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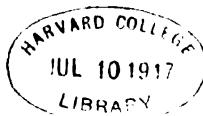
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THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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INTRODUCTION

The Louisiana Historical Society, with its career of eighty years behind it, may scarcely need introduction to the students of American History, as the work that it has already done through its notable men has left an impress upon the history of our State and all of the Louisiana Purchase Territory that could hardly have been secured in any other way.

Louisiana has a history of which we may well be proud. With the closing years of its first century of Statehood we may be pardoned for a short retrospective view of that century of our State's life and for the expression of some hopes of what the second century may bring to us. That part of our history with which we are most familiar, by legend, by song and story, relates to this first century of our Statehood and our Historical Society, which was organized in 1836 with Judge Henry A. Bullard as its first president. Its membership includes Messrs. Harrison and Louis Janin, Messrs. Porter, Martin, Roman, Canonge, Barton, Gray, Chaffe, Eustis, McCaleb, Ingalls, Winthrop, Rost, Watts, Deblieux and Leonard. Judge Bullard was a native of Massachusetts, born in 1788 and graduated from Harvard College with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1807 at the age of nineteen. Soon thereafter he migrated to Louisiana and began the practice of law in Natchitoches. He represented Louisiana in Congress in 1831 and 1832, at which time Andre Bienvenu Roman was Governor of this State, his successor in 1835 being Edward White of Bayou Lafourche, father of Chief Justice E. D. White of the U. S. Supreme Court. Judge Bullard was appointed District Judge after his Congressional term and also served as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court for twelve years. He served for a short time as Secretary of State and in 1847 was elected professor of civil law in the Law Department of the University of Louisiana. He attained a

high position in Louisiana and died in 1851 after the death of Seargent S. Prentiss in 1850, who probably was the most brilliant lawyer that at that time practiced at the New Orleans bar. Judge Bullard was chosen to deliver the bar's eulogy to Mr. Prentiss' memory.

At that time, in 1836, with a large French and Spanish population and a rapidly increasing American population, before the date of railways and early in the day of steamboating, New Orleans was looked upon as the coming great city of the Mississippi Valley and as such it rapidly progressed until the civil war began. That first sixty years of the 19th Century we may call the Romantic Epoch of Louisiana's American history and naturally those who came here from other parts of the Federal Union and from other countries, were much interested in the cosmopolitan civilization here developed and engaged in recalling its origins and in recording its peculiarities. Judge Bullard was conspicuous in these matters and was quick to appreciate the distinctions between the every day life of Puritan New England and the languorous lives of the people of Louisiana, the land of the orange and the palm.

In June 1846 Francois Xavier Martin, the distinguished jurist and historian of Louisiana, was elected president of the Historical Society, but he died in December of that year. Of Judge Martin's History of Louisiana, first published in 1827 and republished in 1882, we need say but little. His history is a standard work today and while not as brilliant in its rhetoric or descriptions as the later history of our State written by Charles Gayarre, it will always be consulted by students of Louisiana history.

Judge Martin was a Frenchman by birth and was born in Marseilles in 1762. He migrated to the French island of Martinique in 1780 and six years thereafter to New Bern, North Carolina, then a French Swiss settlement. At the age of 27 years he was admitted to the bar of North Carolina and began his literary career by compiling and translating valuable law books. He then wrote a history of North Carolina and in 1806 and 1807 served as a member of the State legislature. In 1809 President Madison appointed him Judge for the territory of Mississippi and the following year he was transferred to the Superior City Court of the territory of Orleans. Here his ability was at once recognized and he was rapidly promoted to the offices of Attorney General, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and finally became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Some time thereafter Judge Martin returned to private life and while made president of the Louisiana Historical Society in June, 1846, his death occurring in December of the same year, he had but little oppor-

tunity to utilize his clear and logical mind in the development of the Society.

Judge Bullard was again elected president of the Historical Society in 1847, and died in New Orleans in 1851.

Judge Charles Gayarre, our distinguished historian of Louisiana, was elected president of the Society in 1860. He had already published three volumes of the History in 1854, the first two covering the French Domination in Louisiana and the third covering the Spanish Domination. In 1866 he published his final volume, on the American Domination. The volume on the Spanish Domination he dedicated to our great national historian, George Bancroft, who was then one of the nation's most distinguished men, although his great history of the United States in ten volumes, begun in 1834, was not completed until 1874. Judge Gayarre wrote of Bancroft as "the friend who encouraged his labors and the historian whose fame is the pride of his country."

Charles Gayarre was born in New Orleans in 1805 and became conspicuous in law matters when he was but twenty years of age. In 1828 or 1829 he was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar and soon thereafter returned to Louisiana and was admitted to the Louisiana bar. In 1830 he was elected to the State legislature from the city of New Orleans. In 1832 he was appointed presiding judge of the City Court of New Orleans. In 1835 he was elected to the United States Senate. His health failing, he resigned from this high office and went to Europe, where he remained eight years. Returning to New Orleans he became again engaged in political life and in 1844 was elected to the State legislature and was re-elected two years later, but did not serve the second term, but accepted the office of Secretary of State in preference. He was quite a voluminous writer and his literary work was held in the highest esteem.

The civil war of practically fifteen years' duration in New Orleans, left the Society dormant. In 1877 the domicile of the Society was changed from Baton Rouge, to New Orleans. In 1888 Judge W. W. Howe was elected president of the Society. Judge Howe was a gentleman of rare ability and greatly interested in the history of Louisiana. It was largely through his influence and appreciation of Martin's History of Louisiana that its republication was secured in 1882.

Professor Alcee Fortier of Tulane University, was elected president in 1894. His recent and unexpected death came as a shock to his many friends and admirers. He was one of Louisiana's most successful writers and his writings, generally historical, covered a wide range of investigation and research, such as but few men are

capable of. His monumental work is his History of Louisiana, in four volumes, covering the period of known data from A. D. 1512 to 1904. It is now our standard history and reflects great credit on Dr. Fortier and on our Society, which he served so long and so well.

Hon. Gasper Cusachs, now our president, succeeded Dr. Fortier in January, 1914, since which time he has been annually re-elected. Mr. Cusachs is the head of one of our most prominent families of the old regime. The French, the Spanish and the American dominations all merge in him. He has a splendid private collection of rare books, papers and pictures pertaining to ancient Louisiana and to modern Louisiana, some of which are now deposited with the Society for the benefit of its members and the public. He is an enthusiastic student of Louisiana history and quite an encyclopaedia of information concerning old families, old events and old things, and is constant, earnest and enthusiastic in his support of the Historical Society.

Under these conditions, these leaderships and these experiences, the Louisiana Historical Society now announces the publication quarterly of a magazine wherein will be given from time to time data secured from the Society's archives and such other material as may come under its control and be pertinent to the Society's objects. The Society's executive committee, under whose control the publication begins, solicits the co-operation of every member in making the publication the success that it deserves to be.



The Western Boundary of Louisiana.*By Gaspar Cusachs*

The western boundary of Louisiana, being as it was the line which separated the recently acquired territory from the lands of Texas, then a Mexican province, was a source of much trouble to the government of the United States a century ago. And while the United States endeavored to establish it at the Rio Grande, the Mexican authorities were equally firm in the contention that it extend as far eastward as the Sabine. An expedition to survey this line was undertaken by the latter, and the report of the journey, and conclusions, as prepared by the Monk Jose Maria Puelles, an apostotalico of the Convent at Zazatecas, forms one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to the literature dealing with the question. The report was published at Zacatecas in 1828, and has become so very scarce that only two copies now can be traced, one of which is now in my private collection, having been obtained in London several years ago. In consideration of its great rarity, and value as a contribution to the early history of our State, it has been deemed worthy of being translated—the original being in Spanish—and printed at the present time. The title page is reproduced exact size. The translation was made by Mr. Gilbert Pemberton, to whom I now desire to express my gratitude for his excellent work.

*x x x***Dario de Galvez***By Gaspar Cusachs*

On October 16, 1780 General Bernardo de Galvez led the Spanish forces against Pensacola. The expedition resulted in the defeat of the English arms which furnishes Louisiana today with her claim of participating in the American Revolution.

Galvez's diary, evidently not intended for general distribution, was printed in Spain soon after his return from America. It contains much that should prove of interest to the historian of the present time, and although quotations have been made from it and used by different writers, yet it has not until the present time been translated and printed in its entirety. The translation presented on the following pages was made from a copy which I purchased in Madrid, and has been carefully prepared by Mr. Gilbert Pemberton. No title page is included with this copy, nor is it known whether one was ever printed. Few copies of this very interesting work are known to exist.

**Abstracts by William Price of State Papers Preserved in the
Louisiana Historical Society with Notes***By Grace King*

In publishing these abstracts of State Papers, the Louisiana Historical Society is carrying out a project cherished for many years, a project, indeed, that became a duty and one heavy with responsibility as gradual investigation revealed the rare historical value and great importance of the documents. The information they contain covers, as will be seen, every form of human interest developing during the long course of years, extending from 1714 to 1769, when French Louisiana was under the judicial government of the Superior Council, whose paternal care seems to have been as varied as the region dependent upon it, the vast region extending from the Northern Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico; from the fringe of British possessions extending eastward to the Atlantic, to the Spanish possession (or claims rather) between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

From the hiring of a servant to the killing of farm animals; the intricate settling of estates, marriage contracts, disputes of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; conspiracies and plots of desertion, and piratical adventures; the documents wind along in and out of the small stream of petty litigation but with their rich minute details of daily life, glittering like gold under the current. They evince an almost total avoidance of the political changes that took place, the crisis great and momentous in their day to the colony, which brutally apprenticed it, as it were, first to one master and then to another, had its capital moved from Fort Louis de la Mobile, to Dauphine Island, thence to Biloxi and finally to its ultimate destiny (as seen from the beginning by its astute Canadian founder Bienville and his followers) to New Orleans, the great city on the banks of the Mississippi River.

The ups and downs in Bienville's own fortunes, are indicated rather than revealed by passing references in the documents.

The massacre of the Natchez and the subsequent war made by the French upon them are not noticed nor missed in the increasing flow of items of more intimate importance, such as the price of flour for 20 sous a pound in 1721-22 and the fact that in 1740 eggs sold for 10 sous an egg and that in 1740 the luxuries of the rich were figured again on invoices; laces, silks, gold watches, fine jackets, gold and silver embroidered on white, yellow, blue and cherry grounds.

The story is a continuous one; a more faithful one could not well be devised. The papers will be published in regular series in the current numbers of the Quarterly.

THE CHOCTAW OF ST. TAMMANY PARISH

By David I. Bushnell, Jr.

The southeastern part of the United States, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, and extending westward from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, was first traversed by Europeans during the years 1539-1541 when it was crossed by the Spanish expedition of De Soto. At this time much of the area was claimed and occupied by Muskhogean tribes who continued to live within their respective territories until early in the nineteenth century. Subsequent to the days of De Soto many of the smaller tribes became more closely allied and formed the Creek Confederacy, whose centers developed in the valleys of the Chattahoochee and the Tallapoosa, within the present State of Alabama. Westward from these were the Choctaw, belonging to the same linguistic family, but possessing different manners and customs. The Choctaw occupied the greater part of the region now embraced within the bounds of the State of Mississippi, and probably touched the shore of Lake Pontchartrain.

The Tangipahoa and Acolapissa had settlements just north of Lake Pontchartrain. The former were probably near the stream of that name which enters the lake some distance west of Mandeville, and according to the Choctaw living nearby the name was derived from two words, *tonche*, "corn," and *pahoha*, "cob" or "inside," and is literally translated by them "corn-cob." The Acolapissa lived on the banks of Pearl River, *Talcatcha*, a few miles above its mouth. The relative connection of the Choctaw, the Tangipahoa, and the Acolapissa, has not been clearly established, although all spoke the same language and probably had similar manners and customs.

When New Orleans was settled, now two centuries ago, the Choctaw were a numerous people, and their name often appears in the annals of the colony. But the Tangipahoa and the Acolapissa soon vanished from history, and it is highly probable the remnants of the settlements were absorbed by their stronger neighbors.

The Indians living on the north side of Lake Pontchartrain in coming to New Orleans, or the country southward, would have crossed the lake, then probably followed some trail leading through the intervening lowland. During the past few years traces of a settle-

ment, with fragmentary pottery mingled with the accumulated soil, and many human remains, have been encountered in a slight ridge near the shore of the lake some twelve miles northeast of the city. This probably marks the landing place on the south shore, where parties coming from the other side would encamp, or those returning would await favorable weather before attempting the crossing. It was not necessarily a permanent village, but a stopping place for those who lived beyond the lake.

At the present time there lived near Bayou Lacomb, some miles north of Lake Pontchartrain, in St. Tammany parish, a small group of Indians known as Choctaw; but whether they are descendants of the Acolapissa, or whether they have descended from an offshoot from the main Choctaw tribe, may never be ascertained. Now, after a lapse of two centuries since the planting of the colony, during the greater part of which time the Indians have been in rather close intercourse with Europeans, it is interesting to know that many of their primitive manners, customs, and beliefs, have persisted,—the more interesting of these are presented in the present paper.¹

Many place-names in St. Tammany, names by which the early French explorers knew the streams and which consequently must date from the days before the coming of Europeans, appear to be of Choctaw origin.

Bayou Castine. This seems to have been derived from the Choctaw *Caste*, or "fleas," so named on account of the great number of fleas found there.

Chinchuba creek. *Chinchuba* being the Choctaw for "alligator."

Chefuncte river. The Choctaw word meaning "chinkapin" (*Castanea pumila*.)

Ponchitoawa creek. The word is translated "singing hair."

Bogue Falaya. Derived from the Choctaw words, *bogu*, "river," and *falaya*, "long."

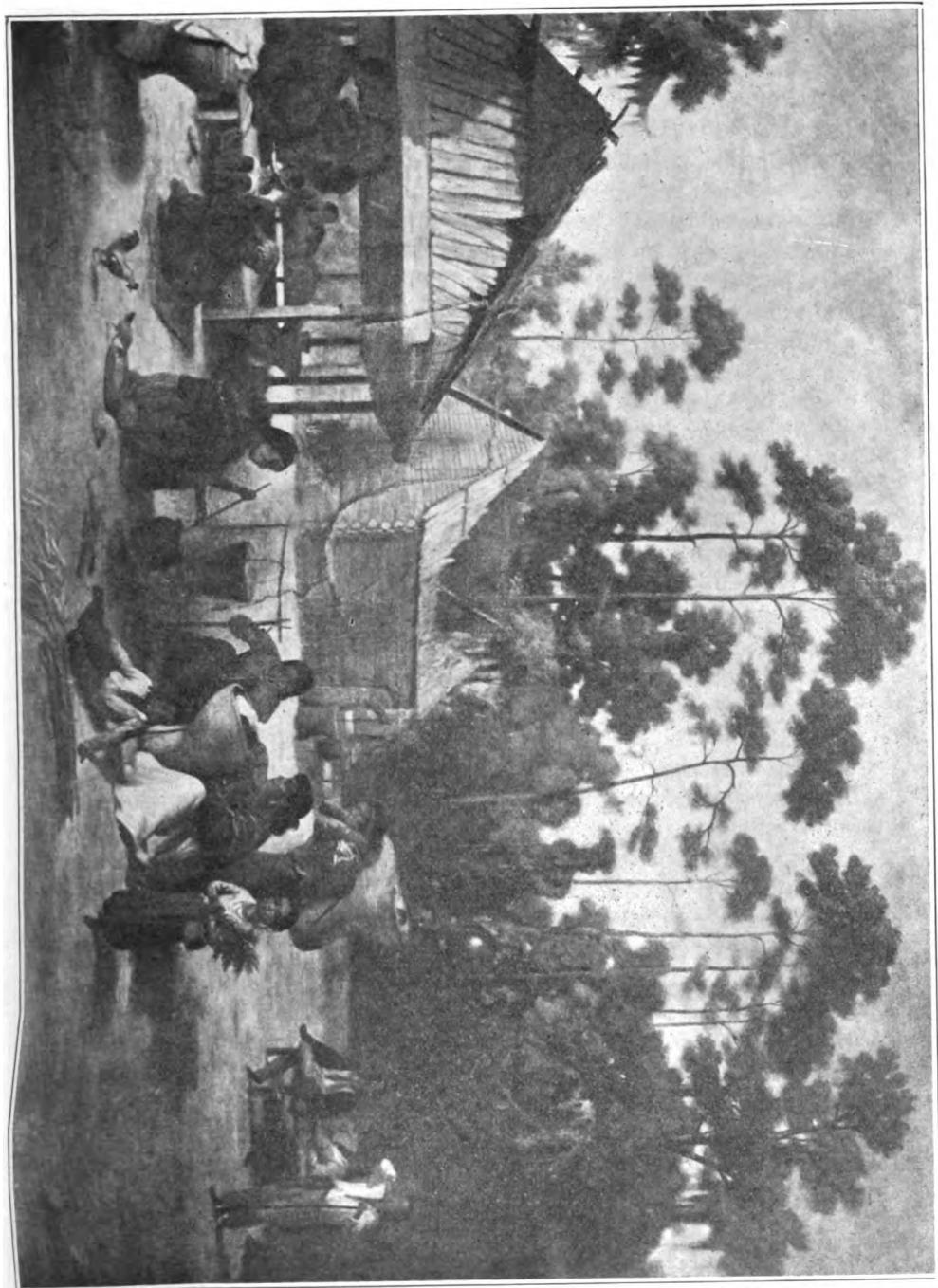
Cane bayou. Called by the Choctaw *chela ha*, "noisy," so named on account of the noise caused by the wind blowing through the canes.

Bayou Lacomb. Designated by the Choctaw *bulchu wa*, "squeezing." Their settlement is known by the same name.

Pearl river. Known to the Choctaw at the present time as *Hatcha*. This is clearly an abbreviation of *Talcatcha*, "rock river," of Pénicaut.

Lake Ponchartrain. The Choctaw name for any wide expanse

1—During the winter of 1908-1909 the writer was in St. Tammany parish and devoted much time to the Choctaw. The information gathered at this time was given in Bulletin 48, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1909, entitled *The Choctaw of Bayou Lacomb, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana*. Extracts from the Bulletin are included in the present paper.



of water, such as the lake, is Okwá ta, derived from *okwa*, "water," the suffix *ta* signifying "large" or "wide."

Habitations. The primitive habitations of the Choctaw who lived on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain are said to have been of two forms, circular and rectangular. The former may, in reality, refer to the ancient council house of the community. They are described as having been formed of a frame work made of small saplings, with tops and sides of palmetto thatch. These were, however, long ago replaced by the log cabin, and a structure resembling the primitive habitation though covered with planks and large shingles in the place of palmetto. Examples of these are shown in Plate ..., a reproduction of a painting made by Bernard in 1846 and now owned by Mrs. Chas. T. Yenni of New Orleans. The view was probably made near Bonfouca, near the site of the first chapel reared by Père Adrian Rouquette who lived among the Indians from 1845 until his death in 1887. Bonfouca is some eight miles from Bayou Lacomb.

Food. In olden times, before guns had been substituted for the native weapons, game was abundant and easily taken. Fish and wild fowl, fruits and vegetables, were plentiful. The finding of the bones of the alligator mingled with camp refuse in a domiciliary mound near Chinchuba creek, evidently proves the flesh of the alligator to have been utilized as an article of food. Several vegetables were raised in gardens, among these was a variety of corn which, according to the people of Lacomb, was prepared in this manner: *Tonche* (*Zea mays*), was allowed to ripen and harden on the cob; then it was removed and dried over hot ashes. Next it was placed in a wooden mortar (*kite*), and pounded with a wooden pestle (*ketoke*), after which it was placed in a winnowing basket (*obfko*). The *obfko* being held horizontal and moved rapidly up and down, back and forth, throwing the crushed grain in the air and allowing the lighter particles to be carried off and fall into a large flat basket, (*tapa*), resting on the ground. The grain remaining in the *obfko* was again pounded in the mortar and then passed through a sieve (*ishsho ha*). The fine particles that passed through the sieve were called *botu*; the coarser portion remaining in the sieve being known as *tonlache*. Much of the *botu* was parched and eaten mixed with water; but most of the coarser *tonlache* was boiled either with or without meat. Nothing is more characteristic of the American aborigines than the raising and preparation of corn, and the methods followed by the Choctaw near the shore of Lake Pontchartrain were probably similar to those known to the tribes throughout the valley of the Mississippi.

Haws and berries of many sorts grow in abundance in the vicinity of Bayou Lacomb. Wild crabapples are gathered and dried on a

frame, they appear to be the only fruit that is preserved in any manner and kept for future use.

Dress and Personal Decoration. The men formerly wore their hair of sufficient length to enable them to form it into two braids, one on each side of the head. In front the hair was cut straight across, above the eyebrows. The women allowed their hair to grow long and tied it up in back. Both men and women painted, and blue, red, yellow, and green are remembered to have been used on their faces. According to the old women at Lacombe there were no special designs, and no combination of colors had any meaning. But one favorite design is now recalled, it was a yellow crescent outlined with blue, and was painted on both cheeks. It was used by both men and women and was intended to represent a new moon in the dark blue sky. Tattooing (*hanchahale*) was likewise practiced by both men and women, but to a much less degree than was painting. Lines were tattooed on the cheeks, and in some cases the shoulders were so decorated, but no other part of the body. The method was to puncture the skin with a fine needle, then to rub soot obtained from burning yellow pine over the surface. This was applied several times, or until sufficient quantity had entered the punctures. The soot gave a bluish tinge, this alone was used.

Like many others, the Choctaw are very fond of bright colors. In past days they obtained beads and ribbons from the traders, and from the shops in New Orleans.

Artifacts. Few articles are now made by the Indians, and much of their ancient art has been forgotten. However, they still follow their primitive method of preparing skins, and making dyes for their basket-work. During the past few years they have been utilizing brilliant aniline dyes but at the present time, (March, 1917), on account of the scarcity of these, they are about again to begin the making and using of their native colors. This will add greatly to the beauty and interest of their baskets. Three colors are made by the Choctaw, the same as were known to all the Southern tribes, these are red, yellow, and black; which, together with the natural cane, gives them four colors to combine in their work. Yellow is derived from the root of the *Rumex crispus* L. (yellow dock). It is broken into small pieces and then boiled in water. The material to be colored is placed in this liquid and allowed to boil until the desired tint is obtained. To make a red equal parts of the bark of the red oak, *Quercus texana*, and the black gum, *Nyssa aquatica* L. are burned to a fine ash. Water is added to this to form a thick paste. The material previously dyed yellow, as described above, is then covered with this paste, and within a few hours the strong alkali turns the yellow a

deep red. Although black is not now made at Lacomb it is known to have been made by the "old people," from the bark of a tree that grows farther north,—this is probably the walnut.

Of the many types of baskets made by these people the pack basket, *kishe*, is probably the most interesting. They are usually about twenty inches in height, the bottom is rectangular with the top flaring on two sides. Several examples are shown in Bernard's painting, Plate.... Covered baskets were formerly made, some quite large. The pointed type, *taposhake chufa*; and the elbow shaped, *taposhake shakapa*, are well known forms.

Pottery vessels are no longer made although they are remembered to have been made and used within a generation. Pipes of earthenware were used until quite recently. It is quite evident that fragmentary pottery encountered on several sites in St. Tammany parish was of Choctaw origin.

Spoons are made from cow horns after the fashion of similar ones once made by their ancestors from the horns of buffalo.

Social Culture.

Transportation. Dugouts, hollowed from a single log of black gum, were used on the creeks and bayous. Many of the roads traversing the parish probably follow the courses of ancient Indian trails, and even now a road leading from just west of Chinchuba to the shore of Lake Pontchartrain, is known as the "Indian road." It passes within a few feet of the domiciliary mound already mentioned, and evidently follows the trail that led from the settlement about the mound to the lake shore.

Hunting and Fishing. The blowgun was used until a few years ago in hunting small game, and various birds. The weapon (*kaklu mpa*) was formed of a single piece of cane (*Arundinaria macrosperrma*; Choctaw, *uske*); its length was about seven feet, formed by perforating the joints. The darts (*shuma nte*) were made of small canes or pieces of hard yellow pine, having a length of about fifteen to eighteen inches. One end was sharpened, the other was wrapped with a narrow band of cloth having a frayed edge which extended to the rear. Soft, tanned skin was also used for this purpose. The effect of this wrapping was to expand and fill the bore of the gun when the dart was being projected. Bows and arrows were formerly used, but for many generations firearms have been obtained from the French, the Spanish, and in later years from the Americans.

Games and Pastimes. Games of chance appear to have been rather few among the Choctaw, but many were undoubtedly known to the older generations that are now lost and forgotten. It is of

interest, however, to find here a game quite similar to the moccasin game of the Algonquin tribes of the north, and although no longer played it is remembered by the oldest woman at Lacomb who described it thus: "*Lake lomi*. Twelve men were required in playing the game. They knelt or sat on the ground in two rows, or "sides," facing each other, six players in each row. Seven hats were placed on the ground in a line between the two rows of players. The player who was to start the game and who was always at one end of his row held in one hand a small stone or shot. With his other hand he raised all the hats in order, placing under one of these the stone or shot; during the entire performance he sang a particular song. After the stone or shot had been placed, the player sitting opposite him guessed under which hat it lay. If he did not succeed in three guesses, the leader removed the object and again hid it under either the same or another hat. Then the second player on the opposite side had three guesses. If a player guessed under which hat the object was hidden, he in turn became the leader. Unfortunately, those who described the game could not recall how the points were counted. They agree, however, that the side having the greater number of points made by the six players combined, won." Another favorite game was "*Tanje boska*, or corn game." This was played, the writer was informed, with either five or seven kernels of corn blackened on one side. Holding all the grains in one hand, the players tossed them on the ground, each player having three throws. The one making the greater number of points in the aggregate, won. Each 'black' turned up counted one point; all 'white' turned up counted either five or seven points, according to the number of kernels used. Any number of persons could play at the same time, but usually there were only two."

The great ball game of the Choctaw, so often mentioned by the early writers, is known to the people of Lacomb, and a variation of the game is now played by them. At the present time the children know several games played by the whites. Marbles and tag being among them.

Dances. The people to whom this article refers have one dance ceremony which is in reality a series of seven distinct dances, performed in a fixed order. The names of the dances in the order given are: *Nanena hitkla*, Man dance; *Shatene hitkla*, Tick dance; *Kuishco hitkla*, Drunkenman dance; *Tinsanale hitkla*; *Fuchuse hitkla*, Duck dance; *Hitkla Falama*, Dance Go-and-come; *Siente hitkla*, Snake dance. Every dance was accompanied by a particular song or chant. The dances were usually, if not always, performed at night.

Medicinal plants. The Choctaw make use of a large variety of

plants, some of which have medicinal properties, but many being quite valueless. Some are boiled and the extract is drunk, others are prepared as dressings or poultices for wounds.

Marriage ceremony. The native ceremony of the Choctaw, as was followed until a few years ago, was thus described by the women of Lacomb: When a man decided he wanted to marry a certain girl he confided in his nearest female relative, she then talked with the mother or nearest relative of the girl and if they agreed, they in turn visited the two chiefs or heads of their respective *ogla*. As a man could not marry in his own *ogla* the women were often obliged to make long trips before seeing the two chiefs whose villages were frequently far apart. After all had been arranged the man, accompanied by many of his friends, went to the girl's village. As the time for the ceremony drew near the woman with her friends were seen some distance away. The man and his party approached and attempted to catch the girl, then followed sham fighting during which time the girl apparently attempted to escape, but she was caught by the man and his friends and relatives. Then all went to a spot where a feast had been prepared, both parties having contributed. Off to one side four seats had been arranged in a row, the man and girl took the middle seats and on the ends sat the two male heads or chiefs of their respective *ogla*. Certain questions were then asked by the chiefs, and if all answers were satisfactory, the man and girl agreed to live together as man and wife and were permitted to do so. So closed the ceremony after which was feasting and dancing. The man continued to live in his wife's village and their children belonged to her *ogla*.

Religion. As has been mentioned, Pere Rouquette lived among the Choctaw of St. Tammany parish from the year 1845 until his death in 1887, and during this time brought many under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. But even before the coming of the Father the Indians had probably been influenced by others. It is evident they did not then agree among themselves regarding the future state, and some held to the belief that with death all existence ceased. They seemed to have had a vague idea of a spirit in the body, but when the spirit died, then man, or rather the body, ceased to move. "Others, who are said to have constituted the predominating element in the tribe, had a radically different conception of man's future state. These believed in the existence of two spirits—Aba being the 'good spirit above' and Nanapolo the 'bad spirit.' " They also have remarkable beliefs of ghosts, and spirits encountered on lonely trails. Dreams are explained through the belief that during sleep the

'spirit' leaves the body, and when it returns relates to the individual all that it has seen and done.

Myths and legends. The Choctaw, like all aborigines, possess a vast number of tales, many probably having been told and retold through generations. The majority reflect the natural environment of the people, with many references to the deep, dark waters, the lonely paths through forests, and certain phenomena of the southern country. Fanciful beings are met in many of the myths, one being *Kashehotoapalo*. This, so they say, "is neither man nor beast. His head is small and his face shriveled and evil to look upon; his body is that of a man. His legs and feet are those of a deer, the former being covered with hair and the latter having cloven hoofs. He lives in low, swampy places, away from the habitations of men. When hunters go near his hiding place, he quietly slips up behind them and calls loudly, then turns and runs swiftly away. He never attempts to harm the hunters, but delights in frightening them. The sound uttered by Kashehotoapalo resembles the cry of a woman, and that is the reason for his name (*kasheho*, 'woman;' *tapalo*, 'call.'")

And this legend is supposed to explain why the 'Possum has a large mouth: "It had been a dry season and there was very little food for Deer, consequently he had become thin and rather weak. One day Deer met 'Possum and exclaimed: 'Why! Possum, how very fat you are. How do you keep so fat when I can not find enough to eat?' And 'Possum answered, 'I live on persimmons, and they are unusually large this year, I have all I want to eat.' 'But how do you get persimmons, which grow so high above the ground?' 'That is very easily done,' replied 'Possum. 'I go to the top of a high hill and, and, running swiftly down, strike a persimmon tree so hard with my head that all the ripe persimmons fall to the ground. Then I sit there and eat and eat until I cannot hold more.' 'Indeed, that is easily done,' answered Deer; 'now watch me.'

So 'Possum waited near the tree while Deer went to the top of a nearby hill. And when Deer reached the top of the hill, he turned and then ran quickly down, striking the tree with so great force that he was killed and all his bones broken. When 'Possum saw what Deer had done, he laughed so hard that he stretched his mouth, which remains large even to this day."

Such are their primitive tales and beliefs.

In presenting these references to the manners and customs of the Choctaw of St. Tammany parish, it is hoped others may become interested in preserving notes on the Indians scattered throughout Louisiana. Small groups and individuals are met with in widely

separated localities. Some may represent the last of a little-known tribe, and may possess knowledge of inestimable value to the historian and ethnologist at the present time. All such information should be carefully gathered and preserved; another génération and little will remain.



REPORT

GIVEN TO

His Excellency, the President of the Mexican Republic
with Regard to the Boundaries of the Province
of Texas with that of Louisiana.

ZACATECAS, 1828.

Press of the Supreme Government
In Charge of
Cavalier Pedro Pina.

INTRODUCTION.

The Commission named by the Supreme Government of the Nation, having already left Mexico to fix the territorial boundaries of our Republic with that of the United States of North America, it will be very useful that we Mexicans should know something of what has occurred in former years with regard to this question. With this end in view, and desiring to make known the labors of a native of Zacatecas, the Reverend Fray Jose Maria Puelles, the actual guardian of the Apostolic College of Guadalupe, to whom the said Supreme Government entrusted the making of a report covering all the information he had acquired during his long stay in those countries as a missionary, which report will undoubtedly prove very useful to the Commissioners, I have resolved to publish same in order to do this service to our country, and also recommend the diligence of the author, who has deserved the approval of the Government, as will be seen from the following communication:

"Ministry of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs. Section: I have reviewed the report sent by you under date of the 28th of last November, relative to the occidental boundaries of Texas and Louisiana, and His Excellency, the President, has remarked the thoroughness with which you have prepared them and your zeal in behalf of the interests of the Mexican Republic, but as you cite, among other documents, the calendar or commercial almanack written in New Orleans for the year 1807 by Mr. Laffont, his Excellency orders me to request you the loan of said documents which you may send to this office, of which I am in charge, to be returned as soon as it has served its purpose. God & Liberty.

Mexico, the 22nd of December, 1827.

R. ARIZPE.

To Reverend Father Guardian of the Apostolic College of our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas."

The report is as follows:

INFORME
QUE SE DIO AL EXCMO. SR. PRESIDENTE
DE LA
REPUBLICA MEJICANA,
SOBRE LIMITES DE LA PROVINCIA
DE TEJAS.
CON LA DE LA
LOUISIANA.

ZACATECAS: 1828.
*Imprenta del supremo gobierno, à cargo
del c. Pedro Piña.*

REPORT

Upon the Boundaries of the Province of Texas with that of Louisiana.

Excellency:

As a consequence of what I have promised your Excellency, and in order to correspond to the confidence of his Excellency, the President of the Federation, you ask me, under date of the 7th of this month, to obtain all the documents existing in the archives under my charge relating to the occidental boundaries of the province of Louisiana with that of Texas, or New Philippines, and that I consult with regard to this matter with other priests of this College who have travelled in these countries, beg to say: that two priests have investigated these archives without finding anything at all, probably because the documents formerly kept here and in the archives of the Province of Texas, were sent to the Capital City of Mexico or to the offices of the Commandant General of Chihuahua, who at the beginning of this century endeavored to collect from all the archives subject to his inspection all the papers bearing on the said, subject, or possibly prior to this date these documents had been given to other Colleges in order to form a chronicle of them.

I have consulted, as your Excellency charges me, with the Reverend Father Commissary, actual Prefect of Missions, Fray Manuel Gaitan, with the Reverend Father ex-Guardian Fray Bernardino Vallejo, and with the Reverend Father Fray Jose Maria Delgadillo, all of whom resided a great many years on the Texan frontier, near Louisiana, and they know no more than what is currently known by everyone living in those places, and that is that the boundary of Texas begins with the River that flows into the Gulf of Mexico at degrees 39 and a few minutes, the line following up to its head waters; from there to the Arroyo Hondo (Deep Creek) or Mountain River (as it is called by some Frenchmen) which is situated three leagues to the west of Nacitoches at the 23rd degree of latitude and 284th degree and 30 minutes longitude from the Peak of Tenerife. From there the line follows cutting in the center of the lakes that are to the westward and that are formed by the Red River (also known as the Nacitoches, Cadaudachos, or Palisade River) up to the 32nd degree 10 minutes latitude, where the said river crosses

the line and turns diagonally until it flows into the Missouri, which enters the Mississippi at latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes. This is what the Fathers know and what was known by all the old Spanish and French settlers when I was there at the beginning of this century. This knowledge was a tradition which had been handed down to them by their forefathers, and of which in former years the Mexican Government has compiled an act to that effect, sworn to by more than six witnesses of great age, who swore that they had always heard said that such were the limits.

At the beginning of this century, and whilst residing on the referred to frontier, I was commissioned by Brigadier General D. Nemecio Salcedo to look up archives and make plans of these Provinces and their boundaries and make a report of my findings.. But after two months I was relieved of my commission on account of (so I was told) misunderstandings between the Commandant General and the Viceroy, and also because the Rev. Father Fray Melchor Talamantes, who acting under orders of the Government worked on the same subject in Mexico City, and the Rev. Father Fray Jose Maria Rojas, a pupil of this College, who acting under instructions of the Commandant General, investigated the same subject in Chihuahua, found in the course of their work documents bearing upon the subject with which they seemed satisfied, all of which documents remained in possession of Father Talamantes.

All the information acquired during the course of my investigations was turned over to the Commandant General at Chihuahua, and of the plans which I made by accumulating all the data at hand, I gave one to the Commandant General, one to D. Jose de la Cruz in year 1815, another to Don Caesareo de la Rosa, who now resides in Guadalajara, when in former years he was sent to Spain as a delegate to Congress; yet another one was stolen from me by the Engineer Don Nicolas Finiels, who accompanied the ex-Marquis of Casa Calvo in 1804 on the occasion of his visit to the frontier of Texas, as delegate of the Spanish Government to settle the boundaries of this Province with that of Louisiana. Various copies of these plans have been made. The foreigners living in the province have also made fairly accurate plans of the region.

The manuscripts you speak of, entitled *Memoirs of Texas*, written by the Rev. Father Morfi, are full of important errors, inasmuch as this person never had the opportunity of reviewing them. These same errors are contained in *History of New Philippines, or Province of Texas*, written by Don Carlos Cifuenza y Gongora, for as he wrote a long time ago and without the necessary knowledge, his writings are very incomplete. *The Mexican Theatre*, written by

the Cavalier Villasenor, is also full of errors. *The Conquest of Nueva Galicia* hardly mentions the Province of Texas. What Don Antonio Bonilla wrote on the subject is very fine; he, however, wrote very fast and without practical knowledge of facts. The same thing occurs with the writings of the Rev. Father Fray Melchor Talamantes of the Order of Mercy. This enlightened writer studied all available documents, but he wrote so far away from the Province of Texas, and as he had never been there he could not give a perfect account of the region, and some of his writings are confused. Better by far is the account of the voyage of the ex-Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, printed at the beginning of the last century, a copy of which exists in the Capital. The chronicles of the Apostolic Colleges written by the Rev. Father Fray Isidoro Espinosa in 1746, and Fray Domingo Arrecivia in 1792, both sons of the College of Quaratero, are also very good. Antonio Herrera and his pupils have also written on the subject, although some of these writings are not quite clear. The same thing occurs with Garcilazo de la Vega in his *History of Florida*, otherwise known as *The Incas of Peru*. This is even less clear than the preceding writings. Lately, Senor Onis, the Spanish Ambassador to the U. S., has written intelligently on the subject and his writings, as well as those before mentioned, can be had in Mexico, where also resides Senor don Francisco Velasco, Secretary in the office of the Commandant General of Chihuahua, a man well versed in the affairs of his office and of a great deal of talent, who can inform you with regard to the documents I mention above. Several Frenchmen have also written on the subject, amongst them a certain M. Dupratz, who resided in Louisiana from 1718 to 1734, but his history is full of falsehoods, especially in that part wherein he states that the limits of Louisiana extend to the west up to the Bravo or North River, by which statement he makes known his malice or ignorance and that he had not read, nor does he know in what year the Spaniards peopled the Province of Texas or New Philippines. This is the reason why credit should not be given to writings of French authors, excepting the notes in the commercial almanack, written in New Orleans in 1807 by M. Laffont.

Notwithstanding the foregoing I will say: that the Spaniards were the first to recognize the Province of Louisiana and Florida, as also the Province of Texas. The last province extended at first from the Red River, or de los Cadaudachos, or the Palisades or Natchez, as far as the Trinidad River, or River of Flowers or Magdalena River, that is to the westward of the first named river. But after the Cabinet had withdrawn the government from the Presidio of Adaix near Louisiana, and sent it to that of Bejar, 200 leagues to

the west southwest, the limits were fixed in the same direction by the River Nueces, which enters the Gulf of Mexico at the south, and to the north of Nueces by the River Medina, which enters the San Antonio de Bejar, in order to divide the Province of Coahuila from that of Santander.

The Trinidad River, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, as it is called by various authors, has its source at the 34th degree of latitude, and enters the Gulf of Mexico at the 29th degree 20 minutes of latitude and 283rd degree of longitude from the Peak of Tenerife. The Red River before mentioned, or as it is otherwise known, the Palisades or de los Cadaudochos, has its source at the 36th degree of latitude, facing east of Santa Fe, capital of New Mexico, and running east, southeast enters the Mississippi at the 30th degree of latitude.

From the following notes your Excellency will see that the Spaniards were the first to occupy the Province of Texas or New Philippines and that of Louisiana and Florida, and you will also be able to deduct our absolute and incontestable right to all the old Province of Texas before the Anglo-Americans extended themselves to the Sabines River at the beginning of this century, which river is 25 Spanish leagues to the west of the Red or Nachitoches in the 32nd degree of latitude, for the Anglo-Americans desired, as the French had also desired, to extend their boundaries as far as the Bravo or North River, because they had heard it said that these were the limits, or possibly they had read the reports sent to the Court of France in the first part of the 17th century, confusing the above river with another which the French explorers of Louisiana had also called Bravo or North River and which is really an arm of the Mississippi which flows from it at the 30th degree of latitude and enters Mexican territory at the 29th degree and 29 minutes in Vermilion or Ascension Bay.

It is here necessary for me, to advise before I forget it, that there is a Sabines River, or as it is also called Salty River, in the Province of Coahuila, which enters the Rio Grande or North River at the 28th degree of latitude and the 277th of longitude from the Peak of Tenerife.

In the year 1512 Juan Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard, entered Florida in its southern part, at Easter time, and navigated along the coast of Mexico.

A few years later a pilot named Miruelo was dashed by a tempest on the coast of Florida, but having lost his bearings was unable to return to port.

In the year 1518 the Spanish Captain Juan de Gujalva traveled

along the coast of the Province of Panuca from San Juan de Ulua up to what is now called Tamaulipas or Province of New Santander; he passed the Bravo or North River and called all this region New Spain. (*Fasti novi orbis.*)

In the year 1520 Captain Lucas Vasquez de Alon traveled along the coast of Texas or New Philippines and explored the mouth of the Mississippi, which he called Mud Cape. He crossed by land the Province of Texas, explored the Sabine or Mexican River with his troops and was killed in a fight with the Indians in the year 1524 at the 30th degree of latitude. According to the book 'Fasti novi orbis' and that of M. Lafont, all these chiefs led their expeditions by order of the Spanish Government.

In the year 1523, and by order of Francis the First, King of France, Juan Verasani sailed along the eastern coast of Florida and penetrated up to the 50th degree through territory now owned by the Anglo-Americans.

In 1528 the Spaniard, Panfilo de Narvaez, entered western Florida and established himself on the 5th of June in a place now called Apalaches in 30th degree of latitude. (*Fasti novi orbis.*)

Panfilo de Masumes entered Florida in the same year and place as de Narvaez, both acting under orders of their Government.

In 1537 Panfilo de Narvaez again entered Florida. His expedition was unfortunate however, only four men surviving. These were called Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo and a negro called Estebanico. These survivors seeing the armada lost, their companions dead, determined to push on to Panuca and from there to Mexico. They crossed a great many regions, saw various nations of Indians, who guided them from one place to another as far as Culiacan in Sonora, passing through Louisiana, Texas, and the Province of Coahuila, etc., etc. (See Garcilazo de la Vega.)

In 1539 the Spanish Franciscan Monk, Marcos de Nisa, traveled through the kingdom of Cibula, which, so I have been informed, is situated west of the region now called New Mexico. He explored all that region as far as the Mississippi. This expedition of Marcos de Nisa caused several others to be sent out afterwards. (*Fasti Novi Orbis.*)

In 1539 the Spanish Captain Fernando de Soto, Governor of Havana, entered Florida the 12th of May, explored all the Province on both sides of the Mississippi up to the 34th degree; he traveled as far as the Red or Cadaudachos or Nachitoches or Palisades River, which is in the same degree, and whilst traveling down this river and fighting with the Indians was killed in the year 1541 at a place

between the above named river and the Mississippi fronting what is now Rosavellon or Natchez; his companions, headed by Luis Marcos Alvarado, a Spaniard, retreated down the Mississippi near the Mexican coast, which territory they penetrated several times. The referred to Captain Fernando de Soto entered the above regions under orders of the Spanish Government with 1000 men, only 300 of whom survived. In order not to confuse history and know the mistakes of the French, please note that deSoto called the Mississippi Rio Grande, a name subsequently given to the Bravo or North River. (*Garcilazo de la Vega.*)

In the year 1540, and acting under orders of the Viceroy don Antonio Mendoza, Captain Francisco Vasquez Camero entered California, searched for the Kingdom of Quivira, which I am informed lies west of New Mexico, crossed that of Cibula, which, as already stated, is west of the said Province. (*Fasti Novi Orbis.*)

In 1562 the French, under Juan de Rivaud, entered southern Florida and penetrated the country sixty leagues to the north.

In 1582, and acting under orders of their Government, Captain Espejo and the Franciscan Monk, Father Augustin Ruiz, both Spaniards, entered New Mexico after having explored various regions on both sides of the river. (*Fasti Novi Orvis.*)

In 1583 Ricardo Granville, a Frenchman, entered southern Florida.

In 1596, by order of Philip II, contained in his transcript to the Viceroy of Mexico, Zuniga de Acevedo, Count of Monterrey, Juan Onate, accompanied by various priests, entered New Mexico; afterwards in the time of Philip III don Diego Vargas Zapata, Marquis of Nava, entered the Province for the purpose of reconquering it. In this and various other expeditions our people penetrated up to the 46th degree on the Bravo or North River. Never had the French arrived this far, nor had they ever visited the mouth of the river on the Mexican Coast, although they assert having arrived at this point, because in former years, during the exploration of Louisiana they visited an arm of the Mississippi, distant about 50 leagues from the real mouth of said river, which they erroneously called Bravo or North River, mistaking it for the real river, which is very far away on the same coast, and also because they had not read very well what is written in the Spanish books. Since then many new settlements have been founded in New Mexico by the Spaniards, which were formerly called New Granada.

In this region resides the Theguas, and in Theguaya the first mission was founded in 1608, and at the time more than eighty souls were baptized. (See *Torquemada, Indian Monarchy*—Vol.I,

book 5, chap. 26 and following). Please note here that the inhabitants of New Mexico have always extended themselves since its foundation, eastward, traversing many countries very near the Mississippi. Hence I do not see with what authority the King of England, who must have been Charles II, gave to the settlers and inhabitants of the Carolinas, which are in the 35th degree in the Anglo-American States, all the lands from the eastern coast down to the southern seas, inasmuch as the Provinces of Texas and New Mexico had already been founded. Thus was it related to me by various Anglo-Americans when I visited those countries in the year 1803.

