



Gazing Across the Divide: Dogs in the Colonial Canadian Context (Part 2. Part 1 appeared in vol 23, no. 3.)

By Denys Delâge, Université Laval, Québec

Dogs taste like the god Mars

"Whenever the Indians intend to go to war they feed the dogs, in readiness for their feasts, and sacrifice them, for they say that dogs taste like the god Mars, whom they call Ouskiriaguette, the violent god of war and the fury of arms."¹ Father Nicolas was correct in seeing an association between dogs and war, but his view was nonetheless colored by the European paradigm of warring kingdoms or states confronting each other with armies. In North America at the time, war was conducted somewhat like hunting, which was a form of predation in which animals were taken for the food, clothing and shelter that enabled a community to survive and prosper. The enemy was not viewed as human, but rather as game that was transformed into one's own flesh through ritual anthropophagy after becoming a captive whose position in society was for a while very much like the dog's.² All war is horribly cruel, but its form varies depending on the culture. The tactical role of Amerindian dogs in defending villages and pursuing the enemy has already been mentioned, but in this section, we will look at their symbolic function in warfare.

A solemn dog feast was always held before a group set out for war. The pot might contain other meat, such as bear or moose, and even beef or mutton in the case of feasts organized by the French for their allies. At this feast, a cooked dog head was presented to each warrior, so that he might prepare to face his "dogs of enemies," while at the same time assimilating the bravery of the dog, which would sooner be torn to pieces than abandon its master. In Louisiana, Amerindians ate dog meat to follow their war chieftains with the loyalty of a dog, as well as venison to gain the agility of a deer, while they shunned beef (bison) because it made one heavy and fish because it made one weak.³

While such customs were widespread among the Iroquoians and most of the Algonquians, they were not practiced by all these peoples or by their neighbors. For the Hurons, dog meat was a rare delicacy, and the Montagnais considered it shameful.⁴ When warriors from certain groups ran about villages catching dogs for a feast, the Illinois women kept the doors of their dwellings closed so that their

dogs might be spared.⁵ Nicolas Perrot wrote that the Sioux were not anthropophagous, since they ate neither dogs nor humans; this is an indication of the similarity between the two as meat and shows that eating dog could have been a metaphor for eating humans.⁶ The barking of a dog was considered an omen of war, and this suggests a supernatural dimension, for its role as a sentinel went beyond sensing danger in its immediate surroundings. Exceptional barking was thought to communicate terror and panic to warriors.⁷

Dogs were also used to avoid conflicts; if a warrior was behaving a way that might trigger a war that the community considered undesirable, a dog was sometimes thrown to him so that he could rip it to pieces, venting his anger on it rather than on the enemy.⁸ If a warrior had a nightmare of being captured and tortured, he could escape this fate by carrying out an imitation of torture on a dog, knocked senseless and then burned like a captive and eaten like one.⁹ In Louisiana, killing the enemy's dog was considered the same as killing the enemy as long as "the skin of the dog's head was brought back...as if it were an enemy's scalp."¹⁰ In Louisiana as well, a British commander and some of his men were put to death "by the savages, who shoved dirt in his mouth, saying to him: dog, since you crave earth, eat your fill."¹¹ A hideous - and unfortunately not exceptional - practice consisted of slitting the belly of a pregnant woman and throwing the fetus to the dogs.¹² Finally, it is known that the French and British colonial authorities offered bounties for enemy scalps taken by their Amerindian allies; in Louisiana, these bounties took the form of presents that included dog hair blankets. It must have been the same in Canada, since we know that the Amerindians there also had such blankets.¹³

When a captive underwent torture in the midst of the villagers, he was offered dog meat and accepted it. Perhaps this was meant to ensure his fate.¹⁴ In the end, the captive's remains were thrown into a lake or left in a field to be eaten by ravens and dogs, while his head was given to "the toughest" of the warriors, a custom that sometimes inspired the other villagers with horror. Perhaps the head of a captive completed a cycle that began with the head of a dog being eaten before a war expedition.¹⁵ But, in light of

a hypothesis put forward by Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, the most significant aspect of this practice was not that the captive was put to death but rather made to disintegrate into bits just as Dog was torn to bits and thrown into the water, onto the land and into the air by the giant in the Chipewyan myth.¹⁶ The captive eats dog and is eaten by dogs. Both captive and dog are boiled and eaten.¹⁷ Certain captives, however, escaped death even though they suffered torture. In agricultural societies like that of the Iroquois, especially after their populations plummeted as a result of epidemics, captives were kept as slaves; if they were slain, they were no more than dead dogs.¹⁸ Sometimes captives were adopted and became integrated with their new community. This was also the case for the children of slaves who had never been freed. In a society that views animals and humans as sharing the same spiritual essence, distinguished only by their outward forms, what kind of differences were there between peoples that were not linked by alliances? Was it possible that there were different species of humans just as there were different species of animals, some predators and others prey?

Bound, hung and boiled

Leaving the horrors of war and the place of the dog in warring societies, we will now look at the dog's place in society as a whole, as mirrored in the rituals that marked the Amerindians' lives. European observers left many accounts of dogs being sacrificed: they were often put to death and then hung from tall poles, or cooked; they might be drowned, or bound and offered to the sun. These sacrifices were carried out for all kinds of occasions – illnesses, deaths, the feast of the dead, preparing to go through dangerous rapids and celebrating the new year. Once again, we turn to the observations of Father Louis Nicolas: "many dogs are hung from tall poles...that are peeled from bottom to top, to sacrifice them to Kiigouké, the god of day, who is the sun, and one can sometimes see more than 20 or 30 at the same place."¹⁹ The quantity of dogs sacrificed is significant, as is the peeled pole, for it is a metonymic reminder of the founding hero's great walking stick, used to trace lakes and rivers after he arrived to put the world in order, thus dislodging Dog from his position, before retiring to the sun. In normal times, the number of dogs left hanging "until they rotted"²⁰ would have been considerably less; there might have been one or two or three outside a dwelling where someone was sick.²¹ But when a great epidemic struck, as it did at Kaskaskia in 1712, the survivors "killed as many as forty dogs, which they carried on the tops of poles while singing, dancing, and assuming a thousand absurd postures. The mortality did not cease on account of all these sacrifices."²² Then doubt arose among these unfortunate people, for we now know that they were victims of one of the many European epidemics that struck them far more severely than it did Europeans, who were better immunized, having developed antibodies as a result of natural selection over the course of thousands of years of exposure to such diseases. At the time, no one understood what was happening, for it was hardly a century ago that science began to decipher these phenomena. The Amerindians and French colonists, each in their own way, explained illness as being caused by supernatural forces. Noticing that the French experienced less mortality than

they did, the Illinois of Kaskaskia followed the logic of shamanism and implored the Manitou of the French to take pity on them. This did not mean that they renounced their own Manitou, but they had to accept what seemed evident to them – that the Manitou of the French was stronger than theirs.

The chief of the Charlatans imagined that their *Manitou*, more helpless than the Manitou of the French, was compelled to yield to it. In this belief he went around the fort many times, crying with all his might: "we are dead; gently, oh *Manitou* of the French, strike gently, do not kill us all." Then, addressing the missionary: "cease, good *Manitou*, let us live, thou hast life and death in thy coffers; keep death, give life." The Missionary pacified him and promised to take still more care of the sick than he had done up to that time; but not withstanding the care he gave them, more than half the village perished.²³

Dogs were also hung from tall poles to appease the thunder, or Thunder Bird, and before setting off on a long difficult journey or shooting rapids and falls in canoes. It was customary to break the dogs' skulls beforehand, but dogs were sometimes suspended alive by their hind legs, so that the enraged howls of the dying animal would chase away evil spirits. Exceptionally, wild animals were used for the same purpose. The poles were decorated with wampum necklaces, corncobs, scraped moose hide,²⁴ deerskin and deerskin, blankets and garters.²⁵ All these items probably had a mythological connotation. Some of them, like the wampum necklaces and belts (both rare and sacred), were precious because they expressed the reconciliation and union of humans living in their society. For the Iroquois in particular, wampum was always a symbol of alliance in both diplomacy and myth. The assemblage of articles was a reminder of how the flesh of the primordial dog was scattered on the earth to produce food in the form of animals and, for the Iroquoian agriculturalists, cultivated plants as well. The blankets, garters and other items handcrafted by women also had meaning, since, according to one observer, they have "nothing worth much when it comes to sacrificing and all this remains a complete loss, for a Savage would not dare touch a sacrifice."²⁶

This quotation is informative with respect to the involvement of the women, who offered their finest handiwork with the dog, but it also reveals the economism of the observer, who was probably a layperson, seeing only wastefulness in such rites.

