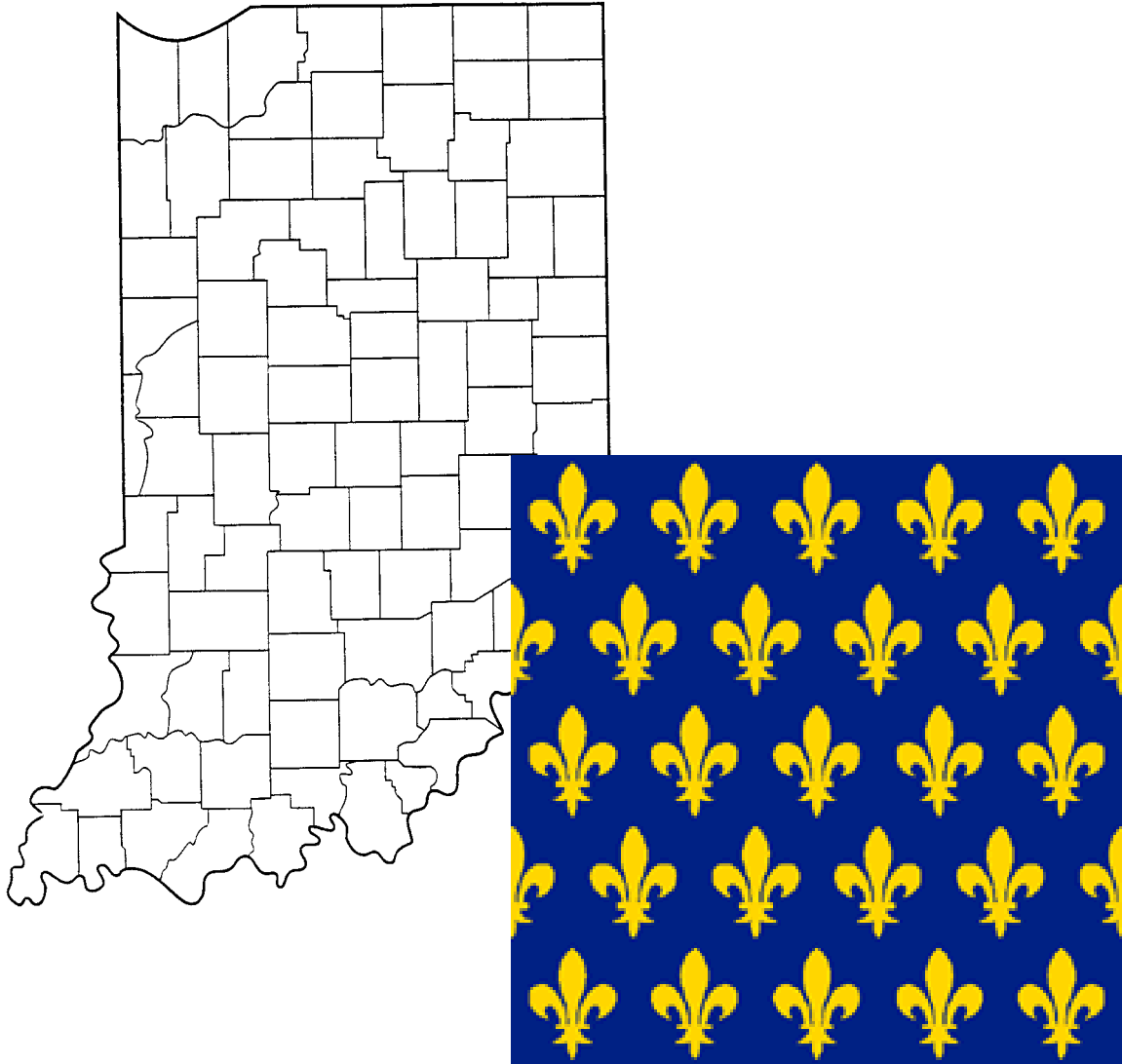


# Teaching the French Language Using Architecture, Archaeology, and Heritage

Revised 2004



INDIANA DEPARTMENT OF  
NATURAL RESOURCES



HISTORIC PRESERVATION  
AND ARCHAEOLOGY

# Teaching the French Language Using Architecture, Archaeology, and Heritage

Revised 2004

Department of Natural Resources  
Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology

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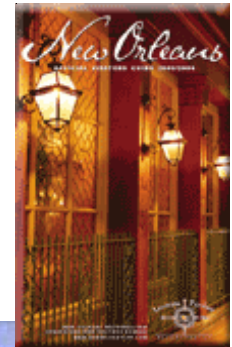
# The French in Indiana: An Introduction

When you think of French history, immediately your mind wanders to Charlemagne, the Bastille, or Napoleon. When I say the French in North America you think of Quebec or New Orleans. But this heritage is closer than you think.

Indiana has a long tradition of French heritage, much of which is still visible today. The purpose of the *Foreign Language Project* is to assist educators in the incorporation of this rich heritage into their curriculum. Whether a field trip to Vincennes or Vevay or a discussion of French traders in Fort Wayne, your students can learn about Indiana history and the importance that the French and French speaking Swiss had on our state's development.

Fisherman were the earliest French visitors to the continent. They arrived on the eastern coasts of modern day Canada, but a lack of documentation makes it impossible to know the extent of exploration. Therefore, our first acknowledged French explorer becomes Jacques Cartier, whose 1534, 1535, and 1541 expeditions sought routes through northern waterways.

Eventually, French explorers ventured to Indiana soil. The issue of the first Frenchman to enter into the future state is debatable. Not all expeditions were charted and this territory was still a relatively unknown land to the French. Some historians claim Jacques Marquette to have been the state's earliest French visitor. Other scholars believe that René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle was the first Frenchman to traverse Indiana—even if his route merely passed through the northwest corner of the state.



*Traditional view of French history.*

Long before any European came to present day Indiana, Native Americans lived here. For many, their first contacts with Europeans were the French Missionaries and fur traders. Soon French fur traders moved into the area bringing with them a trading culture to Indiana. European manufactured goods were in demand among Native Americans; in exchange, animal fur was wanted for the fashion industry in Europe. To learn more about the fur trade industry, see the chapter *The Fur Trade in Indiana*. Written records from the missionaries, fur trading companies, and the soldiers describe what early Indiana was like and what the people who lived here were like.

Posts were created in close proximity to Native American villages. All the posts were, at one time or another, sites of fortification with small military contingents assigned to defend the town or region. At all times, all three were primarily trading posts. The French settling Indiana set up three major posts: Kekionga, Ouiatanon, and Vincennes. Kekionga, also

called Fort Miamis (current day Fort Wayne). As early as 1686, Fort Miamis served as a French trading post, making this location the oldest continually inhabited European community in the area. Early fur traders could come up the Maumee River to Fort Miami and then portage across to the Wabash River, making Fort Miami known as “The Gateway to the West.”

In 1717, a French army officer, Francois-Marie Picote, founded Fort Ouiatanon in Tippecanoe County near Lafayette. This fort, built to expand the French fur trade business, secured trade routes. Fort Ouiatanon was the first fortified European settlement in what is now Indiana. It was established in 1717 as a military outpost to prevent British expansion into the Ohio and Wabash country. The fort served as a trading post and stopping point for the voyageurs from Quebec. French voyageurs annually descended the Wabash to trade their goods for furs trapped by the Native people. Some remained there to establish homes. This tranquil era continued until the French and Indian War (1754-63) when the French lost all of their North American lands to England.

Post Vincennes became a center for French settlement when it was founded in 1732. It blossomed into a sizeable town and became the center of French activity in Indiana. By 1746, forty families and African slaves had settled in Vincennes. Control over this post had great bearing on control over major continental waterways, as the adjacent Wabash River led to the period’s most prominent thoroughfare, the Mississippi River. A more comprehensive study of forts is present in the chapter on archaeological findings in French settlements. Several chapters on Vincennes offer more information on this community.

In 1763, the French lost the Seven Years’ War to the British. Also known as the French and Indian War, France and England fought for possession of the newly colonized land of America. In the Treaty of Paris, France was forced to cede all its territory east of the Mississippi River, except New Orleans. France’s Spanish allies were forced to give up Florida because of their role in the war. The treaty placed Vincennes in British hands. Still, the French of this fort were able to maintain a degree of autonomy. The British offered the inhabitants of the Wabash Valley the opportunity to leave the region. The British authority notified the remaining habitants of their rights to continue practicing Catholicism, but also mandated that these French swear allegiance to the British monarch, King George III. This agreement seemed to work until the early 1770s when the citizens of Vincennes were accused of inciting native rebellions in British territories. Under British control and with possible eviction looming, Vincennes survived based on a series of petitions.



*The Cathedral in Vincennes, one of the oldest Catholic Churches in the United States and a focal point of the French in Vincennes (DHPA files).*



*This monument to Francis Vigo in Vincennes, Indiana commemorates this Frenchmen's contributions to the settling of western Indiana (DHPA Files).*

## **NEW HARMONY**

New Harmony is located in southwestern Indiana near Evansville. The village was found in 1814. Settlement in Posey County, began in 1805 with migrants from the upland regions of the south. These people were part of the general Trans-Appalachian migration to the west. While most of these settlers were of British ancestry, the county also had a small French and French-Swiss population. Most had come to New Harmony with Robert Dale Owen, although one of the wealthiest families in antebellum New Harmony was a French born family who arrived in the 1840.

## **VEVAY**

In 1802 Jean Jacques Dufour led a party of French-speaking Swiss to settle along the Ohio River in the Indiana Territory. He purchased 3700 acres, which would become Switzerland County. The land

was divided into long lots perpendicular to the river and resold to establish vineyards and make wine. By 1810 residents of this community were shipping wines to the east coast by way of New Orleans. A cottage exists there today for tours (The Venoge Cottage).

As has been alluded to already, the French did not blaze the path of their American successors. Not only did they prefer the urban setting to the burgeoning agrarian lifestyle of the British and the soon-to-be Americans, the French also differed in their dealings with the native civilizations. Although still manipulative, – a standard trait of the European and American conquerors – the French considered themselves to be merely trading partners to the Natives of the region.

As has been seen and will be demonstrated in the following chapters, the French led a lifestyle different from their British and American counterparts. More detail will be added during the course of this work. It would be a shame to lose the knowledge of such a culture, one which the French strove so hard to maintain in the colonial period.



# THE FUR TRADE IN INDIANA UP TO 1760

By Elizabeth J. Glenn  
abridged version

Conceptually the fur trade is simple. In North America, Europeans looked for ways to finance the expensive enterprise of exploring, conquering, and settling the New World. Obviously land itself, timber for shipbuilding, and new crops (like tobacco) filled part of that need. However, nothing was quite as pervasive and long lasting as the mechanisms developed for the acquisition of furs. In Europe, the market for furs and skins was largely dependent on fashion and military activities—the need for horse trappings and soldier accouterments (belts, cartridge boxes, and boots). Considering the amount of warfare in Europe during any century, military needs alone could account for demand—fashion demands were more quixotic.

People in Europe wanted skins and furs that could most knowledgeably and conveniently be obtained by Native Americans. Europe manufactured goods that were in demand among Native Americans so the furs and skins could be exchanged for the goods. The process at its most basic level was also simple. Present what Europeans had to trade, state the price, arrange for a time and place, and trade. The result was the closest thing to a symbiotic relationship or a system of reciprocity between the peoples of the Old and New World as compared to the outright exploitation of the New by the Old that often prevailed. Since it was a system of such long duration as it moved from one end of the New World to the other, it was also a system that in and of itself changed the cultures of all parties immediately involved.



Certain features, good, bad, and indifferent characterized the trade long before it reached the tribes inhabiting Indiana during the trade period.

\*Early trading nations initially hesitated (for their own protection) to trade guns. Once the Dutch broke that precedent the French discovered that for their trading partners to maintain a balance of power they too needed guns. Hence, guns were part of the trade by the 1640s.

\*A commodity in high demand and with an even more detrimental effect on Indian communities was alcohol.

\*The trade had a built-in dependency. Since trade goods could not be manufactured or repaired by Native Americans, once lost, broken, buried with the owner, or worn out only the Europeans could replace or repair the goods. Also, since many items replaced

pre-existent technology, when that technology was lost or inconvenient the trader was a necessity.

\*The desire for the products meant that furs which were in high demand quickly became trapped out. The now “dependent” trapper nation had to move on to the trapping grounds of others.

\*As a Catholic nation, the mission effort of especially the Jesuits was quite aggressive and missions without exception went into active trading areas.

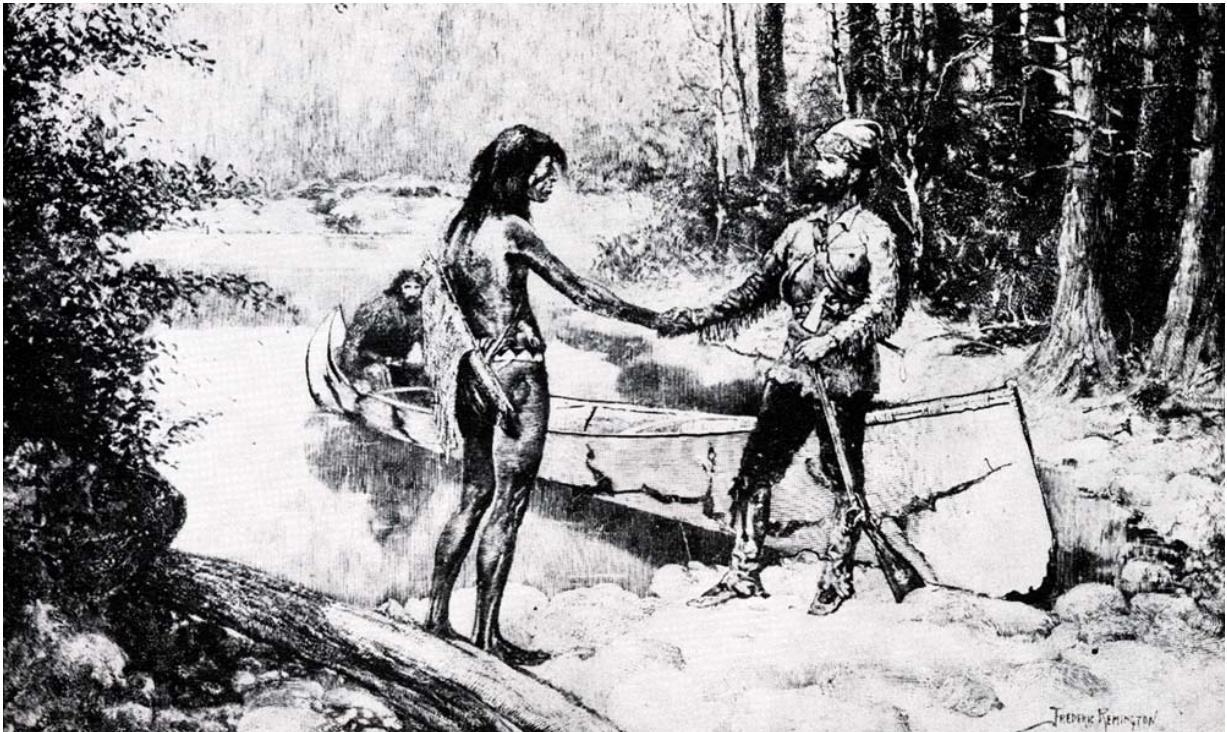
\*Since France had few colonists and since direct trade could be effected more easily with primary social alliances like marriage, French traders frequently married into the tribe. This led to a French-Indian population, the metis.

\*Much of the trade was on consignment creating debt obligations. Goods were trusted to a trader by a company. He traded the goods with the Indian for the furs he would collect next year, he returned to his supplier with the furs, and paid his “debt” with hopefully a profit. He was given a new consignment

for the next winter’s trapping season. The trade had a distinctive cycle and distinctive personnel.

## Initial Trade With the Indians of Indiana

Trade with all tribes with early historical residence in Indiana, began in Wisconsin where these groups had sought refuge from the Iroquois wars. They were contacted by the French by the 1650s. The French attitude was that they had claimed the land for the King of France and the Indians were subjects to the King. Already by the late 1600s, there was apprehension about trade competition from the British and the French wanted tribes near them as trading partners (control) and buffers. Showing their independence from the French, they settled where they wanted and probably where they had been before—along the lower Maumee and Wabash rivers. This location did just what the French feared—it gave the Miami tribes ac-



cess to English trade. The Miami utilized this position to take advantage of better British prices for goods; become something of middle-men themselves to other groups; and, to be in a political position to play the French and English off on one another.

Since almost all transport in the trade was by rivers and lakes, they became the highways of the fur trade. As Indiana became resettled by the Indians to be joined soon by the French, transport capability was an important factor. This connection became even more crucial to the French with the addition of Louisiana—now they needed to politically and defensively connect their two provinces. This great distance could be avoided by another portage, controlled by the Miami near their town of Kekionga (Fort Wayne, Indiana). This was a portage that went from the Maumee River of Lake Erie via its tributary the St. Mary to the Little River of the Wabash joining at the Forks of the Wabash in present-day Huntington. Miami unwillingness to move would seem to combine with French interests. Doing something about founding posts on the Maumee-Wabash route seems necessary.

## Posts

Each of the three posts of the 1700s was in close proximity to a majority Indian population. Fort Miami was in present-day Fort Wayne and was near one or more towns of the Miami proper with later settlements of Delaware and Shawnee. Ouiatanon, near present-day LaFayette, was surrounded more consistently by a heterogeneous population of Wea, Kickapoo, Shawnee and Mascouten. Vincennes drew the majority of the Piankashaw to its immediate vicinity. All



the posts were, at one time or another during the 1700s, sites of fortification with small military contingents assigned occasionally to defend the town or region. At all times, all three were primarily trading posts with their European and metis populations involved with the Indian trade.

A special geographical feature that drew the French to Fort Miami was a nearby portage, which permitted an important connection between the Great Lakes and Mississippi drainages. A second important characteristic of Fort Miami was its proximity to the Miami Indians, influential “middle-men” for the Indian trade. The English gained control of the region in 1760.

Ouiatanon, “officially” established earlier than Fort Miami, was located near that area of the Maumee-Wabash waterway where the Wabash shifts from shallow to deeper water shipping. It was near the principal village of the Wea, who like the Miami proper also refused relocation. Being west of Fort Miami, Ouiatanon suffered some, but not all, of the same historical vicissitudes. During the 1740s and 50s, some of the Wea of Ouiatanon were, like the Miami, attracted by British trading opportunities which brought them into the conflicts of the trade competition.

Most of the Piankashaw, the primary group associated with Vincennes, were drawn to the post for



trade. Its distance along the trade waterway increased the importance of Vincennes as a provisioning stop making agriculture a more important endeavor here than at the other two posts.

Vincennes was a larger, more complex community than either Ouiatanon or Miami Town. With 80 to 90 families by the end of the 1760s, Vincennes was a considerable community indeed. And, although the American accounts don't reflect it, there were prosperous traders in residence there. With the capability of registering land claims as a part of Louisiana Province, a segment of the citizenry farmed and ran cattle on the commons. The "trading" town was laid out around the fort (when one existed). The original land claims and the farming community mentioned by Heckewelder ranged primarily south and west of the town. For a more detailed description of Vincennes, see the several articles on the city.

All three trading posts are French and Metis in origin and through at least the first half century of their existence. Unlike posts further north and west, they were vulnerable to Anglo-American trade competition and influence sooner. All had populations involved primarily in the Indian trade. Each had a specialty dealing with the route they served, protected, and exploited (the Maumee/Wabash). Fort Miami (Miami Town) serviced an important portage; Ouiatanon controlled the shift from shallow to deep-water shipping; Vincennes could and did provision trade and small military expeditions. Vincennes was by far the largest post. The populations at Miami Town and Ouiatanon were similar in size and smaller. Ouiatanon was the only post that did not continue into a present-day population center—it was abandoned in the late 1700s.

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## Typical Trade Goods

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**Cloth:** Linen, Silk, and Wool

**Ready-made Clothing:** Shirts, Blankets, and Handkerchiefs

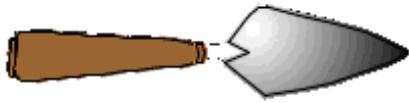
**Tools and Weapons:** Guns, Flints, Powder, Lead, Knives, Hatchets, Arrow Heads (metal), and Fish Hooks

**Household:** Kettles, Thread, Sewing Needles, Bottles, Decorative Beads, Mirrors, Brass Rings, Combs, and Quills

**Just Stuff:** Brandy, Tobacco, Paint, Bacon, and Salt

The big change in 1760 was the introduction of silver ornaments into the trade.

**Silver Ornaments:** (from 1760-1802), Head Bands, Arm Bands, Wrist Bands, Broaches, Gorgets, Crosses, Earbobs, Boxes, Ear Wheels, Bugles, Hair Pipes, Rings, Hair Plates



# Archaeology (*l'archeologie*) and the French Culture in Indiana

By Amy Johnson

There is a rich history of the French culture in what is now the state of Indiana. Starting in 1679 with LaSalle's explorations, the French have been a part of this state's history. The French had significant influences in many locations of Indiana, but particularly three important areas of our state (Post Ouiatenon, Fort Miamis, and Post Vincennes) (Jones 1997:8). For a number of archaeologists, the study of this culture, and the material remains that have been left behind, has been intriguing and exciting. The things that we can learn about past cultures, through the science of archaeology, are almost limitless. This document will provide the reader with information on a sample of the archaeological excavations and research which

have been conducted to learn more about the French in Indiana. Some of the locations where these "digs" have been conducted are still places that can be visited to learn even more.

One location of excavations is Vincennes, Indiana. Vincennes is the oldest historic city in our state and has a wonderful French history. Archaeologists and other researchers have been interested in the history of the sites in and around this area for many years. One of these sites is the home of French trader Michel Brouillet. His home (the "Old French House") was built around 1806 and still stands today for visitors to see and study. Archaeologists began excavation work at this site in the mid 1970s, and digs were conducted in the 1980s as well. Although the house structure is still there, the surrounding yard and grounds have provided us with invaluable evidence concerning the use of the house, outbuildings (*les dependences*), the lot, as well as information about the Brouillet and French occupations of the area (Jones 1982:3).