In 1611 the referred to Captain Juan de Onate set out from New Mexico, eastward, discovered the Canibaros Lakes, whoever knows which these may be, as also a Red River which appears to be the Cadaudachos or Palisade; from here comes the certain rights of the Spaniards to all the lands east of New Mexico, besides those already expressed, and for this reason I judge well placed my dividing line mentioned before between this country and that of Louisiana.

In 1630 his Excellency, the Viceroy Marquis de Cerralvo, commissioned don Hernando de Leon to discover the northern coast, reported this order to Madrid, where no instructions were issued. (This appears in the report P. I. No. 15, page, 19 No. 170, of the year 1778, in those archives). The said Hernando de Leon traveled more than 276 leagues from south to northeast up to the Red or Palisade River; where the French afterwards founded Natchitoches.

In the year 1664, the French did not yet know the Mississippi nor its western shores, and at this time they founded the Caroli Fort in Pensacola.

In 1671, through a contingency, the Capuchin Monk Annepin set out from Canada and arrived on the shores of the Mississippi at the 36th degree of latitude.

In 1673 the Jesuit Marquette set out from Canada, discovered various rivers, including the Arkansas, which is west of the Mississippi and which flows into the last named river at the 34th degree of latitude.

On the 18th of November, 1678, the Chevalier Robert de La Salle (together with Father Hennepin) Governor of Canada, received an order to make new discoveries

In 1679, the same Robert de LaSalle, accompanied by Father Annepin, set out from Canada and visited the Mississippi at the same degree of latitude mentioned above. They built a fort which they called Fort Saint Anthony; they explored the western shores of the Saint Francis River, and the first fort built by the French on the

Mississippi was erected by them at a point now called Black Islands, and its capital Santa Genoveva.

In 1682 the same Robert de LaSalle traveled down the Mississippi to its mouth which he explored on the 2nd of February of the same year.

In 1684 the referred to Robert de LaSalle returned to Quebec in Canada; and after obtaining all he wished, plus four small ships sailed for the Mississippi on July 4th.

In 1685 his expedition came to grief; he lost three ships on the shores of the Island of Santo Domingo; he could not locate the mouth of the Mississippi, and took refuge on the coast of Saint Bernard in February of the same year, stopping at an island called Culebra.

In 1687, after having erected a wooden fort in the aforesaid bay, Robert de LaSalle was killed by a Mr. Duhan and all of his people rebelled against him. This is the only evidence that the French have for alleging that all Texas is theirs. But this claim is without valid foundation, for Robert de LaSalle arrived on those shores accidentally and without a legitimate commission. All of his companions were killed by the Indians of the coast. These spared only one little French girl and two little French boys called Talon and Muni, all of whom were afterwards taken from the Indians by the Spanish troops, who presented them to the Viceroy and Vicereine.

In 1688 a few Indians reported to Father Fray Damian Mazanet, a Missionary of the Holy Cross of Queratero in the Mission of Santiago in the Department of Coahuila, that some Frenchmen were settling in the bay of the Holy Spirit, on the Coast of Saint Bernard about 150 leagues to the east. Father Mazanet reported back to the Governor don Alfonso de Leon, who by order of the Viceroy of Mexico, the Count of Galvez, set out to expel these settlers. He found on arriving at the spot mentioned that all the Indians had said was true; but that they had killed all the Frenchmen and destroyed their fort. (See *Padre Espinosa in The Chronicle of the Colleges*). During this expedition the Texas Indians asked the Spaniards to people their lands, which lie west of the Trinidad or River of Flowers or Magdalena River, as it is sometimes called, which request was subsequently granted.

In 1690, March the 27th, don Alfonso de Leon, Governor of Coahuila, headed a second expedition into Texas. On the 26th of April they explored the Bay of the Holy Spirit; they found there the artillery brought by Robert de LaSalle and they finished the destruction of his fort. The troops navigated the San Marcos, Guadalupe or River of Flowers, the San Antonio of Bejar, the Red or Cane

River, the Brazos de Dios, the Santa Teresa or Barroso, the Trinidad or River of Flowers or Magdalena Rivers and arrived at the Netches River, in the 31st degree of latitude and the 282nd degree 30 minutes of longitude from the Peak of Tenerife. On the 25th of May the first Mass was said in those regions. The Texas Indians swore obedience to his Majesty Charles the Second, King of Spain. The Missionaries were placed in charge of the first mission founded in Texas, which was called the Mission of San Francisco. The troops, after leaving four priests and a few soldiers in charge, returned to Monclova, capital of the Province of Coahuila, where they arrived in the middle of July of the same year. (*Chronicle of the Colleges*, page 409.)

In the same year, 1690, the Mission of Jesus, Mary and Joseph was founded in that region. I do not mention the missions founded in Coahuila, New Kingdom of Leon, Santander or Tamaulipas, for this is not necessary, as they were founded at various times and a great many years before.

In the year 1691 the Council of War held in Mexico decided to send a new expedition into Texas under command of don Domingo Teran, Governor of Coahuila. The new expedition set out and established its first camp on the banks of the San Marcos River, which river enters the Guadalupe from the east at the 30th degree of latitude. From there the Governor set out to again explore the Bay of the Holy Spirit. On the 26th of October a junction was effected with the troops the Viceroy had sent by sea, and the expedition progressed almost up to the Fort of Mataforda. After taking the cannons left by Robert de LaSalle at the Arroyo de la Baca, which enters the lagoons at the 28th degree and 40 minutes latitude, and 280th degree and 10 minutes longitude, they proceeded to the Red or Cadaudachos or Palisade River. On the 30th of November soundings were taken of this river for a distance of three leagues in the Indian canoes at about the 32nd degree of latitude. Thus was it seen that the missions founded before were distant about 56 Spanish leagues due west, and the troops repaired thereto. (See *Chronicle of the Colleges*.)

In the year 1692, about the beginning of February, the troops returned to the province of Coahuila.

In 1693 the settlers of the missions along the frontier became frightened because of a false rumor that the French in the Provinces of Mobile and Florida, all east of the Mississippi, were about to invade Texas or New Philippines. During the month of October all the missionaries and settlers withdrew to the missions afterwards called Bejar, on the San Antonio or Deep River at the 30th degree

of latitude. The fears of the missionaries and settlers were groundless, as the French were about 200 Spanish leagues away to the east southeast. (See *Chronicles of the Colleges*.)

In 1697 Iberville, a Canadian gentleman, sailed from Rochefort with two ships to explore the Mississippi.

In 1698 he succeeded in his endeavors, brought families from Canada, and established them about 15 leagues from "la Baliza del Mississippi" on the right bank of the river at Fort Bourbon, facing Plaquemine. (M. Laffont.)

On the 23rd of October, 1700, his Majesty Philip IV, King of Spain, was informed of the foundation of the Mission of the Holy Cross of Queratero, and of the necessity of founding new missions along the San Marcos and Guadalupe rivers, to which he acceded in four transcripts,—one directed to the Viceroy of Mexico Senor Valladares, one to the Bishop of Guadalajara under whose jurisdiction these regions were; one to the Governor of the Province of Coahuila, and another to the Governor of New Leon, all in favor of the missionaries. (See *Chronicles of the Colleges*.)

In 1701, we must here note that as yet the French were not in possession of one inch of territory in the Province of Texas or New Philippines, nor had they approached any of its frontier.

In the same year, 1701, the Jesuit Father Francisco Kino, traveled the Colorado (or Red) River that flows into the sea of California. I mention this so as to avoid confusing the said river with the other Colorado (Red) Rivers that are in the Province of Texas.

In 1702 new French colonists entered Mobile.

In 1703 they erected Fort Louis.

In the same year, 1703, the King of Spain was petitioned to found the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas, for the reason that it was well situated so that its sons could found new missions in the Province of Texas.

In 1704, the 27th of January, a royal transcript was issued to that effect; said transcript arrived in 1706, and on the 12th of January, 1707, the Rev. Father Marjil, founder and first President of the College, took possession of his office.

In 1709, by order of the Viceroy of Mexico, the Duke of Albuquerque, another expedition set out from Coahuila to visit the Province of Texas, and said expedition traveled up to the Trinidad River, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, at the 31st degree of latitude. (See *Chronicle of the Colleges*.)

In 1711 the French occupied Dolfin Island, and in 1712 both the Spanish and French settlers fixed the frontiers of these eastern

Provinces, and the King of France made a royal grant of lands and privileges in favor of Mr. Croisat, which certainly the said Monarch had no right to do, as these lands were not his to give. (See Mr. Laffont.)

In the year 1714 Father Hildago wrote to the French in Louisiana asking them to pacify the nations of Indians by force of arms, and in answer to this invitation three of them penetrated as far as the Mission San Juan Bautista, situated on the Northern Bravo River. The Government did not admit them, but on the contrary sent them under arrest to the Viceroy, to whom they declared that they had come to buy cattle, and Father Hidalgo was reprimanded by the Government of Mexico.

In 1716, inasmuch as the French from Mobile had penetrated as far as the Mission San Juan Bautista de Espana, which is situated at the 39th degree and 30 minutes on the Northern Bravo River, the Viceroy, the Duke of Linares, ordered that the Province of Texas should again be settled, which was done, the expedition being headed by the Lieutenant of Coahuila, Don Domingo Ramon, who entered in the referred to Province June 28th of the same year, accompanied by the venerable Father Marjil. The old missions founded in 1690 were re-established, and the following new ones founded: On the 7th of May that of the "Purisima Concepcion"; on the 9th that of N. S. de Guadelupe de Nacogdoches, at the 31st degree and 30 minutes, and July 10th that of San Jose near the others; and the Viceroy ordered that a garrison of 25 soldiers should be left for their custody.

In 1717, in the month of January, the venerable Father Marjil founded the Mission of N. S. de los Dolores de los Aix, or Asies Indians, on the small river of that name, and about 16 leagues to the east of that of Nacogdoches. In February of the same year the venerable Father visited the Yatase Indians, who were situated on the Red or Palisade River at the 33rd degree. In March the venerable Father founded the Mission of Saint Michael in the Creek of the Adaiz or Adaises Indians, 7 leagues west of the Red or de los Cadaudachos or Palisade River at the 32nd degree. In the same year, by order of the Viceroy, Marquis de Valero, the venerable Father Marjil explored the western shores of the above named river at a place now called Natchitoches. In this voyage he encountered no opposition whatever, as the French had not yet made their appearance in those regions. About this time the Viceroy issued an order that all the regions were to pass under the control of the Governor of Monclova, capital of the Province of Coahuila, Sergeant-Major Don Martin de

Alarcon, and that missions, settlements, and fortresses should be established without delay. (See *Chronicle of the Colleges*.)

In the same year, 1717, September 6th, a Frenchman named Low, organized the West Indies Company, which company, fearing the advance of the Spaniards through Texas, ordered the creation of the Natchitoches fort on the eastern bank of the Red or de los Cadaudachos or Palisade River at the 32nd degree, directly facing the actual town of that name (Mr. Laffont), the river being recognized as the boundary by both the Spaniards and French, so the last claim; and I have been told by the old settlers that if a Frenchman transgressed the law and crossed the river to the western shores he was not followed, out of respect for Spanish territory. In the same year the mission of San Antonio de Valero was founded on the eastern bank of the Deep or San Antonio River at the 30th degree of latitude. (See *Chronicle of the Colleges*.)

In 1718 the people began to call the Province of Texas New Philippines, in honor of Phillip V, King of Spain and these Indies. The Governor of Coahuila and Texas, Don Martin de Alarcon, visited the Bay of the Holy Spirit, the interior of the Province of Texas up to the frontier, the Red or Colorado River (Palisade) etc. He left a few soldiers in the Adaix Mission, and so appears in our Chronicle, Bejar began to assume the importance of a garrison, for 50 soldiers and their captain were left at that place.

In the same year, 1718, the French, with a few poverty stricken people, founded New Orleans, and in this same year, 1718, the Mission of San Francisco de Solano was transferred from the margins of the Northern Rio Grande to that of San Antonio de Bejar.

In 1719 news was received through Louisiana at Fort Nachitoches on the frontier, that France and Spain were at war and the French Commandant of Nachitoches, with his few miserable soldiers, attacked the Spanish Mission of Adaix, 7 leagues west of Nachitoches. He encountered no resistance, as the people of the mission fled, believing that they were going to be attacked by a large force. The French sacked the sacred ornaments and vases, took as prisoners a lay priest, one soldier, and all the chickens they could find. The news of this feat of arms traveled very fast and all the inhabitants of the missions founded in previous years fled to that of Vejar, 200 leagues west.

In the same year, 1719, the Mission and Fortress of The Holy Spirit was established at the mouth of the before mentioned Arroyo de la Baca.

In the same year, 1719, Mr. Viron, a Frenchman, traveled up the Arkansas River as far as the 35th degree, where reside the Pa-

douca nation of Indians. This river enters the Mississippi at the 33rd degree and 30 minutes. (Mr. Laffont.)

In 1720 the French founded Natchez on the eastern shore of the Mississippi. (Mr. Laffont.)

In the same year, 1720, the venerable Father Marjil founded the San Jose Mission on the San Antonio de Bejar River, 3 leagues to the southwest of the said river, and that of N. S. de Guadalupe in the Bay of the Holy Spirit, then known as Arroyo de Baca.

In 1721 the Marquis of San Miguel de Agnayo was named Governor of these regions. He arrived at the fortress on the San Antonio River in March, and reached the missions on the frontiers of Texas with his troops July 28th. These missions were re-peopled as far as that of Adaix, and at a short distance a fortress of the same name was erected. One hundred soldiers were left as a garrison, a church was built, dedicated to N. S. del Pilar; he traveled 7 leagues to the east up to the margin of the Red or Palisade River, where he observed that the French had not yet crossed this part of the said river. (So say our Chronicles and the Voyages of the Marquis.) According to ancient tradition repeated by the old people of the country, the Marquis de Aguayo left soldiers on the right bank of the river to protect it. These fortified themselves on a hill called Spanish Fort, where Mass was said for both the French and Spaniards by the Spanish missionaries. In the meantime the Marquis returned to Coahuila. (See our Chronicles.)

In 1722 the French made New Orleans a town and established therein the Capital of Louisiana. The following year the Governor removed his quarters there. Immediately they destroyed Fort Yazou. About this time, and at the request of the Texas Missionaries, an investigation was begun about the lack of protection afforded the missions in the preceding years. The Missionaries were absolved from blame and the record is preserved in the College of the Holy Cross of Queratero.

In 1724 Sandoval, the Spanish Governor of Adaix, and the French Commandant of Nachitoches, both acting without authority of the governments, fixed as boundaries the Arroyo Hondo or de la Montana, 3 leagues west of the before mentioned Red or de los Cadaudochos River at the 32nd degree, and for this reason the French crossed to the western bank of the river, erected a small fort which up to the beginning of last century still preserved its name, as I will relate in my last notes.

In the year 1727 the Brigadier don Pedro Rivero visited the Province of Texas, removed the fort situated in the center of its missions, reduced the force stationed in the fort on the frontier

called Adaix, by forty men, and moved the fortress from the Bay of the Holy Spirit with its mission to the Guadalupe River or River of Flowers.

In 1730 the French settled on the shores of the Palisade or Cadaudachos or Red River, on its eastern shores at the 33rd degree. They established there a miserable trading fort with only six soldiers and two small swivel guns six inches long to frighten the Indians, one of which I saw myself a few years back in Nacogdoches.

In the same year, 1730, the Missions of La Concepcion, San Jose and San Francisco were removed to the San Antonio River near the fortress that already existed there, little more than 150 leagues to the west of their former situation and at the 30th degree.

In the same year, 1730, the town of San Fernando was founded near the fortress of Bejar, for which purpose 15 families were brought from the Canary Islands at a cost of 720 pesos for their transportation. Besides these, a great many people were brought there by force from the various prisons of these Provinces.

In 1748 The Saint Xavier Missions were founded on the river of the same name, which flows from the westward into the Santa Teresa or Borzoso River at the 31st degree and a few minutes. The missions of San Idelfonso and Candelaria were also founded thereabouts. By superior orders a few soldiers were left in Saint Xavier; the missions were attacked by the Indians and abandoned. (Father Arrecivita.)

In 1749 the garrison and Mission near the bay of the Holy Spirit were removed to the San Antonio de Bejar or Deep River, 40 leagues southeast of Bejar and 18 leagues from where the river flows into the lagoons that empty into the Mexican Gulf. The Mission was afterwards known as the Mission of the Holy Spirit.

In 1754 the Rosario Mission was founded, near to, but west of, the fortifications of the bay of the Holy Spirit.

In 1756 the Fort Orcoquiza, or de Lampe, was erected and the mission of N. S. de la Luz founded on the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, near its mouth at the 29th degree and 30 minutes latitude.

In 1757 Col. Diego Ortiz de Parilla founded the fortress and mission of San Saba and San Lorenzo at the 33rd degree, on the eastern shores of the Red River that is situated in the center of Texas, which is called Espiritu Santo, or Canas, or San Bernardo. (Father Arrecivita.)

In 1762, on the 3rd of November, France sells the Province of Louisiana to Spain, after having concluded peace. The Versailles

Cabinet advises the Powers of the said transfer April 21, 1764, and in 1765 the orders of the French Monarch reach New Orleans.

In 1764 Father Calaorra of this College of Guadalupe, enters the Red or de los Cadaudachos or Palisade River, at the 33rd degree, 30 minutes of latitude, to the north of Nacogdoches, invited thereto by the Tahuacanas and Tahuayaces Nations of Indians; he visited many ranchos and was requested to found a mission.

In 1767, the then Inspector of the Province of Texas, Marquis de Rubi, ordered that the mission and fortress of San Saba be abandoned. (Father Arrecivita.)

In 1768, Sr. Ulloa takes possession of the Province of Louisiana in the name of the Spanish Government; on July 25, 1769, Sr. Orrelí is appointed Governor. Please note that up to this time the French had scrupulously respected the boundaries mentioned by me in the beginning.

In a royal transcript dated December 10, 1770, the King of Spain abolishes the mission and fortresses of Aises and Orroquiza, for as Louisiana now belonged to Spain there was no further necessity of guarding these places; a short while after all the soldiers, settlers and Indians living there removed to the Capital of Bejar.

In 1775 some of the inhabitants of Adaix obtained permission to settle on the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, which they did. Subsequently, their settlement was flooded and they passed on to the old settlement of Nacogdoches at the 31st and a half degrees, and 40 leagues east, where they remained up to the last few years.

In 1791 the Refugio mission was founded 10 leagues south of the Bay of the Holy Spirit.

In 1799 an American called Nolan, who had come there to gather horses, was expelled from the shores of the Trinidad or River of Flowers or Magdalena River, at the 33rd degree, by Captain Don Miguel Musquiz, because he was in Spanish territory without a license.

In 1799 the Spaniards still maintained the old outposts to prevent smuggling through Louisiana. The soldiers were stationed on the Aloyas River, 10 leagues east of Nacogdoches, on the Sabines or Mexican River, in a line with, but at a distance of 16 leagues from those just mentioned places, and yet another detachment was stationed at Vallapier or Valluco de los Piedras, about 20 leagues northwest, on the Red, or de los Cadaudachos or Palisade River.

On the 30th of April, 1800, the French and Spanish Cabinets open negotiations for receding Louisiana to France.

On April 30, 1802, France sold Louisiana to the Anglo-American United States.

On the 20th of December, 1803, France delivered New Orleans to the United States, and from time to time all the other points up the Mississippi.

In 1803 the Governor of Texas placed a detachment of soldiers in Alarcosito, on the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, where formerly existed the Spanish fortress of Arroquia.

In 1804, in the month of April, Nachitoches was delivered over to the United States, and the Anglo-Americans built a wooden fort there, which exists to this day.

In January, 1805, the Marquis of Casa Calvo visited Nacogdoches with his engineers to examine the boundaries. He proceeded as far as the Calcuchue River, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico to the east of the Sabine River.

In the month of April, 1805, the Bishop of Monterrey, while traveling through his diocese, visited Nacogdoches and west up as far as the frontier of the United States, and then returned home.

In January 1805 Sr. Cordero, Commandant General of Texas, established the town of Salcedo, on the eastern shore of the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, facing the place where in 1775 the former inhabitants of Adaix or Adaises, had settled at the 31st degree and a few minutes.

In the same year, 1805, a detachment of soldiers sent by Sr. Salcedo to occupy the place where the former inhabitants of Adaix or Adaises had settled, were expelled by American troops.

In 1806, the 29th of July, the Adjutant Inspector Don Francisco Viana expelled a troop of Americans who were entering to explore the lands along the Red or Palisade or de los Cadaudchos River, at the 33rd degree and 30 minutes of latitude.

In 1806 the Spanish and American forces established their camp on either shores of the Sabines or Mexican River, the Spaniards under command of Sres. Cordero and Herrera, and the Americans under command of General Wilkinson. In order to avoid hostilities these chiefs agreed that the Americans were not to cross Arroyo Hondo, whilst the Spaniards would refrain from crossing the Sabines River until their respective governments should come to an agreement.

In March 1813, Sr. Gutierrez took command of the Spanish and Anglo-American troops at the fortress situated in the Bay of the Holy Spirit, to fight for the cause of independence against the Royalists Commanders Brigadier Herrera and Col. Salcedo. These retreated to Bejar, and surrendered there on the 2nd of April.

On the 18th of August, 1813, General Gutierrez was routed by the Royalists General Arredondo a few leagues away from Bejar. General Elisondo pursued the fugitives up to Salcedo, a town founded a few years before on the Trinidad, or River of Flowers, or Magdalena River, and the news traveled to Nacogdoches, 40 leagues to the eastward, and all the inhabitants fled to the United States for protection stopping at the former settlement of Adaix or Adaises, 7 leagues this side of Natchitoches, where they have remained to this day.

NOTE: From all the foregoing may be deducted our just and unalterable possession of all the Province of Texas in accordance with the boundaries mentioned by me at the beginning of this paper.

No account must be taken of the inexact assertions of the French contained in their books, and much less of the statements contained in a pamphlet printed in Havana at the beginning of this century, which at the time created a great sensation, and which entitled: "La Aurora, Limits and Extension of Louisiana, extracted from a manuscript referring to the said Province, written by a military gentlemen who was stationed on the Mississippi since the spring of 1803," for I repeat that the said pamphlet is full of lies from beginning to end.

JUSTIFICATIVE DOCUMENTS

**That are in the office of the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs in Mexico, and others that
are cited herein.**

In the records entitled "*Inspection of Fortresses*," book 11, page 16, appear the instructions given to the Marquis de Rubi by the Viceroy Marquis de Crullas, under date of the 10th of March, 1766, which among other things say: Inasmuch as the fortresses of Adaix, in the Province of Texas, and that of Natchitoches are at a short distance one from the other, please report if, in your opinion, one of these could be advantageously removed to another place, in the event that the territory of Louisiana should pass under the dominion of his Catholic Majesty." To which I add that the government, fortresses and missions were removed to San Antonio de Bejar.

Again in the same book, page 22, we find the said Viceroy's instructions, dated September 18, 1766, to the Marquis de Rubi, with regard to the Tahuayos Nation.

Page 1 of said book contains the Viceroy's order to the Governor of the Province and Captain of his company; on page 4 are the

Marquis de Rubi's order to the same Governor giving him charge as captain of Adaix, and pages 4 and 8 it is recorded that Governor Martos went through the regular formalities with his predecessor, Don Benito Barrios.

Other records on page 9, written by the Marquis de Rubi, show that the Viceroy, having recalled Governor Martos, Hugo O'Connor was appointed captain of the company and Governor of Texas.

Baron de Riperda says in his correspondence dated in Bejar the 28th of April, 1772, as appears in record 41 of the viceregal index, page 2: "If such is found necessary, I shall advance the lines of fortresses from the Mississippi up to New Mexico," etc.

On page 27 he says: "Don Luis de Sandenis is now within the confines of the Province of Texas, District of Nachitoches in Louisiana."

The same record, page 83, proves the Adaix to have belonged to Texas or Spain, for the Viceroy says that although since the creation of the fortress of Adaix his Majesty has maintained four missions there, no Indians had been converted. This, however, is not true, as may be seen from the records of the missions.

On pages 107 and 108, Article 1st of the Regulations, may be seen the transcript of his Majesty under date of the 10th of December, 1772, in which he speaks of abolishing the Missions and in Article 5th of abolishing the fortress of Adaix.

In the Judicial Proceedings instituted by the settlers of Adaix, book 42 of the Viceregal index, page 17, appears the certification of Father Pedro Fuentes, saying that he has received two books of records of the said missions, begun in 1716 the one, and in 1717 the other, which show that the Missions of Nacogdoches and de los Aix were part of the Province of Texas, or New Philippines.

The proceedings of the settlers of Adaix, soliciting that they be allowed to remove to the Mission of Aix; record No. 1 in book 42 of the viceregal index, relating to the foundation of the town of Bucareli; Nos. 5 and 6 of the same book referring to the abandonment of the said town of Bucareli, are convincing proof that the boundaries of Texas extended to the limits I have mentioned before.

In the copy of the Order of the Marquis de Rubi, appearing on page 42 of book 1, in which orders are given to evacuate Orraquiza after the evacuation of San Saba has been effected.

In book 1 appears a communication from Sr. Croix, dated November 19, 1781, and another on the last page, dated August 22, 1782, which says: "In the announced meeting the points your Excellency covers in his report will be resolved."

On the last page of book 2 there is a Royal Order, dated February

20, 1783, in which the King authorizes the establishment of a town on the San Marcos River after peace is declared.

In book 7, pages 1 and 2, it is recorded that Don Luis Carlos de Branc, Commandant at Nachitoches, informed the Governor of Louisiana, Don Esteban Miro, that inasmuch as the Province of Louisiana belonged to the King of Spain, the people of the region should be permitted to extend their settlements up to the Sabines or Mexican River, as the country they now occupied is rather small for their requirements. This statement, however, is untrue, as to the north and south and east they disposed of vast territories still unsettled; for this reason, and also to preserve as far as possible the frontiers, the Governors of Texas never permitted the French of Louisiana to extend themselves beyond their own frontiers. Governor Miro, however, approved of this request, as may be seen on page 3.

On page 6 there appears a royal decree ordering a report from the Viceroy of Mexico and which ends thus: "Nothing was done with regard to extending the limits of Louisiana."

On page 7 it is recorded that the then Commandant General of all the interior Provinces, the Chevalier de la Croix, reconcentrated all the establishments of Texas to the fortress of Bejar, but that during the incumbency of Governor Don Domingo Cabello the old order was re-established.

In the Royal Decrees dated the 3rd and 29th of November, 1785, the conclusion of this matter is foreseen, (page 9), and on page 31 is the Royal Decree dated September 21, 1793, ordering the Viceroy to take no further action with regard to the matter for the time being.

Record 370, section 22, contains the report of Don Esteban Miro, Governor of Louisiana, to Sr. Rangel, Governor of Texas, in which he says: "I regret not being able to inform you with regard to the boundaries of this Province with that of Texas, for the French have only left in his office a plan of the Mississippi and of the establishments erected by them."

Book 1, page 170, contains the report of Sr. Cabello and a copy of the record concerning reciprocal trading between Louisiana and Texas, extension of the Province, etc., with a letter from Sr. Miro to Sr. Rangel.

The fortress of Nachitoches was constructed in the time that Don. Manuel Sandoval was Governor of Texas. This event having come to the knowledge of the King, in a Royal decree dated July 15, 1740, he orders the Governor of Texas, Don Justo Barco, to report back on the subject.

The Crown's attorney, Don Pedro de Ullon, under date of the 28th of September, 1741, requests the then Governor of Texas, to report upon the boundaries of his Province, and also that in Mexico testimony should be taken from six competent witnesses, who all declared that they had always recognized Nacitoches, on the western bank of the de los Cadaudachos River, two leagues and a half from Arroyo Hondo, as the limits of both Crowns. They added, however, that they did not know that Governor Sandoval had on his own initiative given a tract of land to the French, which caused them to cross the Red or de los Cadaudachos, or Palisade River, for which reason Sandoval was brought under arrest to Mexico.

A decree of the Viceroy Acuna, Marquis of Casafuerte, Governor of Texas, dated July 1, 1730, ordering that two or three soldiers should accompany the Texas Missionaries in their expedition to the friendly Indians. The original exists in the archives of Bejar.

In the Council of War and Finance, celebrated in Mexico, the 21st and 22nd of January, 1754, presided by the Viceroy Sr. Orcasitos, proofs were offered to show that the French of Nacitoches had passed the French frontier into the Spanish lands of Texas. Sandoval having been arrested, the Crown's Attorney asked the new Governor of the Province to report on this subject, and if the matter as reported was found to be true, that he make the necessary political demands on the Governor of Louisiana. All these instructions were followed out, but affairs remained as they were, and after hearing the declarations of more than twelve witnesses, there still remained a doubt as to whether the boundary was on the Arroyo Hondo or on the Red River.

A royal transcript directed to Don Justo Barco y Morales, Governor of Texas, orders him to report if the former Governor of Texas, Don Manuel Sandoval had permitted the French of Nacitoches to construct a fortress on Spanish soil, etc. The documents are preserved in the archives of Bejar. Later I was told by several old Frenchmen residing in the region that such had been the case.

The copy of the record marked P. Y. No. 15, page 19, No. 170 of 1778, refers to the commerce carried on between Louisiana and Texas, and the extension of the limits of the first mentioned Province up to the Sabines River. In the latter part of the first volume appears the report of the Governor of Texas, Sr. Cabello, which says: that in 1730 (see the subsequent note) the Viceroy Marquis de Toraldo orders that the Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, Sr. Hernando de Leon, should explore the northern sea coast. That these orders were carried out and he explored and marked all the coast as pertaining to Mexican territory in its eastern part; he also

explored new territory for more than 276 leagues from south to north from the Medina River up to the Red or Palisade River, on the banks of which last the French afterwards founded Nachitoches, and that he also traveled the same region from west to east.

NOTE: It is clearly an error to say that Hernando de Leon was designated in 1730 to explore the northern coast; instead it should be 1630, because the third paragraph says that as the Court of Spain did not dictate orders relative to the matter, the Count of Galvez commissioned Domingo Terran, in the year 1688, to visit the Province of Texas, and it is clear that no report concerning Hernando de Leon could have reached the Court before the Count of Galvez sent Domingo Terran to Texas in 1688. It is clear also, that it was in 1630, because the Marquis of Cerralvo was then Viceroy, not Torraldo, for there never was a Viceroy of that name. Further Governor Cabello says in his report: "That Hernando de Leon, having returned to Monterrey, sent his diary to the Viceroy, the Marquis of Cerralvo, and that his Excellency reported to the Court."

There is also an official communication in the archives of your office from the Cavalier de la Croix, dated September 23, 1778, containing a list of all the towns, missions and Indians in the Province of Texas. He even adds thereto a few of the frontier nations who really lived in Louisiana, all of which, it seems to me, I have read in the history written by Father Talamantes in Mexico, and which by accident I found in a private house.

I beg of your Excellency to excuse any defects you may find in this paper, for it is a long time, more than 20 years, that I studied this question. I have forgotten a great deal, lost a great many papers, and what I have left are a few very small notes.

May God keep your Excellency a great many years.

College of N. S. de Guadalupe the 30th of November, 1827.

Excmo. Sr.

Fr. JOSE MARIA de JESUS PUELLES.

BERNARDO de GALVEZ DIARY

OF THE OPERATIONS AGAINST PENSACOLA

Translated from a pamphlet belonging to

MR. GASPAR CUSACHS

New Orleans, La.

"C" No. 1

DIARY

of the Operations of the Expedition Against the Place of
Pensacola, Concluded by the Arms of H. Catholic M.,
Under the Orders of the Field Marshall Don
Bernardo de Galvez.

The expedition which sailed from Havana the 16th of October, 1780, against Pensacola, having been frustrated by the hurricane, its Commander Dn. Bernardo de Galvez, returned to the sailing port, November 17th, with the sorrow of ignoring the whereabouts of the ships of his escort, some of which dispersed by the storm, went to Campeche, others to the Mississippi River, a few to other places, and it is believed that one perished, for nothing is known of its fate. After his arrival in Havana the referred to General reiterated his former pretensions that the fort of Mobile be succored with provisions and men, not only because it found itself very short of these, but also because it threatened to be attacked. In view of his insistence, the Council of Generals ordered that two ships be prepared capable of transporting 500 men and some provisions, and this small convoy made sail the 6th of December under command of the Capitan of frigate Dn. Joseph de Rada; notwithstanding that after a few days navigation, he arrived safely at the mouth of the Mobile, he determined not to enter its bay on account having found (so he assured) some variation in the channel, and he made sail directly for the Baliza of the Mississippi River at the entrance of which he left the convoy and returned to Havana.

This circumstance, that two English frigates had penetrated the very Bay of Mobile five days after, and the news that the detach-

DIARIO

De las operaciones de la expedicion contra la Plaza de Panzacola concluida por las Armas de S. M. Católica, bajo las órdenes del Mariscal de Campo D. Bernardo de Galvez.

Frustrada por el uracán la Expedicion que salió de la Havana contra Panzacola en 16 de Octubre de 1780, regresó su Comandante Don Bernardo de Galvez al Puerto de la salida, el 17 de Noviembre con el dolor de ignorar el paradero de las embarcaciones de su convoy, de las cuales dispersadas por el temporal, unas fueron á parar á Campeche, otras al río Misisipi, algunas á otras partes, y se cree haber perecido una mediante no saberse su suerte. Luego que llegó á la Havana el referido General reiteró sus antiguas pretensiones de que se socorriese el Fuerte de la Mobila con víveres y tropas, así por hallarse escasisimo de aquellos, como por estar amenazado de un ataque. En fuerza de sus instancias mandó la Junta de Generales se habilitasen los buques correspondientes al transporte de 500 hombres, y alguna cantidad de comestibles, y este pequeño convoy se hizo á la vela en 6 de Diciembre al mando del Capitan de fragata D. Joseph de Rada; pero sin embargo que á pocos días de navegacion arribó felizmente á la boca de la Mobila, no se determinó á entrar en su bahía por haber encontrado (según aseguró) alguna variación en el canal, y se hizo á la vela en derechura á la Balija del río Misisipi, á cuya entrada dexó el convoy y se restituyó á la Havana.

Esta circunstancia, la de haber entrado dos fragatas Inglesas en la misma bahía de la Mobila cinco días despues, y la noticia de haber sido atacado el destacamento del Village, movieron á D. Bernardo de Galvez á instar, para que ya que el estado de las cosas no permitiese renovar la expedicion desde la Havana, se le diese alguna tropa con que reforzar las garniciones de la Luisiana y Mobila, y desde allí, si hallase una oportunidad feliz, empeñar para un nuevo esfuerzo á los habitantes

ment of the village had been attacked, moved Dn. Bernardo de Galvez to urge, that although the state of things did not permit a renewal of the expedition from Havana, some troops be given him with which to reinforce the garrisons of Louisiana and Mobile and from there, if a favorable opportunity were found, pledge the inhabitants of those regions to a further effort and fall on Pensacola, or if this could not be, preserve more securely what had been conquered. The idea having been approved by the Council of Generals, it was resolved to select 1315 men from the various regiments, including five companies of grenadiers and to provide for the equipment of vessels as transports, and designating as a guard for these, the ship of war San Ramon, commanded by Dn. Joseph Calvo, the frigate Sta. Clara, Capitan D. Miguel Alderete, the Sta. Cecilia, Capitan D. Miguel de Goicochea, the tender Caiman, Capitan D. Joseph Serrato, and the packet S. Gil, Capitan D. Joseph Maria Chacon, all under the orders of the referred to General D. Bernardo de Galvez, on his petition and by consent of the Council, as will be seen by the following communication sent by the General of Marine to the Commander of Ship, D. Joseph Calvo.

"To the question contained in your paper of yesterday, that I manifest to you the terms under which you must go subordinated to and obey the orders of the Field Marshall of the Royal Armies, D. Bernardo de Galvez, I beg to advise that your honor shall put in practice with all your well-known and notorious diligence those that the expressed Don Bernardo shall give your Honor relative to the conquest of Pensacola, without separating yourself in other things from what the Royal Ordinances of the Armada provide, endeavoring that the strictest discipline be observed in all the ships under your orders, as provided therein. May our Lord keep you many years. Havana, 6th of February, 1781. Juan Bantista Bonet. Sr. Dn. Joseph Calvo."

When all was ready on the part of the Army and the Navy, the General embarked February 13th in spite of finding himself somewhat failing in health; the troops did the same on the 14th and on the 28th in the morning the convoy sailed, so happily, that, by three in the afternoon, the ships were all a great distance from the Port of Havana. The General had previously sent Capitan D. Emiliano Maxent in a schooner to New Orleans with orders to the Commandant of Arms, so that the troops that D. Joseph Rada had left and those that had arrived on account of the October storm should set out and meet the convoy, and to that end had already advised under date of February 1st, that they find themselves ready to sail at the first signal.

On the first of March the General commissioned the sub-lieutenant of the Regiment Spain, D. Miguel de Herrera, to go by schooner to Mobile with letters for D. Joseph Espeleta, in which he informs him of his intention of proceeding to the East of Santa Rosa Island, fronting the Port of Pensacola, advising him to march by land to form a union with the troops of his command.

On the 4th at 9 in the morning, all the commanders of the war vessels came aboard the commanding ship, and the General informed them of his project of proceeding to the Island of Santa Rosa, disembarking thereon and attacking the battery the enemy had on Siguenza Point, so as to facilitate the entry of our ships in the Port, without the risk of passing through a cross fire, and there await the reinforcements from Louisiana and Mobile. All the officers of the Fleet applauded this thought and some amongst them earnestly solicited the honor of entering first. At 10 o'clock eleven vessels were sighted to windward, which were chased until nightfall, and by their direction they seemed to be making Tortugas Sound, and were thought to be a convoy of provisions that was expected from Vera Cruz.

On the 5th at 6 o'clock in the evening, the brig Galveztown which had left Havana on the 2nd incorporated itself to the squadron.

On the 9th at 6 in the morning land was sighted and a little while after it was recognized to be the Island of Santa Rosa; at eight o'clock a few cannon shots were heard, from which was inferred the proximity of the Port of Pensacola.

At 2 in the afternoon the General called to quarters and disposed that all the troops find themselves ready to disembark that night and that each soldier should carry three days ration; it being well understood that the grenadiers and light infantry should be the first to disembark, and that they should pass by the stern of the ship S. Ramon, when two lights should appear thereon. At the hour of Prayer the convoy came to anchor at a distance of one cannon shot from shore and three leagues to windward from the mouth of the Port.

At eight o'clock at night the signal was placed on the commanding ship so that the boats with troops should gather there, and the General having placed himself at their head, the landing was effected with some misgivings, but without the least opposition. He gave his orders to Colonel D. Francisco Longoria to take up the march with the grenadiers and light infantry and returned to the ship to hasten the final disembarking, so that by 3 o'clock in the morning of the 10th all the troops were marching in column formations by the sea on the shore of the referred to Island.

The first landing party arrived at Siguenza Point at half past

past five in the morning, where they did not find the Fort they thought was there, but only three dismounted cannons and a partly demolished breastwork of fascines that the enemy not knowing how to utilize, had abandoned. A while later two boats with seven men were seen to come landwards near that part, and the light infantry made these prisoners. The Fort that is on Barrancas-Coloradas, opposite Siguenza and about 500 fathoms away and the two English frigates anchored nearby, observed this, and began a lively fire on our troops, without occasioning the slightest mishap, because the land furnished several small hills that served as shelters, and, besides, some earth was thrown up, for better protection.

The prisoners declared to the General that the place was well provided with provisions and troops and that from day to day a considerable re-inforcement was expected from Jaimaca.

On the 10th at 11 o'clock in the morning the convoy changed anchorage nearer the port; that afternoon the General reconnoitered several times that part of the Island facing the town for the purpose of selecting a place suitable for the formation of a battery that would damage and keep away the enemy frigates that cannonaded our Camp, and protect the entry of the convoy and squadron, to which effect he ordered the landing of two cannons of 24, two of 8, four of 4, and the corresponding ammunition and 150 campaign tents for the troops.

On the 11th before the break of day the Commander of the squadron ordered parties to sound the bar of the harbor, and a battery of two cannons of 24, in barbettes was mounted in front of the Barrancas, and at three thirty began to play on one of the English frigates that had set sail.

At that hour the squadron and convoy weighed anchor for the purpose of entering the Port, and this having been seen by the General he immediately embarked on the ship S. Ramon in order to be in this operation and pass through the risk, but the petitions of its Captain D. Joseph Calbo that he return to land were such that he had to accede. A while after all the convoy had gotten under way it was noticed that the ship S. Ramon had come about and returned to its former anchorage with all the other vessels that followed it, due to the fact that on crossing the bar it touched bottom, so the General was informed by the senior officer of the squadron.

All of the night was employed by the Commander of the ship D. Joseph Calbo in lightening it, until it was left in condition to verify its entry, although then, the weather was not favorable to do this.

On the 12th the weather continued contrary, and the General fearing that possibly if it became worse, the ships would not be able

to maintain themselves in the open roadstead, and that if they were compelled to put to sea the Camp would remain without provisions, ordered that as much as possible be brought, in order to provide against this contingency, and this order was executed with the greatest celerity.

At eight o'clock in the morning the General repaired to the extremity of Point Siguenza to inspect some work being done there and at two o'clock in the afternoon went on board of the S. Ramon to discuss the advisability of sending the frigates into the port at the head of the convoy, and the ship should do so after, for if it again went ashore, the other vessels would not be detained as on the preceding afternoon; but the naval officers having objected and pointed out certain difficulties he returned to land, and wrote to the Commander of the S. Ramon stating how necessary it was to gain the channel at once in order to avoid the risk of a storm, of the frequent ones on that coast, which would force the convoy to separate itself and leave the army abandoned; for which motive he advised him that he could already count upon the aid of 6 cannons of 24, which had already been emplaced on the point of the Island opposite that of the enemy.

Upon the advice received that same afternoon, that a few enemy boats had crossed the canal that forms the Island of Santa Rosa and separates it from the mainland, a force of grenadiers and light infantry advanced towards the place to reconnoiter and cut off the enemies' retreat if any disembarked.

On the 13th the landing of provisions and supplies continued, the General always fearing that the delays in forcing the port would oblige the convoy to set sail on account of the frequent and dreaded southwester. However, on the same day he received a letter from the Commander of the sea forces in which he described the great difficulties he found, even after having consulted with the officers of his squadron, in risking the vessels under his command, for he lacked the indispensable information regarding the depth of water and direction of the channel; he had no pilots, and understood the enemy fires could rake his ships fore and aft, without the possibility of these being able to answer theirs to advantage.

At three in the afternoon he ordered his Aide de Camp, D. Esteban Miro to proceed to Mobile with verbal instructions for Colonel D. Joseph Ezpeleta, in order to combine a reciprocal union of troops with advantage on the enemy.

On the 14th the landing of provisions continued, although with great difficulty on account of the surf and the General commissioned the Captain of the brig Galveztown, to sound the interior of the harbor during the night so as to know exactly the depth of the water.

On the 15th the sea made it extremely difficult for the boats to approach land, and with immense labor it was possible to disembark some vegetables and salt meat which they brought.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon an English storeship was discovered under sail in the interior of the Port, which situated itself between the two frigates and out of the range of our cannon. At the same hour a battery of two cannons of 8 was placed near the one that had been formed by two others of 24.

On the 16th at 8 o'clock in the morning there arrived from Mobile the sloop commanded by the Lieutenant of frigate D. Juan Riano with letters from Colonel Ezpeleta, in which he advised the General that he was going to march with 900 men up to the shores of the River "de los Perdidos" distant five leagues from Pensacola, and to pass to the other shore he required that a few launches be sent to him. This officer, as soon as he arrived on the Coast, presented himself to the Commander of the Squadron, who upon learning his mission sent the following communication to the General:

"Dear Sir: The moment D. Juan Riano informed me that the army from Mobile found itself on the shores of the "los Perdidos" River, I ordered that the armed launches be provided with ten days food, and in order that they shall lack for nothing, I have provided to supply a few more from this ship."

"I will also order the Pio that draws less water, that it go and cover this small expedition as close to land as possible, to free it from any vessel that attempts to oppose it, as also to provide Sr. Ezpeleta a few cannons and provisions if he should need them.

"I am of the opinion, if your honor desires to make use of it, that the expedition start early, just after nightfall, so as not to draw the attention of the enemies, for they may come out and make some inconvenient opposition, but this matter you will do what appears best to you."

"I have elected to direct the launches, my second in command, the Captain of Frigate, D. Andres Valderrma, and the first Lieutenant of ship, D. Antonio Estrada, who carry pilots, a compass and a pilot's mate. God keep your honor many years. On board the ship S. Ramon, at anchor near the coast of the Island of Santa Rosa, 16th of March, 1781. Your most faithful servant kisses the hand of your honor.—Joseph Calbo de Irazabal.—Sr. Bernardo Galvez."

The General's Reply.

"Dear Sir: All that you tell me in your communication of today regarding your dispositions to help the troops from Mobile appear to me well, and I remain praying God to keep you many years. Camp

of Santa Rosa, March 16th, 1781.—Bernardo de Galvez.—Sr. D. Joseph Calvo."

On the 17th at 11 in the morning the sloop of the mentioned Don Juan Riano situated itself at the entrance of the Harbor of Pensacola, accompanied by the brig Galveztown and the two small gunboats, at four o'clock in the afternoon, sub-lieutenant D. Miguel Herrera arrived with letters from Colonel Ezpeleta to the General advising him that he was marching with his troops to unite himself with him.

The General having recognized that there was too much delay in deciding upon the entry of the squadron and convoy, and fearing that a strong wind might compel it to make sail so as not to wreck itself upon the shore, thus leaving the troops abandoned on the Island without means of subsistence, determined to be the first one to force the harbor, in the conviction that this last resort would stimulate the others to follow him; and in effect, on the afternoon of the 18th at half past two he embarked in an open boat to go on board of the brig Galveztown that was anchored at the mouth of the harbor of Pensacola, and after having hoisted a broad pennant, this ship made the corresponding salute and set sail followed by two armed launches and by the sloop commanded by Dn. Juan Riano, these being the only vessels under his private orders. The Barrancas Fort fired as much as possible, particularly on the Galveztown, for they could not ignore that the General was in it on account of the ensign it flew; but, in spite of its efforts, the vessel entered the harbor without the least harm notwithstanding the great number of bullets that pierced sails and shrouds, and with the extraordinary applause of the army, who with continuous cheers demonstrated to the General its delight and loyalty to him.