Another type of dog sacrifice was also practiced. To ward off water-related dangers, the animal, its muzzle and legs bound and a stone around its neck, was tossed into a river or lake. This offering was intended to calm storms, prevent canoes from breaking on rocks, and appease the Manitou of the deep so that he would stop outbreaks of measles, provide good fishing and appeal to Mishi-Peshu, the huge underwater panther who could produce storms with

his fins. This offering was generally accompanied by tobacco and occasionally by food and cooking pots.²⁷

No feast was complete without dog meat, although it might be accompanied by other meat. It was generally boiled in a pot, but could also be roasted, perhaps when a specific spirit was being evoked.²⁸ The dog was associated, in the form of sacrifices and gifts, with dreams and wishes. An Algonquin chief by the name of *8mosolisc8chie*²⁹ (the Frog) changed religions when he was ill, renouncing Christian prayers for recovery, and instead sought a cure through the satisfaction of three desires: 1) a dog to which the name of some person of importance should be given, 2) an adopted son called *8isantay*, by which he meant "votre santé," (to your health) having learned this word from the French, and 3) an eat-all feast.³⁰

Similarly, at the great Huron festival of *Ononharoia*, a sort of feast of fools when everything went topsy-turvy for three days - a time also of expressing desires and decoding dreams, often for healing purposes - revelers overturned pots and clubbed dogs, while those who were ill requested and received the finest presents, such as knives, pipes, dogs, skins and canoes.³¹ Among the Chipewyans, the husband of a pregnant woman would not kill a stray dog for fear that the baby would be born deformed.³² The dog thus seems to have been like medicine for both the heart and body. At the end of someone's life, when there was no hope of recovery, the sick person would stoically announce his imminent death, recite his own funeral oration, give advice to his children and then command that a feast be held with "whatever provisions remained in the home":

In the meantime, they slit the throats of all the dogs they could catch, so that the souls of these animals might go and inform the other world that a certain person would soon be leaving for that place, and all the bodies of the dogs were put in the pot to complement the feast.³³

Other dogs accompanied the deceased in the tomb, so that they could continue to be nourished by dog meat.³⁴ At times of great epidemics, survivors sometimes did not manage to bury the dead and dogs devoured the corpses.³⁵ Every two decades or so, an important feast of the dead was held and the contents of individual graves were re-buried in a common grave; this ceremony involved dog sacrifices similar to those for the death of one person, but on a larger scale.³⁶

Dog sacrifices were also part of the important Iroquoian ceremony at the winter equinox, marking the beginning of the new year and the return of light and warmth. This seven-day celebration ended with dances and a great procession in which people carried a slain dog, with its muzzle and legs bound and its body decorated with ribbons, feathers and wampum, necklaces, and eventually burned it along with tobacco. This propitiatory rite was carried out each year to ensure that an alliance with the sun was renewed through the dog's intercession. The dog in this case was not considered a scapegoat, since it bore no sins;

instead, its loyalty and faithfulness were guarantees of the covenant's renewal.³⁷

Christian pagans

The missionaries were not mistaken in seeing a religious element - and in their eyes, a pagan one - in the various rituals associated with dogs. As early as 1610, they attempted, apparently unsuccessfully, to forbid the killing of dog; they overturned the poles with suspended dogs and replaced them with crosses,³⁸ claiming that holy water was a more effective remedy. The only way they found to make some headway in this respect, particularly among the Hurons, was to discourage their flock from taking part in ceremonies involving dogs, although this meant that the neophytes were alienated from their own communities.³⁹

How many dogs?

In the light of the above sections, it is easy to understand how the missionaries could write that the Amerindians ate dog meat as people ate mutton in France.⁴⁰ There were dogs in great numbers, and, for the Hurons, who were concentrated in a community of at least 20,000 inhabitants, meat other than dog was eaten very rarely, perhaps five or six times a year,⁴¹ since their diet was based primarily on agriculture, supplemented by fishing. Numerous dogs were required for the many rituals described above. Bitches had two litters each year, and it seems that pups were not killed. Kohl says this explicitly⁴² and the Jesuits hint at it when they write that, in the longhouses, dogs "were held as dear as children."⁴³ They do not specifically mention that this adoration was extended to pups, but it is easy to deduce that this was so from the way orphaned pups were taken care of. Although it has become rare today for a female dog not to be spayed, one can still sometimes observe how the puppies born in a household evoke a spontaneous and affectionate response on the part of children who want to care for them. In any case, the sources never speak of eliminating pups. For all these reasons, it seems unlikely that the size of litters was reduced; a parallel might be drawn with European shepherds, who would have never destroyed a lamb at birth. The Amerindians, as good animal raisers, let their dogs grow to maturity and then ate them. We can now see a quotation used above in a new light: when a missionary wrote that to live among the Amerindians was "to live as much among the dogs as with men,"⁴⁴ what he was describing was actually analogous to life among European herders, that is, that it was "to live as much among the sheep as with men."

The dog as the Other across cultures

European observers were astonished by Amerindian practices involving dogs. The newcomers realized that in some ways there was not much difference between the position of the dog in North America and that of sheep in Europe, but these practices were regarded as pagan and contrary to the Christian faith; as Father Charlevoix wrote, these were superstitions resulting from ignorance, which he qualified as a "disgrace to human intelligence."⁴⁵ Nevertheless, such judgments on the part of educated Europeans masked "the Other in the Self," that is, the world of "pagan" beliefs and practices in their own society, which were supported by

neither the canons of the Church nor reason. The following example illustrates this well. In 1646, a French soldier, whose wife had remained in France, had been stationed at Fort Richelieu on the river of the same name for three years. He accused himself of the crime of bestiality and said that on ten or twelve occasions he had had relations with the fort's dog, a bitch named Plate. His self-accusation led to the imprisonment of both the soldier and the dog. Then the soldier denied such wrong-doing, declaring that his confession had been a "feint" - that he had been suicidal and had made a false declaration to get himself hanged rather than killing himself, which he dared not do for fear of going to hell. A Jesuit father, Dupéron, and the fort's captain, La Crapaudière, "thought, at first, that it would be their duty to kill the bitch rather than to lock her up; and that finally, ... the best plan was to declare and account as crazy the one who had said that about himself."⁴⁶ The bitch appears to have been considered to be capable of reason and was thus an accomplice and could be declared guilty. Was this because she was a domestic animal? Or was it because she was a female? The notion that animals could be held morally responsible for their behavior was also widespread in New England. A law passed by the Assembly of Massachusetts in 1648 prescribed hanging for dogs that attacked sheep,⁴⁷ although this law might have been aimed at Amerindian dogs, which frequently harassed flocks. In this case, the gallows would have replaced the tall pole from which Amerindians suspended sacrificed dogs. However this may be, the belief in animals' moral responsibility is very old, as is illustrated by numerous medieval trials involving animals, who were treated exactly like a human defendant: they were arrested and imprisoned, underwent questioning to force a confession, tried before a judge with lawyers for the defense and for the prosecution, and suffered exposure, humiliation or mutilation before being put to death in the presence of their owners and animals of the same species.⁴⁸

Whenever our sources have permitted, we have tried to understand the Amerindian perspective. Two other examples of this perspective should be mentioned in concluding. It is likely that Amerindians interpreted the presence of gallows in the public squares of colonial towns in the light of their poles for suspending dogs, for each group viewed the other's culture through their own. Generally speaking, neither French nor British law was applied to Amerindians before 1825. In the case of colonists murdered by Amerindians, the penalty was not a judicial matter but rather a political one, for it was decided through negotiations between the colonial authorities and the Amerindian community to which the accused belonged. In this context, there were some executions, but the condemned person was usually killed by a firing squad or clubbed to death, for the Amerindians systematically opposed the hanging one of their own, since it was considered an ignominious end. Indeed, hanging was ignominious for Europeans as well, since it was applied only to the Third Estate, not to nobles or clergy. For the Amerindians, the gallows were too much like the omnipresent poles from which dogs were hung. To die on the gallows was thus to die like a dog; such a fate was not appropriate for a member of one's own community or an allied community.⁴⁹ The association between the poles and the gallows was used explicitly by Father Lemerrier, in

1667, when he spoke in Onontagua, the capital of Iroquoisia, threatening hanging for whoever might kill a Frenchman or an ally. The following passage shows the dexterity with which the missionary, not without a certain contempt, manipulated the Iroquois' culture to his own ends to make his threat more terrifying:

But in order to inspire them with greater terror, and make more impression on their minds, as these people are greatly influenced by external phenomena, the Father caused to be erected, in the middle of the place where the council was being held, a pole forty of fifty feet in length, from the top of which hung a Porcelain necklace. He declared that, in like manner, should be hanged the first Iroquois who should come to kill a Frenchman or any one of our Allies; and that they already had an example shown them in the public execution, which took place at Quebec in the proceeding year, of a man of their country who had violated some of the terms of peace.

It is incredible how much this present, so unusual, astounded them all. They remained for a long time with their heads down, without daring either to look at this spectacle or to talk about it, until the most prominent and most eloquent of their Orators - having recovered his spirits - arose and performed all the apish tricks imaginable about this pole, to show his astonishment. It is impossible to describe all the gesticulations made by this man, who was more than sixty years old. What looks of surprise at the sight of this spectacle, as if he had not known its meaning! What exclamations, upon finding out its secret and interpretation! How often he seized himself by the throat with both his hands, in a horrible manner, - squeezing it tightly to represent, and at the same time to inspire a horror of, this kind of death, in the multitude of people who surrounded us! In a word, he employed all the artifices of the most excellent Orator, with surprising eloquence.⁵⁰

An even clearer example of the way the gaze of the Other can be turned on the Self is found in the recorded impressions of a group of Iowas who traveled to Europe in the 19th century. Fourteen Iowan men, women and children spent the summer of 1844 in Great Britain and the winter of 1845 in Paris, where they were accompanied by the painter George Catlin. King Louis-Philippe received them with pomp at the Tuileries palace. Invited to great banquets, the visitors met all the members of Parisian high society, including Georges Sand, Charles Baudelaire, Alexandere von Humbolt, Prosper Mérimée and the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire. The "Red Skins" were also received at the Royal Academy of Science and charmed Parisians with

their performances of dances, archery and ball games. They visited the Champs Elysées, the Hôtel des Invalides and much more. Exposed to this exotic magnificence, the thing that astonished the Iowans most was the great number of French women walking with dogs along Parisian streets. The bemused visitors were so struck by this that they behaved like anthropologists, meticulously and rigorously recording each sighting so as to establish the validity of this surprising social custom. They made a list of their observations over the course of one day, organizing them according to categories, along with the number of sightings. Here is the table they drew up:

Women leading one little dog	432
Women leading two little dogs	71
Women leading three little dogs	5
Women with big dogs, no string.....	80
Women carrying little dogs	20
Women with little dogs in carriages	31

And to weight the value of their sample, the Iowans added the following comment to their table: "and it was not a very good day."⁵¹ Unfortunately, this is the only record which we have of such reactions.

The dog as a key to thinking about society?

