Cahiers d'histoire

The Miami-Illinois Digital Archive: Exploring how Linguistic Scholarship can Enlarge our Understanding of the History of Indigenous Societies

Andrew John Fletcher

Résumé de l'article

La langue algonquienne Miami-Illinois est parlée par les Miami et les Peoria, dont les terres ancestrales sont situées au sud des Grands Lacs. Cette région a fait partie de ce que les Français ont appelé le Pays d'en Haut. Au XIXe *siècle, les déplacements forcés et le système de réserves ont causé une fracture culturelle. Les efforts à faire revivre la langue ont mené à la création du* Miami-Illinois Digital Archive. *Cet article illustre comment cette ressource riche peut aider les historiens à mieux comprendre ces sociétés autochtones.*

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RÉSUMÉ *La langue algonquienne Miami-Illinois est parlée par les Miami et les Peoria, dont les terres ancestrales sont situées au sud des Grands Lacs. Cette région a fait partie de ce que les Français ont appelé le Pays d'en Haut. Au xixe siècle, les déplacements forcés et le système de réserves ont causé une fracture culturelle. Les efforts à faire revivre la langue ont mené à la création du* Miami-Illinois Digital Archive. *Cet article illustre comment cette ressource riche peut aider les historiens à mieux comprendre ces sociétés autochtones.*

ABSTRACT *Miami-Illinois is an Algonquian language spoken by the Miami and Peoria, whose traditional homelands are situated to the south of the Great Lakes. This area was part of what the French called the* Pays d'en Haut. *In the 19th century, forced removals and the reservation system led to cultural fragmentation. Language revitalization efforts began in the mid–1990's and, due to this, a wealth of documentation is now available through the* Miami-Illinois Digital Archive. *This article shows how this resource can help historians better understand these Indigenous societies.*

Miami-Illinois is an Algonquian language spoken by the Miami *(myaamia)* and Illinois *(inoka)*, whose traditional homelands are situated to the south of the Great Lakes. In the 19th century these nations relocated west of the Mississippi, and the Peoria *(peewaalia)* tribe absorbed other Illinois groups[1]. By the middle of the 20th century, the last native speakers of Miami-Illinois had died, and the language went unspoken for half a century. Beginning in the 1990's language revitalization efforts were undertaken. One consequence of this was the creation in 2012 of the Miami-Illinois Digital Archive (MIDA). This was the result of a long-standing collaboration between the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and Miami University's Myaamia Center[2]. Its primary purpose is to facilitate linguistic analysis and the development of educational materials, though it also provides a powerful tool for those interested in the history of Indigenous peoples and their interactions with colonial powers. The MIDA currently holds two early modern Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries and two modern vocabularies. The French sources were compiled by Jesuits working in the *Pays des Illinois*, or Illinois Country. The modern sources consist of a 12–page vocabulary compiled by John Heckwelder around 1792 and Charles Trowbridge's manuscript "Observations respecting the language of the Miami Indians", written in 1824–25[3]. While the existence of the early modern dictionaries has been known for over a century, they have not been part of the main corpus of sources which scholars have used to write the history of colonial North America. This is due, in large part, to problems of accessibility, language and analysis. These problems are greatly alleviated by the MIDA, which allows scholars to

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1. The Miami-Illinois names of tribes used in this paper are from David J. Costa, "Miami-Illinois Tribe Names", in John D. Nichols, ed., *Papers of the Thirty-First Algonquian Conference,* Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 2000.
2. Daryl Baldwin, David J. Costa and Douglas Troy, "Myaamiaataweenki eekincikoonihkiinki eeyoonki aapisaataweenki: A Miami Language Digital Tool for Language Reclamation", *Language Documentation & Conservation,* vol. 10 (2016), pp. 394–410.
3. David J. Costa, *The Miami-Illinois Language,* Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2003, pp. 15–17.

search the manuscripts and provides translations of the original French and Latin.

The paper will consider how this database can be used by historians as a powerful complement to the traditional corpus of primary source material. In particular, it will explore the role that these sources can play in providing a voice to Indigenous actors that otherwise can only be heard through the accounts of European or Euro-American authors. It will also address the epistemological difficulties that are encountered when using these sources. In order to develop the above points, the paper will focus on the Illinois conception of criminal justice, with particular focus on the intervention of Kaskaskia *(kaahkaahkia)* chiefs in the 1723 trial of André Perillaud at Fort de Chartres. This case has been discussed in the historiography of the *Pays d'en Haut,* as the French called the area surrounding the Great Lakes. However, it will be argued that using the MIDA allows the development of a more nuanced understanding of this case. The paper focuses on the Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries as these were contemporary to the Perillaud case.