Upon seeing this the squadron determined to make its entry on the following day with the exception of the ship, S. Ramon, that had been ballasted.

On the 19th at 2 in the afternoon the convoy set sail, preceded by the King's frigate, and it took an hour from the time the first ships began to suffer from the extraordinary fire of Red-Cliff Fort on the Barancas, until the last one found itself free from it, and, notwithstanding the damage done to the ships, there were no personal losses. During this time the General went in his gig among the ships in order to furnish them any help they might need.

At 5 o'clock the General determined to pass in a yawl to the river "de los Perdidos" in order to acquaint Ezpeleta personally of his intentions. For this purpose he embarked with his aides and went out of the harbor stating that the same probability existed for going

as for coming in; but the contrary winds and the equally contrary currents obliged him to return to the Camp at 11 o'clock at night.

On the 20th in the morning he commissioned an officer to go to Pensacola with a letter for General Campbell, couched in these terms:

"Most Excellent, my dear sir: The English in Havana intimated with threats that none of the ships or buildings of the King and private parties be destroyed, burned or torn down under pain of being treated with the utmost rigor. The same warning I give to your Excellency and others whom it may concern with the same conditions. God keep your Excellency many years. Camp of the Island of Sta. Rosa, March 20, 1781. Most Excellent Sir. Your most attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hands.—Bernardo de Galvez.—Most Excellent Sir,—Juan Campbell."

In the afternoon the General went in a boat to examine the beach opposite the harbor in order to select a suitable landing place for the troops that had to operate.

At eight o'clock at night the enemies set fire to a Guard-house situated on the beach where the General had made his examination during the afternoon; upon seeing this he ordered that the sloop commanded by Don Juan Riano and the armed launch from the Galveztown should approach land and fire with grape shot upon the enemies who might be there.

Very early on the 21st an officer, commissioned therefor, arrived from Pensacola and delivered to the General a letter from Campbell couched in the following terms:

"Most Excellent sir: My dear sir: The threats of the enemy who assail us are not considered under any other aspect than as an artifice or stratagem of war, which he makes use of to further his own purpose. I trust that in my defense of Pensacola (seeing that I am attacked) I will do nothing contrary to rules and customs of war; for I consider myself under obligations to your Excellency for your frank intimation, although I assure you that my conduct will depend rather on your own, in reply to the propositions Governor Chester will send you tomorrow regarding prisoners, and mine relative to the City of Pensacola, than upon your threats. In the meantime I remain your Excellency's most obedient servant, John Campbell. Headquarters Pensacola, March 20, 1781.—Most Excellent sir, Bernardo de Galvez."

At noon there arrived from Pensacola under a flag of truce one of General Campbell's aides de camp with letters from the former and Governor Chester to Sr. Galvez, and accompanied by Colonel

Alexander Dickson, who remained a prisoner after the capture of Baton Rouge and resided in Pensacola under parole.

Copy of General Campbell's Letter.

"My dear sir: Humanity dictating as far as possible the preservation of innocent individuals from the cruelties and devastations of war, and it being evident that the garrison of Pensacola cannot defend without the total destruction of the City, and therefore the ruin of a great number of its inhabitants; and desiring also to preserve the city and garrison for the victor, to which I must acquiesce in the hope that the palm of victory will fall upon the troops that I have the honor to command, I have abandoned the garrison of Pensacola; but knowing that the conservation of the city and its buildings depends of your Excellency and myself, or (in other words) that at the present moment it is within the power of both of us to destroy them or no, I propose to your Excellency, that the mentioned City and buildings be preserved entirely without malicious harm by both parties during the seige of the Royal Marine redoubts, Fort George and others adjacent thereto, where I propose to dispute the conservation of western Florida to the British Crown, under the following stipulations."

"That neither the City nor buildings of Pensacola, nor any part or portion of it, will be occupied or employed by any of the parties, to attack, preserve or defend themselves, nor for any other purpose whatever, but that it shall be an asylum for the sick, women and children, who may remain there without malicious injuries, harm or molestation on the part of the English, Spanish troops, or their allies."

"But in case this, my proposition, is not admitted by your Excellency and that some portion of the City or its buildings are occupied by troops under your orders, then it will be my obligation to impede that it serve as a shelter or hiding place, by destroying both, and if I saw myself compelled to take this cruel determination your Excellency will be the only one responsible before God and man, for the calamities and misfortunes that such an act would bring. However, the experience we have of your conduct and sentiments, removes the horror of such an idea, and promises me that you will concur in the mentioned propositions. Headquarters, Pensacola, March 21, 1781. Most Excellent sir, Your Most attentive servitor kisses your Excellency's hand.—John Campbell. His Excellency D. Bernardo de Galvez."

The General's Reply.

"Most Excellent Sir: My dear sir: My health not permitting

me to reply to the letter which under this date your Excellency has remitted to me, I have requested Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Dickson to inform you of my opinion, whilst tomorrow I shall do so in writing. God keep your Excellency many years. Camp of Santa Rosa, March 21st, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hand.—Bernardo de Galvez. His Excellency, D. Juan Campbell."

Letter From Governor Peter Chester.

"Most Excellent Sir: My dear sir: As we lack barracks within our lines, for the accommodation of the Spanish prisoners we have in order not to expose their health and subject them to various hardships, and stimulated by principle of humanity, I have determined to propose to your Excellency, that they be set at liberty under their word of honor, and on condition that your Excellency will bind himself that they shall not serve against H. Britannic M. nor any of his allies, in any capacity whatever, either civil or military during the present discussion or at any time until they be exchanged for other subjects of Great Britain or her allies who may be prisoners. God keep you many years. Most Excellent sir, Your attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hand,—Peter Chester. Pensacola, March 21st, 1781. His Excellency D. Bernardo de Galvez."

Another From the Same Party.

"Most Excellent sir, My dear sir: As the protection and security of women and children against the calamities of war have always been looked upon by cultured nations as the primary object, I believe myself excused from taking other steps than informing you that those depending on this City and surrounding country will remain quietly in their homes, for which I trust that your generous and humane sentiments will prompt you to give positive orders to the troops and seamen belonging to Spain or in alliance with her, that they shall not increase the misfortunes of these non-combatants, their families and goods. God keep your Excellency many years. Pensacola, March 21st, 1781. Most Excellent sir, Your attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hand,—Peter Chester. His Excellency Sr. D. Bernardo de Galvez."

The General's Reply.

"Most Excellent sir, My dear sir: I have received your Excellency's two letters under date of today, in which you make the propositions that the prisoners of war be set at liberty and that the women and children remain in the City of Pensacola, hoping your

Excellency that on my part I will give the most rigorous orders to the troops and sailors in the expedition under my command, that should not cause them the least extortion.

"The co-incidence of finding myself a trifle ill deprives me of the satisfaction of replying to your Excellency upon said particulars; but I have, however, requested Lieutenant Colonel Dickson to explain to your Excellency my way of thinking until tomorrow when I shall give you my reply in writing. God keep your Excellency many years. Camp of Santa Rosa, 21 of March, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hand,—Bernardo de Galvez. His Excellency Peter Chester."

At the time that the General wrote the mentioned letters, he instructed Dickson as to his views regarding the propositions Campbell and Chester had made to him, in order that he advise them until the next morning when he would do so properly and in writing. At three in the afternoon he ordered the grenadiers, who were encamped on that part of the Island facing the harbor to form in battle array; and that the other troops also opposite the harbor should move upon a small hill that would make them visible, so that Lieutenant Colonel Dickson could if he wished, inform General Campbell as to the class and number of troops that he (Galvez) commanded. After this the General embarked in his gig with Dickson and went on board the frigate Sta. Clara to speak with General Campbell's aide de camp who was on board by orders of the General; he went with both in the gig until it appeared to him opportune to leave them go back to Pensacola and he returned to the Camp near the hour of prayer.

During the night several houses near Fort Barancas were seen to burn, and this procedure displeased the General greatly, for to avoid all conflagrations he had warned General Campbell, as is seen in his letters.

On the 22nd at half past nine in the morning, Colonel Ezpeleta was seen marching with his troops on the opposite shore inside the harbor, the General going with 500 men, including the grenadiers to re-inforce him, and thus allow Ezpeleta's troops to rest; and after having communicated his orders to Camp he returned to the Island, having before doing this dispatched a flag of truce to Pensacola with the following letters:

"Most Excellent Sir, My dear sir: At the time we are reciprocally making one another the same propositions, for both of us aimed at the conservation of the goods and property of the individuals of Pensacola, at the same time, I say, the insult of burning the houses facing my Camp on the other side of the bay is committed before my very eyes. This fact tells of the bad faith with which you work

and write, as also the conduct observed with the people from Mobile, a great many of whom have been victims of the horrible cruelties protected by your Excellency; all proves that your expressions are not sincere, that humanity is a phrase that although you repeat it on paper, your heart does not know, that your intentions are to gain time to complete the destruction of Western Florida; and I, who am indignant at my own credulity and the noble manner in which it is pretended to halucinate me, must not, nor do I wish to hear, other propositions than those of surrender, assuring your Excellency, that as it will not be my fault, I shall see Pensacola burn with the same indifference, that I shall see its cruel incendiaries perish upon its ashes. God keep your Excellency many years. Island of Sta. Rosa, March 22, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servitor kisses your Excellency's hand,—Bernardo de Galvez. His Excellency John Campbell."

Letter to Governor Chester.

"Most Excellent Sir, My dear sir: I regret very much that since yesterday circumstances have so varied, that now I cannot, nor must not reply to the propositions regarding prisoners and families which your Excellency made me in his communications; if, as is natural, the fate of these interests you, treat with General Campbell, for all depends of the good or bad conduct he observes. I, personally, am a servitor of your Excellency and desire that God keep you many years. Camp of the Sta. Rosa, March 22, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servitor kisses your Excellency's hand,—Bernardo de Galvez. His Excellency Peter Chester."

"P. D.—I enclose for your Excellency's information a copy of the letter I am writing to General Campbell."

During the afternoon the King's packet, the S. Pio, that had just returned from the vicinity of the "de los Perdidos" River to protect the launches in which the people from Mobile were destined to cross from one shore to another, entered the harbor. The Barrancas Fort fired as briskly as possible but without causing it or any of the four boats that followed any damage whatever.

At eight o'clock at night, the officer commissioned to carry the letters addressed to Campbell returned to the Camp with the following reply:

"My dear sir: The imperious style your Excellency uses in his letters of today far from producing its evident purpose of intimidating, has made me resolve more than ever to oppose the ambitious undertaking Spain has placed under your command, by making all the destruction possible, and in this I will only comply with my

obligation to my King and country, a far more powerful motive than your anger."

"The officer in command of Fort Barrancas-Coloradas, has the order to defend that post to the last extremity; If he has deprived the enemy who now assails us of a shelter, or vantage point for his attacks, he has fulfilled his duty, besides not having molested women and children nor private property.

"I repeat to your Excellency that if he uses the City of Pensacola for his attacks on Fort George or to shelter his troops I have resolved to execute all I have communicated to you.

"Insofar as the observations more immediately connected with me are concerned, as I believe them unmerited, I despise them. God keep your Excellency many years. Headquarters, Pensacola, March 22, 1781. Most Excellent Sir, Your most attentive servitor kisses your Excellency's hand, John Campbell,—Most Excellent Sir, Bernardo de Galvez."

That same night all the troops slept encamped on the shore that faces the Harbor, in order to be ready to pass more quickly to the opposite side where those from Mobile were.

The morning of the 23rd was taken up in the preparation of rafts to send the artillery on the opposite shore, together with tents and ammunition. At 9 o'clock sails were seen on the horizon and immediately they were believed to be the convoy from New Orleans. At four in the afternoon it entered the harbor, without the least loss, excepting unimportant damage to the sails, and that in spite of the fire from Barrancas. The Convoy consisted of 16 vessels, with 1400 men, cannons and ammunition; but three more vessels were missing, that had become separated the night before.

The General issued the necessary orders, so that not only the troops on the ships but also those that found themselves on the Island of Santa Rosa should be in readiness to cross to the mainland on the following morning, in order to unite themselves with those already there.

This same day Colonel Ezpeleta with the Quartermaster, explored the outer harbor in order to move the Camp nearer the City.

On the 24th the General ordered all the troops encamped on the Island of Sta. Rosa to embark on the merchant ships to be transferred by sea to the place selected for the establishment of the Camp on the mainland, in order to besiege Fort George and the others adjacent thereto, which was carried out at four o'clock in the afternoon with exception of 200 men who were left occupying the Island.

On the morning of the 25th two English sailors, deserters from Barancas, arrived at the Camp, and informed the General of the

condition of the fort and its forces. This same morning a party of ambushed Indians, surprised the soldiers who had gone beyond the lines of the outposts, killed and wounded a few, committing their usual cruelty of scalping the bodies of their victims, and others besides.

At noon Lieutenant Colonel Dickson arrived at the Camp, with his baggage and a few English prisoners who resided in Pensacola until they should be called.

On the 26th at the hour of prayer the army took up the march, so as to cut off the point of the outer harbor and come out on the beach and also for the purpose of surprising some Indians and teaching them a lesson. The march through five leagues of impenetrable woods, sown with Indians, was very difficult, and in the obscurity and thickness two parties of soldiers who were going to a given point by different roads had the misfortune of reciprocally mistaking themselves for enemies and firing on one another with the result that several were killed and wounded.

On the 27th the General had the inner harbor explored, which was done in spite of the fire of parties of Indians. At one o'clock in the afternoon Councilor Stibenson arrived from Pensacola, under a flag of truce, with propositions from Governor Chester.

The troops having occupied a spot which was judged suitable to establish them in, the General ordered the troops to encamp, and that the provisions and necessary material for that purpose be brought from the merchant vessels. At 10 o'clock at night a few parties of Indians ambushed near the Camp directed themselves towards the Camp fires made by the soldiers, fired suddenly on these, killing some and wounding others; on this account the Camp was ordered entrenched, and that a few battalion cannons be disembarked, in order to use them with grape shot on the Indians whenever they approached.

On the 28th at noon and after the General had already agreed with Commissioner Stibenson the mutual observance of certain articles referring to the security of the Town of Pensacola, three Spanish sailors, prisoners, who had managed to escape, arrived and reported that they and their companions had been ill-treated by the English, and on this account the General became angry and despatched Stibenson, refusing to agree to any proposition.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon a multitude of about 400 Indians, approached the Camp and opened a brisk fire on the advanced guards, but the white and colored militia from New Orleans went out and a few cannons were brought up, by which means it was possible to make them withdraw for the time being, but at midnight they again attacked the camp from different points and whilst they

were repulsed our troops suffered a few losses in killed and wounded.

On the 29th a launch was sent to Mobile with orders for the ships that were there with artillery and ammunition destined to the Expedition, to set sail immediately.

The General having decided to move the Camp closer to Pensacola, the reshipment of all the field-artillery, supplies and material was ordered, their transportation by land being very difficult.

He ordered the Companies of grenadiers, infantry and other light troops to prepare themselves to march at day-break, and that after the beach of the inner harbor had been occupied by this corps, the rest of the army should disembark in launches and incorporate itself without fear of being attacked.

On the 30th at 5 o'clock in the morning, the Général placed himself at the head of this column of 1100 men, with two field pieces, and in passing through a defile the scouting parties advised that there were Indians ambushed in the vicinity; for this reason he ordered a halt should be made and that they be fired on with a cannon, by which means they were put to flight.

At half past 10 o'clock the General arrived with the column to occupy the beach he had proposed to occupy which is situated within a cannon shot of Fort George, without interference from the enemy. The troops having taken possession of this ground, outposts and sentinels were placed in all the avenues, and all other precautions dictated by prudence and art were taken to better insure safety; and at the same time a message was sent to Colonel Ezpeleta to embark with the rest of the troops and come and incorporate himself into the new camp.

The General afterwards went on board the frigate Clara, to discuss the establishments of Hospitals, and that the ships advance as near as possible to the Camp of the troops.

At one o'clock in the afternoon the rest of the army began to arrive, and shortly afterwards firing was heard from the outposts, occasioned by a party of Indians who had approached; on this account and because the firing increased greatly, it was determined that the light troops set out for the time being to support the outposts, and that the others should advance also to form in battle array and occupy a plain, from which they could be moved with greater facility should the enemy attempt a sortie. A short time after it was seen that in effect troops were coming out of Fort George, and that the fire from the Indians had increased extraordinarily, all of which having been duly noted by Ezpeleta, he ordered that the wings of the army should prolong themselves to a certain distance in order to cut off the enemies' retreat in case they should abandon the field, but the

purpose of these was no other than to support the Indians and attack us with two field pieces they had brought to fire on us with solid shot.

In these circumstances the General arrived, and seeing that the troops engaged were surrounded on all sides by a class of enemies whose real advantage consists in never coming out from the cover of the woods, adopted the plan to attack them with a few companies of light infantry, and with the assistance of two field pieces, this maneuver not only obliged the Indians to retire precipitately, but also compelled the English troops who supported them to retire to the shelter of Fort George, so that at seven o'clock in the evening, the army was already turning up earth to entrench itself, its right wing resting on a house near the beach and its left on the point of the inner harbor. This afternoon there were several killed and wounded, among these the Colonel of the King's Regiment, who died the following day, and two sub-altern officers.

As the General had ordered the landing of the field-artillery, six cannons were immediately placed on the left and two others on the right so as to make use of them if the enemy attacked during the night.

On the 31st the General went to the above mentioned house to observe the City and land in its vicinity, and the troops employed the day in perfecting the trench and erecting some tents that had been apportioned by Companies.

At seven o'clock at night a deserter from the Maryland Regiment arrived with the report that General Campbell planned another sortie like the one of the day before, and that in the City there were 600 equipped troops, 300 sailors, many armed negroes, and a large number of Indians encamped under the shelter of Fort George.

On the first of April at eight o'clock in the morning the Quartermaster set out with a detachment of 500 men to explore a height near the forts of the enemy and a little while after a contingent of about 250 English troops were seen, which maintained itself in observation until the detachment retired.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the General went in his gig to explore the Fort and vicinity of the town of Pensacola, and a little while after three deserters from the Waldek Regiment arrived, but these had nothing to add to what had already been said by the first one. During all this day the troops busied themselves in clearing the woods around the Camp in order to deprive the Indians of this means of sheltering themselves.

At two o'clock in the morning eight deserters from various Regiments arrived with more or less the same reports the others had

made, and at ten the Quartermaster set out to mark the spot of the new camp nearer the place the General had selected to establish his batteries.

At one o'clock in the afternoon two more deserters arrived and reported that General Campbell had determined to open fire of his Forts on our Camp at three o'clock of the same; in view of this the General ordered that two-thirds of the army with their arms and accoutrements should join the Quartermaster in order to help on the trench, cautioning that all the tents be left up, so that the enemy should not know the intention.

At prayer time, the rest of the army retired also, the tents were folded, and the cannons were conducted to the new Camp, and 110 men left occupying the house called Nihil, until further orders.

The troops spent the night quietly without being molested by the enemy. At seven o'clock in the morning an English schooner set sail in the interior of the Harbor, and having seen this, two launches from the war ships and one from the brig Galveztown set out and captured it without opposition.

On the third the General ordered the 110 men who had been left at the Nihil house to retire and that two companies of light infantry go near there daily to protect desertion, and that the launches with provisions and other property of the army should always come by the creek of the inner harbor which protected his rear, inasmuch as there was sufficient water to facilitate transportation.

In the afternoon the General ordered the Royal Navy to take four English ships that had been abandoned and were at anchor near the town, among these there was one frigate of war called Port Royal with 60 Spanish prisoners on board, and that the brig Galveztown go to the Scambier River to do the same with several schooners, also abandoned, and which had been reported by deserters.

At four in the morning, Colonel Ezpeleta again went out with the Quartermaster to examine the hill from which it was planned to attack Fort George and several workmen were engaged to lay out the Camp, thus avoiding that the Indians should ambush themselves and molest us.

On the 5th, the chiefs of the Talapuz Nation arrived at the Camp; the General listened to their mission and it was agreed that they should supply the camp with fresh meat.

The clearing of the woods was continued during the morning and afternoon and it was decided as an urgent measure to construct two redoubts on the creek of the inner harbor so as to protect the launches from the attacks of the Indians who fired on them from various places.

At midnight they approached the Camp and fired, and we had an officer wounded in his tent.

At 6 o'clock in the morning the General went with the Quarter-master and several Engineers to examine the above mentioned hill, and select another closer place for the establishment of the camp.

During the day the troops continued to clear the woods and began to haul the ammunition which was being landed.

At seven o'clock in the morning it was reported to the General that the brig Galveztown had captured a polacre and three schooners near the River Scambier, and a Lieutenant from the Maryland Regiment presented himself to the General asking to serve under his orders, for having become involved with his Captain he left the English service, and was walking towards Georgia when he heard of our arrival.

Through this officer and several deserters the General learned that the Indians were retiring; that they busied themselves in robbing the houses of the inhabitants and in burning all those they could in the country that several terrified families had asked permission to embark in the brig Galveztown, and that Mr. Deans, Captain of the British Royal Navy's frigate Mentor, had burned his ship to avoid its capture by the Spaniards.

On this same morning the General dispatched the Talapuz Chiefs on a mission to the Indians of the English faction, to persuade them not to take part either on one side or the other during this war, and to bring all the cattle they could.

In the afternoon work was begun on the two redoubts of the inner harbor in such a way that their fire would be flanking, so as to keep the Indians as far away as possible.

On the 8th the General wrote to Mobile so that a few Indians from the tribes most friendly to Spain should come for the purpose of persuading those who still continued attacking the Camp to retire, and for the purpose also of employing them in bringing all the cattle they could.

On the morning of the ninth Councilor Stibenson arrived at the Camp under a flag of truce, sent by Governor Chester to inform the General that a detachment of English troops in the City of Pensacola was there only for the purpose of protecting it against the daily disorders of the Indians and to avoid conflagrations.

In the afternoon he received a letter from the same Chester advising that he had liberated 11 Spanish prisoners he still had.

A deserter also arrived, who said that the defenses of Fort George were being daily strengthened and that a detachment of 300 Creek Indians had just arrived.

At 10 o'clock a soldier from the Louisiana Regiment deserted, and another from the Regiment of the Prince was shot for insubordination to his Sergeant.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Quartermaster set out to select a place for a new Camp, nearer to where it was desired to attack, and on this same day the redoubts were finished with four cannons each, and the Navy took charge of its defense.

On the 11th a deserter arrived and said that the one who passed over to the enemy had informed General Campbell that the army consisted of 3000 men, etc. That this General expected a re-inforcement of Indians and considerable help from Jaimaca and had written the day before to Georgia, requesting assistance to throw us out of the country.

On the 12th, at six o'clock in the morning, the Camp was moved to the above mentioned place and the troops endeavored to entrench themselves as best they could; upon the angles that faced the avenues several field pieces were placed, and a redoubt was begun in order to occupy ground that guaranteed the safety of the Camp. During all this maneuver the enemy did not fire, but at one o'clock opened with several elevated shots at us from Fort George.

At four o'clock the outposts reported that several divisions were coming out of the Fort probably to attack us from different points. A while after several parties of Indians advanced and fired on the companies of light infantry that defied them; the General ordered that another go to their support with instructions not to intern themselves in the wood on account of the advantage this gave the Indians as had been learned by previous experience.

Our light infantry replied to the fire of the Indians and English troops that supported them with the greatest firmness; but seeming to the General that a continuation of this would compel him to fight too long, he ordered the companies to retire to the protection of the nearest battery and that the enemy be fired upon with grape shot whenever he approached.

A quarter of an hour after the General was advised that the enemies were approaching from three different points with two small cannons, for which reason he advanced to explore the place to which they seemed to be going in order to cut off their retreat; and having arrived at one of the advanced batteries a bullet struck him which went through one of the fingers of his left hand and furrowed his abdomen, and having retired to his tent to allow the surgeons to bind his wounds, he ordered Major-General Ezpeleta to take command on his own account and in his (Galvez's name), and to order whatever

necessary to execute promptly, until his wounds permitted him to again supervise all things.

Those of our batteries that had begun firing continued to do so against the Indians until these were obliged to retire, then it ceased on both sides without further loss to us than one killed and nine wounded.

On the 13th 1000 men were destined to clear the woods around the Camp, work on the redoubt and transport the artillery and material from the former Camp.

On the 14th at six o'clock in the morning, 600 men went out to construct fascines, and work was begun on an excavation which was to serve as a powder magazine.

At four o'clock in the afternoon a deserter from the Maryland Regiment arrived, and after being examined by the General, said among other things that on the afternoon of the 12th, there had been several Indians wounded and an English officer killed.

At eight o'clock a horrible tempest of rain, wind and thunder occurred, which greatly disturbed the Camp on account of its duration. The soldiers' ammunition became useless and for this reason they were ordered to use the bayonet in case the enemy should attempt a sortie, until such time as new ammunition could be provided; most of the tents fell to the ground, including the hospital tent, and the surgeons prognosticated that many of the wounded would die of convulsions, and the fears that this might happen to our General greatly worried everyone.

On the morning of the 13th all work was suspended, so that the soldiers might dry their clothes and put their arms in good conditions.

In the afternoon 700 men were destined to make fascines, and haul the ammunition that now began to arrive, and 66 Indians of the Chastae Nation that the General had asked for in Mobile arrived also, and encamped between the camp and the redoubt which had just been finished.

There also arrived a deserter from the Cavalry who reported that Fort George had suffered some slight damage from the storm and that the English troops would desert every time opportunity offered.

On the morning of the 17th, a company of the light infantry of Navarra, captured a courier with several official and private letters for the Commandant of the Red-Clift's Fort. In one of these General Campbell assured that Admiral Rowley would send him considerable help, that his troops would defend themselves to the last extremity, and that whilst there was some desertion, far from this causing him any anxiety it augmented his confidence, for those truly soldiers re-

mained, and that besides the arrival of the Creek Indians, he expected considerable re-inforcements from other friendly nations.

The construction of fascines and the carting of ammunition was continued by the troops during all of this day.

On the 18th, a settee and a brig from Havana entered the harbor with provisions, without the fire from Red-Clift's causing them any loss. From the papers they brought for the General was learned the joyful news that his father, the President of Guatemala, had dislodged the English from the Castle of Nicaragua, and to celebrate this the General ordered that the heavy artillery in the Camp fire a triple salute, and the same thing was communicated to the Navy.

This same day the Engineers went to explore the crescent battery of the salient of Fort George without the enemy noticing it, and three deserters who arrived ratified the report that on the same day the army had broken camp near the Nihil house General Campbell had planned to fire on it with forty cannons, and several howitzers and mortars.

At eleven o'clock at night there was some firing from the Indians against the outposts, without any except very slight damage.

On the morning of the 19th another exploration of the crescent battery was made, and measurements taken of the distance from it to the place best suited to reduce it, and this new exploration was indispensable as we had no exact plans, and the country was wooded and each step was a risk and a clash with the Indians.

At two o'clock the General was informed that fourteen vessels some of them ships of war were in sight, which caused a great deal of preoccupation as it was deemed likely to be the help the enemy expected.

At four o'clock it was reported to him twenty-one were in sight and that they seemed to be Spanish, but as he had received no news in the mail from Havana which had arrived the day before, nor had he asked for help, his preoccupation increased, and in order to remove all doubts at once, he ordered a commissioned officer to repair to the bay and report on the matter so as to provide for it.

At eight o'clock this officer returned and affirmed that the Chiefs of Squadron D. Joseph Solano and Mr. Monteill were near the Island of Santa Rosa with 15 ships, 3 frigates, and other vessels and a landing party of 1600 men under the command of the Field Marshall D. Juan Manuel Cagigall, to reinforce the army.

On the morning of the 20th, the Adjutants of the Squadron came to the Camp to inform the General that, advices having been received in Havana that 8 English ships, several transports and frigates had been sighted from Cape San Antonio, it was presumed

that this might be the relief expedition for Pensacola, and that thus our attempt might fail, for which reason the Council of Generals had determined to embark the said troops on the referred to ships.

The two adjutants in the names of Sr. Solano and Mr. Monteill were also commissioned to offer the assistance of the artillery troops and crews of their ships, to which the General acquiesced in order that they also might share in the glory of this conquest. They also told the General that the frigate "Francesca la Andromaca" had stranded near the coast, and that in order to float it, they had seen themselves compelled to throw several cannons into the sea.

This day was employed in making fascines and in carting the artillery and war munitions.

On the 21st the heavy sea did not permit the disembarking of troops, but several schooners were destined to receive them at the ships' sides.

During the afternoon the French cutter "Serpent" entered the harbor with field marshal D. Juan Manuel Cagigal and Don Francisco Saavedra on board, who immediately went to see the General and remained with him. Red-Cliffs fired sixteen cannon shots at the cutter as it entered but not one hit the hull or rigging. That same afternoon the squadron came to anchor in 7 fathoms of water about half a league from land as so to be in readiness for the landing of the troops which began to take place at night.

On the morning of the 22nd, Field Marshall Cagigal, the Major-General and the Quartermaster went out to examine the point of attack of the crescent battery, and being discovered by the enemy they were fired upon with cannon and compelled to retire.

On this same morning two companies of French light infantry, and those of the artillery of the same nation, entered the camp and were assigned a camping place.

During the rest of the day other troops of the Army and Navy, with their officers began to arrive and a place was assigned to them; and so that all services should be rendered with due exactitude the General ordered that the army be formed into four Brigades, the first under command of Brigadier D. Geronimo Giron, another under command of Colonel D. Manuel Pineda, another one under command of Colonel D. Francisco Longoria, the fourth under the command of the Capitan of ship D. Felipe Lopez Carrizosa, and the French Division under command of the Capitan of Ship Mr. de Boiderout.

On the 23rd at 10 o'clock in the morning the Quartermaster went out with a detachment of light infantry to survey the parallel lines of the crescent batteries, and this operation being observed by the enemy a brisk fire was begun on the detachment.

At noon a deserter arrived and reported that General Campbell thought of establishing a new provisional battery on one side of the crescent, and that very night the garrison slept on their arms as a surprise was feared.

On the morning of the 24th, Brigadier Giron went with two engineers to the place where the two new batteries were to be established; but the enemy who soon discovered the companies of light infantry that accompanied them, commenced to fire with cannon, thus enabling a force to come out and support the Indians who already annoyed us with their musketry; the light infantry returned the fire that was made on it with a great deal of firmness, now advancing and now retiring, according to the circumstances; but as the firing continued for quite a time, the General ordered two more companies to go out of the Camp in support of the others. This lasted for more than one hour and in the skirmish we had fifteen soldiers wounded, and although we do not know the losses of the enemy, we do know that several Indians remained dead on the field, besides one who came over to the Camp that same morning.

During the afternoon the Indians accompanied by some troops again annoyed the outposts and after firing for some time retired, having wounded three soldiers. At prayer time all the artillery of Fort George, in the crescent and circle began to salute and a short while after muskets were discharged, without our knowing then the cause of this rejoicing.

On the 25th a few companies of light infantry left the Camp to accompany the Commandant of Artillery and a few French officers who went to inspect the point of attack, and a little while after their arrival there, several Indians fired on them, which was replied to by the light infantry who retreated with five wounded.

At eleven o'clock in the morning, Councillor Stibenson arrived at the Camp under a flag of truce from the Governor of Pensacola, Peter Chester, to treat of several particulars concerning the neutrality of the town; and he said that the salutes of the night before had been to celebrate the recent successes that Lord Cornwallis had obtained against the Americans.

At one in the afternoon a deserter from the Cavalry arrived, exaggerating greatly the forces of the enemy, and, appearing suspicious to the General, the man was ordered aboard ship to be securely kept.

On the 26th at four in the afternoon the engineers set out with five companies of grenadiers and light infantry, to trace the trench that was to be dug that night and to examine the crescent for the last time; but when they had about half finished this operation they

were compelled to stop on account of the many parties of Indians who, sustained by 200 troops commenced to fire on them; our people replied and attacked them with two field pieces they carried, obliging them to retire precipitately to the crescent; but this battery began to fire with heavy artillery and several howitzers preventing for the time being the conclusion of the exploration; nevertheless unequivocal signs were left to distinguish during the night the place where the trench should begin to be dug.

At ten o'clock at night 700 laborers with 300 fascines, sustained by 800 grenadiers and light infantry, set out to begin this work in the said place; to arrive there it was necessary to traverse a thick wood, and the way was made more difficult on account of the great number of trees that had been cut and pits that had been dug from place to place, for which reason, and also because strict silence had to be observed, the march was taken up at a slow pace.

On the 27th, it was already one o'clock and all the troops had not yet been posted at the avenues; the night was dark, with thunder, much lightening and some showers. These considerations and that, that probably the troops would not have time to take to cover before the break of day, was the cause that the work was suspended for the time being, and the troops returned to camp at three o'clock in the morning, leaving two companies of grenadiers posted thereabouts for observation purposes.

After the break of day two companies of light infantry were sent to relieve these, with the order that they prevent the enemy from exploring the ground or removing the signals left for the opening of the trench.

At eight o'clock in the morning two deserters arrived and among the things they told the General, they did not omit to say that the enemy continued to prepare to defend themselves to the last extremity.

At nine o'clock shots were heard in the direction where the light infantry was posted, and at the same time the General was informed that the enemy was cutting trees in front of the crescent, and fearing they might entrench themselves in its shelter and frustrate our plans in those parts, he ordered that four companies with two field pieces should go out immediately, so that in union with the others they might protect the engineers who were again surveying the line; and that once this was accomplished, the cutting of trees was to be prevented and the enemy kept away without exposing the troops too much.

After the engineers had finished their operations without being noticed by the English, the four companies went to the place where

the trees were being cut, and discovered that in effect work had been started on a small parapet, and that two field pieces were already emplaced near a point that our parallel lines followed.

After a while they fired with these, to which we replied briskly with the two we carried and with the musket, and they would have been thrown out of this place had they not found themselves supported by the crescent, that began to throw bombs and royal grenades, until one o'clock in the afternoon when our troops were relieved, having suffered the loss of four dead and twelve wounded. In the afternoon two soldiers from the Louisiana Regiment deserted, for which reason the trench was not dug that night although the orders had been given.

At eleven o'clock at night a deserter arrived at the camp, and on being examined by the General said that in the place there were more than 600 regular troops excluding the sailors, negroes and civilians who took up arms; that the number of Indians was about 400 and that a new battery was being installed to the right of the crescent in order to increase the defense.

On the morning of the 28th, 200 laborers set out to open a street in the woods so that the troops could go to the place where the trench had to be opened, and this same morning two Irish soldiers and a Louisiana corporal deserted.

In the afternoon the same workmen with the necessary tools began to construct a covered road to enable them to go to a small hill where it had been decided to establish a battery so as to divert the fire of Fort George, whilst the premeditated one was effected against the crescent.

At eight o'clock at night 700 laborers with 350 fascines and supported by 800 men left the Camp to carry out this idea.

At eleven o'clock the General was informed that the digging of the trench had begun without this having been noticed by the enemy, and a little later the Quartermaster and the Engineer of the detail arrived and informed the General that all the troops were under cover and that the work advanced rapidly.

On the 29th at four o'clock in the morning the laborers were relieved to perfect the trench and continue the opening of the covered road.

At six o'clock the enemy observed the work that had been done and began to fire cannons and mortars to annoy us; and several parties of them who approached to explore the trench with two field pieces were vigorously repulsed with two others that were placed at the head and tail of it. At half past eleven the fire of the enemy stopped, probably to cool their artillery.

At eight o'clock at night 800 men of arms left the Camp to relieve those in the trench, and 600 to begin the construction of a battery of 6 cannons of 24 and several mortars, that it was proposed to make on a height suitable for the purpose of diverting the enemies fire, whilst another was being constructed closer. 600 men were also destined to continue the trench and to construct two redoubts to the right and left of it for its defense.

At nine o'clock the fire from cannon, howitzers and mortars was renewed, but at some interval.

On the 30th at one o'clock at night the fire of the enemy ceased until day break when it began anew with the greatest rapidity, and whilst it lasted we only suffered the loss of one man, one officer and one soldier seriously wounded.

At seven o'clock a deserter arrived and assured that in the glacis of Fort George, the construction of a battery of small calibre cannons had begun.

All this day was taken up in widening the trench, perfecting the batteries of cannons and mortars and in finishing the said two redoubts without the enemy firing on us any more.

At eight o'clock at night the men of arms and laborers were relieved and the four mortars were brought to the battery.

At day break on the first of May the enemies began to fire with several cannons, 3 mortars, and 4 howitzers, and this continued without interruption until 10 o'clock in the morning, and from that hour on they still fired but very slowly; but having noticed that work was proceeding on the road that lead from the trench to the battery, they augmented it extraordinarily, to such an extent that the General thought it best to suspend the work.

But the work was kept during the night in spite of the bombs and royal grenades and a battery of six cannons of 24 was emplaced provided with everything necessary.

On the 2nd at half past five in the morning, the enemy again began to annoy us with their fire, and in order to draw their attention the General ordered our cannons to begin, which was kept up until prayer time when the enemies stopped theirs.

During the afternoon the Quartermaster went out with the other engineers to trace the line for the prolongation of the trench so as to occupy Pine Hill, in which place another battery of greater strength was to be constructed to attack the crescent. At eight o'clock at night 800 soldiers and as many laborers left the Camp to begin these new works.

The Quartermaster and Engineer of the detail arrived at midnight to inform the General that the troops were already under cover

and had not been seen by the enemy; they added that work was progressing on the crescent in order to repair the parapet which had been damaged by the fire of our cannon.

On the 3rd at day break, the enemy discovered the new trench situated 225 toises from the first Fort and began to fire mortars and howitzers against the workmen who continued their labors, but our battery replied with such vigor that it silenced the crescent during more than two hours.

At nine o'clock in the morning four deserters arrived and on being examined by the General said that the several bombs that had fallen in the crescent and Fort George had occasioned severe losses and that our cannons had dismounted two of those and at the same time destroyed two merlons that had been repaired the night before.

Our battery fire kept the crescent and circle busy for the rest of the day with its good aim. At prayer time both sides ceased and 800 men of arms left the Camp to relieve those in the trench, and 860 laborers went out to prolong it and form redoubts at its end in order to safeguard it theré.

The 4th. Although all night was taken up in working for the conclusion of the trench and construction of the redoubt, the time was not sufficient for the formation of the gun embrasures, so that the soldier could with difficulty fire from the parapet of these works, nor was it possible to remain outside on account of the hail of shot thrown from the crescent.

All the morning the enemy directed a fairly well aimed cannon fire on this part, but particularly at one o'clock they took it up with such vigor with cannister, bombs and grenades that they obliged the troops to use of every means they judged adequate to free themselves. At this moment parties of English troops that had left the crescent without being seen and for that premeditated purpose, attacked the redoubt that was held by a company of the Mallorca grenadiers and half a company of Hibernians. At this juncture the troops although encouraged by their officers, the Captain and Second Lieutenant of Mallorca having been killed, and the First Lieutenant seriously wounded, as also the Captain and Lieutenant of the Hibernians, at the first onslaught retired to the second redoubt where the enemy pursued them with cold steel, but these soon returned to the first one they had captured.

At the first advice of this occurrence the General ordered Colonel Ezpeleta to go with four companies of light infantry and dislodge the enemy; but before this Colonel had time to reach the spot, they had already retired, leaving the trench on fire, four field pieces spiked and besides carrying away the Captain and Lieutenant of the

Hibernians and the officers of the same grade from the Mallorca Regiment, for these being seriously wounded were unable to retire.

The losses experienced in this blow were eighteen killed and sixteen wounded, exclusive of the officers.

During the afternoon the trench and redoubt were repaired and four new cannons emplaced; and during the night the enemies directed a fire from mortars and howitzers on this spot.

On the 5th workmen were busied in carrying fascines, cotton bales and sacks to form an embankment in the shelter of which the premeditated battery might be mounted.

During the night four deserters arrived, but they could not tell the General the number of the forces that had attacked the redoubt.

The fire of the enemy was fairly brisk, and from prayer time was entirely directed to the left, which caused the loss of several killed and wounded.

During the night there was a violent tempest of wind, thunder and rain, which flooded all the camp, particularly the trench, for which reason work was suspended; and the squadron found itself compelled to let go its moorings and make sail for fear of being dashed on the shore.

On the morning of the 6th in consideration of the bad night they had passed the General ordered that the troops in the trench be relieved and they be given a ration of grog.

At seven o'clock our battery began to play with particularly good aim on the crescent, but this one occupied itself mostly in annoying the troops on the left to prevent the attacks.

At 9 o'clock two howitzers that had been placed in the redoubt at the tail of the trench began to fire and continued to do so very vigorously during the rest of the day.

At prayer time the firing ceased on both sides, but at nine o'clock the enemy resumed it with bombs and grenades, causing us enough loss.

At 10 o'clock work was begun on an embankment on the redoubt to the left in order to form a shelter behind which a battery of cannons could be made, and the General desiring to shorten the siege and teach the enemy a lesson ordered 700 men of the grenadiers and light infantry to assault the crescent whilst the Fort would be alarmed in such a way as to distract its attention.

On the 7th at one o'clock in the morning the troops set out under command of Brigadier D. Geronimo Giron, with all the necessary equipment to overcome all the obstacles that might be found at the mouth of the crescent; but in order to arrive there without being seen it was necessary to go around a small hill thickly wooded with pine

trees, and day was fast approaching when the troops arrived where they were to halt in order to attack precipitately; as a consequence far from surprising the enemy, it would find it under arms as is usual at this hour. With this knowledge, General Ezpeleta, who found himself in the trench for the purpose of reinforcing Giron if he needed it, advised the General that the execution of this plan having been retarded for the mentioned reason, it would be best to suspend it, as it lacked but little for day-break, upon learning which the General immediately ordered the return of the troops, which was done without the enemy being aware of the movement.

At six o'clock in the morning our left again suffered the fire of the crescent, and it was observed that the loopholes that faced our battery had been covered up, probably to protect themselves from its fire.

At eight o'clock in the morning some of the fascines of the crescent began to burn, but they extinguished them in half an hour.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon work was begun on the projected battery in spite of the fire of the enemy, which work was hurriedly continued during the night.

On the 8th at five o'clock in the morning only the esplanades to emplace the artillery remained to be finished, so that if work was actively pushed these could go into action at noon.

At 6' clock the fire from the crescent was renewed, to which we replied with two howitzers from the redoubts, with such success, that one of our grenades having fired the powder magazine it blew up the crescent with 105 men of the garrison.

When this occurred the General ordered Brigadier Giron with the troops from the trench and General Ezpeleta with several companies of light infantry to go and occupy the ground whilst a column set out from the Camp to fulfill all that was necessary.

After the troops were seen in the above place the middle Fort began to fire with cannister and musketry; but the two howitzers and two cannons having been carried from the redoubt, these were brought up and the enemy's fire vigorously replied to and during this time the troops did the same with muskets under cover of the ruins of the crescent.

The firing continued until three o'clock in the afternoon when Fort George hoisted the white flag and an Adjutant of General Campbell's came to propose a suspension until the following day in order to capitulate. The General went immediately to the place where the officer waited for him, and not having acceded to the suspension, Campbell proposed several articles, some being granted

and others refused. At one o'clock at night both Generals came to an agreement.

On the 9th the capitulation was drawn up in the terms expressed in the annexed note, and signed.

On the 10th at three o'clock in the afternoon six companies of grenadiers and the light infantry of the French Brigade, formed 500 yards from Fort George, and at that distance the General came out with his troops and after having surrendered the flag of the Waldek Regiment and one from the artillery they laid down their arms with the usual ceremonies. Immediately two companies of grenadiers were told off to take possession of Fort George, and the light infantry from the French Brigade did the same with the circular battery.

On the 11th a detachment was sent out to take possession of the Red-Cliffs Fort on the Barrancas, whose garrison consisted of 139 men including officers. This Fort had 11 cannons mounted, of which 5 were of 32 calibre. On the same day the General gave orders to begin the inventory of the provisions, artillery, supplies and ammunition in the Forts conquered, and to the Major General and other Chiefs of the Expedition that they begin to re-embark all that was on land in order not to lose a moment's time in returning the troops to Havana.

The total number of prisoners reaches the sum of 1113 men, who added to the 105 blown up in the crescent, 56 deserters that had presented themselves during the siege, and 300 who whilst the capitulation was being drawn up retired to Georgia, shows that the garrison was composed of about 1600 men, without counting the many negroes that helped in its defense, the dead they had before, and the multitude of Indians that inundated the woods and country. Besides the prisoners, there are 101 women and 123 children, to whom rations have been accorded as they are dependent on these; so that today the number that are considered such reaches 1347.

The losses the enemy has occasioned the army during the siege are 75 killed and 198 wounded, as appears in the statement of the Major-General annexed herewith. The Navy has lost 21 men and has had 4 wounded. Pensacola, the 13th of May, 1781. Bernardo de Galvez.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION CONCERTED and agreed to between Sr. D. Bernardo de Galvez, Pensioned Knight of the Royal and distinguished Order of Charles the III, Field Marshal of the Royal Armies of H. Catholic M., Inspector, Superintendent and Governor General of the Province of Louisiana and Commandant General of the Expedition; and the Most Excellent Sirs Peter Chester, Esquire, Governor-Commandant in Chief, Chancellor and Vice-

Admiral for H. Britannic M. in the Province of Western Florida, and John Campbell, Field Marshal and Commandant General of the Troops of H. Britannic M. in the said Province.

ARTICLE I.

All the Forts and posts at present occupied by the Troops of H. B. M. will be (within the specified time) delivered to those of H. C. M. The English soldiers and sailors will go out with all the honors of war, arms shouldered, drums beating, flags flying, two field guns with six cartridges, and the same number for each soldier, to within 500 yards of their different posts, where they will give up their arms, and the officers shall retain their swords, following which they will be embarked as promptly as possible in well conditioned ships provided for at the expense of H. C. M. to be conducted to any of the ports of Great Britain that General Campbell may select. The troops and sailors are to be under the immediate direction of their respective officers, and will not be able to serve against Spain or her allies until an exchange is verified for an equal number of Spanish prisoners or those of her allies, in accordance with the established custom in equality of rank and other equivalent things.

