac's men built a

[10] *DCB*, Callière's biography; Havard, x; *PAC1900-1901*, p. 103; *NYCD*, vol. 9, pp. 722-725.
[11] Delanglez "Cadillac at Detroit," p. 170; *DCB*, Chichikatelo's biography: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chichikatelo_2E.html
[12] *LAC*, Mikan #3050230; *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 110 (excerpts from Callière and Champigny's 5 October 1701 memorandum to Pontchartrain – the Church is not mentioned as part of the first buildings constructed); *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 137 (Cadillac's memorandum); *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, pp. 518-528 (inventory of Cadillac's possessions taken on 25 August 1711). For the information regarding construction of the church see Paré, pp. 132, 143-145 – Paré doubts the tradition, stating that although the priests who arrived with Cadillac said Mass, Cadillac' first priority would have been completing the palisade and sheltering the supplies; Archdiocese of Detroit (www.AOD.org) (profile of Ste. Anne's parish). See www.Ancestry.com, Drouin Collection, D, Détroit, Ste-Anne; Autres Registres, 1704-1744, Image 49 – the 27 March 1718 marriage of Jean François Pelletier and Marie Louise Robert for the first use of the name Ste. Anne du Détroit in connection with the mission. Holy Family Parish in Cahokia, Illinois, founded in 1699 is the oldest (http://www.holyfamily1699.org/). The designation "continuously operating parish" sets Holy Family in Cahokia and Ste. Anne's in Detroit apart from other missions or churches founded by the Spanish or French which pre-date Holy Family in Cahokia and Ste. Anne's in Detroit.

magasin (warehouse) which sheltered all of the merchandise prior to constructing any of the other buildings in the fort.[13]

Summer 1701, Fort St. Joseph – After **Claude Aveneau, S.J.**, missionary to the **Miami** at Fort St. Joseph, read **Callière**'s letter inviting the Miami to move to Détroit, he told them that he would follow them wherever they went. The **Miami** informed him that they feared that if they moved to Détroit amidst so many people they would soon be reduced to starvation.[14]

Summer and fall 1701, Détroit – Although **Cadillac** had departed for Détroit with three months' provisions; the convoy exhausted the food supplies during the journey or shortly after their arrival. He sent **Tonty** to Michilimackinac to buy Indian corn. During the summer of 1701, **Cadillac** sent five canoes to other posts for trading purposes. **Laurent Renaud** and Longueuil (probably **Charles Lemoine de Longueuil**) took two canoes to Lake Superior; **Jacques Lemoine** and **Charles Rivard *dit* Loranger** took two canoes to present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin; and **Edmond Roy *dit* Châtellerault** and **Pierre Circé *dit* Saint-Michel** took one canoe to Fort St. Joseph, near present-day Niles, Michigan. **Callière** and **Champigny** sent two canoes of food and merchandise to Détroit during the summer. At the end of October, **Cadillac** sent **Tonty** to Fort Frontenac to get food for the settlement.[15] Author's note: Had the Huron / Wendat / Wyandot, the Odawa / Ottawa or any other Native Nations lived in permanent villages in the Detroit River Region, none of the previous journeys would have been necessary.

Summer 1701, Détroit – **François Vaillant de Gueslis, S.J.**, who had been part of the original convoy, left Détroit. **Callière**, **Champigny**, **Cadillac**, and the **Jesuits** knew prior to the departure of the convoy that **Vaillant de Gueslis** would leave Détroit and return to the St. Lawrence settlements via Fort Frontenac because the **Jesuits** did not have enough missionaries to serve the existing missions. While **Vaillant de Gueslis** was on Lake Erie, he met **Quarante Sols** or **Michipichy**, the **Huron** Chief who had been living with the Miami at Fort St. Joseph. He informed the **Jesuit** that the **Huron** planned to move to Détroit that fall. **Vaillant de Gueslis** also met some **Iroquois** who were not opposed to the settlement at Détroit because they felt that when they were hunting in the region of Lake Erie, they could travel Détroit for trading. **Vaillant de Gueslis** assured **Cadillac** "so all you need is to have plenty of merchandise at a low price."[16]

