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The Career of Lamothe-Cadillac

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THE CAREER OF LAMOTHE-CADILLAC

Written
By

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THE CAREER OF LAMOTHE-CADILLAC

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Preface

This paper attempts to investigate the accepted picture of Antoine de Lamothe-Cadillac. He stood large before the eyes of those who moved and dealt with him. His influence on the outcome of important events was frankly admitted; his power and magnetic personality were equally credited. Few historians have devoted time to an extensive study of the man; those phases of his life that coincided with men and deeds of wider scope have obscured a clear view of a figure who deserves to be remembered in his own right.

In a sense he is still unknown. Margry and Burton have done much to fashion his reputation, but their considerable inaccuracy has been exposed by contemporary scholarship. Other eighteenth and nineteenth century historians contributed brief accounts of the man, but either by omission or by misreading the Cadillac Letters, they raised many questions which justify a restudy of the historiography and of the man. It is the purpose of this study to bring out of the conflicting historiography a correct and definite story of Lamothe-Cadillac.
THE CAREER OF LAMOTHE-CADILLAC
Chapter I
HIS EARLY YEARS

The Middle West in the eighteenth century is a fertile field of investigation for it deals with frontier life. The American frontier, pushing ever westward, brought with it many prominent pioneers. Antoine de Lamothe-Cadillac was one of these fearless and courageous pioneers, who worked to develop the generously endowed lands of the West.

The date of the birth of Antoine de Lamothe-Cadillac has been set at various times by different historians. When, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Clarence Monroe Burton of Detroit 1 undertook to establish the true date of his birth, he found the available records insufficient.2 This situation was due to a paucity of known primary records and to a need for a careful sifting of documents.

Antoine Laumet, as he was known in France, or Antoine de Lamothe-Cadillac, as he was called in the New World, was born on March 5, 1658.

1. Burton published works on Lamothe-Cadillac in the period from 1895 until 1910.

2. Clarence M. Burton, A Sketch of the Life of Antoine de Lamothe-Cadillac, Detroit, 1895, 5, gives as the date December 4, 1653; later in his Detroit Under Cadillac, Detroit, 1896, 23, he says Lamothe-Cadillac was "probably born in 1651;" in Early Detroit, Detroit, 1909, 5, Burton has it "about 1656;" at last, in In the Footsteps of Cadillac, Detroit, 1899, Ch. I, he has given 1656, 1657, and 1661 as dates reckoned from statements of age made by Lamothe-Cadillac at various times in his life. Cyprien Tanguay, Dictionnaire Genealogique, Montreal, 1871, I, 169, argued for 1661—probably from the age Lamothe-Cadillac put on his marriage certificate.
at St. Nicolas-de-la-Grave in Gascony, France. 3

The early life of Lamothe-Cadillac is unwritten at present. Agnes Laut has an extensive discussion of the impoverishment of the family, the entrance of Antoine into military service, and his activities with the French along the Atlantic coast. Some of the confusion concerning these early days is due to the use of the name Lamothe—a common name in New France.

He had become a soldier in his youth. By 1683 Lamothe-Cadillac was in the New World settled at Port Royal, Acadia (Nova Scotia). There he worked with a privateer of some notoriety, François Guyon. During his leisure he became acquainted with Marie Thérèse Guyon, the niece of his employer, and fell in love with her. At a time when it was customary for girls to be married by their fourteenth year, Marie admitted to being seventeen years of age on her marriage contract. 4 Since it would not have increased her prestige to add years to her age we know her to have been at least that age. They were married in 1687 and took up residence at Quebec in 1690. On July 23, 1688 the island of Mount Desert, Maine, and the mainland opposite the present city of Bar Harbor were given to Lamothe-Cadillac by the government of New France. 5

3. In the introduction to her work, Cadillac, Indianapolis, 1931, Agnes C. Laut has explained that one of the Guyons, a descendant of the wife of Lamothe-Cadillac, found his birth record after a long search through southern France. A facsimile of this birth record is printed opposite p. 47.
4. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections, Lansing, XXXIII, 309. (Volumes XXXIII, XXXIV are known as "Cadillac Papers") (CP)
5. CP, XXXIV, 304
When Captain de la Caffinieres was ordered to carry out a campaign against the English he employed the services of Lamothe-Cadillac. When the plan miscarried they returned to France, December 29, 1689. Lamothe-Cadillac went back again to Quebec. In 1693 a gratuity of 1500 livres was granted to him for meritorious services.6

Frontenac sent Lamothe-Cadillac to Michilimackinac to succeed de Louvigny as naval second-lieutenant and commandant.7 Borrowing 3750 livres "for the purpose of investing in furs" he laid plans for his new assignment. In journeying to the remote post many French stopped at Montreal and could not be enticed to go farther. But Lamothe-Cadillac continued with a minority of the original group to his destination.

The fort at Michilimackinac was later transferred (1712) to a place not far distant. The earlier one was on the north side of Lake Michigan a short distance beyond the straits, and the latter, built by the French in 1712, was on the mainland just south of the straits. Pointe Saint Ignace on the strait in this region, had been set up in about 1670 and was abandoned in 1705.8 Under French control this center of Catholic missionary work among the Indians of the Great Lakes should not be confused with the Island of Mackinac which was later taken from the Ottawas and fortified by

6. Ibid, 304
7. CP, XXXIII, 72
the British.  

Saint Ignace on the north shore of the Straits of Mackinac lay in a cold dreary climate in the center of Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Superior. Winds from these three lakes made the winter months severe and prevented an appreciable improvement of the land. Few crops were cultivated; hunting was good only at certain seasons; but some of the best fresh water fish in the world was obtainable with relative ease. Whitefish, trout, and herring, along with Indian corn, contributed largely to the sustenance of the colonists.

Lamothe-Cadillac did not visit Quebec during his period of command at Michilimackinac, nor did Madame Cadillac go to visit him. She and their children stayed in Montreal where she acted as business agent for her husband. Attending to the management of his property, she forwarded supplies to him.

While Lamothe-Cadillac was in command at this post (1694 until the latter part of 1697) he became entangled in quarrels with coureurs-de-bois, Jesuits, and some associates. Surrounding the post was a remnant of the Hurons who had so readily accepted Christianity in the seventeenth


10. Fish abounded in Georgian Bay, but its fresh water was clear and transparent even at a depth of thirty feet. "...this is the approach to the chilly and sterile region of Lake Superior, -- the river at the Sault is about a mile and a quarter wide." Robert R. Elliott, "The Jesuit Missioners Who Labored in the Lake Superior Regions during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", CP, XXXIII, 22-35
century. Along with their beloved "black robes", donne's worked among the Indians as celibates performing domestic tasks, and carrying on duties similar to those of a lay brother.

The greater portion of commerce at northern and western posts centered around the fur trade. Hunting and trapping furbearing animals in the vicinity, preparing the skins for sale, and sending the pelts on to Montreal constituted the chief business enterprises. It was from Montreal that much illicit liquor trade spread westward causing conflict with religious authorities.

Here it would be well to give a brief background of legislation in regard to brandy trade in New France. The Jesuits had held that the giving of brandy to the Indians was a spiritual problem since the savages did not know how to use it. Bishop Laval had issued charges of excommunication against offenders making their cases reserved for absolution by the bishop alone. Père de la Chaise, the Jesuit confessor to Louis XIV, was the means by which assistance was rendered to the missionaries of his order. The matter of sale and distribution of liquor at Michilimackinac had been referred to the Council of the Sorbonne in 1674. The position of Laval and of the Jesuits was upheld by the council who commended them for their

11. Fishing was the most natural business; since there was a plentiful supply, no market existed for sales in New France. Lack of modern means of rapid transportation and packing rendered the exportation of fish impractical. Besides the value of the beaverskins for trade, they had the added value of being the money, or medium of exchange, for the northern posts.
spiritual legislation on the evil trade. The inhabitants of Canada objected to the decision; twenty representative members of different parts of New France met in Quebec. On October 26, 1678 fifteen voted that brandy was necessary in trade, and five voted that brandy trade ought to be prohibited or at least restricted. In 1679 the matter was presented to the Archbishop of Paris for solution. He took Père de la Chaise into his confidence to help solve the problem. On May 24, 1679 they decided that liquor could not be brought to Indian villages which were not next to French settlements. The decision was not received favorably by either side; the priests thought there ought to have been complete prohibition; others thought (chiefly the coureurs-de-bois) that there was not a good reason for forbidding unlimited trade in brandy with the savages if they wished to engage in it.

Lamothe-Cadillac did his share of criticising the decision, and showed his dissatisfaction by references in his letters. He said that the location of the post, the coldness of the climate, and the lack of proper food for warmth made the use of liquor a necessity for stimulation and nourishment. As long as the Indians were apparently obtaining liquor, and would have it regardless of laws (he said) they might as well get it from the French as go to the English and get not only rum but heresy as well.


13. Ibid., 122; for the attitude of Frontenac, and for a detailed explanation of the use of beaverskins as money, Cf: Ibid., 102 ff.
In 1695 Lamothe-Cadillac condemned the restriction on brandy when he wrote from Fort Buade: 14 "The savage himself asks why they (the priests) do not leave him in his beggary, his liberty, and his idleness; he was born in it, and he wishes to die in it......Any attempt to overthrow the present state of affairs in this country, would only result in the ruin of commerce and the destruction of the colony." 15

With Lamothe-Cadillac the chief conflict came when he championed the cause of some infamous coureurs-de-bois and French traders who bought fur pelts from the natives for brandy, eau-de-vie. The Jesuits there said that the liquor had a demoralizing influence on their flock who were not encouraged to use it moderately. 16

Disagreements ensued with Fathers Aveneau of Saint Joseph, Nouvel of

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16. There have been many descriptions of the atrocities committed by the Indians under influence of liquor. Cf: Patrick Lomasney, "The Canadian Jesuits and the Fur Trade", Mid-America, IV, no. 3, January, 1933; Jean Delanglez, Frontenac and the Jesuits, 70. Francis Parkman in The Old Regime in Canada, Boston, 1874, 387-8 has an excellent passage on this subject--"A drunken Indian, with weapons within reach, was very dangerous, and all prudent persons kept out of his way. This greatly pleased him; for, seeing everybody run before him, he fancied himself a great chief, and howled and swung his tomahawk with redoubled fury. If--he maimed or murdered some wretch--his countrymen absolved him from all guilt... if an Indian wished to take a safe revenge on some personal enemy, he would pretend to be drunk."
Bays-de-Puants,17 and Carheil of Michilimackinac; the conflict was naturally the most intense with Father Carheil. Many authors have described him as a pious and zealous priest whose first wish was for the protection of his Indians against any source of sophistication. Because the king had revoked the licenses of trade Lamothe-Cadillac became impatient with the limitations of Michilimackinac, and began to look about for another post.

In either 1691 or 1692 a petition was sent to the king by the Beaver Company requesting a post at "the straits" to facilitate the trade of the inhabitants of Canada with the savages, and especially to prevent the English from seizing it" since they were advancing in that direction. England based her claims of ownership on prior occupation and on deeds she had received from the Indians.

The French had been experiencing difficulty in traveling by land or water through the Indian country; the same difficulty did not exist for the Indians who readily attacked the French and fled through the woods which they knew so well. For the protection of French interests it seemed wise to maintain peaceful relations with the Indians, and to prevent the English from forming an alliance with the Iroquois. If an alliance of the English and Indians should be agreed upon, the French might well fear for their trade in the region of the lakes. For these reasons Frontenac recommended to Pontchartrain that permission be granted to establish permanent forts in

17. Green Bay
18. CP, XXXIII, 42
the Indian country 19 --Fort Saint Louis, Detroit, and Michilimackinac. He felt the cost would be small in comparison with the benefits derived from keeping control of the territory away from the enemies.

A man of limitless energy and ideas, Lamothe-Cadillac is best identified with pioneer efforts in the Middle West. We cannot say just how well he understood the strategic importance of what later became Detroit. The next chapter will show that he at least agreed with the recommendations of Frontenac (as given above) and felt a need for taking immediate possession of the straits before England set up the post for herself.

Chapter II

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF DETROIT

Both Frontenac and Lamothe-Cadillac had recognized the advantages of a colony on the straits connecting lakes Huron and Erie. The English were building trading posts and thus advancing along the shores of the lakes. Lamothe-Cadillac saw in the southern lakes region a desirable spot for holding the Indians to French allegiance. If a post were set up at that place the Indians could be drawn from all around and a united stand could be taken against the English and the Iroquois. When Frontenac wrote to Pontchartrain in 1698, he pleaded that the plan of Lamothe-Cadillac was worthy of consideration. He argued that Quebec was nearly 300 leagues from Michilimackinac; fish and Indian corn were the only foods at the post; and liquor was the only profitable trade. But liquor trade was prohibited; therefore, it seemed that the post could not develop beyond the condition it was then in.

Frontenac was succeeded at the close of 1698 by Callières, who held the office of governor-general of New France until May 26, 1703. The new governor-general, however, preferred to develop and reestablish old posts rather than to build new ones. He ordered an assembly of the principal

1. CP, XXXIII, 96

11
inhabitants of New France in order that a solution might be arrived at in accordance with the attitude of all the people at the assembly. Lamothe-Cadillac defended himself well enough to have his wish for a new post granted.

Sailing for France in late 1699 he spent some time at court, and acquainted himself with important courtiers. Jérôme Phélypeaux, Count du Pontchartrain, Ministère of the Marine and of the Colonies,3 was interested in the project of Lamothe-Cadillac; by 1700 he promised to have the Detroit plan presented to court for authorization. The plan included a friendly policy towards the Indians at the new post, a salary of more than 1000 livres for the commandant, and immediate possession of the land. Lamothe-Cadillac also asked for 100 soldiers and 100 men, the financing of his journey, and a guarantee of expenses for the initial years of the colony.4 After lengthy debates the authorities were convinced, and permission was granted to establish the post. In 1700 the Beaver Company gave up their rights of trade at Detroit to Lamothe-Cadillac.5 The matter was finally settled in early 1701 and Pontchartrain agreed to sponsor the undertaking.

3. Jérôme Phélypeaux, Count du Pontchartrain, served as Ministère of the marine and of the Colonies from September 6, 1699 until September 13, 1715. He was a devout Catholic who placed his religious interests above political and social gain. Successful in court circles, he determined the colonial affairs of the colonies at a time when they were an important factor in the French government.

4. CP, XXXIII, 96-100

5. CP, XXXIV, 18
Word of approval 6 had scarcely been given when Lamothe-Cadillac and his expedition started over the Ottawa route to Detroit. Why did they hurry? Was it merely because their leader had heard about the English moving westward erecting posts along Lake Erie? Or did he realize that speed might settle the question of ownership between the French and the English? The truth is that the Iroquois were trying to maintain control of the straits; by keeping the French and the English out of there the Indians could trade with both countries. 7 Callières knew that the Iroquois and the English were considering an agreement about this land. Because they learned of the French plans the Indians held a council with the English hoping to forestall the French and gain more by the deal.