ARTICLE I.

Conceded, excepting only the ports of the Island of Jamaica and that of St. Augustine, Florida; and in the matter of the exchange of prisoners, the Spaniards are to be preferred over their allies, and they will be sent for exchange to ports of Spain at the expense of H. B. M.

ARTICLE II.

The general staff, Commissaries, store-keepers, and generally all individuals who by their calling or employment depend upon the troops will be included in the foregoing article.

ARTICLE II.

Conceded.

ARTICLE III.

A well-conditioned ship, provided with all necessary equipment at the expense of H. C. M. will serve as a Hospital for the sick and wounded who are able to accompany the other troops to the port selected for their retirement; good treatment will be given to those who remain, and as soon as they are able they will be sent in a ship under flag of truce to the same place.

ARTICLE III.

Conceded, but General Campbell must leave Commissaries, Surgeons and medicines for the assistance of the sick at the expense of H. B. M., to be transported after at the expense of H. C. M., as is the rest of the garrison.

ARTICLE IV.

The Captain and officers of the Navy will retain the servants granted by the regulations, and these will be included in the first article.

ARTICLE IV.

Conceded.

ARTICLE V.

All officers, soldiers and sailors that compose the garrison of the Forts and posts included in this Capitulation will be allowed to keep without harm or annoyance all their private property, baggage and personal effects, and will be allowed to embark them in the ships that in accordance with the first article must be destined, or they may sell them in Pensacola.

ARTICLE V.

Conceded insofar as baggage and equipment is concerned as is customary in the Army.

ARTICLE VI.

All necessary papers for the auditing of accounts in England or any other place will be preserved.

ARTICLE VI.

Conceded, after they have been examined.

ARTICLE VII.

A ship which the then Commandant of the Navy at Pensacola sent to Havana under flag of truce will be sent to the same port as the troops and sailors of this garrison as is stipulated in the first article.

ARTICLE VII.

Conceded.

ARTICLE VIII.

A commodious and well-provisioned ship shall be furnished at the expense of H. C. M. to transport the Governor, his family and good goods to Great Britain, or to any other of H. B. M. governments in North America as he may elect; and whilst he remains in the Province he will occupy the Government House in the City of Pensacola, protecting his person, goods and effects which will not be searched before or upon his departure.

ARTICLE VIII.

Conceded, with the exception that he will take any other except the Government House he solicits.

ARTICLE IX.

Another commodious and well provisioned ship will be furnished with all necessary equipment at the expense of H. C. M. to transport Major-General John Campbell, his suite and family and all his goods and effects to Great Britain, or any other port of H. B. M. in North America, if he should so elect; and whilst he remains in the Province he shall receive decent lodgings for himself, his suite and family, and shall be protected as also his papers, goods and effects, which shall not be searched before nor at the time of his departure.

ARTICLE IX.

Conceded.

ARTICLE X.

Commissioners will be named reciprocally to make an inventory of the Artillery, ammunition, supplies, and provisions in the warehouses of H. B. M. in the different Forts and posts of the Province and these will deliver it to the Commandant General of the Spanish troops.

ARTICLE X.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XI.

The officers of the Navy and of the garrisons in the Province who must remain in Pensacola to wind up their private affairs will be allowed to do so for such time as they may require.

ARTICLE XI.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XII.

The Province will remain to H. C. M. until the time that Their B. and C. Majesties determine its fate; in which time, Civilian officials of the Navy and Army who remain, the Merchants and other inhabitants will not be obliged on any account to take up arms against H. B. M. his allies or any other power, and under no circumstances or pretext will suffer damages in their person, goods or effects on sea or on land at the hands of H. C. M. vassals they being protected as are the vassals of the King of Spain.

ARTICLE XII.

The Province will remain for Spain, and the inhabitants will be treated in accordance with the Capitulation of Baton Rouge, with the extention of four months to enable them to leave.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Judges and other Civil officials of the Government who do not remain to wind up their affairs, will also be transported to Great Britain or any other Government in North America they may select in well conditioned ships at the expense of H. C. M., with their families all their goods, effects and papers, and these will not be examined.

ARTICLE XIII.

Flags of truce will be granted for them to retire but at their expense.

ARTICLE XIV.

To all Civilian Officials of the Navy and Army who remain for the purpose of arranging their affairs after the ships destined for the transportation of others to Great Britain or any other place as is mentioned in the preceeding articles have left, as also to merchants and other persons whilst their presence is necessary in the Province, and also to those whose representatives have to absent themselves, and again to those who are absent themselves, their rights and privileges will be conserved and they will be maintained in the pacific and tranquil possession of their property and personal effects movable or real, or of whatever other class they may be, and they will have the right to sell same at their pleasure as they would have done before now, and they may employ the proceeds thereof in what they esteem most advantageous to be transported at their cost with their families to whatever part of H. B. M. dominions they choose, in ships under flags of truce, which will be provided for them with the necessary

passports for their safety, as also that of their families and goods against any harm that might befall them at the hands of the vassals of H. C. M. or his allies.

ARTICLE XIV.

Conceded for one year.

ARTICLE XV.

The inhabitants, of whatever class they may be will not be compelled to give lodgings to the troops of H. C. M.; the conditions of the free negroes, mulatoes and octoroos will be respected.

ARTICLE XVI.

The inhabitants will furnish lodgings to the troops only when necessary, and not more; regarding the liberty of the negroes and mulatoes, conceded, provided General Campbell grants the liberty of a negro captured in the village.

ARTICLE XVI.

No restriction will be placed placed on the free exercise of religion, as has been the practice heretofore.

ARTICLE XVI.

Conceded for the period of one year until the King my Lord decides.

ARTICLE XVII.

The negroes who have been hired out to work on the fortifications will not be taken from their owners, but these will be entitled to keep them along with the rest of their property.

ARTICLE XVII.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The books, registers, and public papers in the Archives of the Government and in others will remain in the care of the same Officials in whose charge they were; on no account will it be permitted to withdraw them unless they have been lost or mislaid.

ARTICLE XVIII.

All public documents will be delivered to the person I shall designate; in case they are not useful for the Government of the Province they will be returned to the Civil authorities.

ARTICLE XIX.

The inhabitants and all other persons of whatever class these may be who may have taken arms in defense of the Province will under no circumstances be molested.

ARTICLE XIX.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XX.

Two covered wagons will be furnished that will go out with the troops and these will not be searched.

ARTICLE XX.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XXI.

All cattle and other provisions taken from the inhabitants of this Province for the subsistence of H. C. M. troops will be fully paid at prices established at the place they were taken.

ARTICLE XXI.

This article is useless inasmuch as no cattle or any other thing has been taken from the inhabitants.

ARTICLE XXII.

It will be permitted to the Governor and Commandant of the troops, if they so desire, to send advices of this Capitulation in ships under flags of truce, or by other means to the Governor of East Florida, Commander in Chief in North America or to Jamaica or Great Britain.

ARTICLE XXII.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XXIII.

All prisoners made by the arms of Spain since the 9th of March will be united to the Garrisons of the Posts they must leave so as to be on the same footing stipulated in Article I; and all the Spaniards that have given their parole in Pensacola or who are now in custody of the English troops will be given their liberty, with the exception of those who have not fulfilled their parole.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The negroes who from fright have fled from Pensacola during the seige, shall be returned to their owners.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Conceded, should this incur any inconvenience their appraised value will be given.

ARTICLE XXV.

Lodgings will be provided for the troops and sailors until such a time as the vessels mentioned in the first article are available.

ARTICLE XXV.

Conceded.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Good faith will have to be observed in the full and entire execution of this Capitulation, and should any question arise not provided for by the foregoing articles it will be declared under the understanding that the intention of the contracting parties is that the determination most in accord with the dictates of humanity and generous thought will be taken.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Conceded.

Fort George, March 9th, 1781—Peter Chester, John Campbell.
Camp of Pensacola, May 9th, 1781—Bernardo de Galvez.

Additional Articles**ARTICLE XXVII.**

In case a few or many English soldiers and sailors who are now absent from their respective Corps and fugitives in the woods are taken by the troops of Spain, they will be considered as if part of the garrison, and if as such they are apprehended before the departure of the other troops, they will be permitted to join them, and if after, they will be included in the Hospital ship with the sick and wounded in accordance with Article III, so as to leave at the same time with the garrison.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Conceded, unless they present themselves as deserters.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

On no account whatsoever will the English soldiers and sailors be asked to take the service of Spain or her allies. Peter Chester, John Campbell.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

Conceded, but if they present themselves of their own accord, protection will be granted to them.—Bernardo de Galvez.

Concurs with the original.—Bernardo de Galvez.

Statement of the dead and wounded which the army under command of the Field Marshall D. Bernardo de Galvez, has sustained since its landing on the Island of Santa Rosa until the 8th of May that the City of Pensacola surrendered.

Month of March	OFFICERS	Dead of all Classes	Wounded
25th		1	1
26th		8	10
27th		5	4
28th	The Colonel of the King D. Luis Rebolo, dead	4	4
30th	The Lieutenant of Soria D. Antonio Figueroa, wounded.	5	15
31st April		1	00
7th		00	1
8th		1	1
12th	The Commandant General Field Marshall D. Bernardo de Galvez, wounded. The Captain of Navarro d. Joseph Sammaniega, wounded.	1	6
22nd		00	2
24th	Sublieutenant of Hibernia D. Felipe O-Reyli, wounded.	00	5
25th		00	9
26th		2	1
27th	The Sublieutenant of Guadalajara D. Francisco Castanon, wounded.	3	6
28th		00	2
29th	The Sublieutenant of Louisiana D. Francisco Godeau, dead.	2	1
30th May		1	00
1st		00	3
2nd		00	3
3rd		1	4
	Total	35	78

Month of May	Carried forward OFFICERS	Dead of all Classes	
		19	Wounded
4th	The Captain of Mallaorca D. Salvado Rueca, dead. The Sublieutenant of the same, D. Francisco Aragon, dead. The Lieutenant of Hibernia D. Timoteo O'Dali, dead. The Captain of the same, D. Hugo O'Connor, wounded. The Lieutenant of Mallorca D. Juan Xaramillo, wounded.		
5th			
6th	The Sergeant Major of Soria D. Joseph Urraca, wounded. The Engineer of Volunteers D. Gilverto Guilmar, wounded. The Captain of Aragon D. Mateo Arreda, wounded The Lieutenant of the same, D. Joseph Molina, wounded. The Lieutenant of Navarra D. Ramon Gracia, wounded. The Capitain of the permanent of Havana, C. Francisco Onoro, wounded.	1	12
7th	The Capitain of Navarra D. Bartolome de Vargas, dead. The Sublieutenant of the King, D. Pascual Couget, wounded.	4	17
8th	The Sublieutenant of Hibernia, D. Tomas Fitz- morin, dead. The Sublieutenant of Soria, D. Juan Vigodet, wounded. Mr. D. Elpese and Mr. de Villeneuve, 1st and 2nd Capitains of the Regiment of Angenois,wounded.	13	60
	Total	74	198

Pensacola, 12th of May, 1781.

Joseph de Espeleta, A true copy of the original,
Bernardo de Galvez.

STATEMENT OF THE ARMS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR
that have been found in the forts and Fortified City of Pensacola,
besides the 4 mortars, 143 cannons, 6 howitzers and 40 swivel guns
that General Don Bernardo de Galvez reports in his letter of the
26th of May, published in the *Gazette* of the 7th of August, and of a
considerable assortment of goods and supplies for the service of the
artillery.

Bombs and Royal grenades-----	1623
Hand Grenades, loaded-----	1530
Bullets of various calibres-----	8144
Cartridges for cannons-----	3411
Hundred weights of powder-----	298

FOR THE INFANTRY

Guns-----	2142
Bayonets-----	1208
Sabers-----	120
Cartridges (cases)-----	1072
Belts-----	232
Ball cartridges for guns-----	30712
Flints-----	8000
Hundred weights of bullets for guns-----	96

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF LOUISIANA TO MEDICAL SCIENCES.

By Edmond Souchon, M. D.

Professor Emeritus of Anatomy, Tulane School of Medicine
H. F. A. C. S.
New Orleans, Louisiana.

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC STUDY.

Upon reflecting on the awakening of the scientific spirit in America within the last thirty years, it occurred to me that it would be very interesting to study the achievements made especially in the form of original contributions by America to Medical Sciences.

In this study, I confined myself to the United States of America. America is barely more than a century old but in that century it has contributed more than any other single century of the Old World, barring the century of Pasteur and his followers; and yet, with transmissibility of puerperal fever, with anesthetics, general and local, gynecology, abdominal surgery, dentistry, eradication of yellow fever and malarial fever, it follows closely in the trail of the Pasteur century.

By original contribution is meant something new, that has not been done before by somebody else.

In some instances it is difficult, from the description, to decide if the contribution has been made in America for the first time, or for the first time in the world. Doubtless a great number were made in America without any knowledge that they had been done before by somebody else, and that is quite creditable in itself.

To obtain information, I have sent out over six hundred circular letters to as many men occupying prominent positions and who ought to know what has been done in the profession in this country.

Through the courtesy of the Editor, the circular letter was published in the *Journal* of the American Medical Association. It required eight months to gather the data and write the paper. It was truly a labor of love to bring together the workers of our country.

The contributions of Louisiana are here described as a *biblio-*

graphic Study. In a previous paper read December 15, 1915, before the Louisiana Historical Society the subject was considered *biographically*, i. e. gave specially an account of the lives of the contributors, whereas in this bibliographic study it is specially their writings and achievements that are described.

All the contributors from Louisiana are from the City of New Orleans, except Dr. Prevost.

DR. FRANCOIS PREVOST practiced in Donaldsonville. In 1830 (?) he performed the first Cesarian Section in America. He operated four times successfully losing but one mother and operating twice on the same woman. His claim is well established in a paper published by Dr. Robert P. Harris of Philadelphia, published in the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, June, 1879, page 933.

DR. — DUBOURG, (New Orleans) was the first to perform vaginal hysterectomy in America, if not in the world. (Statement of Professor E. S. Lewis of Tulane.)

DR. CHARLES ALOYSIUS LUZENBERG, 1805-1848, (New Orleans) first removed gangrenous bowel in hernia, and sutured the ends successfully.

DR. JOHN LEONARD RIDDELL, 1807-1865, (New Orleans) invented the binocular microscope.

DR. WARREN STONE, 1808-1892, (New Orleans) was the first to resect a portion of rib to secure permanent drainage in cases of empyema. He was the first to apply a wire ligature to a human artery for aneurism. He applied it to the common iliac for an aneurism of the external iliac. He first cured a traumatic aneurism of the second portion of the subclavian artery by digital compression. Priority is also claimed by Dr. Jonathan Knight of New Haven, Conn. Digital compression is undoubtedly an American procedure.

DR. CHARLES JEAN FAGET, Sr., 1818-1884, (New Orleans) discovered the lack of correlation between the pulse and the temperature in yellow fever. While the temperature goes up the pulse goes down or remains stationary. It is pathognomonic of yellow fever.

DR. TOBIAS GIBSON RICHARDSON, 1827-1892, (New Orleans) was the first to amputate both legs at the hip joint at one time in the same subject, the patient recovering. He was the first to write an Anatomy in which English names were substituted for the Latin names. He was the first to use strong injections of nitrate of silver for cystitis.

His wife's devotion to his memory caused her to contribute magnificent buildings on Tulane Campus devoted to medical education.

DR. H. D. SCHMIDT, 1823-1888, (New Orleans), demonstrated the origin of the bile ducts in the intercellular spaces.

DR. COMPTON, (New Orleans), in 1853, was the first to excise both the radius and ulna.

DR. ANDREW WOOD SMYTH, (New Orleans) was the first to cure a subclavian aneurism of the third portion. He first ligated simultaneously the innominate and the common carotid and later the vertebral artery. His ligation of the innominate artery is the first successful one in the world. His patient survived, whereas Dr. Mott's did not. It is by ligating the vertebral artery on the appearance of secondary haemorrhage in his case that he cured the case.

DR. ALBERT BALDWIN MILES, 1852-1894, (New Orleans) was the first to use a loop ligature on the first portion of the subclavian artery while operating on an aneurism of the third portion.

DR. JOSEPH JONES, 1833-1896, (New Orleans) discovered the plasmodium of malarial fever before Laveran. (Statement of Professor Duval of Tulane.)

DR. EDMOND SOUCHON, (New Orleans) devised a New Method to design colored charts for class demonstrations. The sketch is copied from a book with a pantograph and the shading is done by willow charcoal and black crayons. The coloring is done with pastels. The drawing is made on book paper, the back of which is painted with thin Damar varnish and turpentine which fixes the pastel and prevents its rubbing off. The paper is then pasted on large Bristol boards (30x40) and its surface is sized with thin gelatine and then varnished with thin damar.

Preservation of Anatomic Dissections with permanent color of Muscles and Organs by two methods. The curing Method using arsenic, calcium chloride and formol. The Physical or Paint Method by which colorless muscles in a dissection are given permanent color by painting them with artist's paint or house paints.

Founded Preservative Anatomy after the method described above.

Founded Methodic Anatomy as evidenced in a plea for a Methodical Textbook on Anatomy. A single and uniform guide is strictly followed in describing each and every organ, from the largest to the smallest.

Founded Philosophic Anatomy as exemplified in the publication of Philosophic Anatomy of the tongue, liver, lungs, kidneys. The peculiarities only of the organs are considered and it is endeavored to explain the reasons of things, the why and wherefore.

Founded Esthetic Anatomy by using systematically in teaching

four hundred large pastel colored charts and projecting on the screen a complete series of three hundred colored lantern slides, the reproduction of the atlases of Bonamy, and Beau and of Hirschfeldt and Leveille.

Founded the Souchon Museum of Anatomy at Tulane University. It was so named by resolution of the Board of Administrators. It contains 350 dissections, large and small. They are all natural preparations. There are no dried, wax, or papier mache specimens. All the muscles and organs present permanent color. No other Museum anywhere presents this feature. They are prepared after the Souchon Method of Preserving Anatomic Dissections.

Surgical Collateral Branches of the Main Arteries. Each and every main artery presents a collateral branch which takes the place of the main artery when that artery has been ligated.

Embalming of Bodies for Teaching Purposes. The chemicals used are arsenic, formal, alcohol, glycerine, carbolic acid, and creosote. The originality lies in the combinations selected, in the proportions of each and the result obtained in the color of the muscles.

First Complete History of Aneurisms of the Arch of the Aorta.

First Complete History of the Operative Treatment of Aneurisms of the Third Portion of the Subclavian Artery.

First and Only Dissection of a Subclavian Aneurism of the Third Portion of the Subclavian Artery, demonstrating the collateral circulation, after ligation of the main arteries. It took place through the anastomoses of the Aortic perforating intercostals with the branches of the subscapular, in the substance of the great serrate muscle. The specimen is now in the Army Medical Museum in Washington.

First to advocate Simultaneous Ligation of the first portion of the subclavian and the vertebral artery without rupturing the coats for the cure of subclavian aneurism of the third portion.

First to advocate the ligation of the axillary artery above the origin of the subscapular for the cure of *recurrent* aneurisms of the third portion of the subclavian.

First Complete History of Double Aneurism of the same artery.

First Complete History of the Operative Treatment of Irreducible Dislocations of the Shoulder Joint. Resection of the head is better and easier than reduction.

Complete History of Drilling holes through the skull to explore with syringe and needle.

First Complete History of Wounds of the Large Surgical Veins. When a large vein has been injured and ligated, if the collateral venous circulation is inadequate and gangrene is threatened, the main artery of the region must be ligated, but *below* the largest collateral

which will carry enough blood to nourish the parts beyond, while the ligation of the main trunk will diminish the quantity of blood and equalize the arterial and the collateral venous circulation.

First Complete History of the Treatment of Abcesses of the Liver by Aspiration. Small abcesses of not over one quart are often cured by a single aspiration.

First to write a Complete History of the Surgical Diseases and Injuries of the Neck. Each region of the neck is considered separately. The peculiarities only of diseases are considered. No generalities are mentioned.

First to write a Methodic Description of a Surgical Disease. A single uniform plan or guide is adopted and is strictly followed in describing each and every surgical disease.

Devised Souchon's Anesthetizer, an apparatus to inject anesthetic vapors in the lower pharynx by a rubber tube introduced through the nose or the mouth. The apparatus is worked by one hand which presses a bulb and forces the vapor through the tube. Its originality lies in its small size and simplicity. Other apparatuses used for this purpose are large, clumsy and worked with the foot and bellows.

Devised Speculum Holder for Sims duck bill speculum. An upright with a line of nails is screwed to the side of the operating table. The outside end of the speculum is held by a loop of rubber with a string to it. The string is wound around a nail on the upright. It is quite a help and relief to the assistant who has only to guide the inside speculum in the proper position.

First Formal Plea for a Reform in Medical Education.

First Formal Plea for a Reform in University Education.

Wrote the first Formal Sanitary Code in America for the Louisiana State Board of Health.

Reminiscences of Dr. J. Marion Sims in Paris.

Designed the Floor Plans of the Josephine Hutchinson Memorial School of Medicine of Tulane University. It is the largest and most elaborate *under one roof* medical college in America.

First to write a formal History of the Original Contributions of America to Medical Sciences.

DR. RUDOLPH MATAS, (New Orleans), "Drum snares," solid rings for end-to-end and lateral intestinal anastomosis.

Method of securing circular constriction with fixation pins of the Auricle, to obtain hemostasis in operations for cavernous and other angiomas of the Auricle. Pins are inserted around the auricle and an elastic thread is wound around the pins.

Easy method of securing hemostasis in bleeding injuries of the upper lip in hemophilic subjects. Arrest of hemorrhage by direct

elastic compression. An ordinary wide elastic band (stationers) is adjusted over the lip and fixed by threads to prevent slipping up or down.

New Method of reducing and securing fixation of displaced fragment in zygomatic fractures. A long semilunar Hagedorn needle threaded with silk is entered one inch above the middle of the displaced fragment, is passed well into the temporal fossa, and made to emerge one-half inch below the arch. The silk is used to pull the bone into position. A firm pad is applied externally and the wire is twisted over the pad. On the 9th or 10th day the wire, pad, etc. are removed permanently.

Adaptation and modification of the Kraske method for cases of congenital inperforation of the anus.

Modification of the Fell-O'Dwyer apparatus for direct intralaryngeal insufflation (first effort to apply positive pressure in the surgery of the thorax in the United States) for anesthesia in overcoming surgical pneumothorax.

A new graduated air pump for positive pressure in its application to medical and surgical practice. The Matas-Smyth pump.

An adjustable metallic interdental splint for the treatment of fracture of the lower jaw.

An apparatus for massive infiltration anesthesia with weak analgesic solutions.

Original methods of Blocking the Nerves in Regional Anesthesia: (1) Original method of anesthesia of the forearm and hand by intra-neural and paraneural infiltration with cocaine, novocain, and other succedanea, into the trunks of the musculo-spiral, median and ulnar. This procedure secures complete analgesia of the forearm and hand, permitting amputations, resections, or any other operation. First case operated by this method, January, 1898. (2) Regional anesthesia of the territory supplied by second division of the trigeminus by blocking the nerve at its exit rotundum, by two routes: (a) By introducing the needle through the spheno-maxillary fissure into the spheno-palatine fossa and reaching the nerve and even the Gasserian ganglion through the foramen rotundum. This route to the superior maxillary division of the Trigeminus was first applied by Dr. Matas in removing both upper maxillae for carcinoma, April 29, 1899. This route is now known as the "Payr route" in Germany, though its application has only recently obtained in Germany. (b) The inframalar route to the second and third division appeared also at the same time (1899) to block the second and third division of the Trigeminus for operations on the jaw, thus antedating Schlosser and now recognized as the "Matas Route" (see Braun, *Lokal Anesthesia*, ed. 2,

1913; also Haertel, loc. cit, 1913). Original account of these and other procedures described by Dr. Matas. See *Phi. Med. Jo.*, Nov. 3, 1900.

Was also the first to apply spinal subarachnoid anesthesia for surgical purposes in the United States (Nov. 10, 1899) though Leonard Corning of New York had applied it for medical purposes in 1886, and had laid the foundation for the surgical procedure. A Bier, then of Kiel, Germany, first introduced and resorted to it for surgical purposes in April, 1899 (see *Phil. Med. Jo.*, Nov. 3, 1900).

An operation for the radical cure of aneurism by endo-aneurismorrhaphy with intrasaccular suture ("The Matas Operation"), first applied in March, 1888. In this, three different methods are described for the first time: (1) Obliterative; (2) Restorative; (3) Reconstructive Endo-aneurismorrhaphy. 225 operations by these methods were reported in August, 1913, to the 17th International Congress of Medicine, London.

The flexible, flat, removable aluminum band for the occlusion of large surgical arteries (with Dr. Carroll W. Allen). "Matas-Allen Band." For testing the efficiency of the collateral circulation in the circle of Willis and other parts (a modification of the Halsted band).

A method of testing the efficiency of the collateral circulation as a preliminary to the occlusion of the great surgical arteries. Hyperemia reaction or living color test, (used on the extremities): Complete ischaemia of the limb is obtained by elevation and application of an elastic bandage to the level of the lesion. Then a Matas compressor is applied to the proximal side and as near the aneurism as possible, until the aneurism is absolutely stilled, and is allowed to remain from six to ten minutes. Immediately on removal of the elastic bandage, the compressor being still in place, a hyperemic flush descends the limb rapidly. The digits retain a cadaveric, waxy lifeless palor for several seconds, which may be prolonged to ten to forty minutes or even longer, according to the development of the collaterals. If there is no collateral circulation, the limb will remain ischaemic.

The second test is based on the preliminary occlusion of the main artery with the pliable and removable aluminum band, which can be removed in 56 hours without injury to the vessel in the event of manifestations of ischaemic phenomena; for example, hemiplegia, stupor, and coma after the obliteration of the common carotid artery.

A method for reducing the calibre of the thoracic aorta by pli- cation or unfolding of its walls by means of lateral parietal suture

applied in one or more stages. (An experimental investigation with Dr. Carroll W. Allen.)

Direct duodenal catheterization through the gall bladder and common duct for nutrient and medicinal purposes (an extension of McArthur's gall bladder drip).

A simple expedient in treating complicated fractures of the lower jaw in conditions forbidding the use of splints or intrabuccal prosthesis (with Dr. L. Landry). Four or five turns of a thin Esmarch bandage are taken around the face and jaw from the bregma to the chin and under jaw; this is fixed by a bandage passed around the forehead to prevent slipping. Immobilizes the fragments after reduction; assists materially in getting rid of swelling and edema.

The prophylaxis of post-operative tetanus based upon proper dietetic measures, and upon contamination of the alimentary canal with Tetanus bacillus introduced in uncooked vegetable foods.

Dr. Matas has devised a special Rachitome which he uses with advantage in performing laminectomy for extensive spinal lesions. This is a simple but very strong chisel with a short powerful cutting, tooth prolonged into a long curved metallic handle. The chisel has enormous strength and leverage and can cut a continuous linear section through the laminae in a very short time without injury to the dura.

Dr. Matas has also devised and uses with advantage a special long suture carrier which greatly facilitates the tacking of the omentum or mesentery in making colonic or other visceral suspensions for prolapsed stomach, colon, etc. It permits of an extensive suturing of distanced displaced organs through a comparatively small median incision. In this way a colonic suspension may be made in the course of a pelvic operation through a short and low laparotomy incision with little additional trauma or intraperitoneal manipulation.

In an exhaustive monograph on the surgical *treatment of anorectal imperforation* (congenital) Dr. Matas laid special stress upon the advantages of the perineo-coccygeal route and described a procedure which he first applied with decided success in a case of imperforated anus with a high placed enteron. In this case the distended gut was brought down from a high position in the pelvis by a partial Kraske, which allowed it to be pulled down to the proctodeum or infundibulum, to which it was sutured by a lateral anastomosis. In this way the sphincter fibres of the anal region are preserved and a better chance of rectal control is obtained.

Dr. Matas says that his effort to simplify the cure of aneurism by the principles involved in the modern treatment of aneurisms, and his insistence upon the security of studying the conditions of the

collateral and peripheral circulations before attempting the permanent occlusion of the great surgical arteries; and by which the efficiency or inefficiency of the collateral circulation can be determined,—are the contributions which he would prefer to have recognized.

DR. ARTHUR WASHINGTON DE ROALDES was the first to establish a Nose, Eye, Ear and Throat Hospital in the South, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from St. Louis to the Gulf.

DRS. F. W. PARHAM and E. D. MARTIN devised a new treatment for fractures. It consists in a band that fits snugly around any unevenness of the bones. Especially useful in the treatment of oblique fractures.

DR. CHARLES WARREN DUVAL, (New Orleans), claims to be the first to obtain the bacillus of Leprosy in pure culture. Subcutaneous leprous nodules are removed under sterile conditions, cut into small bits and planted aerobically on a medium of split protein products. After removal it is autolized by adding some proteolytic bacterium or allowing the tissue to slowly disintegrate under sterile conditions at 37 C. for several weeks, then extracting the juice by Berkefeld filtration.

Dr. Duval has discovered the causal agent of Infantile diarrhea or Summer Complaint and proved that it is a bacillus belonging to the dysentery group.

DR. WILLIAM HERBERT HARRIS, (New Orleans): Production of Pellagra in the Monkey by a Berkefeld filtrate derived from human lesions. The filtrate was injected hypodermically.

DR. MAURICE COURET, (New Orleans), demonstrated that the fish is the host of the bacillus of leprosy. The fish were inoculated simultaneously with a bacterial emulsion of bacillus leprae. Fish were fed on human leprosy nodules and the flesh of infected fish. All the bacilli multiplied in the fish and were harbored by them without apparent discomfort or outward evidence of the disease.

DRS. CHARLES CASSEY BASS and FOSTER MATTHEW JOHNS, (New Orleans), were the first to cultivate the Plasmodium of Malarial Fever. They showed that when blood with plasmodium was heated to a certain temperature the plasmodium continued to live for a certain time but would eventually die. By adding some dextrose the plasmodium continued to live and multiplied.

They have studied specially the influence of emetine and ipecac as a specific remedy against the protozoon of pyorrhea alveolaris, specially proper dose, best method of administration, duration of treatment and prevention of lapse or reinfection.

DR. MARION SIMS SOUCHON, (New Orleans), was the first

to remove a urinary calculus from the vesical portion of the ureter through the perineal route. He was guided by the touch through the rectum and through the wound.

DR. ROBERT CLYDE LYNCH, (New Orleans), claims to be the first to remove a tumor whole from the larynx. Also to be the first to have sutured a surgical wound in the interior of the larynx.

MR. LLOYD ARNOLD, (New Orleans), is the first to demonstrate the occurrence in the human ovary of several ova in the same follicle. The work was done under the direction of Professor Irving Hardesty in the Laboratory of Anatomy at Tulane University.

DR. CARROLL WOOLSEY ALLEN, (New Orleans,) is the first to publish the only thorough book on Local Anesthesia in the English language.

DR. ANSEL MARION CAINE, (New Orleans), devised a warm ether apparatus, without using a flame. The apparatus consists of a bellows worked by foot pressure which vaporizes the ether. The vapor is driven through a coil of pipe enclosed in a metal receptacle containing acetate of soda. This receptacle is immersed in boiling water for fifteen minutes before using and the soda will retain the heat for several hours. The vapor driven through the heated coil is delivered warm to the patient.

DR. HENRY DICKSON BRUNS, (New Orleans), was the first to devise a tucking operation for shortening any one of the straight muscles of the eye.

DR. OSCAR DOWLING was the first in the Southwest to equip a Health Car for the Louisiana State Board of Health and with it to travel over the country to perform the true functions of a State Board of Health, i. e. to teach the people how to preserve and improve their health.

DR. STANFORD CHAILLE JAMISON was the first to discover that when the large splenic vessels were ligated, the spleen would not slough if it were covered by omentum.

THE STATE OF LOUISIANA is the first and only State to establish and maintain a Leprosarium (Leper's Home).

Tulane University, St. Charles Avenue,
New Orleans.

THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA AND SOME OF ITS LEADING FAMILIES

Charles Gayarre, our great Louisiana historian, did well in his introductory words to the first volume of his History of Louisiana, when he entitled it "*The poetry or the romance of Louisiana.*" The legends and stories of nearly 300 years were under consideration and certainly nowhere in the western world could a greater amount of romance and legend be got together than from the records of our early history.

While much romance attaches to the early days of the settlements on the Atlantic coast, to the Pilgrims in New England, the Dutch in New York, the Quakers and Germans in Pennsylvania, the Catholics in Maryland, the Cavaliers in Virginia and the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina, still we believe that we find much more romance in Colonial Louisiana.

The French were endeavoring to build a new France on the St. Lawrence in lower and upper Canada. The French explorations of the great Lakes and their tributaries, of the upper Ohio and the settlements made by them at Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, and also at Gallipolis, further down the Ohio, and also at Terre Haute and Vincennes on the Wabash and at St. Louis and many towns on the upper Mississippi, all contribute to this end. France, however, had already established a Louisiana colony in the lower end of the Mississippi River. When the English expelled the Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755 these exiles proceeded towards Louisiana, finally reaching their fellow countrymen and made settlements in Pointe Coupee, Avoyelles and in the Teche country. With these refugees from Nova Scotia there came later refugees from San Domingo and immigrants from the French West Indies. With the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1762 thousands of immigrants of high and low degree came from Spain and Spanish colonies to Louisiana. With the sale of Louisiana by Napoleon Bonaparte to President Jefferson and its transfer from Spain to France and from France to Louisiana in 1803, the Louisiana territory in general and the island city of New Orleans in particular became the mecca of many venturesome Americans. At that time the McCall family of Philadelphia were merchants in New Orleans and later the owners for a

century of the famous Evan Hall plantation and there were scores of other families equally prominent, the records of which we shall hope to incorporate in subsequent issues of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly.

We have been interested in the history of the Pitot family and the Montegut family. Mr. James Pitot, the grandfather of Mr. Gustave Pitot, was the first mayor of New Orleans under the American domination. Mr. Armand Pitot, the son of Mr. James Pitot, was one of Louisiana's most distinguished lawyers in 1860 and died some twenty-five years ago. Mr. Gustave Pitot is manager of the Savings Department of the Citizens' Bank of Louisiana, one of the oldest financial institutions. The ancestors of the Montegut family are represented in a large picture hanging in the Louisiana Historical Society's rooms in the Cabildo on the rear wall of the Sala Capitulaire.

The picture has been an heirloom in the Pitot family and was confided to the keeping of Mr. Gustave Pitot's mother who was a Montegut. At her death it was taken by Mr. Gustave Pitot and kept by him until transferred to the Louisiana Historical Society in whose hands he considers it better for the information of the Montegut family and others who might be interested in the old Louisiana families.

We insert herein below a personal letter from Mr. G. Montegut of Houma, Louisiana, to Mr. Gustave Pitot of New Orleans which throws some light on the subject.

HOUma, LA., February 5, 1917.

My dear Gus:

I am glad you contemplate writing up the genealogy of our family. You will find it exceedingly interesting. Let me tell you what I know about them.

Practically, the Creole families of Louisiana all descend from the old French nobility. Before the Revolution, the great mass of the French people could procure no pass-ports, therefore could not emigrate. They had no family names. For instance, one was a baker named Pierre. He was known as Pierre le boulanger, which, later on, evolved into the Boulanger family. Another named Jean, lived at the foot of a bridge. He was known as Jean du pont,—whence evolved the Dupont family, &c. &c. *ad infinitum*.

After the Revolution they flocked to America and Louisiana on account of the French language and Catholic religion was an attraction to them. Many went also to New York, Philadelphia, New Jersey and Delaware. Many of that class were descendants of Serfs who took the names of the Seigneurs, their masters.

The old Creole families, due to their high sense of modesty and horror of anything pretentious, neglected their genealogies. Some of them associated with Royalty. Our grand uncle Jcs. Rofignac; passing through Paris on his way to Angouleme, was invited with his family, by the King of France, to a breakfast at the

palace, and received from the Royal family, the expression of their high consideration for our family, whose hospitality the King enjoyed during his exile in Louisiana. The Monteguts are of Norman origin. At the invasion of Italy by the Normans, (in the 8th century, I think) many of them came to, and remained in Italy, and mixed with the latin blood. This accounts for the blue eyes and blondes found in the north of Italy and numerously in Sicily. Shakespeare was encouraged in his researches by the Venetian authorities, and there found the data for his "Romeo and Juliet," representing respectively, the Montaigues and the Capulets. The name was also known in Italy as Monta-cute.

From Italy some of them went to the south of France, which, accounts for our family at Armagnac near Toulouse. In an edition of "*Guide du Voyageur en France*," we are informed that, "dans le jardin d'une maison de campagne est le tombeau du roi Alphonse d'Aragon, tue a la bataille de Muret en 1214, dans le parc du chateau de Montegut-Segla, ou existe une source minerale qui opere une action sedative sur le systeme nerveur." This is on the road from Toulouse to Bayonne.

Our great grand-father Dr. Jos. Montegut came to Louisiana about 1760 and married Francoise De Lisle Dupart, a Creole, whose parents were also natives. Her mother was Arnoult, (DeLisle Arnoult) and it is from the Arnoult's that we are related to the Waggamans. One of the Duparts was burned at the stake, in the wars with the Natchez. The Duparts, De Lisle, Arnoult, St. Amant and Waggamans, all related to us, were prominent colonists.

I recall a day, many years ago, as I was walking leisurely on Canal street, I met my lamented friend, Henry Castellanos. After greeting me with his usual warmth, he said, "Gabe, I want to write up the Charity Hospital, can you give me any interesting data on the subject?" I answered, I knew very little about its early history. He said, "Ah, you Creoles, you are alike. Why, my dear friend, your great grandfather, Don Jose Montegut (so called in Spanish days) was the first resident physician of the Charity Hospital."

Our uncle Jos. Rofignac who, was Mayor of New Orleans four terms, from 1820 to 1828, married his daughter. Uncle Edgard was Mayor of New Orleans in 1844, and clerk of the Criminal Court several terms.

I took issue with Prof. Fortier some years ago when he wrote in his history of Louisiana that Etienne DeBore was the first American Mayor of New Orleans. I told him, he was not. That my great grand-father Jacques Pitot, was the first American Mayor of New Orleans. That DeBore was the French Mayor, a "hold over" at the time of the cession, and that, when the municipal government of New Orleans was organized under American auspices, Governor Claiborne appointed Jacques Pitot, Mayor, therefore the first American Mayor. He was subsequently Judge of the Probate Court, with a jurisdiction from the Belize to Baton Rouge. And your father, his son, was clerk of the Supreme Court.

There is a good sprinkling of military blood in our veins. My maternal grandfather, your father's cousin, Alphonse Desmare, belonged to Napoleon's Guard of Honor, and Napoleon selected them from the old families, la "vieille noblesse." He left the military school in France at 18 years of age and followed the Eagles of France, from Wagram to Waterloo. Your maternal and my paternal grand-mother was Rose Gabrielle Nicolas de St. Cerran, a refugee from the negro insurrection of St. Domingo. Major Davezac, judge advocate of Jackson's army, was her cousin, and his sister married Edw. Livingston, who was also on Jackson's staff. Our uncle Remond Montegut, commanded an artillery Co. at the battle of New Orleans. Edw. Livingston and his wife were my father's God Father and God Mother.

The Bourgeoisie of France has evolved into a great element, a superior branch of human civilization and progress. Its importance commenced under Louis XIV. Previously it was only a germ. There existed no monopolies, but many fabricants, such as jewellers, verriers, shoe makers, bakeries, confectioneries, tailors, perruquiers, &c.

Napoleon encouraged them, made them Kings and Marshals of France, and under the splendor of his military domination, they amalgamated extensively with the "old noblesse," of which many were converted from Royalists to Imperialists.

Our honored and beloved cousin, Gustave LeGardeur, also Edgar Grima and his bright and amiable nephew, Alfred, may add much interesting data, relating to the Rofignacs, Neurice and Clanmagerant.

The property on Royal street measuring 80 feet on Royal going to St. Anne, belonged to our great grand-mother's, and was allotted to the Rofignacs in the partition. They resided there during the gayeties of the winter season, and returned to their plantation, adjoining the Marigny property, in the summer time.

I desire to mention also that our grand-father (Montegut) established a sugar plantation in the Parish of Plaquemines and named it "St. Sophie," after our dear tante Sophie, our grand-mother's sister. There is a settlement and post office there now known as St. Sophie. I am pleased to mention this, to show that our family felt an interest in the sugar industry when in its infancy. Our grand-father died in 1814, so you see, that is a long time ago.

Referring to our Civil War our family was Confederate to the core, none more so. "The Orleans Guard Battery," commanded by Gustave LeGardeur, represented the cream, the fine upper crust of the Creole society of New Orleans, and no command behaved with more courage and valor.

Ton ami de coeur,

GABI.

THE ORLEANS TERRITORY MEMORIALISTS TO CONGRESS, 1804.

By Everett S. Brown

The form of government provided for Orleans Territory by the Breckinridge Act of March 26, 1804, was a great disappointment to the inhabitants of the territory¹. They had expected a larger share of self-government than that granted to them. Governor Claiborne reported that the prohibition of the importation of slaves into Louisiana from outside the United States had caused great agitation. The people considered it a serious blow at the commercial and agricultural interests of the province. The importation of foreign slaves into South Carolina served to increase discontent, for the inhabitants of Orleans Territory generally could not be made to understand the power of the state authorities with regard to the importation of such persons². A mass meeting was held to protest to Congress on the question of the slave-trade, commercial restrictions, and government in general, and a committee was appointed to draw up a memorial³.

In due time the memorial was put into circulation. Governor Claiborne, after seeing one sheet of the original, stated it to be in the handwriting of Edward Livingston. He did not doubt that all of it had been written by Livingston, with the aid of Daniel Clark and Evan Jones⁴. If Claiborne's information is correct, there were not many people present at the meeting held for the drawing-up of the memorial. The meeting at which it was adopted was much more largely attended, however. The memorial was afterwards carried through the territory and Claiborne says that many signed without reading it, while others did so with no understanding of its contents. The names of others were affixed without their seeing it. Some of the Louisianians thought their grievances were real, others were made to think so. Claiborne's opinion was that few were really interested in the fate of the memorial except as it related to the African

1—For the act see *Statutes at Large*, II, 283.

2—Claiborne to Madison, March 10, 1804, *Claiborne's Correspondence relative to Louisiana*, Vol. I. (Bureau of Rolls and Library of the State Department, Washington, D. C.)

3—Claiborne to Madison, March 16, 1804, *Ibid.* The committee was composed of Jones, Livingston, Pitot and Petit.

4—Claiborne to Madison, July 13, 1804, (Private), *Madison MSS.*, XXVI (Library of Congress). Also, Claiborne to Madison, July 26, 1804, *Claiborne's Correspondence relative to Louisiana*, Vol. II.

slave-trade. He did not expect any disturbance if the memorial were denied⁵.

The memorial to Congress having been duly circulated and the names attached, three agents were selected to bear it to Washington. They were Messrs. Pierre Derbigny, Jean Noel Destréhan and Pierre Sauvé. Claiborne considered Derbigny "a man of good information, and I believe of strict integrity; pleased with the principles of our Government but much attached with his native country" (France). Destréhan he characterized as "a Frenchman in politics and affection," "one of the tools of M. Laussat and greatly mortified at the cession of Louisiana to the United States." Destréhan would endeavor to be the most prominent man in the mission. Sauvé was "an able good man, a wealthy planter universally esteemed by his neighbors and will be a good citizen under our Government; but I fear he will take little part in the agency." All were warm advocates of the slave-trade⁶.

An interesting picture of the memorialists in Washington, never before printed, is given by Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire, who, with Senator Pickering of Massachusetts and others, entertained them at dinner. Plumer describes them as follows:

They are all Frenchmen—the two first (Derbigny and Sauvé) speak our language fluently. They are all gentlemen of the first respectability in that country. Men of talents, literature and general information—men of business, and acquainted with the world. I was much gratified with their company—they had little of French frippery about them. They resemble New England men more than the Virginians.

Sauvé is the eldest—he has lived in that country 21 years. He was a merchant, but is now a planter. He had this year 150 acres of sugar cane. He has a wife and four children.

Destréhan is a native of that place but was educated in Paris. He can speak very little of our language. He has a wife and six or eight children. He has a fine promising son who has accompanied him hither. He was a merchant, but is now a planter, and has this year 200 acres of sugar cane. He says it will take 60 negroes to manage it and that his ground generally produces on an average by the acre one hogshead of sugar weighing 1200 pounds and a hogshead of molasses.

Derbigny is the youngest. He has lived in that country fourteen years, and has a family. He is a man of Science—of real talents and very general information for his age. He is very shrewd—converses with ease and great propriety.

⁵—Claiborne to Jefferson, October 27, 1804, *Jefferson MSS., Letters received at Washington, 2nd Series*, XXIX; also Claiborne to Madison, November 5, 1804 (Private), *Madison MSS.*, XXVI.

⁶—Claiborne to Madison, July 13, 1804 (Private), *Madison MSS.*, XXVI.

They complain in decent but firm language of the government that Congress established over them at the last session. They say nothing will satisfy that people but an elective government. That under the Spanish government they paid only six per cent duty upon their imports and exports; and the whole charge of their religion and government was then supported by the Crown. That the duties they now paid are greater than what they then paid, and are themselves beside obliged to support their religion and internal government. So that they now pay more money for public uses than when they were subjects of a royal government, and enjoy less real liberty. That Claiborne, their present governor, is unable to speak a word of French, the language that is most generally used in that country. That the proceedings in the courts of law are in a language that most of the people do not understand, that they have in many instances been convicted of breaches of laws the existence of which they were ignorant. That Claiborne is incompetent to discharge the duties of Government.

That the President had selected some very respectable men whom he has appointed members of the Legislative Council. That out of these all except three have positively declined the appointments. That no man who wishes to enjoy the friendship and esteem of the people of that country can accept of an office under the existing system of government.

They say that they have visited Mr. Jefferson—that he has not made any enquiries of them relative either to their government, or the civil or natural history of their country. That he studiously avoided conversing with them upon every subject that had relation to their mission here.