THE MIAMI-ILLINOIS-TO-FRENCH DICTIONARIES

The Illinois Country was an area which roughly corresponded to the modern State of Illinois. The Mississippi, Illinois, Kaskaskia, Ohio and Wabash Rivers formed its main thoroughfares, linking the area to New Orleans in the south and the Great Lakes to the north. This area was named after its inhabitants, whom the French called the Illinois and who called themselves *inoka*. The name Illinois appears to have its origins in the Miami-Illinois word *iren8e8a*[4], meaning "he speaks the regular way"[5]. It was

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4. The symbol 8 (capitalised as 8) is the ligature of the letters o and u, and represents the sound *ou* or *w*, common in Miami-Illinois. It is found in French primary sources. For convenience it is often represented in print by the number 8, though it was never written as such.

5. David J. Costa, "On the Origins of the Name 'Illinois'", *Le Journal,* vol. 24, n°4 (2008), p. 8.

probably used by the Miami *(myaamia)* to refer to the Illinois, who shared the same language, before being taken up by the Ottawa[6]. From them this exonym was adopted by the French and used to refer to five distinct groups: the Cahokia *(kaawakia)*, Kaskaskia *(kaahkaahkia)*, Michigamea, Peoria *(peewaalia)*, and Tamaroa. These groups shared a common culture yet remained politically independent. While there were sporadic contacts between the French and Illinois in the latter half of the 17th century, it was the 1673 expedition of Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet down the Mississippi which established a deeper relationship between these peoples, as Marquette returned two years after this to establish a mission amongst the Illinois. Because of their missionary efforts the Jesuits not only took pains to learn Miami-Illinois, but also recorded their observations on the language for future consultation. There are three extant early modern Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries, all compiled by Jesuits. The largest manuscript was compiled in the 1690's. This dictionary was traditionally attributed to the Jesuit linguist Jacques Gravier, who worked on Miami-Illinois grammar[7]. However, the scribe has been recently identified as the Jesuit lay brother Jacques Largillier, though the dictionary must be considered as a collective work[8]. The second manuscript, chronologically, was compiled by Pierre-François Pinet. It was discovered in 1999 in the Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus at Saint-Jérôme, Quebec[9]. This is not, at present, part of the MIDA and so will not be discussed here. The final dictionary is that of Antoine Robert

6. *Ibid.*
7. Gabriel Marest, "Lettre du Père Gabriel Marest, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus, au Père Germon, de la même Compagnie", in Reuben Gold Thwaites and Arthur Edward Jones, eds., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791,* (vol. 66), Cleveland, Burrows, 1900 [1702–1712], pp. 244–247.
8. Michael McCafferty, "Jacques Largillier: French Trader, Jesuit Brother, and Jesuit Scribe Par Excellence", *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* vol. 104, n°3 (2011).
9. David J. Costa, "The St-Jérôme Dictionary of Miami-Illinois", in H. C. Wolfart, ed., *Papers of the Thirty-Sixth Algonquian Conference,* Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 2005, p. 107.

Leboullenger, dating from the 1720's. Shorter than the Largillier manuscript, it is also part of the MIDA.

For over a century, the Relations written by the Jesuits have been consulted by historians for their ethnographical and historical content, and form one of the more accessible sources on Illinois history in the late 17ᵗʰ and 18ᵗʰ centuries. The Miami-Illinois dictionaries, however, have largely been underused by historians. The reason for this is twofold: the foremost obstacle is the nature of the entries; whose purpose was linguistic rather than ethnographic. Take, for example, the first page of the Largillier manuscript, from which the first five complete lines have been reproduced below:

> *Nit8ca8a* je l'attends je l'attens. *8ahingo t8c8rani cata?* tattendray je icy?
>
> *Nit8ca8t8* je ne serre pas fort, je debande, lasche
>
> *t8ca8te8i* peu serré. pas asses serré q[and]d on craint qu il ne se delie tout a fait
>
> *Nit8capikinan* j attache foiblement, je lasche. *Sacant8tagane* 8g [read «eg»] la bride a un cheval
>
> *t8capinti8a* l'arc est lasche, n'est pas bandé. *Nit8capinti* je ne bande pas roide la corde[10]

Using this type information to understand the history of the Illinois is not an easy task. Certain entries can evoke dramatically Indigenous perspectives, such as the definition of *Papakissapi8a mamistig8chia,* which is rendered as "le francois se repant, va partout"[11]. Others can be used to better understand specific aspects of Illinois society, such as historical marriage customs[12].

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10. Jacques Largillier, "Manuscript [French and Miami-Illinois Dictionary], c. 1700", p. 1, lines 5–9, [online], *Miami-Illinois Digital Archive,* https://ilaatawaakani.org/index.php, (page consulted February 25ᵗʰ, 2019). Please note that the Miami-Illinois words have been italicized for clarity.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 431, line 12.

12. See, for example, Raymond E. Hauser, *An Ethnohistory of the Illinois Indian Tribe, 1673–1832*, Ph.D. thesis, Northern Illinois University, 1973, p. 230.