On October 18, 1700 Callières gave Lamothe-Cadillac orders saying, "Il est fort à craindre que l'exécution de ce projet n'ait esté trop retardée par les nouvelles que nous avons, que les Anglois se sont fortifiés sur une rivière que se dégorge dans le lac Ontario, et qu'ils ont continué leurs postes vers le lac Erie." 8 Accordingly, he was hurrying to establish

6. From Versailles, May 27, 1699 the king wrote to Callières and the intendant Champigny telling them to send Lamothe-Cadillac to Detroit. Pierre Margry, V, 136.

7. Peter Wraxall, Indian Affairs Transacted in the Colony of New York from 1678 to 1751, Cambridge, 1915, 40.

8. "I am forced to think that the carrying out of this plan would have been much retarded by the news which we have, that the British have fortified themselves on a river which empties into Lake Ontario, and that they have continued their posts towards Lake Erie", Margry, V, 166-7.
his post at Detroit when, on July 19, five days before his arrival, the Iroquois gave over to William III of England their claims to land in the west—a country covering an area northwest of Lake Ontario, and including lakes Huron and Erie, and Fort De Tret. 9

Concerning the first occupation of present Detroit much has been said. Jolliet and Dollier, Galinee, LaSalle and D'Ihut are some of the names associated with the first settlement by white men. Daniel D'Ihut de Greysolon, "king of the coureurs-de-bois", built a fort at Port Huron in 1687, which he named Fort Detroit, but which others called Saint Joseph's. La Hontan had replaced him by 1689. When some English and Iroquois prepared to attack the fort, La Hontan set it afire. The place was reestablished as a stockade and continued as such until about 1700. This stockade was not a permanent colony but a blockhouse probably unoccupied much of the time. 10

However, the council of the four nations laid plans with the British Robert Livingston to outdo the French. The course to be pursued was "to build a fort at Wawyachtenok, called by the French De Troett, the most pleasant and plentiful inland place in America by all relation, where there is arable land for thousands of people." 11

For 125 years three nations fought for control of Detroit. Until

9. NYCD, IV, 650
10. Ibid., IX, 399-400, 511, 647
11. Ibid., IV, 650
1760 the French ruled the lakes from there. The conspiracy of Pontiac succeeded at every other post but not at Detroit. In the Revolutionary War it was the headquarters for the British in the West; the end of the war and the treaty of Paris put all territory east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes under United States dominion. Great Britain still hoped to get back these colonial possessions, and ignored the terms of the treaty. For thirteen years the English and the French fought—not directly—but indirectly since the French were warring with the Indians at the instigation of the English. Finally after many strained relations the war of 1812 came about. Detroit was used for British headquarters, but with Perry's victory on Lake Erie the post was evacuated, and is now the fourth most populous city in the United States.

To get back to Lamothe-Cadillac setting up Fort Pontchartrain de Detroit, conditions permitted only one-half the allotted number to go with him; that did not deter him from beginning the long journey. The boats were large vessels, for canoes, about twenty-six feet long with a beam of about six feet, and the astounding capacity for nearly two tons each. Having provisions for only three months, the party departed from Trois Rivières on June 5, 1701. A long and circuitous route was followed in order to avoid difficulties with the savage Senecas who terrorized the

12. According to a letter Lamothe-Cadillac wrote on November 19, 1704 he left Quebec on May 8, and Montreal on May 12; CP, XXXIII, 201.
13. The Senecas were one of the five New York nations who comprised the Iroquois tribe. The name means snake.
Erie region, forbidding white men to pass through the Niagara River. Were it not for the Indians, the route through Lakes Ontario and Erie would have been quicker and easier. It had but one portage—at Niagara Falls.

Of the two available routes it was necessary to take the long and arduous one. It followed the Ottawa River leaving the Saint Lawrence at Montreal, entering Lake Nipissing, crossing the lake to the French River, going into the Pickerel River, through Georgian Bay, and down the east shore of Lake Huron into the Saint Clair River, with over thirty portages enroute.14

Lamothe-Cadillac commanded the party, and Alphonse de Tonty served under him as captain. The Recollet, Father Constantine De L'Halle, accompanied them as chaplain to the French colonists; the Jesuit, Father Vaillant de Gueslis, went as missioner to the Indians surrounding the colony. Madame Cadillac remained in the East with the children since no women made the initial journey to the post. On July 24, 1701 the party sailed from Lake Saint Clair into Le Detroit choosing the west side of the strait that connected lakes Huron and Erie for their settlement.

Helping to found the fort were one hundred Algonquin Indians, some of

14. It was necessary to plan trips to the most careful details that geographical knowledge would allow. By 1702, one year after Lamothe-Cadillac made his journey, peace was established with the Iroquois; thereafter, the Ottawa route was used for journeys west and the Niagara when returning east. This system used the more favorable water current, and all posts were reached in this circular way.
whom had come from Montreal, and whose numbers had increased as the party
drew near to its destination. 15 They continued to come, arriving in small
groups and building their cabins along the river shores. The Oppenago,
four tribes of the Ottawa, and the Miami asked for land and were given it.
Later, when the French came to peace with them the Iroquois came to Detroit,
but stayed for shorter periods than did the other tribes.

Lamothe-Cadillac chose this scene for his settlement so that he might
prevent the English from trading with their Indian allies. He wished to
draw the western savages to him, and, by united effort, force peace upon
the troublesome Iroquois. This spot lay between the Iroquois and their
enemies on a branch of the Detroit River—the Savoyard—twenty-five feet
wide, and ten feet deep. By order of Callières the place was named Fort
Pontchartrain in honor of its sponsor. 16

Located on a bluff the French had protection for their commerce by
land and water. 17 The bluff served as lookout by land, and the water on
three sides made escape relatively easy. Lamothe-Cadillac laid claim to
territory for twenty-five leagues on each bank of Le Detroit (from Lake
Erie to Lake Huron), and to 200 leagues in depth. The area of land

15. Most of the Indians whom the French could depend upon were from the
North whither they had been driven in the preceding half-century after
unsuccessful warfare with the Iroquois of the lower lakes region.

16. CP, XXXIII, 136; from Quebec, September 25, 1702. In official Docu-
ments the place was called Detroit Pontchartrain.

17. The stream has since been filled in, although its original lines can
be found in present-day-Detroit. The bluff has been removed to make
way for modern docks.
approximated a total of 90,000 square miles.

Erection of a chapel was begun immediately, and it was dedicated on July 26; because of the feast on which this first Mass was celebrated the parish was called Saint Anne.

At Detroit the fort was constructed of heavy square timber with a moat-like ditch running around the four sides of the palisades. Residences of settlers were one-storey high with attics in the roofs; they were not made of young trees or logs, but were made of split rails filled in with mud and mortar. The rails were held together in such a fashion that they extended six feet above the ground; they were set vertically rather than in the traditional horizontal manner of early-American cabins.

The Pottawotomi and the Miami lived one mile south of the fort; the Huron were on the east side of the river just south of the fort with the Ottawa about one mile south of the Huron.

The movements of Madame Cadillac are variously reported. Some earlier reports by Burton say there were no women at the fort during the first year, and infer that Madame Cadillac wintered at Fort Frontenac or at Niagara. This could not be true for both forts were abandoned during the

19. The Huron who went to Detroit with Lamothe-Cadillac were apparently from Saint Ignace, and the French government supplied the means for establishing their mission. American Catholic Quarterly Review, XXIII, 529, Elliott; and R. G. Thwaites, Jesuit Relations, vol. 69, 285
20. Burton, Detroit Under Cadillac, 1896, 14
winter and were the centers for Indian raids. Mesdames Cadillac and Tonty, in following their husbands almost immediately,21 encountered Father Vaillant at Fort Frontenac in September. Father Vaillant was returning to Quebec whence his superiors had recalled him shortly after his arrival at Fort Pontchartrain.22 Since Father Vaillant had just begun his return journey north there was sufficient time for the women to reach Detroit the same month, or, at least, in the early fall before ice formed.

Madame Cadillac brought her seven-year-old son, James, but left her two daughters in the Ursuline convent at Quebec. In making the trip she displayed courage equalled by few men of her time. Friends tried to persuade her to remain in Quebec rather than to proceed to the unknown country, but her answer came without hesitation: "A woman who loves her husband as she should, has no stronger attraction than his company, wherever he may be; everything else should be indifferent to her." 23 Whatever his bad points, Lamothe-Cadillac must have possessed some strong traits of character to hold the lover and trust of the remarkable woman that was his wife. In writing a letter to her husband Father Marest, S.J., concluded: "You will be good enough to permit me to present my compliments to Madame Lamothe; I know that, as a Jesuit, I shall be neither unknown, nor indifferent to her." 24 Proudly Lamothe-Cadillac recorded that the entourage

21. CP, XXXIII, 138; they started to Detroit on September 10, 1701.
22. CP, XXXIII, 151; also Elliott, CP, XXXIII, 35.
23. Robert Ross, George Catlin, Landmarks of Detroit, Detroit, 1898, 54.
24. CP, XXXIII, 129; July 23, 1702
of his wife had been received at the fort "under arms and with many discharges of musketry." 25
Chapter III

LAMOTHE-CADILLAC AND THE JESUITS

Lamothe-Cadillac scarcely arrived at Detroit Pontchartrain when the Jesuits began sending their letters of encouragement. From Michilimackinac Father Marest expressed his wishes for the success of the new undertaking, promised prayers for the fort, expressed the hope that his own Indians who made the journey with Lamothe-Cadillac would return home, and explained the evils of a possible brandy traffic. On July 25, 1701, Father Carheil had acknowledged in a similar manner the need for a post at Detroit. The Jesuit Enjalran, as a friend of Lamothe-Cadillac, desired that "the post of Detroit should be, as it were, the head of a fine body which we are seeking to form." Still another Jesuit, Father Germain, reasserted his friendship for Lamothe-Cadillac and exhorted God to bless his plans; he commended Mesdames Cadillac and Tonty for their courage. In regard to Father Vaillant, who was on his way back to Quebec before the women reached Fort Pontchartrain, he said: "I do not know whether any other (Jesuit) will be allowed (to go there) in his place."

Burton has made a great deal of what he calls "A Joke on a Jesuit." 5

1. CP, XXXIII, 103, July 28, 1701; these letters are also found in the fifth volume of Margry.

2. CP, XXXIII, 102.

3. CP, XXXIII, 130; from Montreal, August 7, 1701.

4. CP, XXXIII, 105.

5. Cf: Clarence M. Burton: A Sketch of the Life...passim., also "Amusements in Detroit in Colonial Days", Detroit, May 9, 1909, 25.
According to his story, one night at dinner Father Vaillant was accused of fomenting discontent among the people in order to get revenge on Lamothe-Cadillac and destroy the fort. At the dinner he was allegedly forced into a position where he had to affirm or deny the charges, and rather than admit his guilt he fled through the woods to Michilimackinac never to be seen at the fort again. Of the supposed cowardice of Father Vaillant Father Marest wrote from Michilimackinac: "As regards the return of Father Vaillant, it ought not to have surprised you, for I have been assured that it was in reality arranged from down there (Quebec) and that M. de Callières was expecting him." 7

To reassure her husband of her safety Madame Cadillac asked Father Vaillant to write to him about their meeting at Fort Frontenac. From Fort

6. A brief sketch of the work of Father Vaillant will readily negate any stories of cowardice connected with his name. It seems unlikely that a man with his record of courage should be afraid of the scornful remarks of a few men. François Vaillant de Gueslis was ordained priest at Quebec, December 1, 1675. In 1679 he was sent as missioner to the dreaded Mohawks until 1683 when he was changed by his superiors. In 1687 he accompanied Denonville in his fight with the savage Senecas; in 1688 he represented the Canadian government at Albany. In King William's war his fort, Cataraquil, was abandoned and he was forced to return to Canada. He and the martyr-saint Garnier worked among the Senecas from 1703 until 1707. In 1704 the same Senecas sent him to be their representative to Vaudreuil to make amends for a violation of a treaty by the Ottawa. Returning hurriedly to New York he helped put down Colonel Schuyler in his efforts to have the Iroquois evict the French missioners from western New York....These represent some of the activities Father Vaillant engaged in over a period of years. Elliott, CP, XXXIII, 23; NYCD, IX, 762, 761-5, 737, 759.

7. CP, XXXIII, 113.
Frontenac on September 23, 1701, Father Vaillant wrote to Lamothe-Cadillac of the meeting with his wife, and said there was a possibility of some one from Michilimackinac taking his place. Evidently Father Vaillant did not know of the "cowardly act" he had committed, or that he was never to be heard of again at the fort.

The priests realized what harm would come to their charges when removed from the influence which kept the Indians moral, happy and pious. Without the missioners around, there was room for the coureurs-de-bois to sow their seeds of temptation by selling brandy to the natives. Many of the Indians had joined Lamothe-Cadillac in his journey to Detroit and desired to see the accomplishment of the wonders he had promised them. Three months after the fort was begun Father Marest wrote the following letter to Lamothe-Cadillac: "We have never been more lonely at Michilimackinac than we are since it (Detroit) has been made a settlement...The fort which you have already finished and the fine building you tell me of will please our savages greatly, but what will please them more than all the rest is the cheapness of the goods which you will get for them especially if it is for ever. I have already sent you word that I should apparently make no move this autumn; I have not even the authority to do so." The move referred to was that of bringing back his people to the mission. Lamothe-Cadillac had used many tactics to draw the Indians from the north to Detroit.

8. CP, XXXIII, 106
9. CP, XXXIII, 114; October 20, 1701
Miami had prepared the way for others who sought relief elsewhere from the food shortage caused by two corn frosts at Michilimackinac.\(^{10}\)

In a letter to Father Marest, May 2, 1702, Lamothe-Cadillac wrote that the Indians accused the priests of trying by lies to prevent them from coming to Detroit.\(^{11}\) Father Marest replied that the savages desired to return to their northern home, for they had not found Detroit the paradise which was promised them. Hunting had fallen off, and fish were not speared without considerable effort.\(^{12}\) Throughout the ordeal the priests remained humble in their correspondence with the commandant.

In a sarcastic tone Lamothe-Cadillac wrote to Father Marest: "M. de Callières orders me to protect you in your missions, and to take your advice as occasions offer. He recommends to me harmony, and to be on good terms with all the missionaries. It will not be my fault if this order is not carried out strictly. When nothing will be done against the service of the King or his intentions, I will always have a kind heart, smiling countenance, and a honeyed tongue." \(^{13}\)

Father Carheil complained to Tonty that repeated requests for information concerning the Miami mission near Fort Pontchartrain had been

\(^{10}\) CP, XXXIII, 138
\(^{11}\) CP, XXXIV, 285-6
\(^{12}\) CP, XXXIV, 122; from Michilimackinac, May 30, 1702
\(^{13}\) CP, XXXIV, 289
An Indian, Quarante Solz, accused Father Carheil of being responsible for a division in his group. Father Marest explained that the accuser was guilty of the very division which he blamed on Father Carheil. "You say that the land of Detroit has always been regarded as a land of promise. If that is so, and the savages make false statements as to the quality of the land at Detroit, as they are not willing to go and settle there, that should show you their disinclination for that place." 15

Father Carheil exposed the vice and immorality of servants of the king among savage women. The commandants, either by bad example, or by silence, failed to prohibit the four chief vices—tavern-keeping, traffic in brandy, prostitution, and gambling. 16 He felt it was the duty of the commandant to check these vices by expelling coureurs-de-bois—the principal offenders. Because these actions were a matter of public knowledge Father Carheil blamed the commandants for tolerating them and causing the disruption of the missions. Lamothe-Cadillac, he said, had the power to compel the French and soldiers to cease their lawless living but he did not wish to do so. Father Carheil petitioned the governor-general that the commandants enforce the law instead of giving mere verbal denunciation as in the past.