4 October 1701, New France to Détroit – In October after **Callière** learned that no more corn was available at Michilimackinac, he ordered the **Seneca** to take corn to Détroit. In his report to **Pontchartrain**, **Callière** informed the Minister that when the *Compagnie de la Colonie* took over the post, it pledged to pay the 6,000 *livres* annually that the Minister decided was the appropriate amount for distribution to the poor of the Colony. The distribution was a replacement for the *congés* or permits/licenses that had been granted to former military officers or their widows or others who needed assistance to maintain the life-style expected of them. **Callière** and **Champigny's** report asked for annual

[13] *LAC*, Mikan #3050230 (Callière and Champigny's 5 October 1701 memorandum to Pontchartrain); Delanglez, "The Genesis and Building of Detroit," p. 96; *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 110 (excerpts from Callière and Champigny's 5 October 1701 memorandum to Pontchartrain). See Suzanne Boivin Sommerville's translation of a portion of Callière and Champigny's 5 October 1701 memorandum – see Vol. 2 of this book.
[14] *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, pp. 123-124.
[15] Delanglez "Cadillac at Detroit," p. 162 (does not mention the canoes sent to the other posts); Kent, *Detroit*, Vol. 2, Appendix 10, p. 1033 (This appendix does not mention Tonty); Boivin Sommerville, *LaPotherie* – see Vol. 2 of this book. *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 109 (excerpts from Callière and Champigny's 5 October 1701 memorandum to Pontchartrain).
[16] Delanglez "Cadillac at Detroit," pp. 160-161 (Cadillac's animosity towards the Jesuits continued throughout his tenure at Détroit; Delanglez thoroughly discusses these issues in his articles about Détroit); *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 106 (Vaillant's letter to Cadillac)

gratuities for **Cadillac** and **Tonty**. They also recommended a promotion for **Pierre Dugué, *sieur* de Boisbriant**, and a gratuity for **Chacornac, *baron* de Johannes**, who was returning to France.[17]

10 November 1701, New France – The *Compagnie de la Colonie* wrote a letter to an unknown recipient, possibly **Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain**, which informed him that the *Compagnie* had learned in July that the *coureurs des bois* and the **Native Americans** had undertaken to open trade with the **English** in Carolina and on the lower Mississippi. The *Compagnie* sent **François Madeleine Fortuné Ruette d'Auteuil** and **Philippe Peiré** to Montréal to make recommendations to **Callière** and **Champigny** about how to stop the traffic. They proposed establishing new posts at the Miami (Maumee River) and at the Ouabache (Wabash) River where it emptied into the Mississippi [*sic*]. The Miami post would serve as the boundary between the Colony of Canada and the ones that had been established on the Mississippi. Another post would be established at *Ousconsing* (the Algonquin word for the Wisconsin River) and a third post among the **Sioux**. The authors felt that the posts among the **Sioux** and on the Wisconsin were necessary because the **Native Americans** in these areas had always traded with the French Canadians and the fort would prevent them from trading with the **English**. The post among the **Sioux** would also prevent the **Sioux** from continuing to trade with **Pierre Lesueur**. The post at Détroit would serve as a warehouse for all the goods. The authors believed that the **French Canadians** would be able to convince the **Native Americans** who did not travel to Montréal to bring their furs to Détroit because the journey to Détroit was much shorter than a route to the Carolina or the lower Mississippi. The posts would assure that the **French Canadians** gathered all of the fur trade which belonged to the Colony. The *Compagnie de la Colonie* did not intend to increase the furs or skins accepted in trade; instead, the *Compagnie's* agents would instruct the **Native Americans** about the best types of furs desired and the method to prepare them. They even hoped to "check" the supply of beaver. **Callière** and **Champigny** were persuaded that the posts were necessary, but they did not promise that they would be opened, lest they violate the prohibition against *congés* or trade permits. **Callière** and **Champigny** understood that "this disadvantageous state of affairs" demanded prompt relief lest the **Native Americans** decided to trade with the **English.** They believed that once the **Native Americans** made that decision, the French Canadians could not regain the fur trade.[18]

[17] *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 107 (Callière's 4 October 1701 report); pp. 109-110 (excerpts from Callière and Champigny's 5 October 1701 memorandum to Pontchartrain); Delanglez "Cadillac at Detroit," p. 162.
[18] *WiHC*, Vol. 16, pp. 209-210. The Wabash actually empties into the Ohio and the Ohio empties into the Mississippi at Cairo, Illinois.