Nevertheless, accessing, compiling, and interpreting the relevant entries was, until recently, a difficult task. This leads to the second obstacle: the dictionaries are lengthy and densely filled. The Largillier manuscript runs to 584 pages with about 40 lines per page, and that of Leboullenger 185 pages with about 75 lines per page. The task of reviewing the dictionaries for their historical content is significant. This is particularly the case of the Largillier manuscript, as the alphabetical order follows that of Miami-Illinois, making the search for particular words in French onerous. It should be noted that the very elements that make the Largrillier and Leboullenger manuscripts unwieldy for historians are precisely the elements that make them incredibly valuable linguistic sources.

It is not surprising, then, that these sources have been primarily studied by linguistic scholars. Starting in 1988, David J. Costa began researching the Miami-Illinois language[13]. At this time the language had ceased to be spoken, as mentioned above. The language itself was little known, and yet Costa found an incredible wealth of primary sources dealing with it:

> Miami-Illinois may be unique among native North American languages for not having been natively spoken for at least half a century, yet still having extremely extensive written documentation spanning almost 250 years, most of which exists as unpublished manuscripts in archives and libraries. Purely in terms of written records, Miami-Illinois is one of the best documented Algonquian languages, far more extensively recorded than many other Native American languages which still have speakers[14].

His research coincided with the development of language revitalization projects undertaken by the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and, in 2001, the Myaamia Project was established in conjunction between the Miami Tribe and University of Miami in Ohio. This is

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13. Baldwin, Costa and Troy, "Myaamiaataweenki…", p. 394.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

"a teaching and research unit within the University with emphasis on language research and cultural education"[15]. A combination of Costa's research and the Myaamia Center's language revitalization efforts led to the establishment of the MIDA, as well as a Myaamia-English dictionary and other language learning tools[16].

It should be noted that historians have, over the last decade, begun to use the Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries more frequently. This followed the publication of the Largrillier manuscript in 2002. The linguist Carl Mathsay transcribed and edited the manuscript and included a French-to-Kaskaskia index, which made researching particular terms more practical[17]. Brett Rushforth used this to remarkable effect in his account of slavery amongst the Illinois[18]. In the MIDA, however, one finds a much more powerful tool. It enables scholars to access the manuscript Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries in an unprecedented fashion. To illustrate this, and to demonstrate how the MIDA is structured, the case of André Perillaud has been selected for analysis. The following discussion is not meant to be an exhaustive analysis of the incident, but rather an introduction to how the MIDA can provide greater depth to our understanding of the events surrounding it.

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15. *Ibid.*

16. The Myaamia-to-English dictionary can be consulted online, see Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, [online], *myaamiaatawaakani/Myaamia Dictionary,* https://www.myaamiadictionary.org/dictionary2015/index.php, (page consulted February 25th, 2019).

17. Carl Mathsay, ed., *Kaskaskia Illinois-to-French Dictionary,* St. Louis, Carl Masthay, 2002.

18. Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2012, pp. 15–71 and 386–391; see also Robert Michael Morrissey, *Empire by Collaboration: Indians, Colonists, and Governments in Colonial Illinois Country,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015, pp. 66–72.

THE CASE OF ANDRÉ PERILLAUD

At Fort de Chartres in Illinois Country the Inspector-General for the Compagnie des Indes, Bernard Diron d'Artaguiette, noted in his journal for April 25th 1723:

> Vers les deux heures de l'apres midi le nommé Perilaud commis aux magazins des Ilinnois donna un coup d'Epée au travers du Corps du nommé Morin, tambour de la Compagnie Dartaguiette pour luy avoir dit quelques paroles, ce Morin mourut un quart d'heure apres avoir recu ce coup et Perilaud fut aresté[19].

At first sight this should have been a straightforward affair as Perillaud's guilt appears to have been clear cut. Though an influential member of the small French community at Fort de Chartres, the outcome would normally have been his trial and execution—particularly with Morin's commanding officer, Pierre d'Artaguiette d'Itourlade (the younger brother of Diron d'Artaguiette), applying to testify against him[20]. However, Perillaud had friends amongst the Cahokia and Kaskaskia. At the beginning of the 18th century French traders had established marriage alliances with families in these tribes and had settled in their villages. In 1717, the French administration of the Illinois Country was transferred from Canada to Louisiana and, after 1719, separate French and Illinois villages were created at Cahokia and Kaskaskia; though the villages remained close to each other, both geographically and socially[21]. On April 29th, a delegation of Kaskaskia chiefs accompanied by 30 warriors came to Fort de Chartres to meet with the French officers and argue that Perillaud should be spared. They were followed by a second delegation on May 3rd this time

19. Canada, Quebec, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BANQ), "Journal de Diron d'Artaguiette", September 1st 1722 to September 10th 1723, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM), series C[13]C: Correspondance à l'arrivée de la Louisiane, 1675–1819, vol. 2, f. 247v. Note that I have followed modern conventions for capitalization, except where it appears to have been used for emphasis in the manuscript.
20. *Ibid*.
21. Morrissey, pp. 104–06.

from Cahokia. The speeches made on these two occasions were recorded and can be found in the French archives[22]. These are remarkable documents for they record in detail the speeches of five Indigenous leaders on their conception of justice.