They say that the city of New Orleans is situated on the banks of the Mississippi—that those banks are from one hundred to 120 feet deep, and that a considerable part of the city is in danger of being undermined by the stream—the land being sandy. That it will require immense expense to secure the town—that they must either sink rafts covered with rocks on the bank next to the city, or cut down the bank on the opposite side of the river. That the country around the city and for a very considerable distance up the river is very good land for the width, on an average, of three quarters of a mile from the river—that beyond that distance from the river much of the land is a sunken swamp. That there is in the Country a considerable of good upland. That they speak, in common language, of mensuration by the acre, not by the mile—that is by the square side of the acre⁷.

7—William Plumer, "Memorandum of the Proceedings of Congress," December 15, 1804. For further information concerning the journal kept by Senator Plumer see my introduction to *The Senate Debate on Breckinridge Bill for the Government of Louisiana, 1804*, in *American Historical Review*, XXII, 341 (January, 1917).

The memorial was presented to the Senate on December 31, 1804, by Giles of Virginia⁸. Both houses of Congress took action and a bill much more liberal in its provisions than the Breckinridge Bill of 1804 was rushed through in the closing hours of the session and was approved by the President on March 2, 1805⁹.

Upon their return home, Derbigny, Destréhan and Sauve reported, May 2, 1805, on their experience in Washington. They admitted failure to obtain all they had asked for, and objected to the arbitrary setting of the number of inhabitants required for statehood at sixty thousand; this, however, though arbitrary, was not irrevocable. The right to initiate laws had been gained. Although the Senate was opposed, the House had been willing to grant unlimited right of self-government, an encouraging sign¹⁰.

Derbigny, Destréhan and Sauvé had not made their journey in vain, for although it was to be several years before Orleans Territory entered the Union as a State, the memorialists had obtained a promise of such an admission upon the fulfilment of certain definite conditions. In the meantime, the inhabitants were allowed more of a voice in their own political affairs than formerly.

⁸—For the full text of the memorial, see *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I, 398-399; *Annals of Congress*, 8 Cong., 2 Sess. (1804-1805), Appendix, 1597-1606.

⁹—Text of the act in *Laws of the United States*, III, 648-650.

¹⁰—*Louisiana Gazette*, June 11, 1805, (Translated from the *Moniteur*.)

EVERETT S. BROWN.

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Berkeley, California.
March 9, 1917.



Abstracts of French and Spanish Documents Concerning the Early History of Louisiana.

I.

Delauze.

Debts and Last Will, Oct. 17, 1717. Marine Regimental Captain de Lauze, retired from Poitou Regiment, gives instructions to Mr. Hubert, Director for Louisiana Royal Councillor and Commisary, concerning his debts and sundry bequests. Among the latter he gives a pot of butter to the Jesuit Fathers. Any residue credit shall be forwarded to his sister near St. Pierre, at Limoges. He would exchange swords with Mr. de Mandeville. (In 1712 Louisiana had been made over by charter to Antoine Crozat a capitalist and favourite at the Court of France. Bienville had previously (1710) superseded as Governor by La Mothe Cadillac. Francois Philippe de Marigny afterwards Chevalier of St. Louis, was one of the pioneer settlers of Louisiana. His family figured in the history of the colony until its cession to the United States.)

Promissory Note. "Lille" (Isle Dauphine), Feb. 7, 1714. Under-signed Poulousat acknowledged as an emergency loan from Captain DeLauze, 136 francs and promises to pay the same or have his father or mother do so in March next. (Owing to scarcity of food Bienville in 1711 had removed his garrison from Fort Louis de la Mobile to Dauphine Island.)

De Lauze Estate. Copy of inventory of estate and sale, Oct. 26, 1717. Word of Captain de Lauze's death was received by Major de Gauvrit who directed the sealing of goods and presided at the inventory, at 1 a. m., October 26, 1717. It appears in course of the proceedings that Mr. Hubert declined to serve as executor. Captain De Lauze was commissioned for service in Louisiana June 29, 1716. Sale proceedings conducted on November 3, 1717, and completed November 4th. Total realized 2577 francs. Placed with Major Gauvrit, executor.

Copied at N. O., July 2, 1725.

Copying fee and papers, 4 piastres.

De Lauze Estate. Post, October 17, 1717. La Croix, drummer, acknowledges item of 15 francs for having beaten the

drum at the auction of the late Captain De Lauze's goods. "On which I have received ten francs: I am due five francs." (Sale occurred on November 3rd and 4th, 1717. 175 pp. 11, 19.)

De Lauze. Memorandum of Account. De Lauze to Roger, 1717. Itemized list of Mr. De Lauze's debts to Mr. Roger; first entry May 10, 1717. Items include olive oil, candles, dry goods, ammunition, flour, household sundries. Total bill 1688 francs. Certified by Mr. Duval, New Orleans, Sept. 4, 1725.

De Lauze Estate Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Nov. 4, 1717. Pierre Roy to Major Gauvrit for seven francs and four sous, bequeathed by the late De Lauze.

De Lauze Estate. Memorandum of Account. Isle Dauphine, Dec. 3, 1718. Itemized lists of charges against Messrs. De Lauze & Gauvrit "for what they obtained in the store of Monsieur Crozat" (Glassware, flour, candles, soap, nails, brandy, salt, linen). Total bill 191 francs. Certified and received by Roger, guard of Louisiana Company's stores

De Lauze Estate Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Dec. 12, 1718. Undersigned Des Brosses to Mr. Goverit 56 francs by way of inventory fees, on account of De Lauze estate.

De Lauze Estate Receipt. Post, Oct. 17, 1717. Undersigned F. Le Maire, Apostolic Missionary Priest, acknowledges receipt of 66 francs for burial services and Mass fees on account of Infantry Captain De Lauze, from Mr. Gauverit. Note by the latter stating that Monsieur L. Maire owes nothing. Reverse data show that Monsieur Le Maire bought four pounds of pepper, a book, salt cellars and two oil cruets at the sale of De Lauze's goods; total bill being 18 francs.

(F. Le Maire, "a virtuous priest who resigned a good position at Paris . . . to come to America to announce the gospel to the Indians . . . for several years in the mission in Louisiana . . . acted as chaplain to the fort in Mobile." The Catholic church in colonial days.)

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Dec. 24, 1717. La Chevaliere to Major Gauvrit, three piastres for bill of washing rendered before and after death of Captain De Lauze.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Feb. 10, 1718. La Douceur, signing for Bellegrade "Not knowing to write," three piastres to Major Gouvery, on account of what is due him for baking three barrels of flour in the service of Messrs. de Gouvery & De Lauze.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, March 10, 1718. Undersigned Le Beau to Major Gauvrit three piastres for having shaved Monsieur de Lauze during four months.

De Lauze Estate. Letter of Plaisance to Mr. Hubert. Isle Dauphine, April 8, 1718. Written for Louis de La Force, alias Plaisance, by Mr. Raguet.

Plaisance was enlisted in the company commanded by Captain De Lauze, and claims arrears of pay. Letter addressed to Monsieur Hubert, King's Councillor Commissary Director of the Province of Louisiana.

Subjoined order signed Hubert, authorizing due payment from De Lauze estate funds.

De Lauze Estate. Executor's Statement. Post, Oct. 26, 1717. Memorandum of account. De Lauze Estate. Itemized statement by Executor Mr. De Gauvrit, of the late Captain De Lauze's company debts; total 511 francs. There follows a lumped charge of 1688 francs, making aggregate accounts 2199. (Possibly the list may prove useful as early catalogue of names in Louisiana settlements.)

De Lauze Estate. Money order. Nov. 1717. Undersigned Pierre Girard asks Mr. De Gauvrit to pay Monsieur de Montigny the sum of 20 francs and 10 sous from De Lauze funds. (Year perforated, but 1717 answers to general situation.)

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Nov. 18, 1717. Undersigned Lindeau to Mr. De Gauvrit, 27 francs for 12 fowls furnished to the late M. De Lauze during his illness.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, Dec. 17, 1717. Undersigned Paquie to Major Gauvrit two piastres for making over a mattress which Madame Biazos lent to late Captain De Lauze.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, April 14, 1718. Sieur Thomas, to Mr. De Gauvrit, 7 francs and 4 sous for serving two days as witness of De Lauze's Inventory.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Mobile, May 6, 1718. Undersigned Loyard, "of the Company of Jesus," eight francs from Mr. Gauvrit due from De Lauze Estate.

De Lauze Estate. Receipt. Isle Dauphine, April 24, 1718. Undersigned Bovest to Mr. De "Goury" ten francs on behalf of (late) Captain De Lauze. Received in full discharge.

De Lauze Estate. Fort Louis, August 9, 1718. Undersigned Queenot to M. De Gauvrit seven francs for goods delivered to late "Mr." De Lauze. This receipt shall also cover a larger debt.

De Lauze Estate. Isle Dauphine, Nov. 20, 1718. Tourangeau, valet of late Captain De Lauze, to M. Gauvrit 100 francs by way of bequest in late Captain's will.

De Lauze Estate. Power of Attorney. Limoges, Sept. 8, 1722. Demoiselle Leonarde De Lauze, wife of Sieur Balthazar Vaureix, to M. Joseph Sulpice Le Blond de Latour, for collecting her inheritance, as bequeathed by her deceased brother, Joseph De Lauze, from Monsieur de Gauvrit, "Captain of Marine Detachment at New Orleans in the 'Misciipi' Province Louisiana."

Cattle Dispute Settled Amicably. Mobile, January 16, 1720. Dominique Belsaguy, guardian of La Loire wards together with Surgeon Major Manades, husband of a daughter of La Loire and Claude Jousset La Loire son of late La Loire, make friendly settlement with Messrs. Gauvrit & Zacharie Drapeau with regard to two cows that had been killed. M. Belsaguy will pay 20 piastres in specie to each of the contestants. Signatures: P. Manades, Souses, Drapeau, Raguet. (Belsaguy could not write.)

Court Martial Sentence. New Orleans, Feb. 23, 1720. Prisoner Jean Baptiste Pochet of De Gauvrit's company is convicted of robbery and sentenced to be whipped by a negro three days and to serve three years as convict. His clothes shall be confiscated, subject to abatement of 50 francs fine. Thomas Bachu alias La Rose is discharged and freed for want of evidence against him. Signatures: Portier, Sevigny, Decoublant, Namere, Chevalier, Dupuy, De Beaumenil.

Sale of Property. New Orleans, Mar. 1, 1721. Francois Duyand, chief clerk of Company of Indies at Mobile (just now at N. O.) conveys a staked lot with timber buildings along the Mississippi road, to Francois Duval guard of Company stores at N. O. for 1200 francs cash, one room with a fire place, adjoining kitchen and store room. A good garden fronting on the Mississippi. Witnessed by P. Auber, Darbonne, Rossard.

Contract of Hired Servant. Fort St. Louis, Nov. 28, 1719. Francois Hupé agrees to serve M. Franconis for one year from date in consideration of 100 francs (in advance) if need be), plus board in the French manner, four

shirts and lodgment. Engagement may cease after six months if either party so choose; payment then in proportion. Signatures also include Rochon, Deschanel, Raguet.

(In 1717 Crozat was relieved of his charter and Louisiana by another charter was made over to the Company of the West and of the Indies, presided over by John Law. In 1718, Bienville was reinstated as Governor. Owing to his exertions his scheme of founding a city on the bank of the Mississippi was accomplished in 1718, when he with a corps of engineers under de la Tour, laid out New Orleans on the spot he had chosen years before it was made the capital of the Province.

Grant of Land. Petition for grant of land, N. O., May 26, 1721. Undersigned Le Blanc beseeches the Directors General of Louisiana to cede to him a lot of ground adjoining the property of M. Dupuy, on the Mississippi and beyond the property of M. Caustillos. M. Le Blanc is custodian of stores at New Orleans and means to cultivate the grant assiduously. Conceded 12 acres of the desired territory June 19, 1721. Signed Bienville, Biloxi. Registered, April 9, 1723.

(Monseigneur le Blanc, *Secretary of State*, according to Martin, figured on the census table of the province for 1722, as owner of three important concessions, in the vicinity of New Orleans; one at the Tchoupitoulas three leagues above the City; one at two leagues above the City; and one seven leagues below the City at the Chouachas.)

Arbitration Verdict Accepted. N. O., July 30, 1722. Messrs. Guenot de Trefontaine and Jean Baptiste Massy acting too for their former partner Pierre Guenot and also M. Pierre Ceard, director on behalf of a certain Ste Renne grant belonging to Messrs. Lioly & Co., ratify an arbitration sentence reached by Messrs. DuBuisson & Treboul on July 29, witnessed by Duflos, Huer, and Rossard, Notary.

(The Ste Renne grant under the Louisiana charter, was at the Tunicas, a site on the Mississippi above Baton Rouge.)

Criminal Trial. Nov. 17, 1722. Examination of one Laborde on charge of assassinating one Pontuel. Answers that he shot Pontuel to avoid being shot by the latter, already aiming. Hearing conducted by Councillor Suillet.

Receipt Fort St. Louis, March 3, 1722. Masclary has received of the Abbe d'Arquevaud the sum of 330

francs in notes full payment of a negro (male) child; the same being ceded to him by M. Du Vergier. Collated at New Orleans, October 8, 1727. Received on behalf of M. St. Martin, absent.

Will. Will of Abbe d'Arquevaux, Yazoo Post, August 11, 1722. Drawn up before Jean Claude Juif, Chaplain at the Yazoo Post. Principal legatee Madame Veuve Millon because of her good care of him. Other provisos in case of her departure for France. bequests to sundry other persons. Executor Chaplain Juif. Desires to be buried in front of Yazoo Fort, near the cross and also near the grave of former local commander, M. Bizard.

Witnessed under date of August 15, 1722. Filed at N. O., May 28, 1723, by M. Desfontaine, then director of the LeBlanc grant.

Attorney General vs. Pasquier, Feb. 11, 1722. Decision contingent on examination of Sieur Malon before M. Fazende, regarding motives of seizure in question. Costs reserved. Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry. Erroneous marginal date, 1729.

Will Confirmed. N. O., Feb. 22, 1723. In suit between Francois Trudeau, guardian of Jeanne Dardenne, the legatee of her uncle Louis Burel and Claude Lepannier, her uncle and surrogate guardian the Council confirms the will of deceased Louis Burel. Agreeably to its provisos 1000 francs shall be applied to the support of testator's daughter. Heard before Councillor Antoine Brusle. Costs divided.

Criminal Trial. N. O., Dec. 23, 1722. Further hearing of Laborde. He relates past conflict with Pontuel and repeats the motive of self defense. Hearing conducted by Councillor Arnould Bonnaud.

Petition. N. O., March 23; April 3, 1723. Undersigned LeBlanc observing that M. Duvergier has duly surveyed his land and M. Dupuy's, whose bounds are placed, beseeches the Commander and the Director General of the Province to verify these landmarks in order to avoid future disputes. Council ratifies bounds marked by M. Duvergier, at N. O., April 3, 1723. Signatures of Bienville and other Councillors.

Lease of Estate for Farming. N. O., May 14, 1723. Francois Trudeau, guardian of Jeanne Dardenne reports that he has assembled her kindred and friends (duly named) with reference to farming some land of hers along the Mississippi, including negroes and horses, and that the lease has been formally award-

ed to Jean Laprade for three years. Two-thirds of the profits shall accrue to Jeanne.

Petition for Building Site. April 3, 1723. Pierre Mouzel, Company carpenter asks for a lot on which to build a house. "He will pray God for your healths and prosperities." Council allows him site 208 and refers him to M. De Boispinel, Royal Engineer, for boundary details. House must stand on line with street; lot shall be cleared and fenced with stakes and stumps cut away as far as half the width of street within three months. Signatures of Bienville, LeBlond de la Tour, and Estienne. Mouzel sold the same lot to Joseph de Cornet, June 30, 1723. Registered Dec. 29, 1723.

Criminal Trial. N. O., May 20, 1723. Marie Simon Lespronre aged 12, native of Caux, is examined on charge of "wholesale" theft of linen goods. She answers that she stole in obedience to her stepmother, wife of a brewer *Jans* (Jans). Case continued and other parties to be heard. (Court instructions nearly effaced.)

Criminal Trial. N. O., May 22, 1723. Examination of Madame Jans, stepmother of Marie Simon Lespronre, formerly resident of Biloxi. Disclaims complicity in all its phases.

Criminal Trial Adjourned. N. O., May 21, 1723. Seeing that Madame Jans is now nursing an infant, the appointed hearing of the parties supposed to be concerned in larcenies charged to Marie Simon Lespronre is postponed.

Criminal Trial. (Larceny case.) N. O., May 22, 1723. Examination of Marie Rousseau, wife of Georges Ramond, steward and indigo planter of Monsieur de Bienville; also coppersmith by trade. Disclaims knowledge and all complicity as regards larcenies charged to Marie Simon Lespronre.

Cattle Plunder Reported. N. O., May 24, 1723. M. Antoine Rivard alias La Vigne, of Bayou St. Jean, Lodges complaint on account of two runaway Indians belonging to M. Coustillas. They have been killing and eating a number of cattle in the vicinity of said Bayou Chaptoulas, and other surrounding parts these five months past, in decided prejudice to the colonial establishment.

Procedure Moved. N. O., May 22, 1723. Attorney General Fleuriaux moves inquiry in regard to nocturnal robbery on the premises of Mr. Gaspard.

Testimony Ordered. N. O., May 24, 1723. Councillor Brusle provides for hearing of witnesses in accord with motion made by the Attorney General.

Criminal Procedure. May, 25, 1723. Examination of witnesses in connection with nocturnal robbery at Mr. Gaspard's. The stolen goods were found in a boat of Mr. Lagarde's and the negro in charge of it (Mr. Ribieux, being master of same) professes to have received the goods from a negro of the Company.

Criminal Procedure. N. O., May 28, 1723. Chief Warehouse Guard Armand Bonnaud asks the Superior Council to institute inquiry over a complaint which he filed in the recorder's office "today."

Criminal Procedure. N. O., May 28, 1723. Mr. Bonnaud lodges complaint against one Le Roux for violating the decrees against wanton shooting of cattle. The accused shot a cow of Mr. Bonnaud's, and the loss is both personal and public; public, as demoralizing the Colony's order.

Criminal Procedure. N. O., May 29, 1723. Inquiry conducted before Commander General Monsieur de Bienville, President of Superior Council, in response to complaint of Mr. Bonnaud. First witness Francois Trudeau, aged 8 or 9 years, had gone for blackberries in the Bayou quarter, on the feast of Corpus Christi. Perceived an unknown man shoot at a black and white cow. Further testimony to like effect. Signature of Bienville.

Memorandum of Goods. N. O., June 7, 1723. Mr. Gerard Pel lerin, guard of Company stores at N. O. makes formal declaration concerning a consignment of goods in his charge; the same being seized from estate of Mr. Kolly, contents included wine, flour, brandy and other articles belonging to said estate. (The Kolly concession by the Company of the West was at the "Tchoupitoulas" three miles above N. O.)

Petition for Legal Action. July 14, 1723. Joseph Chapron beseeches permission to inform against certain parties in connection with burglary at his house.

Summons of Witnesses. July 14, 1723. Sheriff Charles de la Moriniere, serves notice on Messrs Barre, Dupuy, Aubachon and Cernay (elsewhere given Remond, Brosse, alias Cernay) to appear on the morrow at 8 a. m. in the Council chamber, concerning the charges lodged by Chapron.

Letter on Foiled Plot. July 29, 1723. Commander de Loubois writes to Monsieur de Bienville concerning the timely discovered plot of *Caron* and others. The ringleaders are sent under guard to N. O. Not all the plotters have been seized, as there are no prison quarters to hold them.

(M. de Loubois, Chev. of St. Louis, was commandant at Fort Louis, Biloxi. His garrison, as the other posts in Louisiana, suffered from desertion of soldiers to the English.)

Financial Motion. N. O., July 12, 1723. Mr. Bru, Colonial cashier, has issued sight bonds to accommodate borrowers. Most of these have been slow to negotiate the bonds at the treasury, whether in mercantile notes or in copper. Others are circulating the bonds on the market. Let the Council correct such irregularity by requiring the bonds to be turned in for equivalent in trade notes or in copper coin. The bonds were issued on Sept. 1, 1722 subject to presentation six or eight days later. The Cashier wishes to balance his accounts in August.

Robbery Reported. July 13, 1723. Joseph Chapron lodges complaint over the robbery of specified goods and money at his plantation on past May 28 or 29. Cash included 40 francs in copper. He has lighted on a trail of the stolen property and requests investigation. Presumed culprit LeRoy, a locksmith and his wife, a negress.

(Evidently a slander. Marriage between whites and negroes was not sanctioned by the church, nor permitted by the government in Louisiana.)

Marine Abduction. Foiled. Biloxi, (Fort Louis), July 29, 1723. Examination of Guillaume Guiton in regard to a reported plot of one *Caron* and others to make off with long boat Ste. *Elizabeth* and a launch commanded by Pierre Daumale, to *Carolina*. Case conducted by Jean Bernard Verchurs de Terrepuy, acting Crown Attorney. Madame Caron is also implicated.

Marine Abduction Plot. Fort Louis, (Biloxi), July 29, 1723. Hearing of Marin (La Fontaine) aged about 18, native of Versailles, a soldier in the company of Commander Loubois. Admits complicity in the plot, at instance of Madame Caron. Nine or ten soldiers ready to take part; the flight was planned for July 28.

Letter Signed Bienville. N. O., August 3, 1723. Advising *Monsieur de Fleuriaux* of transmission of papers from Commander de Loubois.

(The Superior Council held its sessions now in New Orleans. Fleuriaux had become Attorney General.)

Letter Signed Bienville. N. O., August 4, 1723. Recommending despatch of provisions by dugout of post officer de Therisse, for the Yazoo post. Monsieur de Bienville would have attended to the business himself, but was prevented by an attack of "gripes" last night.

(After the failure of the Company of the West, 1721, and the bankruptcy of Law, Louisiana had reverted to the Crown of France. It was divided in 9 civil districts (one of them the Yazoo) and three ecclesiastical, the Capuchins, Carmelites and Jesuits.)

Copy of Will of Jacques Le Severre. August 7, 1723. Under-signed *Etienne Bovest*, joiner and Dupont soldier of the Natchitoches detachment, certify that they heard Jacques Le Severre, of Brest, declare it in the great warehouse hospital, that he willed 100 francs to the Capuchins for prayers in his behalf; and let his residue funds be sent to his wife and children at Brest. Subjoined note by *Duval* Dec. 12, 1724, stating that he holds the original along with Le Severre account.

Tixerrant vs. Laurenceau. August 14, 1723. Suit of recovery. Plaintiff moves to recover property which he sold to defendant, now removed to Avoyelles, after protest of draft on him for 3727 francs. Item, let plaintiff have recourse to Laurenceau's partner LaCroix at Natchez for injunction of this year's crop. Council allows attachment of Laurenceau's goods and also of this year's crop to the extent of L's. share. Action further allowed against all concerned until satisfaction be reached. Notice served on Mr. LaCroix at Natchez, on Sept. 28, 1723.

(Avoyelles (dim: of *avioe*, small viper) one of the tribes living near the mouth of Red River within what is now Avoyelles Parish, La.)

Testimony Received. Biloxi (Fort Louis), August 17, 1723. Examination of Pierre Chouvin fifer in Commander de Loubois company, witnessing against Caron, company baker and Millat. Caron's wife tried, but in vain, to engage witness in the plot.

Testimony Received. (Fort Louis), Biloxi, August 17, 1723. Examination of Jean Daniel, *alias*, St. Jean soldier of Commander Loubois' company, concerning de-

sersion plot. He was enticed by Millet to join it, but refrained.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 22, 1723. Examination of Marin La Fontaine. Was afraid to report the matter to his captain, but asked Guitton to do so.

Sentence Against Dog and Cat Butcher. Sept. 10, 1723. On testimony of eight inmates of the Hospital to the effect that one Villeneuve workman of *Messieurs the Engineers*, killed a number of dogs and furnished dog meat to the Hospital (supplied plenty of roast dog, says one of the witnesses) the Council condemns Villeneuve to be paraded and then set for two hours on the "wooden horse", bearing a "sandwich," placarded inscribed in large letters, "Eater of dogs and cats"; (and wearing a cat about his neck if one be found) was the recommendation of Attorney General Fleuriau. Signatures of Bienville and other Councillors.

(The first record of a hospital in Louisiana, Charity Hospital of New Orleans, was founded in 1734.

Petition of Recovery. Sept. 15, 1723; April 19, 1724. Louis Richard, Canadian, seeks to collect from Jean Bordier 14 barrels of wheat due on some stakes furnished by L. P. (now at N. P.) to J. B. Action allowed.

Testimony in Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 22, 1723. Examination of Francoic Milliat (so signed) aged 55, native of Nogent sur Aube and usually resident at Biloxi Denies complicity with Caron, and professes ignorance of plot.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 22, 1723. Examination of Jean Caron, baker, native of Peronne in Picardy, aged 25 and usually resident at Biloxi. Professes ignorance of plot and makes denial of all charges.

Court Order for Summons of Witnesses. Sept. 23, 1723. Councillor Fazende authorizes notification of witnesses for session of the morrow morning.

Summons of Witnesses. N. O., Sept. 24, 1723. Sheriff la Moriniere notifies Jean Daniel, *alias* St. Jean, and Pierre Chauvin, *alias* St. Pierre, to appear at 2 p. m. for hearing in regard to the recent plot at Biloxi.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 24, 1723. Examination of Pierre Chauvin, *alias* St. Pierre, aged 18, also of Jean Daniel, aged 25. Chauvin went to buy bread at Caron's and was asked by Madame Caron

to take part in the proposed desertion. Jean D. was accosted on the same subject by Milliat.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 24, 1723. Examination of Madame Caron. She denied all part in alleged plot.

Testimony on Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 25, 1723. Further hearing of Jean Caron, who persists in his denials and disclaims all thought of plotting.

Testimony of Desertion Plot. N. O., 25, 1723. Further hearing of Francois Milliat, cook by trade. Persists in denying all part in plot. Attorney General orders review of testimony and confronting of witnesses with parties accused. (Ragged edges.)

Testimony in Review. N. O., Sept. 25, 1723. Sundry witnesses heard in confirmation of previous evidence against Caron and his wife and their supposed fellow plotters.

Confronting Process in Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 25, 1723. Madame Caron brought in by armed escort is confronted with Pierre Chauvin, *alias* St. Pierre, and Francois Milliat with Jean Daniel, *alias* St. Jean. Madame denies the charges of Chauvin, and Milliat those of Jean D. Further procedure ordered.

Confronting Process. N. O., Sept. 26, 1723. Madame Caron being confronted with Marin La Fontaine denies having spoken of any plot to him. He persists in the contrary statement.

Testimony in Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 30, 1723. Guillaume Guiton examined in review neither augments nor abates his previous statement.

Confronting Process in Desertion Plot. N. O., Sept. 30, 1723. Madame Caron denies the accusation by Guillaume Guiton. Contradiction as well between Guiton and La Fontaine.

Testimony in Alleged Plot. N. O., Sept. 30, 1723. Examination of witness Antoine Avenelle. He professes ignorance of any plot, refuses to credit witnesses who allege one and is willing to believe Caron and his wife.

Testimony of Alleged Plot. N. O., Sept. 30, 1723. Examination once again of Guillaume Guiton (Guitton). Repeats details of a proposed flight to Carolina; chief parties being Caron and wife, Milliat, Avenelle and three carpenters of the Company. Implicated La Fontaine, and quotes the latter as reporting 10 or 11 soldiers ready to take part.

Capital Sentence for Murder. N. O., Oct. 1, 1723. A negro belonging to M. Delery is condemned to be strangled for murder of his wife. He shall first be baptized. M. Delery is entitled to compensation. Memorandum stating delay of execution till the morrow, because the gallows were not in readiness yesterday.
(M. De Lery was one of the three Chauvin brothers; Chauvin de Lery, Chauvin de Lafreniere, Chauvin de Beaulieu. They came from Canada and became distinguished in the financial and commercial records of the time. Lafreniere, son of the former was executed by O'Reilly as the leader of the insurrection against Ulloa.)

Testimony in Desertion Plot. N. O., Oct. 9, 1723. Renewed examination of Francois Milliat this time by *questioning* process. He received his knowledge of the projected desertion from Caron's wife, not from Caron. They were to abduct Daumale's launch and escape "to the English." Reports that St. Jean turned away from the suggestion of joining the plotters.

Petition for Legal Counsel. Oct. 10, 1723. Caron and his wife accused of plotting desertion urge the injustice of procedure in which those accused have no formal defense on their side. They lay the alleged mischief to Guiton and request appointment of counsel in behalf; also naming witnesses who can serve their cause.

"Desertion Plot" Resumed. N. O., Oct. 11, 1723. Examination of Jean Caron with reference to alleged plot. All charges denied.

NOTES

Louisiana Data Recently Acquired by the United States Congressional Library.

In the Report of the Librarian of Congress for 1916 the following items are interesting to students of Louisiana history.

The Division of manuscripts reports the acquisition of the BEAUREGARD LETTER BOOKS AND PAPERS of which a description is given on page 46, on which it is noted that the papers of Judge Roman were acquired in 1915. It also reports the receipt of 7000 transcripts from the French Archives Nationales, being correspondence between Home Officers and Colonial Officials of Louisiana, chiefly with Bienville from 1731 to 1751, also 10,000 pages of Spanish transcripts from the Archives of the Indies at Seville.

The Division of Maps and Charts reports the acquisition of a great number of atlases containing separate and included maps of Louisiana of earlier dates. Among the separate maps accessioned were a large colored map of New Orleans in manuscript, a view of New Orleans in 1852 published by D. W. Moody, drawn by Hill and Smith, a map of the State of Louisiana in 1838 by Catesby Graham, the Territory of Orleans 1805 by B. Lafon. This report notes maps which have been found in other libraries and of which efforts will be made to procure photographic copies for the Department.

Fleuve St. Louis ci-devant Mississippi releve.....par le sieur Diron l'an 1719, depuis la Nouvelle-Orleans.....jusqu'au village Cahokia. Original in Bibliotheque nationale, Paris.

Carte nouvelle et tres exacte d'une partie de la Louisiane et de l'isle de Cuba en 1718. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Carte du golfe de Mexique et des isles de Barlovento.....par Juan las Caiz a la Vera Cruz, 1718. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Parie de la coste de la Floride ou se trouve l'embouchure de la riviere de Mississippi.....Paris, Moullart-Sanson, 1719. Original in Biblio. nationale, Paris.

Carte de la cote de la Louisiane depuis l'embouchure du Miss. jusqu'a la baye de S. Joseph, 1719-1720. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Carte nouvelle de la partie de l'ouest de la province de la Louisiane. sur les observations et decouvertes du sieur Benard de la Harpe, 1720. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Carte de la coste de la Louisiane depuis la baye de St. Louis.....jusqu'a celle de St. Joseph, 1719-1720, par Devin. Original in Biblio, nationale, Paris.

Carte reduite des isles de l'Amerique it du golfe du Mexeque.....par Philippe Buache, 1724. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Map of East and West Florida.....par Charles Cloard, 1739. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Plan de la partie de la province de la Louisiane.....(1762.) Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Carte du Golfe du Mexique et des Antilles, 1696. Juan Bisente. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Plan de la cote et des environs du Mississippi, 1699. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Carte de la cote et des environs du fleuve Mississippi, 1699. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

Partie de l'Amerique septentrionale ou est comprise la Nouvelle France, par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin. 1699. Original in Depart. de la marine, Paris.

In the general list of accessions are named a New Orleans tax receipt of 1840 and portions of four bills issued by the Parish of St. Tammany as money in 1862.

P. 220 Louisiana: John de Neufville & Sons, circular letter to the merchants of the United States with list of prices current in Amsterdam, 1783, Feb.; Particulars of affairs at New Orleans, 1862, April.

The Periodical Division reports the acquisition of the following Southern newspapers of the Civil War Period.

New Orleans True Delta, February 9, 1864.

Opelousas Courier, April 25, 1863, (printed on wall paper.)

WILLIAM BEER.

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Annual Report of the American Historical Association.

The recently issued first volume of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1914, contains the following note of interest to the members of the Historical Society.

On page 69, the American Historical Association at its meeting November 28, 1914, reports the receipts of invitation to send delegates to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans under the auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society.

In the Report of Work in 1914 on catalogue of documents in

French Archives relating to the History of Mississippi Valley for which work the Louisiana Historical Society contributed \$200, Mr. Leland reports:

"In the Colonial Archives the most important work has been the searching of the series for Martinique and Santo Domingo. Some 226 volumes have been examined, and the work is being continued to include the series for all the French West Indies. They contain a considerable amount of material relating to commerce with Louisiana, to the supply of provisions, to vessels bound to or from Louisiana and putting in at Santo Domingo, etc. There have also been listed the contents of five cartons which serve as a supplement to the main series for Louisiana. Nearly every one of these documents, of which there are over 500, is very valuable."

"In the National Archives, properly speaking, there have been found a number of edicts relating to Louisiana, as well as many documents relating to negotiations under the Directory touching on Louisiana. All the American maps in the National Archives have also been listed—most of them cover, in part at least, the Mississippi Valley."

"It should be understood that the work has been performed in conjunction with my work for the Carnegie Institution—a fact which has made it possible to cover far more ground than could have been done had the Mississippi Valley research been made a distinct and separate undertaking."

WM. BEER.

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Some Rare Louisiana Historic Data.

It may not be uninteresting to readers of this Quarterly to note the following rare piece of Louisiana history showing the interest of England at that early period in the developments of the colonization of America by the French. It occurs in Catalogue 21 of R. H. Dodd of New York, issued in November, 1916, it is probably unique.

LOUISIANA. CROZAT. A LETTER TO A MEMBER of the P....T. of G....t B....n, Occasioned by the Privilege granted by the French King to Mr. Crozat. Small 4 to, full crushed levant morocco. \$275.00.

London, Printed for J. Baker, 1713.

Very rare and undescribed by bibliographers.

The Letters Patent granted by Louis XIV to Crozat in September, 1712, were of the widest character. The grant was, it may be said, the first attempt to develop the great central region of the United States. His ships could only trade with all "Louisiana"

which is described as "bounded by New Mexico, and by the Lands of the English Carolina. . . . the River St. Lewis heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the Sea as far as the Illinois; together with the River of St. Philip heretofore called the Missourys, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Ouabache, with all the Countries, Territories, Lakes, within Land, and the Rivers which fall directly into that Part of the River of St. Lewis."

This is the first edition in English of the Patent. It was reprinted the next year in Joutel's "*Account of La Salle's Last Voyage*," 1714. The comment here given, some thirty pages, seems to be nowhere else printed.



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THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY



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Lafayette's Visit to New Orleans.

La Floride et l'ancienne Louisiane. Notes bibliographique et raisonnés, by L. Boimare.

General James Wilkinson.

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THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO NEW ORLEANS.

A paper by Judge Henry Renshaw, read at the Cabildo, in New Orleans, on the occasion of the celebration of Lafayette Day, September 6, 1916:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In 1824 Lafayette visited the United States. It was his final voyage to the land in the achievement of whose independence he had borne so glorious a part. On this tour, Louisiana was included in the scope of his itinerary.

In December, 1824, the General Assembly of this State had authorized the Governor to draw from the public treasury a sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, to give General Lafayette a reception in our State worthy (so reads the statute) of the patriotic warrior, whom the American nation delights to honor; and resolutions had been adopted tending to co-operation of State and City to celebrate (again I quote the legislative language) in the most magnificent manner, the arrival of General Lafayette.

New Orleans, then the Capital of Louisiana, appropriated as the contribution of the Corporation toward the cost of the reception of Lafayette, an amount equal to that which the Governor had been empowered to expend.

The Steamer Natchez was despatched to Mobile to bring Lafayette to New Orleans.

On the morning of the 9th of April, 1825, he arrived off the delta of the Mississippi, and began the ascent of that imperial river. As his voyage progressed the cannon's reverberations announced his approach. At midnight, in the vicinity of Mr. Morgan's plantation the Natchez cast anchor. In the afternoon of the following day the

voyage was resumed. The battlefield was sighted. By felicitous selection, Lafayette's place of landing was the historic plain of Chalmette. A large assemblage had congregated on the levee. Artillery saluted as he came ashore. A cavalry detachment detailed as his escort, together with a glittering staff, awaited him. He was received by twelve marshals and by members of the committee of arrangements; and having entered his carriage, to which were harnessed six grey horses, was driven to the house of Mr. William Montgomery, which had been the headquarters of Andrew Jackson when defending New Orleans.

Within that dwelling, adorned by the richness of heroic association, the Governor of Louisiana met Lafayette and bade him welcome to the State. The distinguished guest feelingly replied. After these ceremonious addresses ensued a period yielding opportunity for presentations, for kindly greetings, for renewal of old friendships, for interchange of martial reminiscences, for general conversation.

A procession was formed, which with Lafayette as the dominant figure, moved onward to the City, and grew in volume with its extending course. At length was reached what then was the Place d'Armes. Almonester's daughter had not yet embellished the place nor asked that its name be changed to Jackson Square. Lafayette descended from his equipage of state; he entered the Place d'Armes; the impetuous people strove to look upon him; and the joyous acclamations of the multitude mingled with the music which the belfry of the Cathedral scattered on the air.

In the center of the square on arch of triumph had been reared. There Roffignac, Mayor of New Orleans, received Lafayette, and expressed the gratification of the City at his arrival. At the Court-house, Denis Prieur, the Recorder, and as such the presiding officer of the City Council, extended to Lafayette, in their behalf, a further welcome.

To the Mayor and to the Recorder, the renowned visitor made appropriate acknowledgment.

Lafayette was thereafter conducted to the Cabildo, which in those distant days was the City Hall, and continued so to be until the early portion of May, 1853. This building had been sumptuously furnished for his service and was assigned as his place of abode during his residence in New Orleans.

The Cabildo became the house of Lafayette; or in the speech so beloved of the people, *la maison de Lafayette*. Amid the enthusiasm of the exulting citizens he took possession of his temporary home.

Turning from those who were in attendance, he advanced to the front of this building, and from the balcony on Chartres Street reviewed the troops that were parading below.

Into the Cabildo poured the people eager to greet the famous veteran of our struggle for independence.

The tide of visitors ebbed away. The night drew on. They who had been his companions at dinner lingered for a while; all who were not of the household at length withdrew; the hero was left to his repose; and quiet brooded over the Cabildo.

On the morning of the morrow the tide again set in, and the flow and the ebb continued as day followed upon day. Officials, members of the bar and of the medical profession, soldiers of the American Revolution, veterans of the field of Chalmette; citizens, generally, called to offer to the hero the lavish homage of their reverential admiration.

On the second evening of his sojourn, Lafayette visited James H. Caldwell's theatre, which had recently been built in the upper portion of the expanding city. Caldwell was an Englishman who had settled in New Orleans. He had amassed fortune; was a patron of the drama; and was himself a "well graced actor." At Caldwell's theatre Lafayette was greeted with clamorous manifestations of veneration and delight.

From witnessing the representation on the American stage, he proceeded to the Orleans theatre and viewed the last two acts of a comedy performed by Davis' Company of histrions. At the termination of the play, the actresses and actors rendered a musical composition which ended with mention of Lafayette and freedom. The audience took up these associated words, and the house resounded with tumultuous shouts of *Vivent Lafayette et la liberté*.

A ball given for him at the Orleans theatre presented a spectacle of brilliant revelry. It is said that eight hundred ladies graced the occasion with their presence.

On the 13th of the month the City was illuminated. The Place d'Armes was radiant with multicolored light. The arch, the Court-house, the Cabildo blazed with the splendor of fiery ornamentation. In the softness of the April night, the daughters of New Orleans, clad in the elegance of evening attire, crowded the neighboring balconies, or were units of beauty in the throng which filled the Square.

Restriction of time constrains me to bring to a conclusion this imperfect sketch.

Briefly it may be stated that the City was riotous with gaiety of patriotism. Their hearts uplifted in rejoicing, a demonstrative

people, with generous enthusiasm, made of the visit of Lafayette a glad series of gala days and festal nights.

Friday, the 15th of April, was the date of his departure. About mid-day he left the Cabildo. The soldiery taking up their march, advanced between crowding lines of people, and were his guard of honor to where the Natchez lay expectant.

The words of farewell were spoken; the moorings were thrown off; and the steamer, dignified by its heroic burden, moved slowly forth upon the broad surface of the stream.

Thus passed the visit of Lafayette, leaving as a precious possession to the people, the proud remembrance that they had been privileged to entertain the illustrious Frenchman, who in the days of his chivalrous youth had fought for the cause of our infant Republic.

Here then to-night, in the house of Lafayette, beneath the companion flags which drape these walls, the tri-colored emblem of France and the constellated standard of the American Union, let us proclaim our fervent hope that the historic friendship which culminated in glorious victory at Yorktown may endure, and that, undimmed in the procession of the ages, it may continue "from generation unto generation and unto countless generations forever."



NOTES

Bibliographiques et raisonnés
Sur les principaux ouvrages publiés
sur
LA FLORIDE
et l'ancienne LOUISIANE,
depuis leur découverte jusqu' à l'époque actuelle.
accompagnés de trois cartes de Guillaume Delisle,
publiés en 1703 et 1712.

Notes bibliographiques et raisonnés sur les principaux Ouvrages
Publiés sur la Floride et l'Ancienne Louisiane depuis leur découverte
jusqu'à l'époque actuelle.

INTRODUCTION

As the title conveys, these Notes include a period and a field that practically cover the whole of early colonial history and they disseminate over it an amount of light that renders even the darkest paths across it clear to the eyes of the student. When finished, some sixty years ago, it was without doubt the most complete catalogue of its kind existence, and had it attained the publicity it deserved it would have placed its author in the foremost rank of American historiographers. Considered today when historical research work has been specialized to reach the most finished perfection, it can stand the test of comparison even with other critical and analytical catalogues compiled by noted scholars aided by staffs of skilled assistants in the great historical collections of libraries enriched by the treasures of fifty years of successful mining in the European archives; covering the field in which Boimare delved alone with no other assistance than that furnished by his own two hands and indefatigable patience and energy. The volumes in his list number one hundred and ninety; each one is accompanied by its analytical and critical note; all but a few carefully excepted in the test, have been read by the author and the whole manuscript a considerable one which includes an index has been copied by him in a pains-taking chirography that in the minute precision of its clear characters vie with copperplate. The manuscript is in short a marvel of erudition and conscientious devotion to an arduous and as it proved an ungrateful task.*

The sorrow that it should have remained lost so long and deprived of its usefulness is forgotten in the joy over its final recovery and restoration to its rightful position in the world of letters. What was its history after it left its author during the many years of its wanderings and by what good adventure it at last reached a sure haven on the book shelf of our distinguished member, we do not know. No other work of Boimare's has come down to us; whether any other one is drifting beyond our ken on the sea of literary flotsam and jetsam may never find out; presumably his life did not more

*NOTE—The Manuscript of this work and the only copy known to collectors, belongs to the private library of Americano of Mr. T. P. Thompson, who has now kindly loaned it to the Louisiana Historical Society for publication.

than compass this achievement; it must indeed have consumed the number of his allotted working years for he was middle aged as we can compute when he began it.

The modest seclusion in which he lived, disguised as we may well express it, as a bookseller in New Orleans and Paris shielded him so well from publicity that we are dependent upon the charitable memory of an old friend, Mr. Henry Vignaud of Paris, the distinguished historian and an honorary member of our Society, for a few items to eke out the details that we have previously obtained concerning the life of so admirable and generous a laborer in the vineyard of Louisiana history.

Mr. William Beer of the Howard Library, our co-member, has most considerately placed at our disposition a letter written by Mr. Vignaud to him in answer to his inquiry about Boimare. "I have known Boimare," he writes March 19th, 1917, "and all his family very well; he began by being a bookseller in New Orleans, where he married a Creole lady. I do not remember her name. He returned to France and came back to New Orleans later as an assistant to his eldest son Francis Boimare, as bookseller. He returned to France with no money and had to earn his bread by hard work. He died in poverty. He was an upright man."

It was in the year 1825, that Boimare came to New Orleans. His store was in Chartres street, number 1135, afterwards removed to 137 Royal street. He also maintained a circulating library. The store and library are remembered still (an inherited memory) as of importance in the life of the city; at that time entering its golden age of prosperity and wealth which were bearing fruit in elegance and refinement of life. The great names of the bench and bar that have come down to us in local tradition as glorious were then borne by the living men. Francois Xavier Martin, then in the maturity of his life, had already published his history of Louisiana; Charles Gayarre, young, handsome and ambitious, was known to be preparing to dispute the title of historian with him. We can imagine, we like to imagine, that they were wont of an afternoon to resort to Boimare's store for books and papers and to hear and to talk over the news. There must have been some discussion, there always has been discussion among lawyers over the respective qualifications of the two men, both of the legal profession, as historians and no doubt there was a general overhauling of the historical authorities then available at Boimare's, and in the city. Boimare, who as we have seen, possessed also qualifications as a historian, must have been a useful factor in procuring new data, and in judging what was in current handling.

Although, as far as we know, no mention is made of him, nor of any service rendered by him to the historians. We have no facts to go on but the surmise is probable almost unavoidable that Boimare found, and made known to the historians, Martin and Gayarre, a certain manuscript that was being circulated in copies in the city. This was the *Journal Historique de l'Establishement des Francais a la Louisiane* by Bernard de la Harpe.

Both historians, as we know, had recourse to La Harpe for facts and dates following him faithfully, but, neither for all the use he made of the manuscript seems to have had the thought of preserving it in print for the use of succeeding generations of historical students, although both could have done so with financial ease, and here in New Orleans at that time there were presses that were putting out very creditable work (Gayarre's own first book, his "Essai Historique," was published in this city.) It is to Boimare's credit, we may even say glory, that he the humble bookseller did not also "pass by," but took upon himself, to rescue it from probable destruction, at any rate from probable loss—a record that stands as the open door to all historical research in the early colonial history of Louisiana. For this reason, if not on account of his later work Boimare's name should be enshrined in our Cabildo, our Louisiana Historical Society's Hall of Fame. As the *Journal Historique* was published in Paris, not New Orleans, in 1831, Boimare may have gone to France for that purpose. He returned to New Orleans in the early fifties, but as we have seen was forced to go back to France to make his living.

