After the Mallet brothers' successful journey of 1739 - '40, and quite closely following it, the next Santa Fe expedition attempted was the abortive one known as Fabry's, in 1741 - '42.

The Mallet brothers seem to have shown the journal of their travels to clerk Fabry of the marine service, who, seeing the importance of their discoveries, made an abstract of the journal and submitted it to Governor Bienville and Intendant Salmon*, at the same time offering his services to go and perfect the discovery.

"There have arrived here in the month of March last", wrote Bienville and Salmon in a letter dated New Orleans, April 30, 1741, "four Canadians returning from Santa Fe, capital of the realm of New Mexico,
where they have been by land*, without any one having been informed of

It had obviously been hoped that New Mexico could be reached from the Mississippi valley wholly or mainly by river canoe routes.

design. We have been as surprised as satisfied at this discovery, which may become a very important matter for the colony. The Company of the Indies made great expenditures & with a view to reaching a knowledge of that Spanish country. It had a fort built on the Missouri, where, at the time, it had fifty men in garrison, and it was then calculated to make of it an entrepot for a large commerce. They procured honors and rewards for Sieur de Bourgmont, who had undertaken that discovery and who failed in it, as several others had failed in it before him. What is most singular about it is that the Sieur de La Harpe, who had undertaken it by the Red river and by the Arkansas, did not succeed better. It would seem, however, by the journal of which the abstract is herewith joined, that a branch of this last river descends from the Spanish country and that one can ascend it to within forty leagues of Santa-Fé. It is even probable that there are other branches which approach it much more. However that may be, the journey of the Canadians would have been fruitless and no one would have been able to return to Santa-Fé by their journal, in which the routes are not marked, if we had not found some one capable of returning there with them, not only to survey this route, but further to make all the observations expedient in the country and to lay there the foundations of a commerce which may become extremely important. It is true that this commerce will have some great difficulties owing to the distance of the places; but when it shall be possible to go by water, it will not be more difficult to make there one convoy each year than it is to go to the Illinois, and as for so much of the road as will remain to make by land, the horses, which are in great quantity in that country, will render the transportation of the goods practicable. It will not be impossible, moreover, to engage the Spaniards to come to get them at a place of entrepot, *since it would appear by one of the letters joined hereto, that the people of Santa-Fé go to trade at the mines of Chihuahua, 200 leagues from their home. *It would appear also by this letter*, and the

Reference is here made to the letter of Fère Sant-Iago de Rebald, Canadians assure*, that there are mines known in the vicinity of Santa-Fé. They say, even, that one of them has been shown to them at three quarters of a league from the town, and that, if the Spaniards had a market for the silver, they would soon make them of value.*

It was to such expectations stimulated by the achievement of the Mallet party, which had in reality discovered two independent and
feasible routes to Santa Fe, that the Governor and Intendant ordered a new expedition, under Sieur André Fabry de la Bruryère, to "perfect" the discovery, by surveying and charting the route by which the Canadians had returned or by finding a better one, more largely boatable.

The instructions to Fabry were quite elaborate. Briefly stated, they were: To repair, with his detachment and cargo, by the Mississippi and Arkansas river, to a point above the forks of the latter, and then to proceed into the country westward and northwestward as might seem most expedient; to push the exploration as far as the provisions, equipment and strength of his party would permit, making such notations and observations on the geography, astronomy and botany, and on the situation and character of the lands traversed, as would enable him to render a good account of them; to estimate and record his routes, observing altitude intermittently at intervals to keep them as correct as possible; to make alliances and to learn whether they were at peace or at war with the Spaniards; with any unknown Indian nations they might meet with, to urge the chiefs of war and peace, and to urge the Cayugas, Pawnees, and Comanches, who had been wont to attack and plunder the trading caravans of the Mexicans, to cease such depredations, in view of the close union between the crowns of France and of peace and Spain; and to gain the good will of all these nations by distributing presents with which he was charged for that purpose.

The expedition was equipped at large cost, with provisions for the first part of its journey, (hunting was to be relied on when the buffalo and game country was reached), with men, munitions and merchandise, and with whatever was deemed essential to its success. In its personnel were, besides Sieur Fabry, a sergeant (Champart), a corporal (Alexis Grappe, later for many years commandant at the Post of the Gadoddaiquo on Red river), five soldiers, and seven voyageurs, or engagees. Among the latter were wisely included, the Mallet brothers and Robitaille and Beslot: the four Santa Fe route discoverers, who were, though under Fabry's command, called his "associates".