Archaeological reconnaissance survey (walking over the ground at systematic intervals looking for artifacts (*un objet faconne*) as well as features) was conducted in 1993 in the Vincennes area. The survey was conducted to locate information regarding the French Canadian occupation of the Wabash valley

*The map to the left was produced by archaeologists showing the location of the house and features discovered. These features include: postholes, trash pits and a cluster of bricks. Specific artifacts recovered include such items as ceramics, pipe stems, glass bottles, and metal objects. (Drawing from Jones 1982: 41).*

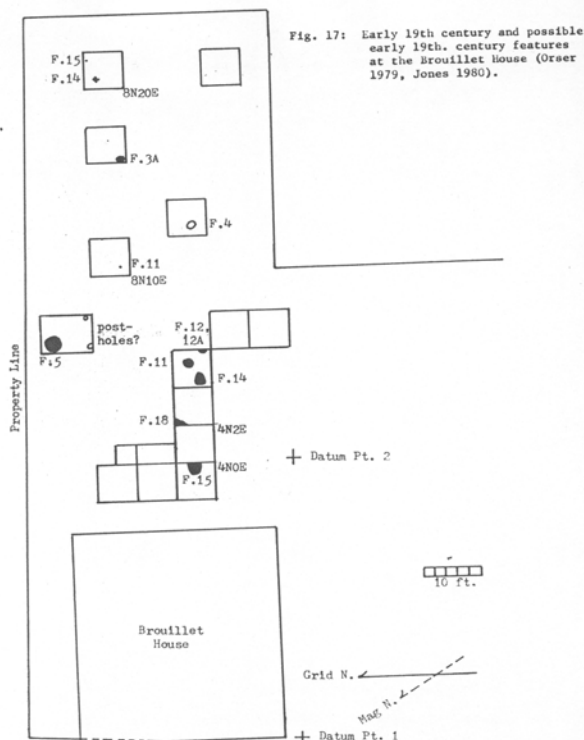
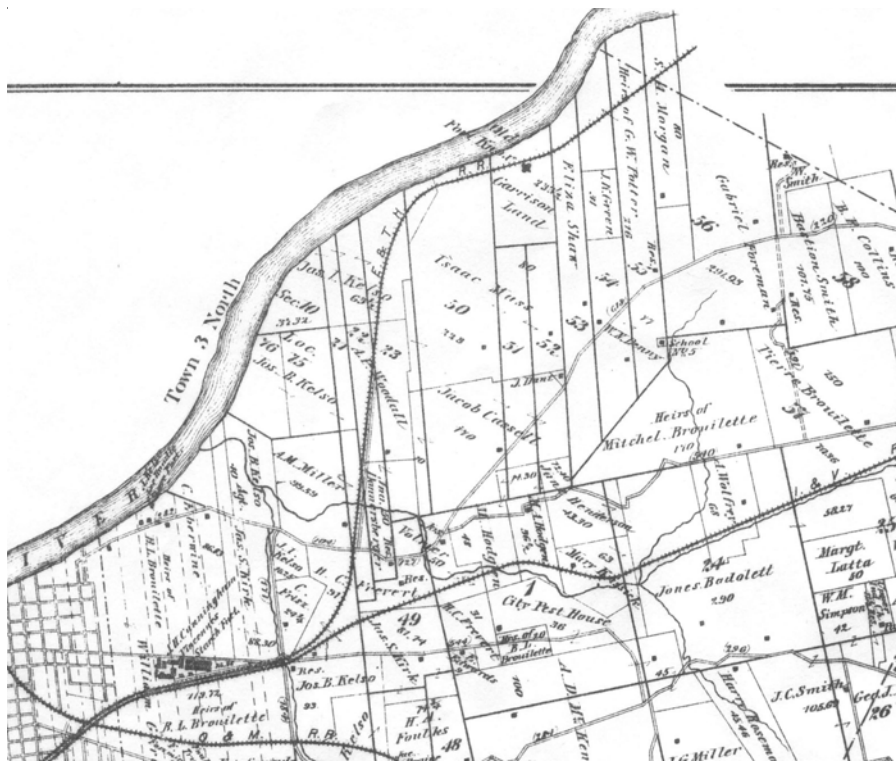


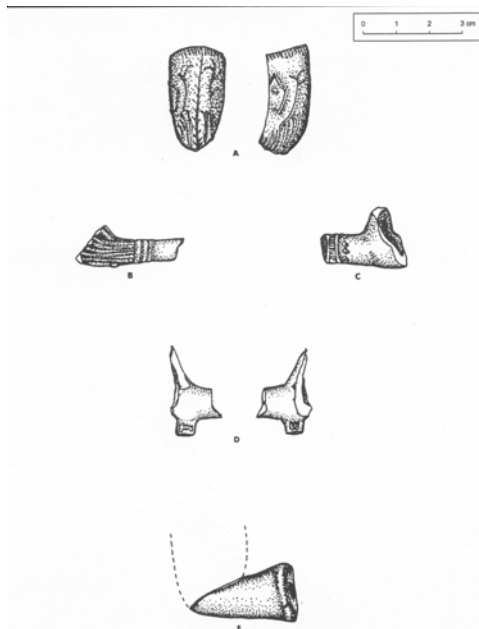
Fig. 17: Early 19th century and possible early 19th century features at the Brouillet House (Greer 1979, Jones 1980).



This map from 1880 (Lake & Co.) shows the classic lines of long-lot land (*un champ en long*) divisions in the Vincennes area. Maps such as these often provide valuable clues for archaeologists about the historic features in an area.

during the 1800s (Mann 1994:1). The study has helped us learn more about long-lot settlement pattern, the French Canadian habitants of the Vincennes area, their artifacts and adaptations (*les adaptations*) (Mann 1994:195).

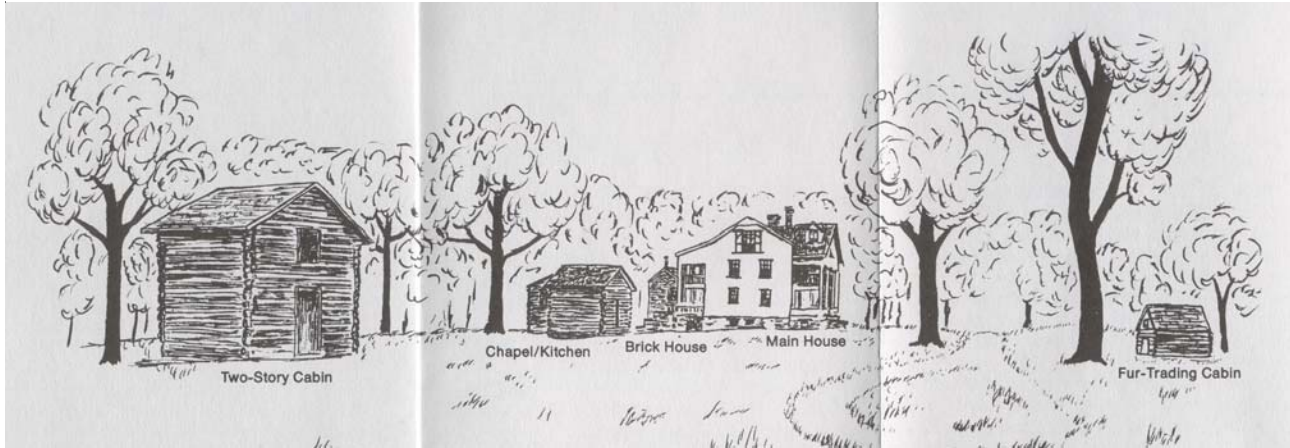
Fort Ouiatenon was established by the French near Lafayette in 1717. For years this location was the center of the fur trade (*la traite des fourrures*) in Indiana. The site is so significant it was placed on the National Register of Historic Places (today a constructed blockhouse, built in the 1930s, reflects the French presence in the area). Over the years, beginning in the late 1960s, archaeologists have conducted excavations at the location of what was once the fort. Historic artifacts such as those shown here can tell us much about the people who made and utilized them. These metal items were located in the vicinity of the Fort Ouiatenon site.



Warren County has also been the location of several archaeological investigations of a French Canadian site. Beginning in the early 1990s, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Zachariah Cicott Trading Post site has been investigated archaeologically because it provides great opportunities to learn about French Canadian adaptations, material culture, and interaction with Native Americans (Mann and Jones 1994). For almost a decade, various archaeologists have identified the location of the trading post (and investigated other nearby areas), and learned about artifacts, architecture, and people (Mann 1992, 1999; Helmkamp 2000).

In Porter County, the French Canadian Bailly Homestead is

In the illustration to the left, recovered fragments of clay pipes are shown. These items have helped us “explore both the active/symbolic and utilitarian (functional) aspects of one type of material culture recovered at the site” (Mann 1999:104, 120).



This drawing shows the Bailly homestead as it might have looked (source: Bailly/Chellberg Trail brochure, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore).

now part of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Honore Gratien Joseph Bailly de Messein built a trading post (*un poste de traite*) and home at this location in 1822. Two major Indian trails met, as well as a canoe route, so this made an ideal spot for Bailly to settle in (source: Bailly/Chellberg Trail brochure, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore). Archaeologists have also expanded our knowledge about this north-western Indiana site (Limp 1974; Munson and Crouch 1976). Their excavations have revealed much information regarding the numerous structures that have existed at the site, the relationships of those structures, their alterations, and the inhabitants. All of this type of information has assisted the Park staff with interpretations of the property. The site is so significant to the history of the region that it has been declared a National Historic Landmark (the highest honor the federal government gives to historic sites).

Studying sites with French associations can take many forms. Someone can research the site by looking at documents (*des documents*), studying old maps of the property, and more. Archaeologists take all those types of research (*la recherche*) and expand upon them. The information and artifacts which are discovered are invaluable in terms of helping us piece together this important part of our state's history. Archaeology is happening at places all over Indiana, and this hand-out has only discussed a few places where archaeology has studied French, or French Canadian culture in our state. If you are interested in learning more, contact the Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology at 317/232-1646.



Photo courtesy of Dr. Rick Jones.



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# Architecture of the French in the New World

As the settlers came to the New World, one of their first concerns was shelter. The French brought with them the construction knowledge they had from their villages; the type of shelters and material they used in France was the type of shelters and materials they first used to construct in their new land. In Europe, wood was scarce, therefore contemporary buildings were made primarily of stone. In the New World, the abundance of wood and the lack of good stone caused the Frenchman to shift to the creation of all-wood houses. The earliest constructions were half timber and half stone with a plaster infill. Called the *maison encolombage* these dwellings were similar to the contemporary structures found in France. The extreme temperatures in the Great Lakes region could damage the material between the posts; also the freezing and thawing could shift the timbers out of alignment. As they learned to use the wood more effectively, came the appearance of the *piece sur piece*, meaning “stick on stick,” this type of structure used logs, either squared or left in their original found shape, stacked one upon another. This construction type relied on upright posts set in the ground (*poteaux en terre*) or on woods (*poteaux sur sole*). The *piece sur piece* house was a total wood construction, without the large amounts of infill needed in the other types of construction. This type of construction was involved with the fur trading system and its remains have been found wherever that industry had been. With the abundance of wood, the unsuitability of the climate for mortar infill, and the lack of stones for construction, would make the *piece sur piece* the



natural choice. All the timbers were hewn on all four sides (*sur les quatre faces*) and cut to the suitable lengths prior to the assembly of the walls. Though dovetailing (*a queue d'aronde*) was common in the British colonies, the French Canadians preferred to use their own style of joinery until the British take over of New France in 1760.

Steep roofs shed rain and snow more easily than other forms. Various roofing material could be used including cedar shakes (*bardeau*) or sheets of tree bark. Cedar shakes were preferred because of their resilience to decay, fireproof qualities, and their light weight. Another popular form of roofing was overlapping boards laid parallel to the eaves (*planches chevauchees*). The boards were placed over a layer of tongue and groove (*embouvete*) or plain bards, which provided a further snow and rain barrier. Later homes would also have small dormers (*lucarnes*). An inexpensive material for siding would be tree bark, but board siding (*planches*) appeared by 1749. The earliest cladding was whitewashed (*lait de chaux*) over a layer of plaster (*crepi* or *gobetage*).

The interiors of the French log homes reflected the practicality of the people who built them. Houses were generally of two stories, with the primary activity area and living space on the first floor, and sleeping quarters usually on the second. The first floor was divided into two rooms; the larger of which was called the “winter” and the smaller the “summer” room. The kitchen was used as a living room for eating in the summer, since cooking was done outside. The “winter” room served as a room in the winter months when cooking took place in the kitchen or “summer” room. Often the winter room would be the location of the house’s primary heat source. If a house contained a third room on the first floor it was considered a “genteel” home. The partitioning of the first floor was created by the use of planed boards or horizontal logs with mortar or clay infill.

As the French moved south, the slightly milder temperature and weather allowed for variations in the housing styles. Later homes, like the Michel Brouillet house (ca 1804) in Vincennes changed the architectural style slightly. In the Brouillet home, the logs stand vertically instead of lying horizontally. A mixture of mud and grass (bousillage) held the posts upright and filled the spaces between them. This house still stands in Vincennes and can be toured.

## Vincennes’ French House

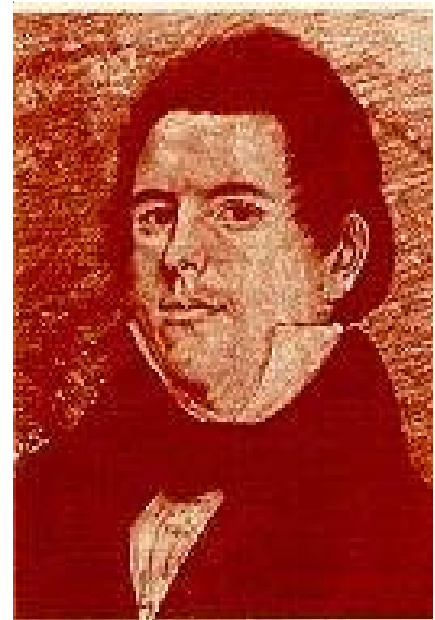
By Beth Dotson

From the December 1983-January 1984 issue of *Outdoor Indiana*

It is Michel Brouillet’s house which stands restored, one block from the Wabash River, reminding Vincennes of its French roots and the people who bartered with the Indians, fought with the British and became Americans. Within the walls of the French house lived Brouillet and his family who witnessed the battles and birth of the state of Indiana.

Hours of sorting through old records helped Richard Day, curator of the French house, and other members of the Old Northwest Corporation, piece together the story of the house and of Michel Brouillet. Day continually adds to his box filled with copies of letters, church records, treaty documents, tax records, legal testimonies and photographs that help him tell the story of Brouillet, his home and the French culture that embraced Vincennes in the early 19th century.

The Brouillet house is the oldest example of French Creole architecture in the state. It is also one of the few posts on sill homes still



Michel Brouillet

standing in the Mississippi Valley where the French settled in the 17th century with hopes of prospering in the fur trade business.

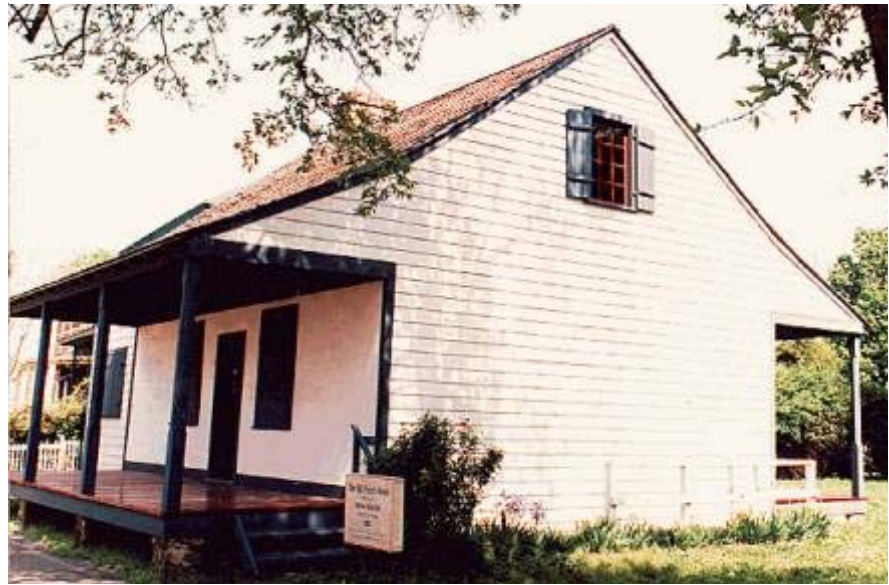
Three centuries later, Hoosiers in Vincennes uncovered a remnant of those fur trading days in the form of the Broufflet home. When the Old Northwest Corporation was looking for a French house to restore in 1974

for their bicentennial project, they received a call from the owner of the home. Her house was unusual, she said, because its logs stood vertically instead of lying horizontally.

When Brouillet built his house - between 1804 and 1806, as confirmed by historical architect Richard Hagan - his carpenter followed the half timber mode of construction which the French had carried to the United States from Europe. The posts were fitted into the oak sill that was laid on a sandstone foundation. Batons and a mixture of mud and prairie grass called bousillage held the posts upright and filled the spaces between them.

The original plaster, which was made of burned muscle shells, sand and water, is visible in the grainary, or attic, of the home. Visitors can see the construction where the plaster was removed in the front room of the house. Guides also point out the original fireplace, ceiling beams and base boards.

It was into this house, of the then middle class value of \$200 which Brouillet brought his bride, Marie Louise Drouet de Richarville, in 1806. The house con-



*The Brouillet House, Vincennes, Indiana*

tained three rooms: a cellar, a grainary, two galleries (porches) and a summer kitchen. According to Day, most of the furnishings in the house have been borrowed to make the house look as it did for the Brouillets. The two butternut log chairs and trussel table in the grande chambre, or living room/kitchen, belonged to the Brouillets.

When Brouillet was working as a fur trader, he spent his summers gathering pelts from the Indians so his wife and eight children were often left to take care of the homestead themselves. Outbuildings surrounding the house helped them with this task by storing supplies they needed and housing their animals. The French were proud of their orchards, gardens and animals from which they could sustain themselves.

To make the Brouillet homestead look as much like it did 175 years ago, the Old Northwest Corporation recently planted an orchard. "We have the problem of people stealing fruit from our trees," said Day. "The French had the same problem. They had Indians and Americans wandering the streets and they would sometimes help themselves to the fruit on the trees.



What the Brouillets did not hear from their unwelcome visitors about current events, they could hear from their father. According to a legal testimonial given by Brouillet when he was 5 years old in 1779, he witnessed George Rogers Clark's execution of five Indians during the capture of Fort Sackville in Vincennes. Brouillet also heard stories of the wars in the Mississippi Valley between the French, Americans, Indians and British and the ambiguities of loyalty of the French to the Americans and British from the men who frequented his father's tavern.

As a man, Brouillet had his own stories to tell. Brouillet could share with his family his adventures with the Indians as a trader and spy. Because Brouillet had been educated as a boy, he was an asset to the government, which needed interpreters to help them with Indian relations. Thus, Brouillet was in the perfect position to communicate with the Indians.

Treaties from 1803, 1805, 1812 and 1819 are signed by Capt. Michel Brouillet, interpreter, as well as Territorial Gov. William Henry Harrison's main interpreter, Joseph Barron, Brouillet's brother-in-law. Letters written by Harrison tell of Brouillet being employed as a spy who reported Tecumseh's actions and feelings at Prophet's Town before the Battle of Tippecanoe. Brouillet also worked as a messenger between Fort Harrison, north of Terre Haute and Vincennes. Brouillet also worked as an Indian agent delivering rations and other supplies to the many settlements in the area.

As the Americans drove the British and Indians from their territories, Brouillet moved from the fur trading business to groceries by opening a store with John Francis Bayard in 1820. By that time, the wild terri-

tory Brouillet had grown up in was a state and other Europeans besides the French were moving into the area.

Brouillet lived in his French-style home until he married the widow of Judge Henry Vanderburgh in 1833 after his wife's death two years earlier. He remained owner of the house until his death in 1838, when his estate was divided between his heirs. The *Western Sun* newspaper eulogized the fur trader, spy, interpreter and father as "an old and respectable citizen."

The life and adventures of the man were revived when restoration began on his home in 1974. The house had been remodeled extensively in 1899, Day said, so additions from that time and from other owners were torn down. The original floor revealed markings which indicated where the rooms had been. Also uncovered were original beaded ceiling beams and baseboard with blue paint indicating the color of the trim on Brouillet's house.

A demolition crew also discovered the stairway to the cellar which had apparently been closed by one of the owners because it filled with water. During the excavation, headed by Indiana University archaeologist, Marci Gray, the crew discovered the base of the original double fireplace, the whitewash and a hidden door to the cellar. Speculations about the door include that it was used in the original excavation of the cellar when the house was built or it was part of the ramp on which Brouillet could cart his goods in and out of the storage area.

Further work by the excavation team included digging out the ground 10 feet around the house and in various places in the yard. The dig revealed the loca-

tions of the galleries and summer kitchen which had been demolished.

“There have been several archaeological digs in the backyard,” Day noted. Among the most interesting items found are an old grindstone, a meat hook, a bone-handled fork and knife and a civil war button.

Vincennes carpenter Jack Sievers did the reconstruction of the house working with Hagan to ensure accuracy. He reinforced the cellar and floor and put in a new foundation. Sievers used the double fireplace as a base for the house and reconstructed the ceiling with beams from another house that had been built about the same time as the Brouillet house.

Since the opening of the house, the Old Northwest Corporation has added a summer kitchen and museum. The summer kitchen is furnished with a flour chest, dish rack, meat hooks, a merchant’s scale, candlestick mold and other items that tell visitors about the self-sufficient life the Brouillets lived.

The museum gives visitors a look at the fur trade. It exhibits a 26-foot pirogue made from a black walnut, used by traders to transport their goods along the river. The display includes blankets, beads, pipes and tomahawks which were trading goods. A fur press and its use are illustrated to help visitors understand the work of the man who settled western Indiana.

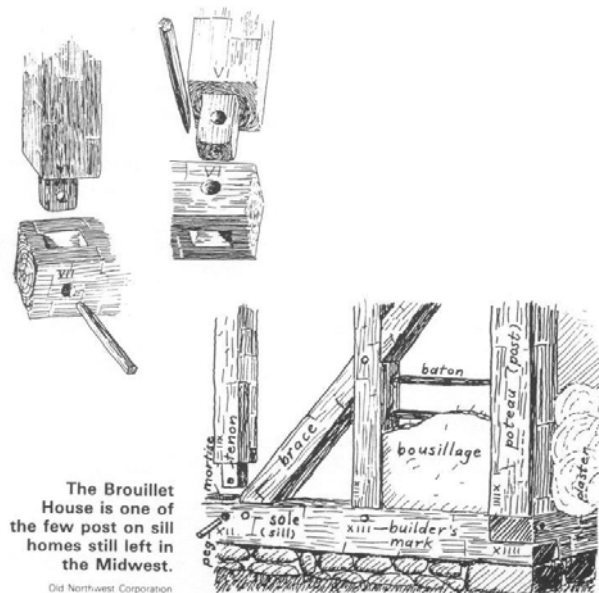
To add to the French aura of the homestead, Day wants to add more to the grounds. The first addition he anticipates is a clay oven in which the French baked bread. He also hopes to add a fence; garden with vegetables such as peas, carrots, tomatoes and potatoes; outbuildings such as an outhouse, chicken house and stable; a French cart; and fur press and other farming tools.

Besides the material items, Day said, “We would like to develop more of an idea of what the French culture was like.” To do this, Day wants to include a person dressed in the French style in the early 19th

century who would tell stories and play a musical instrument of the period.

The Old Northwest Corporation, a non-profit organization, also founded the Sonotobac Indian Mound and Fort Knox 11, both in Vincennes. The Indian mound is being developed to demonstrate the Indian culture. Fort Knox 11, a military post used from 1803 to 1813, has been reconstructed at its original sight to tell its story that revolves around historical figures such as William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor and Tecumseh.

The Old French House Located on First Street, halfway between the Log Cabin at the Vincennes State Historic Site and the George Rogers Clark Memorial. Small admission charge. Hours vary seasonally. For more information or to schedule a group tour, call 1-800-886- 6443. The Old French House is owned by a not-for-profit corporation The Old Northwest Corporation P.O. Box 1979 Vincennes, Indiana 47591.



# THE FRENCH TOWN LOT IN VINCENNES, INDIANA

By Richard Day  
Abridged version

The Vincennes French, like those in Canada, laid out their farms (*terres*) in long, narrow strips at right angles to their main highway, the river. These farms were generally two arpents (about 355 feet) wide, by twenty arpents (7,100 feet) deep. However, unlike the Canadians, who lived on their farms, the Vincennes French reverted to the pattern of the medieval farm village, in which the inhabitants lived together for protection, but also for society, and went out each day to their farms. Also according to the medieval pattern was the large common field (*commune*) adjacent to the villa where the villagers grazed their cattle. Each villager was expected to keep up his section of the enclosure to keep the cattle from the grain fields.

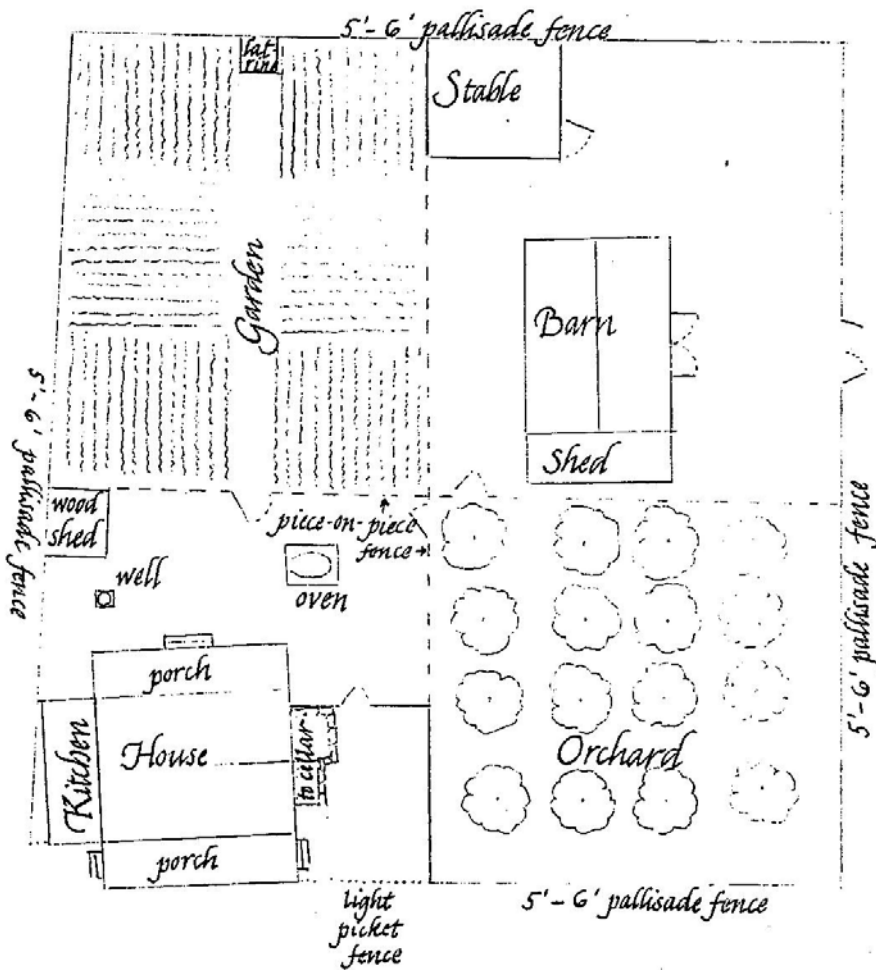
The Vincennes inhabitant usually lived on a town lot measuring 25 toises square. (A toise=16.4 feet, so 160 feet square). The lots could be smaller, especially in the older section of town near the fort. A person could own several lots, either next to each other or scattered about town. However, most often the lots were 25 toises square.<sup>2</sup>

The town lots were almost always encircled with a high fence (*cloture*), and contained, besides the house, an orchard (*verger*), and garden (*jardin*), and buildings such as a barn (*grange*), shed (*hangar*), horse-stable (*ecurie*), well (*puits*), store (*magasin*), oven (*four*), and slave quarters (*cabane a negres*). Although, it is not named, there was also probably an outhouse (*latrine*), as well.