While the replies given by the Commandant of Fort de Chartres, Pierre-Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriand, did not commit to releasing Perillaud, the French officers were in a difficult situation. These negotiations occurred against a background of war. For example, on April 30th, some 200 Illinois warriors "qui aloient en guerre sur les Renards [the Fox or Meskwaki]"[23] stopped at Fort de Chartres. While unwilling to commit such thoughts to paper, their reliance on the Illinois as military allies was no doubt at the forefront of the French officers' minds. The interventions of the two delegations led to the release of Perillaud on May 31st and the subsequent issuing of a royal pardon in 1724[24].

This case has seen some discussion in the historiography of the *Pays d'en Haut,* most notably by Richard White in *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991). White used it to support his thesis that such negotiations between the French and their Indigenous allies led to the formation of a middle ground, that is to say a "common conception of suitable ways of acting"[25]. He wrote that the case presented "a clear picture of eighteenth-century Algonquian views on murder and revenge, and of how such views could influence French actions"[26]. However, the concept of a

22. See Canada, Quebec, banq, "Les Chefs du village des Kaskakias, savoir, les nommes Kiraoueria, Michel, et Mamentoüensa ayant entendu dire qu'on vouloit faire mourir le Sʳ Perillaud [...] demander sa grace", 3ʳᵈ May 1723, anom, series C¹³A: Correspondance à l'arrivée de la Louisiane, 1675–1819, vol. 7, f. 319r–323v. Another, slightly different, version of the text can be found at anom, series C¹¹A: Correspondance à l'arrivée du Canada et des colonies du nord de l'Amérique, 1575–1784, vol. 45, f. 174r–176v.
23. anom, series C¹³C: vol. 2, f. 248r.
24. *Ibid.*, f. 250v ; Canada, Quebec, banq, "Brevet de Remission pour André Perillault", March 15th 1724, anom, series b: Correspondance au départ avec les colonies, 1654–1715, vol. 43, f. 378.
25. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 50.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

middle ground has been called into question, particularly by the French historian Gilles Havard who discussed the Perillaud case in *Empire et métissages: Indiens et Français dans le Pays d'en Haut, 1660–1715* (2003). Here he regarded the case as being indicative of power relations between the French and Illinois, rather than connected to the creation of a middle ground[27]. More recently, in his monograph *L'Épée et la plume: Amérindiens et soldats des troupes de la Marine en Louisiane et au Pays d'en Haut, 1683–1763* (2006), Arnaud Balvay referred to the Perillaud case as indicative of Aboriginal conceptions of justice, remarking that such petitions were often made to the commanders of French forts[28]. What is interesting to note is that none of the above authors used the Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries when discussing the case. By using the MIDA a greater depth can be given to the speeches preserved in the French archives. Not only can the Illinois conception of justice be given greater nuance, but some of the ideas that were obscured when the speeches were recorded can be reconstructed.

KIRAOUERIA'S SPEECH

As the purpose of this paper is to illustrate the ways in which the MIDA can assist historians in better understanding the Indigenous content found in the historical record, only one speech will be analyzed here, that of the Chief Kiraoueria. He was the first member of the Kaskaskia delegation to address the French officers. Following Illinois protocol, his speech was preceded by the presentation of three calumets, or *ap8agana*[29], the ceremonial pipes used in diplomacy in the *Pays d'en Haut*. Such ceremonies could last for a number of days under the right diplomatic

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27. Gilles Havard, *Empire et métissages : Indiens et Français dans le Pays d'en Haut, 1660–1715,* Sillery and Paris, Septentrion and Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003, p. 400.
28. Arnaud Balvay, *L'Épée et la plume : Amérindiens et soldats des troupes de la Marine en Louisiane et au Pays d'en Haut, 1683–1763,* Quebec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006.
29. Largillier, "Manuscript…", p. 50, line 27.

circumstances[30]. In this case a shortened ceremony was used, the calumet being sung over Boisbriand and the other French officers[31]. The ceremony completed, Kiraoueria began his address:

> J'ay ouïdire, mon pere, que le maitre de la marchandise [André Perillaud] avoir repandu le Sang d'un francois, et que tu devois selon tes Loix et Coutumes repandre le sien, je viens et tous ceux qui sont icy au nom de mon village, Les Kaskakias, te prier, toy, M[essieu]rs Diron, De Laloëre Dartaguiette, et Delisle, de nous ecouter favorablement[32].