It is interesting to note the different attitudes Burton and Ross-and-

14. CP, XXXIII, 125
15. CP, XXXIII, 128; July 23, 1702
Catlin have towards Father Carheil. For example, they have quoted Lamothe-Cadillac and commented on the same quotation. "This autumn I hope to tear the last feather from his wing, convincing this obstinate vicar that he will die in his parish, having no parishioners to bury him." 17 Burton concluded briefly: "But Cadillac did not comprehend the power of that formidable society whose anger he had aroused," 18 and then launched into a discussion of his low opinion of the Jesuits. In the work of Ross and Catlin, the same quotation used by Lamothe-Cadillac was commented upon thus: "It was a pathetic picture which is thus suggested by the worldly commandant. The old priest, true to his obligations to God and morality, remaining steadfast while his flock were deserting him to obtain brandy and become wicked and demoralized at the new fort--It was either French brandy or English rum, there was no alternative, and between them the aborigines were ground as between the upper and nether millstone to fragments." 19 So we see that the authors used the same quotation as a basis for quite different conclusions.

On September 25, 1702, Lamothe-Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain: "It seems that you wish that the Jesuits should be my friends. I wish it, too;" but the friction had begun in the time of Frontenac and he felt they would not forget the past. "...that will not prevent me from having great

17. Clarence M. Burton, A Sketch of the Life..., 14
18. Ibid., 14; Cf: also Ibid, 14, 16 for his opinion of the Jesuits.
19. Ross and Catlin, 65-6
regard for them, and much respect. All our quarrels have arisen only from
the opposition they have offered to the orders of the King, which I know
very well how to maintain, and to have carried out." 20

On August 31, 1703, Lamothe-Cadillac wrote letters to two different
people concerning the Jesuits. In the one to La Touche he asked how
friendship with the Jesuits was gained. He felt their friendship was
necessary for "It is the stream by which it seems that all men allow them­selves to be borne along, that will be easy to me as long as I have only
my private interests to settle with them," 21 but he added that he refused
to do other than the royal bidding on matters of general concern.

On August 31, 1703, Lamothe-Cadillac also wrote to his patron,
Pontchartrain, telling him there were only three means by which the
friendship of the Jesuits was maintained. The first means was to let
them have their own way, the second was to obey their wishes, and the
third to offer no criticism of their actions. He went on to plead that
his post would fail if the priests took the Indians from him. Fifty
years previously the Iroquois had driven the other tribes northward to
Lake Superior, and thirty-two years previously the French had unified them
at Michilimackinac where they existed on fish. "It appears, therefore,
that God has raised me up like another Moses to go and deliver this people
from its captivity." 22

20. CP, XXXIII, 148  21. CP, XXXIII, 184  22. CP, XXXIII, 162-70
By 1707, many Indians had left Detroit Pontchartrain. A few stayed on at the fort, but more returned to their mission at Michilimackinac. Father Marest wrote to Vaudreuil on November 4, 1708, that Lamothe-Cadillac had made "promises, threats, even of death, to anyone who would not go to Detroit; presents, visits, persuasions, offers of services, truths, falsehoods--everything has been employed." 23 A spokesman had been sent north with two strings of wampum; one was an invitation to the Ottawa, and the "other for me to follow them with all the French people from Michilimackinac....(Lamothe-Cadillac) did not deign, in a matter which concerned me so nearly, to honor me with even a word in writing." 24

On July 23, 1708, 25 the Ottawa of Michilimackinac had written in the same spirit as Father Marest. They were sorry that some members of their tribe had gone with Lamothe-Cadillac; they who remained had always been at Michilimackinac and were peaceful, and did not intend nor desire to dwell at any other place.

In the two preceding letters, Lamothe-Cadillac was accused of refusing to allow the Indians free use of the Ottawa River, and his authority to do so was questioned. On November 5, 1708, Vaudreuil wrote that his orders were to maintain a free river in both directions as long as the privilege was not abused; those desiring to settle or trade at Detroit, or

23. CP, XXXIII, 384
24. CP, XXXIII, 384
25. CP, XXXIII, 389
to go up to Quebec, were privileged to do so and their rights were not to be interfered with. He informed Pontchartrain that the priests did not prevent their people from going to Detroit, but of their own free will they no longer desired to do so. 26

Because Lamothe-Cadillac had made malicious accusations against Father Marest in the council at Quebec, Vaudreuil suggested to Pontchartrain that he be reprimanded and advised to be more careful of his remarks concerning missioners since they offended their religious dignity. 27

In the Jesuit Relations there are repeated references to the degrading influence of brandy upon the savages. 28 Even the mild and docile Huron—the most spiritual of all the tribes—committed horrible atrocities when intoxicated. One priest wrote that they were the most adaptable to Christianization and civilization of all the tribes, and added that only the bad example of the French kept them from being saints, their nature was so spiritual. But the orders of the king had been to no avail since an unlimited supply of liquor was readily obtained for those who desired it. 29

The sprees usually started with boisterousness and ended with some

26. CP, XXXIII, 396
27. CP, XXXIII, 369, November, 1707
29. Ibid., 68, 267
bloodthirsty act such as killing a personal enemy for no other reason than that he was an enemy. The climax was reached when the savage hunger was satisfied by eating cannibal-style the wretched remains of the victim. Although the Indians claimed to have a dislike for drink they, nevertheless, asked for it and sought it whenever the opportunity presented itself. Although the French government had forbidden the sale of intoxicating liquors to natives this did not help the missioners, for the commandants and soldiers refused to cooperate in enforcing the law. The Jesuit Relations go on to relate that the Indian appetite for liquor was insatiable, and was their greatest weakness. The Ottawa had an especially insane desire for the dead flesh of an enemy. It was concerning the correction of such evils that the commandant and the Jesuits constantly disagreed. The brandy question, which had been proved a spiritual issue several decades before, was raised as long as Lamothe-Cadillac remained at Detroit Pontchartrain. Theoretically, Lamothe-Cadillac required French and Indian alike to purchase his brandy from a public storehouse where it was sold supposedly for home use. Actually, the efforts of the priests were uprooted by the ruining influence of liquor too easily obtained.

For fifty years after the founding of Detroit the law of France was observed therein.30 Ordinary misdemeanors were submitted to the commandant for final appeal; serious violations calling for the death penalty were reserved for trial in Quebec. There comes a time in judicial proceedings

30. Milo M. Quaife, Capital Punishment in Detroit, Detroit, 1926
when immediate and decisive action must be taken. Under such circumstances, when no other provisions are made, a pioneer people become a law unto themselves. And so there is on record at least one death penalty which Lamothe-Cadillac caused to be carried out, and it is possible there were more cases than are recorded.31

For one hundred-twenty-five years after 1700 the Indians lived near the whites in the Detroit area. Too often vicious acts were committed and a _lex talionis_ together with a system of remuneration prevailed. The relatives of the wronged person either returned the act of violence or accepted some other payment, as they chose in each instance. The commandant, however, kept general peace and enforced order.

31. The war council found Bartellamy Pichon guilty of desertion and murder, and "hereby sentence him to have his head broken till death follows, by 8 soldiers, being first degraded of his arms, they being unable to inflict either a more severe or a more moderate punishment, because of the remoteness of the place." Cf: CP, XXXIV, 236; November 7, 1707.
Chapter IV

LAMOTHE-CADILLAC AND THE COMPAGNIE DU CANADA

From the outset, Lamothe-Cadillac encountered difficulty with the Compagnie du Canada. Its members had opposed the establishment of Fort Pontchartrain for commercial reasons. Largely controlling trade in New France, this group attempted to obtain control of trade at this fort while it was still being organized. At the Chateau de Saint Louis in Quebec a contract was entered into between governor Callières and the Compagnie du Canada on October 31, 1701. By the agreement, fur trade at Forts Detroit and Frontenac was given to the Compagnie exclusively. In exchange it undertook certain responsibilities in regard to keeping the posts in repair, supporting a commandant and one other officer, and paying each missioner 800 livres a year. The officers and people were forbidden to enter fur trade agreements with the French and the savages, but the commandants were to maintain military control of their posts. On July 18, 1702, Lamothe-Cadillac received a copy of the agreement which supposedly was sanctioned by Louis XIV of France.1

A trade monopoly at such a post as Detroit tended to make immigration stagnate. The people of the lower classes preferred a life of wandering in the woods to that of settling down and serving others with no personal gain. From Fort Pontchartrain Lamothe-Cadillac wrote in 1703: "I confess to some degree of boldness in coming to erect a post for the company, in

1. According to the judgment of Elliott it seems doubtful that the king did sanction the document. Elliott, "The Recollets at Detroit", 766.
the midst of an ungoverned people." 2

Louis XIV expressed his pleasure at hearing that the colony had not been a financial charge to him during its second year. 3 Yet he found an obvious conflict of opinion between Lamothe-Cadillac, the Compagnie, and others. The commandant argued that the fort was fully able to attain everything expected of it; others claimed it was not even able to produce sufficient food for its colonists, fishing being the only occupation, and that a poor one; a few adventuresome individuals traveled thirty or forty leagues inland to hunt. The post was too remote to receive aid in case of war with the Iroquois, still the colonists did not have the means to win unaided. The Compagnie complained that the post was more of an expense than it was worth since it was often necessary to send supplies to the inhabitants in order to sustain them. 4 In an effort to obtain justice, the king ordered Beauharnois and Callieres to assemble Lamothe-Cadillac and the most respected inhabitants of New France to discuss favorable and unfavorable points of Fort Pontchartrain. All present, especially those most vitally concerned, were to sign an accurate report, and forward it to the king for final jurisdiction. He would determine its status by fostering it, keeping it merely as a trading post, or doing away with it. 5

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2. Sheldon, 119

3. NYCD, IX, 742, ff., May 30, 1703; Louis to Callieres and Beauharnois

4. The convoy came to the fort twice a year. Supplies, government provisions, and money were brought in September from Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec to those at Detroit by an armed fleet of vessels. Jesuit Relations, vol. 70, 306.
Majesty is persuaded that they will act herein without prejudice, and with a view solely to the public good and service."

The wishes of the king were carried out. As a result, on June 14, 1704, the king allowed Lamothe-Cadillac to transact trade with profit as the Compagnie had done. Trade in beaverskins was limited to 15,000 to 20,000 livres a year while the trade in other skins was unlimited. The previous payment of 10,000 livres annually to His Majesty was suspended until further notice. This agreement constituted the first trade allowance to the commandant at Detroit.

Late in 1704, Lamothe-Cadillac explained to Count du Pontchartrain his difficulties with the new chief clerk who had been sent to the fort. He (Lamothe-Cadillac) had sent eight men with Tonty to avenge the death of a soldier of the garrison. The clerk (Denoyer) complained that he should have been consulted before the order was carried out. Thereupon, Denoyer was imprisoned for questioning the authority of the commandant who wrote; "It is laid down in my orders that nobody, officers or otherwise, is to set out from that post without my permission."

The interim-governor, Ramezay, sided with Lamothe-Cadillac when he

5. NYCD, IX, 742
6. CP, XXXIII, 187-89
7. CP, XXXIII, 224; November 14, 1704
8. Vaudreuil had become governor; Ramezay acted in his place for one year when Vaudreuil was called back to France.
encountered trouble with Tonty and two agents over the seizure of some furs and the discovery of pelts. Ramezay accused the Jesuits of being the silent rulers of New France by their advice and influence. "It is hardly possible to imagine the intrigues, the plots and the calumnies which the Jesuits made use of at Court with the object of dislodging him (Comte de Frontenac) from his governorship...They play the chief part in the government; nothing is considered without their councils, which are often held at their houses" 9...Commandant Lamothe-Cadillac had made a similar assertion when he wrote to Pontchartrain concerning the governor-general and the intendant: "They are compelled to yield to the authority of the Jesuits" who are "consistently opposing your intentions in an underhand manner." 10 The commandant said he would not have set up Fort Pontchartrain if he had known it was to be ruled by a group of people outside its palisades. He complained that the Compagnie exerted its efforts towards destroying the fort since it had not paid or clothed the fourteen soldiers since the foundation of the fort.

Nearly everyone was suspected or accused of being connected with the illicit fur trade; constant quarreling went on between those legally and illegally operating monopolies. It is well to explain here that beaver skins were the coins of the times; their value was common to the Indian and

9. CP, XXXIII, 195
10. CP, XXXIII, 204
the white man. The expression 'faire la traite' was used; its double meaning was explained by those familiar with the idioms of the time. Literally the phrase means to carry on trade, or to barter. Some who used beaver skins were carrying on commerce for profit, and others were using the skins to exchange their own goods for necessities of private consumption. However, both were said to 'faire la traite'. The missioners bartered; they gave the Indians French trinkets for beaverskins which in turn they exchanged for food and clothing. The first charge of trading for profit made against the Jesuits in the New World originated in France in 1636. Then Le Jeune was called down and reminded of the ordinance forbidding trade in beaver skins. He answered the charges satisfactorily, for the officials of the order never made an issue of it again. Father Le Jeune explained that the money of the country was beaver just as the money of France was the livre. From time to time accusations have been made by Margry, Parkman, and wherever prejudice exists against the Jesuit community.

In 1704 Lamothe-Cadillac was summoned to Quebec and arrested there.

11. Jean Delanglez has thoroughly discussed this topic in his work Frontenac and the Jesuits, "The Trade of the Jesuits", 133-270.
on charges of official misconduct. Tonty, whom the commandant had failed to trust since the mysterious fire of 1703, was placed in command at Detroit during his absence. Lamothe-Cadillac regarded this as the final blow by the Compagnie; he then wrote a long, detailed account to Pontchartrain asking that the power and privileges of the Compagnie be given over to him. Some of the abuses he suffered were the inability to trade in beaverskins, and the flooding of the market with other skins. The cabinet of Louis considered the project and decided in the favor of the commandant on September 25, 1705. At last he had won out, and the Compagnie had to

12. NYCD, IX, 758-66; Vaudreuil wrote to Pontchartrain from Quebec, September 16, 1704. "M. de Lamothe arriving from Detroit informed us that he met S. de Vinseine with an addition of three canoes and two men. This disobedience of the orders I gave him prompted me to form the design of chastising him on the spot, and as he is an inferior officer in the army I resolved to break him...I would still continue in these sentiments, My Lord, did not the gallant action he performed at Detroit--oblige me to write you in his favor, and to request you to pardon him. I believe it to be my duty to remark, once for all, that nothing is so contrary to the interests of the King's service than M. de la Mothès conduct in insinuating to the Indians that they can oblige us to do as they please, and it is in contradiction with our invariable policy in this country of retaining the Indians in a sort of submission."