Of course, individual town-lots varied considerably. For example, in 1773 Michel Brouillet, Sr. had a lot 16 toises square, with a house of poteaux en terre with a plank roof, and many other little buildings. On the lot next door in 1793 Pierre Cornoyer also had a lot 16 toises square, with a house of poteaux, a store (*magasin*), a negro-cabin with three slaves, a shed containing 1,340 pounds of tobacco, and other buildings. In his courtyard (*cour*) Cornoyer had two horses, a pair of oxen, a young ox, 11 cows, four pigs, eighteen hens and two cocks. He also had ten lots of 25 toises square and one lot 24 toises square, besides farms in the country.

In 1789 Nicolas Cardinal had two town-lots, one of them 25 toises square, with a house, shed, horse-stable, Negro cabin (with two slaves), well, orchard, garden, and other buildings; on the other lot of 21 toises there was an old barn. Cardinal also had two farms. In 1793 Joseph Andre had a house on a lot only 30 feet wide. In 1793 Antoine Danis had two lots, on one of them, a house, other buildings, and an orchard; while on another lot of 50 toises by 25, he had a barn. In 1793 Joseph Chartier had a house, a barn, and a lot on which there was a well and an orchard, well-fenced.

In 1795 Jean Toulon had a lot 25 toises square, on which he had a house that he used as a trading-store, with storage in the cellar for furs and rum, and a barn containing 140 sheaves of wheat, and a stable con-



Conjectural Plan of French Town Lot

scale 1" = 20'

taining one horse and 30 fowls. He also had 2 hogs (perhaps wandering in the streets), and a pirogue chained up at the riverside. In 1795 Francois Barrois had three lots, with houses on two of them, and a horse-mill (*moulin a cheval*) on a third. Horse-mills also appeared on a number of other lots.

The reasons for the great number of buildings found on the lot are several. First of all, there was tradition. Many of the Canadian settlers came from

the northwest section of France where it was traditional to build many separate farm buildings. But many settlers also came from Brittany, where the house-stable was the rule, so another factor was the availability of plenty of land to build on, and plenty of easily-obtainable wood which allowed the habitant to build specialized buildings, each suited to particular functions. Thus the barn could be walled with planks, or built of simple poles, because the grain needed little protection from the elements, and the cattle provided their own warmth. The horse stable could be built of piece-on-piece (horizontal logs-fitting into vertical frames) because the

horses needed greater protection, the sugar-cabin (*cabane a sucre*) could be simple planks, because it would only be used in the springtime.<sup>14</sup>

The final reason for the many buildings was the danger of fire. In the-dry season, roofing of thatch, shingles, or bark was susceptible to fire from sparks--so much so that in 1721 the "Ordonance de Begon" forbid hunters to even fire their guns in the direction of houses or barns, for fear of starting a fire.



The habitant feared a fire that could wipe out his house, barn, grain, and livestock at the same time, so he was careful to disperse these around the lot, taking care to put the barn as far away as possible from the house, and the outdoor oven from both of these.<sup>15</sup>

In general, the stable and barn were the furthest from the house, with the smaller buildings along the way. The latrine would have been located in a far corner of the yard. The well would have been fairly close to the house. The woodshed would have been near the kitchen entrance and the outdoor oven (but not too close so as to catch fire).<sup>16</sup>

The map of the home of Dumont de Montigny, in New Orleans, dating before 1744, gives a good impression of how one town-lot was arranged. It shows a courtyard about 10 toises square encircled by a high fence of sharpened stakes. The main house (*maison principale*) is located in the center of it. There are lean-tos on either end of the house. In the fore-court, on the left is a pavilion (an outbuilding); on the right side is the kitchen-building and negro-house, with the oven built onto it. In the back courtyard is a tree with a ladder “by which the chickens can climb up the tree to go to bed.” Beyond is a small garden, where the plots are divided by a trellis-covered pathway, leading between two ponds to a large garden, twenty toises deep and thirty toises wide, with the various neatly arranged plots, some of them containing orchards, and in the center, an ornamental bush, or vine. This arrangement would probably have been a little fancy for Vincennes.<sup>17</sup>

The plan of the Tamarois Mission at Cahokia is also useful. It shows an enclosure perhaps 100 feet wide by 300 feet deep. Again the main house divides

the lot in two, with the courtyard in the front and the garden in the back. Arranged on either side of the entrance are two 25-foot houses for Negro families, and a bit further back, on the left, a 20-foot house for an Indian family, and between it and the house, is the well. On the right of the courtyard is the bake-house. At the far corner of the garden is the latrine. Outside the enclosure in front is the 37-foot church and the 40-foot shed. A little further back on the left is a 20-foot horse-stable, and at the back, an 80-foot barn.

The French villages were laid out by common consent on the same plan or system. The blocks were about three hundred feet square, and each block contained four lots. The streets were rather narrow, but always at right angles. Lots in ancient times were enclosed by cedar posts or pickets, planted about two feet in the ground and about five feet above. These pickets were placed touching each other, so that a tight and safe fence was made around each proprietor’s lot. The upper ends of the pickets were sharpened, so it was rather difficult to get over the fence. A neat gate was generally made in the fence, opposite to the door of the house, and the whole concern was generally kept clean and neat; so that their residences had the air of cleanliness and comfort.<sup>24</sup>

Travelers’ descriptions of lots in Vincennes are nowhere near as complete as those mentioned above, but from the comments they made, it seems that Vincennes was similar to the other French settlements. Visitors were struck by the odd construction of the houses, the fences, and the orchards. Henry Hamilton, for example, in 1779 noted that the French barns were roofed with bark rather than thatched or shingles, and tended to leak.

## THE BUILDINGS OF THE OLD FRENCH TOWN LOT

The house was the most important building on the town lot, with the fence enclosing the lot being the next. The fence (*cloture*) is the item most commonly noted on the old title deeds, after the house. The type and height of fence are the important things to consider.

When New Orleans was laid out property owners were to “have their houses or land enclosed by palisades within two months or else they will be deprived of their property and it will revert to the company...”<sup>241</sup> In the 1767 instructions for building in St. Louis it was required that, “Outside the houses must run an encircling pointed fence, which will be constructed by the owner at his own expense, in order to prevent the savages from making any sudden rush and surprising them.”

Now, what kinds of fences were in Vincennes? George Rogers Clark says his men hid behind the garden fences of Vincennes when they attacked Fort Sackville in 1779: “The fencing was generally of good piquets well set and about six feet high.” On the other hand, a 1776 builder’s contract of Jean Baptiste Rasicault of Vincennes, promises “la cour de poteaux et de lattés,” in other words, a courtyard of posts and laths or picket fence. A third kind of fence used by the French was the “channeled post” or “piece on piece” fence, where horizontal tongued logs fitted down into a channeled vertical post. An example of this kind of fence can be seen in the basement of the Brouillet House.

We know a lot about French barns due to the number of Canadian builder’s contracts that specify their dimensions and construction. Canadian barns were generally 30 X 20 (French) feet. The structures were most often constructed “piece sur piece” or “en poteaux et de pieux de traverse en coulisse,” that is, vertical posts with horizontal logs fitting into grooved slots carved in the sides, though “piece sur piece” may mean that the ends of the horizontal logs were overlapped like a log cabin. Other types of construction were vertical posts covered with planks or filled with bousillage, either on a sill or planted in the earth, and simple posts arranged side-by-side.

Roofing was most often thatch planks or shingles, but sometimes bark. The face of the barn generally pierced with a single doorway in the center to permit the entry of the cart. There were two doors in this doorway, and in one of the doors a wicket. The doorway opened onto the threshing floor (*batterie*) made of oak or cedar planks. The threshing floor divided the barn into two bins (*carres or tasserries*) where the harvest was kept. Separating the threshing floor from the bins is a low fence (*garde-grain*). The barns seem to often lock with a key or padlock.

The other buildings such as the stable, Negro quarters, hen house and pigpen were mostly built of posts in the ground. The stable was generally somewhat smaller than the barn. The sheds were even of lighter construction, sometime just four posts at the corners and a roof of thatch or bark. The wells were either of the sweep kind or with windlasses, covered with peculiar wooden tops that resemble pup tents. The outdoor oven was made of mud and protected with a light roof.

# In An “Otter” Time

## **Objectives**

Students will understand the significance the river otter had for Native Americans and early European settlers.

Students will be able to:

- 1) identify river otter and other furbearer habitats.
- 2) communicate using the general sign language employed by European traders and Native American tribes.
- 3) use “bartering” or the trade of goods to supply their survival needs and to learn to work with a budget.

## **Materials**

1. Copies of the handouts depicting sign language trade values and tirade goods cards that are included with this activity.
2. Collection of 3 or 4 inch squares cut from several textures and colors of carpet samples or cloth to represent different types of animal pelts.

## **Methods**

Students participate in the early fur trade, collecting river otter and other furbearer “pelts” from the appropriate habitats to use in trade. Students also develop sign language skills to exchange their pelts for necessary goods.

## **Key Vocabulary**

plew  
pelt  
bartering

## **Grade Level**

Upper elementary,  
middle school,  
high school

Setting: Outdoors  
large indoor play  
area

## **Subject Areas**

Social studies  
Language arts  
Math

## **Background Information**

Native Americans had an established relationship with the river otter before the coming of European settlers to the New World. Native Americans trapped the otter for food and used their pelts for clothing and other purposes. In some Native American cultures, the otter had symbolic or religious significance. Animals were considered spiritual beings by many Native Americans. One example is the Pawnee culture where animals play important roles in the relationship of the Pawnee with Tirawa, their God. Stories of this relationship are found in Pawnee songs and lore. The bear, the eagle and the otter served as emissaries bearing messages and guidance from Tirawa, the One Above, to the Pawnee. Tirawa instructed the Pawnee through the Bear that certain beasts would give man wisdom and power.

*“But the animal supreme for the Pawnee is the Otter, His is a message of wisdom, for of all beasts the Otter is the wisest. No other people than the Pawnees has deeper knowledge of medicines, roots, and herbs, and all that lives upon the earth, in the air, and under, the ground”.* (From The Indian’s Book, recorded and edited by Natalie Curtis, 1987)

The Pawnee chief wore a turban of otter skin as a tribute to the wisdom that the otter has to share. Pawnee men of medicine, also knowing the wisdom of the otter, made their pouches of otterskin. In their pouches they put their mystic “medicines” and charms. In the Pawnee tale of the Morning Star and the Evening Star, strips of otter skin were used to bind a baby to its “cradle board”. The Pawnee husband brings the cradle board to his wife. It is ceremonially cut from a tree by the husband’s kinsmen and decorated with symbolic emblems. Otter skin is used because the otter lives in the water, and is a token of the rain stolnis needed for life. The river otter

was important to other Native Americans as well. Otter skins were used for INfide (or medicine bags) by the Winnebago Medewiwin Society, an, organization of -healers. \*Mis use of otter skins for a medicine bag derived from a myth in which four spirit beings, each carrying a live otter, appeared among tribesmen and brought a youth that had been dead for eight days back to life. A Mide bag was highly prized by its owner and was buried with him. Another example is the use of otter fur as the base and pendant for a highly valuable bear claw necklace at was wom by a member of the combined Iowa, !auk and Fox delegation to Washington in 1867.

The fur trade, more than any other activity, was the reason for the European exploration and opening of the wilderness of North America. Ile fur trade, led by the French, began in the 1600's as a by-product of the search for the Northwest Passage to the Orient. By this time, most of the European fur bearing animals had been trapped out of existence. When explorers brought furs back to Europe from the New World, it was found that the furs (especially beaver) made an excellent felt used for gentlemen's hats. The most popular furbearer during the fur trade was the beaver, but river otter fur was also prized for coat collars, hand muffs and other trimn-drigs. According to fur specialism liver otter furs are considered to have 100% durability and they are the standard by which all other furs are judged.

Although river otters were distributed through most of the continental US, they were more widely disbursed and never found in the tbundance or densities of some of the other arbearer species. The following record of total furs shipped from Ft. Wayne from 1804-1811 is an indication of the density of some of the furbearer species during this period. It is apparent from these records that some of Indiana's furbearer populations were already being depleted from over harvest by the early 1800s. Although the most popular fur, beaver makes up a very small percentage of the trade in these years.

Shipment Qf furs and hides from Ft. Wayne dudng  
1804-1811 (Griswold 1927)\*

Deer	8,585
Cats	1,905
Raccoon	51,704
Mink	158

Bear	448
Otter	347
Muskrat	4,679
Beaver	175
Wolf	6

\*Taken form Indiana Fur Harvest 1700-1980, Lehman, 1982

Voyagers, French-Canadian fur traders, traveled from village to village trading with Native Americans. They paddled birch-bark canoes, some 35 feet long, from dawn to dusk. As the fur trade expanded and flourished, traders established trading posts closer to the villages.

In December of 1679, the French explorer Robert Cavalier, Sier de La Salle, was the first European to enter Indiana. La Salle portaged between the St. Joseph River near the present city of South Bend to the Kankakee River heading west to Illinois and the Mississippi River. Soon after, trade routes along the Maumee and the Wabash were established. In 1702 alone, 20,000 pelts were shipped east from the Wabash-Maumee Region. Fort Miami, at what is now Ft. Wayne, Fort Ouiatanon near Lafayette and Fort Vincennes were established between 1715-1732 to improve trade and protect the expanding fur commerce in the area that is now Indiana.

Native Americans had traded among tribes prior to the con-drig of the Europeans, but the establishment of a broader trade network, even into the West, expanded trade between tribes and introduced European goods and metal tools. Many tribes that had previously only hunted and trapped to maintain their subsistence, now expanded their furbearer harvest for pelts to trade for some of the new goods now available to them. This use of furs as currency and the resulting dependancy upon trade goods caused broad reaching changes in their culture and religion.

Control of commerce and the fur trade led to a number of conflicts among different tribes, between Native Americans and Europeans, and among Europeans. Many of the conflicts resulted in short lived rebellions while others developed into wars. Of note, the Iroquois Members of the League of Five Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onadaga, Cayuga, Seneca) located in what is now upstate New York. - warred with the other tribes and dominated the Indian fur trade in



the North and Upper midwest in the 17th century. The French and Indian War resulted in the English taking control of French territories (including Canada) and the fur trade. Competition in the fur trade industry resulted in additional wars and rebellions. Consequently, many Native American tribes were displaced by other tribes as well as by European settlers. Europeans who came into the Indiana territory to settle near the established forts began as fur traders, but with the depletion of fur-bearing animals and the opening of transportation routes for marketing farm goods, they turned to agriculture. These Europeans displaced the remaining Native Americans. By 1845, with the removal of the Miami Indians, the big fur trade era in Indiana was over.

The few river otters that remained in Indiana after the fur trade era were finally extirpated from the state due to habitat loss. Many of the original swamps, marshes and river systems were converted for agriculture in the late 1800's-1900s. For instance, as discovered by La Salle, northwestern Indiana had one of the most remarkable wetlands areas in the world until the late 1800s. 'Me Grand Marsh of the Kankakee was estimated to have included over 1 million acres of unspoiled wetlands. In the brief time period between 1900-1920, drainage of this region for agriculture largely destroyed wetland habitats needed by the river otter and other furbearers.

## Procedure

1. You may first want to complete the "Sink or Swim", "Otter Retreat", or other activity in this guide to familiarize your students with the habitat needs of the river otter.
2. Discuss the river otter's role in Native American cultures and in the early fur trade industry in America. Describe the trade interactions between the Europeans and Native Americans in the early years of fur commerce.
3. Explain the use of sign language in trade. Because Native American tribes spoke different languages, a common sign language, using hand gestures to represent objects or concepts, developed to facilitate communication and commerce. - European settlers soon adopted this as a method of conducting trade with

people whose language they did not speak. Although there may be some regional differences in signs, they remained remarkably consistent from region to region. Have your students practice their signing techniques in twos or in small groups. You may use the attached copy sheet that contains some basic signs, or you may get a copy of Tompkins book on signing (see references list) for a more detailed sign usage.

As an alternative, you may do this portion of the activity as a separate activity in advance. Divide the students into groups, then have each group of students make up likely signs for their part of the list of words necessary for trade and have them demonstrate and practice them with the rest of the class.

4. Students as Native Americans and early European trappers will "hunt/trap" river otter and other furbearers to trade for goods and supplies at the French trading post.

The fabric pieces or carpet squares representing different animal furs need to be scattered outside in the appropriate habitat type (if available). For instance, otter, beaver and muskrat near water, bobcat in the woods, other species may be scattered between open, water or wooded areas where available. If your site doesn't have these habitat types, then just pretend where they might be located on your site and identify these to the students.

All furs collected for trade will be converted into their value in beaver skins, or pelves, which was the most popular fur and the standard unit of trade. The chart of these conversion values included in this activity should be shown to the students before they go hunting for furs so they know their relative values. Students are now sent out trapping and hunting as many furs as they can in the allowed time. (The allowed time can be as little as a few minutes or as many as 10 minutes depending on your site, how hard it will be to find the animals, the age group, or how fast-paced and competitive you would like the activity to be.) At a signal, all students must stop and return to the trading posts to trade for furs.

5. A trading post area will have to be identified in advance with one or more French traders manning the

supplies available for trade with the Native Americans. Several large size price lists for the goods available for trade need to be placed at each “doe, or the “counter” of the trading post. For onvenience, you may duplicate the copycat pages -iclude with this activity on card stock for your price lists and trade good depictions to use as representations of your trade goods.

At the trading post, the students will trade their furs for supplies that must last them through the next year of trapping. Furs must be converted to their value in beaver skins, or plews, as they were called. Students must then look at the price list and see what they can afford with their amount of plews. You may consider dividing your students into family units and giving them a few minutes between trapping and trading to consider what they will need for the next year and decide what each is going to purchase with their plews. Now they can approach the trader for cards representing trade goods. The trader will not speak English to the students, so all deals must be made in sign language. If the trader can speak a bit of French, so much the better.

6. Once all deals have been made, look at what each student or group of students have obtained ~nrough trading. Discuss what things would be needed to survive a year of trapping, the different taste that Native American and European trappers might have.

Also discuss how the Native Americans might view the animals they trap and the changes to their lives due to the fur trade.

7. Discuss what changes have taken place in hunting and trapping during the past years. Why do we have regulations limiting seasons and the number of animals which can be taken? What were the reasons river otters disappeared from Indiana? What changes have occurred so they can be brought back today? What dangers might river otters face today?

### **Extensions/Evaluation**

1. To use this activity with younger students, reduce the different types of animals to hunt or trap. Likewise, reduce the list of trade goods. Instead of requiring pelt exchange to be converted into plews, use

dollars and cents in easy to calculate multiples based on your age group.

2. You can divide your students into two groups, one representing Native Americans with furs to trade and the other, Europeans running the trading post. Rather than using set values for trade goods let them barter in sign language to make deals. Have the students discuss how they feel about the deals they concluded.

3. Have students research other animals which have been extirpated from Indiana.

### **GLOSSARY:**

**Bartering:** A system of exchange where one item is traded for another.

**Pelt:** An animal skin with the hair still on

**Plew:** Fur trade term for a beaver pelt and the standard frontier unit of exchange for that time.

# JEFFERSON ACADEMY 1801

By Richard Day

Higher education in Indiana traces its beginning to the year 1801. On the last day of that year Indiana Territory Governor William Henry Harrison and other leading citizens of Vincennes, as trustees of “The Jefferson Academy,” petitioned Congress for a grant of land to support the new institution. Deploring the fact that “almost the whole of the inhabitants distinguished by the name of French are entirely illiterate,” the petition asserted that without the establishment of a college, future generations would be “brought up in a similar state of ignorance.” The petition went on to state that subscribers to the institution had “already at a considerable Expense engaged Masters in the Classics, Belles Letters, Mathematics, and the English and French languages,” but that government aid in the form of a land grant was needed to permanently establish the college.<sup>1</sup>

The petition was received by Congress on February 12, 1802 and referred to committee, but Congress was slow to act. It was not until March 26, 1804 that a township was set aside for a seminary of learning. On October 6, 1806 the Secretary of the Treasury located a tract of 23,030 acres in what is now northern Gibson County to support the “Vincennes Institution.” Vincennes University was incorporated by the territorial legislature on November 29, 1806, and made beneficiary of the abovementioned land.<sup>2</sup> Evidence that VU was successor to Jefferson Academy is the fact that all the trustees of Jefferson Academy, except for one who had died, were also trustees of Vincennes University, and Governor Harrison served as president of both boards.

## **Father Jean Francois Rivet, Headmaster of Jefferson Academy**

Father Jean Francois Rivet was the headmaster of Jefferson Academy, the forerunner of Vincennes University.<sup>3</sup> Born on the island of Martinique in 1757, Rivet as a young man went to France, where he studied at the College of Sarlet, and afterward served there as a professor of the second rank. In 1780, at age 23, he entered the seminary at Limoges. He was ordained priest on May 25, 1781. In 1782 he was appointed professor of the second rank in the Royal College at Limoges and occupied the chair of professor of rhetoric from 1784 to 1791. He was particularly noted for his eloquent public discourses at the college on subjects sacred and secular, delivered in Latin and French. At the outbreak of the French Revolution, Rivet refused to take an oath of loyalty to the new government and was forced to emigrate,<sup>4</sup> first to Spain and then to America, arriving at Baltimore in December 1794.

Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore had a request from President George Washington for missionaries to be sent among the Indians of the Ohio River Valley. After a decade long Indian war the government hoped missionaries would be able to “civilize” the native peoples. Rivet volunteered for the assignment, and was dispatched to Vincennes in January 1795 with a commission from the War Department as a missionary to the Indian tribes in the vicinity, for which he was to be paid \$200 a year.<sup>5</sup>

Rivet reached Vincennes in April 1795. He discovered the Indians had moved some sixty miles away from Vincennes. Furthermore, he had been led to believe the Indians spoke “a kind of French,” but he soon found this was not so, and he was unable to learn enough of the native languages to successfully proselytize them. Rivet turned his attention to the local French, teaching the children reading and writing along with their catechism. As early as 1796 Rivet petitioned Congress for a grant of land to support a college, but without success.<sup>6</sup>

When Governor Harrison arrived at Vincennes in January 1801, he found Rivet a ready ally in the cause of education. On February 10, 1801, Rivet wrote his bishop: “Governor Henry Harrison, who has showed great esteem for me during his stay of a month here ... is going to establish a college here for Latin, and wishes me to have a considerable part in this establishment.”<sup>7</sup>

It took time to get the school going. In a July 18, 1801 letter to Bishop Carroll Rivet reported Governor Harrison “has not yet put into execution the projects of instruction which he proposed for the good of his government. There are so many obstacles to overcome in order to arrive at the ends which appear the least susceptible of contradiction, that I do not know what will become of his good intentions.”<sup>8</sup>

Finally, on October 10, Rivet was able to inform Bishop Carroll that “Mr. Makdonas, whom you saw at Baltimore, recently established a school here. They are giving him 400 dollars and furnishing a proper place to hold the school, with the wood necessary for the winter. Up to now it was held in my living room. This gentleman, whom I do not yet know very well, seems to me to be very pious.”<sup>9</sup>

This Mr. “Makdonas” (according to Rivet’s orthography) was P.A. McDonald, who with Rivet formed the faculty of Jefferson Academy. Presumably McDonald handled the elementary levels of the school, while Rivet taught the more advanced classes. There is a receipt from John Rice Jones, treasurer of Jefferson Academy, to Antoine Marchal, dated December 22, 1801, for \$4.10, “being one Quarter’s subscription due by him for one scholar in Mr. McDonald’s school.”<sup>10</sup> Tuition was paid quarterly, that is, every three months, so the Jefferson Academy must have begun operation sometime in September of 1801. From this document it can be deduced that a year’s tuition to Jefferson Academy amounted to \$16.40.