The history of dogs is part of the general history of animals, but it is also part of human history, for the dog holds a position at the frontier separating the world of animals from that of humans, for whom it has been an indispensable companion for thousands of years. Our investigation of the ethology and sociography of dogs led to the description of various races, their uses, their shared traits and the characteristics that differentiated Amerindian dogs from European dogs. This led in turn to a discussion of European and Amerindian cultural differences with respect both to dogs and, more fundamentally, with animals. While the Amerindians might have thought that European dogs had more spirit than their dogs because the former were trained for specific tasks that were unknown in North America, the Europeans, on the other hand, realized that the Amerindians attributed to dogs a spiritual power that was inconceivable in their eyes.

Seeking to go beyond the descriptive, we attempted to understand the position of the dog in Native cultures and thus made a digression into mythology. In myths, the dog is not only a primordial actor, but also a founder of society, for it was a partner in the Woman-Dog couple in the time of chaos, with which it is associated; this was before the incest taboo and before the founding hero, Man, arrived in the world to tear out the dog's innards and rip it into pieces, thus

creating out of the dog all animal life on land, in water and in the air. The dog thus lost the position it had in the beginning of the world, but in the new world ruled by the incest taboo, it is the source of all animal life.

The Amerindians and their dogs had shared their lives for thousands of years, and their daily interactions were affected by the fact that they lived closely together in crowded quarters, and in this respect, myth and behavior mirror one another. It is only through the paradigms of myth that explanations can be found for the many rites involving the dog, whether they have to do with stages in human life, from birth to death, or with important events in a society, such as hunting, waging war and facing illness and dangers of all sorts, as well renewing the annual cycle. Foreign observers, like the missionaries and military, understood this behavior through the prism of their own conception of the world, based on notions such as the dominance of humans over animals, the developmental scale according to which human societies matured from childhood to adulthood, and, of course, the opposition between paganism and Christian illumination or between superstition and reason. However, this construct confirming their distance from the Other masked the fact that certain aspects of their own culture were just as far removed from the accepted picture, for European society was by no means exempt from superstition. The astonishment provoked by the encounter of Amerindian and European appears to have been mutual. Amerindians also interpreted European society through the prism of their own culture and, like the Europeans, they learned to make objective and rigorous observations of the Other, as is shown by the example of the Iowans recording the thing that struck them the most - that is, Parisian women with their pampered pets. Or did they see in this a return to the initial time of chaos when Dog and Woman formed a couple? The sources don't say...

In Amerindian societies, then, the dog had a position at the frontier between chaos and social order, between animal and human, between woman and man, between enemy and ally, and between the human and spiritual worlds; it was at the origin of life and played a role at the end of life; it helped bring in meat from the woods and became meat itself; and it shared humans' bowls and ate human waste. Like a human, it could acquire a personalized name and, like humans but unlike any other animal, it had to respect food taboos. Thus for Amerindians, it stood at the point where human and non-human met; but for Europeans, the dog stood at the point where nature and culture met.⁵² Its liminal position is what made the Amerindian dog an ideal intercessor as well as a source of danger and explains the animal's central role in myths and rites.⁵³ In this respect, a study of the dog leads one to a reflection on society.

Notes

- 1 Louis Nicolas, op. cit., fol. 68.
- 2 Denys Delâge "War and the French-Indian Alliance," *European Review of Native American Studies* 5, no. 1 (1991): 15-20.
- 3 Nicolas Perrot, op. cit., 15-16; R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1716-1727), LXVII: 203; Roland Viau, op. cit., 90; Louis Antoine de Bougainville, *Écrits sur le Canada*:

mémoires - Journal - lettres, presented by Roland Lamontagne (Sillery: Pélican, 1993), 31; François-Xavier Charlevoix, op. cit., 478; Jean Bernard Bossu, op. cit., 112-113.

- 4 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1636), IX: 111. According to Virginia De John Anderson, the Algonquians on the Atlantic Coast did not eat dog meat except, perhaps, in times of famine, op. cit., 35.

- 5 Vernon W. Kinietz, op. cit., 403.
- 6 Nicolas Perrot, op. cit., 90.
- 7 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1730), LXVIII: 147, lettre du Père le Petit, missionnaire, au Père d'Avaugour, Procureur des Missions d'Amérique septentrionale. À la Nouvelle Orléans, 12 juillet 1730; Pamela Amoss, op. cit., 295-295.
- 8 François-Xavier Charlevoix, op. cit., 701; see also Le Roy Bacqueville de la Potherie, op. cit., 308-309.
- 9 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1642-1643), XXIII: 171-173.
- 10 Jean Bernard Bossu, op. cit., 112-113.
- 11 Ibid. 2nd part, 109.
- 12 Louisiana State University, Pradel Papers, box 1, fol. 1, no. 10. Pradel à sa mère. À la Nouvelle-Orléans le 22 mars 1730.
- 13 Newberry Library, Ayer MS530 f 62 Relation de la Louisiane; France. AN, Colonies, C13B 1, fol. 132. Crémont au ministre. Mobile, le 23 décembre 1731; Joseph François Lafitau, op. cit., 28.
- 14 Elisabeth Tooker, op. cit., 35; R.G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1637), XIII: 43-47.
- 15 Ibid. 39, Roland Viau, op. cit., 92-93, 178.
- 16 Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, "Canicide and Healing. The Position of the Dog in Inuit Cultures of Canadian Arctic," *Anthropos* 97 (2003): 89-105.
- 17 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1642), XXVI: 45.
- 18 Ibid., (1656-1657), XLIII: 293-295; Roland Viau, op. cit., 39, 187.
- 19 Louis Nicolas, op. cit., fol. 68.
- 20 Nicolas Perrot, op. cit., 177.
- 21 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1669), LIII: 7.
- 22 Ibid., (1712), LXVI: 241.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Skins that were dressed by scraping off the fur were valued because of the painstaking work involved.
- 25 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1689), LXIV: 187; (1634-1636), 8: 269; Vernon W. Kinietz, op. cit., 287; Nicolas Perrot, op. cit., 19-20; François-Xavier Charlevoix, op. cit., 687-688; France. AN, Colonies, C11A 45, fol. 169, Abrégé de la vie et coutumes des sauvages de Canada (1723); Alexander Henry, *Travels & Adventures In Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776*, James Bain, ed., (1901: reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 142.
- 26 France. AN, Colonies, C11A 45, fols. 169-170, Abrégé de la vie et coutumes des sauvages de Canada (1723).
- 27 Vernon W. Kinietz, op. cit., 286-287, 328; France. AN, Colonies, C11A 122, fols. 7v-8 [Raudot? n. d.]; R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1664), L: 286; Nicolas Perrot, op. cit., 20; A.F. Chamberlain, *Notes on the History, Customs and Beliefs of the Mississaguas*, (Cambridge [MA]: 1888), 157; Alexander Henry, op. cit., 106, 123, 169.
- 28 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1637), XIII: 31; (1639), XVII: 165; Elisabeth Tooker, op. cit., 96; Vernon W. Kinietz, op. cit., 305.
- 29 The symbol "8" was used by the Jesuits to represent the sound "ou" (before consonants) or "w" (before vowels).
- 30 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., XXXI, (1647), 31: 263-265.
- 31 Gabriel Sagard, op. cit., 196 [281]; R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1639-1640), XVII: 177; (1642), XXIII: 53-93.
- 32 Henry S. Sharp, op. cit., 27-28.
- 33 François-Xavier Charlevoix, op. cit., 725; See also R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1611-1616), III: 127; Gabriel Sagard (1976), 162 [232-34].
- 34 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1634-1636), VIII: 267; François-Xavier Charlevoix, op. cit., 728.
- 35 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1639), XVI: 217; Roland Viau, op. cit., 61.
- 36 Nicolas Perrot, op. cit., 38; Vernon W. Kinietz, op. cit., 283-284.
- 37 Gabriel Sagard, op. cit., 197 [154]; R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1634-1636) VIII: 125; L. H. Morgan, *The League of the Iroquois*, (1851; reprint, Boston: Gould Lincoln, 1972), 183-216; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *L'homme nu...*, 468-469.
- 38 R. G. Thwaites, op. cit., (1610), I: 213; (1675-1677), LX: 219, 226-228; (1689-1695), LXIV: 18.
- 39 Ibid., (1639-1640), XVII: 165-173; Ibid., (1647) XXXI: 263-265.
- 40 Ibid. (1634-1635), VII: 223.
- 41 Ibid.; Vernon W. Kinietz, op. cit., 284.
- 42 L.G. Kohl, op. cit., 37-39.
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- 51 Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indians Abroad 1493-1938* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), 190-191. I would like to thank Tanis Thorne for having transmitted this document to me.
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Married Into the Tribe: Fur Trade Wives and Mothers in the Post-Fur Trade Era

By Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, The Ohio State University, Newark

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I would like to begin today by introducing you to Marguerite LePage LeClaire:

Marguerite LePage, born in 1802, was the daughter of a French-Indian fur-trade family, granddaughter of Nicholas Blondeau and of Mecpaikwa, a woman from an influential Mesquakie family. Educated by the Catholic sisters of Portage des Sioux, St. Charles County, Missouri, she learned to speak both French and English—probably in addition to her grandmother's Native tongue. In 1820 she married the French-Potawatomi interpreter Antoine LeClaire, who was stationed for many years at Rock Island (he is probably best known for having served as the translator of Black Hawk's narrative autobiography in 1833). Both Marguerite and her husband Antoine were Métis—that is—people of mixed European and American Indian ancestry.

Marguerite received a substantial land grant by request of her Indian relatives at the time of the removal treaty of 1832, a grant which helped her family to become wealthy and prominent as founders of the city of Davenport, Iowa.¹ (Her husband also received from the Sauks and Mesquakies a land grant which became the city of LeClaire, Iowa, and the Pottawatomis negotiated for him to receive the land that became the City of Moline).