13. CP, XXXIII, 312. In the spring of 1703 a fire broke out mysteriously in one of the storehouses destroying the church and burning its records, and demolishing the rectory of the Recollets, the residences of Lamothe-Cadillac and Tonty before it could be brought under control. This was blamed on the Jesuits, Lamothe-Cadillac claiming they were attempting to destroy the fort. Several years later Campau, a settler there at the time told Vaudreuil that a right hand man of Tonty, a soldier named Ville, had ignited the fire at the instigation of Tonty. Another report was that the barn was ignited by a savage. At the trial held before the Council at Quebec, December 2, 1706, Ville was acquitted, and Campau had to pay 300 livres for the damage to the character of Ville.

14. CP, XXXIII, 201 ff; November 14, 1704.
give everything over to him. After 1705 the expense of the fort fell on the shoulders of the commandant, and profits accruing from the post went to him. As many Indians as came to the fort were allowed to remain.

Lamothe-Cadillac returned to Detroit in the fall of 1706. For five years the fort had been ruled by relatives and friends of the directors of the Compagnie du Canada. Since the market had been overstocked with beaverskins the standard of living was low. The initial problem was to limit the supply of furs coming into the colony. The people were trained to devote more time to farming and to developing business enterprises. And towards this end Lamothe-Cadillac devoted his efforts as long as he remained at Detroit Pontchartrain.

15. On June 9, 1706, Pontchartrain wrote of some information he had received. Arnauld, son-in-law to Lotbiniere, was sent with three canoes and some French to the Ottawa. "The impunity of this man excites considerable murmurs, and authorizes the licentiousness of those who are inclined to range the woods. I will believe that all is done without your participation, but it is not allowable in you, occupying the post you (Vaudreuil) do, being ignorant of it." NYC, IX, 776-9. He continued by saying that the king had hesitated to make him governor-general because of the relatives of his wife in New France,—the Lotbiniere, Amour, Deschaufont, Plaine, and other families which were associated with the fur trade. The king had consented to appoint him only when Pontchartrain had assured him there would be no favoritism shown towards them to the detriment of the other colonists.
Chapter V

THE ASSASSINATION OF FATHER DE L'HALLE

The Ottawa of the Detroit area began to resent the French and Miami more and more. A crisis came when the interim-commandant, Bourgmont, beat an Ottawa to death while Lamothe-Cadillac was on trial in Quebec. Then other Ottawa tribesmen attacked and killed five Miami. Hearing this, other Miami hurried to Fort Pontchartrain ahead of the Ottawa. Father De L'Halle, who was strolling in his garden, was seized and bound by some of the members of the Ottawa tribe. Le Blanc, their leader, ordered his release, and asked Father to request Bourgmont to have the firing cease, and to explain that the Ottawa really did not desire to fight with the French. Nevertheless, some other Ottawa men began firing on a group of Miami who had joined the priest for protection. 1 Father De L'Halle fell dead having been shot by Le Pesant on the eighth of June, 1706. 2

Miscouaky, a brother to the head chief of all the Ottawa, wrote to Vaudreuil in behalf of his tribe. His account of the incident was as follows: The different groups of Ottawa at Detroit had been attacked by the Miami. Le Pesant, 3 Le Blanc, and Miscouaky saw eight Miami chiefs making ready for a feast at their fort in anticipation of doing harm. He


2. Father Dominique de la Marche replaced Father De L'Halle on July 18, 1706, and remained there until May 1, 1708.

3. Le Pesant, one of the lesser Ottawa chiefs, was so-called because of his obesity.
and his comrades fired on the chiefs and killed seven of them. The Miami went to Detroit and killed one Ottawa. Le Blanc went on to say that he freed Father De L'Halle, and went home where he learned of his death the next day. He contended that the Frenchman, Bourgmont, had refused to listen to his pleas to stop warfare on both sides. The death of Father De L'Halle had not deterred the young men of the Ottawa tribe in their desire to burn Detroit. Holding a continuous council for three days the old men of the tribe tried to discourage the younger from fulfilling their plan. The Miami and Huron invited them to come and make peace but the Ottawa learned that they planned to ensnare them and did not go. Until them, Miscouaky continued, the Ottawa had felt that the Huron were their friends. Indignant at their refusal to come to the feast the Miami besieged their fort for a day killing only one man. This continued for a week when the Huron asked the Ottawa to send the relatives of some of the captives they (Huron) held. In good faith the Ottawa went unarmed; two men were killed and five injured before they could withdraw. Miscouaky concluded this letter of explanation by asking permission to carry on warfare with the Miami and Huron.

On September 28, and again on November 4, 1706, Vaudreuil wrote to Miscouaky forbidding his people to war anywhere. The Marquis reminded them they were responsible for the death of a missioner and a French soldier. The Ottawa must come early in the spring to arrange reparation.

4. CP, XXXIII, 288 ff.; September, 1706
for their evil-doings. Pontchartrain had advised Vaudreuil to be strict with the Ottawa and to see that the guilty chief was punished.

In accordance with orders Le Blanc went to Quebec to defend his tribe in person. Twelve men accompanied him—four Kikakou, four of the La Fourche tribe, and four Sinago and Ottawa. Le Blanc asked that the guilt for the deaths of Father De L'Halle and the soldier be placed upon his own shoulders. The blood of Le Pesant, the murderer, had been demanded, but Le Blanc said it could not be given. Le Pesant was old and too much allied with the tribes around the lakes; trouble would start if he were to be killed at the hands of the French.

On June 22 Vaudreuil answered that he appreciated that Le Pesant could not be brought to the far north because of his age, but insisted that the blood of the missioner be avenged by blood. Vaudreuil ordered the Indians to return home by way of the lakes and to be satisfied with the terms Lamothe-Cadillac would make at Detroit. The governor-general promised the Indians he would send letters encouraging the commandant not to include Le Pesant in the capital punishment. However, Vaudreuil concluded, the jurisdiction of Lamothe-Cadillac was to be final, and under no circumstances could Le Pesant be recognized as a living person again.

Pontchartrain wrote to Vaudreuil from Versailles, on June 30, that

5. CP, XXXIII, 327
6. CP, XXXIII, 327, ff.
7. NYC, IX, 804-5
His Majesty wished satisfaction by the Indians to be in proportion to the injury, and to be made after consideration with Lamothe-Cadillac who could thus guard against any decision which might harm his post. The action of the Ottawa was to be investigated, determining what caused them to attack the fort and kill the Frenchmen. Since Lamothe-Cadillac had complained that the Indians were encouraged to bring about the downfall of his fort, the actions of Bourgmont were to be investigated thoroughly.

The Indians returned to Detroit. On August 6, in a council there, Lamothe-Cadillac demanded the death penalty for Le Pesant. If the accused could not, for physical reasons, be brought to Detroit then he must be killed at Michilimackinac and evidence of his death be brought to Detroit. Many entreaties finally spared the life of Le Pesant. The "obedience of the old men, your brothers, and all the young men,—for the love of your brethren, your children and your wife, of your tribe and your allies, I give you your life." Le Pesant left the fort during the night and undoubtedly perished in the woods because of his advanced age. At any rate, the French did not set eyes on him again.

Lamothe-Cadillac explained the settlement of the Le Pesant affair, and criticized Vaudreuil for passing the unpleasant task on to him. In October, Vaudreuil wrote to Pontchartrain that he thought Lamothe-Cadillac

8. Because the posts were of value to him, His Majesty wrote that he planned to send an aide to examine their condition, trade, and general utility to Canada. NYCD, IX, 804-5

9. CP, XXXIII, 348; September 24, 1707
had allowed Le Pesant to escape for he "is too clever a man not to have taken all possible precautions for securing Le Pesant, if he had not wished to let him escape." 10 The governor continued by saying that Lamothe-Cadillac was afraid of holding Le Pesant without making an example of him. To kill him seemed dangerous, so he had a Huron chase him far into the woods under cover of night. There may be truth in the accusation. An old man, corpulent enough to be named for his weight, would have difficulty climbing over the palisades alone and unnoticed.

Afterwards, Lamothe-Cadillac asserted that there had been no need for the chosen method of escape since freedom was to have been given to Le Pesant. The Miami had wanted to see the death penalty directly administered. When the family of Le Pesant stayed at Detroit the other Indians rebelled and plotted war. In the spring of 1708 the Miami attacked Detroit. 11 Whether or not they intended to murder the commandant and civilians of the fort is not known. Their plot was discovered and matters were brought prematurely to a climax. An insufficient number of men brought failure to the Miami after they had killed three Frenchmen. Lamothe-Cadillac demanded the lives of the murderers; they promised to forfeit them in twenty days. When the allotted time was up the bargain was not kept; force was used to subdue the Miami. According to Vaudreuil and

10. CP, XXXIII, 355
11. CP, XXXIII, 385; Father Marest to Vaudreuil, June 4, 1708
Ramezay 12 it was public knowledge that the commandant hid behind a tree "eighteen feet in circumference" during the battle, lowering the respect of the savages for the French. Vaudreuil, who had violated orders by hesitating to make a decision on the matter, did not hesitate to criticize the procedure of Lamothe-Cadillac. He wrote that Le Pesant should have been left at Michilimackinac in disgrace. He said that the Miami revolt would not have occurred if this had been done. But the Miami were eager for the death penalty whether in the north or at Detroit.

12. CP, XXXIII, 401-24, from Quebec, November 14, 1708; also November 5, 395-9
Chapter VI

GENERAL CONDITIONS AT DETROIT

When the Detroit River was visited by the French during the seventeenth century, the explorers and missioners left records concerning their voyages. Permanent occupation of the Detroit and Sainte Clair rivers, and development of the adjacent territory began with Lamothe-Cadillac in 1701. 1 His success in drawing Indians to the fort, chiefly from Michilimackinac, contributed considerably to its population at the time of its organization.

Arrival in the unknown country promised privation, hardship, manual labor, and work. At first Indians frightened the Europeans. Until about 1800 fear persisted that there would be uprisings among the Indians because of dissatisfaction with conditions. These early French showed superiority even if the Indians outnumbered them. With aid far away in case of trouble a strong arm was held over the Indians. In time they learned to get along better, although the French were never certain of the allegiance of the natives.

Lamothe-Cadillac was "pompous" but he spent his energies generously in endeavoring to bring Detroit to the highest degree of importance that he could achieve. With no active judiciary other than himself the

1. Lamothe-Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain that Detroit was 100 leagues from Michilimackinac; 250 leagues from Montreal; and the river was one gunshot across. He spoke of the Detroit both as a river and as the territory surrounding his fort. CP, XXXIII, 131, 136.
commandant was the dictator over his people. Retaining a distant air with the Indians he has been accused of being "pompous" and "overbearing". He refused to become too intimate with the people; as the rulers at home had constituted the nobility so too did he feel that the ruler of the colony should be in a higher social caste. A man esteemed and feared above all others was needed to maintain order and prevent the anarchy which might readily break out under conditions of exaggerated liberty and freedom.

The social rank of the fort might conveniently be divided into three classes, the lowest of which the Indians comprised. They were permitted to associate with the middle class (soldiers and voyageurs) but not with the upper class. The middle class took part in the most activities since they were allowed to mingle with both of the other two classes. In the upper class were the commandant and his friends who had no dealings with the Indians socially but were companionable with the soldiers and voyageurs. As the all important person of the settlement, Lamothe-Cadillac loved to parade about in his military garments receiving the curtsies of the women and the salutes of the men.

Gayarré has painted an imaginative picture of the physical appearance of Lamothe-Cadillac. 2 He described him as being proud and sneering,

energetic and obstinate, pious and valiant. However, the author admits that this is an imaginative description.

Among the more fantastic characterizations of Lamothe-Cadillac is the one in which he is likened to Cyrano de Bergerac of the famed long nose. "There are many points of similarity in Cyrano and Cadillac; the nose, the figure, the Gascon fencing, the fierce fighting, the disregard for enmities created, the loyalty to friends." 3

At any rate, it is known that Lamothe-Cadillac had a strong will and was a character that could not be ignored. He was difficult to get along with, and people must have been kept at quite a high emotional state as long as he was around.

Whatever his wishes, intentions, or plans, the fact remains that the Frenchmen at Detroit did not ordinarily marry women of the Indian tribes even if the white women at the fort were few in numbers. 4 Peter Roy is one of the few who did so, and the only one recorded by the Abbé Tanguay. That the men missed the companionship of the women is true; especially lonely were the young soldiers who had left their fiancées waiting for them in Quebec. 5

3. Laut, XVII
5. No brides suited the French men like their own French women did. Marrying young, they stayed at home managing their household and remaining faithful to their husbands. "It was almost impossible for a man to abandon his lawful wife in Lower Canada and marry surreptitiously in Detroit or vicinity" since everyone knew everyone else and banns had to be published. Denissen, Letter to C. M. Burton in Detroit Under Cadillac, 37 ff.
At the fort the allotment of property to soldiers and ordinary settlers was not officially approved until 1704. Thereafter, colonists were allowed to own their residences, with the exception of soldiers who were loaned half-acre lots to use as they wished while they were in the services of the fort. Lamothe-Cadillac personally received yearly taxes from all lands. By the end of the first three years (1704) the renown of the fort had swelled its population so that new palisades had to be constructed in order to include a larger area. A great deal of land was available for cultivation, but the settlers chose to dwell near the garrison, to enjoy the protection of the soldiers, and the privileges of the group. As time went on it was rather the advantages of the group that were sought than the protection from the garrison.

On August 4, 1701 Lamothe-Cadillac wrote a lengthy, poetic description of Detroit, its lands, abundant fruit and game, beautiful scenery, climate. However, by September 25, 1702, he had had more experience and wrote that some fruit was good to eat although much of it was too large and mealy to be edible. Among the animals could be found a few snakes, buffaloes; plenty of stags and hinds, otters, black bears, gray cranes; game was common—wild turkeys, ducks, quails, pheasants, rabbits—as were beavers, wolves, wood rats (opossums) and wildcats. 7

6. Pontchartrain informed Lamothe-Cadillac of this on June 14, 1704; "His Majesty permits you to grant lands at Detroit as you think fit and expedient for the interests of the new colony; and to leave the soldiers and Canadians who wish to marry there free to do so, as long as the ecclesiastics discharging the functions of parish priests find no just impediment." CP, XXXIII, 190.

7. CP, XXXIII, 144, ff; to Pontchartrain
Still in the same letter (Sept., 1702) the commandant added that he desired to be made governor elsewhere since Detroit was progressing slowly and he would not be governor of it as a perfect place until "the age popes are made." 8 Therefore, he requested to be made major of Quebec in case the worthy man in that position should be promoted. However, he promised to devote his best energies to his present work until the time when he should be promoted, preferably to the position he had suggested. Should the Ministère of the Colonies be inclined to do so, Lamothe-Cadillac would be happy to receive the governorship at his present place, or at least to be appointed commandant of all the forts in the Ottawa country. 9

On August 31, 1703, 10 Lamothe-Cadillac wrote one of his most bitter letters. From Fort Pontchartrain he asked for a seminary to instruct savage and French children in piety, and to teach the French language to the Indians. His request for money and advancement to the position of commandant general prompted him to repeat these appeals.