It is not certain how long the Academy was in operation perhaps a year or two but it seems to have ceased after Rivet’s death on February 12, 1804. Among the debts owed to Rivet’s estate is a note, dated February 21, 1803, in which Rivet made an advance of ten dollars to P. A. McDonald on his salary, the note to be repaid by “the trustees of the Vincennes school during McDonald’s employment.”<sup>11</sup> On the back of the note is an endorsement dated August 10, 1804 by attorney General Washington Johnston: “J. R. Jones, as Secretary & Treasurer of the Trustees informed me ... that there was no money at present or likely to come into the hands of the Trustees or himself.” The note was not paid and was marked “desperate.” This suggests that McDonald taught at Jefferson Academy until late 1802 or early 1803.



## **Location of Jefferson Academy**

Thanks to Rivet's letter, it is known that the school first met in the rectory of St. Francis Xavier Church. The church stood facing the Wabash River on the church lot (Old Town Lot 66) at the corner of St. Honore and Church streets.<sup>12</sup> St. Honore Street, later called Lower First Street, was replaced in 1933 by a walkway along the boundary between the cemetery and the grounds of George Rogers Clark National Historic Park.<sup>13</sup> Church Street now stops at Second Street, but prior to 1933 it extended to First Street. The epistle side of the church (i.e. the right side as one faced the altar) bordered the cemetery, and the gospel (left) side paralleled Church Street. The sacristy (rear) of the church was near the front of the present Old Cathedral. The rectory was eight to ten feet behind the church and faced Church Street.

## **The Size and Layout of Jefferson Academy**

From church records it is possible to get an idea of the size and layout of the building used as Jefferson Academy. There is a 1797 letter from the trustees of the church to Father Benoit Joseph Flaget.<sup>14</sup>

He had donated a lot to the church upon which the trustees proposed to build a new rectory. They said it would be thirtyseven and half feet long by 18 or 20 feet wide. The French foot was slightly larger than the English foot and was equivalent to 12.7893 English inches.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, the dimensions of the proposed rectory in English measure were 40 feet long by 19 to 21 feet wide.

To save time, the trustees planned to construct the rectory using timbers salvaged from another house. It would have a kitchen, living room, bedroom, loft, and cellar, and would be located between the church and the caretaker's house, only eight or ten feet from the rear of the church. The trustees enthusiastically concluded their letter to Flaget: "Everyone was carried away by this good work with an unparalleled ardor. Nothing is finer than this unanimity of purpose, and voila, monsieur, this is how we know how to keep our promises and fulfill our obligations!"<sup>16</sup>

Enthusiasm soon waned, however, and in a letter of August 8, 1797,<sup>17</sup> Rivet complained that the rectory was not yet finished, the builders only working two or three days since the Feast of Corpus Christi. Rivet had to stay in private homes, where he suffered from lack of privacy, the climate, and bad food.

By the next Easter, April 1798, Rivet's patience was exhausted. He called the parish assembly together and presented a list of grievances.<sup>18</sup> He had taken possession of the rectory, he said, but it was certainly not finished. There was no ceiling or floor in the kitchen. The living room floor was only partly completed. The priest's room was so small that it was nearly impossible to put anything in it. The fireplace was so low and narrow that it resembled an oven and did not give out any heat. The chimney was a double one, with backto back fireplaces facing into separate rooms, but was so badly constructed that one could not make a fire in one room without the other, or even both, being instantly filled with dense smoke. "Also, the enormous mass of the chimney, which had been erected without any foundation and very close to the cellar, threatened to collapse, and would have taken in its fall a part of the house, and perhaps crushed many people in falling."

The contractor refused to repair these defects, so Rivet paid for them himself, completing the work in June. Judging from repair bills, the house had a brick chimney. Pierre Roux, a skilled cabinetmaker from Geneva, Switzerland, made the mantelpiece for the living room. Pierre Cartier was paid for placing a bell cast eave (called a “*coyau*”) on “the side facing the gardens,” (i.e. the rear of the house) and nailing on the first row of shingles. Antoine Petit, another skilled cabinetmaker from Montreal, planed the planking to the priest’s room, put back the planking that the new chimney disarranged, made a stairway to the loft, and provided various kinds of ironwork, including a ring for the trapdoor to the cellar, and three locks for interior doors.

### **Furnishings of Jefferson Academy**

Furnishings for the rectory are listed in the probate inventory of Father Rivet’s possessions, made after his death in 1804.<sup>19</sup> He had a library of 296 volumes, one of the largest libraries in the territory. Most were books of theology, pastoral care, sermons, and lives of the saints, but some could have been used for instruction, such as Principles of the Latin Language, Elements of the English Language, Conduct for Children, and three pamphlets entitled “Mathematicks.”

Among other things listed in the inventory are:

- \*a small trunk, covered with sealskin, containing divers papers an old looking glass, in paper
- \*a pair of steelyards
- \*2 window curtains and two windowbolts a calico quilt and bed curtains
- \*2 bedsteads, one of them with a tester to hang the bed curtains from a small silverplated candlestick and a brass candlestick
- \*a drawing of St. Francis a woolen tablecover a well bucket a fire shovel
- \*two pair of andirons
- \*a foldingleaf table
- \*a desk
- \*a slate
- \*a wooden cross with a brass Jesus affixed to it and two brass statues on either side
- \*a brass lamp with four spouts
- \*a large trunk
- \*six chairs
- \* five baskets of onions in the cellar

Most significant are the following items: “**a large school table**” and “**a large school bench.**” The presence of these suggests that the rectory served as a school up to the time of Rivet’s death.

## French Creole Architecture

Having established that classes for Jefferson Academy were originally held in the rectory, and having established the dimensions and general layout of the building, the next question is: What did the building look like? Since it was built by the French citizens of Vincennes it would have been built in the style of construction commonly used by them.

There are numerous books on the subject of French Creole style houses. The best is Charles E. Peterson's *Colonial & Louis. Building a Creole Capital*.<sup>20</sup>

Also useful are Melburn D. Thurman's *Building a House in 18' Century Ste. Genevieve*,<sup>21</sup> Robert Lionel Seguin's *La Maison en Nouvelle- France*,<sup>22</sup> Michel Lessard and Gilles Vilandre's *La Maison Traditionnelle au Quebec*,<sup>23</sup> and H. Warren Robinson's article, "Louisiana Acadian Domestic Architecture."<sup>24</sup>

Also useful in a hypothetical reconstruction of the Jefferson Academy/rectory building are building contracts for houses built in Vincennes about the same time and photographs of French style houses that once stood in Vincennes, but were later torn down. Best evidence of all is the Michel Brouillet House, popularly called "the Old French House," built about 1806 and restored in 1976. It still stands in Vincennes at the corner of First and Seminary Streets.

These sources agree that French Creole houses in the United States south of St. Louis and Vincennes usually had a porch, called a *gallerie*, across the front. Many also had a porch in back, and some had porches on all four sides. The porches protected the plaster facades of the houses and also served as extensions of the living space on warm days. In Canada porches were rare, and buildings instead had a "bellcast eve," or *coyau*. Rivet paid a carpenter to install a bellcast eve on the back roof edge of the rectory, but he did not have one put on the front suggesting that it probably had a porch, instead.

The porches were supported by wooden posts with chamfered edges and "lamb's tongue" finishes. The facades were generally covered with a thick whitewash or plaster, usually white, but sometimes mixed with local pigments of blue, brown, orange, or red. The underlying framework was sometimes left exposed, for a half-timber effect, or could be entirely covered by the plaster (*en plein*). The sides of the building not protected by porches were covered with weatherboarding, which often had a characteristic groove, or bead, along the lower edge. The bead apparently kept the edge from splintering and it was also decorative. Sometimes the weatherboarding at the front of the house was beaded, while in the back it was unfinished.

There were generally four French style casement windows. The doors, especially in Louisiana and as far north as St. Louis, were often glazed French double doors, opening in the middle. In Canada and in Michigan single leaf doors were preferred, constructed of panels or battens. Windows and doors (if glazed) were usually protected by shutters also constructed of panels or battens. Sometimes shutters on the front of the building were panel, while the ones in back could be of the cheaper batten construction. If the house had a

gable roof, there were openings in the gable ends to admit light to the loft. These openings had small glazed windows or sometimes just shutters.

In the timeperiod of 1760-1810, roofs usually had a slope of about 45 degrees, which became less over the porch or the *coyau*. The roofs were usually composed of smoothed wooden shingles about 21 inches long, with about 7 inches exposed. These were hung from purlins with wooden pegs, in the French fashion, or with nails in the English fashion.

Inside, the house had exposed ceiling beams, with a bead along the lower edges, and a plank ceiling of tongueandgroove boards, often also beaded, and a plank floor. The walls were covered with a plaster, more or less rough, that more or less followed the contour of the underlying clay insulation, depending on the skill of the plasterer. The easilydamaged plaster usually was protected by a baseboard, chairrail, and often a cornice as well, all usually decorated with a bead. The baseboard was often painted black, to conceal scuffmarks. Internally, the rooms were usually separated by partition walls of vertical tongueandgroove beaded boards.

Fireplaces could be either brick or stone or, in poorer houses, of catandclay construction. A wooden mantelpiece, called a “corniche,” would be above the fireplace. The chimney around the fireplace was covered with paneling or plastered, instead of leaving the brick or stone exposed. Where the chimney projected above the roof, it was usually plastered, or at least whitewashed. Often, as in the Rivet’s rectory, the chimney was double, with two fireplaces back-to-back, facing into different rooms.

In Vincennes, the first floors of the houses were generally built close to the ground, instead of on high piers as in Louisiana, no doubt due to the good drainage of the gravel bank upon which the town is built. In the cheaper houses the framework consisted of vertical wooden posts buried in the ground. The better houses, such as the Brouillet House and the Jefferson Academy, were built in a style called “posts on sill” (*poteaux sur sol*). Instead of being stuck in the ground, the vertical posts fitted into a horizontal beam, or sill. The sill, in turn, rested on oak posts which stood 12 to 18 inches out of the ground. The space between the sill and the ground could be filled in by a shallow brick or stone foundation.



## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Petition of Wm. Henry Harrison, John Gibson and others, Trustees for establishing and founding 'Jefferson Academy,' at Vincennes, in the Indiana Territory," December 31, 1801, facsimile copy in the Byron R. Lewis Historical Library, Vincennes University; also printed in Clarence Edwin Carter (ed.), *The Territory of Indiana 1800-1810*, in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. VII (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 43-44.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p.44, fn. 93; Francis S. Philbrick (ed.), *The Laws of Indiana Territory 1801-1809*, in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, vol. XXI, rpt. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1931), pp. 178-184.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Catholic Church in Indiana 1789-1834* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 78-80.

<sup>4</sup>Abbe A. Lecler, *Martyrs et Confesseurs de la Foi du Diocese de Limoges Pendant la Revolution Francais*, 4 vols. Limoges: 1892-1904, vol. 111 (1903), pp. 518-20.

<sup>5</sup>McAvoy, pp. 77-78.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p.93.

<sup>7</sup>Letter from Rivet to Bishop John Carroll, February 10, 1801, in archives of the Diocese of Covington, Kentucky.

<sup>8</sup>Letter from Rivet to Carroll, July 18, 1801, in archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

<sup>9</sup>Letter from Rivet to Carroll, October 10, 1801, in archives of the Diocese of Covington, Kentucky.

<sup>10</sup>In Lasselle Collection, Manuscript Division of Indiana Room of Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, IN.

<sup>11</sup>Probate of Father Jean Francois Rivet, February 12 – March 18, 1804, in Old Cathedral Library, Vincennes, IN.

<sup>12</sup>Henry S. Cauthom, *St. Francis Xavier Cathedral, Vincennes, Indiana* (Vincennes, 1892), p. 17. John Law, *The Colonial History of Vincennes* (Vincennes, 1858), Facsimile reprint by Heritage Books (Bowie, Maryland, 1989), p. 140. See D. J. Lake & Co, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Knox County, Indiana*

, Philadelphia, 1880, rpt. for Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society by Unigraphic, Inc. (Evansville, IN: 1977), p.36, for a map showing the location of the church lots and the layout of the streets.

<sup>13</sup>Edwin C. Bearss, *George Rogers Clark Memorial: Historic Structures Report, Historical Data*, Office of History and Historical Architecture, Eastern Service Division, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior (Washington, D. C.: June 30, 1970), pp. 103-105.

<sup>14</sup>Letter from Messrs. The Trustees to Mr. Flaget, May 16 1797, in *Recueil des regles .. de la paroisse de St. Francois Xavier du poste Vencennes [sic] sur Ouabache*, Ms. in Old Cathedral Library, Church of St. Francis Xavier, Vincennes, IN, pp. 9-13.

<sup>15</sup>John Francis McDermott, *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French 1673-1850*, Washington Univ. Studies New Series, Language and Literature, No. 12 (St. Louis, 1941), p. 117.

<sup>16</sup>Letter from Trustees to Flaget, May 16, 1797, in *Recueil des regles...*

<sup>17</sup>Letter from Rivet to Carroll in archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

<sup>18</sup>Report of Rivet to St. Francis Xavier Parish Assembly, April 9, 1798, in *Recueil...*, pp. 9-13.

<sup>19</sup>Probate of Rivet, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>Originally published in installments in *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, April, July, and October, 1947; reprinted as a booklet by the Missouri Historical Society in 1949; reprinted and enlarged as "The Houses of French St. Louis," in John Francis McDermott, ed., *The French in the Mississippi Valley* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1965); reprinted with updated material as a paperback by Patrice Press, Tucson, AZ, 1993.

<sup>21</sup>Ste. Genevieve, MO: Pendragon's Press, 1984.

<sup>22</sup>Ottawa, 1968.

<sup>23</sup>Les Editions de l'Homme, Montreal: 1974.

<sup>24</sup>In *The Culture of Acadian Tradition and Change in Southern Louisiana*, ed. Steven L. Del Sesto and John L. Gibson (Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1975), pp. 63-76.

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CHAPTER III

FRENCH EXPLORATION AND OCCUPATION

French dominion over the region that later became the state of Indiana is part of the larger story of French occupation of North America from the first attempts in the sixteenth century until their withdrawal in 1763. The first Frenchmen to visit the New World were fishermen who discovered early in the 1500s the bountiful fishing areas off the coasts of Newfoundland and New England and were making annual trips back and forth across the Atlantic to market their catch. The fishermen soon came in contact with the Indians on the mainland and learned they had still another product, the furs of wild animals, which they were willing to exchange for a few trifles of European goods. Soon the profits obtained from trading in furs dwarfed those obtained from fish.<sup>1</sup>

The fishermen were not interested in exploring the country they had discovered; this was left to the French explorers, the first of whom was Giovanni Verrazano (an Italian commissioned by France) who sailed along the Atlantic coast, probably from the present state of New Jersey northward in 1498 in search of a northern passage to Asia. The first Frenchman to venture inland was Jacques Cartier who explored the St. Lawrence River up as far as the Lachine rapids (above the present Montreal) during his three expeditions in 1499, 1535, and 1541, and took possession of the area in the name of the King of France. Though attempts were made during the sixteenth century to found a settlement, it was not until 1608 that the first permanent settlement was made at Quebec.<sup>2</sup>

In a very real sense New France was a monument to the persistence of a succession of Frenchmen who despite staggering hardships established a foothold for their country in North America. The first of these was Samuel de Champlain who not only founded Quebec but explored the country south to Lake Champlain, up the Ottawa River and its tributaries to Lake Huron, and across Lake Ontario into the land of the Iroquois Indians. He in turn sent out other young explorers such as Etienne Bruil and Jean Nicolet who explored the Great Lakes as far west as the present Green Bay.<sup>3</sup> Missionaries usually accompanied the explorers and it is from their writings that much information, concerning the country and its inhabitants has come down to us.

The chief resource of New France was the fur trade, the center of which was at first about Tadoussac and Quebec but gradually moved westward, first to Three Rivers and then to Montreal. Though disappointed that French explorers had not found a short route to the Orient, or gold like the Spanish had found in Mexico

and Peru, the King of France began to realize that perhaps in the fur trade lay the hopes of restoring French prosperity. Since there was no money in the French treasury for the promotion of colonization in North America, he adopted the practice of granting monopolies to certain commercial companies who in turn for the exclusive privilege of trade would establish settlements. Such a company was the Hundred Associates or the Company of New France which was organized in the 1620s. Its first attempts to send out settlers met with defeat at the hands of the English who were also interested in the fur trade and were contesting French claims to the St. Lawrence area and the islands off the coast. However, with the settlement of differences between the French and the British in 1632 and the assumption of complete control of French interests in North America by the Company of New France, a new impetus was given to colonization and settlement.

Companies of immigrants were sent out composed of impoverished noblemen and peasants as well as Jesuit missionaries. Those of the upper class received large grants of land and became known as “seigneurs,” while the peasants whom they settled on their land were known as “*habitan*.” This plan of settlement was to serve as a model for the French posts later to be established in the west. The seigneurs and habitants were supposed to devote themselves to agriculture, but in this northern country agriculture did not prosper and both groups soon discovered in the Indian trade a more lucrative occupation. The Company of New France had a monopoly of the fur trade, buying the pelts from local merchants and exporting them. At first the Indians bought the furs east to the trading centers. It must have been a very colorful sight to see a flotilla of as many as one hundred canoes descend the St. Lawrence each spring loaded with the precious pelts. Later the traders accompanied the Indians into the interior and became known as “*coureurs de bois*” or “woods runners” because of their manner of living.<sup>4</sup>

The struggle for the expansion and control of the fur trade soon brought the French into conflict with the Iroquois Indians and their allies who lived south of the St. Lawrence; these tribes traded with the Dutch, who had come into New York, and later with the English, receiving in turn firearms as well as the usual trade goods. The French chose to ally themselves with the Hurons and related tribes of the Great Lakes region and this relationship was deepened by sending Jesuit missionaries among these two opposing forces was the other gaining the advantage. Due to the cruel warfare of the 1640s and 1650s the Iroquois destroyed the Jesuit mission stations among the Hurons, interrupted the fur trade with the western Indians for which the Hurons acted as intermediaries, and drove their tribal victims westward.<sup>5</sup>

In 1663 Louis XIV took over the control of New France, or Canada as it was coming to be called, and made it a royal colony. The charter of the Hundred Associates was cancelled and a new form of government instituted consisting of a governor general and intendant appointed by the King, who together shared the management of the colony. A superior council served in an advisory capacity and as a court of law. In addition, a portion of the Carignan-Salié's regiment was sent to the colony for its protection and the pacification of the Iroquois. After making two expeditions into Iroquois country an armistice was signed with that tribe



in 1667 which brought peace for a period of ten years. After the end of their term of service many of the soldiers remained in the colony as settlers.<sup>6</sup>

Three personalities dominated Canada during the second half of the seventeenth century. One was Intendant Jean Talon who was keenly interested in agriculture and manufacturing as well as in exploration; the second was Bishop Francois de Laval, a bitter opponent of the liquor traffic with the Indians. It was through the encouragement of Bishop Laval and his immediate successors that some of the famous mission stations of the West were developed. Perhaps the most famous of all the leaders was the arrogant, quarrelsome "Iron Governor," Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, who served from 1672 to 1682 and again from 1689 until his death in 1698. Under his administration New France reached new heights. It was in this period that heroic figures such as Louis Jolliet, Jacques Marquette, Nicolas Perrot, Robert Cavelier de La Salle, and Pierre Charles Le Sueur carried out important explorations in the West which extended the boundaries of the French colony to the Great Lakes and on to the Mississippi Valley.

Who was the first white man to reach the Indiana area? Possibly it was an obscure Frenchman whose adventures were never recorded - if he lived to tell the tale. Perhaps the first white visitor was the famous Jesuit, Jacques Marquette, who may have spent one or more of his last nights on Indiana soil. After Marquette and Jolliet returned from their exploration of the Mississippi in 1673, Marquette rested for a time at the St. Francois Xavier Mission at Green Bay before he received permission to found a mission among the Illinois Indians. Poor health forced him to spend the winter of 1674 - 75 near the site of Chicago and the following spring he tried unsuccessfully to get back to Michilimackinac before death overtook him. His homeward route followed the southern shore of the Lake of the Illinois, or Lake Michigan, a route which travelers often took because of currents which ran a northward course. It is quite possible that Marquette and his companions camped on Hoosier soil.<sup>7</sup>

The first white men who most certainly did touch Indiana were the Sieur de La Salle and his companions in 1679. The explorer's presence in Indiana was only a part of his experiences in the Illinois country, the scene of his main activities; his goal was the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi.<sup>8</sup> Coming around the eastern shore of Lake Michigan in December, 1679, La Salle and his companions reached the mouth of the River of the Miami, known today as the St. Joseph of the Lake. While waiting for Henry de Tonti to join him, he built a fort, then proceeded up the St. Joseph, crossed the portage to the Kankakee near the site of South Bend, and continued down that stream to the Illinois River and the Illinois Indian villages. The following year, on his return journey to the St. Joseph, La Salle probably again crossed the northwest corner of Indiana.<sup>9</sup> Thus as the seventeenth century moved into the eighteenth, French influence had touched the Indiana area but as yet no permanent occupation had taken place.

French claims to the upper Great Lakes area and the Mississippi Valley, based on the explorations of La Salle and other explorers, did not go unchallenged. Though the English themselves were not prepared to enter into a direct struggle for the interior of North America, their allies, the Iroquois and other tribes of the Five Nations, were making raids on French posts and mission stations in the Illinois country by 1680. The Iroquois wished to act as intermediaries between the western tribes and the New York traders and did not want the French to establish trade relations with these Indians. To meet this opposition La Salle undertook to form a similar confederacy of western tribes under French influence. In spite of repeated raids by Indians friendly to the English, the French continued to occupy the upper Great Lakes area and the Illinois country with strategically placed posts and missions. Then in 1696 Louis XIV issued a royal decree revoking all licenses for trading in furs or carrying goods into the Indian country in order to concentrate the trade at posts where troops were stationed. The reason for this reversal of policy was due to abuses in the license system as well as the decline in the market for furs and the temporary ascendancy for the moment of the anti-imperialist party in France which wished to restrict the colonists to the St. Lawrence Valley. Within two years the western posts were abandoned and all the *coureurs de bois* were called in, thus leaving the field to the English and their Indian allies. The year 1698 also marked the end of the war between France and England known as King William's War; parallel peace negotiations conducted at Montreal over a three-year period brought to an end, at least temporarily, the strife between the Iroquois and western tribes.<sup>10</sup>

The opening of the eighteenth century found the French seeking to recover their control in the west. Plans called for a policy of concentration with posts at three strategic points - at the site of Detroit, on Lake Peoria, and at the mouth of the Mississippi. They would try to gather the Indians close to these posts and make them trading centers for fur and European goods as well as military posts. Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac founded Fort Pontchartrain at the site of Detroit in 1701; Henry de Tonti and Francois Daupin de la Forest returned to their former post on Lake Peoria, and the first settlement in the new colony of Louisiana was made at Biloxi in 1699 under the guidance of two of the famous Le Moyne brothers, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville. The former soon returned to France, leaving Bienville, a youth of twenty, in charge.

Louisiana remained a royal colony until 1712, then finding that instead of producing wealth it was proving to be a serious drain on the treasury, the King granted Antoine Crozat a monopoly of the trade with the colony for fifteen years. When he did not find the rich mineral resources he expected to discover and the trade with the Spanish colonies did not materialize, Crozat surrendered the charter at the end of five years. The colony was then taken over by John Law's Company of the West, which soon merged into the great Company of the Indies. In addition to a trade monopoly this company received full authority to carry on the local administration of affairs. Bienville continued as governor of the colony until 1740 except for the years between 1726 and 1734 when Louis de la P6rier held the office." The government of Louisiana was much the same as

that of Canada, with a governor and ordonnateur (intendant) appointed by the King; the two colonies were governed separately, but because Canada was older and more populous, Louisiana was somewhat dependent upon her.