Although the services of Fabry, important as those of a scientific man, to the objects of the expedition, had a mistake seems to have been made in placing him in command, instead of the Sieur Mallets, or one of them, who were seasoned and practical men in such business and exigencies as the leader of such a wilderness expedition was sure to be called to deal with. Moreover, they had proved some qualities of leadership in the conduct of their previous expedition, having met every emergency, and succeeded, where many of their noble predecessors, with far better equipment, had failed. Had they been given command of this second expedition, with full power to act, within the limits of the sum appropriated for it, Sieur Fabry being ordered with the de-
tachment in a purely scientific capacity, there could be little doubt that the expedition would have succeeded; so far, at least, as concerns traversing and mapping a practical route to Santa Fe (for there was no navigable water route, even most of the way), and the collection of scientific data; whatever might have been its reception there by the Viceroy's orders, under jealous Spanish royalty's restrictions. As to this latter, it must be confessed that it seems not unlikely to have ended — led the expedition — with the confiscation of the merchandise, as it did in the case of the Baird-McKnight-Chambers and Chouteau-DeMun expeditions, nearly three quarters of a century later.

Accompanied on the Mississippi by five pirogues of Illinois Indians, Sieur Fabry conducted his expedition up that river and the Arkansas, leaving New Orleans on the last day of October, 1741. The 5th of December found him within four leagues of the main fork of the latter river; and on the 7th he entered the "left", that is, the Canadian fork, which he named, apparently in his own honor, "Rivière Saint-André", though this part of the river had been known for 22 years. This was "the river that should ascend to Santa Fe". At "17 leagues" up it he found the mouths of two rivers which there entered the Canadian, and until reaching this point, he found no difficulty as regards sufficiency of water for navigation; but on the 13th the water failed him, above the later-reached of these two rivers, which he named "South river". Delayed at the latter river for eight days, and on the 21st "a storm having raised the water in that which led to the Spaniards", he proceeded until the 25th, when the water again failed. It was only on the 10th of January, 1742, that he could continue his route, and that with great difficulty, being obliged, in some places, to drag the pirogues. On the 15th he reached the mouth of a large creek, above which the river had but six inches of water. In this creek he encamped to await a raise of water; having then made, according to his estimate, 42 leagues, he ascended the "River Saint-André" and continued his ascent for over sixty miles, up the stream, a distance of 13 leagues, where he reached the mouth of a "little river", which enters the main fork of the "River Saint-André". On the 24th he arrived at this camp, where a party of 35 Gaiges bound on an expedition against the Montos. * The Gaiges having spoken from there.

*The Montos were a tribe of Caddoan and Pawneean linguistic affinities, and were among those cognate nations, called "Panis" by the Osages, Indians and the French, and more specifically "Paniquassea", from their villages, many of them, being on the Arkansas and its branches above the main forks, within the hunting range of their enemies, the "Amaguissa" or Osages. The Montos had once lived on the Arkansas, above its forks, 26 leagues below a village of "Black Bramosea". They had removed from that river, and had lived for a time on the Canadian, where, in 1742, the remains of their old village of thatched cabins could still be seen. About 1737 or '38, they had removed to the vicinity of the Caddoan where they were living at the time of Fabry's expedition.
across the creek where the Osages had pitched camp. Fabry and his men went over and held a parley with them. They told him that the Chevalier of Villiers had arrived among the Missouries, and that there were six French traders in their villages; they spoke of the good friendship that had been re-established between themselves and the French and said that they wished to make no more trouble.

On the morning of the 25th Fabry made them a present of powder, balls, knives, etc. With which they were not very well contented, desiring some guns also. They were told everything nothing more. After pouting awhile and holding a consultation among themselves, they sent and asked Sieur Fabry and the old Philippe, one of the Canadians, who served as interpreter. "There was an explanation, in which they gained nothing. They left about noon, promising that, if they made a start, they would return in six or seven nights with some slaves." Sixteen of them returned February 3rd, "with seven horses, a mule and two scalps; the other had separated from these in going to the Mentos, and had not been seen since. In their absence Fabry had erected a great deal of timber as a covert against surprise, if they should return in large numbers; he told them that he had fortified himself on account of the Black Pawnees, who were roaming in the neighborhood; they seemed to believe and approve it, but evidenced some uneasiness about his journey, imagining that he sought the Pawnees and Comanches to make alliance with them and trade them some guns. He reassured them saying that he was going to see the French of the West, who were our ancient brothers. They asked him if he calculated to ascend the river very high up; he replied, yes, thinking that it would be useless to keep secret from them his journey, which they would have heard spoken of at the village of the Missouries and Spaniards.