Portion of Guillaume de L'Isle's 1703 *Carte du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France. . .* showing Détroit[19]

Winter 1701/1702, Detroit – Although **Cadillac** informed **Pontchartrain** that he had fed 6,000 **Native American**s who spent the winter near Détroit, this is highly unlikely considering the lack of food in Détroit. **Cadillac's** statement is also contradicted by the summer 1702 statements that the **Ottawa** and others made to **Callière** about the lack of game and fish in the area.[20] Further, on 9 November 1703, **Louis Babie** who had been part of the original convoy to Détroit and had worked for the *Compagnie de la Colonie* testified that there were only about 40 cabins of different **Native Nations** who lived in Détroit.[21]

Summer 1702, New France – When the **Native Americans** met with **Callière** during the summer, many expressed their opinions regarding Détroit and informed **Callière** that they did not intend to move to Détroit. After **Callière** informed them that he had urged them to settle at Détroit because he had learned that the land at Michilimackinac was no longer productive, he commented that the land at Détroit was good, that game was abundant, and reminded them of the amount of money that he had spent to establish Détroit. The delegates provided **Callière** with specific complaints. For example, **Manit8egan**, an **Ottawa** chief, told **Callière** that **8tisk8et**, an **Ottawa** chief who had been in Détroit, advised them to remain at Michilimackinac because (1) the Indian corn did not grow higher than one cubit; (2) the land was always wet; (3) **8tisk8et** needed to travel 200 *leagues* from Détroit to find game; (4) the game near Détroit would not last long; and (5) there were no fish in Détroit. **Manit8egan** also informed **Callière** that the **Ottawa** had told **Joseph Jacques Maret, S.J.**, that they intended to settle on land on the opposite shore of Michilimackinac (near present-day Mackinac City, Michigan) because they did not want to move

[19] *BAnQ* (www.banq.qc.ca), Accueil, Collections Collection, numérique Cartes et plans: *Carte du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France et des découvertes qui y ont été faites dressée sur plusieurs observations et sur un grand nombre de relations imprimées ou manuscrites.*
[20] Delanglez "Cadillac at Detroit," pp. 173-176. Also see the entries below for the summer conferences with Callière.
[21] Suzanne Boivin Sommerville, "Who Was the Anonymous 1702 Wet Nurse for One of Lamothe Cadillac's Children?" – see Vol. 2 of this book. In her article, Suzanne cites an interrogation that is now available online. See *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales Québec*, Pistard Archives (http://www.banq.qc.ca/accueil/), hereafter *BAnQ*, Pistard Archives, TL5,D326 for the interrogation of Babie and other *Compagnie de la Colonie* employees regarding illegal trade with the Native Americans at Détroit.

far away from Michilimackinac and its abundant fish. **Maret** promised to follow the **Ottawa** wherever they went. After **Callière** told **Longuekam** that **Le Peasant** had taken land at Détroit, **Longuekam** told **Callière** that his people had informed him that the land was worthless and that they would not remain long at Détroit. **Longuekam** explained that there was too much water on the land and that in order to make the land productive, they would have to make ditches, but the **Native Americans** were not able to do this. He also explained that the **Chippewa/Ojibwa** (Saulteux**)** (**Chippewa/Ojibwa**) would not move to Détroit even if canoes were sent to transport them to Détroit.[22]

Circa summer 1702, Détroit – **Tonty** informed **Callière** that the **Native Americans** who had formerly lived at **Sault St. Louis** had moved to Détroit and were now living with the **Huron**. Some of them went with the **Huron** to Albany to trade. They returned to Détroit with wampum belts or *Colliers de porcelains* from the **English** who invited the **Great-Lakes' Tribes** to come to New York to meet the **English**. The **Chiefs** in Détroit told **Tonty** that if he didn't lower the prices of the merchandise sold in Détroit, the chiefs could not prevent the young men from travelling to the **English** to trade or inviting the **English** to bring merchandise to a meeting place. **Callière** feared that "these intrigues may have disastrous consequences to the Colony."[23]

3 November 1702, New France – **Callière**, **Champigny**, and **Beauharnois** informed **Pontchartrain** that **Cadillac** had sent a letter to **Callière** informing him that if the Governor prohibited the sale of brandy to the **Native Americans**, that they would go elsewhere to get it.[24]