In Paris he obtained employment in the great establishment of Chadenat, celebrated at that time for his collections of rare Americanae. No one in the old or new world was better fitted to appreciate such a field, or to labor in it. His call to it must have been imperative. Neither poverty nor hard work deterred him from answering it; nor the fear of greater poverty nor harder work. There is nothing more to add, further comment seems unnecessary.

GRACE KING.

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Un certain nombre d'ouvrages ont certainement échapper à mes recherches, mais comme ce Travail ne sera livré à l'impression qu'autant que des Juges compétents le croiront utile au public je réparerai alors les omissions qui s'y rencontrent.

PREFACE

I have put these notes together believing that I could fill a bibliographical gap and in publishing them facilitate the researches of those who wish to know the different histories of Louisiana; to follow the voyagers who visited it at different periods or sought information about the writings of the various naturalists who have given a description of its natural wealth. This was my motive for the work.

The summary and critical accounts that follow each book have been drawn from the best sources of authority. As to the reflections that belong properly to me, I have endeavored after becoming acquainted with the books to write them with impartiality, if without elegance, for my inexperience as a writer forces me to beg the indulgence of the reader, in this respect.

In general, the books that are the subject of these notes, are not the ordinary ones of commerce many even are very rare, but when by dint of searching, I have succeeded in obtaining them it has happened frequently that the maps and pictures that should have accompanied them have been abstracted from them, which prevents the reader from following the author in his geographical indications. To remedy this inconvenience as much as possible, I have joined to this volume three maps by the aid of which one can easily supply those that are lacking in the books that refer to them.

These three maps are from Guillaume de l'Isle, the first two of *La Nouvelle France*, of Mexico and Florida, were published in 1703; the other one, the map of Louisiana did not appear until 1712, but it is much more correct than that of Hennepin and Joutel, and it possesses the advantage of showing the itineraries of the first explorers of Florida and Louisiana. By means of the chronological sequence adopted in these notes, and the maps that accompany them, the reader is enabled to read the complete history of Louisiana, written by contemporaries themselves, and to follow the progress of the settlements that were successively established.

As I have said, my principal object in view, was to make known the works of the historians, the explorers and the naturalists who have written especially on Louisiana and Florida; nevertheless, I thought it would be agreeable to my readers to furnish them also the titles of the principal works whose authors have given their attention

rather to philosophical considerations on America and its origin and of its people in general, rather than to the relation of its history, or the description of its various parts. The list of these works will be found at the end of the notes. If I have succeeded in the object that I proposed to myself, and above all if this little work is favorably received by the Louisiana public, I shall feel myself amply paid.

A. L. BOIMARE,

One time Librarian at New Orleans.

Paris, September, 1853.

PREMIERE EPOQUE.

Ouvrages publiés avant 1681.

Lorsque les Francais sous la conduite de La Salle prirent possession de la Louisiane au mois d'avril, 1682, elle avait fait partie jusque là de la province espagnol Floride qui dépendait de la vice royaute du Mexique. Il convient donc d'indiquer d'abord les principaux ouvrages publiés antérieurement à cette époque et dans lesquels on trouve des notions concernant le pays qui plus tard reçut un autre nom en changeant de propriétaire.

Le premier ouvrage connu est celui d'un gentilhomme portugais qui accompagnait Hernandez Soto dans l'expédition de la Floride. L'auteur a gardé l'anonyme. Il est institué suivant M. Cernaux Campans que je copie:

1. Relacion verdadera dos trabalhos que o Gobernador D. Fernando de Soto y ciertos fidalgos Portugueses passaron no descubrimiento da provincia de Florida agora novamente feita por hunc fidalgo d'Elvas.

En 4o. Evora, en la casa de Burgos. 1557.

Cet ouvrage dont l'original, dit M. Cernaux, est rarissime a été traduit d'abord en anglais par Hakluyt, sous le titre suivant:

2. Virginia, richly valued by the description of the main land of Florida, her next neighbour: out of the foure yeeres continuall travel and discouerie for above one thousand miles east and west of don Fernando de Soto, and six hundred able men in his companie. Wherein are truly observed the richness and fertilitie of those parts, abounding with things necessarie, pleasurable and profitable for the life of man: with the natures and dispositions of the inhabitants: written by a portugall gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the action, and translated out of the portuguese by Richard Hakluyt. fo. London, 1609.

Il a été traduit ensuite en français par Citry de la Guette, sous le titre de:

3. Histoire de la conquest de la Floride par les espagnols sous Fernando de Soto écrite en portugais par un gentilhomme de la ville d'Elvas. 300 pages.

Paris. Denis Thierry, in 12o. 1685.

"Cette relation," dit Citry de la Guette, "a l'avantage d'estre original et de venir de la première main, à la difference de celle de la Floride del Inca Garcillasso de la Vega qui ne peut lui disputer le prix, n'ayant paru que depuis celle-cy, et n'ayant été composé que sur le recit que luy en fit un simple cavalier qui avait suiry Fernando de Soto en la Floride, et qui, faute d'intelligence a pu se tromper en beaucoup de choses, aussi bien que Garcillasso faute de memoire et d'application. C'est ainsi qu'au commencement de sa Floride, il assure que Soto y, alla accompagne de treize cents hommes, au lieu que notre auteur dit, avec beaucoup plus d'apparence qu'il n'y en avait que six cen; sur quoy l'on doit remarquer qu'un gentilhomme comme il estait a ordinairement plus de lumiere qu'un simple soldat. Il n'a pas voulu se faire connoistre et cet exemple de modestie nous est un bon garant de sa sincerite. Son style est naturel, simple et sans aucuns ornements, tel que le doit estre celuy d'un discours qui n'a que la vérité pour objet."

4. Historie notable de la Floride situé es Indes occidentales, Contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines et pilotes français, descrits par le capitaine Laudonnière qui a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys. A laquelle a esté ajouté un quatrième voyage fait par le capitaine Gourgues, mise en lumière par Mo. Basanier, Gentilhomme français mathematico. Paris. Guillaume Auvray, 80. de 8 et 124 pages. 1586.

Le même ouvrage reimprimé avec soins en 1853, par M. P. Janet, dans sa charmante bibliothèque Elzévirinne, in 16o. 1 vol. Hakluyt a traduit en anglais la relation de Laudonnière. Elle a pour titre:

5. A notable history containing four voyages made by certayne French captaynes into Florida, newly translated out of French by R. H. London. 1587.

Le premier voyage du capitaine Laudonnière remonte a 1564, il avait pour objet la reconstruction du fort bati en 1562 par Ribaut qui, le premier des Français avait abordé à la Floride. Les Espagnols jaloux de cet établissement, l'avaient entierement ruiné; ils avaient même fait perir une partie des premiers coloms mis en fuite et dispersé le reste. L'expedition de Laudonnière eut un plein succès: il reconstruisit dans un autre lieu le fort auquel on donna le nom de Fort de la Caroline. Mais la division s'étant mise parmi les colons, par l'effet de l'insubordination et par

l'osiveté, Ribaud qui était revenu dans le pays, ne put y rebabir ni l'ordre ni le gout du travail. Les Espagnols profitèrent de cette anarchie pour surprendre le fort de la Caroline. Dans la chaleur du combat ils massacrèrent d'abord partie de ceux qui le défendaient; mais ils poussèrent ensuite la barbarie à un tel exces qu'ils ecorchèrent vif Ribaud et pendirent à un arbre quelques uns de ses compagnons d'infortune, avec cette inscription derisoire: non comme Français mais comme herétiques.

Dominique de Gourgue du Mont Marsan indigné de cette atrocité des Espagnols equipa un vaisseau a ses frais, débarqua a la Floride y reprit le fort de la Caroline et un autre fort qu'ils y avaient bati et fit pendre plusieurs espagnols au même arbre ou ils avaient attaché les Français. L'inscription porteit: non comme Espagnols mais comme Forbans. "La faiblesse du Gouvernement français faillit rendre de Gourgues victime de son action heroïque. Poursuivi par les Espagnols il leur aurait été livré s'il ne se fut pas soigneusement caché."

Boucher de la Richarderie.

6. Garcillasso de la Vega (El Inca). La Florida del Inca, historia del avelantado Hernando de Soto in 40. en Lisboa 1605.
A été traduit en Francais par divers ecrivains; la version la plus estimée est celle de Richelet, elle est intitulé:
7. Histoire de la conquete de la Floride; ou relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la découverte de ce pays par Fernando de Soto. Paris. Musier, en 1202 parties en un volume. 281 et 249 pages. 1709 and 1711.

Il ignore quelle est la date de la première traduction anglaise de la Floride de Garcillasso.

Richelet dit que: "La premiere traduction de ce livre faite en francais est due à Baudoin et parut en 1658, quoique bonne dans le fond, elle eut un sort assez extraordinaire; le libraire qui vit qu'elle n'avait pas un grand debit, la considera comme un mauvais livre et la vendit aux epiciers pour servir d'enveloppe; elle devint rare et monta à un prix excessif; mais les libraires de Hollande la firent re-imprimer en 1705 et 1706.

Il y aurait pour l'honneur de Garcillasso de la Vega bien des reflexions à faire sur ce que dit notre auteur, M. Citry de la Guette, l'un de nos meilleurs ecrivains, mais nous nous contenterons des suivantes: "Qui à oui poser en regle qu'une relation qui n'a par uque depuis une autre, merite moins le titre d'original

que celle qui est anterieure? Et ou en serions nous avec nos histoires dont les posterieres ont, la plupart du temps, fait evanouir et avec raison celle du temps meme? Croira-ton que Garcillasso n'a mis dans son livre un si bel ordre, un detail si exacte et si bien circonstancie que sur la rapport d'un simple cavalier peu intelligent? Si cette relation à été de memoire, je l'en trouve d'autant meilleure, car assurement ce cavalier devait étre un prodige puisqu'il narre dans un si bel ordre un si grand nombre d'actions qui s'étaient passées il y avait pres de 40 ans. Cela serait facile à prouver; l'expédition s'était faite en 1539. Garcillasso à fini son ouvrage en 1591. Je lui donne pour le composer dix ans, c'est beaucoup. Ainsi depuis 1543 que cette expédition fut terminée, jus'en 1581, il faut compter 38 ans. Pour moi j'admire une si belle memoire. Mais je le dirai sincèrement: M. Citry de la Gueule à eu raison de louer son auteur aux dépens de Garcillasso; et j'ai rasion de venger Garcillasso au préjudice de ceux qui le meprisent. Si nous faisions autrement nous serions tous deux à blâmer."

8. DeLaët. *Novus orbis descriptions Indiae occidentalis libri xviii*, autore Joanne de Laët, Antuerpensi, novis tabulis geographicis et variis animentium, plantazum, fructunque iconibus illustrati folio, Lugduni Batavorum apud Elzevierius. 1633.

Cet ouvrage fut bientôt traduit en français sous le titre suivant:

9. *Le Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes occidentales* contenant xviii livres, par le Sieur Jean de Laët d'Anvers, enrichies de nouvelles tables géographiques et de figures des animaux, plantes et fruits. Leyde et Amsterdam, Elzevir t. 1640.

"Dans le quatrième livre de cet ouvrage (p. 103 a 131) dit Charlevoix, l'auteur fait une assez bonne description de la Floride qu'il à tiré principalement des Annales d'Antoine de Herrera. Il nous apprend toutes les tentatives des Espagnols pour s'y établir, sous la conduite de Jean Ponce de Leon, du licencié Luc Vasquez, d'Ayllon, de Pamphile de Narvaez, de Fernando de Soto et de Louys de Moscoso: les expéditions des Français dans cette partie de la Floride qui est aujourd'hui partagé entre les Anglais et les Espagnols; l'établissement de St. Augustin par Don Pedro Menendez après que ce General eut chassé les Français de la Floride et la guerre qu'il eut à so tenir contre le Chevalier Francis Drake, anglais.

Boucher de la Richarderie de son coté, porte le jugement suivant

sur l'ouvrage de Laët: "C'est une assez bonne compilation des materiaux qu'ont fourni à l'auteur des divers ouvrages dont il donne lui-même la liste au commencement du sien. On doit lui rendre la justice de dire que son travail annonce une critique assez judicieuse et qu'il développe dans le cours de sa description, et surtout dans la préface générale qui est à la tête un esprit de liberté et d'indépendance qu'on est étonné de trouver dans un sujet de la couronne d'Espagne. Laët, en décrivant la côté de la Floride, ne mentionne le nom d'aucune rivière dont l'embouchure correspondrait à celle du Mississippi et il ajoute que tout l'espace depuis la baie de St. Joseph jusqu'à la rivière des Palmes (Le Rio del Norte) est fort peu connu. Toutefois dans sa carte de la Nouvelle Espagne il indique un Rio escondido dont la position est à peu de chose près celle du Mississippi. On peut donc conclure qu'à cette époque (1640) la véritable entrée du Mississippi était inconnue, même aux Géographes espagnols dont Laët faisait partie. Une traduction anglaise de Laët, Herrera et autres se trouve dans l'ouvrage de John Harris intitulé:

10. Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca ov: A collection of voyages and Travels consisting of above four hundred of the most authentic writers, beginning with Hackluyt, Purchass in English; Ramusio in Italian; Thevenot in French, &c. London. 2 vol. fo. 1715.
11. Heylyns (Peter). Cosmography in four books, containing the chorography and history of the whole world: and all the principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas, and the Isles thereof. Five parts in one vol. fo. the 6th edition. London. from 1663 to 1682. *Cet ouvrage qui, par le nombre de ses éditions paraît avoir été populaire en Angleterre, contient à la page 99 du 4e. livre une description de la Floride qui ne fournit pas plus de lumière sur la position du Mississippi que celui de Laët.*
Avant de donner l'indication des ouvrages relatifs à la Louisiane depuis son occupation par les Français, je dois faire mention des deux volumes suivants, publiés par M. Ternaux Campans, lesquels font partie de sa:
Collection de Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique, Paris. 20 vols. in 8o. 1837 à 1841.
12. *L'un de ces volumes (le 20e. de la collection) est du plus haut intérêt pour l'histoire de la Floride, ainsi qu'on en pourra juger*

par l'indication des pieces presque toutes inedites qui s'y trouvent reunies:

1. Sommation à faire aux habitants des contrés et provinces qui s'étendent depuis la riviere des Palmes et le cap de la Floride.
2. Mémoire sur la Floride, ses cotés et ses habitants qu'aucun de ceux qui l'ont visité n'ont su décrire par Hernando d'Escalante Fontanedo.
3. Lettre écrite par l'an delantado Soto, au corps municipal de la ville de Santiago, de l'isle de Cuba.
4. Relation de ce qui arriva pendant le voyage du capitaine Soto et détails sur la nature du pays qu'il parcourut, par Louis Hernandez de Biedma.
5. Relation de la Floride pour l'illusterrissime seigneur Vice-roi de la Nouvelle Espagne apporté par Frère Gregorio de Beteta.
6. Compte rendu par Guido de las Bazarer du voyage qu'il fit pour découvrir les ports et les baies qui sont sur les cotés de la Floride, pour la sureté des troupes que l'on doit envoyer, au nom de sa Majesté, "coloniser cette contré" et la pointe de Ste. Hélène. Entreprise fait en vertu des ordres de Don Luis de Velasco, à sa Sacrée Majesté catholique et royal sur les affaires de la Floride.
7. Mémoire de l'heureux résultat et du bon voyage que Dieu notre Seigneur a bien voulu accorder à la flotte qui partit de la ville de Cadiz pour se rendre à la coté et dans la province de la Floride, et dont était General l' illustre seigneur Pero Menendez de Abiler, commandeur de l'ordre de St. Jacques. Cette flotte partit de la baie de Cadiz, le jeudi matin, 28 du mois de juin 1565, elle arriva sur les cotés des provinces de la Floride, le 28 aout de la même anné, par Francisco Lopez de Mendoza, chaplain de l'expédition.
8. Copie d'une lettre venant de la Floride, envoyé à Rouen et depuis au seigneur d'Eueron, ensemble le plan et portrait du fort que les Français y ont fait.
9. Histoire memorable du dernier voyage aux Indes, lieu appelé la Floride, fait par le Capitaine Ribaut, et entrepris par le commandement du Roy, en l'an 1555.
10. La Floride ou l'Histoire merveilleuse de ce qui est advenu

au dernier voyage du Capitaine Jean Ribaut, enterpris par le commandement du Roy, a l'Isle des Indes que vulgairement on appelle la Floride.

11. La repris de la Floride par le capitaine Gourgue. M. French, dans la deuxième partie de son "Historical collection of Louisiana," a traduit en anglais les pieces Nos. 3 et 4, cidesus relatés mais sans prevenir ses lecteurs qu'il en était redéivable à M. Ternaux Campans. Le second volume de M. Ternaux relatif à la Floride (la 7e. de la collection) est intitulé:
13. Relations et naufrages d'Alvar Nunez, Cabeca de la Vaca, publié à Valladolid en 1555 et traduite pour la première fois en Français.

Voici comment M. Ternaux Campans s'exprime dans sa préface au sujet de Cabeca de la Vaca:

"La relation de la Floride nous fait connaitre la position exacte, les moeurs et les coutumes d'un grand nombre de peuplades qui n'existent plus aujourd'hui; renseignements d'autant plus précieux pour nous, que quelques années après les Français, tenterent à plusieurs reprises, de former un établissement dans ce pays. La véracité du récit de Cabeca, est confirmé par Herrera, et par tous les historiens espagnols. Il fut certainement un homme d'une grande énergie et son voyage à travers le continent septentrional de l'Amérique, est une des entreprises les plus hazardeuses qui jamais aient été tentées.

La relation de la Vaca commence en 1527 et se termine en 1537, époque de son retour à Lisbonne. 2e. Epoque.

DEUXIEME EPOQUE.

Ouvrages publiés depuis l'occupation de la Louisiane par les Français.

14. Marquette (le Père) Jésuite. Découvertes de quelques pays et nations de l'Amérique septentrionale. 9te. Paris, Michallet, petit in 4o. de 43 pages. 1681.
C'est le journal que fit le père Marquette de son voyage avec le sieur Joliet lorsqu'ils découvrirent le Mississippi en 1673. Il parut pour la première fois dans le Recueil des voyages de Thévenot, et n'avait pas été réimprimé depuis, lorsqu'en 1845 M. Rich,

auteur de la Bibliotheca Americana, en fit faire un tirage à 125 exemplaires.

Ce journal a été traduit en anglais et placé à la suite de l'ouvrage du P. Hennequin dans l'édition de Londres de 1699. On en trouvera le titre au No. 19.

M. French (voir No.) a également traduit cette relation et l'a insérée dans le 2e. volume de sa Collection Historique, Pages 280 à 297.

Malgré la crédulité du père Marquette, la simplicité et la naïveté de son récit attachent le lecteur et l'intéressent. La carte qui accompagne cette relation est la première qui ait été publiée sur le cours du Mississippi. Elle avait été dressée sur les indications des Indiens et servit aux voyageurs dans leur exploration.

Dans le dixième volume de son American Biography, M. Sparks a consacré un assez long article au père Marquette et à Joliet, nous renvoyons nos lecteurs à cet excellent ouvrage publié à Boston de 1835 à 1848 en 15 volumes in 12.

15. Leclercq (le père Chrestien) Missionnaire recollet. Premier établissement de la foy dans la nouvelle France et les premières découvertes faites depuis le fleuve St. Laurent, la Louisiane et le fleuve Colbert jusqu'au golphe Mexique. Paris, Auroy, 2 vols. in 12 de 559 et 458 pages. 1691.

Cet ouvrage n'a été ni traduit en anglais, ni réimprimé depuis sa publication aussi est-il difficile de se le procurer. Toutefois il n'offre d'intérêt, relativement à l'histoire de la Louisiane que par l'insertion faite par le père Leclercq, dans les chapitres xxii et xxiii de son ouvrage, du journal du père Zenobe Membre, Missionnaire recollet qui accompagnait La Salle dans son premier voyage; et dans le chapitre xxiv de celui du père Anastase Douay, autre missionnaire recollet qui faisait partie de la seconde expédition de la Salle et qui fut témoin oculaire de sa mort. Ainsi que nous le dirons ci-après le père Hennepin à également inséré ce dernier Journal dans l'ouvrage indiqué sous le No. 18.

Les relations de pères Zenobe et Anastase ont toujours passé pour être très fidèles. Dans le procès verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane par La Salle, publié pour la première fois par M. Sparks en 1844, on voit figurer la signature du premier et le récit succinct inséré dans l'acte du notaire, La Métairie confirme en tous points celui du missionnaire.

16. Hennepin (le père Louis) Récollet. Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte au Sud Ouest de la Nouvelle France, par ordre du Roy. (dédiée a Louis xiv.) Carte in 12o. Paris, Huré 312 pages. Description et 107 Moeurs des Sauvages. 1683.

Ce fut le premier publié par le père Hennepin, il n'y mentionne nulle part le fait d'avoir descendu le Mississippi depuis la rivière des Illinois, ou il quitta La Salle. En outre, la carte qui est jointe à son livre, est la démonstration la plus complète que ce missionnaire n'a pas dit la vérité en se vantant dans sa seconde relation d'avoir précédé La Salle et reconnu, avant lui, l'embouchure du fleuve.

Les deux ouvrages dont on trouvera les titres à la suite de celui-ci, ne doivent être considérés que comme des amplifications du premier et comme des spéculations de librairie inspirés par le succès qui l'avait accueilli à son apparition.

17. Nouvelle découverte d'un pays plus grand que L'Europe, situé dans l'Amérique entre le Nouveau Mexique et le mer glaciale; dédiée a Guillaume iii Roy d'Angleterre, 2 cartes et fig. in 12 Leyde 604 pages et Table. 1697.

18. Nouveau Voyage d'un pays plus grand que l'Europe avec des reflexions des entreprises du sieur de la Salle sur les mines de Ste. Barbe. Dédiée a Guillaume iii Roy d'Angleterre. Fig. Carte in 12o. Utrecht 389 pages. 1698.

C'est en s'appropriant la relation du père Anastase Douay missionnaire récollet, qui avait accompagné La Salle dans sa dernière expédition, que le père Hennepin a composé ce dernier ouvrage.

Les libraires de Hollande ont donné de nombreuses éditions dans les formats in 4o. et 12o. des ouvrages du père Hennepin dont ils ont diversifié les titres. La seconde relation de ce religieux a été traduite dans presque toutes les langues de l'Europe. Voici le titre de la traduction anglaise dans laquelle on a réuni les deuxième et troisième ouvrages de père Hennepin:

19. New Discovery of a vast country in America, extending above four thousand miles between New France and New Mexico, to which are added several new discoveries in North America, not published in the French edition. Both parts in one volume 8o. Maps and plates. London 240 et 216 pages. 1699.

"Le père Hennepin avait été fort lié avec M. de la Salle et l'avait

suivi aux Illinois d'ou il l'envoya, avec le sieur Dacan, remonter le Mississippi. C'est le voyage qu'il a décrit dans son premier ouvrage dont le titre n'est pas juste, car le pays qu'il decouvrir en remontant ce fleuve depuis la rivière des Illinois jusqu'au sault St. Antoine, n'est pas de la Louisiane, mais de la Nouvelle France. Le titre du second ouvrage ne l'est davantage, car si loin qu'on ait remonté le Mississippi, on à encore été bien éloigné de la mer Glacial. Lorsque l'auteur publia cette "seconde relation, il était brouillé avec M. de la Salle. Il parait même qu'il avait défense de retourner en Amérique et que ce fut le chagrin qu'il en concui, qui le porta à s'en aller en Hollande où il fit imprimer son troisième ouvrage. Il n'y décharge pas seulement son chagrin sur la Salle, il fait encore retomber sur la France dont il se prétendait maltraité et croit sauver son honneur en déclarant qu'il était né sujet du roi catholique. Mais il aurait du se souvenir que c'était au frais de la France et que c'était au nom du roi très chrétien que lui et le sieur Dacan avaient pris possession des pays qu'ils avaient découverts. Il ne craignait même pas d'avancer que c'était avec l'agrement du roi catholique, son premier souverain, qu'il dedicait son livre au roi d'Angleterre Guillaume III, et qu'il sollicitait ce monarque à faire la conquête de ces vastes régions, à y envoyer des colons et à y faire prêcher l'évangile au infideles, démarche qui scandalisa les catholiques et fit rire les protestants mêmes, surpris de voir un religieux qui se disait missionnaire et notaire apostolique, exhorter un prince hérétique à fonder une église dans le nouveau monde."

Charlevoix.

Je terminerai ces notes sur les trois ouvrages du père Hennepin en rapportant les jugements de M. M. Sparks et Falconer:

"Hennepin accompanied La Salle to the Illinois and there parted from him. His account of the Mississippi south of this river is a mere fabrication."

20. Tonti (le chevalier) Gouverneur du fort St. Louis aux Illinois. Dernières découvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrional de M. de la Salle. Paris, Jean Guignard in 12o. 1597.
Cet ouvrage a été reimprime plusieurs fois en Hollande sous le titre de Relations de la Louisiane et du fleuve Mississippi. Il a été traduit en anglais et est intitulé:
21. Account of Mons. de la Salle's last expedition and discoveries in North America, published by the Chevalier Tonti. London 8o. 1698.

Le père Charlevoix et apres lui plusieurs écrivains ont pretendu que l'ourrage de Tonni était apochryphe et aurait été désavoué par lui. Des fautes d'impression, des inexactitudes dans certaines dates, quelques on dit rapportés trop légèrement et surtout des amplifications de rhétorique dues a l'editeur, ne sont pas des preuves suffisantes pour adopter l'opinion de Charlevoix, qui, écrivant d'ailleur un demi siècle apres Tonni aurait eu peine a recueillir de lui un pareil désaveu. Mais, en lisant Tonni il n'est pas difficile de se rendre compte des causes du jugement malveillant dont il à été victime. Un pretre missionnaires le frère de la Salle, l'avait honteusement trompé et Tonni en publiant sa mauvaise action, s'elait attiré la colère et le reseniment des robes grises et noires. Le père Hennepin de son coté refuse a Tonni jusqu'au courage et jusqu'a la fermeté dont il à donné les preuves les plus eclatantes et qui sont établié par les rapports officiels des gouverneurs de Canada. M. Falconer dans un ouvrage dont nous rendrons compte ci apres, a publié pour la première fois en 1844 la traduction de plusieurs manuscrits provenant de Tonni et il s'exprime ainsi sur l'ouvrage dont nous venoms de donner le titre. "This has hitherto been the chief authority respecting the voyage down the Mississippi. But Charlevoix says that Tonni disavowed the publication, declaring that it did him no honour in any particular.

Mr. Bancroft calls it: "A legend full of geographical contradictions, of confused dates, and manifest fiction."

And Mr. Sparks (see No.) speaks of it: "As a work not to be trusted as a record of historical facts and that it is probable that Tonni's notes fell into the hands of a writer in Paris, who held a ready pen and was endowed with a most fertile imagination and that he infused his own invention so copiously into the text of Tonni, that the task would now be utterly hopeless of selecting the true from the false, except so far as any particular passage may be confirmed by other authorities." In this volumie (of Mr. Falconer) the narrative of Tonni for the first time appears in its original form. It confirms the accuracy of the remarks of Mr. Sparks, respecting the great and extravagant additions that were made to it in the published work, in which events were transposed, geographical descriptions misplaced, and at the last two-thirds of fiction added. It is therefore, needless to point out what portion of it, the original narrative does not confirm. But the errors of date in the published work are to be found in the original. Thus 1679 is written by mistake for 1680 (page 53).

the Fête Dieu in June, 1681, is placed in October (page 61), June, 1683 for 1682 (page 74). And these mistakes run throughout the narrative, though the facts appear to be recited in their proper order. All that was known of de Tonti reflected the highest honour on him. He must be ranked next to La Salle, among those who contributed to the extension of the Western settlement of Canada, and to his bold and repeated excursions down the Mississippi, the successful expedition of d'Iberville must be ascribed. Whatever doubt the failure of the first expedition to the Gulf of Mexico may have produced in France, must have been removed by the information obtained through his courageous efforts to save his countrymen. His memory has suffered, for nearly a century and a half, under the reproach "of his want of veracity and from this it will be hereafter exempt."

S'il etait nécessaire de donner une autre preuve de ce que dit M. Falconer, on la trouverait dans le passage suivant extrait du Journal de la Harpe, page 9 sous la date de Mars, 1699:

"M. d'Iberville était incertain s'il etait dans le fleuve du Mississippi, n'y ayant trouvé aucune nation dont M. de la Salle avait fait mention; ce qui venait de ce que les Tangibaos avaient été detruit par les Quinipissas et que ces derniers avaient pris le nom de Mongoulachas. Il eut une grande satisfaction de ce que M. de Bienville, en cherchant le bréviere du père Anasthase qui l'avait égaré trouva dans un panier de ces sauvages quelques paires d'heures, sur lesquels etaient les écrit les noms de plusieurs Canadiens du détachement de feu M. de la Salle, et une lettre qui etait addressé par M. le Chevalier de Tonti; il y disait qu'ayant appris par le Canada son départ pour la France, pour former l'établissement de ce fleuve, il l'avait descendu jusqu'à la mer avec vingt Canadiens et trente Chaouanons, sauvages des environs de l'Ouabache. Ces nouvelles leverent entièrement le doute et confirmèrent la situation de l'entrée du Mississippi par 29 degrés. On trouva aussi chez ces nations un corset d'armes à double mailles de fil d'archal qui avait appartenu à Fernando de Soto.

22. Lahontan (le Baron de). *Nouveau voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale avec un petit dictionnaire de la langue des Hurons*, Amsterdam 2 vols. in 12 cartes et planches. 1703. *Plusieurs éditions de ce livre ont été publiés en Hollande de 1703 à 1735. Il a été traduit en allemand, en espagnol et en anglais. Voici le titre de cette dernière traduction:*

23. New Voyages to North America containing an account of the several nations of that vast continent; a geographical description of Canada and a dictionary of the Algonkine language by Baron Lahontan, Lieut. of Placentia in New Foundland. Maps and plates. 2 vol. in 8o. London. 1703 to 1735.

Dans voyages de Lahontan, il n'y à que son excursion a la rivière longue (St. Pierre) qui ait trait à la Louisiane. Cette relation est faite dans la lettre xvi de son livre. Charlevoix traite rudement le Baron de Lahontan qui, de son coté, n'a pas manqué une seule occasion de lancer des sarcasmes sur les jésuites et les récollets. C'est sans doute, à ses idées très avancées pour l'époque et a son style sans gène que Lahontan a du l'angouement dont il a été l'objet; car il faut le reconnaître, le hableur perce trop souvent dans ses narrations. Voici le jugement que porte Boucher de la Richardson sur les voyages de Lahontan:

"Dans un temps où, comme l'observe l'éditeur de ce voyage, les relations du Canada et des pays adjacents, presque toutes rédigées par des missionnaires ne presentaient guère qu'un détail de messes, de miracles, de conversions, celle de Lahontan qui, a des faits authentiques, mêlait des fictions agréables, quoique écrites d'un style dur et barbare, tel qu'un bon devait l'attendre d'un soldat de fortune, dût être accueillie avec une certaine faveur. Ce qu'il y avait de conformé à la vérité dans le voyage, dut en imposer sur ce qu'il contenait de fabuleux; et des grands écrivains d'une grande réputation tels que Montesquieu, le citent avec confiance. Des relations postérieures ont dévoilé tous les défauts qu'on reproche avec justice à Lahontan. On a reconnu qu'il avait fréquemment altéré les faits, que presque tous les noms propres des lieux et des peuples étaient corrompus et qu'il avait même jeté dans sa narration des épisodes absolument fabuleuses."

24. Joutel. Journal historique du dernier voyage que feu M. de la Salle fit dans le golfe de Méxique pour trouver l'embouchure et le cours de la rivière de Mississippi, nommé à présent la Rivière de St. Louis qui traverse la Louisiane. in 12 carte. Paris. Etienne Robinot. 386 pages. 1713.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:

25. A Journal of the last voyage performed by Mons. de la Salle to the Gulf of Mexico to find out the mouth of the Mississippi river, by M. Joutel. Map in 8o. 209 pages. London. 1714. *Les pères Zenobe Membre et Anastase Douay, missionnaires récollets et Joutel, on raconté les premiers les diverses expédi-*

tions ainsi que la fin malheureuse du brave et infortuné la Salle; Mais c'est à M. Sparks que nous devons une histoire complète de sa vie. Il est à regretter que ce monument élevé à la memoire de la Salle, ne l'ait pas été par une main française; toutefois je ne serai pas seul à témoigner ma gratitude à M. Sparks pour son ouvrage et je crois qu'elle sera partagé par tous ceux de mes compatriotes, jaloux de la gloire de leur pays.

Joutel rendit d'importants services à la Salle auquel il se montra toujours dévoué. Son journal est plein d'intérêt et paraît écrit avec sincérité. Il n'a pas été réimprimé et est devenu fort rare, aussi bien en français qu'en anglais. C'est avec raison que M. Falconer à écrit:

"The fullest account of La Salle's second expedition was written by Joutel. He was more fortunate in his editor than de Tonii. His narrative may be most implicitly relied on, even in the few particulars in which he differs from father Anastase. His account of Texas is brief, and yet he tells almost all that any other than a scientific traveller could relate of its flat lands, open prairie, and narrow belts of timber on the borders of its rivers. Any person who has visited that country, will admit that he told nothing but what he actually saw of it, and on this account, independently of other reasons, will readily trust his relation of personal facts."

26. Bernard de la Harpe. Journal historique (de 1698 à 1720) de l'Etablissement des Francais à la Louisiane.
Cet ouvrage n'a été imprimé qu'en 1831 et à paru à la Nouvelle Orleans en 1 vol. in 8o. sur l'une des copies manuscrites qui circulaient à la Louisiane à cette époque. Les renseignements que la Harpe nous a transmis sont on ne peut plus précieux. Son livre ainsi que celui de Dumont continuent le journal de Joutel. C'est du journal de la Harpe que M. M. Stoddard et Darby ont tiré leur description de la Louisiane à cette époque.
27. A full and impartial account of the Company of Mississippi otherwise called the French East India Company, projected and settled by M. Law and others. London 8o. 1720.
Cette brochure de 79 pages publiée en anglais et en français est l'histoire de l'établissement de la Compagnie des Indes occidentales et de la Banque de Law. Elle enumère les avantages incroyables qui devaient en résulter pour les actionnaires en particulier et pour tous les français en général. Elle renferme aussi une description de la Louisiane. Je recommanderai aux personnes qui désiraient s'éclairer sur cette époque, un livre publié en 1853,

chez Hachette et Cie. sous ce titre: (*Law et son époque*), dont M. Cochut est l'auteur. Cet ouvrage est aussi curieux qu'intéressant pour l'histoire de la Louisiane, puisque, c'est à la création de la Compagnie du Mississippi que la Nouvelle Orleans doit sa fondation.

28. De l'Isle (Guillaume) Géographe du Roi. Sa lettre à Cassini sur la carte de la Louisiane et sur l'embouchure du Mississippi inseré dans le Recueil des voyages au nord, vol. 3e. Amsterdam. 1715.

Les deux cartes de G. de l'Isle, l'une des pays baignés par le golfe du Mexique, publié en 1703, et l'autre de la Louisiane qui a paru en 1712, sont indispensables pour l'intelligence des premiers ouvrages écrits sur cette contrée et sur les pays adjacents. Elles ont fait longtemps autorité pour leur exactitude. J'ai joint à ces notes une troisième carte, celle de la Nouvelle France, publié également en 1703.

29. Bernard (J. F.) Litterateur et Libraire d'Amsterdam. Recueil de voyages au nord contenant divers mémoires utiles au commerce et à la navigation et un grand nombre de cartes. Amsterdam. In 12c.

Une première édition en 4 volumes a paru en 1715.
Une seconde augmentée de 4 volumes en 1724.
Et enfin une troisième publiée en 1735 est en 10 volumes.

On trouvera dans ce recueil relativement la Louisiane: Dans le vol. iii, la lettre de l'Isle à Cassini sur la carte de la Louisiane; Dans le vol. v., Relation de la Louisiane par un officier de marine; Relation de la Louisiane et du fleuve Mississippi par le Chevalier de Tonni.

Voyage en un pays plus grand que l'Europe, par Hennepin (sa 3e. publication.)

Dans le vol. ix. Relation des Natchez par le père Le Petit, missionnaire.

Découverte d'un pays plus grand que l'Europe, par Hennepin. (sa 2e. publication.)

Cet intéressant recueil, dit Boucher de Richardson, "se trouve assez rarement complet. On y trouve des notions précieuses sur les animaux du Spitzberg, des relations de Groenland, de l'Islande de Terre neuve et de la Californie; le récit des premières tentatives faites pour trouver un passage du nord et aux Indes; plusieurs voyages en Tartarie et au Japon, avec d'excellentes observations

sur les habitants de ces contrées; un voyage de Moscou à la Chine, des mémoires sur ce vaste empire, des relations très étendues sur la Louisiane; enfin un mémoire fort curieux sur la porcelaine."

30. Bacqueville de la Pothérie. *Histoire de l'Amerique septentrional*, contenant le voyage du fort de Nelson dans la baie de Hudson a l'extremite de l'Amerique, le premier établissement des Francais dans ce vaste pays, la prise du dit fort de Nelson; la description du fleuve de St. Laurent, le gouvernement de Québec, des trois rivières et de Mont Real depuis 1534 jusqu's 1701; l'histoire des peuples alliés de la nouvelle France, leurs moeurs, leurs maximes, et leurs intérêts avec toutes les nations des lacs superieurs, tels que sont les Hurons et les Illinois, l'alliance faite avec les Francais et ces peuples, la possession de tous ces pays au nom du Roi et tout ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable sous Messieurs de Tracy, de Frontenac, de la Barre et de Denonville; l'histoire des Iroquois, leurs moeurs, leurs maximes, leur gouvernement, leurs intérêts avec les Anglais, leurs alliés, tous les mouvements de guerre depuis 1689 jusqu'en 1701, leurs negotiations, leurs ambassades, pour la paix générale avec les Français et les peuples alliés de la nouvelle France, l'histoire des Abénaquis, la paix générale dans toute l'Amerique septentrionale sous le gouvernement de M. de Frontenac et M. le chevalier de Callières pendant laquelle des nations eloignés de six cents lieus de Quebec s'assemblèrent a Mont Réal. Paris. Nyon et Didot, cartes et figures 4 volumes in 12o. 1722 et 1752.
- Le titre qui précéde donne un aperçu suffisant de l'ouvrage. Bacqueville a decrit le premier d'une manière exacte, les établissemens des François a Quebec, à Mont Réal aux Trois Rivières; il a fait connaitre surtout dans un grand détail et en jetant dans sa narration beaucoup d'intérêt les moeurs, les usages, les maximes, la forme du gouvernement, la maniere de faire la guerre et de contracter des alliances de la nation Iroquois, si célèbre dans cette partie de l'Amérique septentrionale. Boucher de la Richardson.*
31. Marest (Le père Gabriel) missionnaire. Lettre écrite des Illinois en 1712, inseré dans le Recueil xi des lettres edifiantes in 12o. vol. 17 et 23. 1722-1723.
32. Rasle (le Père) Missionnaire Jésuite. Deux lettres écrites des Illinois, inserés dans le Recueil des Lettres édifiantes, édition in 12o. vol. 17 et 23. 1722-1723.
- Le père Sébastien Rasle avait passé plus de vingt ans avec les*

sauvages, dont il avait été le maître et le compagnon; il les avait réunis en un village florissant autour d'une église qui s'élève gracieusement sur les bords du Kennebec cheri de son troupeau. Il gouvernait paternellement sa mission. En 1720 le Gouvernement de la nouvelle Angleterre s'était emparé par la ruse de plusieurs chefs Abénakis et les retenait en ôtage. Quoique la rançon demandée pour les mettre en liberté eut été payé, il continuait à les tenir captifs. Les Abénakis ménacèrent alors les Anglais d'exercer des représailles. Au lieu d'entrer en négociations les Anglais se saisirent du jeune Saint Castin qui tenait à la fois une commission de la France et exerçait comme fils d'une mère abanaquaise, le commandement sur les sauvages. Ils voulaient en même temps forcer les Abénakis à leur livrer le père Rasle. Mais n'ayant pu réussir à les persuader ils envoyèrent un corps considérable charge de surprendre le missionnaire. Les guerriers étaient absents du village, le père eut néanmoins le temps de se sauver dans les bois avec les veillards et les malades; et les Anglais ne trouvèrent que ses papiers. En 1723 les Anglais dirigèrent une nouvelle expédition contre les Abénakis et mirent le feu au village. Ils essayèrent vainement à deux reprises différentes de se saisir du père Rasle. Enfin, le 23 aout 1724, les anglais arrivèrent à l'improviste et firent une décharge de mousqueterie contre le village avant qu'on les eut aperçus. Il y avait, environ cinquante guerriers dans la place. Chacun saisit ses armes et tous sortirent moins pour combattre que pour protéger la fuite de leurs femmes et leurs enfants. Rasle à qui leurs cris fit comprendre le danger, s'élança au dehors pour sauver son troupeau, en attirant sur lui seul l'attention des assaillants. Son espoir ne fut point decu. Accablé d'une grêle de balles il tomba au pied d'une grande croix qu'il avait planté au milieu du village. Sept sauvages restés, avec lui périrent à ses côtés.

M. Bancroft dans son histoire des Etats Unis s'exprime ainsi, au sujet des missionnaires: Les missionnaires étaient heureux des souffrances qu'ils enduraient pour la gloire de leur divin maître; ils obtenaient en même temps et sans la rechercher une gloire immortelle aux yeux de la postérité par leur travaux et leur infatigable persévérance. En effet à quelles rigueurs, à quels dangers ne s'exposait pas le missionnaire du côté de la nature et des hommes en se rendant au milieu des sauvages. Luttant chaque jour contre les aspérités du climat, frayant son chemin sur les eaux ou la neige, privé de toutes les douceurs du foyer domestique, n'ayant d'autre pain que du maïs broyé sous la pierre et souvent

d'autre nourriture que la mousse délétrée qui croissait sur les rochers, il s'exposait à vivre, pour ainsi dire sans manger, à dormir sans asile, à voyager au loin au milieu des dangers, prêt à subir chaque jour toutes les horreurs de la faim de la captivité, ou de la mort, qu'il la reçut d'un coup de tomahawk ou au milieu des tortures du feu et des supplices inventés par les sauvages."

Abbé Brasseur, *Histoire du Canada.*

30. Charlevoix (le père) Jésuite. Journal d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans la Louisiane en 1721 et 1722 addressé à la Duchesse de Lesdiguière, dans une série de lettres.

Forme les volumes v. et vi. de l'édition in 12o. ou le vol. iii l'édition in 4o. de son *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. (Voir ci après no. 43) a été traduit en anglais sous ce titre:

Voyage to Canada and travels through that vast country and Louisiana to the Gulph of Mexico. 2 vol. 8o. Maps. London. 1761, 1763, 1766.

Avant de publier son grand ouvrage sur le Nouvelle France Charlevoix fut envoyé en Amerique par le Duc d'Orleans, alors régent, pour y recueillir sur place tous les renseignements, et y reunir tous les documents dont il devait faire usage par l'a suite. Aussi trouve-ton dans ses écrits ce que l'on chercherait vainement ailleur.

31. Lafitau (le père) Jésuite. Moeurs des sauvages amériquains comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps. ouvrage enrichi de grand nombre de figures en taille douce, 2 vols. in 4o. Paris. Le même ouvrage 4 vol. in 12. 1724.

L'auteur de cet ouvrage qui avait résidé longtemps parmi les diverses peuplades de la Nouvelle France en décrit avec soin les moeurs, les coutumes et la religion. Aussi, dit Charlevoix, c'est l'ouvrage le meilleur et le plus exact que nous ayons sur de sujet. Le père Lafitau possédait une connaissance approfondie de l'antiquité et le parallèle qu'il établit entre les anciens peuples et les Américains est aussi savant qu'ingénieux.

35. Coxe, (Daniel) of New Jersey. Description of the English province of Carolina, by the Spaniards called Florida and by the French la Louisiane. London. Map, 8o. 50 pages. Preface. 122 descriptions. 1722.

Reprinted several times.

Ce livre respire d'un bout à l'autre, la jalouse la plus passionnée, contre la nation française et à ce titre c'est un spécimen précieux

de ce que les préjugés peuvent enfanter de haine entre deux peuples. Malgré les affirmations reitérées de Dr. Coxe d'exploration première, on sera grandement tenté de croire qu'il a composé son écrit à l'aide de ceux du père Hennepin et de Lahontan. Il reproduit les billevesés du premier relativement à une communication courte et facile avec la Chine par le Mississippi et copie le second dans sa description de la Haute Louisiane.

Il est probable que la première édition de l'ouvrage du Dr. Coxe est antérieure à 1722, première édition indiquée par Warden, car on trouve à la fin de la traduction anglaise des voyages du père Hennepin publié à Londres en 1699 le post-scriptum suivant:

"I am informed a large map or draught of this country is preparing, together with a very particular account of the natives, their customs, religion, commodities and materials for divers sorts of manufactures, which are by the English procured at great expense from other countries."

Or, il ne pouvait être question que de l'ouvrage de Daniel Coxe, dont la carte ressemble fort à celle du père Hennepin publié en Hollande en 1698 et un peu à celle de Lahontan parue en 1703.

Il pourrait se faire toutefois que Daniel Coxe ait jugé à propos de ne publier son livre qu'à l'époque de la formation de la compagnie du Mississippi, et qu'il n'ait revendiqué la propriété de la Louisiane pour la Grande Bretagne qu'afin de donner de l'inquiétude aux actionnaires sur la validité des titres territoriaux.

M. French dans sa collection historique (voir No.) à réimprimé la description de Del Coxe, mais il en a supprimé la préface qui est cependant la partie la plus curieuse de ce livre. A la première page de la reproduction de M. French, on lit la note suivante:

The account of Louisiana has been very carefully drawn up from Memoirs and Journals kept by various persons sent into the Valley of Mississippi, by D. Coxe. The expedition fitted out by him, consisting of two ships, commanded by Cap. Barr, were the first to sail up the Mississippi (1598).