From Quebec, March 20, 1706, came word that the petitions for soldiers were at last granted by His Majesty in orders sent to Vaudreuil and Beauharnois. Two hundred men were granted Lamothe-Cadillac, but only 150, including six sergeants and six corporals, actually were sent to him.

8. CP, XXXIII, 148
9. CP, XXXIII, 149
10. CP, XXXIII, 161, ff.
Vaudreuil had temporized for a year before fulfilling the orders. Pontchartrain then reprimanded him: "I will tell you plainly, that if you are not more absolute in the execution of the King's orders and more severe in the punishment of acts of disobedience, I shall not guarantee to you that His Majesty would be willing to allow you to occupy for any length of time your present post." 11

In 1706 a brewery was established and Joseph Parent of Montreal was brought there as brewer. The family of Parent figures largely in the story of Assumption Mission as found in the Jesuit Relations.

Riverin, writing from Paris, April 11, 1707, gave some points concerning Canada for the year 1707. In regard to Detroit he numbered only 270 persons there—twenty-five families. Horses and horned cattle had been brought to the fort for the first time, and trade with the Mississippi was just beginning. 12

In September, 1707, Vaudreuil and Raudot wrote to Pontchartrain that Lamothe-Cadillac made those who traded at his post pay rent for the land they used at a rate of twelve sols per foot; the inhabitants paid five sols per foot and had the use of the land for a longer period of time. The agent, (Rané) and an officer, required high rents in exchange for the hardships encountered in obtaining limited quantities of wheat, peas, and butter.

11. CP, XXXIII, 777; June 9, 1706
12. CP, XXXIII, 316-7
Louis XIV, from Versailles, June 30, 1707, selected M. de Clerambaut d'Aigremont, subdelegate of Raudot to act as his aide in investigating the complaints of Lamothe-Cadillac that he received no cooperation from Raudot and Vaudreuil. Lamothe-Cadillac had written that they had refused to give him what the king ordered, and were responsible for the bad condition of the fort. The fort had been without powder since Tonty took it or used it when the Compagnie gave the trade rights to Lamothe-Cadillac; the lands of the Compagnie lay fallow, or were used by the Indians; houses were decaying, grain was gone, peltries were rotting and no supplies were in the storehouse; all of this he had said he could prove by testimony of witnesses. Aigremont was to verify all the accusations and present his conclusions from the evidence there. He was also to observe the nature of the land because the officers there claimed it was fine. As a resting place of the Indian tribes, Detroit could be arrived at by good roads without any portages.

On November 14, 1708, Aigremont wrote that the French disliked the excessive rents and prices charged by Lamothe-Cadillac. He reported that Detroit was a burden to Canada, and should not be supported as in the past. England profited from the undertaking since she was under no obligation to maintain it and yet she traded there to advantage. He recommended Michilimackinac as the best Canadian outpost because one could not enter it without being seen, and because of its trade possibilities.

14. NYC, IX, 805-6
15. CP, XXXIII, 424-52
In response to the report, Pontchartrain wrote from Versailles, July 6, 1709, that Aigremont had not remained at Detroit long enough to evaluate conditions there. The commandant had complained that Aigremont did not discuss conditions with him sufficiently to form an accurate judgment. Yet, the aide went on to say "I find too great cupidity in said Sieur La Mothe and that his private interests in establishing that post may have engaged him to prefer his special advantage to the general good of the Colony." 16

The king ordered the troops to be withdrawn from Detroit and Lamothe-Cadillac to get along with no privileges other than those of an ordinary citizen; Pontchartrain forwarded the orders to Vaudreuil and Raudot. The beaver trade had been operating at a loss and English goods were coming into the post; there was constant friction between the savage tribes at the post; the cost of maintaining soldiers for ordinary protection was great, yet the place was helpless in case of attack; poor soil, a decrease in the number of animals to be hunted and other reasons were given for his decision.

According to orders, troops were withdrawn from the fort June 7, 1710.17 The remainder of the soldiers went back to Montreal, with the exception of ten who came back to the fort in a few days to remain as private citizens. Since there were no more officers to punish them these

16. NYCD, IX, 827
17. CP, XXXIII, 478-9
ten remained unmolested.

Desiring to increase his sphere of influence, Lamothe-Cadillac sent an invitation to all Indians living around Green Bay to come to Detroit. Fox and Sauk, together with some of the Kikakou and Mascoutin, accepted the offer. Those who had been at the post for some time objected to the strangers and began to show their dissatisfaction. At this time his leadership and familiarity with existing conditions was needed to cope with the situation, but Lamothe-Cadillac was sent to Louisiana.
To round out the picture of Lamothe-Cadillac a short sketch of his governorship—the first in Louisiana—seems necessary. Late in the summer of 1710 (September 13) he received a dispatch from Vaudreuil informing him of his transfer from Detroit Pontchartrain to Louisiana. 1 The instructions stated that La Forest would command at Detroit "on the same footing as you have held it until now." 2 The "will of His Majesty is that you should go at once overland." Yet Lamothe-Cadillac was to remain long enough to see his successor received courteously, acknowledged, and properly lodged. He was to "go at once", yet he must await the arrival of him who bore instructions from the king. This apparent contradiction of orders was probably intended to mean there should be no unnecessary delay. Lamothe-Cadillac must leave by autumn should La Forest arrive at Detroit by that time. 3

Taking advantage of the rapidly approaching winter Lamothe-Cadillac went immediately to Montreal to obtain a delay in fulfilling the appointment. Hence he did not assume his new duties for another year since it was

1. Louisiana at the time of Lamothe-Cadillac was known as both Louisiana and Mississippi. Cf: Jean Delanglez, French Jesuits and Lower Louisiana, 1, notes 1-9.

2. CP, XXXIII, 483-4

3. La Forest was old and feeble and did not arrive at the fort until 1712. Dubuisson commanded at Detroit Pontchartrain in his absence. Ibid., XXXIII, 484-5, 495-7.
too late to journey to Louisiana until spring. When Lamothe-Cadillac returned from Montreal he took inventory of his property and the real estate at the fort. He wrote to Vaudreuil asking that La Forest be restrained from appropriating his belongings after he left that place.

A year after the notice of transfer was sent to Detroit the twenty-three year old daughter of Lamothe-Cadillac, Judith, was received into the Ursuline convent as a "perpetual boarder." She was to be cared for on an equal basis with the nuns; she was not to wash or repair her clothes; the nuns were to feed her, and wait on her in health and sickness; in case the community disbanded, Mademoiselle Cadillac was to travel with the nuns and to be treated as one of them. The contract was entered into in exchange for a payment of 6,000 livres; 1,000 livres were applied towards furniture and utensils, and 5,000 livres were used to set up a pension for life. 4

A weakening of the colony at Detroit was brought about by the removal of its founder to Louisiana. Many settlers returned to Quebec and Montreal with their families. In 1712 the Fox Indians revolted and charged upon the weakened fort with all their force. Some of the settlers had been personal friends of the commandant and departed when he did. In the past the palisades had been rebuilt to make room for the increasing number of settlers; now the area of protection was reduced. The east section of the village, including the church among other buildings, was outside the palisades. The Recollet, Father Cherubin de Nion (Deniaux), missioner at

4. CP, XXXIV, 250-1; this convent was in Quebec.
Detroit, wrote to Lamothe-Cadillac that the people were upset, no order prevailed, and respect for authority was gone; there seemed to be no opportunity for peace under Dubuisson,\(^5\) the emissary of La Forest.

Arriving in Louisiana in June, 1713, Lamothe-Cadillac became the first governor when a charter was granted to Antoine Crozat for fifteen consecutive years. The charter of September 14, 1712, declared that the king intended to use Louisiana for commercial reasons, and therefore granted Crozat "exclusive commerce of all the territory possessed by the crown, between old and new Mexico, and Carolina, and all the settlements, ports, roads, and rivers therein."\(^6\) Articles which France had previously imported could be produced in Louisiana; by the clauses of the charter France could obtain them from her own colony. "The laws, edicts and ordinances of the realm of the custom of Paris are extended to Louisiana."\(^7\) In 1713 the king issued new orders to investigate the state of religious worship, and to see that suitable churches were built.\(^8\)

The agents of Crozat could export furs anywhere (except for beaverskins),\(^9\) in original or refined form. Lamothe-Cadillac was to make trade

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5. CP, XXXIII, 517; August 24, 1711
7. Ibid., 115
8. Jean Delanglez, French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 67
9. The king forbade "trade in beaverskins under any pretext." Mississippi Provincial Archives, (MPA), edited by Rowland and Sanders, Jackson, 1929, III, 149.
relations with Mexican and Spanish colonies, and to explore for mines.

"Cadillac et Duclos trouvèrent La Louisiane dans un état de faiblesses qui leur causa, au premier surtout, une profonde déception." 10 When he first arrived Lamothe-Cadillac praised Louisiana as a land of possibilities, but he soon learned that it had limited value for crops which were not cultivated without a great deal of effort.

In July, and October, of 1713 11 Duclos wrote letters to Pontchartrain telling of his difficulty in getting along with Lamothe-Cadillac. 12 They had trouble over housing the family of the governor in regard to who should pay for their lodgings. Even though crops such as indigo, tobacco, silk, and walnuts could be grown, the people in the colony were ignorant of farming methods. Then, too, they feared the colony might be abandoned just as they brought it to a point where it was bearing fruit. Duclos went on to say that he was opposed to the plan of moving to Dauphine Island, and that the governor controlled the principal commerce—fur trade. He praised Bienville who "has all the qualities and all the knowledge necessary for him to be continued in this post. He possesses more than any person in the world the art of governing the Indians and doing what he

10. "Cadillac and Duclos found Louisiana in a weakened condition, which caused them, especially at first, a great deception." Pierre Heinrich, La Louisiane Sous La Compagnie Des Indes, 1717-1731, Paris, 1908, lXI.
11. July 10, October 9, 1713; MPA, II, 74-143
12. Duclos served as commissary ordinary from December 24, 1712, until November 12, 1716.
wishes with them, by means of the long acquaintance that he has with them, and because of the fact that he understands and speaks their language perfectly." 13 This friction between the governor and the commissary was evident throughout their stay at Louisiana. Duclos wrote that it took the Indians some time to recognize Lamothe-Cadillac had authority over Bienville. 14

On October 26, 1713, Lamothe-Cadillac wrote a very long letter to Pontchartrain from Mobile. 15 His report was just as picturesque and vivid as those of Duclos had been. He recommended that the fort be located at Dauphine Island because of its unequalled port; the land was fertile enough to aid the French in drawing closer to Mexican mines. "According to the proverb 'bad country, bad people' one can say that they are a heap of the dregs of Canada, 'jailbirds' without subordination for religion and for government, addicted to vice principally with the Indian women whom they prefer to French women." 16 Lamothe-Cadillac listed only one man, Langlois, as being moral and devoted to the church and sacraments. He said Duclos and Bienville gave bad example to the soldiers and were responsible for their failing to live up to religious duties. Bienville "has applied himself solely to his own affairs, leaving

13. MPA, II, 119
14. Ibid., II, 131
15. Ibid., II, 162-204
16. Ibid., II, 167
everything in utter confusion." 17 In closing he said he had "been sick unto death for three months", 18 and could not imagine how a human being could live through such suffering.

For his part Bienville wrote letters showing how much he longed to be governor of Louisiana. Grace King has made much of a letter written by him to his brother the Baron of Longueuil. 19 She interpreted part of it to mean that Bienville desired to marry the daughter of Lamothe-Cadillac but could not reconcile himself to the thought of have Lamothe-Cadillac for a father-in-law. Yet Bienville himself wrote, "I have had the misfortune to displease him (Cadillac) by refusing his daughter in marriage." 20

In the first winter (1713-1714) Dutigne of Canada encouraged Lamothe-Cadillac to search for minerals by giving him two pieces of metal supposedly found around the Kaskaskia country; the "ore" turned out to be some trinkets left by a coureur-de-bois who in turn had received them from a Mexican. From February 5, until October 1715, the governor went on an expedition to the Illinois country in an attempt to find mines. He was accused later of spending all his time on mines and not enough on establishing trade relations with the Mexicans.

17. Ibid., II, 189
18. Ibid., II, 204
19. Grace King, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Sieur de Bienville, New York, 1892, 198-205 (October 2, 1713).
20. MPA, II, 199
In the aforementioned letter of October 26, 1713, Lamothe-Cadillac had written to Pontchartrain that there were only two means of making the colony profitable for France; (1) by commerce with the Spaniards, and (2) the gold and silver mines found when the Spaniards would be conquered by the French. 21

Crozat had suggested sending men to the Illinois and towards the Spanish in the west to arrange these agreements. From the Spaniards settled at the Assinais, Father Ydalgo, a Franciscan, sent three letters to the French for assistance. One of the letters fell into the hands of Lamothe-Cadillac who used it to solve his own problem of establishing friendly relations. The letter showed they had plenty of cattle, horses, and money—and these were scarce among the French. As a result, Saint Denis embarked on a mission to Mexico by land. The Duke of Linarez promised to make a trade agreement as soon as some Spaniards became firmly established at the Assinais. When Saint Denis returned to Louisiana he determined to bring about this settlement. Pleased with the turn of events, the governor sent Saint Denis back to complete negotiations; he fulfilled his part of the bargain and expected the Spaniards to do likewise. Supplies needed for the journey could not be obtained since the men in charge of them refused to extend credit to Lamothe-Cadillac. 22 Therefore it became

21. MPA, II, 178

necessary for the wealthiest men of the colony to go on the journey in order that there might be supplies. Saint Denis set out from Mobile, August 13, 1716, and passed the winter with the Assinais. Arriving in Mexico City May 14, 1717, he found his friend, the Duke, dying. The Duke, however, recommended him to his vice-regal successor, the Marquis of Balero, an ill-tempered man who despised the French. Imprisoned at first, Saint Denis was at length confined within the limits of the city by Balero. Dismounting a man from his horse he escaped, and entered Louisiana on April 2, 1719. During his absence Louisiana had been transferred from Crozat to the Western Company, and Lamothe-Cadillac had returned to France. This story of Saint Denis has been varyingly told by different authors.

During the fall of 1715 Bienville had been ordered to set up a post among the Natchez to keep the Carolinians from trading in Louisiana. He found the Indians in an unfriendly state. Committing savage crimes on hunters and traders who passed their territory by land and water they sometimes killed white men who passed on the river.

With a great deal of opposition Bienville and his men captured the leaders of the Natchez and constructed a French fort. Returning to Louisiana in October, 1716, he found that Lamothe-Cadillac had gone to France; Bienville became temporary governor, although he was soon succeeded by De l'Epinay. The change of administration had been due to Crozat. Tiring
of all the quarrels he had demanded the recall of Lamothe-Cadillac and of Duclos. 23 A note on the report of the Navy Council was to the effect that Crozat concurred in the belief that Louisiana was in a deplorable state, due to the failure of the governor to establish commerce on the Mississippi, and to the quarrels with the Indians. 24 The commercial monopoly was given to the Compagnie d'Occident when Crozat abandoned it.