Summer 1703, Montréal – Twenty canoes of **Ottawa**, **Huron**, and **Miami** travelled to Montréal via Détroit and met on Lake Ontario, rather than going via the Ottawa River. On 14 July when the **Huron** and **Miami** met with **Vaudreuil**, **Quarante Sols** (**Michipichy**) reported to **Vaudreuil** that the **Iroquois** had presented the **Huron** and **Miami** with presents from the **English** to try to entice them to go move their villages a distance from the **French** forts "so as to be able to settle near them at Lake Erie, offering physical aid in case the **French** would offer any opposition." The **Huron** also requested permission to make war on the **Sioux** as the **French** were making war against the **English**. **Vaudreuil** replied that he was aware of the offers from the **English**, and he encouraged the **Huron** and **Miami** to settle at Détroit. **Vaudreuil** informed the **Huron** that he made war against the **English** because their **Kings** were at war. He reminded them that the **Sioux** were included in the peace of 1701, but assured the **Huron** that if the **Sioux** attacked them, the **French** would defend them. Although the **Miami** did not mention the offers from the **English**, **Vaudreuil** knew that one of their chiefs had visited the **English**; he warned them that he would be very displeased if they sent any delegations to the enemy. **Le Pesant**, the **Ottawa** chief representing the **Kiskakon**, **Ottawa du Sable**, and **Sinago** (**Ottawa** sub-tribes), also met with **Vaudreuil** on 14 July. **Vaudreui**l assured the **Ottawa** of his support as long as they remained obedient. He noted that **Cadillac** had reported that he was satisfied with the **Ottawa**. **Vaudreuil** forbad them to make war against the **Sioux** but gave them permission to defend themselves. Some **Ottawa** from Michilimackinac met with Vaudreuil on 27 September; they informed **Vaudreuil** that they would never move to Détroit; they also requested a **French** *Commandant* at Michilimackinac. The **Ottawa** also reported that the **Ojibwa/Chippewa** (***Saulteux***), **Sac**, and **Fox/Mesquakie** (***Outagamie***) were at war; the **Ottawa** sent them presents, but they feared that they would be drawn into the war.[25]

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[22] Delanglez "Cadillac at Detroit," pp. 162, 170-172.

[23] *LAC*, Mikan #3050313 (Callière's memorandum to Pontchartrain); *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, p. 158 (excerpts from Callière's memorandum to Pontchartrain).

[24] *LAC*, Mikan #3050288 (Callière and Beauharnois' 3 November 1702 memorandum to Pontchartrain)*; MPHSC*, Vol. 33, pp. 155-157 (excerpts from Callière and Beauharnois' 3 November 1702 memorandum to Pontchartrain); Delanglez, "Cadillac Proprietor of Detroit," p. 171.

[25] *NYCD*, Vol. 9, pp. 743, 750-754 (conferences with the Native delegates); Delanglez, "Cadillac, Proprietor of Detroit," pp. 160-161 (This article also analyzes Cadillac's claims about what took place at his conferences with the

31 August 1703, Détroit – In his memorandum to **Pontchartrain**, **Cadillac** reported that some **Chippewa/Ojibwa** and **Mississauga** had formed a village on the Détroit River; that 30 **Huron** had arrived in June, leaving only about 30 **Huron** at Michilimackinac. The **Nipissing**, who moved to Détroit, settled in the **Ottawa** village; while several **Miami** households settled in the **Huron** village. **Cadillac** had also received word that several additional **Ottawa** planned to move to Détroit. **Cadillac** recommended that all of the canoes travelling to Michilimackinac, to the **Sioux**, and to the **Illinois** be required to pass through Détroit so that he could regulate the illegal trade that was being carried out by **Jean Boudor**, **Charles Juchereau**, **François Daupin, *sieur* de LaForest**, and **Alphonse Tonty**. **Cadillac** said he could also settle all disputes among the various tribes and gather the chiefs to Détroit to make presents to the chiefs instead of their being sent by canoe to the various posts. **Cadillac** informed **Pontchartrain** that he had warned the directors of the *Compagnie de la Colonie* that their agents **Bertrand Arnaud** and **Jean Baptiste Nolan** were trading illegally at Détroit. **Cadillac** also requested permission to return to France to attend to his affairs. In addition, **Cadillac** made a number of complaints about the **Jesuits**.[26]