In place of the fur trade which was the principal resource of the northern colony, Bienville promoted the development of agriculture since the climate was well adapted to the cultivation of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and rice. Since European colonists could not survive as agricultural laborers in the southern climate, Negroes were imported. Intercourse between Louisiana and the Illinois country was established almost immediately with furs from the north being transported down the Mississippi and explorers from the new post searching the Illinois country for mineral wealth. Bienville treated the Illinois country as belonging within his jurisdiction and made far-reaching plans for relocating the Indian tribes and establishing trading posts there, while at the same time Canada was also making plans for the area, expecting it to be continued under the jurisdiction of that government. Whereas the center of French activity had hitherto been on the Illinois River, after 1700 it became 'centered around Kaskaskia and Cahokia on the Mississippi where new missions were established. Also, the hostility of the Fox Indians led the French to develop the Maumee-Wabash route to connect Canada and Louisiana in place of the Kankakee-Illinois route.

In the eighteenth century both Indiana and Ohio became refuge areas for a large number of Indian tribes or segments of tribal groups. Some of them, such as the Mahican, Nanticoke, Delawares, Munsee, and Shawnee, were originally from the eastern seaboard and had been pushed westward by the press of white settlement. Others, such as the Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Miami, Piankashaw, Wea, and Hurons, were from the Great Lakes area.

Of the tribes which moved into Indiana, the Miami and two closely related groups, the Wea and the Piankashaw, occupy a foremost place. By 1680 the Miami had moved from their villages in the Wisconsin area to the region of Chicago and the St. Joseph River of the Lake. Twenty years later we find some of them in the neighborhood of Detroit. During the early part of the eighteenth century part of the tribe occupied the country north and northwest of the upper Wabash, whence they gradually moved eastward to the Fort Wayne area and into what is now northwestern Ohio. Kekionga (now Fort Wayne) at the junction of the St. Marys and St. Joseph rivers became their principal town.

Some of the Wea had shifted to the Wabash River in the area of the present Tippecanoe County, Indiana, by 1700; at that time another band was still at the site of Chicago but probably joined the rest of the tribe on the Wabash shortly thereafter. The Piankashaw had a village farther down the Wabash at the mouth of the Vermilion River; by 1750 a branch of the Kickapoo had also settled on the Vermilion and Wabash rivers.<sup>12</sup>

As in the previous century, wars between the various tribes continued. The Miami were first involved with the Ottawa, then with the Foxes, the Kickapoo, and the Illinois. Jean-Baptiste Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes,

who was sent by the governor of New France to live with the Miami, became a key figure in that tribe's relations with the French and with other Indian tribes.<sup>13</sup>

A description of conditions among the Indians in the In-diana area is given in a report made by Jacques Charles de Sabrevois, former commandant at Detroit, in 1718. He described the lower Maumee region as a marshy area where game was very plentiful, especially in the spring and autumn. Thirty leagues [75 miles] from the mouth of the Maumee was La Glaise, where the buffalo ate clay and wallowed in it. At the source of the Maumee, sixty leagues [150 miles] from Lake Erie, the Miami nation numbered four hundred warriors. These Indians were described as being very industrious and fond of games and dances; the men were well tattooed and wore little clothing, but the women were adequately covered. Down the Wabash, five villages of Wea and Piankashaw, with a population of a thousand or twelve hundred, were distinguished for their cleanliness. The people raised maize, melons, and pumpkins; buffalo grazed near by.<sup>14</sup>

Although the French had laid claim to the area west of the Appalachian Mountains, their ability to defend this claim depended on whether they could actually take possession of the land and control the Indian tribes. The population of the English colonies was increasing rapidly and explorers and traders from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas were pushing westward across the mountains. By 1700 a few English traders had reached the lower Ohio and the Great Lakes region, and the French feared they would in time secure a portion of the fur trade. When the complex system of licensing French traders was temporarily discontinued in 1698, the *coureurs de bois* did not all withdraw from the Indian country but instead scattered along the streams and traded whenever they could. Sometimes they sold their pelts to the English, sometimes they let the Indians be the middlemen and take the furs east to the French trading centers. French efforts to bring them under control only resulted in their wider dispersal.<sup>15</sup>

The difference in the governments of the French and English colonies contributed to the competition between the respective groups of traders. Whereas, the government of New France was highly centralized and maintained a strict control of the fur trade, the English colonies competed with each other for the trade, and the mother country made no attempt to control the price of furs or the price of goods sold to the Indians. The only supervision was that which the governors of such colonies as New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas exercised. The English were able to provide cheaper goods to the Indians so the French had to be on the alert continually to prevent their Indian allies from going over to the English side.

Trade at the French posts was carried on at various times under three different methods of exploitation: the plan of farming out or leasing, the licensing plan, and the plan of exploitation by the commandant of the post. In the first, the monopoly of the trade at a given post was sold, usually at public auction, to some individual or company, for a three-year period. The lessee agreed to exploit the post himself or send *engages* to do it for him. He could send as many canoes with goods as he deemed necessary, but the content of his cargoes was



strictly regulated, especially as to the amount of liquor they carried. The officer at the post was obligated to protect him in his trade monopoly and in turn the lessee would supply the officer with fuel, lodging, and the conveyance of his supplies.

Under the licensing system, private traders bought or were granted *conges* permitting them to trade at certain posts. Each *conge* designated the number of canoes the trader was allowed to send, the voyageurs who were to accompany him, as well as the route to be taken. Holders of *congis* were to carry in each canoe going to a post a certain amount of goods for the commandant. *Congis* were not sold at auction, but were issued upon application; sometimes they were given gratis. In the case of exploitation of the posts by the military commandant, this officer held a monopoly of the trade just as the “farmer” or lessee under the farming system.<sup>16</sup> The profit he derived therefrom apparently constituted part of his remuneration as commandant.

The fur trade was carried on by means of an exchange involving raw furs and merchandise. The trading convoys usually left Montreal in May, reached Detroit in July, and from there fanned out to the different posts. After disposing of their goods to the savages and to French hunters and trappers, they returned home loaded with peltries. The return trip was scheduled to reach Montreal before bad weather began in November. From the more distant posts, the canoes did not return until the following spring, it being necessary to winter at the posts. In the colony of Louisiana it required four months for traders departing from New Orleans to reach Kaskaskia and from six weeks to two months for the return trip.

Articles suitable for the trade were those used by the savages and by the French woodsmen in their primitive life of hunting, trapping, and warfare. These might include hunting knives, guns, lead, balls, powder, steel for striking fire, gun flints, hatchets, kettles, beads, men’s shirts, cloth (red and blue) for blankets and petticoats, vermilion and verdigris, tallow, blue and green ribbon, needles, thread, awls, blue, white, and red ratteen for making moccasins, woolen blankets, mirrors framed in wood, hats trimmed with plumes, brandy, tobacco, razors, glass beads made after the fashion of wampum, and paints.

The furs chiefly in demand were skins of the beaver, bear, raccoon, otter, red fox, mink, fisher, wolf, and deer. Beaver was the most desirable. In Louisiana deerskins and buffalo hides were more plentiful. <sup>17</sup> In 1715 the French government granted permission to reestablish the *conge* system which had been discontinued in 1696. One of the reasons given was that the officials hoped to conciliate the Ottawa, Miami, and Illinois who were all middlemen in the fur trade with the more distant tribes. Along with this change in policy, the governor of New France was given authority to found and garrison as many posts in the interior as he thought necessary. Rumors which reported Englishmen among the Illinois and Miami Indians prompted this need for a military force to protect French claims.<sup>18</sup>

The first post to be established in the Indiana area was Ouiatanon near the present Lafayette. Plans called for a military force of a captain, one subordinate officer, a sergeant, and ten soldiers with instructions to break the supposed connection between the Wea and the English and to keep peace with the Illinois Indians.

The post was not expected to be permanent, but only to continue until the Wea could be persuaded to return to the Chicago area or at least to the upper Kankakee where they would be less likely to trade with the English.<sup>19</sup>

Ensign FrancoisMarie Picote, Sieur de Belestre, an army officer at Detroit, was chosen to carry out these plans in 1717; the commandant there supplied a blacksmith. Presents were sent to “cover” the deaths of several Wea chiefs and additional gifts were to be given to persuade the tribe to move. The site chosen for the post was on the north bank of the Wabash River approximately eighteen miles below the mouth of the Tippecanoe. Although no contemporary description has been preserved, it was apparently a palisaded fort sufficiently large to shelter twelve to twenty families, with an arsenal and storehouses. Instructions were sent to the Sieur de Vincennes, who by this time was living with the Miami at Kekionga, to use his influence with the Wea to get them to move back northward.<sup>20</sup>

Four trading licenses were issued by the governor general of Canada for the new post in 1718. Pierre Comme dit Lajeunesse of Montreal and Claude Legris of Quebec set out in May, 1718, financed by the Montreal merchant Pierre de L’Estage. Joseph Larche of Quebec and Jacques Monboeuf of Montreal also left in May; Etienne Roy of Montreal left in June.<sup>21</sup> The following year the home government once more prohibited the issuing of licenses to traders and requested that the Indians bring their pelts directly to Montreal. Phillippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, the governor general, warned French officials that the Indians could just as easily take their furs to the English at Albany or Philadelphia.<sup>22</sup>

At the same time that the French were once again halting trading licenses in the interior, eight or ten canoes of Miami were observed going to Albany to trade. The English, for their part, feared the growing French influence among the Iroquois; they estimated that more than seven hundred of that tribe had moved to French mission stations on the St. Lawrence. Deputy governor William Keith of Pennsylvania was urging the English to reach out for the western Indian trade by building four small forts, including one on Lake Erie. Keith’s report contains a fairly accurate description of the Indiana area, although the estimates of distances are faulty.<sup>23</sup>

During the winter of 1718-19, Sieur de Vincennes died in the Miami village of Kekionga, and his son, a young man of eighteen, continued the duties of his father as agent of the French government. The death of the senior Vincennes strengthened the resolve of the Miami to remain where they were, but Vaudreuil refused to give up plans for their re-moval. He proposed that Capt. Charles Renaud Du Buisson, who had been designated to go to Ouiatanon, should go in-stead to the Miami village in the hope that he could persuade that tribe to move to the St. Joseph area. If he failed, then he should stay with them and establish a garrisoned post at Kekionga to combat English influence.<sup>24</sup> But Du Buisson was detained in Canada and in the interim Vaudreuil sent Ensign Dumont and Simon Reaume, a former voyageur well known to the Miami, to try and persuade the Indians to move. At the Miami village Dumont’s first duty was to expel all French-men except the blacksmith

so that they would not influence the removal of the Indians. Dumont addressed an assembly of Miami on February 11, 1721, after which they unanimously declared they would not leave their present town where they were safe from other Indians and the hunting was good. At the St. Joseph of the Lake they would be in constant danger from the Foxes and would have to travel a great distance to reach their hunting grounds.<sup>25</sup>

When Du Buisson finally became free to go to the Miami in August of 1721, he was instructed by Vaudreuil to proceed with the establishment of village where he was to live over the Wea fort on the Wabash. By the following May he had completed a palisaded fort which he named Fort Saint Philippe des Miamis, or Fort miami, on the site of the present city of Fort Wayne. In reporting its construction to the Council, Vaudreuil described it as one of the finest forts in the upper country, strong enough to withstand an attack by the savages.<sup>26</sup>

For a time Du Buisson's charges gave him much trouble because they could not obtain all the brandy they desired, but his skill and prudence ultimately made them more docile than they had been. Meanwhile, the younger Vincennes had been transferred to Ouiatanon and placed in charge there under Du Buisson. The latter suggested to the Governor that Vincennes be given the rank of second ensign.<sup>27</sup> Bienville, the governor of Louisiana, had already recognized his ability and given him a commission of half-pay ensign under that government on May 20, 1722.<sup>28</sup>

The charter of 1718 under which the Company of the Indies received a monopoly of the trade in the colony of Louisiana also gave that company jurisdiction over the forts, depots, and garrisons of the province with the freedom of issuing orders regulating commerce and the relations with the Indians, and even extending to the appointment of all officials.<sup>29</sup> It was at this time that the Illinois country was formally incorporated into the Louisiana colony and it marked the beginning of a period of more active colonization and exploitation as well as rivalry between that colony and Canada.

Pierre Dugue, Sieur de Boisbriant, age fortythree, was appointed commandant of the Illinois district in 1718 and arrived at Kaskaskia accompanied by a hundred officers and troops, plus employees of the Company of the Indies, engineers, workmen, and others. The new commandant began the erection of Fort de Chartres about fifteen miles north of Kaskaskia, which became the seat of government for the district, while Kaskaskia remained the center of the religious and social life. Boisbriant and those who came with him introduced a period of gaiety and romance into the social life of the community to which it was but natural that the young Sieur de Vincennes at his lonely outpost on the Wabash would have been drawn.<sup>30</sup> The Illinois commandant soon recognized that Vincennes could be useful to the Louisiana colony and no doubt recommended that he receive a commission.

The need for one or more additional posts on the lower Wabash and Ohio rivers was recognized by both the government of Louisiana and the Company of the Indies; if and when a post was established, they wanted Vincennes to take charge of it and invite some of the Wabash Indians to locate there.<sup>81</sup> As early as

1720 the governor general of Canada represented to the French Council that Boisbriant was influencing the Piankashaw (located below Ouiatanon) to remain where they were by promising to send an officer and a garrison to their village, while the Canadian government wanted them to move farther north. To the Illinois commandant as well as to the Council, the Canadian governor--general also pointed out how important it was that the Sieur de Vincennes should remain at Ouiatanon "on account of the esteem in which he is held by the savage nations at that post." If it had not been for him, the Ouiatanons would have waged war against the Illinois Indians .32 On April 23, 1726, Vincennes received his promotion as second ensign in the detachment of marines serving in New France, for which he had been recommended four years earlier .33 Being in a strategic location to watch the movements of the English, his correspondence shows that he made reports to both the governments of Louisiana and Canada.

The Wea had been promised a missionary as early as 1715, but it was not until ten years later that this promise was fulfilled. In May, 1725, Vaudreuil issued a permit to R. P. Guimoneau, a Jesuit, to leave for the Miami and Ouiatanon posts; he was still there the following year but his labors apparently had no permanent results.34

In August, 1726, Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois, succeeded Vaudreuil as governor of Canada. He was about fifty-five years of age, had been trained for the French Navy, and heretofore had had only a brief period of service in America in the early 1700s. The instructions of Louis XV to the new governor included the following admonitions:

The Indian Nations inhabiting ... [New France] exact continual foresight and attention to make them live in peace, and to prevent the Europeans, who occupy the same Continent, penetrating and carrying on a trade among them.... He will require firmness to maintain the possessions of France against those neighbors who, for a long time, have been endeavoring to encroach thereon.

It is necessary to blend mildness, justice and disinterestedness with this firmness, in the government of the French inhabiting the Colony, who are more inclined to run loose in the woods, and to live like Indians, than to cultivate and remain on their farms.85

That same year, as a countermeasure to British encroachments, the French government reestablished the conge system of regulating trade in the northern colony.36

Louisiana also received a new governor in 1726, Bienville being succeeded by Louis de la Nrier. The Company of the Indies immediately took up with him the need of establishing a post on the Wabash or lower Ohio to prevent English expansion in that area. Correspondence between the company and the governor of Louisiana, the commandant of the Illinois country, the governor general of Canada, and Count Maurepas, minister for the colonies, reveals a deep concern and the need for cooperation between the officials of the two

American colonies. Vincennes' influence with the Miami and the government's need of the help of that tribe was definitely recognized, also the importance of satisfying the needs of the Indians so far as trade goods were concerned in order that they need not go to the English.<sup>37</sup> Although the Company of the Indies allocated money in 1727 for Vincennes' salary and for construction of a fort and garrisoning it, nothing was done at that time, perhaps because of reverses suffered by the Company which made it necessary that they cut expenses. For a time it appeared that even the Illinois fort would be abandoned.

The influence of the English was not confined to the north-ern tribes. South of the Ohio the English had acquired con-siderable influence among the Chickasaw, Natchez, and Chero-kee; sometimes English goods tempted even the Choctaw, who could usually be counted on as an ally of the French. The economizing policies and weaknesses of the Company of the Indies prevented any effective countermeasures; the expenses of a punitive expedition against the English in 1730 helped to persuade the Company to ask the French King to resume once more the responsibility of governing Louisiana.<sup>38</sup> When Canadian officials learned of these plans, they asked that jurisdiction over the southern half of the Illinois and Wabash country be returned to the northern colony,<sup>89</sup> but this appeal was of no avail.

In 1730 Vincennes, who had been confirmed halfpay lieu-tenant by the Louisiana government, took some Indians from the Ouiatanon area into the jurisdiction of the southern colony. As the result the chagrined Beauharnois considered barring voyageurs from going to the new location as a means of forcing the Indians to return to Ouiatanon for supplies. However, he relented and allowed Frenchmen sent to escort missionaries to the Illinois country to take along goods which they sold to the Indians as usual.<sup>40</sup> The Louisiana govern-ment was happy with Vincennes' decision to move the Wea down the Wabash, but they insisted it was absolutely necessary to fortify the place where they were to be located .<sup>41</sup>

The Louisiana budget for 1732 included 800 livres. salary and "perquisites" for M..de Vincennes, commandant at the Wabash. It was probably that year that he began the erection of a fort on the site of the present city of Vincennes. The following March he described its location as eighty miles above the junction of the Wabash and the Ohio. He stated that the place was suitable for a large establishment and that he would have made one if he had had the necessary force. He complained that he had no goods with which to trade and the English were carrying away all the furs collected in that area. If this trade could be diverted to the French, he esti-mated that every year thirty thousand skins could be obtained. He suggested that a garrison of thirty men and one officer was needed to man the fort, and that a guard house and barracks should be erected.

Regarding the Indians of the Wabash area, Sieur de Vin-cennes wrote: they are composed of five nations who compose four villages of which the least has sixty men carrying arms, and all of them could furnish from six to seven hundred men if it were necessary to assemble them for the welfare of the service and for their own welfare. On account of the nearness of the English, it has been impossible for me to bring together all these nations because there has always been a lack of merchandise in this place. . . . I have never had a greater



need of troops . . . than at the present time. The savages, the Illinois, as well as the Miamis and others are more insolent than they have ever been.<sup>42</sup>

The builder of Indiana's newest fort still lacked a few months of being thirtythree years of age. He had indeed done well in the fourteen years since his father's death.

About this time Vincennes received word from the governor-general of Canada about plans to unite all the northern tribes for an attack on the Chickasaw in the spring. This tribe, brave, independent, and warlike, were among the most haughty, cruel, and insolent of the southern Indians. They numbered above five hundred warriors and had forty villages in what is now northern Mississippi. The Chickasaw war had its origin in the massacre of the French garrison at Fort Rosalie (Natchez) by the Natchez Indians in 1729. For this deed, the Louisiana governor determined to wipe out that nation and nearly succeeded except for a remnant which took refuge with the Chickasaw. When the latter refused to obey the Governor's order to give up the refugees, the French turned their wrath on that tribe and sought the aid of the Canadian governor and the northern Indians in destroying them.<sup>43</sup>

Concerning the Chickasaw war, Vincennes wrote in 1733 that "all the nations of Canada and the lakes start this spring to go there. Both nations here have gone, even their chiefs. Not a single man remained in all these villages." He went on to say:

In this post we lack everything. I am obliged to borrow from travellers and to give the little that I have myself to take care of all the affairs which come up daily. . . . When these nations return and when all the prisoners, which they have taken are given to us, it will be necessary to pay for this sort of thing as well as to look for the dead if we lose any one.

The governorgeneral of Canada, he wrote, had given him permission to go to Canada to attend to some family matters, but he promised not to leave "unless I see everything in good shape in this continent." If he should go, he would ask Sieur de St. Ange, Senior, commandant at Fort de Chartres, to send his son to Post Vincennes during his absence .<sup>44</sup>

The "family matters" to which the young commandant re-ferred apparently would have included his marriage to Marie, the daughter of Etienne Philippe Dulongpre, a prominent citizen of Kaskaskia, which took place sometime in 1733, and probably at Kaskaskia.<sup>45</sup> It would have been the natural thing for Vincennes to want to take his bride to Montreal to meet the members of his family.

The journey to Canada was not entirely of a personal nature. The Chickasaw had expressed a desire to remain at peace with the northern tribes and sent a calumet as a token of their bid for peace; Sieur de Vincennes carried this token with him to the Canadian governorgeneral. Regardless of this gesture, Beauharnois

wrote that he would continue to make war on the Chickasaw until he received further word from the governor of Louisiana .40

Meanwhile, on the upper Wabash, Du Buisson, the builder of Fort Saint Philippe, continued at this Miami post until 1727. The next commandant of whom we have any record was Nicolas Joseph de Noyelle who was there in 1730. In the expedition against the Foxes that year he appeared with ten Frenchmen and two hundred Indians but only half of these were warriors.47

In 1732 before turning the Miami post over to Nicolas- Marie Renaud (D'Arnaud), Sieur de Desmeloises, Noyelle put in claims for about one thousand livres which he had provided in merchandise at the post, while Simon Reaume asked to be reimbursed for 223 livres which he had expended at Ouiatanon. During 173233 Reaume served as commandant at the Wea post, where he furnished supplies to war parties going to and returning from attacks on the Chickasaw. He also gave the Piankashaw chiefs of the Vermilion River powder and bullets to persuade them to move to the Oui-atanon area.48

In 1732 Pierre and Charles Papin of Canada formed a trading partnership just before they left for the Wea post, where they planned to spend the next three years. At the end of that period they agreed to bring back all of the furs they had collected so that they could pay the merchants who had supplied the necessary equipment.49

At Fort Saint Philippe (or Fort Miamis) during this same period we have an example of the commandant having a monopoly of the trade. Needing help in the enterprise D'Arnaud formed a partnership with Pierre Roy in which they agreed to share all expenses and profits for a three- year period unless D'Arnaud should be relieved of his command. Since Roy could neither read nor write, he pledged himself to show his accounts and ledgers to his partner twice a year or oftener. The sum due the King for the monopoly of the trade was to be paid out of the partnership funds. D'Arnaud was to put into their common magazine the presents he was obliged to give the Indians, and whatever gifts of pelts he might receive from them. Roy was to act as interpreter whenever the need should arise, for which he would receive fifty 6cus annually. D'Arnaud was to receive the income from the forge. At the conclusion of the three-year period, the partners would divide the merchandise and assets at the post while they would share the furs and other funds at Montreal. One stipulation specified that the engages who were to come from Montreal the following autumn would have to agree to work on the construction of a new fort during the winter.110

Very early in D'Arnaud's tour of duty an epidemic attacked the Indians of the Miami post, causing the death of at least one hundred and fifty. Although the commandant blamed the casualties on a subtle poison which the English had added to four hundred kegs of brandy the Indians had brought from the English post of Oswego, it is much more probable that they died from smallpox. The Miami were not the only victims of the epidemic. Large numbers of Wea and Piankashaw came to get a share of the brandy and carried the malady back to their villages, thus causing many deaths among their people also. To avoid the plague many of the Miami fled from their village. After the epidemic subsided, Beauharnois dispatched Noyelle to bring all the

Miami back again to the village of Kekionga, and to offer induce-ments to the Shawnee to join them. Noyelle coaxed the scattered Miami back with the assistance of D'Arnaud, the commandant.<sup>51</sup>

After Sieur de Vincennes returned to the Wabash in the early spring of 1734, he again described the state of his post. The garrison consisted of ten men but he expected it to be increased to thirty. The fort was very small, he reported, and needed to have a double wall of stone built around it. Within the fort he had built a house at his own expense and the soldiers had built their own barracks. The Piankashaw, he wrote, were thinking of moving one of their villages down to Post Vincennes, and the commandant liked the idea because it would help secure his establishment and remove a tempta-tion for the Indians there to trade with the English.<sup>52</sup> Bien-ville had given orders to the commandant at Fort de Char-tres to send thirty additional men and two officers to the post, but there is no record of his compliance.<sup>53</sup>

In 1734 a large number of Miami went south to attack the Chickasaw. The Wea did not go because they were un-certain about what action the French were planning against the Foxes and wanted to be ready to defend their village. That same year, the Wea post, now under the command of Franqois de l'Espervanche, was the scene of tumult and ap-prehension resulting from a brawl between a Frenchman and an Indian in which the white man gained the advantage. The disgruntled Indian aroused his friends who pillaged the post. At the time the commandant was absent but on his return he appealed to Detroit for help. A force of one hundred twenty Frenchmen and some two hundred Indians were as-sembled under the leadership of D'Arnaud, com-mandant at the Miami post, who happened to be at Detroit. When the expedition reached Fort Miamis, word came from Ouiatanon that the difficulty had been settled and all was quiet, where-upon the expedition was dismantled. The prompt action of the French officials impressed the natives and served to instill a greater respect and fear of the French; Beauharnois used the episode to point out to the home government the need for strengthening the garrisons at the posts.<sup>54</sup>

Parties of Miami, Wea, and Piankashaw continued to join other northern tribes in raids against the Chickasaw in 1735, but their efforts accomplished little because they were not united.<sup>55</sup> That year there was again a new commandant at the Wea post, Louis Godefroy, Sieur de Normanville. On June 6 he subleased the right to trade at his post to Franqois Aug<sup>6</sup> and Ren<sup>6</sup> Bissonet La Faverez for 2,500 livres a year, they agreeing to furnish flour, three barrels of brandy, four of wine, one of powder, and fifty pounds of tobacco to the garrison each year.<sup>56</sup>

ing the summer of 1735 Sieur de Vincennes again warned of English aggression on the Ohio. According to his information the Miami of Kekionga and the Wea were plan-ning to move closer to the English in the autumn, but the Indians of his post had refused the English belts.<sup>57</sup>

Meanwhile, Bienville, the governor of Louisiana, was plan-ning a new concerted effort against the Chickasaw; he hoped to raise five hundred French and Indians in the southern province and three hundred in the Illinois country. Pierre d'Artaguiette, now commandant in the Illinois country, was to command the northern

forces; Sieur de Vincennes was to join him with all the French and Indians he could get together. The rendezvous of all the forces was set for the end of March, 1736, at Prud'homme Bluffs, near the present Memphis. Early in February the Governor realized he was not going to be able to meet the northern forces at the appointed time because of failure to receive expected supplies and sent a courier to d'Artaguiette telling him to delay his departure from the Illinois country until the end of April. The latter failed to receive the message and left Kaskaskia on February 20 with the forces he had been able to recruit.<sup>58</sup>

Arriving at the agreed meeting place on March 4, d'Artaguiette dispatched a courier to Bienville, whom he presumed to be approaching from the south, stating that he had in his company thirty soldiers, one hundred voyageurs and colonists, and almost all the Indians of the village of Kaskaskia; he was expecting the arrival of others from Cahokia and the Arkansas post and Sieur de Vincennes with the Indians of the Wabash plus forty Iroquois. He had brought food and was prepared to wait for Bienville's forces. After the arrival of Vincennes, their combined forces started advancing slowly toward the Chickasaw villages in order to give time for the others from the north to join them. It was at this time that a courier from Bienville's army met them with the news of the delay in their departure from Mobile and that they would not be able to join the northern forces until the end of April.