At this point it is necessary to introduce a few words on the man who administered the new Compagnie, John Law. As regent for Louis XV, the Duke of Orleans had done much to create a serious financial situation that was helped along by the close of the reign of Louis XIV. The Duke proposed the Company of the West as a means of relieving France of her unemployed, and of bringing wealth to the court. Because of his financial ability John Law was appointed president of the board of directors for a period of twenty-five years. 25 The glamor of the reign of Louis XIV had faded and


24. MPA, II, 219

25. John Law of Lauriston was born in Edinburgh, April, 1671, the son of a goldsmith and usherer. After the run on the bank (Banque Royale), which he said could not be stopped, the regent asked for his resignation as Comptroller of the bank. He had had a law passed on February 27, 1720, forbidding anyone to possess more than 500 livres of gold or silver. Thereafter he was expelled from the country, but was received graciously in Holland, England, and Sweden, and recognized in Russia. Having left France in December, 1720, he died obscurely in Venice, March 21, 1729. Cf: the following—Green, John Law; Wiston, John Law of Lauriston; King, Bienville; Gravier.
the idea was to use Louisiana for a "boom" to the impoverishment of France.

The plan erred in not allowing sufficient time for the colony to become self-sustaining before it was used for profit-making. John Law directed the project from France and the commandant-general took charge of actual operations. Agricultural development was the nucleus for progress and expansion. Free lodging, food and transportation were offered the French who would go to Louisiana; and they went by the boatload. Bienville complained that the colonists were not trained for agricultural work necessary to make the enterprise a success. Rather than farmers skilled artisans came and wasted their energies and the fruits of the land through ignorance or laziness.

Advertised on a large scale people came to Louisiana by the hundreds, landing first at Dauphin Island. Foreseeing panic it was suggested that the base be changed to Biloxi, and the Western Company approved the change. The people increased in number and uselessness as far as the advancement of the colony was concerned. The sick, the lame, criminals, and mental cases came or were sent in order to free France of the responsibility of caring for them.

Since the organization of the Western Company propaganda had been used to spread its fame far and wide. This deluge of literature, picturing Louisiana as another paradise with room for everyone, encouraged migration to the new land. Those who came had to leave behind them the conveniences and pleasures of home. This was not France of the courtiers, but a barren,
When the "Mississippi Bubble" first became known in Paris, Lamothe-Cadillac and his son Antoine were ordered to the Bastile for talking disparagingly about the scheme and the nature of the land. Since the talk did not further the scheme of Law, they were kept in prison until February 8, 1718, when they were liberated. 26 On February 27, 1720, Law caused an ordinance to be passed forbidding anyone to possess more than 500 livres of gold or silver. A run on the bank followed, and the failure of the bank showed the Louisiana scheme to be much overrated.

26. From September 27, 1717, until February 8, 1718, they were imprisoned. MPA, II, note on 163.
Lamothe-Cadillac maintained his proprietary rights at Detroit after he went to Louisiana. In a petition (1718) to the Council of the Navy he restated an agreement made with La Forest in which the latter agreed to withdraw from the fort in favor of Marigny for a gratuity of 600 livres. The agreement with Marigny included exclusive right to trade, and to real and personal property at Fort Pontchartrain. Lamothe-Cadillac asked compensation for income he had not received from the fort during the command of Tonty. 1 The regent granted some payment after Vaudreuil and Beauchanois had expressed their opinions before the Council. 2 The commandant had asked that his loss be evaluated according to prices at the time he sustained the loss, rather than in Quebec prices at the time of his petition. Lamothe-Cadillac finally agreed to surrender his claims, which he valued at 150,000 livres, for 50,000 weights of fine powder (worth 16,000 to 17,000 livres) and permission to trade the powder in the colonies. 3

Lamothe-Cadillac asked the Comte de Toulouze to present another petition to the king in June of 1720. He desired a "concession of the

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1. CP, XXXIII, 709-10

2. From Quebec, November 14, 1719, they said there had been several commandants at Detroit and compensation of all would involve legal complications. They recommended that those commandants who had served at Detroit since 1711 be granted some royal honor.

3. CP, XXXIII, 631
whole of Detroit"—with "powers of higher, middle and lower jurisdiction with fishing, hunting, and trading rights"—to "be put back in possession of the buildings, personal property, and cattle which are found of the same kind as those which he left when he quitted that post"; 4 he requested the matter to be settled by the Intendant of Canada; and asked payment for merchandise used in the service of His Majesty at the price it cost. Speaking before the Council on June 14, La Chapelle testified that Vaudreuil was an enemy of Lamothe-Cadillac and that the colony originally was meant to belong to the Founder. 5 On July 23 it was decided in Paris that "his Majesty, on the advice of Monsieur the Duke of Orleans his uncle, the Regent, has ceded, given and granted to the said M. de Lamothe-Cadillac the ground on which he had buildings erected at Detroit and the lands he cleared there, to which the said M. de Lamothe shall be required to have landmarks set and to send in a report of the boundaries within two years counting from this day—". 6 This was not as generous an offer as it seemed. It would be very difficult for Lamothe-Cadillac to fulfill the given requirements in the allotted period of time. Travel, preparation, approaching winter, drawing up the report, all took time. On July 24, 1720 he asked for an extension of time and was refused.

A decree of May 19, 1722 allowed Lamothe-Cadillac to keep the estate

4. CP, XXXIII, 649
5. CP, XXXIII, 650-58
6. CP, XXXIII, 670-1
at Detroit which had been his home. 7 He retained most of his privileges except for the right to exclusive trade; that was given to each man who served as commandant to reimburse him for the expense of maintaining the post. By the same decree Lamothe-Cadillac was allowed to bring suit against anyone at the fort, and to receive payment on his lands there.

In August, 1722, the titles of governor, lieutenant, and mayor of the towns of France were restored, having been suppressed by edicts of June and August, 1717. On September 15, 1722, Lamothe-Cadillac was commissioned as a mayor of Castelsarrasin in the district of Toulouse, "the good life, morals, age, Roman Catholic religion of said Lamothe (being) known to them." 8 He remained in comparative obscurity as mayor in southern France until his death on October 18, 1730.

Thus closed a life of varied usefulness. In some regards Lamothe-Cadillac caused enough trouble to overshadow his accomplishments. His real influence lay in his recognition of the Detroit River area as a trade center in the New World, and in his perseverance in overcoming obstacles to found the "City of the Straits."

In attempting to evaluate this personality let us examine what others have written on the matter. There are points of his personality upon which some authors agree, and others upon which they disagree. Perhaps

7. CP, XXXIV, 11
8. CP, XXXIV, 298-300
the most unfavorable description has been written by Shea. He found him "chimerical, grasping, overbearing, regarding religion only as an element to be used for purposes of government or trade, he displayed qualities that subsequently made his administration in higher positions so stormy and unprofitable."

In a similar vein, this sketch is found in Biographical Sketches of Louisiana's Governors: "his intellect was limited, his self-conceit great; his disposition was a singular combination of courage, pride, morality, piety, vindictiveness, and disputatiousness...In Louisiana he devoted all his energies to the discovery of mines, from whence he hoped to derive an immense fortune." The colonists had nicknamed him the Black Prince "because he so constantly boasted that an ancestor of his had entertained the Black Prince under his roof."

King was less severe in her analysis of the personality of Lamothe-Cadillac when she said he was "a post-graduate in official complications... His appointment, it would be supposed, would have been the ne plus ultra of administrative wisdom. His failure, however, might have been read in his very recommendations. He had too many policies, too much experience; he knew too much to learn more, and too little for a different sphere and different circumstances. The result, as Louisiana experienced, was a middle-aged obstinacy which not only ignored other information, but

9. Shea, Catholic Church in Colonial Days, 620
10. New Orleans, 1885, 6-7
utterly despised the possessors of it... (He was) indefatigable, shrewd, clever---gifted with abundant strength of body and mind, tongue and pen." 11

This terse account lists a few strong points but omits the more obnoxious traits; he was "a man of noble birth, gallant courage, and great capacity, who was inspired by an ardent love of adventure and a restless ambition." 12

Agnes Laut has left us a romantically colored picture of Lamothe-Cadillac. "Antoine had so many Spanish characteristics, the laughing irony, the quenchless ardor, the chivalry; he was so much the fierce fighter, the devout Catholic yet independent of priestly control, that we suspect he must have had Spanish blood of the Pyrenees from his mother's side of the house. . . . Laughing and sunny he always was to his later bitter days in Louisiana. He always loved clear mountain streams and dancing rivers. . . . You see too much of Cadillac's Spanish leanings---whether from heredity or environment in his later career in Louisiana. Other French commanders in Louisiana did not understand such policy. He could be coaxed into searching for such mines as made New Spain rich; and he was thrifty." 13

Jean Delanglez wrote: "It would be a mistake to consider Cadillac an enemy of the Jesuits, because they were Jesuits. He was one of those

11. Bienville, 189-90
12. Historical Magazine, 15, 132
13. Laut, 45-6
men who are only happy when they have three or four fights going on at the same time... He illustrates his views with homely comparisons, or buttresses them up by quotations from Genesis, the Gospels, or Saint Paul, just to let his correspondents know that even the inspired writers are on his side..... Modesty was evidently not Cadillac's strong point." 14

Although his treatment of the Jesuits was undignified, it did not necessarily indicate a serious lack of personal religious fervor. His encounters with the priests were more often personal than religious. Given to a free play of the imagination Lamothe-Cadillac showed no exception to this faculty in his writings. A prolific writer, he spoke in superlatives, whether of comparison, appreciation, or condemnation. Judging from the nature of frontier life (as explained by Turner) this was not surprising. "It produces antipathy to control, and particularly to any direct control." 15 Married in the church, those of his children who survived infancy were educated by nuns.

Lamothe-Cadillac had a forceful, persistent, and indomitable spirit which permeated his whole being and affected those whom he contacted. In his actions he exerted a positive influence whether for good or bad. Venturesome people were encouraged to follow him. With keen foresight he envisioned what was to come; with self-confidence and courage he laid

his plans. The founder of Detroit ranks high among those pioneers of the West who blazed a trail for the colonization of the Mississippi Valley.

16. In making the journey to Detroit for the first time the boats carried provisions for only three months en route.
Chapter IX
LAMOTHE-CADILLAC AND THE HISTORIANS

This chapter lists the histories and the historical material that deal with Lamothe-Cadillac. The reasons why contemporaries and later historians have included him in their writings will be expanded together with the extent of their writings. The contributions of these historians will be evaluated, and the materials allocated as far as is possible to the present writer.

It is the good fortune of the student of Lamothe-Cadillac that many records written by, about, or to him have been translated and printed. Some individuals and groups who have come into possession of his manuscripts have had them translated and printed in state historical society publications, journals, archive reports, and other books which are more easily obtained and consulted than separate manuscripts ordinarily are.

His place in French colonial history ensured Lamothe-Cadillac a frequent mention in official accounts and his personality was such that he made himself felt at all times. Although his contemporaries seem to have left no real evaluation of this personality there are remarks found in Lamothe-Cadillac documents which force us to conclude he was a strong character. Moreover, the career of the man caused him to become associated with the major events recorded at the time. The liquor problem, the founding of Detroit, the Indian uprisings, the establishment of Louisiana,
these controversial issues occasioned official and non-official communica-
tion, and Lamothe-Cadillac was involved in all these events.

A spirited personality, he caused associates to feel his presence
whether favorably or not. Critical, aggressive, outspoken in his opinions,
often in the center of important happenings, Lamothe-Cadillac was never-con-
tent with presenting his grievances to lower tribunals but insisted upon
bringing them to the highest authorities of old and New France.

His principal disagreements were with two groups which have historical
interest at any period---the commercial and the religious. The com-
mercial group in the Canadian story was the Compagnie du Canada, and the
religious group was the Jesuit order. The members of the Compagnie du
Canada were the financial rulers of New France. When Detroit was first
established the Compagnie was given charge of trade and Lamothe-Cadillac
soon came into conflict with its leaders. So too in Louisiana, Crozat
was interested in establishing trade relations with Mexico, while Lamothe-
Cadillac had his own commercial interests and went exploring for mines. 1
In regard to the Jesuits the problem of spiritual control of the Indians
caused trouble. The priests saw that the Indians suffered ill-effects
from the use of brandy; however, the commandant did nothing to prevent
them from drinking it. Lamothe-Cadillac did not like the Jesuits, but he
realized that they had control over the Indians of the northern lakes
region. They had dealt with them for some time, and knew the language and

1. Cf: Jean Delanglez, S.J., The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-
1763, 68-9.
customs of the Indians. On this matter Lamothe-Cadillac engaged in extensive correspondence, chiefly with Fathers Marest and Carheil. Nor was the recall of Father Vaillant from Fort Pontchartrain taken without criticism.

Manuscript material on Lamothe-Cadillac is abundant. The old Notarial Records at Montreal 2 contain domestic records and a few items on personal property matters. In general, the manuscripts are in the Archives Nationales of Paris, although the Library of Congress now has photostats of the Paris manuscripts. Copies are in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, the New York Colonial Society Archives, the Mississippi Provincial Archives, and the Jesuit Archives at Montreal.

Pierre Margry obtained the Lamothe-Cadillac records from the Department of the Marine and published them. 3 The Burton Collection has specialized in collecting Lamothe-Cadillac manuscripts, translating them, printing them, and allowing students to use them. Except for efforts by the founder of the collection, Clarence Monroe Burton, there has been little attempt to assemble these materials into a thorough and complete story of Lamothe-Cadillac. 4 Some duplications in the printing of records

2. They are in the possession of the Canadian government.
3. Pierre Margry, Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais, V
4. Milo Milton Quaife, the present librarian in charge of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, wrote that all the printed material on Lamothe-Cadillac is available in Chicago libraries, especially the Chicago Historical Society and the Newberry Library. Since most of the Lamothe-Cadillac manuscripts in America are printed after they are purchased it is convenient for the historian to obtain material about him.
have been issued by different groups. For example, matters of common interest to the history of New York 5 and Michigan 6 are found in the historical collections of both states.

Volumes XXXIII, and XXXIV to page 305, of the Michigan collections have been devoted to the printing of Lamothe-Cadillac manuscripts and are known as the "Cadillac Papers" (CP). Many of the records printed in the "Cadillac Papers" cannot be found elsewhere in print. Here, as well as in Margry, are found the letters between Lamothe-Cadillac and the Jesuits of Michilimackinac written at the time when Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit was established (1701).

Similar to Margry and the "Cadillac Papers" the Jesuit Relations 7 contain some of the correspondence between the priests at Michilimackinac and Lamothe-Cadillac at Detroit. These letters have been translated and printed in many historical collections. The chief occasions for his correspondence with the Jesuits were over the liquor question and the location of Indian settlements.

Margry used the archives of the Ministère of the Marine at Paris. He dealt chiefly with the objections of Callières to the establishment of new forts and his preference for rebuilding the old posts of New France. The

5. NYCD, IV, IX, X, XIV
7. Jesuit Relations, volumes 65, 66, 67, 68
things said and done at the assembly (which attempted to solve the problem presented by the governor-general) were also included in his work. 8 At the beginning of his section on Lamothe-Cadillac Margry wrote a long essay on the American Indian, his portrait, nations, traditions, weapons, and the difficulties that the white people had with him. The formation of the Compagnie du Canada and some complicated dealings with the Indians over the killing of Father De L'Halle were not treated in a manner commensurate with the material available. Margry carried his work on Lamothe-Cadillac as far as 1706 when Louis XIV wrote of his surprise at hearing that the priests of Michilimackinac had abandoned their mission. 9 With the possible exception of verbatim accounts of the speeches at the assembly called by Callieres, the material in the work of Margry may be found elsewhere in print.