Both Madame and Monsieur LeClaire became well known for their contributions to a wide range of charitable causes. Antoine donated the money for the first Catholic church in Davenport, named, appropriately, Ste. Marguerite's.

Madame LeClaire maintained a relationship with her tribe, even after they were forced to move to western Iowa. According to a local historian, "delegations of the Sac and Fox Indians visited her place every year, where they were always made welcome, entertained as long as they wished to remain, and when, leaving, always carried away as a free gift what necessities they required—corn, flour, etc."² She was in this way able to help her kinspeople to maintain a connection to their former home, in spite of Andrew Jackson and the Indian Removal Act. Because of her position as an elite member of this increasingly Anglo community, she was also able to provide them with hospitality in a world that had become basically inhospitable to Indians. They were safe as her guests. But her fellow citizens benefited, too: Anglo uneasiness about having Indians in town might be calmed by knowing that they were associates of Marguerite LePage LeClaire and that she was keeping an eye on them. We should not be surprised, then, that, in 1845 when the LeClaires' friend George Davenport was murdered, her Indian relatives arrived from the west to guard the couple until the murderers were caught.

Although Madame LeClaire was wealthier and socially more accepted during the mid-nineteenth century than most, in many ways she epitomizes the hundreds of Native-descended women who reached across the growing cultural, social, and economic divides with efforts to connect, communicate with, and comfort their many neighbors and relatives.

As a founder of Davenport with her husband, Madame LeClaire was following in the footsteps of her mother and grandmother, and of other Native and Métis women around the Midwest, who had joined with Euro-American, Native, and Métis men to create new communities.

Today I would like to talk about some of the women I have encountered in the course of my research on the old fur trade families of the Midwest. I draw upon a wide range of sources, including letters, memoirs, interviews, government documents and other sources. In order to get quantitative data, I often focus on a particular community as a case study, to supplement the qualitative research with some statistics. That community is Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

Two generations before Marguerite and Antoine LeClaire founded Davenport, a Mesquakie woman named Pokoussee married Pierre Peltier *dit* Antaya, a French Canadian fur trader. They settled in about 1780 at the old rendezvous grounds at Prairie du Chien where the Wisconsin River joins the Mississippi, and began to raise a family of ten children.³ Among the many daughters of Pierre and Pokoussee was Euphrosine. Together with other bicultural, biracial families, they made their community an important fur trade center, with strong links to Mesquakie, Sauk, Dakota, Ho-Chunk, and other midwestern tribes.

Marriages like Pokoussee and Pierre Antaya's were a way to create ties between people of different cultural traditions. Unlike many ethnic groups, Indian peoples in the Midwest had approved of—and even encouraged—intermarriage. During the fur trade era, traders learned that their Native customers expected them to marry local daughters, creating bonds of obligation to their in-laws and their communities. Native wives became interpreters who learned and taught both their own Native families and their husbands about each other's expectations and cultures. Their bicultural Métis children and grandchildren grew up to continue the patterns of mediation.

A traditional Native assimilation process, probably dating to the precontact era, incorporated outsiders into Indian communities. Immigrants could become kin through marriage, or, less frequently, adoption. As family members, strangers acquired obligations; this served as a means of

regulating conduct. If traders rejected this assimilation process, they were viewed with suspicion and could expect no cooperation from Indians because their rejection would be seen as evidence of bad intentions. Since Native customs allowed polygyny, as well as divorce, Indian matchmakers were suspicious of the European or Euro-American who protested that he was already married or preferred a long courtship to make sure of compatibility. (Arranged marriages, in any case, were not at all uncommon in European and Euro-American practice.) Thus, social and economic pressures combined to persuade traders to compromise on their own culture's marriage taboos, and marry local daughters, sometimes qualifying these as "country marriages" (*mariage à la façon du pays*) in their correspondence with outsiders. From the Indian point of view, this assimilation process connected economic and personal relationships.⁴ Of course, the majority of Euro-Americans who came into the region before the War of 1812 were male, and there were almost no instances of the few females among them marrying Native husbands.

Uninformed observers often assumed that Indian families casually delivered their daughters to total strangers, but this is not quite the case. In a rare description of this process, one set of letters clearly reveals that family members carefully investigated a man's character before proposing a marriage. This particular sequence of events took place after 1822, when the U.S. government forced the Indians to allow whites into the lead region of northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin. Horatio Newhall set up a smelting establishment near the mines previously worked by the Mesquakies of Old Buck's band, and wrote home to relatives in Massachusetts that Old Buck and his family camped within a mile of Newhall's furnace during the winter of 1827-28. Newhall wrote to his brother in March, 1828, that:

"Himself & sons often visit me in town. And I have made me a Dictionary of the most common words in their language so that by the help of this I can understand them tolerably well. I have been at his lodge twice."⁵

After careful observation, visiting, and evaluating Newhall's character, Old Buck's family was apparently impressed with Newhall's personality and prospects. Newhall had demonstrated courtesy, respect, and desire to communicate, so Old Buck invited Newhall to join his family. "He wants me to marry his daughter," Newhall wrote, "Because[,] he says, I am a great man."⁶ Newhall, apparently declined this offer. Other men, however, accepted arranged marriages as a means to gain companionship, a live-in interpreter, and entrée into Native communities. The women in question accepted these marriages as a way to serve their communities, and as opportunities to play an important role as mediators and advisers.

Although these fur trade couples sometimes stayed with the tribes, by the late 18th century, many couples like Pierre Antaya and Pokousse and their children had established fur trade towns separate from the Indian villages. Prairie du

Chien is but one of fifty-three communities in the Western Great Lakes region, which Jacqueline Peterson identified as having been established by biracial fur trade couples between 1763 and 1830.⁷

I'd like to zoom in on Prairie du Chien for a few minutes as a case study. Like Green Bay, St. Louis, Detroit, Mackinac and dozens of other towns which grew out of the fur trade era in New France, Prairie du Chien by the early nineteenth century had developed a culture which combined elements of both Native and European traditions. There one might hear French spoken, but also Mesquakie, Dakota, Ho-Chunk, Ojibwe and a number of other languages. Wives and mothers continued Native maple-sugar making, often taking their chickens (a European introduction) with them to the sugar camps. Most people were at least nominally Catholic, so Easter celebrations combined crepes with maple syrup and Easter eggs. Some men hitched plows to their oxen or horses to prepare the ground for European crops, but many wives cultivated the family's gardens, continuing Native ways of growing corn, beans, and squash together in hills without need for plows or livestock to pull them. The cultural negotiations were made at the family level as well as community wide. This was a type of "middle ground" based on personal, social, and economic relationships, rather than the political and diplomatic associations examined by historian Richard White.⁸

After Pokousse and Pierre Antaya, with several other couples, established Prairie du Chien as a year-round fur trade town in the late eighteenth century, it grew slowly, maintaining its mixed population and syncretic culture until the mid-nineteenth century. I will use the term "Creole" to refer to the people of this mixed fur-trade culture, including the Native wives, Euroamerican husbands, Métis children, and many various neighbors and relatives of different backgrounds.

The multi-ethnic nature of Prairie du Chien's early population is evident in the record of a visit in 1817 by Rev. Joseph Marie Dunand. The priest stayed for a month, performing 135 baptisms and fourteen marriages, recording the names and other information regarding children and parents of the community. This document, with other sources, makes it possible to identify the names of sixty wives and mothers. Their ethnicity:

The multiplicity of tribes represented among the women of Prairie du Chien underscores the town's role as a center for intertribal, even international trade and communication. In a sense, these women were the delegates in a regional United Nations of the Great Lakes fur trade era, maintaining ties to their communities of origin while functioning as members of a Creole town with a culture that blended elements of both European and Native traditions.

Prairie du Chien's husbands and fathers were, with few exceptions, either Métis or Euroamerican; about 1817 they included 60 with French surnames, 11 with English or Irish surnames, and one who was Mandan Indian. Many of

Table 1A: Prairie du Chien Women, 1817	Table 1B: Prairie du Chien Men, 1817
11 Dakota	60 French surnames
5 Mesquite (Fox)	11 Irish or English surnames
2 Ojibwe (Chippewa)	
1 Pawnee	1 Mandan
1 Sauk	
1 Menominee	
1 HoChunk (Winnebago)	
23 Métis (European-Indian)	
2 French-African	
13 Not Ascertained	
60 Total	72 Total
Sources: James L. Hansen, "Prairie du Chien's Earliest Church Records, 1817," <i>Minnesota Genealogical Journal</i> 4 (November 1985): 329-42; James H. Lockwood, "Early Times and Events in Wisconsin," <i>Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin</i> 2 (1856): 125-26; M.M. Hoffman, <i>Antique Dubuque: 1673-1833</i> (Dubuque, Iowa: Telegraph-Herald Press, 1930) 51-59.	

the men with French surnames were Métis.⁹ (These are just the people who appear in the records; the population itself was about 600.) There appear to have been no women living here who were completely European in ancestry. Other fur trade communities seem to have exhibited diversity of a similar nature.

These women played important roles in reaching across cultures during the fur trade era. The following anecdote, I think, illustrates the way that women could make connections and smooth relationships. On a July day in 1820, a family of Ojibwe travelers beached their birch bark canoe at Mackinac Island, and set up their wigwam nearby. With an infant only a few days old, the couple and their three other children were soon visited by Thérèse Marcotte Schindler, a forty-six-year-old Métisse and member of an elite fur-trade family living in Michilimackinac. Schindler extended a customary welcome, and took them under her wing. Using fluent Ojibwe, she mediated a dispute between the quarreling husband, John Tanner, and his Ojibwe wife, who became known in Schindler's family as "La Sateuse." Madame Schindler became a patron to La Sateuse, encouraging her conversion to Catholicism and helping her to become economically self-sufficient when she separated from her husband.¹⁰

In this way, Madame Schindler and many other women connected Indians with members of the fur trade communities. Their daughters and granddaughters carried on these habits of hospitality and mediation. But the tradition could also be passed from host to immigrant as a form of socialization or acculturation by demonstrated behavior.