The use of the *tu* form of address is worth noting here. In French this normally indicates that the speaker is addressing either a social inferior or someone with whom they are particularly close, distinctions that were keenly felt in the 18th century. This convention does not occur in Miami-Illinois. Indeed, Costa notes that "personal pronouns are actually seldom used. In texts they are generally used for emphasis or for marking contrast"[33]. The use of *tu* appears, then, to be the scribe's attempt to accurately translate Kiraoueria's speech. However, it may also be connected to a stylistic choice, as the *tu* form was recommended when "on fait parler des Barbares, comme Turcs, Arabes, Indiens & c"[34]. This minor point illustrates the ambiguities inherent in colonial texts, even those as detailed as this one. Kiraoueria's speech continued as follows:

> Considerés mes peres, que les Chicachats nous tüent d'un costé, vous et nous, et que de l'autre, les Renards souillent de votre sang et du notre nos terres, d'ou vient notre pere M. de Boisbriant, et vous mes Peres M[essieu]rs Diron, De

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30. Pierre-Charles de Liette, "Memoir of De Gannes Concerning the Illinois Country", in Theodore Calvin Pease and C. Raymond eds., *French Series: The French Foundations, 1680–1693,* Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1934, pp. 389–391.
31. ANOM, series C[13]A, vol. 7, f. 319r.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Costa, *The Miami-Illinois Language,* p. 248.
34. L'Académie française, *Le dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise,* Paris, Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1694, vol. 2, p. 604.

> Laloëre, Dartaguiette, et Delisle, repandriés vous le sang
> d'un francois pour effacer celuy d'un autre francois, et
> d'ou vient a la perte d'un homme ajouter celle d'un autre,
> nous ne sommes point trop nombreux p[ou]r defaire nos
> ennemis communs, le maitre de la marchandise a esté
> dans un moment fol (il t'a mon pere M. de Boisbriant)
> rougi = du sang, je viens te prier de ne te pas rougir toy
> même du sien[35].

The speech continued with a plea to the French to attack the Fox
(Meskwaki) and Chickasaw and use the deaths of their common
enemies to "Couvrir le corps de celuy qui vient d'estre tüé"[36].
Kiraoueria, who was a Catholic, also used a religious argument
to appeal to the officers to show forgiveness, before concluding
that "nous sommes icy pour effacer sa faute, et pour te la cach-
er pour toujours"[37].

THE MIDA

From this speech, two concepts can be identified for research
using the MIDA: those of murder and covering the dead. While
there are other ideas that can be studied using the database,
these cover both the crime committed and its potential resolu-
tion, at least within the Illinois legal order. What follows is an
exploration of these concepts, in order to demonstrate how the
MIDA can be used.

The MIDA is online at https://www.ilaatawaakani.org and
contains, at the time of writing, 59 984 entries, of which 57 527
come from the Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries[38]. These
can be searched using the Miami-Illinois words and phrases
recorded by the Jesuits, the original French or Latin gloss, the
English translation, as well as a number of more technical criteria.

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35. ANOM, series C^{13}A, vol. 7, f. 319r.
36. *Ibid*.
37. *Ibid.*, f. 319v.
38. Myaamia Center, *Miami-Illinois Digital Archive,* [online], https://ilaatawaakani.
    org/index.php, (page consulted February 25th, 2019).

In order to better understand Kiraoueria's speech, for example, the concept of murder has been searched for in the MIDA. In *Image 1*, below, the results for the word *meurtre* in the original gloss can be seen.

Image 1.
Screenshot of the MIDA[39]

One of the great strengths of the MIDA is the ability to consult the original manuscripts. These can either be viewed with the search results, as shown in *Image 1*, or opened in a separate window. This allows a researcher to read entries surrounding a word or phrase. The six references for *meurtre* can be expanded to 17 once the search is repeated with the root *meurt—*, which covers

39. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Myaamia Center, *ibid*.

variations such as *meurtry*. Once all the variations of the spelling have been searched, the results can be compiled, see *Table 1*.

Table 1.
The concept of murder in Miami-Illinois[40]

Miami-Illinois (Manuscript)[41]	French or Latin gloss	English translation	Comments
Arama (LG[42], p. 53, line 26)	blesser, faire mal, meurtrir	to wound, to hurt, to murder	
Ninechi8e (LG, p. 332, line 23)	j'assasine	I murder, kill, assassinate	
Nechi8eta (LG, p. 332, line 23)	assassin meurtier *vide Ninessa*[43]	assassin, murderer [Lat., see] Ninessa	*Ninessa* is given as to kill or beat someone (LG, p. 342, line 2), and has also the meaning to make someone a prisoner (LB, p. 344, line 72).
8ic8akissen8i (LG, p. 388, line 26)	chemin gasté par un meurtre, geurre declarée	path spoiled by a murder, a declared war	
Ni8ic8akisis8 (LG p. 388, line 27)	je ne suis pas taché de sang, coupable de meurtre	I am not spotted with blood, not guilty of murder	
Ni8ic8akisi (LG, p. 388, line 28)	je suis taché de sang coupable de meurtre, autheur de la guerre	I am spotted with blood, guilty of murder, the one who started the war	

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40. The structure of this table has been adapted from one used by Rushforth, pp. 386–391.
41. The manuscripts are presented in chronological order in the tables.
42. In the tables LG refers to Largillier, "Manuscript… ». Please note that the French or Latin gloss and English translations also come from this source.
43. For clarity, italics have been added here for Latin and Miami-Illinois words.