The New York Colonial Documents tell the history of the state of New York from its earliest days. Trade on the Great Lakes was important to both New York and Detroit, consequently some documents have value common to both places. Accounts of the dealings of the Compagnie du Canada and other widespread organizations in the New World have been printed therein.

Lamothe-Cadillac did not write letters from Detroit frequently because the convoy left there but twice a year. In the fashion of the day

8. Margry, V, 75-205
9. Ibid., V, 345; from Versailles, June 9, 1706
the letters he did write were very long and detailed with a summary at the end of each. Life in an undeveloped land was different from that in France with its centuries of growth and culture. Those people in Europe who received letters from the new continent sometimes thought them fictional. Especially in the case of Lamothe-Cadillac did his vivid imagination and fluent style add color so that his writings read like poetic literature.

The contemporaries writing of Lamothe-Cadillac may be divided into three groups. The first is composed of those who ordinarily tried to further his cause—Frontenac, Louis XIV, and Ramezay. The second is formed by those who frequently opposed him—Vaudreuil, Raudot, Aigremont, Bienville, and Duclos. The last group includes men who had no special feeling for or against him, but agreed or disagreed with him according to their judgment in each instance—Pontchartrain, Callièrès, the Jesuits (especially Fathers Carheil and Marest), and Crozat.

Frontenac and Lamothe-Cadillac had a meeting of minds on two subjects. They both disliked the Jesuits, and the legislation prohibiting profitable trade in beaver-skins with the concomitant traffic in brandy. From Montreal Lamothe-Cadillac wrote to Pontchartrain that Frontenac had consented to have two plays of the Molière type enacted for the people. He said that they would probably cause a conflict with the ecclesiastical

10. Frontenac was governor-general of New France from 1672-1682, and again from 1689-1698, at which time he died.
authorities; the conflict came just as predicted. 11 Shortly afterwards Lamothe-Cadillac was sent out to Michilimackinac through the recommendation of Frontenac. 12 When he had commanded there but a few years Frontenac again recommended his interests to Pontchartrain, the French Ministère of the Marine and of the Colonies, as a man whose project was deserving of attention. 13 Lamothe-Cadillac then went to France and won the approbation of Pontchartrain for the plan to establish a post on "the strait" (Detroit).

Signing petitions presented through Pontchartrain, 14 Louis XIV aided in solving the problems of Lamothe-Cadillac. In spite of the complaints made by Vaudreuil, the unfavorable report of Aigremont, (and the failure of the Louisiana project) the king allowed him to retain honorable appointments in France and her colonies. (Louis XIV died in 1713).

Ramezay was interim-governor of New France during the year that Vaudreuil was called back to France, 1704-5. 15 He asserted that the Jesuits exerted the greatest power in the New World. Previously Lamothe-Cadillac had charged the Jesuits with operating underhandedly the Compagnie du Canada when difficulty had arisen with Tonty and two agents

11. CP, XXXIII, 54-71
12. CP, XXXIII, 72, October 25, 1694
13. CP, XXXIII, 96, October 10, 1698
14. Louis Phélypeaux, Count du Pontchartrain, was Ministère of the Marine and of the Colonies from November 7, 1690 until September 6, 1699; his son Jérôme followed him in the office immediately and served there until September 10, 1715. The greater part of the dealings of Lamothe-Cadillac was with Jérôme.
15. For more about Claude de Ramezay consult Louis Le Jeune, Dictionnaire Général du Canada, Ottawa, 1931
over the seizure of furs. So Ramezay spoke as the commandant had when he said the Jesuits used their influence at court to obtain the fulfillment of their wishes, and were so powerful that their approval was necessary before a particular order could be carried out officially. Although their direct correspondence was meager, Ramezay and Lamothe-Cadillac had a similar outlook.

Callières tried to serve in his position as governor-general (1698-1703) according to the best interests of the New World, but Lamothe-Cadillac felt that Callières was not his friend. In a letter of May 30, 1702 Lamothe-Cadillac wrote to Father Marest that Callières had advised him to remain on good terms with the Jesuits. Callières and Beauharnois had written the king that Detroit was too expensive to maintain; the commandant lauded the fort at Detroit as a grand success with possibilities of an unlimited nature. To straighten out the matter Louis ordered Callières to assemble Lamothe-Cadillac and several important colonists to discuss the merits and defects of the post, to sign a report, and to send it to His Majesty who would decide finally whether the project was to remain or to be abandoned.

In October of 1701 the Compagnie du Canada had been given charge of trade at Forts Detroit and Frontenac, with the right to take possession of the posts at once. The right to trade in furs was granted "to the exclusion

16. CP, XXXIII, 195, 204
17. NYC, IX, 742
of all the other inhabitants of the said country during and as long as it may please his said Majesty." 18 The governor-general, intendant, and the directors for the posts signed the agreement. Before long conflict arose between this trade group and the commandant at Detroit. Lamothe-Cadillac listed the many abuses suffered at the hands of the Compagnie, and had his cause presented to the court in France. 19

In the meantime the Marquis de Vaudreuil had become governor-general of New France. Let the words of Aigremont describe one person's feelings towards him: "For the governor-general (Vaudreuil) had this good quality that, when he has once begun to hate anyone, it is for his whole life, and always more and more. The hatred he has for M. de Ramezay, for example, has reached a height at which it is easy to see that he is seeking every means of ruining him." 20 Political and economic rivalry increased generally during his term. The directors for the Compagnie du Canada were related to the wife of Vaudreuil; the Lotbinière and other families maintained financial interests in the fur trade. Vaudreuil has left us many letters and official communications concerning Lamothe-Cadillac. Volume X of the New York Colonial Documents, and volumes XXXIII and XXXIV of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections are especially worth consulting for his dealings with Lamothe-Cadillac. In his letters to the Ministère of the Marine Vaudreuil recommended subduing the fort at Detroit.

18. CP, XXXIV, 223
19. CP, XXXIII, 210, ff.
20. From Quebec, October 18, 1710; CP, XXXIII, 490
On September 25, 1705 Lamothe-Cadillac, as commandant, was granted the trading rights at his fort. Although Vaudreuil had written frequently to Pontchartrain, Lamothe-Cadillac won his own case through the intercession of Pontchartrain, the man who had made himself patron of Detroit Pontchartrain. Lamothe-Cadillac was looking after his own interests and fortune in America.

Jacques Raudot, 21 Intendant of New France, was also associated with the Compagnie du Canada, but he did not get along with Vaudreuil. The Raudots wrote to Pontchartrain of their investigation of the supposedly illicit trade in beaverskins which was being carried on by the Jesuits. 22 Finding that the hired men of the priests brought goods on their own initiative and traded them for personal profit, the Raudots insisted that the Jesuits had tried unsuccessfully to prevent these actions. 23 Most of the other correspondence of the Raudots that concerned Lamothe-Cadillac was in official reports of Vaudreuil which required their signatures.

In 1706 a difficulty arose resulting in the death of Father De L'Halle. Vaudreuil was instructed to insist upon proper satisfaction, and to reach an understanding with the commandant at Detroit in order that his

21. Jacques Raudot and Antoine Raudot were father and son who worked together signing their letters "Raudot and Raudot." See Le Jeune, II, 502-5.

22. See Jean Delanglez, Frontenac and the Jesuits. The chapter on the "Trade of the Jesuits", 133-270, thoroughly analyzes the origins and solution of this oft-repeated charge.

23. CP, XXXIII, 247, 249
authority there might not be lessened. 24 In October, 1707, Lamothe-Cadillac complained that Vaudreuil had disobeyed orders by putting off the Indian episode indefinitely in order that the responsibility might not fall on his own shoulders. In the same month Vaudreuil wrote to Pontchartrain that Lamothe-Cadillac was "far too clever a man not to have taken all possible precautions for securing Le Pesant, if he had not wished to let him escape." 25 Before a solution was arrived at there were many letters written by and to the parties concerned—Vaudreuil, Lamothe-Cadillac, Pontchartrain, and the Indians.

Repeated requests that additional soldiers be sent to his fort had not availed Lamothe-Cadillac. In March, 1706, Beaumanois and Vaudreuil were commanded to dispatch soldiers to the fort. It took one year for them to do so, and then they sent fewer soldiers than the order called for. Pontchartrain warned Vaudreuil to be more careful in executing the royal orders in the future if he wished to keep his official appointment. 26

In 1707 Louis appointed an aide to determine conditions at Detroit and to evaluate its utility to the crown, because Lamothe-Cadillac "writes in all his letters that he does not receive from said Sieurs de Vaudreuil and Raudot the aid which they have been ordered to furnish him." 27 Since

24. NYCD, IX, 804-5; June 30, 1707
25. CP, XXXIII, 355
26. NYCD, IX, 777
27. NYCD, IX, 806; June 30, 1707; Instructions to Aigremont from Versailles.
the commandant had blamed the governor-general and the intendant for poor conditions at the fort Aigremont was sent out to observe conditions, interview the commandant, and write an unbiased report. 28

As sub-delegate of Raudot, M. de Clerambaut d'Aigremont officially investigated conditions at Detroit, the nature of the land, and the people. In his account Aigremont explained that the French disliked the high prices and rents, and suggested that England was better able to profit from the French position. He recommended that Michilimackinac be maintained since it was fortified by nature and would not need to be defended by soldiers. Consequently the soldiers were withdrawn from Fort Pontchartrain. The order had said that it would be wasteful to maintain the few soldiers there since they would be a mere handful should the Indians or English launch a real attack.

A third type of historian of Lamothe-Cadillac includes those who judged his actions according to the particular situation that presented itself. The Jesuits do not seem to have been enemies of Lamothe-Cadillac according to the evidence in the Jesuit Relations, the "Cadillac Papers", and other sources where their documents are found. They did, however, disapprove of the manner in which he neglected the Indians to whom they were teaching the faith. Because the priests recognized the power of Lamothe-Cadillac they asked him to stop the distribution of intoxicants

28. NYCD, IX, 806
among the Indians in order to prevent the abuses which followed from the use of the liquor. Boucherville, an officer at Detroit, said there was an extensive trade in brandy with the savages, and that control of the sale of brandy was delegated to an officer at the fort. 29 Let Lamothe-Cadillac express his own attitude towards the Jesuits as recorded in regard to the advice of Pontchartrain that he be more friendly with these priests.

"I wish it too; but, as the quarrel dates from the time of the late Comte de Frontenac, and as they have very good memories, I must not think that they would forget the past, whatever I might do to attain that end." 30

The author could find no other admission written by Lamothe-Cadillac explaining this attitude. In spite of the conflict on the brandy question the Jesuits expressed sincere wishes for the success of Fort Pontchartrain, not as a mere formality but in letters written expressly for that purpose. 31

As Ministère of the Marine and of the Colonies, Pontchartrain wrote to many men in the service of the king;—governor-generals, aides, commandants, intendants. Lamothe-Cadillac constantly petitioned Pontchartrain for aid. The Ministère labored over the lengthy petitions and complaints, and presented pleas to the cabinet. Still Pontchartrain appreciated the faults of Lamothe-Cadillac. On one occasion he was warned to be

29. CP, XXXIII, 346

30. CP, XXXIII, 148; September 25, 1702

31. See especially Fathers Marest, Enjalran, and Germain.
more exact in his accounts of the colony, and not to treat his reports as a romance. A note on the margin of another report was "he lies like a Gascon." 32 When Aigremont was sent out to determine just what was the matter at Fort Pontchartrain, Pontchartrain reprimanded him for insufficient investigation, and for failing to confer with Lamothe-Cadillac about the conditions he had been sent out to observe.

In the Louisiana story the reports to Pontchartrain were very contradictory. 33 Duclos wrote of the wonderful possibilities for developing the land, and of the self-sufficiency of the place. Bienville was anxious to become governor and reminded Pontchartrain that he felt he had earned that honor. Lamothe-Cadillac said that the country was a big disappointment, highly over-estimated, and larger supplies of money and soldiers were needed just to maintain the fort in its present condition. Because Bienville was lieutenant del roi he came into conflict with the governor. Finally, Bienville was sent to the Natchez to set up a fort which would hold back the Carolinian advancement into Louisiana.

The governor accused the commissary Duclos, and Bienville, of failing to cooperate with him. He listed his needs—chiefly money and soldiers. Contrarily Duclos wrote that the land there was one of the most fertile spots in the New World. Crozat became disgusted with the

32. CP, XXXIII, 391; gasconnade means boaster.

33. See Henri Gravier, 10-25; Pierre Heinrich, LVII-LXXX; Jean Delanglez, The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 66-71; MPA, II, 1-225
Recalling Duclos and Lamothe-Cadillac he gave up his trade monopoly in Louisiana to the Compagnie d'Occident (1717).

Of Lamothe-Cadillac correspondence after his departure from Louisiana there is little to be said. He had spent some years writing and pleading for his claims on the Detroit property he had held as commandant. The crown decreed that neither his concessions nor those of his children should hold because they were being used only for fur-trading with the Indians. 34

One of the first references to Lamothe-Cadillac written in a chronological history was made in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Le Page du Pratz mentioned him in connection with the journey of St. Denis to Mexico. Accurately enough he wrote that one of the chief concerns of Lamothe-Cadillac was the signing of a treaty with the Spaniards. When the St. Denis expedition returned to Louisiana in 1719 Lamothe-Cadillac had been recalled, and Du Pratz wrote that he had died. 35

Amos Stoddard 36 also wrote a good account of Louisiana and of the Saint Denis affair. In a manner similar to Du Pratz he wrote that by 1717 "La Motte likewise died." 37 The removal of Lamothe-Cadillac to France

34. CP, XXXIII, 576
35. Du Pratz, 12
36. Amos Stoddard, Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana, Philadelphia, 1812.
37. Ibid, 35
had caused these historians to believe he had died, because their concern
was not with individual characters but with Louisiana as a whole. Upon
Saint Denis' return a new governor held office, thus it was assumed Lamothe-
Cadillac had died.

Lanman, 38 Farmer, 39 Sheldon, and Gayarré 40 were some of the
earlier writers who attempted to attach importance to the name of Lamothe-
Cadillac. In writing their respective histories they endeavored to give
him his proper place. Lanman was especially accurate; his references are
quite correct for a book published when little of the correspondence
was available.

In 1854 Gayarré painted an imaginary picture of the personality and
physique of Lamothe-Cadillac. If the description bears truth in fact it
does so accidentally for the author does not pretend to base it entirely
on evidence. 41 In a way he wrote his own story; if a particular phase of
history lacked interest that interest was added. In dealing with the
Louisiana days of Lamothe-Cadillac Gayarré ignored his previous endeavors
in New France, saying he had held no position of importance before 1713.