Je ne ferai pas à M. French le reproche d'avoir donné une date pour une autre. J'aime mieux croire que c'est une faute typographique. Toutefois je retrouverai la vérité la verte en citant le passage de la préface de M. Coxe, extrait de l'édition publié à Londres en 1727, que j'ai sous les yeux:

"The vast trouble and expense (those two great impediments of public good) the said proprietor has undergone to effect all this (the discovery of Louisiana) will scarcely be credited, for he not

*only, at his sole charge, for several years established and kept up a correspondence with the governor and chief Indian traders in all the English colonies on the continent of America, employed many people on discoveries by land to the west, north and south of this vast extent of ground, but likewise in the year 1698 he equipped and fitted out two ships, provided with abundance of arms, ammunition, etc., not only for the use of those on board and for discoveries by sea, but also for building a fortification and settling a colony by land; there being in both vessels besides sailors and common men, above thirty English and French volunteers, some noblemen, and all gentlemen. One of these vessels discovered the mouths of the great and famous river Meschacebe, or, as termed by the French Mississippi, entered and ascended it above one hundred miles (*jusqu'au detour des anglais*) and had perfected a settlement therein if the captain of the other ship had done his duty and not deserted them. They howsoever, took possession of this country in the King's name and left in several places the arms of Great Britain affixed on boards and trees for a memorial thereof. And here I cannot forbear taking notice that this was the first ship that ever entered into that river from the sea, or that perfectly discovered or described its several mouths in opposition to the boasts and falsities of the French who in their printed books and accounts thereof assume to themselves the honour of both."*

Je terminerai cette notice sur l'ouvrage de Coxe en citant le passage de l'histoire de la Nouvelle France par le pere Charlevoix (vol. iii, p. 384 de l'édition in 12o.) ayant rapport à cette première entré des anglais dans le Mississippi: "M. d'Iberville apprit par son frère Bienville, qui était aller sonder les embouchures du Mississippi, qu'au mois de septembre, 1699 une corvette anglaise de douze canons était entre dans le fleuve et qu'il avait déclaré à celui qui l'a commandait que s'il ne se retirait, il était en état de l'y contraindre que cette mesure avait eu son effet, &c.

36. Kersland (John Ker de) Diplomate anglais. Mémoire sur la puissance des Francais a Hispaniola et sur le Mississippi. (Forme le 2e. volumes de ses memoires publiés à Rotterdam en 3 vol. in 12o. avec une carte de la Louisiane). 1727.

Ce memoire écrit originellement en anglais, mais dont je n'ai vu que la traduction, porte la date de 4 Juillet 1721; il a donc paru, ainsi que le factum de Daniel Coxe, à l'époque de la formation de la Compagnie du Mississippi organisé par Law avec l'appuis du Régent. C'est le même esprit de jalouse et d'hostilité contre la

France qui a inspiré l'auteur. Apres avoir donné une description de la Louisiane, de sa fertilité, de ses ressources, de la douceur de son climat, il s'efforce de démontrer à ses concitoyens que la puissance français ne saurait manquer de se developper au milieu de tels element qu'alors il ne resterait plus de sécurité pour les colonies de la Caroline et de la Virginie; que tout établissement français permanent sur les bords du Mississippi serait nuisible à la Grande Bretagne et il conclut en envitant les ministres anglais à prendre des mesures pour expulser les Français, car, ajoute-t-il "apres avoir affaibli notre commerce par degré dans l'Amérique, ils finiront par detruire nos colonies."

37. Cadenas, Z. Cano (Gabriel). (pseudonyme de Gonzales de Barcia). *Ensayo chronologico para la historie general de la Florida desde el año de 1512, que descubrio Ponce de Leon hasta el de 1722.* Madrid, in fo. 1723.

Le nom de l'auteur que porte cet ouvrage est un nom feint, il est de Don André de Gonzalez de Barcia de l'academie espagnol, un des plus savans hommes de l'Espagne. Il à compris sous le nom de Floride tout le continent et les îles ajacentes de l'Amérique septentrionale depuis la riviere de Panuco (Tampico) qui borne le Mexique a l'Orient. Il rapporte par anné tout ce qui est arrivé dans ces vastes contrés depuis 1512 jusqu'en 1722. — Charlevoix.

L'ouvrage de Barcia est écrit avec impartialité et tout en revendiquant pour ses compatriots la découverte du pays, il se sert des relations françaises pour le décrire et en donner l'histoire. Marquette, Leclercq, Tonli, Joutel et Hennepin sont cités par lui comme des autorités auxquelles il se réfère.

L'ensayo chronologico contient en entier la relation du docteur Solis de las Meras, beau-père de Menendez qui prit le fort de la Caroline en 1563 et fut l'ordonnateur du massacre dont nous avons parlé au No. 4. Inutile de dire que la version de Meras ne ressemble en rien à celle de Laudonnière. M. Ternaux Campans nous a donné la traduction de cette relation dans l'ouvrage indiqué sous le No. 12. Des l'année 1688 les Espagnols avaient été avertis de la présence des Français à la Louisiane. Voici le passage de Barcia (p. 287) qui y a rapport:

Rafael Huitz, ingles, prisonero, aseguro al gobernador de la Habana, estar poblados los franceses en el seno Mexicano, afirmando avia estado en su población de que daba muy larga noticia; dispachole en una fragata à la Vera Cruz bien asegurado ando

cuanto al conde de la Monclava; el qual luego que recibio las cartas, llamo à don Andrés de Pes que llevo el ingles à Mexico y en su presencia y de otros, bolvio à su examinado y dijo el mismo: determinose en la juta que se hiciesse otro viage à la costa septentrionale de el seno Mexicano para reconocer un sitio à que no podian llegar navios, por el embarazo que causavan las muchas islas que tenia delante la tierra firme. El gran riesgo y dificultad del camino, y de conseguir al reconocimiento apartaba de él, à todos los cabos; pero conforme el virrey con don Andrés de Pes, bolvio este a la Vera Cruz; traiendose el ingles; apresto una fragata de la armada de Barlavento, y con una faluca, de 18 ramos (que era la que havia de hacer el reconomiento) à 25 de marzo 1688, se hizo à la vela, llevando por piloto maior à Juan Enriquez Barroto; en pocos dias llego à la baia de Movila (Mobile), donde asegurado, las fragata de los temporales, guarnicio la faluca, con 25 hombres, armas y bastimientos, llevando el ingles y salio à la mar, costeando por entre las islas, y tierra firme; à las seis dias llago al rio de la Palicado o Mississippi (que ya los franceses llamaban San Luis o Colbert), corrio 30 leguas sin hallar nada de loque el ingles decia, y reconvenido de los oficiales respondio avia contado lo que le aseguraron los franceses en Jamayca, y en la laguma de de terminos; hecharon le en prisiones porque no huiese à los indios; descanso don Andres alli dos dias; y paso al puerto donde estaba la fragata, y metiendo en ella la faluca, se hizo à la vela. Entro à 10 de maio en la Vera Cruz, traiendo diario de todo sucedido; y con el, y la descripcion que Barroto hizo, paso don Andres, a Mexico; fizose causa de pirata al ingles, y se le hecho a galeras, por este fraude.

38. Relation de la Louisiane ou Mississippi, écrite a une dame par un officier de marine. Publiée pour la première fois en Hollande dans la collection de Bernard in 12o. en 1724.

Il est probable que c'est la même qui parut à Rouen en 1721, sous le nom du chevalier de Bonrepos et qui, plus tard, en 1768, fut reimprime sous ce titre:

Journal d'un voyage fait a la Louisiane en 1720 par M. capitaine de vaisseau du Roi, in 12o.

Le pere Charlevoix en rendant compte de cette relation, dit:

"L'auteur etait un fort honnête homme et qui ne rapporte que ce qu'il à vu ou appris sur les lieux; mais il n'a pas eu le temps de s'instruire beaucoup de la nature du pays encore moins de l'histoire de la Colonie."

On peut ajouter que cet officier de marine commandait le vaisseau sur lequel se trouvait le père Laval, envoyé par le Regent pour relever les côtes de la Louisiane et que l'officier et le religieux ne firent qu'un très court séjour à l'Isle Dauphine et n'entrerent même pas dans le Mississippi.

39. Laval (le père) Jésuite. Voyage fait à la Louisiane par ordre du Roi en 1720 dans lequel sont traitées diverses matières de physique, d'astronomie, de géographie, de marine &c. fig. et cartes. Paris. in 4o. 1728.

En même temps que le Regent envoyait Charlevoix au Canada, il chargeait le père Laval d'une mission scientifique dans le golphe du Mexique pour reconnaître le littoral de la Louisiane et de la Floride et fixer la position exacte de ses principaux points. Il s'embarqua sur une petite division navale qui portait des vivres et des colons à l'Isle Dauphine; mais une maladie épidémique qui sevit sur les équipages forca le commandant à retourner en France et à ne séjourner que fort peu de temps à la Louisiane. Ce commandant a donné le journal de son voyage (Voir No. 38). Quant au père Laval, son ouvrage est purement scientifique et dépourvu d'intérêt sous le rapport historique.

40. Le Petit (le père) missionnaire Jésuite. Lettre écrite de la Nouvelle Orleans au mois de Juillet 1730 et adressée au père Davaugour.

Cette lettre a été insérée dans le vol. xx du Recueil des Lettres Edifiantes, édition in 12, et dans le ix. volume de la collection des voyages au nord.

Le père Le Petit raconte en détail l'attaque soudaine des Natchez contre le poste français établi près de leur village, le massacre qui en fut la suite. Il décrit également les moeurs et les coutumes de cette nation. La lettre est pleine d'intérêt d'un bout à l'autre.

41. Bruzen de la Martinière Geographe du Roi d'Espagne. Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et de l'Amérique, pour servir de suite à l'Introduction à l'histoire du Baron du Pufendorff, 2 vol. in 12o. Amsterdam. 1735.

Ce qui concerne la Louisiane se trouve dans le 2e. volume de cet ouvrage pages 387 et suivantes.

42. Catesby's (Mark). Natural history of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands in English and French revised by Edwards with Linnaen index. 2 vol. in fo. 220. Fine coloured plates. London. 1771.

La première édition de cet magnifique ouvrage remonte à 1731. Il est très estimé par les naturalistes. Les descriptions de Catesby sont fidèles et comprennent les végétaux et les animaux de la Louisiane.

43. Charlevoix (le père de) Jésuite. *Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France avec le Journal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale. Cartes et plans.* Paris. Fiffart. 1744.

Le même ouvrage, 6 vol. in 12 cartes et plans. Paris. Didot, même date.

Pour tous ceux qui tiennent à connaître l'histoire de la fondation et du développement de la puissance française dans le Canada et dans la Louisiane, l'ouvrage du père Charlevoix est on ne peut plus précieux. L'auteur à non seulement puisé aux meilleures sources, mais en outre son talent, comme écrivain est incontestable. Il est presque toujours clair, élégant et impartial. Rarement la robe du Jésuite influe sur les jugements portés par l'historien. Cette justice lui est rendue même par les anglais, qui ont été si longtemps nos rivaux dans le Nouveau monde. Avant de donner l'histoire de la nouvelle France, le père Charlevoix avait publié une histoire du Japon et l'histoire de St. Domingue. Il a été longtemps l'un des principaux rédacteurs du Journal de Trevoux et il a terminé ses travaux par la publication de l'histoire du Paraguay. La majeure partie de ce qui concerne l'histoire de la Louisiane a été traduit en anglais dans la collection intitulée:

44. *The universal history from the earliest accounts of time, compiled from original authors, with a general index.* 66 vol. 80. Maps and cuts. London. 1747 to 1754.

Le volume 40e. de l'édition en anglais contient la Louisiane. Cet ouvrage a été traduit en français avec des additions sous ce titre:

45. *Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à présent composée en anglais par une Sociétés de gens de lettres; nouvellement traduite en français par une Société de gens de lettres, enrichie de figures et de cartes.* 126 vol. 80. Paris. 1788.

Dans cette traduction ce qui concerne la Louisiane, fait partie du 117e. volume.

46. Dumont de Montigny. *Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane* contenant ce qui est arrivé de plus mémorable depuis l'année 1637 jusqu'à présent (1740) avec l'établissement de la colonie

française dans cet province de l'Amerique septentrionale sous la direction de la Compagnie des Indes; le climat, la nature et les productions de ce pays, l'origine et la religion des sauvages qui l'habitent; leurs moeurs, et leurs coutumes &a. mis en ordre par M. L. L. M. (l'abbé le Mascrier), ouvrage enrichi de cartes et de figures. 2 vol. in 12. Paris 1753.

Dans la préface qui précède ces memoires l'editeur qui les a coordinés s'exprime ainsi à leur sujet et sur le compte de l'auteur: On peut regarder ces memoires historiques comme servant de continuation au journal publie par le Sr. Jouet en 1713. L'auteur y donne d'abord une description exacte et assex etendue de cette vaste province; de la il passe à ce qui regarde le climat, la nature et les productions de ce pays. Il y traite aussi des nations sauvages qui l'habitent. On trouvera dans la seconde partie tout ce qui concerne l'établissement des français dans la Louisiane; on y lira sans doute avec plaisir quels ont été les premiers fondements et les faibles commencements de cette colonie aujour d'huq, très florissante quels soins et quelles dépenses il en a coute de puis 1716 à la Compagnie nommé d'abord Compagnie d'Occident et depuis Compagnie des Indes pour procurer à la nation une établissement utile et solide dans ce pays; on y verra les progrès successifs de la colonie et ses diverses translations de l'Isle Dauphine au vieux et nouveau Biloxi, suivies de son établissement fixe à la Nouvelle Orleans. L'auteur y reconte les guerres que les français eurent à soutenir contre les sauvages, et on s'apercevra dans son recit qu'il s'est attaché à faire connaitre non seulement les postes établis à la Louisiane avant l'arrivé de la colonie française, mais encore ceux qu'elle a occupés de nouveau. Il n'a rien négligé pour rendre son ouvrage curieux et utile. Ce n'est ni un composé de descriptions chimeriques et imaginaires, ni une compilation de relations faites sur des rapports dourteux. L'auteur n'écrit rien dans ces Mémoires dont il n'ait été témoin et dont il ne se soit assuré. Vingt deux ans de séjour qu'il a faits dans ce pays, au service de la France, sa patrie, lui ont donné le temps d'examiner tout par lui-même; et comme il ne s'est proposé que la vérité pour guide dans ces memoires, il croit pouvoir espérer que du moins par cet endroit ils seront reçus avec quelque satisfaction de toutes les personnes sensées.

On trouvera dans Dumont les deux premiers plans de la Nouvelle Orleans, executes de 1718 à 1720 par La Tour et Pauge. La premiere enceinte ne contenail que quatre islets et était defendue

par un parapet et des fosses. La seconde avait huit islets face au fleuve sur cinq de profondeur.

47. Le Page du Pratz. *Histoire de la Louisiane*, contenant la découverte de ce vaste pays; sa description géographique, un voyage dans les terres; l'histoire naturelle, les moeurs, coutumes et religion des naturels, avec leurs origines, deux voyages dans le nord du nouveau Mexique dont un jusqu'à la mer du sud, orné de deux cartes et de 40 planches. Paris. 3 vol. in 12o. 1758.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:

48. *History of Louisiana or of the western part of Virginia* by du Pratz. Maps. in 8o. London. 1774.

*Le Page du Pratz à reside dans la Louisiane de 1718 a 1734. Il rend compte dans son livre des voyages qu'il a faits et de ses observations; ces dernières sont fort interessantes pour l'histoire naturelle. Toute cette partie de son ouvrage perite les eloges qui lui ont été donnés par nombre d'écrivains. Il n'en est pas de même pour la partie historique qui est d'un mediocre intérêt, car on y trouve reproduit sommairement des evenements que ses devanciers avaient beaucoup mieux raconté que lui, et surtout beaucoup plus en détail. C'est donc a tort que l'auteur a donne le titre d' *Histoire de la Louisiane* a son livre, il eut été plus correct en l'intitulant, "Voyages à la Louisiane."*

49. Jeffery's (Geographer to the King). *Natural and civil history of the French dominions in North and South America*. Maps and Plans. London. in fo. 1760.

27 Pages de l'ouvrage de Jeffery ont été consacrés à la description de la Louisiane et a en resumer l'histoire. L'auteur reproduit les pretentions de Coxe auxquelles toutefois, il attache peu d'importance, car de Le Page du Pratz qu'il tire sa description, a laquelle il a joint les aventures de Belle Isle qui faillit être mangé par les Altakapas en 1719. Bossu raconte tout au long dans son premier voyage (vol. 2, Pag. 136 a 151) cet episode curieux qui a fait croire aux premiers colons que la Louisiane renfermait des tribus antropophages. L'ouvrage de Jeffery a été imprimé avec soin; les plans et les cartes en sont fort corrects.

50. Mémoires historiques sur la négociation de la France et de l'Angleterre, depuis le 26 mars 1761, jusqu'au 20 septembre de la même anée avec les pièces justificatives. 60 pages in 4o. Paris et Londres. (a été traduit en anglais la même anné.) 1761.

On trouvera dans ce Memoire toute la correspondance diplomatique qui à precede la paix de 1762 et qui à été échangé entre les cabinets de Versailles et de Saint James. Le Duc de Choiseul, au nom de Louis xv, expose les faits qui ont entraîné la rupture du traité d'Aix la Chapelle et en rejette la faute sur les agressions de l'Angleterre. A la suite de ce Memoire se trouvent trente pieces signés Brunswick, Choiseul, Pitt, Stanley and de Bussy, dans lesquelles on peut suivre pas à pas la negociation qui aboutit definitivement à la cession par la France à l'Angleterre du Canada et d'une partie de la Louisiane. Toutefois ces premieres negociations rompues en 1761 ne furent reprises que vers le milieu de 1762.

51. Bellin, Ingénieur de la marine. Le petit atlas maritime, Recueil de cartes et plans des quatre parties du monde en cinq volumes: 1er. Volume Amérique septentrionale et Isles Antilles; iie. Volume Amérique méridionale, Mexique, Terre Ferme, Biésil, Pérou, Chily. III eme Volume. Asie et Afrique. IV et Vme Volumes, Europe et les Etats qu'elle contient. Publié par ordre de M. le Duc de Choiseul. 5 Vol. grand in 4o. Paris. 1764.

Cet atlas contient pres de 600 cartes et plans sortis du depot de la Marine; l'execution en à été faite en partie aux frais de l'Etat. Bellin a consacré plus de trente ans à ce travail et n'a rien épargné pour qu'il fut digne du Ministre sous les auspices duquel il paraissait. Le premier volume est très précieux pour l'histoire de la Nouvelle France et de la Louisiane, car il contient plus de trente cartes et plans de ces deux anciennes possessions françaises.

Les cartes qui accompagnent l'histoire de la Nouvelle France, par le pere Charlevoix, ont été dressées par Bellin.

52. Marigny de Mandeville. Memoire sur la Louisiane in 8o. Paris. G. Despres. 1765.

Voici ce que dit Bossu à l'occasion de ce memoire qu'il m'a été impossible de me procurer: "En 1759 M. de Marigny de Mandeville, officier de distinction, forma le dessin avec l'agrement du gouverneur de la Louisiane de faire de nouvelles decouvertes vers l'Isle de Barataria; ce fut dans cette vue qu'il travailla à une carte generale de la colonie. Cet officier a fait à ses frais la decouverte de ce pays inconnu avec un zèle infatigable, qui caractérise un digne citoyen."

53. An account of the European settlements in America in six parts. 2 vol. 8o. London. Dodsley. 1765.
On attribue cet ouvrage au celebre Edmund Burke; il a été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:
54. Histoire des colonies européennes dans l'Amérique en six parties, chaque partie contenant une description de la colonie, de son étendue, de son climat &a. Paris, Nyon, 2 vol. in 12o. 1780.
Ce qui concerne la Louisiane se trouve dans le volume second, pages 35 et suivantes, de l'édition anglaise, et dans le vol. 2e. pages 37 et suivantes de l'édition française.
55. Bouquet's (Henry). An historical account of the expeditoin to the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, under the command of H. Bouquet. London. 1766.
Cet relation a été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:
56. Relation historique de l'expédition contre les Indiens de l'Ohio, en 1674, par le chevalier Bouquet, traduit de l'Anglais par Dumas, enrichie de cartes et de figures, 8o. Amsterdam. 1769.
On trouvera dans le 3e. volume du voyage dans la haute Pennsylvanie, par Crevecoeur (No.) des details fort interessants sur cette expedition, les causes qui l'avaient provoqué et les resultats qu'on obtint pour la tranquilité ultérieure de toutes les contrees Ouest des Etats Unis.
57. Bossu, capitaine dans les troupes de la marine. Nouveau voyage aux Indes occidentales, contenant une relation des differents peuples qui habitent les environs du grand fleuve St. Louis, appelé vulgairement le Mississippi, leur religion, leur gouvernement, leurs moeurs, leurs guerres, et leur commerce. Paris. Le Jay, 2 vol. in 12o. fig. 1768.
Ces voyages ont été traduit en Anglais sous ce titre:
58. Travels through that part of North America formerly called Louisiana, by M. Bossu, captain in the French marines. Translated from the French by John Reinholz Forster, illustrated with notes relative chiefly to natural history. To which is added, by the translator, a systematic catalogue of all the known plants of North America, or a Flora America septentrionalis, together with an abstract of the most useful and necessary articles contained in Peter Loefling's Travels. (Swedish traveller). 2 vol. in 8o. London. 1771.

Le capitaine Bossu est arrivé à la Louisiane en 1750, et il l'a parcourue pendant douze ans. Dans une serie de lettres écrives à un officier de ses amis, il raconte tout ce qu'il a observé et tout ce qui est venu à sa connaissance sur la Louisiane. Cette correspondance est fort curieuse et elle intéresse par la variété des sujets qui y sont traités. La traduction de ce livre a paru, lorsque par le traité de 1762, une partie de la Louisiane, ainsi que le Canada avaient été cédés à l'Angleterre et qu'il importait de fournir au public de cette nation une connaissance exacte du pays nouvellement acquis. Le traducteur, en choisissant Bossu à, par ce fait, rendu hommage à son mérite. Il a joint aux lettres de cet écrivain une flore extraite des voyages de Loefling et de Kalm, savants naturalistes suédois, qui avaient visité la Louisiane antérieurement à Bossu, mais dont les ouvrages n'ont pas été traduits en français.

TROISIEME EPOQUE.

Ouvrages publiés après la cession de la Louisiane a l'Espagne et a l'Angleterre.

59. O'Reilly (Alexandre). Sa proclamation aux habitans de la Louisiane et en prenant possession au nom du Roi d'Espagne daté à la Nouvelle Orléans le 25 novembre. 1769.
Cette pièce est donné tout au long par M. Gayarre à la fin de la première partie de son histoire de la Louisiane pages 383 et suivantes.
- 59 bis. Stork's (William). A description of east Florida with a journal kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia, botanist to his Majesty for the Floridas, upon a journey from St. Augustine up the river of St. John's as far as the lakes. Maps and plans. 4o. London. 1769.
- Je fais mention de cet ouvrage parmi ceux écrits sur la Louisiane par la raison qu'il ne contient en grande partie que des descriptions qui sont communes aux deux contrés et qu'il fut rédigé par deux hommes distingués ayant une mission spéciale du gouvernement anglais de visiter le pays et d'en faire connaître les avantages à ses nouveaux propriétaires.*
60. Pittman's (Capt. Philip). Present state of the European settlements of the Mississippi illustrated by plans and draughts. London. In 4o. 1770.

C'est d'apres M. Warden que je donne le titre de cet ouvrage, car je n'ai pu me le procurer ni en Angleterre, ni le trouver dans les Bibliothèques de Paris.

61. Kalm's (Peter). Travels into North America containing its natural history, with the civil, ecclesiastical and commercial state of the country, translated into English by John R. Forster. Washington, 3 vol. in 8o. Cuts and maps. 1770. *L'auteur de ces voyages etait un naturaliste suédois fort distingué. Son ouvrage parut pour la première fois en 1754 et fut imprimé à Goettingue. Je n'en connais aucune traduction française.*
62. Raynal. Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européans dans les deux Indes. Amsterdam. 11 vol. 8o. et atlas. 1770 à 1781. *A etait traduite en anglais sous ce titre:*
63. History of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies. 6 vol. in 12o. London. 1782. *La première édition de cet ouvrage célèbre publié de 1770 à 1774 en 7 volumes in 8o. et atlas contient dans le volume 7e. pages 98 à 135, un aperçu historique de la Louisiane et des réflexions sur la cession qui venait d'en être faite à l'Espagne. L'auteur les termine ainsi: "La Louisiane opprimé par ses nouveaux maîtres a voulu secouer un joug qu'elle avait en horreur avant même de l'avoir porté; mais repoussé par la France quand elle venait se rejeter dans ses bras, elle est retombé dans les fers qu'elle avait tenté de briser. Les cruautés qu'un gouvernement outragé n'a pas manqué d'exercer contre elle, n'ont fait qu'augmenter une haine trop antique pour s'éteindre." Plus tard, en 1781, Raynal a complété son travail en publiant en quatre volumes de supplément aux sept premiers. Ce qui concerne la Louisiane se trouve dans le volume 3e. pages 353 à 401. Dans les éditions postérieures à cette époque les deux parties ont été fondues ensemble.*
64. Prévôt d'Exile (l'abbé). Histoire générales des voyages ou Nouvelle Collection de toutes les relations des voyages par mer et par terre qui ont été publiés jusqu'à présent (1746) dans les différentes langues de toute les nations connues, contenant ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable, de plus utile, et mieux avéré dans les pays où les voyageurs ont pénétré &c. enrichie de cartes géographiques, de plans et de perspectives; de figures d'animaux, de végétaux, habits antiquités &c. Paris. Didot, 16 volumes in 4o. dont un (le XVIe.) de tables. Plus un supplément par Chompré et Querlon, 3 vol. Les cartes et plans

reunis forment également 3 volumes; ensemble 21 volumes in 4o. publiés de 1746 à 1770. Cette volumineuse collection dans laquelle ont puisé tant d'écrivains, et dont on a donné des abréviés sous tant de formes, est toujours recherchée, surtout pour la beauté des gravures exécutées par d'habiles artistes sur les dessins du célèbre Cochin et pour les cartes et les plans qui sont également bien exécutés.

Ce qui concerne la Floride et la Louisiane est contenu dans le XIV^e volume de cette édition; pages 415 à 458 et pages 606 à 637.

65. Ulloa (Ant. de). *Noticias americanas de los territorios, climas y producciones con relacion de las petrificaciones de cuerpos marinos de las antiquitades, sobre la lengua &c.* In 4o. Madrid. 1772.

Cet ouvrage remarquable a été traduit par Lefebure de Villebrune avec de nombreuses additions sous le titre suivant:

- 65 bis. *Mémoires philosophiques, historiques, physiques contenant la découverte de l'Amérique, ses anciens habitans, leur moeurs, leurs usages, leur connexion avec les nouveaux habitans, leur religion ancienne et moderne, le produit des trois règnes de la nature, et en particulier les mines leur exploitation &c. avec des observations et additions sur toutes les matières dont il est parlé dans l'ouvrage.* Paris. Buisson. 2 vol. in 8o. 1787.

Don Ulloa qui à pu être un fort mauvais gouverneur de la Louisiane n'en était pas moins l'un des hommes les plus distingués de son époque, un bon observateur et un écrivain dont les productions resteront.

On trouvera dans le premier volume de ces Mémoires grand nombre d'observations sur la Louisiane, sa température, ses productions, son sol, les maladies qui y règnent &c. Don Ulloa a publié en collaboration avec George Juan, un voyage historique de l'Amérique méridionale 2 vol. in 4o. critique anglais porte le jugement suivant sur cet ouvrage:

"Juan and Ulloa's Travels may be selected as the most interesting and satisfactory work of its kind; they are the unacknowledged source of much that has been published in other forms."

66. American husbandry, containing an account of the soil, climate, productions and agriculture of the British colonies in North America and the West Indies, by an American. 2 volumes in 8o. London. 1775.

Cet ouvrage sur l'agriculture de l'Amérique septentrionale publié sans nom d'auteur, paraît être l'un des premiers qui ont été écrits sur cette matière. Ce qui concerne la Louisiane se trouve dans le 2e. volume pages 62 à 94. La Floride se trouve dans le même volume Pages 40 à 58.

67. Champigny (le chevalier de). L'Etat présent de la Louisiane pour servir de suite à l'histoire des établissements des Européens dans les deux Indes. La Haye 8o. 1776.
Le titre de cet ouvrage a été pris dans l'ouvrage de Warden. Je n'ai pu me le procurer dans les Bibliothèques de Paris.
68. Roman's (Captain Bernard). A concise natural history of East and West Florida, containing an account of the natural produce of all the southern parts of British America, in the three Kingdoms of nature, particularly the mineral and vegetable, &c., in 12o. New York, Aitkin 1776.
Volney dans son Tableau du sol et du climat des Etats Unis fait l'éloge de ce livre, dont je ne connais pas de traduction française. Boucher de la Richardson en porte le jugement suivant:
"Romans était tout à la fois un médecin éclairé et un observateur judiciaux. Il s'est attaché d'abord à décrire le climat de la Floride et les maladies qui l'affligent. Elles ont surtout leur principe dans les variations brusques de la température, qui sont plus funestes dans la Floride que dans beaucoup d'autres parties de l'Amérique, où elles ont également lieu. Il entre ensuite dans des détails sur les trois peuples indigènes de la Floride, les Chicassas, les Chactas et les Criks confédérés; il peint des plus noires couleurs leur caractère moral. La saleté, la faïneantise, le penchant pour le vol, l'orgueil le plus excessif, la vanité la plus facile à blesser, la perserverance dans les haines, l'atrocité dans les vengeances un plaisir féroce à repandre le sang, forment les traits du tableau. Les productions du sol de la Floride ont été aussi l'objet des recherches et des observations de cet écrivain."
69. Bossu. Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale contenant une collection de lettres écrites sur les lieux par l'auteur à l'un de ses amis in 8o. fig. Amsterdam. 1777.
Le capitaine Bossu qui avait quitté la Louisiane en 1762, y retourna 8 ans plus tard, en 1770 et la trouva encore dans la consternation où l'avaient jeté les événements tragiques du 7 Septembre de l'année précédente.
Les officiers français victimes de la cruauté de O'Reilly avaient été les frères d'armes du capitaine Bossu, il rend compte de leurs

derniers moments et de l'impression profonde produite dans la colonie par cette sanglante execution.

On trouvera également dans ce volume la lettre du Roi Louis XV à d'Abbadie, datee de Versailles le 21 avril, 1764, dans laquelle il lui annonce que par traité particulier fait avec le roi d'Espagne le 3 novembre, 1762, il lui avait cede la Louisiane et lui ordonnait, "aussitot que le Gouverneur et les troupes de ce monarque seront arrivés vous ayez à les mettre en possession, et à retirer tous les officiers, soldats et employes à mon service."

70. Hutchin's. Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, comprehending the rivers Ohio, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi, &c. 8o. Maps. London. 1778.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en français par Le Rouge, sous le titre suivant:

71. Description topographique de la Virginie, de la Pennsylvanie, de Maryland, et de la Caroline du Nord, contenant les rivières d'Ohio, Kenhawa, Sio, Chirokee, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi &a. le climat, le sol, les productions, tant animales que végétales ou minérales &a. Plus un supplément qui contient le Journal de Patrice Kennedy sur la rivière de Illinos. 2 cartes, Paris, Le Rouge. 1781.

Quelques années apres Hutchin publia une Description de la Louisiane et de la Floride, elle se trouve dans l'ouvrage d'Imlay, pages 388 a 458. (voir No. 88.)

72. Carver's (J.) Travels through the interior parts of North America in the years 1766, 1767 and 1768 by J. Carver, captain of a company of provincial troops during the late war with France, illustrated with copper plates coloured maps. London. 1779-1781.

Ces voyages ont été traduit en français sous ce titre:

73. Voyages dans les parties interieures de l'Amérique septentriionale pendant les années 1766, 1767, 1768 par J. Carver, capitaine d'une compagnie de troupes provinciales pendant la guerre du Canada entre la France et l'Angleterre in 8o. cartes. Paris et Yverdon. 1784.

Le capitaine Carver né dans le Connecticut, entra fort jeune dans le régiment de ce nom et y servit jusqu'en 1757, soit comme enseigne, soit comme capitaine. Il échappa par miracle au massacre que les Iroquois firent de la garrison du fort William

dans cette même année, et il raconte cet evenement de la maniere la plus pittoresque. Il etait doue d'un esprit entreprenant et aventurieux; aussi apres avoir quitte le service, à la paix de 1762, resolut-il de reconnaître les regions les plus interieures de l'Amérique et de penetrer, s'il etait possible, jusqu'à la mer Pacifique. Les relations qu'il nous a données de ses voyages et de ses observations au milieu des nations indiennes pendant un sejour de trois ans sont des plus interessantes.

Les voyages du capitaine Carver ont été accueillis en Angleterre avec la plus grande faveur et trois éditions de son livre y ont été publiées successivement en moins de trois ans.

74. Pages (capitaine des vaisseaux du Roi). *Voyage autour du monde et vers les deux pôles par terre et par mer pendant les années 1767 à 1776.* Paris. Moutard, 2 vol. 8o. cartes. 1782. *C'est en 1767 que le capitaine Pagès visita la Louisiane dans laquelle il ne fit qu'un court séjour. On lira néanmoins, avec intérêt la description qu'il en donne, et surtout son voyage par le fleuve, de la Nouvelle Orleans à la rivière rouge. Il est curieux de comparer les moyens de transport que l'on employait alors avec ceux qui existent maintenant; l'humble pirogue creusé dans un tronc d'arbre avec les splendides palais flottants qui courrent le Mississippi. Et cependant cette transportation s'est opérée en moins d'un siècle! Voici le passage auquel je fais allusion:*

"Pendant mon séjour à la Nouvelle Orleans, un négociant de cette ville fit équiper une pirogue de cinq avirons en marchandise de traite pour les Indiens sauvages des Natchitoches; je saisissai cette occasion et m'y étant embarqué, je partis le 4 d'août. Cette pirogue avait environ trente cinq pieds de longueur sur quatre de largeur elle était formée d'un seul gros arbre creusé; elle était faite pour aller légèrement et bien gouverner; il y avait à l'avant un excédant de bois relevé de deux pieds au moins, en forme de coquille entreouverte; cet excédent était taillé très fin, pour qu'il put écarter l'eau au pieds des chutes, et fendre le courant en le remontant, sans risque d'être submergé. Nous étions huit hommes en tout, savoir: cinq rameurs, dont deux noirs, un canadien qui venait d'arriver de son pays par les terres, et deux matelots qui furent ensuite remplacés par deux sauvages, le patron de la pirogue, le propriétaire et moi. La rapidité du courant, augmentée par la quantité d'embarras qu'on rencontre ne nous permettait de faire que quatre lieux par jour."

Le capitaine Pagès arriva aux Natchitoches le 2 Septembre après un voyage de 29 jours.

75. Filson's (John). Discovery, settlement and Present State of Kentucky. Published in the year 1784. To be found in Imlay's Topographical Description of the Western territory of North America, pages 306 to 387. (See No. 88.)

L'ouvrage de Filson a été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:

76. Histoire de Kentucky nouvelle colonie à l'Ouest de la Virginie, contenant: la découverte, l'acquisition, l'établissement, la description topographique, l'histoire naturelle &a. du territoire. La relation historique du Colonel Boon, &a. avec une carte; ouvrage pour servir de suite aux lettres d'un cultivateur Americain, traduit par Parraud, 8o. Paris, Buisson. 1785.

Ce livre est le premier qui ait fait connaitre l'intérieur du Kentucky et les bords de l'Ohio. Le certificat suivant fut délivré à J. Filson au mois de mai, 1784.

"We, the subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucky and well acquainted with the country, from its first settlement; at the request of the author of this book, have carefully revised it, and recommend it to the public as an exceeding good performance containing as accurate a description of our country as we think can possibly be given; much preferable to any in our knowledge extant and think it will be of great utility to the public.—Daniel Boon, Levi Todd, James Harrod."

77. Smyth's. A tour in the United States of America containing an account of the present situation of that country, &c., with a description of the Indian nations, &c. London. 2 vol. In 8o. 1784.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:

78. Voyage dans les Etats Unis de l'Amérique fait en 1784, contenant une description de sa situation présente, de sa population, &a. Paris Buisson. 2 vol. in 8o. 1791.

L'époque indiquée par le traducteur au voyage de Smyth n'est pas exacte, car il le commença au mois d'août 1771 avant la guerre de l'Indépendance et revint en Angleterre en 1783.

On trouvera dans le chapitre 46, la relation de sa visite à la Nouvelle Orleans, où il fut accueilli par M. M. Claiborne et Fields. Smyth ne considerait pas alors le gouvernement espagnol aussi populaire parmi les Louisianais que M. Gayarre s'est efforcé de nous le montrer (voir No. 153). Voici en quels termes le voyageur s'exprime à cet égard:

"At this time so great is their desire to be under British govern-

ment, and so general, so heartily, so rooted is their detestation to that of Spain, that only a dozen or two of Britons of spirit and enterprise, would be able to wrest all that country from the Spaniards; as the inhabitants are all French, excepting the garrison, which consists only of a handful of lazy, proud, miserable Spaniards, who despise the French settlers as cordially as they themselves are hated by them in return. The number of families in the town and island of New Orleans and on the west side of the Mississippi may amount to twelve thousand at least, all of whom are thus averse to be governed by the Spaniards.'

79. Crève Coeur. (Saint Jean de). Lettres d'un cultivateur Américain, écrites depuis l'année 1770 jusqu'en 1786, traduites de l'Anglais et enrichies de cartes et de figures, 3e. édition. Paris. Cuchet, 3 vol. in 8o. 1787.
(La première édition publiée en 2 volumes est de 1784.)
80. Le Même. Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'Etat de New York. 3 cartes et planches. Paris. Maradan. 3 vol. 8o. au IX. 1801.
- Creve Coeur, ne en France mais établi dans les colonies anglo-Américaines depuis l'âge de 16 ans, s'y était naturalisé. Devenu propriétaire d'une habitation sur les frontières, il fut l'une des premières victimes de la guerre de l'Indépendance. Less sauvages alliés de l'Angleterre incendièrent ses possessions. C'est principalement aux différentes époques de cette guerre qu'il écrivit ses lettres; les anecdotes qu'il y a répandues sont autant de petits drames attendrissants que d'habiles mains pourraient mettre en œuvre sur plusieurs de nos théâtres. Quant au voyage, il peut être considéré comme une suite des lettres d'un cultivateur Américain. La situation des personnages qu'il met en scène à le même charme, les tableaux qu'il trace de la nature sauvage sont aussi riches; l'intérêt qu'il inspire pour un peuple qui vient de briser ses fers, est aussi vif.*
- Mais ce qui distingue surtout ce voyage, ce sont des détails précieux sur l'état des peuples indigènes de cette partie de l'Amérique septentrionale avant l'arrivée des Européens, sur les causes de leur déclin et de leur faiblesse actuelle, sur la nature du climat ou les établissements progressifs des Européens les ont confinés enfin sur la révolution importante que ces progrès là même ont opérée dans les immenses contrées attenantes aux Etats Unis.*
- Aucun voyageur n'a si bien décrit ces assemblées générales ou*

conseils que tiennent les sauvages pour délibérer sur leurs intérêts politiques. L'auteur qui y à assisie rapporté quelques uns des discours qu'ils y prononcerent and l'on y admiré un eloquence agreste et sublime comme la nature." *Boucher de la Richarderie.*

81. Histoire et description de la Louisiane ou le Mississippi lorsqu'il était à la France.

C'est un résumé historique et descriptif de la Louisiane, dont l'auteur est anonyme; il est inséré dans un ouvrage qui a pour titre:

Voyages interessants dans différentes colonies françaises espagnols, anglaises, &c. contenant des observations importantes relatives a ces contrées. 8o. Londres et Paris. 1788.

Boucher de la Richarderie dans le Ve. volume de sa Bibliotheque des voyages, pages 515 et suivantes, rend compte de ce livre dont le principal merite consiste dans les descriptions de Porto Rico et de Curaçao, qui y sont inserees.

82. Bartram's (Williams). Travels though North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee country, the extensive territories of the Muscogulges or Creek confederacy, and the country of the Choctaws, containing an account of the soil and natural productions of those regions, together with observations on the manners of the Indians. Embelished with copper plates, map, in 8o. Philadelphia and London. 1791-1794.

Nous avons en français une bonne traduction de cet ouvrage; elle est intitulée:

83. Voyage dans les parties sud de l'Amérique septentrionale savoir: les Carolines, les Florides, le pays des Cherokees, le vaste territoire des Muscogulges ou de la confederation Creek et le pays des Chactas; contenant des détails sur le sol et les productions naturelles de ces contrés et des observations sur les moeurs des sauvages qui les habitent. Imprimé a Philadelphie en 1791 et a Londres en 1794 et traduit de l'anglais par V. Benoist 2 vol. in 8o. carte et fig. Paris an VII. 1799.

William Bartram etait fils de John Bartram, botaniste du Roi d'Angleterre, lequel accompagnait Stork en 1764 pour explorer les contrees nouvellement acquises de l'Espagne et de la France par les Anglais, et dont j'ai indiqué le journal sous le No. 59 bis. William formé à l'école d'un père aussi distingué à dignement marché sur les traces; il doit être rangé pres de Catesby, de Kalm, de Loeffling et de Robin. Son livre, aussi interessant pour la

Louisiane que pour la Floride, est certainement l'un des meilleurs qui aient été écrits sur l'histoire naturelle de ces deux contrés dont les productions sont identiques. Boucher de la Richardson s'exprime ainsi sur l'ouvrage de W. Bartram: "En visitant les vastes contrés dont le titre du voyage fait l'enumeration Bartram s'est à singulierement attaché à l'histoire naturelle et surtout à la botanique des pays, objet principal de ses recherches. Il ne laisse presque rien à désirer aux naturalistes sur cette dernière partie.

Quoique les recherches de ce voyageur soient principalement dirigés vers cette branche des productions de la nature il n'a pas négligé d'observer son plus bel ouvrage l'homme. Il l'a soigneusement étudié chez celles des nations sauvages ou il conserve encore dans toute sa rudesse l'empreinte de ses traits primitifs."

84. Long's (J.) *Voyages and Travels of an Indian interpreter and trader describing the manners and customs of the American Indians, with a vocabulary of the Chippeway language, a list of words in the Iroquis, Mohigan, Shawnee and Esquimeaux Tongue.* In 4o. London. 1791.

Ces voyages ont été traduits en français par M. Billecocq sous le titre suivant:

85. *Voyages chez les différentes nations sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale, renfermant des détails curieux sur les moeurs, usages, cérémonies, religieuses, &c. des Cahnuagas, des Indiens des cinq et six nations &c. avec des notes et des additions intéressantes.* Paris, Proult. In 8o. an 2. 1794.

Long commença ses voyages en 1768 et les termina en 1787; à la profession de trafiquant, il joignait celle d'interprète des langues indiennes, aussi a-t-il fait suivre son voyage d'un vocabulaire de langue Chippeway que Billecocq n'a pas traduit en français. Volney dans son Tableau du climat and du sol des Etats unis le regrette en ces termes: "Il est facheux que le traducteur de Long se soit permis de supprimer les vocabulaires, pour quelque économie de librairie. Cet ouvrage mérite réimpression avec corrections car il est le plus fidèle tableau que je connaisse de la vie et des moeurs des sauvages et des trafiquants Canadiens." Billecocq a du reste enrichie sa traduction de notes tirées des aventures de Le Beau, de l'histoire de la Nouvelle France de Marc Lescarbot, du Journal de Charlevoix et de beaucoup d'autres ouvrages sur l'Amérique septentrionale.

86. Morse's (Jedihiah). *The American geography; or a view of the Present Situation of the United Srates of America, &c.* Illustrated with two sheet maps, 8o. London. 1792.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:

87. *Tableau de la situation actuelle des Etats Unis d'Amérique d'après Jedidiah Morse et les meilleurs auteurs Américains par Ch. Pichet de Genève, ouvrage enrichi de beaucoup de cartes et de tablequ.* Paris. Dupont. 2 vol. 8o. 1795.

C'est le premier traité générale de geographie écrit par un Américain sur les Etats Unis et les possessions qui lesavoisinaient. La description de la Basse Louisiane alors en possession de l'Espagne, est fort courte, mais en revanche, l'auteur s'est attaché à décrire d'une maniere particulière tout le territoire de l'Ouest qui composait anterieurement la haute Louisiane.

88. Imlay's. *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America; to which is added Filson's history of the discovery and settlement of Kentucky, the adventures of Col. Daniel Boone, one of the first settlers; minutes of the Pianka-skaw council; and the manners and customs of the Indian nations in the limits of the thirteen united provinces.* 8o. Maps. London. 1792.

Cet ouvrage qui a été reimprimé plusieurs fois en angleterre, est la meilleure collection de ce qui avait été publié à cette époque sur les contrés de l'Ouest, dont l'auteur fait la description dans une serie de lettres écrites du Kentucky et à la suite desquelles il donne en entier: La découverte et l'établissement du Kentucky par Filson; une description de la Louisiane par Hutchins et nombre d'autres documents fort interessants.

89. Winterbotham's (W.) *An historical, geographical and philosophical view of the United States of America and of the European settlements in America.* 4 vol. 8o. Philadelphia. 1796.

L'auteur de cet ouvrage, beaucoup plus étendu que ceux de Morse et d'Imlay, indique dans sa preface le plan qu'il a suivi et la matière des quatre volumes:

"The attention of Europe in general, and of Great Britain in particular, is drawn to the new world, the editor at the request of some particular friends, undertook the task which he hopes he has in some degree accomplished in the following volumes, in affording his countrymen an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with its settlements by Europeans. The events that led to the establish-

ment and independence of the United States. The nature of their government. Their present situation and advantages together with their future prospects in commerce, manufactures and agriculture. This formed the principal design of the book, but he farther wished with this to connect a general view of the situation of the remaining European possessions in America. This has been therefore attempted and nearly a volume is dedicated to this subject."