Upon calling a council of officers and Indian chiefs to determine what to do, the chiefs pointed out to d'Artaguiette the lack of provisions for such a long sojourn in enemy territory and the necessity they would be under of abandoning the expedition in the event the French decided to wait. Scouts reported there was a Chickasaw village separate from the others that would be easy to take and would supply needed provisions. The decision to attack was made, but the Chickasaw had been alerted to the movements of d'Artaguiette's forces and were ready. Some four or five hundred Indians fell upon the attackers with such force that they were forced

to retreat, with the Indians in full pursuit. Two days' march from the Chickasaw villages, the remnant of the troops met the reinforcements from Cahokia and with them returned to Illinois with the wounded. Among those taken prisoner were d'Artaguiette, Vincennes, and Father Antoine Senat, Jesuit priest. After suffering the cruelest of Indian torture they were burned at the stake. From letters found on the prisoners the Indians learned of Bienville's plans and were also ready for him when his forces attacked on May 26. They too suffered defeat and began a retreat to Mobile. Not until his arrival there did Bienville receive definite confirmation of the disaster that had overtaken the northern army.<sup>59</sup> Thus the plans to humble the perennial enemy ended in failure and chagrin. It was a defeat that France could ill afford.

As word of the disaster filtered through to the French and Indian villages on the upper Mississippi and Wabash, those who had not joined the expedition were stunned none more so than those at Post Vincennes which had lost its commandant, most of its garrison, and the adult males of some of the French families that Vincennes had persuaded to settle around the post. As the word reached the officials in Canada, plans were

laid for a new expedition against the Chickasaw to avenge the recent defeat. Vincennes' wife and two little girls were left to mourn his death.<sup>60</sup>

Realizing the seriousness of the situation in the Illinois country, Bienville dispatched a convoy up the Mississippi with fortythree picked soldiers to replace those from the Illinois and Indiana garrisons that had been killed. Two hundred French, Indians, and Negroes accompanied the con-vooy to ward off any possible attack. Alphonse de La Buis-sonni~re, who had been acting commandant in d' Artaguiette's absence, was appointed to succeed him and continued to serve for four years. Louis Bellerive, Sieur de St. Ange, one of the sons of the elder St. Ange, commandant at Fort de Char-tres, was called from a fort on the Missouri to succeed Sieur de Vincennes at the Wabash post. Most of the Piankashaw living around the fort now decided to return to their former village on the Vermilion River. St. Ange reported in 1737 that only about twentyfive men remained and if they should decide to leave it would be necessary to add to the strength of the garrison. In reporting the situation to the French minister, the Louisiana ordonnateur expressed the view that the cost of keeping up the fort was more than it was worth; however, he believed it was necessary to maintain it to keep the English from settling there.<sup>61</sup>

Although St. Ange was to remain at Post Vincennes for over a quarter of a century, with the death of its founder a curtain seemed to fall over its activities and only occasionally does one get a glimpse of what was happening. Not until the advent of the English and the Americans does it again come to life and assume the importance that its founder expected it to have. Part of this is due to the fact that the scene of rivalry between the English and French now shifted to the upper Ohio.

A census of the Canadian tribes taken in 1736 listed the Miami as divided into two groups with a total of two hundred warriors. The Wea, Piankashaw, and Petikokias (or Pepi-kokia) were listed as having three hundred and fifty war-riors.<sup>62</sup>

The movement of war parties down the Wabash con-tinued in spite of the 1736 defeat. The commandant at Oui-atanon wrote in February, 1738, that the savages of his post were going south "to avenge their father for the insult which had been done him and at the same time to [avenge] the blood of their brothers which had been shed." The command-ant of the Miami post reported in June of the same year that the young men of his post were leaving every day to go to war on the Chickasaw. War parties from other tribes also passed down the Wabash; for example, on July 25 the com-mandant at Ouiatanon wrote that a party of eighteen Ottawa had just passed by as well as twentyeight Miami. Letters also tell of the return of the war parties with prisoners, some of whom were burned.<sup>63</sup>

Late in 1738 or early the following year Charles Franqois Tarieu de La P6rade fils succeeded d' Amours de la Moran-die're as commandant at the Miami post. Ouiatanon also received a new commandant in the fall of 1739, but he died soon after his arrival. The following summer Henri Albert de St. Vincent *fils* became the commandant at that post. Soon after his arrival he and La Nrade had to settle the affair of La Peau Blanche, a Wea who had killed a Miami when the latter was returning from visiting the English. The Miami wanted to fall



upon the Wea tribe to avenge the insult but the commandant at Miamis succeeded in stopping them on the promise that the murderer would be turned over to them for any punishment they wished to inflict. La P6rade set out for the Wea post with five Frenchmen to bring back La Peau Blanche. His expense account for the journey has been pre-served and shows that in addition to paying each of the men fifty livres, they received brandy, corn, tobacco, powder, and lead. The Indians furnished them meat along the way, re-ceiving vermilion as their compensation. The punishment meted out to the Wea murderer is not recorded.<sup>64</sup>

Bienville, the governor of Louisiana, sought to wipe out the criticism that fell upon him for the 1736 defeats by the Chickasaw by organizing a new army to march against them in 1739<sup>40</sup>; he was aided by an expedition recruited in Canada but there was no organized participation by the Indians of Indiana.<sup>65</sup> This time the Chickasaw sued for peace and Bien-Ville entered into a treaty with them. Following this the Louisiana governor returned to France but remained under a cloud of censure the rest of his life. He had served for more than forty years, most of the time in Louisiana. His succes-sor was Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, son of the former gov-ernor general of Canada. The treaty brought only a brief interlude of peace and within a few months the Chickasaw were again fighting with their neighbors and with tribes north of the Ohio.<sup>66</sup>

In 1741 wars among the northern tribes caused a decrease in the attacks upon the Chickasaw. That fall Jacques Le Gardeur, Sieur de St. Pierre Succeeded La P6rade at the Miami post. As usual, the commandants of all three Indiana posts were kept busy with tribal movements and war parties, but when accounts of high expenses and meager results reached the French court, the official reaction was that these excursions had not been as successful as might have been ex-pected.<sup>67</sup> In April, 1741, eight “cabins” of Mascoutens from Wisconsin came to join a chief already at Ouiatanon, giving as their reason their fear of the Fox tribe.<sup>68</sup>

In the summer of 1742 an unusually large number of Indians went to Montreal to pay their respects to the Gov-ernor General, but the Miami did not go. In response to the Governor’s request that the tribesmen make known their grievances, the Wea, Kickapoo, Petikokia, and Mascoutens addressed him on July 8. The Wea said they had not ceased to weep for Sieur de Vincennes and were continually on the warpath against the Chickasaw to avenge his death. They asked that Noyelle be sent to command at their post and that it be put under the license system so that everyone who wished could trade there. The Petikokia speech was much the same as that of the Wea. The Kickapoo asked for permission to leave Post Ciuiatanon and settle on the prairie of the Mas-coutens; they also asked for a “chief” (probably meaning a commandant), a blacksmith, and Frenchmen to bring what they needed. The two bands of Mascoutens wanted only to go home before the inclement season began.

In his reply to the Wea, the Governor said, “You do rightly in weeping for the death of Monsieur de Vincennes. I had given him to you because I knew he loved you and you loved him greatly. . . . I ask you to continue to avenge his death.” He promised to take their other requests under con-sideration. “There will be several traders, and you will be Masters to seek a cheap market,” he told them. He granted the request of the Kickapoo to move and promised to send them a “chief” and blacksmith after “your fire is well lighted.”<sup>69</sup>

Before the year was over the King ordered that the trade with the Indians at the posts of the River St. Joseph, Miamis, and Ouiatanon should be auctioned to the merchants of the colony the following year, and that the pay of the com-mandants should be prorated according to the amount of trade at each post. The governor protested. The Indians, he said, were already complaining of the high prices and they would be still higher if the posts were auctioned. "It is to be feared ... they will all go over to the English."<sup>70</sup>

When the posts were auctioned the following year, Oui-atanon brought 3,000 livres and Miamis, 6,850. The governor ordered the lessees of the posts to set up several places where merchandise could be sold, in the hope that the Indians could find in one of the stores the bargains they could not find in a single store .71

#### ENDNOTES

1 Louise Phelps Kellogg, *The French Regime in Wisconsin and the North-west* (Madison, Wis., 1925), pp. 89; George M. Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France* (2 volumes, New York, 1928), 1, 4676; John B. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806* (New York, 1933), pp. 137-146; Paul C. Phillips and John W. Smurr, *The Fur Trade* (2 volumes, Norman, Okla., 1961), 1, 1522.

2 Brebner, *Explorers of North America*, pp. 113-136; Kellogg) *The French Pipime*, pp. 950.

3 Kellogg, *The French Regime*, pp. 4483; Brebner, *Explorers of North America*, pp. 148-165.

4 Kellogg, *The French Regime*, pp. 6062, 10103; Phillips and Smurr, *The Fur Trade*, I, 4597, 204219.

5 Kellogg, *The French Rigimr*, pp. 84100; Phillips and Smurr, *The Fur Trade*, 1, 97102.

6 Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France*, 1, 361365, 374380; Kellogg, *The French Rigime*, pp. 118-119. The French colonies in America were governed through the Department of the Marine under the immediate control of the minister of that department who was in turn responsible to the King. The governor-general was usually a naval officer and was nominally in charge of the defense and general administration of the colony, while the intendant had jurisdiction over the police, finances, and the administration of justice. The council was composed of men drawn from the local citizenry and appointed by the King; the governor-general, intendant, and bishop were ex officio, members.

Royal troops were the chief arm of the governor-general for the defense of the colony; the number was never large usually less than one thousand. Officers were appointed by the King upon recommendation of the governor-general. In addition, there was the colonial militia embracing all able-bodied men and officered by

men commissioned by the governor general. Norman W. Caldwell, *The French in the Mississippi Valley, 1740-1750* (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, XXVI, No. 3, Urbana, 1941), pp. 915.

7 Reuben G. Thwaites, *Father Marquette (Né Claude A. Dablon's Journal of the trip around the Great Lakes)* (Chicago, 1896), LIX, 191-193.

8 Some historians contend that La Salle discovered and traveled down the Ohio River in 1669. For a discussion of the evidence concerning this discovery, see Frances Krauskopf, "The Documentary Basis for La Salle's Supposed Discovery of the Ohio River," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLVII (1951), 143-153.

9 Paul Chesnel, *History of Cavalier de La Salle, 1643-1687* ... (New York and London, 1932), pp. 106-110, 116-117; Jean Delanglez, "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," *Mid-America*, XXII (1940), 278-308.

10 Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Springfield, Ill., 1920), pp. 58, 72, 106-112; Kellogg, *The French Regime*, pp. 221-267. As early as 1690 the large number of coureurs de bois (estimated at eight hundred) and the difficulty of controlling them had become a concern of the King. He called upon Frontenac to encourage the inhabitants to engage in agriculture, fishing, and manufacturing rather than wandering in the woods; also, attempts were made to recall some and to allow only those operating under a congé or license to go into the Indian country. Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution* ... (13 volumes, New York, 1936-1967), V, 434-5; Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* ... (Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 67-69. For the part played by the coureurs de bois in the fur trade, see Innis, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-62.

11 For a discussion of the establishment of Louisiana and its early development, see Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 127-167; Alcide Fortier, *A History of Louisiana*, compiled by B. F. French (3 volumes, New York, 1846-51), 111, 10n13n, 20n22n; N. M. Miller Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1699-1763* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, LXXI, No. 1, 1916), Chap. XII. La Salle gave the name Louisiana to the entire Mississippi Valley at the time he laid claim to it for the French King in 1682. His own attempt to found a colony there two years later ended in failure.

The implications of what the charter granted to Crozat might mean to the English settlements on the eastern coast were expressed in a Letter to a Member of the Parliament, published in London in 1713, a copy of which is in the William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society.

12 Erminie W. Voegelin, "Indians of Indiana," *Indiana Academy of Science, Proceedings*, L (1941), 2732; Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2 volumes, U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Washington, D. C., 1906, 1910), 1, 684695, 852854; 240, 925. The *Memoir of Pierre Deliette* (also known as the *De Gannes Memoir*) describes these tribes as they were at the turn of the century before moving into the Indiana area. The *Memoir* is printed in *The French Foundations, 1680-1695*, edited by Theodore C. Pease and Raymond C. Werner (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XXIII, Springfield, 1934), pp. 302-395, and in Milo M. Quaife (ed.), *The Western Country in the Seventeenth Century . . .* (Lakeside Classics, Chicago, 1947). The spelling and pluralization of Indian names in the present volume are in conformity with Hodge.

13 JeanBaptiste Bissot, *Sieur de Vincennes*, was born at Quebec in 1669. He was educated at the Seminary of Quebec and spent some time in France. In 1695 he signed himself as "ensign of the Navy." The following year he married at Montreal Marguerite Forestier. Seven children were born to this union, three boys and four girls; two of the boys died in infancy, the other, FrancoisMarie Bissot, born in 1700, was destined to play an important role in Indiana history. It was apparently shortly after his marriage that *Sieur de Vincennes, Sr.*, was sent to command at the garrison located at the Miami village on the St. Joseph River of the Lake. For his family and an account of his services, see PierreGeorges Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified* (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, VII, No. 1, Indianapolis (1919)), pp. 31-75. Roy has also written *Le Sieur de Vincennes, Fondateur de L'Indiana et Sa Famille* (Quebec, 1919).

14 "Memoir on the Savages of Canada . . . Describing Their Customs," *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI; 375-376. The complete document is printed in *ibid.*, pp. 363-376. Estimates of Indian population vary; being almost continually on the move, it would have been impossible to get an accurate count.

15 Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 101-102, 107-109, 123, 148; Pease and Werner (eds.), *The French Foundations*, p. 7; Kellogg, *The French Regime*, pp. 180, 202-203, 221, 230, 254-257; Alfred T. Goodman (ed.), *Journal of Captain William Trent from Logstown to Pickawillany A.D. 1752 . . .* (Cincinnati, 1871), pp. 101-2.

16 Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 85-86; Caldwell, *The French in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 51-55; Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 61-62, 106- - 109. For a list of congis and permits registered at Montreal for trading at the various Posts for the years 1720-30, 1739-52, and 1758, see *Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec*, 1921-22, pp. 189-223; 1922-23, pp. 192-- 265 ; 1932-33, pp. 245-304. The term *coureurs de bois* gradually came to be applied to traders in the interior without official permission, although this

was not the original meaning of the term. They received their supplies from licensed French traders or from the English in exchange for furs. Sometimes Indians served as agents, between the *coureurs de bois* and their suppliers. Most of them took Indian women for their wives. The government continually tried to control them. They were especially numerous in Illinois which lay at the outskirts of both colonies, with the boundary between them indefinite. Phillips and Smurr, *The Fur Trade*, 1, 197203; Caldwell, *The French in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 5557; R. M. Saunders, "Coureur de Bois: A Definition," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXI (1940), 123-131.

17 Caldwell, *The French in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 5758. Frances Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouiatanon Documents* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, XVIII, No. 2, Indianapolis, 1955), pp. 195204, lists trade goods brought to Ouiatanon in 1746.

18 Claude de Ramezay and Michel Bigon, *governorgeneral and in-tendant*, to French minister, November 7, 1715; *Proceedings of the Council of the Marine*, January 6, 1717; and Phillipe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, *governor-general*, to French minister, October 11, 1723, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 332333, 345346, 437. Fort St. Joseph on the site of the present had originally been built under Frontenac's direction and abandoned along with other posts in 1698, was reoccupied in 1715. F. Clever Bald, *Michigan in Four Centuries* (New York, 1954), pp. 4344, 47, 57. A Jesuit mission was in existence here by 1690, and perhaps earlier. George Par6, "The St. Joseph Mission," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVII (193031), 2456.

19 Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouiatanon Documents*, pp. 140141. Prior to the establishment of Post Ouiatanon a chain of events had taken place which well illustrates the difficulties of carrying out plans formulated in Quebec. In this instance, the *governorgeneral*, *intendant*, and *commandants* of western forts had made plans to end the war with the Renards (Foxes). Peace first had to be arranged between the Miami and Illinois, and then these two nations would be asked to unite with other tribes from the north to crush the Foxes. After receiving word from the *Sieur de Vincennes* of peace having been made between the Miami and Illinois, a rendezvous of French and Indian forces was arranged for Chicago in August of 1715. Emissaries dispatched to the Miami villages at the headwaters of the Maumee and on the Wabash were accompanied by chiefs and members of that tribe; the latter had been exposed to measles while in Detroit and became ill on the journey; some died; those who survived carried the disease to others in the villages. The emissaries were not well received but finally extracted promises from the Miami and Wea that they would cooperate. Leaving the Wabash, one of the emissaries went on to the Illinois Indians to solicit their help. Upon arriving at the place of rendezvous at the appointed time, the Miami did not find any other Indians and returned home; likewise the Illinois Indians. It was



found out later that the commandant at Michilimackinac and his Indians never started; the Detroit contingent arrived late. The Wea especially were disillusioned by the whole affair and to reassure them the hope was held out that the governor would send them an officer and a missionary. See the correspondence of French officials in Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVI, 3 03307, 311326.

20 Krauskopf (ed.), Ouatanon Documents, pp. 141142; Vaudreuil to the Council, October 28, 1719, and October 22, 1720; Proceedings of the Council, December 2, 1721, in Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVI, 380383, 394395, 399. An effort was made in 196869 to locate the exact site of Fort Ouatanon by the use of archaeological methods. The explorations were conducted by Dr. James H. Kellar and students of the Anthropology Department, Indiana University; for a report of their findings, see Indiana History Bulletin, XLVII (1970), 123133.

21 Krauskopf (ed.), Ouatanon Documents, pp. 162164.

22 Phillips and Smurr, *The Fur Trade*, 1, 453; French Archives Nationales, Colonies, CIIA40:54v (copies in Canadian Archives and in the Library of Congress). Vaudreuil later got into trouble because he validated unused cong4is issued before this prohibition. Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVI, 438439. The home government explained that it had banned the trading licenses because of representations made by missionaries who wished to prevent the Indians from obtaining spirituous liquor. M. Edouard Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1904, Appendix K, 27.

23 Vaudreuil to the Council, October 28, 1719, in Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVI, 383. Keith's report, which was in fact the work of James Logan, is printed in part in Phillips and Smurr, *The Fur Trade*, 1, 382384. A trading post was established at Oswego on Lake Ontario by the colony of New York in 1722.

24 Vaudreuil to the Council, October 28, 1719, in Krauskopf (ed.), Ouatanon Documents, pp. 164165, and in Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVI, 382383. Du Buisson, with thirtythree years of government service in America, was considered the most capable officer available for the assignment. He and the elder Vincennes had had an opportunity to become well acquainted back in 1712 when Du Buisson was acting commandant at Detroit and had to withstand an attack by hostile tribes in the neighborhood. On this occasion, Vincennes and some of his faithful Miami from the St. Joseph River had come to his rescue. Letter of Du Buisson to Vaudreuil, June 15, 1712, quoted in Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, pp. 4568.

Commandants of French posts were officers detached from regular duty. For important posts they usually held the rank of captain and received gratifications up to three thousand livres annually; the amount was usually taken out of the revenue received from the fur trade. Caldwell, *The French in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 1415.

25 Vaudreuil to Dumont, August 26, 1720, in Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouïatanon Documents*, pp. 165168; Vaudreuil to the Council, October 22, 1720, in *ibid.*, pp. 168169, and in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 394395 ; *Proceedings of the Council*, December 2, 1721, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 399.

26 Letter of Vaudreuil, October 6, 1721, *Archives Nationales Colonies*, CIIA43:328v329v; Vaudreuil to the Council, October 24, 1722, in Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, pp. 82-83. The longer name was apparently used only briefly to designate the Miami fort. A village of St. Philippe was established north of Fort de Chartres in the Illinois Country about 1725. Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 204.

27 Vaudreuil to the Council, October 24, 1722, in Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, pp. 9384. In all except one of the years between 1721 and 1726 the mother of Sieur de Vincennes sent canoes loaded with goods from Montreal to her son at Ouïatanon. Canoes were also sent to Du Buisson during these same years. *Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec*, 1921-22, pp. 196- 314 *passim*.

28 Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

29 Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 150151.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 152155; Natalie Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime* (*Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, XXIX, No. 3, Urbana, 1948), pp. 1018; Joseph J. Thompson, "Catholic Statesmen of Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* 111 (192021), 202; Edward G. Mason, "Kaskaskia and Its Parish Record" *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 12 (Chicago, 1881), p. 15. The parish records show that Vincennes attended a wedding at Kaskaskia in 1727; he himself courted and later married a Kaskaskia girl.

31 Paul C. Phillips, "Vincennes in its Relation to French Colonial Policy," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XVII (1921), 311318. Phillips used the correspondence between French officials in Paris and those in Canada and Louisiana in his account of Sieur de Vincennes and the founding of Post Vincennes.

32 Vaudreuil letters of October 22, 1720, October 11, 1723, and August 17, 1724, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 392395, 436, 442443. The 1720 letter is printed in part in Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouïatanon Documents*, pp. 168169, and the 1723 letter in Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, pp. 9485.

33 Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, p. 86.

34 Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouiatanon Documents.*, pp. 143, 176177. Missionaries among the Indians were allowed 600 livres annually by the King. They rendered an important service in keeping tribesmen loyal to the French. Caldwell, *The French in the Mississippi Palley*, pp. 19, 22. Guimoneau had been a missionary priest in the Illinois country prior to 1725.

35 *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York . . .*, edited by Edmund B. O'Callahan and B. Fernow (15 volumes, Albany, 1853-87), IX, 956, cited hereafter as *New York Colonial Documents*.

36 Phillips and Smurr, *The Fier Trade*, 1, 453.

37 See correspondence in Phillips, "Vincennes in its Relation to French Colonial Policy," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XVII, 318322; in Roy, *Sieur de Fincennes Identified*, pp. 8591 ; and in *Mississifiti Provincial Archives*, compiled and edited by Dunbar Rowland and Albert G. Sanders (3 volumes, Jackson, 192732), IT, 253260, 580581.

38 Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, 1, 110118; Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 158160, 166167.

39 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 145147n. The boundary between Louisiana and Canada was never definitely defined but lay somewhere between Ouiatanon and Post Vincennes. An undated itinerary made by a British official traveling between Detroit and the Illinois country located it on the Wabash River at "The Highlands," the English name for Terre Haute. Jacob P. Dunn (ed.), *Documents Relating to the French Settlements on the Wahash* (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, II, No. 11, Indianapolis, 1894).