38. J. H. Lanman, History of Michigan, New York, 1839
39. Silas Farmer, History of Detroit and Michigan, 1884
40. Gayarré, I
41. Ibid., I, 186, "I hope I shall be forgiven for having slightly deviated
    from historical truth in the preceding pages with regard to particu-
    lars which I deemed of no importance."
"But twenty years had elapsed and at their expiration he found himself no better than a lieutenant colonel. To increase his vexation, he had no other issue by his marriage than a daughter, now 18 years of age." 42 Gayarre' set out with a preconceived, uncomplimentary notion; his quasi-authentic story was not seeking the truth but presenting a piece of poetic literature. Still the work of Gayarre' is important in the historiography of Lamothe-Cadillac. The good he unthinkingly accomplished outweighed the mistakes he made. He drew the man out from his historical period and presented him as an individual who lived and influenced others as more than a mere incident in historical events of greater magnitude.

Francis Xavier Martin recorded the founding of Louisiana by Iberville, including the Saint Denis affair, and a fairly detailed description of conditions during the regime of Crozat. The references to Lamothe-Cadillac were as phases or incidents in the history of Louisiana... Concise accounts of certain phases of the life of Lamothe-Cadillac were included in the works of John Gilmary Shea. 43 As was true in the case of other writers he had but a minor part in these stories.

The references of Campbell to Lamothe-Cadillac were made with care. 44

42. Lamothe-Cadillac had at least thirteen children some of whom died in infancy or childhood. In order of their birth they were: Judith, Magdelene, Anthony, James, Peter, Mary Anne, Mary Theresa, John, Mary Agatha, Francis, René, Joseph, and one whose baptismal record was burned in the fire of 1703. CP, XXXIV, 303-4


44. J. V. Campbell, Outlines of the Political History of Michigan, Detroit, 1876.
His work contained one of the most complete studies until that time, and has value today even in the face of new evidence.

Grace King contributed a volume on Bienville to the *Makers of America* series. She included the establishment of Louisiana, the Le Moyne brothers, and disputes centering around the lower Mississippi; these incidents necessarily included Lamothe-Cadillac. Since her time enough material in the Mississippi Provincial Archives had been uncovered to render King's references to him, and even to Bienville, fragmentary.

Generally speaking Kellogg 45 wrote well on her subject; her references to the Jesuits were authentic. Even though a non-Catholic her work is unprejudiced; the Jesuit influence on morality was brought out together with their careful recording of the events.

The incomplete biography, *Cadillac* (Agnes Laut) might be compared with the work of Gayarre. Although she did not admit to exaggerating or changing the truth her fragmentary work is not accurate. Basing a long discussion of the early years of Lamothe-Cadillac on questionable sources her work is neither complete nor balanced. The book was written in a semi-popular style intended for enjoyable reading. Although it is not annotated the introduction does list sources from whence materials were drawn.

Elliott published his articles in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections, in the United States Historical Magazine, and in the American Catholic Quarterly Review. As a whole he dealt with missioners to the Detroit and Mississippi regions. Explanations of geographical locations and of genealogy were carefully treated although he devoted no article, as such, to Lamothe-Cadillac.

The documents of the Burton Collection were put at the disposal of Ross and Catlin. Their work indicates a more historical attitude than Burton had when he used the same materials. Interpretations of Lamothe-Cadillac manuscripts show that Ross and Catlin were not as prejudiced as Burton about religious issues.

Milo Milton Quaife, as present librarian (1940) in charge of the Burton Collection, is familiar with Lamothe-Cadillac lore. Still, with the exception of a short obituary notice 46 which he wrote when Burton died, Quaife has not undertaken to publish an analysis of the documents over which he has charge.

Pierre Margry and Clarence Monroe Burton are names commonly associated with Lamothe-Cadillac research. In a way the two men engaged in the same type of historical interpretation. Both had considerable means of recourse to documents; both quoted manuscripts in a manner that recent

46. M. M. Quaife, "Personal", American Historical Review, January, 1933, 391
historians have shown to be not thoroughly scholarly.

In fulfilling a resolution of his youth Burton purchased an average of a book a day; in time his collection centered around the colonial period of middle United States. That he was an historian is a mistaken impression; he was a collector of historical data. In only one Lamothe-Cadillac article did Burton annotate his writings; 47 otherwise he wrote as an authority without giving the reader an opportunity to investigate the sources for his statements.

The work of Pierre Margry on the French discoveries in the New World has recently been subjected to severe criticism. Two editions of this work were published in the year 1883 at Paris, and the same plate was used for both editions. The language in each case was French. The one which came to be known as "the French edition" was published for the use of the French people. The other, which acquired the name of "the American edition", was intended for American readers. The only difference between the two lies in the fact that the introduction was omitted from each volume of the "American edition". But it is not my purpose to solve the problem of the two editions. My concern is with the introduction to volume V which contains a long passage devoted to the life of Lamothe-Cadillac. A complete confutation of this work would require access to the documents of the Archives Nationales of Paris.

Father Jean Delanglez of Loyola University has studied the Jesuits and their relations with Frontenac, and his findings are important for parts of this thesis. His treatment of the French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana is one of the few thorough investigations published on that phase of American history.
Appendix I

CLARENCE MONROE BURTON

Milo Milton Quaife, librarian in charge of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, says no adequate account of its founder exists in print. Yet there is scattered evidence on the life of Clarence Monroe Burton. The son of Charles S. Burton, he was born in Sierra County, California, on November 18, 1853. Brought to Michigan at the age of two he attended the public schools in Hastings, and in 1869 matriculated in the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. Having received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1874, Burton had to wait a few months before he attained legal age permitting him to take the state bar examinations. Licensed to practice law on November 19, 1874 he entered the offices of Ward and Palmer. The firm specialized in loans on real estate securities, and Burton examined land titles connected therewith. In time he fell away from law practice and concentrated on abstracts. By 1883 he was a partner in the firm; the next year the Burton Abstract and Title Company was established when he bought out the other interests on borrowed money.

When graduating from the University of Michigan Burton had resolved to buy a book a day for the remainder of his life. The Burton Historical Collection is the result of that youthful dream. The library is concerned with books, manuscripts and private papers relative to northwestern and eastern United States and Canada, but especially with the origins of the Northwest in the history of the straits. There is not much
material on the period after the Civil War. There are complete files of
most of the old Detroit newspapers, and of the various manuscripts of such
leaders as Lamothe-Cadillac and other French commandants. Some British
documents explain the growth of the territories of the west into states
of the United States. The collection "numbers some 65,000 catalogued books
and pamphlets, several hundred bound volumes of newspapers, hundreds of
scrapbooks, 3,000 maps, and 9,000 prints. It includes one of the largest
genealogical libraries in the country, and scores of thousands of manu­
scripts." 1

His oldest child, Mary Agnes, 2 collaborated with Burton in some
historical researches. In March, 1914 the Burtons presented their col­
lection, together with their home and the library buildings, to the Detroit
Public Library Commission. The name of Burton is "perpetually" to be
associated in some form with the title of the collection. The Commission
is to regularly and systematically obtain and preserve source material;
costly books are not sought. An endowment fund puts newly discovered
primary material within the reach of purchase. The library is open for
reference, but not the lending of books.

Acting as consulting librarian until the time of his death (October 28,
1932) Mr. Burton continued to contribute to the collection. In a brief
obituary notice Milo M. Quaife concisely stated the contribution of

1. Quaife, "Personal", 391

2. Burton married three times, having six daughters and three sons in all.
Clarence M. Burton to history. "He made the pursuit of history his life-
time avocation and in this connection became one of America's notable
collectors. The zeal he displayed as a collector was fairly matched by
his generosity in sharing his treasures with others."  

Perhaps no one is more familiar with Burton and his accomplishments
than Quaife. Yet he was careful in his evaluation of Burton's contribution
to history. It is important to notice that the words worth pointing out in
the above quotation are "avocation" and "collector". That Burton was an
historian is doubtful. He assiduously collected available material, and, in
some cases, wrote about that material; in regard to Lamothe-Cadillac it
seems doubtful that his accounts were accurate. For example, Burton
devoted a great deal of space to giving his opinion of the merits of the
Jesuits and to the "Joke on the Jesuit". Father Vaillant had not left
Detroit because "This priest had been disappointed in not having the
exclusive charge of the religious affairs of the colony", 4 but because
his religious superior at Quebec had ordered his return.

_In the Footsteps of Cadillac_, Father Enjalran was given as "the only
Jesuit who was friendly to Lamothe-Cadillac." 5 Fathers Germain and Marest,
who expressed their wishes for the success of his new undertaking when
Detroit was set up, were not mentioned.

3. Quaife, "Personal", 391
5. Burton, _In the Footsteps of Cadillac_, 6
As further evidence of his bigotry regarding religious issues, let me quote the opinion of Burton on the Jesuits—obviously only opinion although it was not written as such. "The Jesuits were meddlesome and never to be trusted—Their great power, at first directed wholly for good, had come to be used almost exclusively for political purposes, and their religious calling was used as a cloak to hide their vast political authority...Even Cadillac feared them and preferred that others should make complaint of their evil doings rather than himself." 6 Burton continued that the Jesuits used the liquor question as an excuse since it was not the spiritual welfare of their flock that concerned them but that they refused to allow anyone "to have control over them or inspect their work." 7

Both Protestant and Catholic historians have lauded the self-denial of the Jesuit fathers. 8 "The presence of the Jesuits in the western country tended toward civilization...their presence acted as a restraint upon the lawless conduct of the French traders and voyageurs...For present-day historians the reports of these trained and educated observers are invaluable." 9 On a slightly different strain Cooley wrote, "Every company of adventurers had its priests, and the eagerness of the trader for gain was more than equaled by the self-sacrificing zeal of the missionary of the

6. Burton, Sketch of the Life, 9-10
7. Ibid., 10
8. Cf: Ross and Catlin, 16; Allen Johnson, 177-8 in Crusaders of New France
9. Kellogg, 177-8
cross...But nothing in the policy of the order favored colonization from Europe; the fathers had come into the wilderness as apostles to the Indians, and it was no part of their mission to people America from France. On the contrary, their mission was to bring the religion of the cross to the people by whom America was already possessed." 10

Although careful historians indicate sources by the use of footnotes Burton failed to utilize these methods. This form of accuracy is necessary at least in using newly discovered materials or in discussing controversial issues. The only work of Lamothe-Cadillac that Burton annotated was an article entitled "Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit, 1701-1710" published in volume XXIX of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections in 1899. (pp. 240-317)

Judging from the Forewards to his writings it would seem that Burton wished to be truthful even if his prejudices did come out. But he did a praiseworthy job as a collector of historical data, not as an historian. His use of data was neither accurate nor professional. A student who knows the feelings and prejudices of Burton can evaluate quite safely the different aspects of his printed material.

Appendix II

THE LE MOYNE FAMILY

Of all his contemporaries perhaps none were more envied by Lamothe-Cadillac than the ambitious, daring Le Moyne family. 1 Courageous and of courtly manners they made a dramatic group—and Lamothe-Cadillac loved things dramatic. The father, Charles, was born at Dieppe in 1626, and died at Villemarie, Canada, in 1685. In 1640 Charles and Jacques Le Moyne left Dieppe to be under the guardianship of an uncle in Canada. Upon his arrival in the New World Charles stayed with some Jesuit missioners to the Huron. There he learned the land, customs, and languages of the Indians; his early training and experience rendered him of untold value as guide and interpreter for the white men in years to come. In 1654 Charles married Catherine Thierry Primot by whom he had fourteen children—three girls and eleven boys. Ordinarily the boys were named for some town or famous place of Dieppe as a reminder of the father's birthplace. Of the eleven sons nine lived to see active service in New France, entering and reentering the life of Lamothe-Cadillac in various places and under many circumstances.

The third of these sons, Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, was acknowledged to be the leader. Seemingly capable of doing everything at once and still doing it well, Iberville entered naval service at an early

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1. Pierre Heinrich, 285-9. In speaking of "La famille Le Moyne" he said, "dont les membres Cevaiennt attacher leurs noms aux principaux époises de l'histoire du Canada et de la Louisiane sous la domination francaise".
In 1685 Forts Rupert and Monsonis at Hudson Bay were captured through his efforts; as a reward he was made captain of a ship of war in 1687 and was sent to Quebec. In 1689 he commanded Fort Saint Ann where the British were repulsed. In 1692, upon his return from France, he captured Fort Nelson, a British stronghold since 1683. It was there that his younger brother Chateauguay was killed before his twentieth birthday. (This Chateauguay is not to be confused with the youngest brother of the same name; this was the tenth child and the other was the fourteenth child). During the encounter Father Marest served as chaplain and historian.

Political conditions at the time were such that it was difficult to trust anyone or to be sure he would maintain the same policy on an issue for long. Those few who consistently held to one side of a question caused others to wonder about the motives for such actions. Concerning some plays produced in the winter of 1693 the brothers agreed with the Jesuits contrarily to Frontenac and Lamothe-Cadillac. Some say that Lamothe-Cadillac feared the Le Moynes might be seeking the position of governor for themselves, and it was through Governor Frontenac that he held hopes for achieving for himself and for France.

Iberville took the Newfoundland fisheries from the English; because of the demand for his services at Hudson Bay the English were back at the post in a year. Recapturing Fort Nelson, in 1697 he outwitted the
"Hampshire", while the "Dering" fled, and the "Hudson's Bay" was taken over after a difficult encounter. With three English ships against his one Iberville had taken possession of the English fur-bearing ship "Hampshire" when he became caught in an ice jam in the Hudson straits. Raising an English flag he discouraged the English from coming aboard his ship; the ice jam cleared and freed the French without allowing their trick to be found out. Several English villages were taken over until at last the campaign made the French commanders of the Bay and all its potentialities for wealth. The success of the Le Moyne brothers in the face of obstacles merited them steady advances in position in the army and navy.

Iberville insisted that the growth of New France was dependent upon the maintenance of forts, trading posts and colonies along the shores of the large bodies of water; he realized, as Lamothe-Cadillac did when he set up Detroit, that the present Great Lakes and the Mississippi River needed special fortification. By order of Louis XIV an expedition was made to explore the Colbert (Mississippi) River, and to set up a colony on its southern extremity. Along with his brothers Serigny, Bienville, and Chateauguay (the second) he was prominent in the beginnings of Louisiana. But Iberville became sick and died of fever in Havana, Cuba at the age of forty-five.

Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, the twelfth child, was

2. The brother Saint Hélène did the reconnoitering in these expeditions; Bienville was also active although he was not yet 17 years old.

3. July 9, 1706
born in Montreal on February 23, 1678, and died in France in 1767. He helped his brothers to set up Biloxi in May of 1699, and served at Louisiana in various capacities for forty years. Bienville was friendly to the Jesuits. During the period from 1704-25, when the Jesuits were not allowed to set up permanent missions at Louisiana, Bienville constantly tried to get permission for them to do so, since he felt they had a good influence on the colony.

The life of each of the Le Moyne brothers was equally adventurous and spirited. By 1715 they lost popularity due to their ambition for gaining wealth through trading with the natives.


5. For a more detailed account of the Le Moyne family, Cf.: French, Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida; King, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne Sieur de Bienville; Reed, The First Great Canadian, The Story of Pierre Le Moyne Sieur D'Iberville; Margry, vol. IV.

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