This type of inter-ethnic cooperation and assistance could also be educational in that it facilitated cross-cultural learning, as both helpers and helped gained knowledge from their contacts with each other. As such, it could dispel suspicion, ignorance, and intolerance.

Some Creole women educated their neighbors in religious traditions: Schindler, her daughter Mary Ann Lasalliere Fisher, and Schindler's sister Madeleine LaFramboise taught Catholicism to their female neighbors, as did many other Native and Métis women.¹¹

But Native and Métis women were also important in the post-fur trade era. Anglo immigration into southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois began in earnest after the War of 1812 and accelerated after the Black Hawk War of 1832 brought hundreds of volunteer soldiers into the region and sent them home with memories of the cholera epidemic but also of a beautiful landscape, well-watered and forested: a place of opportunity. By the mid-1830s, they and many others were determined to make this region their own.

Again, let's use Prairie du Chien as an example of population change to get a statistical view. We can get a sense of the shift in population from the censuses and other sources, using surname as an indicator of Francophone Creole vs. Anglophone immigrant status. (The majority of Francophone Creoles here were Native-descended or had Native spouses and relatives.) It appears that Creoles became a minority of the population in 1836, the year that Wisconsin was separated from Michigan Territory and became a territory in its own right. Population shifts like this took place on a local level at different times in all the old fur trade communities.

What this meant for the Creoles was that they became minorities in their own communities. The Anglos and other outsiders brought a new government and court system, English as the court language, Protestant churches, and different forms of business and other economic practices. They also backed this up with the presence of the army, and pressed many of the Creoles' Indian relatives to give up their lands and move away. The fur trade went into decline.

Anglos and other immigrants often brought a wide range of prejudices with them, whether they called the older residents "Canadians," "French," "half-breeds," or "Creoles." "The Americans generally consider the Canadians as ignorant," remarked an Italian traveling in the region in 1828. "Whether this be true, I know not; but I do know that I invariably found them very polite and obliging, even among the lower classes."¹² Henry Schoolcraft's prejudices were specific to francophone Creoles. In referring to the "French," he wrote that "it is but repeating a common observation to say, that in morality and intelligence they are far inferior to the American population."¹³ (He himself married an Anglo-Ojibwe métisse, Jane Johnston, but later had harsh things to say about Métis people.¹⁴)

Anti-French and anti-Catholic biases joined racism, including a special distaste for people of mixed background. Caleb Atwater, for example, an agent sent as part of an 1827 treaty delegation, described the people of Prairie du Chien as excessively intermarried, writing:

They are a mixed breed, and probably more mixed than any other human beings in the world; each one consisting of Negro, Indian,

**Table 2: Prairie du Chien
Ethnicity of the Population as Reflected in Surnames**

		French Surname
1817:	Men identified by name in sources: n=60/72	83.3%
1820:	Household heads, U.S. Census: n=39/53	73.5%
1830:	Household heads, U.S. Census: n=45/62	72.6%
1836:	Household heads, Wisc. Census, County : n=79/157	50.3%
1840:	Household heads, U.S. Census, County : n=63/187	33.7%
1850:	All residents (Creoles*) n=425/1406	30.2%
1860:	All residents (Creoles*) n=380/2,396	15.8%

* "Creoles" includes residents with French surnames who were born in Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Illinois, or Canada before 1820, and their children and/or those who were known from genealogical and treaty records to be members of fur trade families. Data for the years before 1850 were for those with French surnames.

Sources: James L. Hansen, "Prairie du Chien's Earliest Church Records, 1817," *Minnesota Genealogical Journal* IV (1985), 329-342; James H. Lockwood, "Early Times and Events in Wisconsin," *State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections*, vol. 2 (1856), 125-126; M.M. Hoffmann, *Antique Dubuque, 1673-1833* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1930), 51-59; U.S. Congress, *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States...*, 38 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1832-1861), Class VIII, *Public Lands*, 8 vols., ed. Walter Lowrie et al., V, 47-98, 270-272, 283-328; Donna Valley Russell, ed., *Michigan Censuses 1710-1830* (Detroit: Detroit Society for Genealogical Research, Inc. 1982) 146-147; Elizabeth Taft Harlan, Minnie Dubbs Millbrook and Elizabeth Case Erwin, transcribers & eds., *1830 Federal Census: Territory of Michigan* (Detroit: Detroit Society for Genealogical Research, 1961); [C.W. Butterfield,] *History of Crawford and Richland Counties, Wisconsin* (Springfield, Illinois: Union Publishing Company, 1884) I: 294-295; *Sixth Census of the U.S.*, 1840 manuscript, Crawford County, WI, microfilm; *Seventh Census of the U.S.*, 1850 manuscript, Crawford County, WI, microfilm; U.S. Census Office, *Population of the United States in 1860: Population* (Washington, GPO, 1864) p. 534 and manuscript, Crawford County, WI, microfilm.

French, English, American, Scotch, Irish, and Spanish blood! And I should rather suspect some of them, to be a little touched with the Prairie wolf. They may fairly claim the vices and faults of each, and all the above named nations and animals, without even one redeeming virtue.¹⁵

Many of the writers for the pioneer historical publications denigrated the peoples who had lived in the Midwest before the War of 1812, writing for example that the Indians were "wholly destitute of culture in art or science," and the Creoles were "deficient in all the leading characteristics demanded by ... border life."¹⁶ In a typical statement, one woman in 1884 remembered coming to Saginaw County, Michigan, fifty years earlier, stating, "There were a few half French people here that were partially civilized."¹⁷

The newspapers of Prairie du Chien, written and published by Anglos, created a self-congratulatory triumphalist narrative which reveals much about their prejudices. An article appearing in the *Crawford County Courier* in May of 1853, for example, said this about the Creoles:

This class of persons—perfectly destitute of ambition or worthy pride—have been gradually dying out, before the onward march of civilization . . . Their places have been gradually filled by a healthy immigration; and where sloth, stupor and vice once ruled, now sturdy farmers, and busy mechanics are instilling a new life.¹⁸

Children and grandchildren of old fur trade families such as Pokoussee and Pierre Antaya responded in a variety of ways. Given the changes and the bigoted attitudes of the newcomers, it should not surprise us that many of the old fur trade families moved away to Minnesota, Canada, or other points west. Some moved to the countryside or to other communities. Those who stayed developed a variety of coping mechanisms. Former fur trade workers became farmers, or adopted various transportation-related occupations such as operating a ferry, carrying mail, opening taverns or inns for travelers—in other words, jobs which gave them a fair amount of autonomy and/or allowed them to use skills developed during the fur trade era.

The new regime presented significant challenges for Creole women. Wives had fewer rights under the U.S. Anglo legal system than they had enjoyed under the French regime. Women in Midwestern Indian societies, with their emphasis on balance in gender relations, had typically been afforded even more authority and autonomy than the French, including greater opportunities for women's economic, social, and even political leadership.¹⁹

Furthermore, both women and men lost status and power as institutions for local, political, judicial, and social organization were increasingly formalized. (For example, in town charters and the court systems, women were formally excluded from positions of authority.) At the same time Creole men were losing both opportunities for civic participation, and political and economic clout. (For example, after an initial phase where juries were very inclusive, men were excluded if they were perceived as not being fluent in the

English language.)²⁰ By the 1830s, some tribes were being removed, many of them with relatives in the Euro-American communities, as we have seen with the example of Madame LeClaire. In other words both Creole women and the men in their families lost some Indian relatives who moved away, at the same time that they were losing influence and authority in relationships with new Anglo (and other) immigrants.

On the other hand, during the mid-nineteenth century, Creole families maintained relationships among as many family branches as possible, and between Creole communities and tribal friends and relations, maximizing available resources and nurturing Creole culture. (In a way, we might invert an old metaphor and say they were circling the wagons to defend against Anglo "pioneers.")

Women were central to these families and these relationships. Jennifer Brown has argued that Métis women in Canada were "centre and symbol in the emergence of Métis communities," and that their families were matrilineal in residence and organized around female kin, who frequently shared in economic activities.²¹ We can see this in many of the Prairie du Chien residential patterns revealed in the Census of 1850.

For example, Pokoussee and Pierre's daughter, Euphrosine Antaya Powers was 58 years old in 1850, widow of a man with the wonderful name Strange Powers (sometimes, Strange Pose). Living next door on one side was her cousin Mary Antaya (widow of Francis LaPointe), with Mary's son Michel LaPointe, and five children. Living on the other side of Euphrosine Antaya Powers, were three houses of the Barrette family, including Barrette wives Caroline Powers (Euphrosine's daughter) and Theresa LaPointe (whose mother was Susan Antaya). These families had several Native connections: Euphrosine Antaya Powers and her siblings were half Mesquakie; LaPointes and Barrettes appear on the official lists of Sioux Mixed Bloods.²² This residential pattern clearly suggests a pattern of family clusters, and there are others.

Similarly, nearby was a cluster of three families in which the wives all had the maiden name of Ducharme. In another instance, Maria Laroque Menard and her husband and two children lived near Josephine Laroque Gagnier and her spouse and five children. To further illustrate, Angelica Chenevert Benoit, her Canadian husband David and baby lived next door to two houses of older Cheneverts, probably her parents and grandparents.

This pattern of female kin and their families clustering together may reflect the matrilineal residence patterns of many midwestern tribes, and Native women's habits of doing agricultural and other work in female kin groups. Family residential clustering of this type also suggests that this was a way of sharing resources and labor to cope with the challenges posed by the demographic shift and Anglo invasion.

As we have seen, many Creole women were adept at connecting Native people with members of the fur trade communities. With the influx of new groups, such as Yankees or Europeans, mediation became more complex. Some women

were able to make connections among people of different backgrounds, in ways that few men could accomplish. In spite of strong prejudices and economic and social disruptions, women could bridge the value systems of different cultures. They facilitated understanding across cultures, friendships, and peaceful relations among neighbors.