5 October 1703, Détroit – A fire in the fort destroyed some of the buildings in the fort, including the church, and damaged others, including Cadillac's and Tonty's houses. The register for Ste. Anne du Détroit and some of Cadillac's papers were destroyed in the fire.[27]

9 November 1703, Québec – A number of *engagés* hired in 1701, 1702, and 1703 were interviewed regarding **Cadillac** and his practices in Détroit. For example, **Louis Babie**, who had been part of the original convoy to Détroit and had worked for the *Compagnie de la Colonie*, testified that there were only about 40 cabins of different **Native Nations** who lived at Détroit.[28]

14 November 1703, Québec – When **Vaudreuil** wrote to **Pontchartrain** in November, he reported his belief that if the **English** ever established a considerable trade with the **French Native Allies**, it would be because of Détroit. The general opinion was that Détroit was untenable and burdensome to the Colony. The reports of the conferences **Vaudreuil** held with the **Natives** showed that the **Natives** were not inclined to move to Détroit. In light of the antipathy that the **Ottawa** felt for Détroit, **Beauharnois** consented to the return of **Joseph Jacques Maret, S.J.** to his mission at **Michilimackinac**. They also sent **Nicolas d'Ailleboust**, ***sieur* de Mantet**, who had great influence over the **Natives** and the **French**, to Michilimackinac with an offer of amnesty for the *coureurs de bois*.[29]

For those who prefer maps versus reading details from official meetings and correspondence, following are maps which show the historical locations of the Tribes native to present-day Michigan. All of the

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Native Americans, Cadillac's letters to Pontchartrain, and the opinion of New France's officials regarding his letters and proposals. Cadillac's memorandum for the year was translated in *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, pp. 161-181. The original can be found at *LAC*, Mikan #2487401 and an extract with Champigny's comments can be found at *LAC*, Mikan #2487398).

[26] *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, pp. 161-181 (Cadillac's 31 August 1703 memorandum to Pontchartrain; Cadillac also made a number of requests for Détroit. Most of these requests were addressed in Pontchartrain's 14 June 1704 memorandum to Cadillac summarized below; therefore, Cadillac's requests are not summarized in this entry).

[27] See the Campeau – Catin Family for a discussion of the fire. *DCB*, biography of Jacques Campeau under Campot. Tonty was in Montréal at the time the fire occurred. On 13 October 1703, he granted a power of attorney to his wife, Marie Anne Picoté de Belestre. See the Contracts Chapter.

[28] *BAnQ*, Pistard Archives, TL5, D326; See Suzanne Boivin Sommerville, "Who Was the Anonymous 1702 Wet Nurse for One of Lamothe Cadillac's Children?" – see Vol. 2 of this book; see *MPHSC*, Vol. 33, pp. 133-139 for Cadillac.

[29] *NYCD*, Vol. 9, p. 744.

maps were scanned from William C. Sturtevant and Bruce Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C., The Smithsonian Institution, 1978), Vol. 15, hereafter *HNAI*. Please see the maps on the following pages.