*The inference is that these Indians were not from the Little Osage village, but near the village of the Missouries on the Missouri river, rather than from Grand Osage village on Osage river, moreover they saw with him some Canadians whom recognized as having made the former voyage. The chief told him that he was not in the least think of ascending this river, which he had seen there more than ten times and which he had always found without water. Sieur Fabry, being scarcely able to doubt the truth of this statement, from the observations which he himself had made, conferred with the four Canadians and the sergeant, on what direction they would have to take, if compelled to leave the river. He snow had fallen that winter, and if the dryness continued a rise of water could not be counted on in the springtime, and it seemed best to choose their course before the departure of the Osages. So the idea that precipita would fail.
All agreed as to the great uncertainty of navigating the upper part of the River Saint-Andrew in so dry a season, and they concluded that it would be necessary to trade with the Osages for some horses, with which the greater portion of their effects could be transported. The Osage chief referred the proposed trade to his young men, and then replied that they did not wish to trade their horses, as they were going home.

The preceding account of his experiences with the Osages is condensed from Fabry's journal of the expedition as given in Margry's *Origines Francaises*; but from other sources the latter has the following note: "The Sieur Fabry passes in silence that the Osages, on arriving, offered him some horses, which he refused contrary to the advice of his associates, who had offered to pay for them out of their own money, considering these horses, with three of their own, as the only means of succeeding. It is true that after Sieur Fabry had reflected, he had men run after the horses; but the Osages, offended at the refusal that he had made of them, refused them."

It was now recognized that a pack-train might be absolutely needful, but the horses for it very difficult to obtain.

The first and cardinal error had been committed in not providing for this obviously possible emergency before the expedition started. Arrangements should have been made in advance to have horses sent across from the village of the Cadodnaquin on Red river to the Forks of the Arkansas, to await there Fabry's arrival; and had this been done, there would have been no material delay here, and the progress of the expedition to Santa Fe would in all probability have been practically uninterrupted. Had the Mallets been sufficiently consulted in the planning of the expedition, it would seem as if some such precaution as this would certainly have been taken. But the hope of the sailor-built minds of Bienville and Fabry, that a navigable all water or nearly all water route to Santa Fe could be found, seems to have been allowed to so nearly crystallize into belief, that it was to lead to the neglect of this important provision; and the result was one awkward delay after another till the end of the enterprise.

Before the departure of the Osages — according to Fabry — and after
their refusal to trade their horses, a new conference was held by the Frenchmen. The Canadians suggested following the Osage trace, to seek horses from the nation which the Osages had recently raided. Fabry advised against this, as entailing too much risk at a time when that unknown nation had just been struck by hostile parties, and he thought it expedient to wait for a season; that even if many horses should be obtained, they would not leave the river, so long as there was any hope of a rise of waters in the springtime, he being constrained by his orders to ascend the river as high as he could. He wanted to wait till Easter, and there would then be time enough to hunt for horses. "This reasoning," says Fabry, "seemed to be approved." But Margry says, "This reasoning was so little approved by the voyageurs that they opposed it until they had silence imposed on them by Sieur Fabry, who said that he no longer wished to follow their counsel about anything." Fabry, however, took the precaution of sending by the Osage chief a letter to the French traders on the Missouri, whom the Osages said they could reach in seven nights, to trade for and bring them some horses, for which he would pay what the Missouries should ask for them; and if two of them would come with some Indians to bring the horses, he would give 200 francs apiece for their trouble. He would wait for them till the end of February.

The Osages departed on the 4th of the 8th a violent storm from the southeast, with rain and hail, raised the river three feet in the night, but the water was down again by daybreak. Cold weather continued until the 17th, when the weather having become mild, the ice broke without causing any considerable rise of the water. A rise of two feet on the 18th, had vanished by evening. From the 19th to the 27th the weather was cloudy but rainless. On the 28th, the river being found a little higher than ordinary, and meat having become scarce by so long a stay in that place, putting the men in bad humor, Fabry proposed pulling the canoes to get higher up the river and find buffalo. On the 29th the canoes were reloaded at the mouth of the creek, and the ascent of the river was resumed. The men wading and dragging the canoes after them. In this manner it was possible to make but slow progress. On the 5th of March, an advance of only a little more than six and a half leagues had been made; and a place was encountered where there was no water at all, and it became necessary to unload and to provide levers to get the pirogues past it. Busied thus on the 6th, the 7th found everyone tired out, and it was decided to rest at the first place good for hunting. March 8th to 12th, the coldest weather of the winter, and the party made no advance. But discovered in the meantime that the vicinity abounded in bear and fat deer. While