Often, for Indian and Métis women in the nineteenth century, their kin, husbands, friends, and neighbors were of different tribes, ethnicities, and cultural backgrounds, so they strove to mediate among them. My research into Michigan and Wisconsin areas which experienced a large Anglo immigration found that it was very common for mature Native and Métis women to work at creating ties between the Anglo newcomers, their Francophone Creole neighbors, and Native American villagers. They often did this with charity, hospitality, and as healers and midwives. I call this role "public mother."²³

In 1886, a Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, Anglo pioneer reminisced about someone who, during the 1850s, epitomized for him the "twin traits [of] generosity and hospitality," that seemed to him characteristic of frontier people there. She was Archange LaBathe, the Sioux and French wife of James Reed. "Squaw though she was, she was an angel of mercy to the residents of Reed's Landing and Montoville. How distinctly I recall her commanding figure—going from house to house—not with words, for few could understand her broken French and native tongue—but with well filled basket, and ready hand—tender as only a woman's is—to cheer the sick."²⁴ Although this Anglo writer "racialized" her as a "squaw," he viewed Archange LaBathe Reed's actions as appropriate, gendered, behavior.

Another example of this pattern may be found in a family genealogy compiled by a woman during the 1940s, which recalled her ancestor, Mary LaPointe LaTranche. Madame LaTranche was born in Prairie du Chien about 1838, but married and moved across the river to Iowa during the late 1850s. According to the genealogy, she "would go around with an old Indian woman doctor and do the talking for her as this lady could not speak one word of English—only made the Indian sign signals. In doing this, Mary learned a great deal about taking care of the sick and in later years she went herself. She brought a good many of the now [1950] old-timers...into the world. Many a cold, stormy night she braved the storm to go to someone in distress. She kept up this practice until she was quite old."²⁵ Clearly both the "old Indian woman doctor" and Madame LaTranche were reaching across the cultural borders from Native to Creole to Anglo in their community. There are many similar examples of this type of health-care-related mediation in accounts by both Anglos and Creoles around the Midwest.

During the mid-nineteenth century, an Ojibwe métisse from Detroit came with her husband Louis Demarie to Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin. An Anglo neighbor wrote about Madame Demarie in 1875, "She was a woman of uncommon natural abilities, and with education and culture would have graced a high social position in any community. She was a born physician, and for many years the only one in the valley;

and in making a diagnosis of disease, and her knowledge of the healing properties and proper application of many of the remedies used in the *Materia Medica*, exhibited extraordinary insight and skill in her practice. She was frequently called to attend upon myself and family, and her prescriptions were simple, natural, and always efficacious."²⁶

An interesting source reveals other mediation related to charity and hospitality as well as interpreting. Officials recorded testimony in Prairie du Chien during 1838-39 relative to distribution of treaty money earmarked for Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) "half-breeds." Depositions are replete with comments about the relationships maintained between Native wives, Métis people, and their Ho-Chunk friends and kin. For example, Jean Baptiste Peon discussed his late wife Angelique, on behalf of their children's claims. (Angelique's mother was a sister to one of the principle Chiefs of the Ho-Chunk Nation, which meant she had special obligations to her people.) Peon asserted, "While his wife lived, his house was always open to the Indians and they 'slept at his fire and ate at his board.' ..That ... his wife traded among them on the Fox River...That his wife ... was very frequently called upon by the Government Agent ... to interpret, and that at all times she rendered the service in her power, and for which [she never]...received any compensation..."²⁷ To further illustrate, the leading men of Prairie du Chien and Green Bay testified that another woman, "Man-ne-te-se is the full sister of ...the most influential Chiefs of the Tribe." As the wife of Jean Lequyer, "...having plenty in the world, her house was called the home of the naked & hungry Indian.When she was left a widow, she had a fine lot of goods, horses, wagons [sic], fine stock of cattle, and was considered wealthy. ...all her valuable property ... was sacrificed in support or harboring of Winnebago Indians, who applied to her in all cases for relief, as being the hospitable sister of their principal chiefs." In 1839 she lived with her daughter Julia Grignon in Prairie du Chien, and their house, it was said, "is known to the citizens of Prairie du Chien as the resting place of the Winnebagoes when in the Village. ...Julia Grignon has given her last loaf of bread to hungry Indians, & on some occasions sold her own clothes to relieve their distress ..." ²⁸ Julia later became an interpreter, and worked for the Winnebagos' lawyer.²⁹

Many other Indian and mixed-race Métis women worked to create networks which could smooth relations between their own people and the immigrants who would later call themselves "pioneers." One such "well known and highly respected" woman was Komick, whose background was Odawa, Ojibwe, and French, living with her white husband Henry Tourtillott in Oconto, Wisconsin, in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁹ According to her granddaughter, Komick

always introduced herself to new families that settled near them. She would help them make gardens, put up clothes lines, show them berry patches ... She and Aunt Catishe both had small pox when they were younger, so when white families got it, they would both go in and help take care of people...

Komick spoke English, French, Odawa, Menominee, and Ojibwe, skills which helped her to weave ties between various members of her changing community.³¹

Native-descended women inherited both a sense of generosity as a supreme virtue, and a religious imperative to care for the earth and its beings, and they sometimes passed this along to their families and neighbors. A grieving husband made these points in 1847, on the death of his wife, Hononegah Mack, who had been known in northern Illinois for her hospitality and charity to everyone. He wrote: "In her the hungry and naked have lost a benefactor, the sick a nurse, and I have lost a friend who taught me to reverence God by doing good to his creatures. . . . Her funeral proved that I am not the only sufferer by her loss. My house is large but it was filled to overflowing by mourning friends who assembled to pay the last sad duties to her who had set them the example how to Live and how to Die." After her funeral, one Anglo man remarked to his neighbors, "The best woman in Winnebago County died last night." In later years, a forest preserve and a high school were named for her.³²

Although intermarriage rates declined as Yankee and European immigration colonized the old fur trade communities, and men like Horatio Newhall had no interest in intermarriage, many older Creole women and their daughters continued to live in frontier communities. In Prairie du Chien, as elsewhere, many women used these mediation efforts during the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, passing the tradition from mother to child. Interviews reveal that the legacy continued for several generations. Take, for example, Pokoussee and Pierre's granddaughter Clara LaPointe Hertzog, (born about 1835) who married an immigrant from Luxembourg (another exogamous marriage). Clara's daughter was interviewed by a genealogist in 1949 and recalled, "I can remember ...the Indians dancing in our back yard, my mother never minded them at all, she herself had Indian blood and she knew their languages and was able to carry on a conversation with them, they always treated mother very well, and looked to her for advice and instructions, she was often invited to their abode to eat..."³³

Clara's daughter, Adaline Hertzog Barrette herself, (born in 1861) continued these relationships in the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, her descendants told me. She and her husband socialized and traveled with Indian friends or relatives. Some families kept camping grounds on their farms for Indian friends and relatives, the Barrette family among them. I was told, "... Grandmother [Barrette] used to take care of them. ... And if they were sick, she used to nurse them to health, do what she could for them. If they were hungry, she'd feed them. And in turn, if she had a problem," with a threatening visitor, "the Indians came and took him away..."³⁴

Did men do this type of mediation? Sometimes, but not nearly as often. There were a number of reasons for this. One is that there were more women than men who had the language and other cultural knowledge to make these connections. Another is that these "public mothers" were able to find an intersection in the ideals of womanhood of

the different cultures: Indian, Creole, and Yankee. Although Native ideals, and to some extent Creole values, allowed women greater personal autonomy and economic and political leadership than did the Yankees, all praised women who cared for their neighbors and recognized a tradition of women healers and midwives. In this way, their actions could mitigate the suspicions and prejudices of strangers.

It is a truism that historians have too often overlooked women's experiences, and this is doubly true for women of color, for reasons that are beyond the scope of this talk. Yet it is worthwhile to look for these women. I suggest that we are likely to find them on the social frontiers of changing communities.

Notes

- 1 "Memoir of Antoine LeClaire, Esquire, of Davenport, Iowa," Annals of Iowa v. 1 (1863) 144-147; Harry E. Downer, History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1910) pp. 394-405; Thomas Forsyth, "List of the Names of the Half-breeds who claim land according to the Treaty..." 1824, Draper Manuscripts, Wisconsin Historical Library, 2T:22 and Forsyth, "A List [of] Sac & Fox Half Breeds," 10 June 1830, Records of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs (St. Louis), vol. 32, Sac-Fox Half Breeds, Kansas State Historical Society.
- 2 Downer, History of Davenport p. 400.
- 3 Thomas Forsyth, "List of the Names of the Half-breeds" 1824, 2T:22 and Forsyth, "A List [of] Sac & Fox Half Breeds," 1830, vol. 32.
- 4 Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); Jennifer S. H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); Jacqueline Peterson, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830," Ph.D. dissertation, History, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1981; Peterson and Brown, eds., The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Tanis C. Thorne, "For the good of her people': Continuity and Change for Native Women of the Midwest, 1650-1850," in Lucy Eldersveld Murphy and Wendy Hamand Venet, eds., Midwestern Women: Work, Community, and Leadership at the Crossroads (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, A Gathering of Rivers: Indians, Métis, and Mining in the Western Great Lakes, 1737-1832 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Susan Sleeper-Smith, Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Nancy Oestreich Lurie, Mountain Wolf Woman, Sister of Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan

In sum, the mid-nineteenth century was a difficult time, an era of transition presenting enormous challenges for people of Native and French Creole communities. But many women—women such as Marguerite LePage LeClaire, Pokoussee, Hononegah, and Adaline Hertzog Barrette—reached across cultural divides to smooth the transitions. They created bonds of affinity and mutual obligation between their own families and kin networks on the one hand, and the families and kin networks of those they assisted, on the other hand. Their charity mitigated the disruptions of the economy. Doing what they had been taught was the right thing for people to do, they promoted understanding and peaceful interactions, and modeled appropriate behavior. The alliances they sought were not just for themselves and their families, but for the good of their communities. As such they were very public actions.