Niᴕicȣakihigȣ (ʟɢ, p. 388, line 29)	on m'accuse du meurtre d'estre cause de la guerre	people are accusing me of murder, of being the cause of war	
Niᴕicȣakissettȣ (ʟɢ, p. 388, line 30)	je rougis la terre le chemin de sang.	I redden the ground, the path, with blood	Not directly referring to murder, but connected to *Niᴕicȣakihigȣ*.
Papacapikissetȣnta (ʟɢ, p. 428, line 2)	meurtry de coups de fouet	murdered by blows from whips	Connected to the term for strap.
atchȣnkiȣni (ʟʙ⁴⁴, p. 88, line 6)	meurtre	murder	Under heading *assommer*, the term is associated with a blow.
kinepikineki (ʟʙ, p. 276, line 67)	tu as la main sanguinaire meurtriere	you have a bloody, murderous hand	Under heading *main*.
anareiȣteheȣa kiminakiȣni echiteheȣa (ʟʙ, p. 290, line 80)	il ne pense qu au m.	he thinks only of murder	Under heading *meurtre*.
nissetiȣni (ʟʙ, p. 290, line 80)	meurtre	murder (n.)	Under heading *meurtre*.
ecȣniȣrȣsseȣeta (ʟʙ, p. 290, line 82)	celui qui meurtrit	the one who murders	Under heading *meurtrir*.
metakiȣiȣsseȣeta (ʟʙ, p. 290, line 82)	celui qui meurtrit	the one who murders	Under heading *meurtrir*.
[checȣeriȣiȣsseȣe] hȣnta (ʟʙ, p. 290, line 82)	qui est meurtri	who is murdered	Under heading *meurtrir*.
checȣeriȣiȣsseȣeȣata (ʟʙ, p. 290, line 82)	celui qui meurtrit	(one) who is murdered	Under heading *meurtrir*.

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44. As above, ʟʙ refers to Antoine Robert Leboullenger, "Manuscript [French and Miami-Illinois Dictionary], c. 1725" [online], *Miami-Illinois Digital Library,* https://ilaatawaakani.org/index.php, (page consulted 25th February 2019).

From the above table, two key ideas can be identified. First, that concept of blood is a central one to the Illinois rhetoric connected to murder. *Niȣicȣakissettȣ* is given as "je rougis la terre le chemin de sang"[45] and *Niȣicȣakissettȣ* as "je ne suis pas taché de sang, coupable de meurtre"[46]. Second, the concepts of murder and war are linked through the spilling of blood. *Niȣicȣakissettȣ*, for example, is given as "je suis taché de sang coupable de meurtre, autheur de la guerre"[47]. This can be seen in Kiraoueria's speech, for example when he said, "les Renards souillent de votre sang et du notre nos terres […] repandriés vous le sang d'un francois pour effacer celuy d'un autre francois"[48]. The focus of the Illinois legal order appears here to be on preventing further bloodshed rather than on punishing the perpetrator. This is not to say that the concept of punishment by death was alien to the Illinois, as Largillier gives *Nipeïȣni tepahakita* as "punit de mort"[49]. What is telling is Kiraoueria's assertion, at the end of his speech, that "je demande la vie d'un de tes enfants qui n'a esté qu'une seule fois fol"[50]. From this it is possible to suggest that a division existed in the Illinois legal order between those who offended once, and those who did so repeatedly. More could be added to this if the analysis was extended to the speeches of the other chiefs. For the present paper, however, this will be left as openings for further inquiry.

This leads to the second concept, that of covering the dead. Searching for the concept *couvrir* in the original gloss provides 34 entries, of which only three are concerned with death. When the search is widened to the stem *couv—*, the number of entries increases to 545. Nevertheless, the structure of the database allows these to be surveyed much more easily than if the manuscripts

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45. Largillier, "Manuscript…", p. 388, line 30.
46. *Ibid.*, line 27.
47. Ibid., line 28.
48. ANOM, series C^{13}A, vol. 7, f. 319r.
49. Largillier, "Manuscript…", p. 568, line 16.
50. ANOM, series C^{13}A, vol. 7, f. 319v.

were to be reviewed directly. From these entries, 18 can be identified that are connected to the concept of death (see *Table 2*).