Historical Locations of the Huron / Petun / Wendat / Wyandot – *HNAI*, p. 398

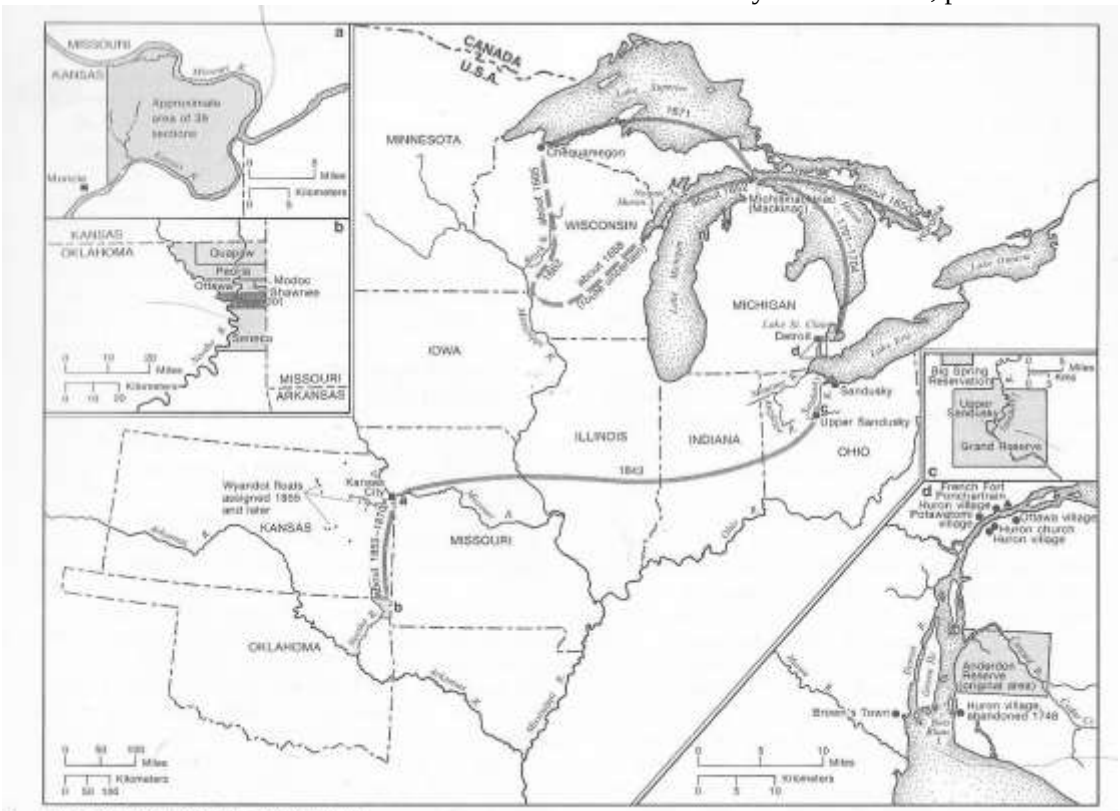
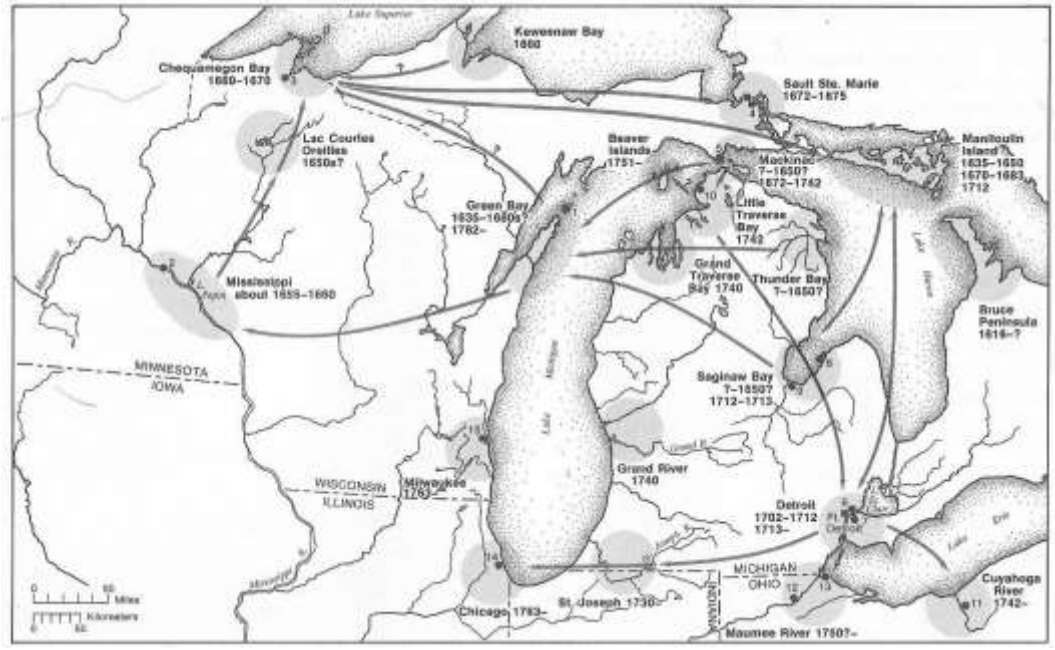
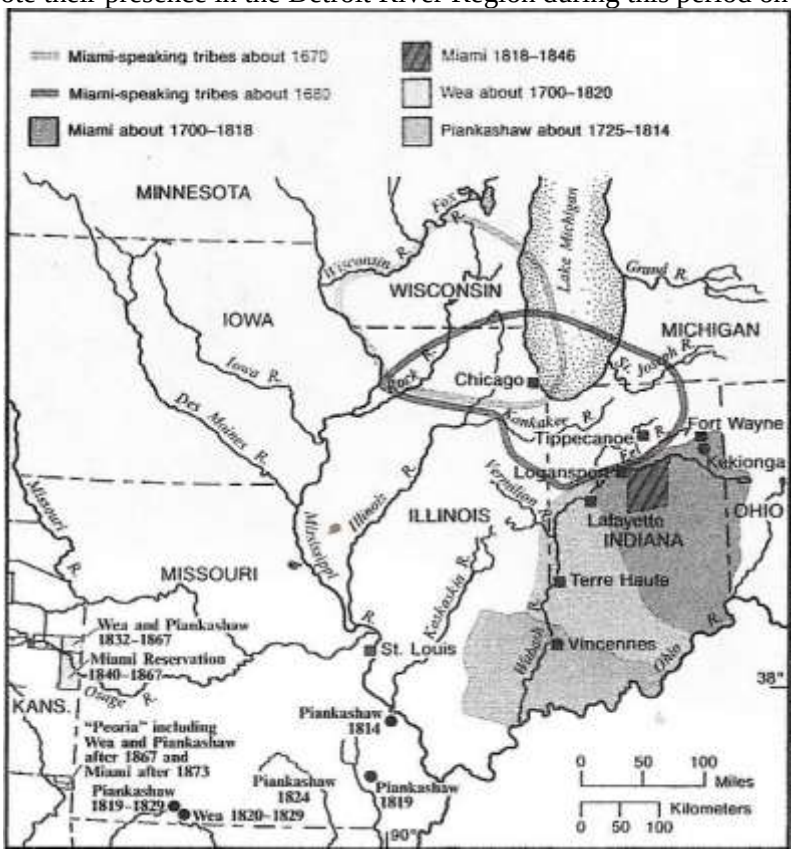