- Press, 1961).
- 5 Horatio Newhall to Isaac Newhall, 1 March 1828, Horatio Newhall Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.
- 6 Horatio Newhall to Isaac Newhall, 1 March 1828, Newhall Papers.
- 7 Jacqueline Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River," The New Peoples, p. 44.
- 8 Peterson, "The People in Between," Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators," Ethnohistory v. 39 (1992) 97-107; Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties; Brown, Strangers in Blood; Tanis Chapman Thorne, The Many Hands of My Relations: French and Indians on the Lower Missouri (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996); Sleeper-Smith, Native Women and French Men; Carl J. Ekberg, French Roots in the Illinois Country: the Mississippi Frontier in Colonial Times (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, A Gathering of Rivers: Indians, Métis, and Mining in the Western Great Lakes, 1737-1832 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000). The reference is to Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 9 James L. Hansen, "Prairie du Chien's Earliest Church Records, 1817," Minnesota Genealogical Journal 4 (November 1985): 329-42; James H. Lockwood, "Early Times and Events in Wisconsin," Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin 2 (1856): 125-26; M.M. Hoffman, Antique Dubuque: 1673-1833 (Dubuque, Iowa: Telegraph-Herald Press, 1930) 51-59; American State papers. Public Lands 5:47-98, 270-72, 283-328.
- 10 La Sateuse meant "the Ojibwe woman." John Francis McDermott, A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850 (St. Louis: Washington University Studies, 1941) s.v. "Saulters," 136. Tanner was of Euro-American background, and had been captured as a youth and raised in the Ojibwe culture. His memoir is John Tanner, The Falcon: A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner [1830] rpt. Penguin Books, 1994.

- 11 Elizabeth Baird, "O-De-Jit-Wa-win-Wing, Comptes du Temps Passé," Henry S. Baird Collection, Box 4, folder 9, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, chap. 17; and Samuel Mazzuchelli, *The Memoirs of Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O.P.* (Chicago: The Priory Press, 1967); Carl Ekberg, with Anton J. Pregaldin "Marie Rouensa-8cate8a and the Foundations of French Illinois," *Illinois Historical Journal* 84:3, Autumn, 1991, pp. 146 - 159.
- 12 Giacomo Constantino Beltrami, *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America* (London: Hunt & Clarke, 1828) 2:174.
- 13 Henry R. Schoolcraft, *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri* (New York: Charles Wiley, 1819) 39.
- 14 Richard G. Bremer, *Indian Agent and Wilderness Scholar: The Life of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft* (Mount Pleasant: Clarke Historical Library, Central Michigan University, 1987).
- 15 Caleb Atwater, *Remarks made on a tour to Prairie du Chien in 1829* (Columbus, Ohio: Isaac Whiting, 1831) 180.
- 16 Flavius J. Littlejohn, "The Pioneers of Michigan—Their Devotion to Educational Interests Historically Illustrated," *Report of the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan* vol. 2 [1880] p. 127.
- 17 Azuhah L. Jewett, "Saginaw County Pioneer Life in 1830," *Michigan Pioneer Collection* vol. 6, 1884, 428.
- 18 "Local Business," *Crawford County Courier*, Prairie du Chien, May 17, 1853, p. 2.
- 19 Susan C. Boyle, "Did She Generally Decide? Women in Ste. Genevieve, 1750-1805; Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Woman as Centre and Symbol in the Emergence of Métis Communities," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* III, I (1983): 39-46; Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators," *Ethnohistory* 39:2 (spring 1992) 97-107; Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, "Public Mothers: Native American and Métis Women as Creole Mediators in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest," *Journal of Women's History* 14.4 (winter 2003) 141-165.
- 20 Ira B. Brunson, "Judicial History of Prairie du Chien from 1823 to 1841," Wisconsin Historical Society Library, manuscript, p. 11; Wisconsin Territorial Papers, County Series, Crawford County, "Proceedings of the County Board of Supervisors, Nov. 29, 1821 - November 19, 1850" (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Records Survey, 1941).
- 21 Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Woman as Centre and Symbol in the Emergence of Métis Communities," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* III, I (1983): 39-46.
- 22 *Seventh Census of the U.S., 1850* manuscript, Crawford County, WI, microfilm; James L. Hansen, "Two Early Lists of Mixed-Blood Sioux," *Minnesota Genealogical Journal* 6 (November 1986) pp. 4, 5. Emily Dousman Barrette, who lived next door to Euphrosine Antaya Powers, for example, was one quarter Dakota.
- 23 Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, "Public Mothers: Native American and Métis Women as Creole Mediators in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest," *Journal of Women's History* 14.4 (winter 2003) 141-165.
- 24 John McGilvray to B.F. Heuston, June 18, 1886, Heuston Collection, Murphy Library, University of Wisconsin—LaCrosse, Wisconsin State Historical Society, LaCrosse.
- 25 Mary Martell, *Our People the Indians: A Genealogy of the Indians and French Canadians, 1750 - 1950: in the areas of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, Harpers Ferry, Iowa, and Pembina-Red River of the North in N. Dakota and Minnesota* (n.p.: privately published, ca. 1950), p. 7.
- 26 Thomas E. Randall, *History of the Chippewa Valley* (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: Free Press Print, 1875) 17-18.
- 27 Linda M. Waggoner, ed., "Neither White Men nor Indians: Affidavits from the Winnebago Mixed-Blood Claim Commissions, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, 1838-1839" (Roseville, Minn.: Park Genealogical Books, 2002) p. 82.
- 28 Waggoner, "Neither White Men nor Indians:" pp. 31-32.
- 29 "A Famous French-Winnebago Resident," unknown author (possibly Henry S. Baird), n.d., typescript, Henry S. Baird Papers, Box 4, Folder 4, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.
- 31 Bruce Paulson, "Komick, 1822-84, a biography," unpublished manuscript, collection of the author. Thanks to Mr. Paulson for sharing his research with me. Quote from John Ware's *Standard History of Waupaca County*.
- 32 Stephen Mack to H.M. Whittmore, Pecatoni, Oct. 6, 1847, quoted in David Bishop and Craig G. Campbell, *History of the Forest Preserves of Winnebago County, Illinois* (Rockford: Winnebago County Forest Preserve Commission, 1979) 35.
- 33 Mary Martell, *Our People the Indians*, p. 53.
- 34 Lucy E. Murphy interview with Rosemary Stephens, Geri Curley, Phil Barrette, and Doris Barrette, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, August 1, 2002. Myra Lang also said that her grandparents kept a place on their farm for Indians to stop on their travels, and "always treated them right, and fed them and so on." Lucy Murphy interview with Myra Lang and Chuck Lang, Prairie du Chien, August 2, 2002. Announcements

Message from the President

By now you have received a registration form and program for the 2007 Annual Meeting and Conference of the Center for French Colonial Studies at the Historic Merou Grotto in West Lafayette, Indiana, November 2-3, 2007, and I hope that you have had an opportunity to see what a truly outstanding program Mary Moyars-Johnson and Dennis Au have planned for us. Further, I hope you have decided that this CFCS conference is a "must" on your schedule for November. Not only will you hear papers delivered on a wide array of subjects related to our area of historic interest, but you will also learn about new initiatives resulting from implementation of the strategic plan adopted by the Board last year.

One of our Board objectives is to have a new CFCS brochure and membership application available for distribution at the Conference. The current brochure is in need of updating, and Ralph Naveaux and Pierre Lebeau have the assignment of revising and printing the new brochure.

Benn Williams, series editor of the Center's extended publications, reports that copies of our 2007 publication on Julien Dubuque and Lead Mining should be available for sale at the Conference. Authored by Bob Wiederaenders and Lucy Murphy, this book has been eagerly anticipated by our CFCS members.

For a number of years it has been a tradition for members of the diplomatic corps to serve as honorary members of the CFCS Board of Directors. We are pleased to welcome two new honorary Board members: Jean-Baptiste Main de Boissière, Consul Général de France, Chicago, and Marc T. Boucher, Délégué, Délégation du Québec, Chicago.

With the next issue of *Le Journal*, the masthead will no longer reflect Pierre Lebeau's name as editor. Pierre has served as the *Le Journal* editor for ten years and in this capacity has produced a quarterly publication that merits our praise. It is not an easy task to find news and stories of interest to fill 18 pages, but throughout his editorship he has succeeded in doing this, and we are most grateful to him. Pierre has decided it is time to relinquish the editorship, and it was with regret that we accepted his request that we find a new editor. Fortunately, another well-qualified CFCS member has agreed to assume those duties. He is Michael Nassaney, Professor of Anthropology at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, who takes over as editor with the Winter Issue. I am glad to report that Pierre will remain on the Board of Directors and continue to play a major role in the activities of the Center.

See you in West Lafayette.

Ruth A. Bryant

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Neither the editorial staff of *Le Journal* nor The Center for French Colonial Studies assumes responsibility for errors of fact or opinions expressed by the contributors. The editor reserves the right to refuse submitted material and to edit material prior to publication.

Deadlines to submit announcements: 12/10, 3/10, 6/10, 9/10.

All correspondence and materials for publication should be addressed to:

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Announcements

Thanks to the good work of John R. Fisher, Sr., all the photos and text of the **calendar Les Français d'Amérique/French in America** (1985 through 2001) can be seen on the following web site: http://www.johnfishersr.net/french_in_america_calendar.html. The calendar was a project of Virgil Benoit, Red Lake falls, MN. It was planned and executed each year by **Marie-Reine Mikesell**, Chicago, IL. The photos and accompanying texts present a series of windows that offer interesting views of the French Heritage in North America. As you open each window, you need to click on it once more to bring it into sharp focus.