40 Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, pp. 89, go91; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 133.

41 *Archives Nationales, Colonies*, C13A12:344347.

42 Letter of March 7, 1733, to the Department of the Marine in France, in Roy, *Sieur de Fincennei Identified*, pp. 9193.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 9394; Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, 1, 260261; 11, 3536; *Dictionary of American History*, edited by James Truslow Adams (5 volumes and Index, New York, 1940), 1, 360; IV, 5657.

44 Sieur de Vincennes to the Department of the Marine in France, March 21, 1735, in Roy, Sieur de Vincennes Identified, pp. 93-94.

45 Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Unfortunately the records of the Catholic Church at Kaskaskia are not available for this period. The dowry which Dulongpré paid to Sieur de Vincennes included land, provisions, cattle, and a Negress, and is believed to have been one of the largest ever paid in the Illinois country. Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime*, p. 77n.

46 Phillips, "Vincennes in its Relation to French Colonial Policy," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XVII, 325-328; letter of Beauharnois, July 31, 1733, in *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 109-110.

47 *Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXIV, 307-308, 323; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 112, 114, 116, 130. The last permit issued to Madame Du Buisson to send provisions to her husband, commandant at Fort Miamis and Ouiatanon, was on August 20, 1726. *Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec*, 1921-22, p. 214. Noyelle was born in France in 1694, was an ensign in the colonial troops at the age of sixteen, a lieutenant by 1721, and captain in 1732. He later commanded at Detroit and Michilimackinac. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 112n.

48 Archives Nationales, Colonies, CIIA57:340; CIIA62:65v; CIIA63:154-:136; Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouiatanon Documents*, pp. 145-146.

49 Krauskopf (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 179-181.

50 The original document, one of the few in which the official name of the post appears, is in the Chicago Historical Society Library. For a biographical note on D'Arnaud, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 211n.

51 D'Arnaud to Beauharnois, October 25, 1732, in Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouiatanon Documents*, pp. 146, 181-182n; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 185-186.

52 Bienville and Salmon (the ordonnateur) to the French minister, April 8, 1734, and Bienville to same, July 27, 1734, in Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, pp. 95-97.

53 Bienville to the French minister, July 27, 1734, in *ibid.*, p. 97.

54 Krauskopf (ed.), Ouiatanon Documents, pp. 146147, 183194; Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVII, 211212.

55 Beauharnois to the French minister, October 9, 1735, in Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVII, 220; Archives Nationales, Colonies, CIIA65:49v-51v, 116v117v, 119v. The number of northern Indians who joined the southern expeditions in 1735 was somewhat lessened by Noyelle's unsuccessful expedition against the Fox Indians in the winter of 173435; those who participated in the latter wished to return home and provide for their families at the end of that campaign. Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVII, 228.

56 Krauskopf (ed.), Ouialanon Documents, pp. 184185.

57 Bienville to the French minister, August 20, 1735, in Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1, 264269; the French minister to Bienville, December 27, 1735, photostat in Indiana Historical Society Library.

58 Bienville to the French minister, February 10 and June 28, 1736, in Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1, 293, 297310. At the time of the writing of the first letter, Bienville was doubtful of the cooperation of the northern Indians.

59 The accounts of the expedition and battle do not agree on all points. The one given here is from Bienville's reports to the French minister, June 28, 1736, in Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1, 297310, 311516. Various accounts, including that of Drouet de Richardville, a member of the expedition who was taken prisoner, escaped, and reached Montreal, are in *Indiana's First War*, translated by Caroline and Eleanor Dunn (Indiana Historical Society Publications, VIII, No. 2, Indianapolis, 1924). See also Roy, *Sieur de Vincennes Identified*, pp. 98103; *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, 11, 8283 (refers to an account by Edmtind J. Forstall); Richard, "Report on Paris Archives," Report (in *Canadian Archives*, 1905, Vol. I, Pt. 6, p. 458. The historical marker erected to commemorate the battle mistakenly gives the date as May 20. See illustration, p. 176. The marker is located southwest of Tupelo, on Mississippi State Road 41, 3.9 miles from its junction with State Road 15.

Bienville reported that d'Artaquiette's forces made their attack on March 25; another account says the prisoners were burned at the stake on that day. Under the Gregorian calendar which was adopted in 1752 the date would be eleven days later or April 5.

60 Charles Dulude, a gunsmith of Kaskaskia who had married the widow of Ptienne Philippe Dulongpr6, the grandmother of Vincennes' children, was appointed guardian of one of the daughters; Antoine Girard, a



militia officer at Kaskaskia, was guardian of daughter Marie in 1744. Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime*, pp. 9192, 96.

61 Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, pp. 179180; Bienville to Maurepas, June 21, 1737, and Salmon to Maurepas, June 22, 1737, in Roy, *Sieur de Fincennes Identified*, pp. 104105.

62 *New York Colonial Documents*, IX, 1057. The last group mentioned had previously lived in Wisconsin; they disappear from history by 1750 and may have been absorbed by the Piankashaw. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 11, 228229.

63 Extracts of letters of Reni Godefroy, Sieur de Linctot, and Philippe d'Amours, Sieur de la Morandiire, to Beauharnois, July 25, 1738, C11A69:107, and Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouiatanon Documents*, pp. 186187. Renk Godefroy apparently became commandant at Ouiatanon in 1736 or 1737. He may have been a brother of Louis Godefroy, who was appointed in 1735. Bienville, writing on June 21, 1737, refers to Reni as commandant at Miamis and Ouiatanon. *Ibid.*, pp. 185186. D'Amours may have gone to Miamis the latter part of 1737 or early in 1738.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 189190.

65 *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, III, 20n22n. For an account left by a participant in the expedition from Canada, see *Expedition of Baron de Longueuil* (Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No. 16, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1953).

66 In the fall of 1740 members of this tribe killed nineteen men, a woman and her daughter, and a small boy, all of Post Vincennes, as they were re-turning home from the Illinois country. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 336.

67 St. Ange recorded that between March and August of 1741, some six hundred warriors brought back only nineteen prisoners and sixteen scalps. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 419. 68 *Ibid.*, XVII, 336.

69 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 377409, especially pp. 380386.

70 *Ibid.*, XVII, 409412; Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 107108.

71 *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 444; Krauskopf (ed.), *Ouiatanon Documents*, pp. 151, 193194.

# HANDBOOK ON INDIANA HISTORY

Robert D. Orr, Governor  
H. Dean Evans, Superintendent of Public Instruction

Edited and compiled  
by  
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Indiana Department of Education  
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## Chapter 3: The Indians, Early Residents of Indiana, to 1679

### Liliane Krasean, French Historian, Indianapolis

*To the teacher Early Indiana history illustrates the culture of the native Americans prior to the period of European discovery.*

Corollary to U.S. History

- \*Regional pattern of Indian settlements
- \*The Old World meeting the New World
- \*French settlements in Canada and exploration of Indiana territory

#### **GENERAL COMMENTS**

Long before the state of Indiana was created, its geographic area was inhabited by the native Americans that early European settlers called Indians. The history of these first Americans is linked to the history of the discovery and subsequent colonization of the New World by the nations of Europe.

The Indians had oral traditions to support their history but no written records to substantiate it. Consequently, our knowledge of their unadulterated native ways and of their history has come to us through the written works of European explorers and colonizers who first came in contact with them and their culture, as well as through the works of archaeologists who interpret the surviving sites and physical artifacts of Indian culture.

In the region now encompassing the state of Indiana, the Indians first came in contact with explorers and missionaries from French Canada in the 17th century. Our knowledge of these “historic” Indians comes mainly from written documents produced by the French, by the English who wrested the area from France, and by the later Americans who settled the Old Northwest including Indiana. Indians who lived prior to this era are known to us largely through archaeology, and are often called “prehistoric.”

What we know about the “prehistoric” and “historic” Indians of America, and more specifically those who resided in Indiana and its surrounding area, is still to a large degree speculative. Consequently, segments of factual knowledge can only loosely be knitted together to provide a sense of history.

It is now commonly assumed that the Indians are people who migrated from their native Asia by passing through an icefree corridor linking Siberia to the Seward Peninsula of Alaska. They settled on the American continent following a retreat of glaciers many thousands of years ago. An estimated 16 to 20 million such people are thought to have populated the New World on the eve of European discovery, with perhaps more than 2 million in what would much later become the United States of America. These Indians had

gradually adapted to their new surroundings; they moved eastward and southward into the new country as their need for more game, land, and space dictated. Sometime during the course of this internal migration several thousand years ago some of them reached the Great Lakes region and settled in lands watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, including the Wabash and Ohio River countries. Each movement of migration to a new area must have brought about change in the life style of the Indians, and the development of new cultural expressions. Indian cultural groups differed greatly from one another and attained varying levels of organization such as bands, clans, and tribes.

Archaeologists perceive four major traditions in the development and evolution of prehistoric Indians which show these distinctive cultural patterns. The Big Game Hunter tradition, dating from about 8,000 B.C., is the earliest of the recognized traditions. Projectile artifacts with fluted points characterize this period. Secondly, the Archaic Tradition is characterized by change and adaptation of both man and the surroundings, and by simple technology. The third grouping to be identified, the Woodland Tradition, is marked by some advances in technological skills. The Indians learned to work available raw material such as clay into ceramics, pottery became a distinctive native product, and bows and arrows were made and used. Finally, there is the Mississippian Tradition which extends into this historic period of European colonization and which produced more varied and more numerous artifacts made from readily available exploitable raw material such as wood, bone, shell, stone, and clay. During this period, some Indians continued to rely on a somewhat traditional way of life based on group mobility. Their subsistence patterns were essentially based on food gathering, hunting, and fishing. Others appear to have adopted a sedentary style of living. They established more permanent settlements, such as the excavated village of Angel Mounds, near presentday Evansville, Indiana achieved a higher degree of social stratification; and extended and intensified farming practices. They learned to complement their subsistence by the cultivation of such food products as maize, potatoes, beans, squash, and pumpkin. Tobacco was also grown.

Despite this seeming wealth of knowledge painstakingly obtained by archaeologists from the material remains of an elusive past, and sometimes further substantiated by direct written records of early European witnesses, there is still not sufficient evidence available to explain fully the complex process by which groups of Indians interacted with their physical environment at any given time.

Historic Indians, on the other hand, can be described and their ways studied in the emerging historical context that followed the age of discovery. Many early European settlers and explorers recorded their observations and reactions to the new lands and peoples they met, providing sources for modern historians and archaeologists.

These sources help identify by name specific Indian nations and tribes; link their presence to precise geographic places; describe their life styles and beliefs at given times; and shed light on conditions that may have brought about changes in their behavior or their environment.



It seems clear that the coming of the Europeans to the New World caused many shifts in the existing patterns of settlements and migrations. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, successively under French and then British domination, various Indian tribes moved about the American heartland. The Indians most closely identified with the general location of the state of Indiana included the Miami, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, Piankashaw, and Kickapoo, who came eastward from the Wisconsin area, and the Delaware, Munsee, and Shawnee, who came westward from the Atlantic seaboard.

The impact of European civilization on the Indians was often devastating to their culture and beliefs. The Indians preferred many of the European products to their own. Beads, kettles, axes, guns, iron knives, and cloth were in demand, and the Indians learned they could trade beaver, raccoon, and deer pelts for things they needed or wanted. The fur trade brought about changes in the social life and native economic structures of the day. Young men tended their traps rather than fishing and hunting for food. Competitive pressure also brought about the dislocation of the tribal unit into smaller bands living in more isolated communities. By 1740, Indian culture was seriously disrupted; however, some would continue to reside in the region for another century.

#### POINTS TO EMPHASIZE

The concept of history is linked to the discovery of America and to the written word. If no one had recorded in writing the discovery of America, we might not have known about it as we do. People other than Columbus may have indeed discovered the North American continent, but they cannot get credit for it because no written record of it exists. The written word stays; the spoken word is soon forgotten. Because the people who discovered and then colonized America could read and write and the Indians could not, the Indians who came into contact with them, and about whom something was written, are called “historic” by European standards. The others are called “prehistoric.”

Archaeologists excavate sites and study the artifacts they find deposited there. Using the precise location of the artifact in the ground and the site of its geographic location as important considerations, they derive interpretations from the material under their scrutiny.

Archaeological evidence supports the interpretation that Indians lived in Indiana long before any European set foot on any American soil. Because of a nomadic style of living, no one can be sure whether they were the forefathers of those Indians who were in this region when the French arrived.

“Prehistoric” Indians, like any other prehistoric people, left clues that they existed. These are called artifacts by the archaeologists who study them. Archaeologists can tell us a lot about the artifacts, but they sometimes have to speculate about what people were like, what they did, or how they lived.

It is through their eyes, and the writings of the French, that we have acquired much of the knowledge we have of the first people who lived in this area. What the French explorers, missionaries, and other writers

had to say about these Indians is of great importance to archaeologists and anthropologists as well as historians. The longer the Indians remained in contact with the Europeans, the more Indian culture changed.

When the French arrived in Indiana, in the latter part of the seven-teenth century, the Miami had already pushed eastward from the Wisconsin area into northern Indiana. The principal town of their confederacy, Kekionga, was located at the site of presentday Fort Wayne, where three rivers converge.

The Ouiatanon, Piankashaw, and Potawatomi also were originally from the Great Lakes area. These Indians lived in villages along the Wabash and Vermillion rivers. Many of the Ouiatanon and the Piankashaw villages were located in presentday Tippecanoe County. These tribes cultivated corn, pumpkin, and melons. The Delaware, pushed west by the English settlement in the east, came to Ohio and Indiana during the second half of the eighteenth century. Like the Shawnee, the Delaware were to be found mostly in eastcentral Indiana, around Anderson and Muncie.

## Chapter 4: Indiana As Part of the French Colonial Domain, 1679-1765

### Liliane Krasean, French Historian, Indianapolis

*To the teacher: Rivalry between the British and French led to explorations into the interior of the New World territory.*

Corollary to U.S. History

- \*European nations build overseas empires
- \*Spain and Portugal; *Treaty of Tordesillas*
- \*Britain and France compete for colonial empires in the New World
- \*Series of four wars determines control of Old Northwest Territory

#### GENERAL COMMENTS

French settlement in North America dates from the founding of Quebec, Canada, in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain. While the British settled along the Atlantic seacoast, the French entered the North American continent through the valley of the St. Lawrence River. Explorations along the inland waterways led French explorers and missionaries into the hinterland of the American wilderness.

By 1663, King Louis XIV had taken direct control of New France. Canada became a royal colony under a new form of government. A governor-general and an intendant shared the management of the province. A superior council composed of men appointed from among the local citizenry served in an advisory capacity and as a court of law. (A similar form of government was later instituted in Louisiana.) Interior settlements were given commanding officers. The first settlements followed the feudal system, although as more

settlements sprang up in the wilderness, some feudal elements were dropped. An settlers were to be granted land to homestead by the commander of each village, who was given the authority to make such grants. This practice was retained by French settlers into the 1790s, even in what became Indiana, during the early years of the American regime in the Old Northwest.

The French population in America was diversified, small, and slow to reach the interior. Nobles, peasants, laborers, artisans, merchants, and soldiers all were present, as were priests, missionaries, and nuns representing the Catholic Church of France. Conspicuously absent were the French Protestants Huguenots who went to strengthen the British Atlantic colonies after they were banished from France and from French settlements in Canada. The economic life of the colony was based on a mercantile philosophy. The fur trade remained the backbone of the wilderness economy throughout the French regime.

Because Canada was well established by the second half of the 17th century, the impetus for inland exploration and settlements came from there. La Salle is usually recognized as the first Frenchman to set foot on Indiana soil (in 1679 near presentday South Bend). Thereafter the French penetrated the interior of the continent from the Great Lakes southward. They followed a route along the St. Joseph-Kankakee-Uinois rivers, which were connected by a system of portages. Forts were erected along this route, and missions were established among the Indian tribes who populated these areas. The Sulpicians established a mission at Cahokia (now East St. Louis, Illinois) in 1699. JeanBaptiste Bissot, known as the Sieur de Vincennes, was the first known French agent to come visit and then live among the Miami Indians on the St. Joseph River in northern Indiana as early as 1695.

Louisiana, founded in 1699, now had her own government and its jurisdiction extended northward to include parts of Illinois and the Wabash country. In Indiana, the boundary line separating Canada from the newer colony ran east and west near Terre Haute. Kaskaskia and Cahokia, on the MississippiL gained a new importance and became centers of French activities. To the east, as the only alternative to the KankakeeIllinois River route (made unsafe by the hostility of the Fox Indians) the MaumeeWabash route was developed as the main and safest waterway linking Canada and Louisiana. Increasingly afraid of English influence over the Indians, French colonists called on the metropolitan government of France to populate or in some way support the colonizing efforts of the officials of both colonies. France finally responded to the need of her colonial provinces by allowing the establishment of fortified trading posts in the American heartland of the Maumee and Wabash region.

In 1717, FrancoisMarie Picote, Sieur de Bellestre, an army officer at Detroit, built a fort among the Ouiatanon Indians. Fort Ouiatanon, located on the north bank of the Wabash River some 18 miles below the mouth of the Tippecanoe River, was a boost to the fur trade. Communication between Canada and Louisiana via the MaumeeWabash river system was facilitated, and increased. After the death of Jean-Baptiste Bissot, the Sieur de Vincennes, who had been living among the Miami since the turn of the century, the Canadians

recognized the urgency of securing this route further. They established a garrisoned post at the Miami village of Kekionga. Captain Charles Renault Dubuisson, who at one time had command at Detroit, completed Fort St. Philippe de Miamis (known simply as Fort Miami) in 1722. The son of JeanBaptiste Bissot, JeanMarie, who had been living with the Indians since 1718, was transferred to Ouiatanon and placed in charge there under the command of the more experienced Dubuisson. The French military presence at these two places consisted of about a dozen soldiers and a commanding officer.

The history of these two posts was marked by a succession of com-mandants, which was indicative of some of the difficulties encountered by the French trying to establish a viable environment for their colonies. Both Fort Ouiatanon and Fort Miami served mostly as trade outlets for Detroit; they maintained peace among the Indians while keeping in check potential English traders who ventured into French territory. These two posts remained small with a population never exceeding about fifteen families. Concurrently, Louisiana and the Com-pany of the Indies, which had the monopoly of the trade there at that time, took the first steps for the establishment of a fort on the lower Wabash to stop any possible advance of the British into the Ohio Valley. In 1730, JeanMarie Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, finished the palisades at the location of the Indiana city that bears his name today. During an unsuccessful war with the proBritish Chickasaw Indians in 1736, Sieur de Vincennes was killed and the settlement barely survived as an outpost of the French Empire.

To erase some of the effects of the disastrous and humiliating defeat of 1736, Louisiana and Canada mounted a new expedition against the Chickasaw which brought about a treaty. The years 1739-1740 also brought an end to the wars against the Fox Indians to the north, but the results were not permanent. Indian unrest was broadening, fostered not only by the encroachment of the white man on Indian land, but also by the more daring and more frequent infiltrations of British colonial traders into Frenchclaimed territory in the upper Ohio region. The 30-year-long truce, achieved in Europe after the Treaty of Utrecht, was ending. War was formally declared between France and Britain in 1744. It is known as the War of the Austrian Succession, or

King George's War, which ended in 1748 with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By then Virginia had, with the assent of the King of England, organized the Ohio Company to compete with the other British colonies in the western fur trade and to secure and populate the region within the territorial limits stipulated in her 1609 colonial charter. Increasingly, the Indians were being lured away from French influence by Anglo-American traders playing upon their traditional fears of tribes, such as the Iroquois, who were known to be sympathetic to the French. Meanwhile the British after gaining naval supremacy during King George's War gave the Indians presents and supplied them with trade goods cheaper than what the French could offer.

One band of the Miami, traditionally allies of the French and normally occupying a region encompassing the Wabash and the Maumee Rivers in Indiana, moved eastward and established a village in present-day Ohio. Growing defections of the Indians from French-held territory and instances of open revolt leading to murderous raids against French settlers and voyagers threatened the security and survival of the three French

posts in Indiana during the early 1750s. In 1752, after having tried in vain to regain the allegiance of their former allies without using force, the French allowed a punitive expedition to take place against the new Miami Indian village at Pickawillany. The expedition was led by the young, fiery, and ambitious Charles-Michel Mouet, Sieur de Langlade. His force of 240 Chippewa and Ottawa Indians in a surprise attack killed Old Briton, the Miami rebel leader also known as La. Demoiselle. The fall of Pickawillany marked a turning point in the intercolonial rivalry that opposed the French to the British colonies in America. Langlade and his party confiscated a great quantity of British goods reportedly worth some 3,000 pounds. Most of the Indians returned to the main Miami settlements in Maumee country. The French regained control both of the fur trade and of the Ohio Valley and its people. But France had yet to strengthen her hold on the land, and keep Anglo-American expansion in check.

Acutely aware that the encroachment of British colonials on their territorial claims in the Ohio Valley would threaten the fur trade and the lines of communication between Canada and Louisiana, the French governor of Canada sent a small troop headed by Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville to assert the claims of France in the Ohio Valley and formally take possession of it. In 1749, by burying lead plates at key places along the Ohio River with appropriate pomp and ceremony to impress the Indians, Céloron strengthened the forts in the Great Lakes region. The governor of Louisiana meanwhile strengthened the garrisons in the Illinois country and began the construction of a new stone fort, Fort Charles, near Kaskaskia in 1751.

In 1753, the French started to build a chain of forts at strategic points along a route running southeast from Lake Erie to the Forks of the Ohio, in western Pennsylvania. Fort Duquesne was built just before the Virginia House of Burgesses dispatched a small troop led by George Washington in an attempt to reclaim the region for Great Britain and Virginia. George Washington was defeated at Fort Necessity in 1754. Without formal declaration of war between the two mother countries, the Seven Years' War, also known as the French and Indian War, had begun.

In the beginning the war went badly for the Anglo-Americans. British General Edward Braddock was defeated and killed as he was marching toward Fort Duquesne. The war spread to Europe with France and England declaring war in 1756. The French forces both in America and in Europe had the upper hand. The turning point in the struggle for control of America was in 1758. Following the disastrous year of 1757, the new Prime Minister in Britain, William Pitt, realized that in order to achieve greatness, Britain needed to build her naval fleet and fully support her colonies in their efforts to defeat the French Empire in America. The result of Britain's renewed war efforts came in 1759 at Quebec, with General Wolfe's heralded defeat of General Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. The fate of the French colonies in America, including the Illinois and Wabash country posts, was sealed with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The French flag was lowered in Canada on September 8, 1760. Later that fall, Detroit in Michigan and the French posts of Miami and Ouiatanon in Indiana were occupied by Anglo-American forces. Subsequently Vincennes was surrendered by her com-



mandant, Louis Bellerive de St. Ange, in the spring of 1764. At the time of the surrender, Forts Miami and Ouiatanon were prospering fur trading posts and Vincennes was becoming a thriving wilderness town.

## **POINTS TO EMPHASIZE**

The history of the state of Indiana, its government and its institutions, postdates the history of its people. Its geography is limited to the area defined by its later borders. Indeed, just as Indiana can be taught in terms of the total history of North America and of the United States, it can be described and defined geographically in terms of the midwestern region of the United States. Before statehood, the region encompassing Indiana was simply a part of a larger area with less welldefined contours. This area meant different things to the Indians, the French, the British, and then the Americans who came to populate and govern it.

Distinguishing geographic features, waterways, and the Indians who lived on lands about them initially played a role in naming and identifying specific regions in the American hinterlands. Thus, under the French, the Illinois Indians who lived on the Illinois River gave their name to the region encompassing the state of Illinois. In Indiana, the Wabash River, an essential trade route to the fur traders, helped identify those settlements established in its vicinity. In the French period the Indian and French settlements that would have been in the northern two-thirds of presentday Indiana were under the jurisdiction of the government in Canada, and their history is therefore related to Canadian history. The lower third including Vincennes, depended on Louisiana and its history. Initially, the Illinois country was separate from the Wabash country settlements.

Between 1689 and 1763, England and France fought four major wars, each of which involved some conflict in the New World. Both France and Great Britain may have preferred having their respective colonies fight their own battles with their own means if possible, until William Pitt saw that the key to victory was defeating France in America. France maintained a more traditional line toward the war, and lost on all fronts. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which had actually started in 1754 as a purely American war between the respective colonies of France and Great Britain, became a war between the mother countries. France lost, and chose to abandon her colonies to the new victory.