Table 2.
The concept of covering the dead in Miami-Illinois

Miami-Illinois (Manuscript)	French or Latin gloss	English translation	Comments
Mechicansi8a (LG, p. 264, line 36)	on ne le trouve jamais chez luy, il est toujours ailleurs il ne s est point servi de ses beaux habits. Le mort n'a point touché ce dont on l a voulu couvrir ce qu on a jetté pour le couvrir	he can never be found at home, he is always elsewhere, he did not make use at all of his beautiful clothes. The dead one did not touch at all that with which people tried to cover him with, that which [was thrown to cover him]	This a key insight into the role that the deceased is seen to have in accepting being covered.
Nina8ac8na (LG, p. 322, line 11)	je donne qq chose au mort pour le couvrir ou en temoignage de ma douleur. *it*. je jette qq chose a ~~ceux~~ son mary qui la meprisent maltrait~~ent une de mes parents qui est chez eux~~ pour luy faire cognoitre qu il devroit en agir autrement. *it*. Je suis meprisé dans la cabane et ne laisse pas d'y faire bien et je les hontoye par la	I give something to the dead one in order to cover him or in testimony to my sorrow. [Lat., also] I throw something at my husband who looks down on (me), mistreats (me) in order to let him know that h[e should act otherwise]	This is a key gloss for the concept of covering the dead. The second part is a little confusing. The MIDA English translation indicates that it is the wife who throws something. However this is not borne by the French (the corrections leave some doubt). It would make sense if the meaning was a relative who threw something at the husband.

Niȣechicara (LG, p. 380, line 1)	je fais un sepulchre dresse des bois pour empescher les bestes d'en approcher. fais un apantis, echafaut pour couvrir un beuf que j ay tué	I am making a grave, erecting wood to keep the animals from approaching it. I am making a lean-to, a scaffold in order to cover (it)	
Tarechimeȣa tchipaïari (LG, p. 543, line 4)	il couvre le mort. *a Nitintarechima.*	he covers the dead person [Lat., from] *Nitintarechima*	
nimpakitamaȣo tchipaia (LB, p. 154, line 33)	je couvre le mort	I cover the dead man	Under heading *couvrir.*
nintacȣanaȣa (LB, p. 154, line 38)	je le couvre l'ensevelis	I cover him, bury him	Under heading *couvrir.*
niȣeiȣkingȣechȣra (LB p. 154, line 57)	je lui couvre le Visage pour L ensevelir	I cover his face to bury him	Under heading *couvrir.*
nicȣeȣra (LB, p. 154, line 57)	je lui couvre le Visage pour L ensevelir	I cover his face to bury him	Under heading *couvrir.*
niȣicȣehȣra (LB p. 154, line 59)	je le couvre depuis Les pieds jusqu a la teste pour L ensevelir	I cover him from head to toe to bury him	Under heading *couvrir.*
Ecȣreiȣsitaȣapimȣtai (LB, p. 154, line 60)	tout Couvert d un suaire	entirely covered in a shroud	Under heading *couvrir.*
matchihitina (LB, p. 154, line 62)	on couvre le mort	one covers the dead one	Under heading *couvrir.*
kitacȣrechimi cata nipeiane (LB, p. 154, line 66)	tu me couvriras quand je serai mort	you will cover me when I am dead	Under heading *couvrir.*
kipangȣeȣssita (LB, p. 200, line 9)	il est encor enseveli il a Le Visage couvert	he is still buried, his face is covered	Under heading *ensevelir.*
matchitchipeȣa (LB, p. 294, line 86)	Le mort n a pas eté couvert	the dead one has not been covered	Under heading *mort.*

nitintarechima kitchipaiama (LB, p. 294, line 87)	Je couvre tes morts	I am covering your dead (ones)	Under heading *mort*. The MIDA notes that "The French 'your' is singular".
tarechime8o (LB p. 294, line 87)	3	third person [he/she is covering your dead (ones)]	Under heading *mort*.
nitchipaiaminanaki nitacorechimaki (LB, p. 294, line 88)	je couvre nos morts	I cover our dead (ones)	Under heading *mort*.
ec8rei8sita 8abim8taï (LB, p. 388, line 34)	Il est couvert du Suaire	he is covered with the shroud	Under heading *suaire*.

Before discussing the results, it is worth considering the term *Nina8ac8na* as it shows some of the complexities in using these sources. To throw something at someone seems to indicate disrespect, as can be seen in the definition of *Nipitacag8a*, "il m'a jetté cela. il m a choqué parce que ce n est pas marquer du respet a une personne que de luy jetter au lieu de luy donner a la main luy porter"[51]. However, the French verb *jeter* is also used to indicate covering the dead. When using the French gloss, it must be noted that one is working with translations, hence open to errors of interpretation as well as extraneous stylistic forms. This said, as the contemporary sources are also French, this allows the historian to compare and contrast between what is found in the Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries and other materials. Take, for example, this marginal note to Kiraoueria's speech:

> […] les Chefs du village et les Parents de l'homicide appaisent les Parents du mort par des Presents d'esclaves, ou des calumets, ou de la marchandise, et ils appellent cela couvrir le corps de celuy qui a esté tué, c'est a dire luy satisfaire, et faire oublier aux vivants leurs pertes ou la leur cacher, en sorte que les vivants interessés acceptants de ce sorte

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51. Largillier, "Manuscript…", p. 477, line 3.

ces Presents se tiennent contents, et ne pensent plus a se venger[52].