The French Colonial Historical Society will hold its 2008 Annual Meeting on May 14-18, in Quebec City. Go to www.frenchcolonial.org for more information.

Quebec City will celebrate the **400th anniversary** of its foundation during 2008. For details of the celebration go to the following official web site:

<http://www.monquebec2008.com/MonQuebec2008/?lang=en-ca>

A Joint Conference sponsored by the Howard R. Lamar Center for the Study of Frontiers, Yale University, and the St. Louis Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, is being held to commemorate the work of Richard Wade and John Francis McDermott. The subject is "Frontier Cities."

The first session was held in New Haven September 28-29. The second is scheduled at the Mercantile Library on the UM-St. Louis campus Friday, February 29, and Saturday, March 1, 2008.

The opening session is at 5 p.m. February 29, at which the keynote speaker is Elliott West, University of Arkansas - "The Urban Frontier in the American West." Following a reception and dinner, Fred Fausz, University of Missouri-St. Louis, will speak on "The 'Accredited Ascendancy' of Auguste Chouteau: Creating the Image of the Fur Trader as City Founder."

On Saturday morning, March 1, panelists will be Karen Marrero, Yale University - "On the Edge of the West: The Roots and Routes of Detroit's 18th Century Urban Culture" and Carolyn Gilman, Missouri Historical Society - "People of the Pen, People of the Sword: Pittsburgh in 1774." Cory Willmott, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, will comment.

There are two panels on Saturday afternoon. Panelists for the first panel are Peter Kastor, Washington University in St. Louis - "Mapping the Urban Frontier: Describing Cities in the Wilderness" and John Neal Hoover, St. Louis Mercantile Library, "Books and Print Culture on 'the Confines of the Wilderness', New Findings and Questions" - A Tribute to John Francis McDermott. Comments will be made by William Foley, University of Central Missouri. The second afternoon panel includes Carlos Schwantes, University of Missouri- St. Louis - "The Transportation Hubs of the Frontier" and Matthew Klinge, Bowdoin College - "Metropolitan Empire: American Cities and the Pacific Rim." Timothy R. Mahoney, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, will comment. Final remarks will be made by Jay Gitlin, Yale University.

For further information, please visit www.yale.edu/lamarcenter or call 203/432-2328 or e-mail lamarcenter@yale.edu.

Editor's Note

This issue marks the end of my editing *Le Journal* after ten full years. It has been a great learning experience that allowed me to meet and know exciting people all very much interested in, and all engaged in the study of the French presence in North America. I thank them for their assistance and cooperation. Unfortunately, my proof-reading skills did not improve much during these years and it would give great pleasure if this last issue would come out without a single typo or factual error. I am very happy to welcome Dr. Michael Nassaney, professor of Anthropology at Western Michigan University as the new editor of *Le Journal*. His professional experience both in anthropology and editing will strengthen and enrich our publication.

B. Pierre Lebeau

The 2007 CFCS Conference at Lafayette, Indiana.

Nov. 2-3, 2007

*The conference program on Saturday, November 3,
will include the following presenters:*

Marcel Bénéteau, Professor, folklore and ethnology, Université de Sudbury and France Martineau, Professor, Lettres françaises, Université d'Ottawa

Charle-André Barth's 'Journal: Linguistic and Historical Notes.

An analysis of Barth's "Journal" of wintering at the Fort Wayne Portage in the winter of 1765-66.

René Chartrand, Former Chief Curator, Parks Canada, author

"Joys, Trials, and Tribulations of a French Garrison in a Wilderness Fort."

This paper is based on insightful accounts of life in the frontier forts of New France written by various classes of soldiers.

Carl Ekberg, Professor Emeritus, Illinois State University

"Slavery and Racism: Illinois Country Parado." This paper examines the striking differences between slavery in French Illinois and the nineteenth century American South.

Rick Jones, III, Indiana State Archaeologist

"Archaeological Investigations of French and Historic Native American Sites in Indiana." The presentation is an overview/synthesis including theory and recent investigations.

Michael Strezewski, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Southern Indiana

"Investigations at Kethtippecanuck, a French and Wea Trading Town on the Wabash River."

The paper focuses on recent archaeological on the excavations at Kethtippecanuck.

Hotel rooms are blocked at:

Holiday Inn Select City Centre,
515 South Street, Lafayette, IN, 47901
The special CFCS rate is \$95/night.

800-423-1137/765-423-1000.

Information regarding fees, dinner cost, etc. will be posted on the web site in July.

Correction

The editor regrets omissions made in the listing of Corporate, Patron and Sustaining members in the Summer issue of Le Journal. These are the correct listings:

Corporate (\$500): Lawrie Dean

Sustaining (\$100): Mary Bannister, Mark Barbeau, Ruth Bryant, Bernard Duhaime, Corwith Hamill, Carole Henriod Hohlman, Jane Robert, Steven D. Swearingin, H. Randolph Williams.

Patrons (\$50): Phil Bolian, Carl Ekberg, Fred Fausz, Marcia, Lebeau, Pierre Lebeau, Mary Moyars-Johnson, Nancy Hamill.

History As They Lived It: A Social History of Prairie du Rocher, Ill.

By Margaret Kimball Brown

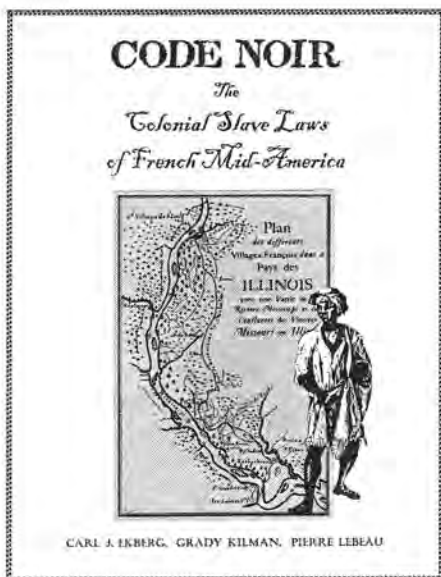


Margaret Kimball Brown has written a new, comprehensive study of Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, that covers the history of the area from 1500 through the founding of the town in 1722, and up to the present day.

Prairie du Rocher was founded on the east bank of the Mississippi, some forty air miles southeast of St. Louis. It is centered on the broad alluvial plain of the Mississippi River, near high limestone bluffs that bound it to the east. With a population more or less stabilized at 600 people, it is the only one of the seven French colonial settlements that remains a small village.

"Prairie du Rocher's suitability for study," Brown writes, "lies in its continuity, its stability of size as a small community, and the availability of records for the entire period of its existence."

The 370-page paperback, with 27 photographs, a dozen charts and three maps, retails for \$22.95, and is available at selected book stores or by mail from The Patrice Press, Box 85639, Tucson AZ 85754-5639. There is a \$4.95 charge for shipping the first book, \$1.50 for each additional item. The firm maintains a toll-free number, 1/800/367-9242, for Visa or MasterCard orders.



Code Noir. The Colonial Slave Laws of French Mid-America, the new CFCS extended publication has just been published. Edited by William Potter, it features an introductory article by Carl Ekberg, the complete French text of the *Code Noir de la Louisiane* of 1724 and an English translation on opposite pages as well as facsimiles of a number of related documents from the Kaskaskia Manuscript collection with English translation. (67 pages, illustrations.)

"Vernon V. Palmer, an authority on legal history, has recently opined that the Black Code 'was one of the most important codes in the history of French codes.' Given French preoccupation with codifying laws—under the monarchy, the empire, and the various republics—this is a very large statement. Credit must be given to the Center for French Colonial Studies for sponsoring the

publication of this welcome new translation of the Code." (From the *Introduction* by Carl Ekberg.)

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THE VOYAGEUR
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THE FUR TRADE'S PROFESSIONAL BOATMAN IN MID AMERICA



BY
MARGARET K. BROWN
ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY
FRENCH COLONIAL STUDIES
NUMBER 1

The Voyageur in the Illinois Country. The Fur Trade's Professional Boatman in Mid America. By Margaret K. Brown, Ph.D.

This story of the Illinois Country voyageur is gleaned largely from an assemblage of some 7000 unsorted and mostly unpublished French documents and records known collectively as the Kaskaskia Manuscripts. Few people are as familiar with this collection as Dr. Brown, who has worked with this and other caches of French Illinois records for years. (38 pages, maps,

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French Colonial Studies: Le Pays des Illinois. Selections From Le Journal, 1983-2005. Edited by Margaret Kimball Brown

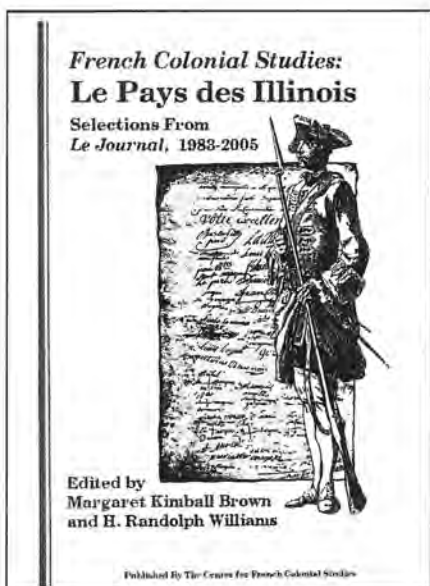
and H. Randolph Williams. 132 pages. Naperville, IL: Center for French Colonial Studies, 2006. ISBN: 1-4243-2154-9

The seventeen articles, selected from more than twenty years of publication, are organized in thematic sections: the French Experience, Sources of Information, the French Language and Culture, the People, the French Heritage and Culture. They reflect the interests of the variety of persons who have participated in the annual conferences of the Center, or whose work has been published in *Le Journal*. Each thematic section is summarized briefly and a short résumé of the author precedes each article.

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