When two cultures come in contact, often there is a clash between them which ultimately leads to the dislocation and possible assimilation of one of them. There is, however, the corollary that the other culture will not remain untouched, it will change at least a little by incorporating some traits of the other one. Through their contacts with American Indians, colonists learned to adapt to their new environment and sometimes to coexist relatively peaceably with the Indians. In the long run, the French even adopted some of the Indian ways. The two people could cooperate with each other partly because they needed each other and partly because each had something to gain from the other. The French needed the Indians as allies against the British, and they knew how to cultivate their loyalty if not their friendship. Many French officers dealt with the Indians in a relatively

courteous and polite manner, in a way that did not hurt the Indians' self-respect. The French also knew when and how to give presents to the Indians in order to entertain their constant good will. The French trader was a friend to the Indians, and many kinship ties were formed between French and Indians over the years. Overall, the French managed to create a system of alliances with the Indians and a viable network. Thus the French involved the Indians in imperial wars, and provided the material goods that heavily altered traditional Indian cultures.

It is widely known that the Indians were more accepting of the French than they were of the British or the Americans, and the French in turn knew how to befriend them, or at least obtain from them an agreement that they remain neutral during a pending conflict with the British or their colonists. It must be acknowledged, however, that each protagonist played its own game to attain its avowed end. The French, partly because they were fewer in number than the English, partly because they held a vast territory, and partly also because of some personality traits which allowed them to adapt more easily to their new human and geographic environments, devised a colonial policy and a colonizing style more accommodating to the Indians of the American wilderness, inclusive of the Wabash country. They needed them. The Indians, too, needed the French who would provide them with much-needed trade items. Cheaper and more plentiful trade goods would become the means through which the British colonists attempted at times successfully to buy the loyalty of the Indians and alter the delicate balance maintained by the French within their territorial claims. But because the French and the Indians had earned each other's respect and formed precious kinship ties through inter-marriages, the affective relations which linked the Indians to the French withstood the test of time and history.

The Catholic Church and especially the Jesuit Order played a major role in the expansion and development of Canada and the American hinterland. The New World offered an unprecedented opportunity to zealous missionaries to bring Christianity to the pagan souls of the Indians. This effort of the church was fully supported by the Company of New France. The Black Robes, as they were called, were intrepid explorers who ventured into new territories, guided by their missionary zeal. They also founded missions among Indian tribes in the wilderness which later became seats of French settlements. Kaskaskia, Illinois, was started by Father Allouez as a Christian mission in 1677, before it became a settlement in 1703. None of the three French posts in Indiana was started as a mission by the church; nonetheless, the church played an important role in the development and survival of Vincennes. As noted before, Vincennes was the most populated of the three locations, and as such it was big enough to have a church. The records of St. Francis Xavier Church, now a Basilica, go back to 1749.

Whenever it was present at a colonial settlement, the church acted as a cementing force on the community. It was built in the center of the village and provided much needed leadership, direction, and spirituality.

APPENDIX OF  
EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

# Glossary of French Terms

## Found in *Teaching the French Language Using Architecture, Archaeology, and Heritage*

<i>adaptations</i>	adaptation
<i>arpent</i>	a French acre. The square <i>arpent</i> was the standard unit for measuring land area.
<i>a queue d'aronde</i>	name of the French dovetail cornering tradition
<i>bardeau</i>	cedar shakes
<i>bois</i>	wood; timber
bousillage	a mixture of mud and grass
<i>cabane a negres</i>	slave quarters
<i>cabane a sucre</i>	sugar-cabin
<i>cabanet</i>	bedroom
<i>carres (or tasseriers)</i>	bins or containers
<i>cave</i>	cellar
<i>chamber</i>	room
<i>champ en long</i>	long lots
<i>charpente</i>	frame
<i>chevauche</i>	overlapping of boards
<i>cloture</i>	high fence
<i>cloux</i>	nails
<i>commune</i>	common field
<i>coulisse</i>	the upright post for receiving tenoned horizontal wall log
<i>cour</i>	courtyard
<i>crepi (or gobetage)</i>	plaster

<i>de boulins</i>	round logs
<i>dependences</i>	outbuildings
<i>documents</i>	documents
<i>ecurie</i>	stable
<i>embouvete</i>	tongue and groove
<i>enduit</i>	plaster
<i>engages</i>	employee, synonym for canoeman
<i>four</i>	oven
<i>garde-grain</i>	low fence
<i>grange</i>	barn
<i>grenier</i>	loft
<i>habitants</i>	a permanent settler; originally a civil status to separate settlers from non-permanent wage earners
<i>hangar</i>	shed
<i>jardin</i>	garden
<i>lait de chaux</i>	white wash
<i>latrine</i>	outhouse
<i>lucarnes</i>	small dormers
<i>maison encolombage</i>	The earliest construction of homes in the New World. They were half timber and half stone with a plaster infill
<i>magasin</i>	store
<i>maison principale</i>	main house
<i>moulin a cheval</i>	horse-mill
<i>objet faconne</i>	artifact
<i>pie</i>	a unit of measure, equivalent of 1 3/16 in the English measure



<i>planches</i>	board siding
<i>planches chevauchees</i>	eaves
<i>poteau</i>	a post
<i>piece sur piece</i>	stick on stick; total log structure used logs stacked upon another; did not have large spaces need to be infilled
<i>pierreotage</i>	a mixture of stones and mortar, used as filling between upright posts
<i>poste de traite</i>	trading post
<i>poteaux en terre foundation.</i>	a type of construction wherein the wall posts are set in the ground, without a
<i>poteaux sur sole tion.</i>	a type of construction wherein the upright wall posts are set upon a sill type founda-
<i>puits</i>	water well
<i>recherche</i>	research
<i>solle</i>	a sill beam or log
<i>sur les quatre faces</i>	timbers hewn on all four sides
<i>terres</i>	farms
<i>traite de fourrures</i>	fur trade
<i>verger</i>	orchard

# Archaeology and the French Culture in Indiana

## WORDSEARCH

T N A H Q U Q I E F A K C T P  
O U O V T X C D F O Q L K R Y  
W B Q I B I A V Q Y O P C O V  
F O J E T S V P Q E Z E N U N  
Y O E E S A X Q D R A H G D Y  
A U U I C B T I Q R W C J E D  
J L L I M T P P C M R R I P M  
Z A H N L D F H A P V E W O L  
P W C O K L E A O D T H C T M  
S N L V N O E M C N A C X E T  
A P W K L Q L N A O F E T A Y  
F L R O O M O V O B N R H U M  
L J G D O C U M E N T N Z T T  
K I F S E C N A D N E P E D J  
E I O H Q M S J I R F P L H V

Find these words in the puzzle above:

ADAPTATION  
OBJECT FACONNE  
RECHERCHE  
ARCHEOLOGIE  
DOCUMENT

FOYER  
PALISSADE  
TROU DE POTEAU  
DEPENDANCES  
FOUILLE

# Museums in Indiana With French Association

Fort Wayne Historical Society  
History Center  
302 E. Berry Street  
Fort Wayne, IN 46802  
(260) 426-2882

Michel Brouillet House – Old French House  
PO Box 1979  
Vincennes, IN 47591  
812/882-0199

Old Cathedral Library and Museum  
205 Church Street  
Vincennes, IN 47591  
812/882-7016

Vincennes State Historic Sites  
PO Box 81  
Vincennes, IN 47591  
812/882-7422

Forks of the Wabash Historic Park  
PO Box 261  
Huntington, IN 46750  
219-356-1903

Fort Ouiatenon Blockhouse Museum  
909 South Street  
Lafayette, IN 47901  
765/476-8411

# INDIANA CITIES WITH FRENCH CONNECTIONS

\*\*All information was obtained from: Encyclopedia of Indiana, 1993 & Indiana Place Names, 1975

DUBOIS COUNTY: (1817) Named for Toussaint Dubois, a French soldier who had charge of the spies and guards in the Battle of Tippecanoe Nov. 7, 1811.

FAYETTE COUNTY: (1818) Named for Marquis de Lafayette, a French General who fought in the Revolutionary War.

FORT WAYNE: In the 1600's and 1700's Fort Wayne was the meeting place for two powerful Indiana tribes - the Miami and the Potawatomi. Fort Miami, the first fortified outpost, was built by the French in 1682. The settlement was under the jurisdiction of the governor of Louisiana, who managed a large section of that part of the county. As a result of the French and Indian War, the fort was surrendered to the English in 1760.

FRENCH LICK: (1811) The name was derived from an animal salt lick with in the confines of the pioneer settlement, which had a French trading post.

HUNTINGTON: The name was originally called Wepecheange (place of flints) and renamed in 1831 for Samuel Huntington. Numerous treaties with Indians were signed there. Francis La Fontaine, a Miami Indian Chief is buried there.

LAFAYETTE: (1825) Founded and named by William Digby for the Marquis de LaFayette, who served as a general under George Washington in the American Revolution. A historical site, Fort Ouiatenon was built by the French in 1717 to guard the Maumee-Wabash route and to establish as a fur trading post with Indians. The fort was destroyed in 1791.

LA FONTAINE: (1834) In 1862 the name was changed for Chief La Fontaine, the leader of the Miami nation.

LAGRANGE COUNTY: (1835) Named for Marquis de LaFayette's residence near Paris France.

LA PORTE COUNTY: (1830) French for "door" or "gate" due to the location at the point where Indiana's original forests met the open prairie.

MONTPELIER: (1836) Francois Godfroy, a Frenchman had operated a trading post for the Miami Indians.

NAPOLEON: (1820) Named for Napoleon Bonaparte.

NEW ALSACE: (1837) Named for a former province in France by the first settler, Anthony Walliezer, who came here in 1832 and was a native of France.

NEW PARIS: (1838) The town was named for the French city. Early settlers were from Alsace-Lorraine.

OHIO RIVER: (1669) The river was discovered in 1669 by La Salle and became a major navigation center for settlers heading west and south.

ORLEANS: (1815) Named for New Orleans, Louisiana.

PARIS: (1829) Named for the city in France.

SAN PIERRE: (1854) Originally called Culvertown, while the post office formerly named Pierre, allegedly for a French-Canadian named Pierre who started a saloon here.

TERRE HAUTE: (1816) Founded on the border between the former French colonial provinces of Canada and Louisiana. Named "high land" by the French who governed the area until 1763.

VERSAILLES: (1818) Named for the French town and palace.

VINCENNES: The oldest city in Indiana. The first permanent white settlement was the French mission-fort built in 1732 by Francois Morgan de Vincennes. Vincennes was ceded to Great Britain in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris. Historical landmark: The Old Cathedral (1826) and the adjoining Old French Cemetery.





# WEBSITES ASSOCIATED WITH INDIANA HISTORY AND THE FRENCH CONNECTION

## **Local History**

<http://www.fwcvb.org/history.htm>

Fort Wayne, Indiana history

<http://www.garychamber.com/history.asp>

History of Gary

[http://www.gbl.indiana.edu/abstracts/93/jodi\\_93.html](http://www.gbl.indiana.edu/abstracts/93/jodi_93.html)

Fort Ouiatenon: A French and Indian Occupation along the Wabash River

## **General History**

<http://www.usgennet.org/usa/in/state1/indiana-history.html>

Quick reference of the Indiana and its history

<http://www2.thingstodo.com/states/IN/history.htm>

History of Indiana

[http://home.att.net/~Local\\_History/IN\\_Timeline.htm#The%20French](http://home.att.net/~Local_History/IN_Timeline.htm#The%20French)

Indiana Eras and Timeline

<http://www.ipfw.edu/ipfwhist/cathchur/french.htm>

Catholicism in Indiana: the "French Connection"

<http://www.countyhistory.com/history/index.html>

County History Preservation Society - French in Indiana.

[http://tafdc.org/html/french\\_presence.html](http://tafdc.org/html/french_presence.html)

The French Presence in North America from the 1680's to the 1990's

<http://www.iupui.edu/it/frdept/indiana.html>

The Indiana/French connection

## **Places to Find Documents in French**

[http://www.indianahistory.org/library/manuscripts/collection\\_guides/ethgfren.html](http://www.indianahistory.org/library/manuscripts/collection_guides/ethgfren.html)

Guide to collections related to French in Indiana at the Indiana Historical Society

## **Curriculum**

<http://www.nps.gov/learn/>

National Park Service - Teaching with historic places

<http://www.ourlandofliberty.com/indiana.html>

A unique publication for grades 4-7. My Indiana is a unique history curriculum developed specifically to meet the needs of upper elementary and middle school students.

## **French Names and Ancestry**

<http://www.afgs.org>

The American-French Genealogical Society studies and preserves our rich heritage by assisting members in discovering their ancestors and the daily events that shaped their, and our, lives.

<http://www.behindthename.com/nmc/fre.html>

Behind the Name: The etymology and history of first names – French Names. Explains the meaning and origin of the names listed used in France and French-speaking regions

<http://perso.cybercable.fr/voute/>

Librairie au service de la Généalogie depuis 1996. Pour recevoir les activités généalogiques de la librairie de la Voûte

<http://www.iupui.edu/it/frdept/inmap.jpg/cities.html>

Indiana cities with French connections

## Selected Bibliography for Educators - French Heritage

### **Culture**

Johnson, Mary Moyars et.al., Historic Colonial French Dress: A Guide to Re-creating North American French Clothing, revised edition c. 1997, Book Crafters, Chelsea, MI.

Mitchell, Patricia B., French Cooking in Early America. 1991, Chatham, VA.

Moogk, Peter N. 1977 Building, a House in New France. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto.

United States, Indiana, Vincennes and Fort Wayne, French Americans, 1938. [sound recording]. Collected by Alan Lomax. Recorded by Lomax on April 11-12, 1938 in Vincennes and on April 15, 1938 in Fort Wayne, Indiana for the Library of Congress. Folk-songs; sung in French and English.

### **Documents in French**

Dunn, Jacob Piatt. Documents relating to the French settlements on the Wabash. Indianapolis, The Bowen-Merrill company, 1894.

Indiana Historical Society. 1983 Land Claims Vincennes District Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.

### **Indiana History**

Anson, Bert. 1953 The Fur Traders In Northern Indiana, 1796-1850. Indiana University, Bloomington.

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

Brown, Margaret Kimball. The French colony in the mid-Mississippi Valley. Carbondale, Ill.: American Kestral Books, 1995.

Cayton, Andrew. Frontier Indiana. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Griswold, Bert J. 1927 "Fort Wayne Gateway of the West." In Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XV Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis.

### **Vincennes**

Alvord, Clarence Walworth. 1908 "The Oath of Vincennes." In Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1907. Phillips Bros., State Printers, Springfield.

Baker, Ronald. French Folklife in Old Vincennes. Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society. 1989.

Dodson, Beth. 1983 "Vincennes' French House." Outdoor Indiana, 48(10), pp. 10-12.

Gentilcore, R. Louis 1957 "Vincennes and French Settlement in the Old Northwest" Annals of the Association of American Geographers 47:285-297.



# Archaeology Resources for Educators

This document provides educators with some selected resources that they might want to consult for integrating archaeology into their classrooms. This is by no means a complete list, but is meant to be a starting point for educators. Materials and sources are targeted for a variety of school age students.

**General Resources** - these are resources which educators might consider for use in planning archaeology activities, lesson plans, etc.

*The Intriguing Past, Fundamentals of Archaeology. A Teacher's Guide for fourth through seventh grades.* By Smith et al. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management.

*Archaeology in the Classroom: A Teacher Resource Manual (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition).* By Margo Muhl Davis, 2001. Archaeological Institute of America.

*Archeology and Education: The Classroom and Beyond.* Edited by KC Smith and Francis P. McManamon, 1991. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

*History Beneath the Sea: Nautical Archaeology in the Classroom.* Edited by KC Smith and Amy Douglas, 2001. Society for American Archaeology Public Education Committee.

*Archaeologists at Work: A Teacher's Guide to Classroom Archaeology.* Robin Lanes and Joanna Moyar, 1996 (Second Edition). Alexandria Archaeology Publications #48.

*Archaeology in Indiana- the Early Years.* The Indiana Historian, June 1999. Indiana Historical Bureau.

*Archaeology in Indiana- the Science Today.* The Indiana Historian, December 1999. Indiana Historical Bureau.

*Early Peoples of Indiana.* James R. Jones III, Ph.D. and Amy L. Johnson, 2003 (2<sup>nd</sup> printing). Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Div. of Historic Preservation and Archaeology.

*Archaeology Thematic Unit.* Mary Ellen Sterling, 1994. Teacher Created Materials.

*Discovering the Past Through Archaeology. A Classroom Simulation.* Colonial Williamsburg.

*Digging and Discovery: Wisconsin Archaeology,* Student Reader and Teacher's Guide. Diane Young Holliday and Bobby Malone, 1997. State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

*Archaeology Education Handbook: Sharing the Past with Kids,* Karolyn E. Smardz and Shelley J. Smith, 2000. AltaMira Press.

**Web Resources** — these internet sites provide information on resources for educators to utilize, training for teachers, resources available, etc.

<http://www.in.gov/dnr/historic/archeomonth/home.htm>

Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology. Information about Indiana Archaeology Month, resources, sites to visit, and much more.

[http://www.blm.gov/heritage/project\\_archaeology.htm](http://www.blm.gov/heritage/project_archaeology.htm)

Project Archaeology webpage, Bureau of Land Management.

[http://www.indiana.edu/~archaeo/bone\\_bank](http://www.indiana.edu/~archaeo/bone_bank)

Information about research at the Bone Bank and Hovey Lake archaeological sites in southern Indiana.

<http://www.usi.edu/extserv/archlgy>

Information about archaeology learning kits and videos about Hovey Lake site excavations. Grades 3-9.

<http://www.nsta.org>

National Science Teacher's Association.

<http://www.archaeological.org/webinfo.php?page=10000>

Archaeological Institute of America.

<http://www.nmnh.si.edu/departments/anthro.html/outreach/outrch1.html#teaching>

Smithsonian Institution's Department of Anthropology, Teaching and Learning Anthropology.

<http://www.saa.org/Education/index.html>

Society for American Archaeology- Education Section.

<http://www.saa.org/education/edumat.html>

Society for American Archaeology

<http://www.eiteljorg.org/TRGhtml>

Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art. Excellent teacher guide titled *Mihtohseenionki* (The People's Place), available on line. The guide, complete with lesson plans and other resources, focuses on Native Peoples of the Indiana region, past to present.

<http://www.saa.org/PubEdu/a&pe/index.html>

Society for American Archaeology- Archaeology and Public Education, an internet based newsletter posted quarterly featuring information on archaeology education issues, upcoming programs and workshops, news and notes, and state archaeology celebrations.

<http://educate.si.edu/resources/lessons/art-to-zoo/arch/cover.html>

Smithsonian Institution archaeology lesson plan.

<http://www.saa.org/Whatis/arch&you/cover.html>

Society for American Archaeology. Internet based publication that describes the discipline of archaeology, career information, and how to become involved in archaeological projects locally or nationally.



<http://www.state.ky.us/agencies/khc/resources.htm>

Kentucky Archaeological Survey- Resources for teaching about archaeology.

<http://oha.ci.alexandria.va.us/archaeology/ar-programs-activities.html>

Alexandria Archaeology Museum's Educational Activities for Home or Classroom.

[http://edsitement.neh.fed.us/tab\\_lesson.asp?subjectArea=1&subcategory=2](http://edsitement.neh.fed.us/tab_lesson.asp?subjectArea=1&subcategory=2)

National Endowment for the Humanities' archaeology and Native American lesson plans.

<http://www.ihc4u.org/htgAC.htm>

Indiana Humanities Council. Information on their archaeology Humanities to Go kits.

<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/topic.htm#arch>

National Park Service's Teaching with Historic Places archaeology lesson plans.

<http://www.museum.state.il.us/ismdepts/anthro/dlcfaq.html>

Frequently asked questions and answers about a career in archaeology.

<http://www.rom.on.ca/digs/longhouse/index.html>

Royal Ontario Museum's Homes of the Past The Archaeology of an Iroquoian Longhouse.

<http://www.oiep.bia.edu/>

Office of Indian Education Programs, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Information on excellent sources of resources for classroom teaching activities on American Indians.

<http://archaeology.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.heidelberg.edu%2Foffices%2Fchma%2Fallen-timbers%2FPlan2%2FPlanContents.html>

Archaeology lessons for classroom application, from Heidelberg College.

<http://www.publicarchaeology.com/default2.html>

Various archaeology lesson plans.

<http://www.iupui.edu/~geni/>

Geography Educators' Network of Indiana, Inc.. Various lesson plans available on archaeology, anthropology, and more.

<http://school.discovery.com/lessonplans/ancienthis.html>

Discovery School web's archeology, forensic archaeology, and other lesson plans.

<http://www.lessonplanspage.com/index.html>

Many lesson plans available on topics such as Native Americans, history and more.

<http://www.saa.org/Aboutsaa/Committees/n-penet.html>

Society for American Archaeology, Roster of Network Coordinators. List of individuals who can be contacted for details about local archaeology education resources and activities.

<http://www.saa.org/pubedu/sampler/toc.html>

Society for American Archaeology. *Teaching Archaeology: A Sampler for Grades 3 to 12*. Lesson plans and resource information to help educators introduce archaeology to precollegiate youths.

<http://www.saa.org/PubEdu/introduction.html>

Society of American Archaeology. *Guidelines for the Evaluation of Archaeology Education Materials*. Suggested criteria and facts to apply when evaluating/developing educational materials on archaeology.

<http://archnet.asu.edu/archnet>

ArchNet- a virtual library on a variety of archaeological subjects.

<http://www.mtsu.edu/~then/Archeology>

A webpage for educators who want to know more about incorporating archaeology into their classrooms.

<http://www.uark.edu/campus-resources/archinfo/flyers.html>

Arkansas Archeological Survey- information about teacher resources, teaching archaeology, etc.

<http://www.nmnh.si.edu/anthro/outreach/outrch1.html>

Anthropology Outreach Office, Smithsonian Institution. Teaching and learning webpage which provides information on leaflets, bibliographies, and teacher's packets on a variety of anthropological topics.

<http://www.nps.gov/efmo/parks/4606.htm>

Effigy Mounds National Monument webpage with archaeology lesson plans.

<http://www.sil.si.edu/SILPublications/Anthropology-K12/index.htm>

Anthropology on the Internet for K-12.

<http://www.in.gov/ism/Education/TeachersResources/Workshops.asp>

Indiana State Museum's teacher resources- topics include Native Americans, archaeology, and other topics.

<http://www.in.gov/ism/Education/TeachersResources/LessonPlans.asp>

Indiana State Museum's teacher resources- lesson plans on topics such as archaeology and history.

<http://www.in.gov/ism/Education/teacherEnrich.asp>

Indiana State Museum, Teacher Enrichment- information about Project Archaeology teacher workshops

<http://www.in.gov/ism/Education/homeSchools.asp>

Indiana State Museum, Home Schools- information about available programs/resources for home schooling.

<http://www.anthro.mankato.msus.edu/information/lessonplans/index.shtml>

Lesson Plan Bank of lesson plans on topics such as anthropology, archaeology, etc.

# The French in Indiana - A Timeline

Early 1500s	French fishermen make trips to current day Newfoundland and New England.
1534	First expedition by Jacques Cartier up the St. Lawrence River, two more expeditions in 1535 and 1541.
1607	Jamestown (Virginia) established; first English settlement in North America.
1608	French establish Quebec, Canada as a fur trade base.
1679	LaSalle travels through northern Indiana.
1689	Beginning of the wars to control the fur trade in North America.
Circa 1700	Miami settle near present day Fort Wayne.
1708	Wea settle near present day Lafayette.
1717	Fort Ouiatenon established near present day Lafayette.
1721	Fort Miami established at present day Fort Wayne.
1732	Fort Vincennes established at present day Vincennes.
1744	King Nicolas War.
1746	Forty families living at Fort Vincennes.
1747	British destroy Fort Miami.
1749	New Fort Miami built.
1754	Start of the French and Indian War (also known as the Seven Years' War).
1760	British takeover French forts in the Great Lakes region.
1763	Treaty of Paris signed. France gives up claim to land in North America. British control what is now Indiana.
1774	British Parliament passed the <i>Quebec Act</i> , permitting the Canadians to retain French laws and customs, and allowing the Catholic Church to maintain all its rights. The French settlements in Indiana were included in the province of Quebec.

## **The French in Indiana Cont.**

- 1783 Paris Peace Treaty - The British Province of Quebec lost all the lands below the Great Lakes with the signing of the 1783 Treaty. Indiana area given to the United States.
- 1797 Joseph Bailly working in Porter County.
- 1802 Jean Jacques Dufour and other French-speaking Swiss come to Switzerland County.
- 1804 Vincennes, the capital of the Indiana Territory, also served as the capital of the Louisiana Purchase for nine months.
- 1805 French speaking Swiss enter Posey County.
- 1814 New Harmony founded in Posey County.
- 1816 Indiana becomes a State.