This was a practice that was widespread in the *Pays d'en Haut*, and the French had encountered its use within other Indigenous societies[53]. However, the remark emphasizes the idea of reparations. While this was no doubt an important part of the process, it is worth noting two of the above entries from the Largillier manuscript, "Le mort n'a point touché ce dont on l a voulu couvrir ce qu on a jetté pour le couvrir"[54] and "je donne qq chose au mort pour le couvrir ou en temoignage de ma douleur"[55]. These focus on giving something to the deceased, and the possibility that the dead could reject such gifts. This opens up a spiritual aspect to the act of covering the dead. Consider, for example, the fact that Kiraoueria had exhorted Boisbriand to consider war as a way of covering the death of Morin. By this he meant the taking of prisoners or bringing back of scalps, a practice which had deep significance for the Illinois. Indeed, warfare had, for the Illinois and Miami, an important spiritual element. This can be seen in the second speech made by the Kaskaskia delegation. Here the Chief Michel reminded the audience that Bienville, the Governor of Louisiana, "m'a fait dire icy de rougir sa natte, la tienne, et la mienne"[56]. The term Ꮈabanaki meant "natte de guerrier"[57], meaning war mat, though it is better translated as medicine bundle. From this comes Ꮈabanaki *neïᎸca* "chef du party qui porte cette natte"[58]. Charles C. Trowbridge, who drew on his experience with the Miami, described the process of assembling the medicine:

> On the night before setting out [to war] the Chiefs and all the young men assemble at the large council house in

52. ANOM, series C¹³A, vol. 7, f. 319r.
53. See, for example, Nicolas Perrot, *Mémoire sur les moeurs, coustumes et relligion des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale*, Montreal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2004 (c. 1715), pp. 292–294.
54. Largillier, "Manuscript…", p. 264, line 36.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 322, line 11.
56. ANOM, series C¹³A, vol. 7, f. 320r.
57. Largillier, "Manuscript…", p. 363, line 25.
58. *Ibid.*

the village, where each man deposits in a piece of cloth extended for the purpose a piece of *medecine* [sic.], being a sign designating the tutelar Deity to whom he commits his life in the expedition about to be undertaken when each man has deposited something the bundle is tied up and they begin to dance. They dance with little or no cessation all the night and in the morning when they feel themselves ready one of the party, a medecine man, gets up puts the bundle of medecine in to his medecine bag, throws it across his shoulder, commences the war song and leads off.[59]

This opens up new layers of meaning in the appeals being made by the Kaskaskia chiefs. Such ideas would have been familiar to Boisbriand, who had long experience as an officer in Louisiana. Yet only a shadow of this powerful imagery can be found in the archives. Here, the MIDA can allow us to pick out the contours of this shadow.

The MIDA allows scholars unprecedented access to linguistic sources for the Miami-Illinois language. The power of the database can be seen by comparing how the word *ap8agana* and the concept of murder are used above. The simple inclusion of the Illinois term for the calumet adds a little colour but contributes nothing of substance to the text. In contrast, the ability to identify and compare words and phrases connected to homicide out of almost 60 000 entries in the MIDA allows for a detailed analysis. As the discussion on Kiraoueria's speech demonstrates, this database has the potential to bring greater nuance to archival material. While this material comes from the hand of European and Euro-American scribes, the MIDA can help researchers discern the Indigenous content present in these sources, as well as providing indications as to where this has become distorted. The field of legal history is only one area in which the conceptual framework of 18th century Illinois society stands to be better understood. It should be noted, however, that

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59. Charles Christopher Trowbridge, *Meearmeear Traditions,* Ann Arbour, University of Michigan Press, 1938 (manuscript 1824–25), p. 20.

these linguistic sources have their own restrictions. They represent what one Jesuit thought was important to record for other missionaries in their efforts to learn Miami-Illinois. Their selections and omissions are, in their own right, a form of distortion. Particularly, the absence of a concept cannot be taken to show that it did not have an equivalent in Miami-Illinois. For example, 18th century French legal thought distinguished between a homicide that was premeditated, "assassinat prémédité"[60] and one that was not, "homicide simple"[61]. While no similar conceptual division appears in the MIDA, Kiraoueria appears to differentiate between single and repeated offences, as mentioned above. This may indicate a distinction in the Illinois legal order that has not been recorded in the Miami-Illinois-to-French dictionaries. Finally, as language revitalization efforts continue, it can also be hoped that these sources will provide a wealth of information for a new generation of Myaamia and Peoria scholars who are fluent in Miami-Illinois.

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60. Joseph-Nicolas Guyot, *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence civile, criminelle, canonique et bénéficiale,* tome 1, Paris, Visse, 1784, p. 193.
61. *Ibid*, tome 8, p. 506.