Fig. 1. Wyandot settlements and movements.

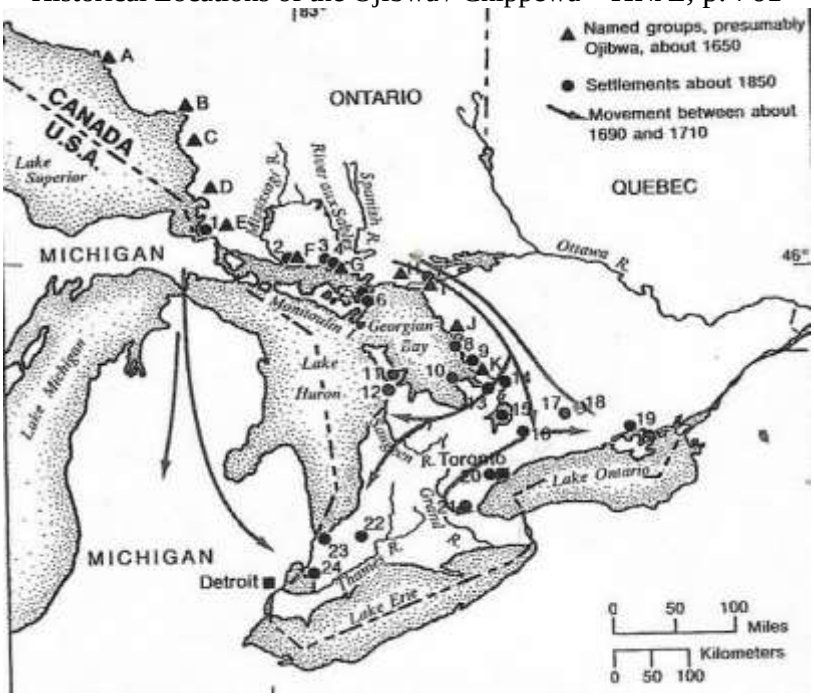
Historical Locations of the Odawa / Ottawa – *HNAI*, p. 773



Historical Locations of the Miami – *HNAI,* p. 681. Although some members of the Miami were documented in the Registers of Fort Pontchartrain during the period from 1704 to 1707, anthropologists do not note their presence in the Detroit River Region during this period on the map



Historical Locations of the Ojibwa / Chippewa – *HNAI,* p. 761



Historical Locations of the Potawatomi – *HNAI*, p. 726