Dans le quatrième volume de cet ouvrage on trouvera une histoire des quadrupèdes, des oiseaux et des reptiles de l'Amérique. Des planches sont jointes au texte.

QUATRIEME EPOQUE.

Ouvrages publiés depuis la rétrocession faite par l'Espagne à la France
et la cession de cette dernière aux
Etats Unis.

90. Louisiana. Account of Louisiana, being an abstract of documents in the offices of the departments of State and of the treasury, with appendix. 2 vol. in 8o. Philadelphia. 1803.
91. Address to the Government of the United States on the cession of Louisiana to the French and on the late breach of treaty by the Spaniards, drawn up by a French counsellor of State. 8o. Philadelphia. 1803.
92. De Vergennes. Mémoire historique et politique sur la Louisiane, accompagné d'un précis de la vie de ce Ministre. In 8o. Paris. Lepetit. 1802.

C'est vers 1780 que ce mémoire à été présenté à Louis XVI par M. de Vergennes, mais il ne fut imprimé que vingt ans après. Ce ministre, vraiment patriote, qui avait contribué par ses conseils à l'emancipation des Etats Unis engageait fortement le Roi à rentrer en possession de la Louisiane, dont il déplorait l'abandon par le honteux traité de 1762. Il est impossible de mieux lire dans l'avenir les événements qui se sont passés sous nos yeux, et si les vues de ce grand politique eussent été adoptées il est probable que la France et l'Espagne n'eussent pas perdu l'une et l'autre leurs possessions sur le continent de l'Amérique du nord. Voici la prediction de M. de Vergennes en parlant des Etats Unis:

"Cette nouvelle puissance dont la population doublera tous les

vingt ans menace déjà les colonies de l'Europe dans cette partie du monde... Son exemple, son voisinage et ses forces y amèneront dans plus ou moins de temps l'indépendance des colonies espagnoles et le commerce de l'Amérique sera perdu pour l'Europe. Si, au contraire, la Louisiane était resté au pourvoir des Français, ou si elle y rentrait, elle formerait entre le Mexique et les Etats Unis, une barrière que ces derniers craignraient de franchir et sous ce point de vue il est même de l'intérêt des autres puissances commercantes que la Louisiane soit remise à la France.

93. Baudry des Lozières. Voyage à la Louisiane et sur le continent de l'Amérique septentrionale fait dans les années 1794 à 1798; contenant un Tableau historique de la Louisiane, des observations sur son climat, ses riches productions &c. orné d'une belle carte. In 8o. Paris, Dentu. 1802.

L'auteur de cet ouvrage s'exprime ainsi dans la préface qui lui sert d'introduction:

"Ce n'est point une compilation que je donne au public, c'est le résultat des notes que j'ai prises sur le continent même et si la sévère défiance des Espagnols en 1795 et années suivantes, ne m'a pas permis de compléter mon ouvrage, j'ai été si près des objets, que je puis dire les avoir tous vus. Les circonstances me donnent donc un avantage qu'il est impossible de me disputer sans injustice."

La première partie de ce voyage renferme un aperçu de l'histoire de la Louisiane et des détails sur les guerres de 1734 à 1740 avec les Chicachas et leur chef Mingo Mastabe. Elle contient également le récit de la tragédie du mois de septembre 1769. L'ouvrage est terminé par deux vocabulaires Sauvages-Français.

Le voyage de Baudry de Lozieres ne peut manquer d'être intéressant, puisque les événements qui y sont rapportés ont été écrits sous la dictée de témoins oculaires ou recueillis par la tradition des habitans de la Louisiane.

On trouvera ci-après sous le No. 99, l'indication d'un second ouvrage publié par le même auteur.

94. Milfort (le Général). Mémoire ou coup d'œil rapide sur les différens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Creek. In 8o. Paris. 1802.

C'est en 1775 que Milfort quitta la France pour venir dans les Etats Unis. Il penetra dans l'intérieur de la Floride et se fixa parmi les Creeks dont il devint Tastanegy, ou grand chef de guerre. Il raconte dans ce volume les événements auxquels il prit

part pendant les vingt années qu'il demeura avec les diverses tribus indiennes, ses courses et ses observations. Bien qu'il y ait peu d'ordre dans ses narrations, et qu'elles paraissent romanesques, on les lit cependant avec intérêt parcequ'elles renferment une peinture assez fidèle de la vie sauvage.

95. Dubroca. Itinéraire des Francais dans la Louisiane accompagné de la carte de G. de l'Isle. In 12o. Paris. 1802.
Petit livre publié à l'époque de la retrocession de la Louisiane par l'Espagne à la France et ne contenant absolument rien de nouveau.
96. Berquin Duvallon. Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississippi ou des provinces de la Louisiane et de la Floride occidentale en l'année 1802, par un observateur résidant sur les lieux. Ouvrage accompagné de deux cartes in 8o. Paris. 1803.
Ce livre écrit par un homme qui avait su bien mal reconnaître l'hospitalité louisianaise, n'est qu'un long dénigrement du pays et de ses habitants, il ne pouvait provenir que d'un esprit méchant et d'un mauvais cœur.
97. Volney. Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats Unis d'Amérique, suivi d'éclaircissements sur la Floride, sur la colonie française au Sciotto, sur quelques colonies Canadiennes et sur les sauvages, avec deux planches et deux cartes. 2 vol. 8o. Paris. 1803.
Cet ouvrage a été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:
98. View of the climate and soil of the United States of America with some accounts of Florida, the Indians and vocabulary of the Miama-Tribe. 8o. 1804.
La réputation de Volney est trop bien établie et son talent trop généralement reconnu pour qu'il soit nécessaire de faire suivre l'indication de son livre par aucune réflexion; il doit être placé au premier rang parmi les ouvrages à consulter par les Louisianais.
99. Baudry des Lozières. Second voyage à la Louisiane pour faire suite à celui fait dans les années 1794 à 1798. Paris. 2 vol. in 8o. 1803.
Contient une histoire du General Grondel qui avait commandé long temps à la Louisiane et pris part à la guerre des Chicachas. Le surplus de cet ouvrage renferme des notes sur divers sujets et qui servent d'appendice au premier voyage publié par l'auteur. (Voir No. 93.)
100. Anonyme. Mémoires sur la Louisiane et la Nouvelle Orléans

accompagnés d'une dissertation sur les avantages que le commerce de l'Empire doit tirer de la stipulation faite par l'art. VI. du Traité de cession du 30 avril, 1803, suivi d'une traduction de diverses notes sur cette colonie, publiés aux Etats Unis peu de temps apres la ratification du Traite. In 8o. Paris. Ballard. 1804.

101. Account of Louisiana, being abstracts of documents transmitted to President Jefferson and by him laid before Congress: 8o. 1804.

102. Perrin du Lac. Voyages dans les deux Louisianes et chez les nations sauvages du Missouri, par les Etats Unis, l'Ohio et les provinces qui les bordent en 1801, 1802 et 1803, avec un aperçu des moeurs, des usages, du caractère et des coutumes religieuses et civiles des peuples de ces diverses contrées. 8o. avec carte. Lyon. 1805.

C'est principalement la haute Louisiane et les populations qui l'habitaient alors que l'auteur s'est attaché à décrire. Son livre abonde en détails intéressants sur les Etats de l'Ouest, sur les postes de Ste. Genevieve, de St. Louis et de St. Charles. Quant à la Basse Louisiane, il n'y a fait qu'un très court séjour et ce qu'il en dit est renfermé dans quelques pages seulement. Perrin du Lac était un observateur judicieux et impartial.

103. Michaux (F. A.) Voyages à l'ouest des monts Alleghany, dans les états de l'Ohio, du Kentucky et du Tennessee, et retour à Charlestown par les hautes Carolines, contenant &c. entrepris en 1802 sous les auspices de M. Chaptal, ministre de l'Intérieur, carte in 8o. Paris. 1804.

Cet ouvrage a été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:

Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany mountains. 8o. map. 1805.

Ainsi que le titre l'indique ce voyage a été fait dans la partie Ouest des Etats Unis et principalement dans la vallée de l'Ohio, mais comme l'auteur a décrit les arbres forestiers qui se trouvent également dans la Louisiane et qu'il jouit d'une grande réputation comme naturaliste, j'ai pensé que ce livre ne serait pas déplacé parmi ceux qui peuvent intéresser les Louisianais.

105. Robin (C. C.) Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, de la Floride occidentale et dans les îles de la Martinique et de St. Domingue pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806 contenant de nouvelles observations sur l'histoire naturelle la

géographie, les moeurs, l'agriculture, le commerce, l'industrie et les maladies de ces contrées, particulièrement sur la fièvre jaune et les moyens de les prévenir. En outre contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus intéressant relativement à l'établissement des Anglo-Américains à la Louisiane, suivis de la Flore Louisianaise avec une carte nouvelle. Paris. F. Buisson. 3 vol. in 8o.

1807.

Le docteur Robin que M. Querard dans sa France littéraire à confondu avec son homonyme l'Abbe Robin, était tout à la fois un littérateur et un naturaliste distingué. Les voyages dont je donne le titre en font foi. On y trouvera réunis une foule d'observations judicieuses écrites avec élégance et qui déclinent le philosophe, le savant et l'historien.

Le premier volume de cet ouvrage a été consacré aux Antilles, mais les deux autres le sont entièrement à la Louisiane. Le résumé historique contenu dans les chapitres 41 à 45 est tracé de main de maître et avec une impartialité remarquable. L'auteur termine le compte rendu de la domination espagnole par les réflexions suivantes:

"Pendant les trente trois années que ce pays fut sous la domination espagnole, les moeurs françaises ont toujours fait le caractère dominant de la colonie et les espagnols s'y sont françasisés plutôt que les français ne se sont espagnolisés. Les Gouverneurs eux-mêmes, ainsi que les commandants sous eux, ont adopté les moeurs françaises et ont, eux ou leurs enfants, épousé des françaises. La langue espagnol était si peu usité et la langue française adopté si généralement que la plupart des français nés dans cette colonie, même avant et pendant la domination espagnole, n'ont pas eu besoin d'apprendre cette langue."

La Flore Louisianaise qui occupe la moitié du troisième volume de cet ouvrage a été traduite en anglais sous le titre suivant:

106. Flora Ludoviciana, Flora of Louisiana by Robin and Rafinesque. 8o. 178 pages. New York. 1817.
107. Henzy's (Alexander). Travels and adventures in Canada and the Indian territories, between the years 1760 and 1776 in two parts in 8o. New York. 1809.

Ces voyages entrepris à la même époque que ceux de Carver et de Long, renferment beaucoup de détails sur les tribus qui habitaient alors la haute Louisiane. L'auteur raconte plusieurs scènes de la guerre de 1761 entre les Indiens alliés des français et les anglais.

108. Schultz's Jun (Christian). Travels on an island voyage through

the States of New York, Pennsylvartia, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee and through the territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi and New Orleans, performed in the years 1807 and 1808, with maps and plates. 2 vol. in 8o. New York. 1810.

Le second volume de cet ouvrage écrit en forme de lettres, à été consacré par l'auteur, un Américain, à la description de la Louisiane.

109. Pike's (Major Montgomery). Account of an expedition to the sources of the Mississippi and through the western part of Louisiana during the years 1805, 1806 and 1807. Philadelphia. 8o. or London 4o. with maps. 1810.

A été traduit en français par Breion sous ce titre:

110. Voyage au nouveau Mexique à la suite d'une expédition ordonnée par le Gouvernement des Etats Unis pour reconnaître les sources des rivières Arkansas, Kansas, La Plate et Pierre Jaune dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane occidentale, précédé d'une excursion aux sources du Mississippi pendant les années 1805, 1806 et 1807, orné d'une carte de la Louisiane en trois parties. Paris. d'Hautel. 2 vol. in 8o. 1812.

Avant cette expédition ordonné par le Gouvernement des Etats Unis, dont la direction fut confié au Major Pike par le General Wilkinson, on n'avait que des notions très vagues et très contradictoires sur la source du Mississippi. C'est à cet officier qui à rempli sa mission avec autant d'intelligence que de courage, que nous sommes redevables d'avoir fixé les sources et le cours du grand fleuve d'une manière plus précise. Vingt ans après l'exploration du major, M. Beltram qui visita aussi les sources du Mississippi et qui probablement, n'avait pas lu la relation, de Pike, crut de bonne foi, en avoir fait la découverte, dont il rend compte dans l'ouvrage portant le No. 134.

111. Stodart's (Major Amos). Sketches historical and descriptive of Louisiana. Philadelphia. 8o. 1812.
112. Lee's (Henry). Memoirs of the war in the southern department of the United States. Philadelphia. 2 vol. in 8o. 1812.
113. Lewis's and Clark's (Captains). History of the expedition under the command of —— to the source of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the river Columbia to the Pacific Ocean; performed during the years 1804, 1805 and 1806. Philadelphia. 2 vol. 8o. 1 12.

Le recit des l'expedition des capitaines Lewis et Clark fait par P. Gass, à été traduit en français par Lallement, scus le titre suivant:

114. Voyage des capitaines Lewis and Clark depuis l'embouchure du Missouri, jusqu'a l'entrée de la Colombia dans l'océan pacifique, fait dans les années 1804, 1805 et 1806 par ordre du Governement des Etats Unis contenant &a. in 8o. carte. 1810.
 115. Ellicott's (Andrew). Journal for determining the boundary between the United States and the possessions of his Catholic Majesty in America. Philadelphia. 4 maps. 1814.
 116. Breckenridge (H. M.) View of Louisiana 8o. Pittsburg. 1814.
 117. The same. Journal of a voyage up the river Missouri. 12o. Baltimore. 1815.
- L'un et l'autre de ces ouvrages me sont inconnus.*
118. Anonyme. Defaite de l'armé anglaise commandé par Sir Edward Pakenham, a l'attaque du 8 Janvier, 1815, de la ligne de retranchments de l'armé Américaine commandé par le General Jackson. 8o. Gravures. Nouvelle Orléans. 1815.
 119. Lacarrière Latour's (Major A.) Historical memoirs of the war in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814, 1815, written originally in French and translated for the author by H. O. Nugent, with an atlas. Philadelphia in 8o. 1816.

C'est memoires ont été dediés par l'auteur au General Jackson, comme un temoignage de reconnaissance et d'admiration dont il se faisait l'organe pour ses concitoyens. "The voice of the whole nation has spared me the task of showing how much of these important results are due to the energy, ability and courage of a single man." On pourra juger de l'importance de ces Memoires pour l'histoire de la Louisiane, par l'extrait suivant de la preface du major Latour: "I have in this work endeavoured to relate in detail, with the utmost exactness and precision the principal events which took place in the course of this campaign. I have related facts as I myself saw them, or as they were told me my credible eye witnesses. I do not believe that through the whole of this narrative I have swerved from the truth in a single instance; if, however, by one of those unavoidable mistakes to which every man is subject I have involuntarily misstated or omitted to state

any material circumstance, I shall be ready to acknowledge my error whenever it shall be pointed out to me."

C'est dans les memoires du major Latour, qu'il faut lire la relation de la memorable campagne qui valut au General Jackson le titre de Sauveur de la Louisiane.

120. Brown's (Samuel R.) *The Western Gazetteer or Emigrant's Directory*, containing a geographical description of the Western States and Territories, viz: The States of Kentucky, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi and the territories of Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Michigan and North Western etc. Auburn. New Ycrk. 8o. 1817.
Ce guide, a l'usage des emigrants dans l'ouest des Etats Unis, est le premier, je crois, qui ait été publié. Il est composé d'une foule de renseignements aussi exacts q'utilles.
121. Darby (W.) *A geographical description of Louisiana*. 8o. New York. 1817.
122. Bradbury's (J.) *Travels in the interior of America in the years 1809, 1810, 1811, including a description of upper Louisiana together with the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Tennessee*, in 8o. Liverpool. 1817.
123. Birkbeck's (Morris). *Notes on a journey in America from the coast of Virginia to the territory of Illinois*. In 8o. Map. London. 1818.
124. The same. *Letters from Illinois* in 8o. London. 1818.
Ce dernier ouvrage a été traduit en français sous le titre suivant:
125. *Lettres sur les nouveaux établissements qui se forment dans les parties occidentales des Etats Unis d'Amérique*. in 8o. Cartes. 1819.
126. Bradshaw Pearson's (Henry). *Sketches of America*. A narrative of a journey of five thousand miles through the eastern and the western States of America; contained in eight reports addressed to the thirty-nine English families by whom the author was deputed in June, 1817 etc., with remarks on Birkbeck's notes and letters. 8o. London. 1818.
127. Warden (D. B.) *A statistical, political and historical account of the United States of North America*. Edinburg. Constable. 3 vol. 8o. Maps and plates. 1819.
Le docteur Warden a traduit lui même son livre en français sous le titre suivant:
128. *Description Statistique, historique et politique des Etats Unis*. Paris. Rey et Gravier. 5 vol. in 8o. avec figures et cartes. 1820.

- La publication de ce livre remarquable ouvrit au Dr. Warden les portes de l'Institut de France, dont il devint membre à cette époque. Il continua ses travaux littéraires et donna quelques années plus tard l'ouvrage suivant, que sa mort survenue en 1845, l'empêcha de terminer.*
129. L'art de vérifier les dates ou chronologie historique de l'Amérique. Paris. 10 volumes in 8o. 1826 à 1845.
Ouvrage rempli de recherches précieuses et que l'auteur aurait sans doute traduit en anglis s'il n'eut été enlevé aussi prematurement.
130. Seybert's (Adam). Statistical annals. View of the population, commerce, navigation, fisheries, public lands. Post-office establishment, revenues, mint, military and naval establishments, expenditures, public debt, and sinking fund of the United States of America founded on official documents commencing on the 4th of March, 1789, and ending on the 20th of April, 1818. Large 4o. Philadelphia. 1818.
131. Schoolcraft's (H.) Narrative Journal of Travels from Detroit North West through the great chain of American lakes to the sources of Mississippi river in 1820. Albany in 8o. Maps. 1821.
132. Montulé (Ed. de). Voyage en Amérique, en Italie, en Sicile et en Egypt pendant les années 1816 à 1819. 2 vol. in 8o. et atlas. Paris. 1821.
Les lettres XII à XXe. du 2e. volume de cet ouvrage sont écrites de la Louisiane et sont consacrés par l'auteur à la description de la vallé du Mississippi.
133. Adam's (John Quincy). The duplicate letters, the Fisheries and the Mississippi. Documents relating to transactions and the negotiations of Ghent. Collected and published by J. Q. A. one of the commissioners of the United States at that negotiation in 8o. Washington. 1822.
134. Beltram (J. C.) La découverte des sources du Mississippi et de la rivière sanglante. Description du cours entier du Mississippi. Nouvelle Orléans. 8o. 1823.
Cet ouvrage a été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:
135. Pilgrimage in Europe and America, leading to the discovery of the sources of the Mississippi, Bloody river and Ohio. 2 vol. 8o. Plates. 1828.
Le major Pike pendant les années 1805 à 1807 avait déjà reconnu les sources du Mississippi et parcouru les contrés qui le furent bien plus tard par M. Beltram. C'est donc à tort que ce voyageur s'attribue la découverte des sources du grand fleuve. Toutefois, son livre écrit avec un peu trop d'emphase méridionale, n'en est

pas moins intéressant par les épisodes et les descriptions qu'il y a semes.

136. Keating's (William). Narrative of an expedition to the source of St. Peter's river, Lake Winnepeek, lake of the woods, etc., performed in the year 1823 by order of J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the command of Stephen H. Long. 2 volumes in 8o. London. 1825.

Lahontan est le premier qui ait remonté le rivière St. Pierre à laquelle il avait donné le nom de Rivière longue. On crut pendant longtemps que sa relation était fabuleuse et que les grandes lacs intérieurs de Winnepeek, des Bois et autres, n'existaient que dans son imagination. L'expedition du major Long a prouvé que Lahontan n'avait pas toujours altéré la vérité.

137. Collot (Général Victor). Voyage dans l'Amérique septentrionale, ou Description des pays arrosés par le Mississippi, l'Ohio, le Missouri et autres rivières affluentes, &c. avec un atlas de 36 cartes, plans, vues et figures. 2 vol. 8o. Paris. Arthus Bertrand. 1826.

(Une première édition avait paru en 1804.)

Le Général Collot vint pour la première fois en Amérique à l'époque de la guerre de l'indépendance, il servait alors dans l'Etat major du maréchal Rochambeau.

Plus tard, en 1796, il entreprit de visiter les diverses parties des Etats Unis et de la Louisiane; l'ouvrage ci-dessus indiqué est le résultat de ses voyages. Le second volume est consacré en entier à la haute et Basse Louisiane sur lesquelles le Général donne les détails les plus étendus.

138. Martin's (F. X.) The history of Louisiana. New Orleans. B. Levy. 2 vol. in 8o. 1827.

Le Juge Martin est le premier écrivain qui ait publié une histoire de la Louisiane en anglais. Pour un français, la tâche était difficile, aussi l'auteur ne la remplit-il pas à la satisfaction générale. Son style est dur, barbare et composé d'expressions moitié anglaises moitié françaises sous le rapport de l'exactitude, il laisse également beaucoup à désirer. C'est l'opinion du Dr. Monette qui s'exprime ainsi sur son compte: Martin is so often in error in relation to dates that his authority must yield when it conflicts with other sources of information.

139. Holmes's (Dr. Abiel). Annals of America from 1492 to 1828; the second edition enlarged. 2 thick vol. 8o. Cambridge. 1829.

- La chronologie du Dr. Holmes est un ouvrage capital, tant sous le rapport de l'exactitude, que sous celui de l'impartialité dont l'auteur fait preuve dans ses Jugements.*
140. Barbe Marbois. *Histoire de la Louisiane et de la cession de cette colonie par la France aux Etats Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale précédé d'un discours sur la constitution et le gouvernement des Etats Unis avec une carte relative à l'étendue des pays cédés in 8o.* Paris. Didot. 1829.
Cet ouvrage a été traduit en anglais sous le titre suivant:
141. *History of Louisiana particularly of the cession of that colony to the United States.* 8o. 1830.
L'ouvrage de M. Barbe Marbois n'est intéressant que sous le rapport du compte rendu des négociations auxquelles il avait pris part et des pièces qui l'accompagnent. Quant au résumé historique qui est placé en tête du livre, il laisse beaucoup à désirer et est peu en rapport avec le talent de cet homme d'Etat.
142. Armroyd's (G.) *A connected view of the whole internal navigation of the United States, natural and artificial, present and prospective; with maps and profiles, etc. in 8o.* Philadelphia. 1830.
Cet important ouvrage contient de nombreux documents sur les cours d'eau et les canaux de la Louisiane.
143. Murat. (Achille). *Lettres sur les Etats Unis, écrites à un de ses amis d'Europe.* Paris in 18o. 1830.
L'auteur de ces lettres a résidé longtemps dans la Floride où il était venu chercher un refuge contre la proscription. Ce qu'il écrivait il y à vingt cinq ans est aussi neuf et surtout aussi vrai que s'il l'avait publié depuis peu. Il serait difficile de reunir en moins de pages plus d'observations exactes sur les Etats Unis en général, mais principalement sur leurs parties sud, c'est à ce dernier titre que nous les mentionnons ici parmi les ouvrages sur la Louisiane. Ce petit livre pourrait servir d'Epitome à tous ceux qui, sans compulser un grand nombre de volumes, voudraient acquérir des renseignements précis sur les moeurs, les habitudes et la manière de vivre des diverses fractions de la population de l'Union, aussi bien que sur les institutions politiques qui en relient toutes les parties entre elles.
144. Flint's (Th.) *A condensed Geography and History of the Western States of the Mississippi Valley.* 2 vol. in 8o. Cincinnati. 1832.
145. Poussin (Major Guillaume Tell.) *Travaux d'améliorations interieures projetés ou exécutés par le Gouvernement général des*

Etats Unis d'Amérique de 1824 a 1831 in 4o. et atlas. In Fo.
Paris. 1834.

Le major Poussin, qui depuis representa la France aux Etats Unis fut attaché d'abord comme aide de camp a la personne du General Bernard et l'accompagna dans ses diverses inspections des points militaires de l' Union. La lettre suivante du Général precede l'ouvrage du major et en est l'apreciation: "J'ai lu avec le plus vif interet l'histoires des grands travaux auxquels vous et moi avons été associes pendant quinze ans et qui, sur l'autre hemisphère, attestent l'esprit d'entreprise qui caracterise la nation Américaine. La manière dont vous avez traité ce beau sujet, sous les rapports politiques, commerciaux et militaires et sous ceux de l'art, rendra votre ouvrage, non seulement en France, mais encore en Amérique, digné de l'attention des hommes éclairés."

146. Hall's (James). Notes on the Western States containing descriptions, sketches of their soil, climate, resources, and scenery. Philadelphia. In 12o. 1838.
147. Vail (Eugene). citoyen Americain. Notice sur les Indiens de l'Amérique du nord, ornée de quatre portraits colories dessinés d'après nature et une carte. Paris Arthus Bertrand. In 8o. 1840.

Dans la préface de son ouvrage, l'auteur en expose ainsi le plan: "Afin de procéder avec quelque méthode nous classons notre travail de façon à toucher légèrement, car la statistique nous fait faute presque entièrement pour cette époque de vague et d'incertitude ou l'épée remplissait un plus grand rôle que la plume, aux questions Suivantes; savoir:

La condition et l'occupation du territoire par les tribus sauvages lors du premier débarquement des premiers pionniers Européens. D'après quel droit et sous quel prétexte ils s'emparèrent du sol: Quelles étaient les relations existant entre ceux-ci et les Indiens à l'époque de la déclaration d'indépendance des Etats Unis; car, et nous l'avouons tout d'abord, nous avons principalement à cœur d'écartier l'idé injuste et erroné avancé par quelques écrivains, que les échelles moyens employés par nous pour déplacer les Indiens aient été la bayonette, pour l'expulsion des uns, et l'influence diaboliques des liquers fortes pour détruire les autres tandis que au contraire, nous ne craignons nullement de mettre au grand jour les procédés mis en usage jusqu'à ce jour par le Gouvernement Américain pour diminuer autant que faire se peut la rigueur du traitement que les Indiens ont nécessairement eu à

subir; comme conséquence de la civilisation et de leur caractère indomptable.

Enfin nous essaierons de décrire leurs moeurs, et après avoir indiqué avec précision les efforts de nos philanthropes et les immenses sacrifices faits par la nation pour rendre justice à cette classe malheureuse d'hommes nous laisserons à nos lecteurs à en déduire eux mêmes si, avec de tels éléments, il était possible de faire mieux. La carte qui accompagne cet ouvrage, indique la position et le nom des diverses tribus sauvages qui occupaient l'Amérique du Nord, depuis l'année 1600 à l'année 1800, et elle ne peut manquer d'intéresser les Louisianais dont la contrée renfermait un si grand nombre de peuplades.

148. Spark's (of Cambridge). *Life of de la Salle.* Boston. 8o. 1844. *La réputation de M. Sparks comme Biographe est solidement établie par les divers ouvrages qu'il a publiés sur les hommes éminents des Etats Unis, aussi je regrette vivement de n'avoir pu me procurer l'ouvrage dont je donne le titre ci-dessus d'après Mr. Falconer, car je ne doute pas, qu'il n'ait traité la vie de La Salle avec la même hauteur de vues et avec autant d'habileté que celle de Washington.*
149. Falconer (Thomas). *On the discovery of the Mississippi and the South Western Oregon and North Western boundary of the U. S. with a translation from the original M.S. of memoirs relating to the discovery of the Mississippi by de la Salle and Tonti.* 8o. Map. London. 1844. *L'ouvrage de M. Falconer est du plus haut intérêt pour l'histoire de la Louisiane. L'extrait suivant de la préface de l'auteur servira tout à la fois à faire connaître son livre et celui de M. Sparks:* "When in Paris in 1843, I collected some material to serve for an account of the discoveries of La Salle, and a friend was kind enough to give me copies of the documents which had been obtained from the archives of the marine. In the course of the present year a 'Life of La Salle,' written by Mr. Sparks of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been published; and this work renders any similar one needless. The documents I have translated which I hope will hereafter be published in their original language, rendered an abstract of La Salle's Journey necessary in order to explain their value, but as these journeys have been the foundation of contested claims to extensive territories in North America, I enlarged my first sketch and have traced their consequences in the negotiations that have occurred respecting the western boundary of the United States."

Voici la note des documents que l'on trouvera dans l'ouvrage de Mr. Falconer:

La geneologie l'Iberville, gentilhomme canadien, et de Bienville son frère, les deux fondateurs de la colonie de la Louisiane.

Une relation signé Tonti, de la route tenue par lui depuis la rivière des Illinois au golfe de Mexique, en descendant le Mississippi.

Un mémoire de Cavalier de la Salle, relatif à l'entreprise proposé au Mis. de Seignelay sur une province de Mexique.

Les lettres patentes donnés par le Roi de France au Sr. de la Salle le 12 mai 1678.

Un mémoire du Sr. de la Salle adressé au Mis. de Seignelay dans lequel il lui rend compte de la découverte du Mississippi faite par lui d'après les ordres du Roi. Le testament de La Salle.

Mémoire envoyé en 1693 sur la découverte du Mississippi et les nations voisines, par M. de La Salle depuis l'anné 1678 jusqu'a l'époque de sa mort et continué par le Sr. de Tonti jusqu'a l'anné 1691.

Ce dernier mémoire est signé Hy. de Tonty. C'est probablement par ce document official et authentique l'editeur de l'ouvrage indiqué sous le No. 20 à pris le canevas sur lequel on lui reproche d'avoir si bien brodé.

150. Monett's (John W.) History of the discovery and settlement of the Mississippi by the three great European powers, Spain, France and Great Britain; and the subsequent occupation, settlement, and extension of civil government by the United States until the year 1846. New York. Harper. 2 vol. gr. 8o. 1846.

Sous ce titre, c'est une histoire complete de la Louisiane que nous a donné le Dr. Monett. Le plan de son ouvrage est d'une simplicité admirable et il l'a executé avec autant de fidélité que de talent. Nous traduirons la partie de sa préface dans laquelle il expose la marche qu'il a suivie:

"Le plan de cet ouvrage est simple, il résulte de l'ordre dans lequel se sont avancés les diverses colonies pour occuper les contrés qui forment les Etats Unis actuels.

"Les Espagnols ayant été les plus anciens pionniers de la vallé du Mississippi, leurs diverses expeditions fournirent le sujet d'un premier livre.

"Les Français, a leur tour, venus apres les agressifs Espagnols, ont été les explorateurs pacifique et les premiers colons permanents qui ont accupé et établi les rives du Mississippi. Le recit de

leurs découvertes et l'histoire de leur colonie seront le sujet d'un second livre.

"La Grande Bretagne, la jalouse rivale de la France, étendit ensuite ses colonies dans les contrées de l'Ouest, ne cessant d'enpiéter sur les possessions françaises jusqu'au moment où maîtresse du Canada, elle s'approprie la moitié de la partie Est de la grande vallée du Mississippi et y joignit les Florides.

"Les progrès de ses colonies à l'ouest des Alleghans, ses combats avec les Français et leurs alliés indigènes, son occupation subséquente du pays, seront le sujet du troisième livre.

En 1763 lorsque la Louisiane fut démembré et que l'Angleterre se fut assuré la possession de toute la partie Est à l'exception de l'île d'Orléans, l'Espagne acquit toute la partie de l'Ouest y compris cette dernière cédé par la France. La Louisiane se trouva donc, partagé entre ces deux puissances. L'Espagne rentra en possession des Florides en 1781, les conserva ainsi que la Louisiane jusqu'à la fin de 1803, époque à laquelle elle la retroceda à la France.

L'acquisition et l'occupation par les Espagnols de ces vastes provinces, leur gouvernement et la cessation de leur pouvoir, fourniront la matière du quatrième livre.

"Peu de temps après les Etats Unis déclarerent leur indépendance, qui fut reconnue par l'Angleterre, ils se trouvèrent ainsi substituer aux droits reclamés par elle sur le territoire à l'Est du Mississippi et qui s'étendait au sud jusqu'aux limites particulières de la Floride. Les Etats Unis formeront de nouveaux états à l'ouest des Alleghans et étendirent de plus en plus leur autorité. Peu à peu ils éloignèrent les indigènes de la partie est du Mississippi; et finalement, par négociations ou par traités, ils s'annexèrent toutes les provinces espagnoles situées à l'ouest de fleuve jusqu'au Rio del Norte.

L'extension des établissements, la fondation des institutions civiles, l'accroissement de la population, les guerres et les traités avec les tribus indigènes, les acquisitions de territoire, les progrès de l'agriculture, des manufactures et du commerce aidés par la puissance de la vapeur, formeront la matière du cinquième livre."

Dans la partie de l'ouvrage du Dr. Monet relative à la domination française à la Louisiane, on peut regretter qu'il n'ait pris pour guides que des auteurs ayant écrit en anglais tels que Martin, Bancroft, Stodard, Darby.

Il a pu s'apercevoir combien le premier était inexact en le comparant avec le second, mais s'il eut consulté Charlevoix il se fut

convaincu en outre que presque tous les materiaux qui ont servi aux quatre écrivains que nous venons de citer se trouvaient réunis dans l'histoire de la Nouvelle France.

151. Bunner's (T.) History of Louisiana from its first discovery and settlement to the present time. New York. In 180. 1846.
Ce résumé historique fait partie de la collection Harper. Il est écrit avec talent.
152. Bancroft's. History of the United States from the discovery of the American continent to the declaration of Independence. Royal 8o. 1847.
L'ouvrage de M. Bancroft est trop bien connu des lecteurs Louisianais et surtout trop bien apprécié par eux pour que des réflexions quelconques de ma part, ajoutent le moins du monde à la réputation meritié de cet historien. Il est probable que l'édition que j'ai sous les yeux n'est pas la première qui ait été publiée de cet important ouvrage.
153. Gayarré (Charles). Histoire de la Louisiane. 2 vol. in 8o. Nouvelle Orléans. 1846-1847.
154. Le même. Pour servir de suite au précédent ouvrage. History of Louisiana. The Spanish domination. 1 fort volume 8o. New York. 1854.
M. Gayarre débute comme historien en 1830, par la publication de deux volumes intitulés: Essais historiques sur la Louisiane. Il était fort jeune alors et il manquait tout à la fois de matériaux et d'expérience. Mais depuis cette époque, M. Gayarre, entré dans la carrière politique de son pays y à occupé un poste important. Il a été à même de puiser dans les archives de l'Etat, et de plus, il a fait à Paris un assez long séjour pendant lequel il a pris connaissance des nombreux documents sur la Louisiane contenus dans les dépôts de la marine et à la Bibliothèque impériale. Il les a utilisés dans la première partie de son ouvrage qui renferme un grand nombre de pièces inédites et importantes. On peut regretter toutefois que l'auteur ait passé aussi rapidement sur l'époque de la première exploration de la Louisiane par Marquette et La Salle; une page de son livre est à peine consacrée au premier et un vingtaine aux deux expéditions du second. Cependant M. Gayarre dit dans la préface qui sert d'introduction à son ouvrage: "Comme écrivain je me suis complètement effacé et j'ai cherché à faire raconter l'histoire par les contemporains eux-mêmes." Une plus belle occasion d'exécuter cette promesse ne pouvait s'offrir à M. Gayarre, en mettant sous les yeux de ses lecteurs le récit tout à la fois si simple et si naïf du père Marquette

ou quelques extraits du journal du veridique Joutel. Mais bien qu'il eut à sa disposition outre ces deux relations celles des pères Zenobe, Anasthase et Hennepin, M. Gayarre à donne la préférence à l'ouvrage publié sous le nom de Tonti. Ce choix n'est pas heureux, car personne n'ignore que cette relation à été tellement amplifié et embellie par l'editeur que c'est à grand peine si on peut distinguer le vrai du faux. Aussi les discours que M. Gayarre met dans la bouche de la Salle et de Mansolea sont ils ornés des mêmes fleurs de rhetorique que ceux de Tonti. En général, le livre de M. Gayarre est un tableau fidèle et animé des evenements qui se sont passés à la Louisiane depuis sa découverte jusqu'a la cession qui en fut faite à l'Espagne en 1762, 1769; mais il est facheux qu'il se soit laissé un peu trop aller à la déclamation, à l'emploi de l'hyperbole et au dénigrement d'une époque qui à produit les plus beaux genies de la France.

La seconde partie de l'ouvrage de M. Gayarre écrite en anglais, est entièrement consacré à l'histoire de la domination espagnole à la Louisiane (1770 à 1802). Nous laisserons l'auteur nous dire lui-même dans quel esprit elle a été écrite:

"I must call the attention of the reader to a singular anomaly which is—that with all the foul abuses and tyrannical practices with which it has been so long the general custom to reproach the government of Spain everywhere, her administration in Louisiana was as popular as any that ever existed in any part of the world; and I am persuaded that I can rely on the unanimous support of my contemporaries when I declare that they scarcely ever met in Louisiana, an individual old enough to have lived under the Spanish Government in the colony and judged of its bearing on the happiness of the people who did not speak of it with affectionate respect, and describe those days of colonial rule as the golden age, which with many was the object of secret and with others of open regrets."

S'il fallait s'en rapporter à l'opinion de M. Gayarre, on devrait en conclure que les Louisianais de cette époque avaient très peu de mémoire ou qu'ils étaient doués d'une abnégation et d'un oubli des injures que je n'ai guère observés chez leurs descendants.

155. French's. Historical collections of Louisiana, embracing translations of many rare and valuable documents relating to the natural, civil and political history of that state, with a map. 8o. Part II, Philadelphia. 1850.
Je n'ai sous les yeux que le second volume de la collection de M. French; je ne suis donc pas en mesure de rendre compte du premier.

M. French débute par cette phrase: "In preparing this volume for the press, it has been my object to clear up as much as possible, by the publication of important narratives, all doubts respecting the claim of Spain to the first discovery, and of France to the first settlement and exploration of the Mississippi river."

M. French aurait certainement pu s'éviter cette peine, car il est permis de croire qu'il existe pas une personne ayant déjà lu l'histoire de la Louisiane qui ne soit convaincu de ces deux vérités. Alors quels sont les lecteurs que M. French veut convaincre? Dans un autre endroit de sa préface il s'exprime ainsi sur la carte qu'il à jointe à son livre: "The valuable and rare map accompanying this volume is a well executed facsimile of the original. It aspires to a degree of accuracy that is of great importance both to the historian and antiquarian." Oui, la carte de de l'Isle est très bonne et très estimé mais puisque M. French en gratifiait ses lecteurs il aurait du faire choix pour la reproduire non d'une contrefaçon faite en Hollande en 1720, mais bien de la véritable carte de de l'Isle, publié à Paris en 1712. Si M. French eut voulu s'en donner la peine, il aurait trouvé grand nombre d'exemplaires de cette carte dont l'exécution répond mieux que la contrefaçon aux éloges mérités qu'il lui donne.

La carte reproduite par M. French se trouve dans deux ouvrages reimprimés à Amsterdam: *Histoire de la Floride*, par Garcillasso de la Vega et dans le volume I Xe. de la collection des voyages au nord, dont nous avons donné le titre sous le No..... Inutile de dire que comme toutes les contrefaçons elle est remplie de fautes grossières qui sont facile à apercevoir. Passons maintenant aux diverses pièces qui composent ce second volume des Annales historiques de la Louisiane.

M. French dans un "account of the Louisiana Historical Society," nous en donne la constitution et le but, mais nous y cherchons en vain le résultat utile que ses travaux ont procuré au public Louisianais.

A la suite on trouve:

A discourse on the life, writings, etc. of the Hon. F. Martin.

De l'aveu de tous, le Juge Martin était un Jurisconsulte distingué, mais considéré comme historien, il est permis de ne pas partager l'opinion de M. French et de trouver que son *History of Louisiana* est un livre inexact, mal écrit et qui ne fait guère honneur à son auteur.

An analytical index of all the public documents in Paris relating to the discovery and early settlement of Louisiana.

Nous ne pouvons que remercier M. French d'avoir publié ce catalogue qui evitera à d'autres les recherches qui ont été faites par Mr. E. J. Forstall.

A translation of an original letter of Hernando de Soto on the conquest of Florida.

A translation of a recently discovered manuscript.

Journals of the expeditions of Hernando de Soto into Florida, by Luis Hernandez de Biedma.

M. French à omis de dire à ses lecteurs qu'il avait emprunté ces deux pieces au Recueil de M. Ternaux Campans (Voir No. 12) et on pourrait croire qu'il les avait traduites de l'original espagnol, si on ne trouvait dans sa relation des expressions françaises qui ont cependant leur equivalent en anglais. Il eut donc été de toute justice de citer à cette occasion en s'appropriant son travail le nom de l'écrivain distingué auquel nous sommes redevable de tant de recherches précieuses sur l'histoire d'Amérique.

A narrative of the expedition of Hernando de Soto into Florida, by a gentleman of Elvas, translated from the Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt in 1609.

Dans cette réimpression de la traduction de Hakluyt, M. French à supprimé la division par chapitre et le Sommaire qui les precedait ce qui en rend la lecture un peu fastidieuse, car on ne sait où reprendre haleine. Il a cru bon, aussi de rajeunir l'orthographe d'Hakluyt et de le traduire en anglais moderne. Si le livre de M. French ne devait être lu que des étrangers à la langue anglaise, nous comprendrions cette transformation mais annoncer que l'on reproduit un écrivain du 17e. siècle et lui donner l'orthographe du 19e., nous paraît être où un contresens, où une défiance de l'intelligence du lecteur. A la suite de l'expedition de Soto, M. French réimprime la fameuse description de la Louisiane par D. Coxe, moins sa curieuse préface (voir No. 37). Nous ne reviendrons pas sur l'erreur de date que nous avons déjà signalée, mais nous nous permettrons d'observer à M. French que puisque son but en publiant cet ouvrage était de dissiper tous les doutes relativement à la revendication des Espagnols à la découverte de la Louisiane, et à celle des français à son établissement et à son exploration première; il a été mal inspiré en choisissant l'écrit d'un auteur qui affirme que ce sont les anglais seuls qui ont droit à cette double pretention. Il nous semble donc qu'en perdant son but de vue, M. French a contribué à rendre son lecteur encore plus incertain, bien loin de dissiper ses doutes.

Mr. French termine son livre par une traduction du Journal du

père Marquette, traduction qui avait déjà paru en 1699 à la suite de la relation du père Hennepin (Voir No. 19). Dans l'ordre chronologique, cet écrit aurait du précéder celui de Coxe, puisque le premier à été publié plus de 25 ans avant le second. On serait tenté de croire, en le voyant ainsi rejeté à la fin du volume, que la date de 1598, déjà relaté, a été mise intentionnellement pour donner aux anglais une priorité qui ne leur appartient pas.

156. Brasseur de Bourburg. (l'abbé). *Histoire du Canada, de son église et de ses missions depuis la découverte de l'Amérique jusqu'à nos jours, écrite sur des documents inédits compulsés dans les archives de l'Archevêché et de la ville de Québec.* 2 vol. in 8o. Paris. 1852.

Le premier volume de cet ouvrage est également intéressant pour l'histoire de la Louisiane qui est redouble de sa colonisation aux habitans du Canada.

L'abbé Brasseur ne s'est pas borné à parler de l'Eglise et des missions de la Nouvelle France, son livre renferme des faits historiques qui seront lus avec autant plus de plaisir par l'homme du monde; qu'ils sont racontés avec clarité et avec impartialité.

157. Ampère (J. J.) de l'Académie française. *Promenade en Amérique, Etats Unis, Cuba, Mexique.* 2 volumes en 8o. Paris, Levy. 1855.

Un intervalle de 170 années, a peine, séparé la première visite du père Marquette à la Louisiane de celle faite en dernier lieu par M. Ampere. Que de transformations se sont opérés pendant ce laps de temps, qui, pour la vieille Europe paraîtrait si courte! Là, où le pauvre missionnaire, sur un frele canot d'écorces, ne trouvait que solitude, forets impénétrables, peuplades barbares, nulle trace de culture; l'académicien voyage dans un palais flottant, il rencontre à chaque pas des cités florissantes, des campagnes cultivées, des usines de toute nature et une Société qui, ne le cède en rien à celle de l'Europe. L'illusion du voyageur est telle qu'en assistant à certaines reunions, il se croit transporté dans un Salon de la Chausse d'Antin.

Mais pourquoi s'étonner des merveilles opérés dans un si court espace? La fé qui les a produites, ne s'appelle elle pas la liberté?

OUVRAGES PUBLIES SUR LES DIFFERENTES TRIBUS
INDIENNES DE L'OUEST DES ETATS UNIS;
LEURS MOEURS, ORIGINES &a.

158. Acosta (El padre Joseph de). Historia natural y moral de las Indias, en que se traten las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y animales d'ellas y los Ritos y ceremonias, leyes y govierno, y guerras de los Indios. 4o. 1590.
A été traduite en français sous le titre suivant:
159. Histoire naturelle et morale des Indes orientales de J. de Acosta. Traduite par R. Regnault; et en anglais celui de:
160. The natural and moral history of the East and West Indies by J. Acosta; translated into English by E. G. 4o. 1604.
Le même ouvrage à été traduit en allemand, en Hollandais et en Italien.
De Laët. Novus Orbis &a.
Ouvrage déjà indiqué sous les Nos. 8 et 9.
161. Le Même. Notae ad dissertationem hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Américanarum et observationes aliquot ad meliorem induginem difficultinæ hujus questiones. 1643.
162. Le Même. Responsio Johannis de Laët ad dissertationem secundam Hugonis Grotii de origine gentium Américanarum, cum indice ad utrumque libellum. 1644.
163. Grotius. De origine gentium Américanarum dissertatio. 4o. 1642.
164. Le Même. De origine gentium Américanarum dissertatio altera adversus obstrectatorem. Paris, Cramoisy. 1643.
165. Hornius. De originibus Américanis, libri quatuor. 8o. La Haye. 1652.
Lafiteau. Moeurs des sauvages Amériquains. Ouvrage déjà indiqué sous le No. 31.
166. Garcia (Gregorio). Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mondee; Indias occidentales averiguavos con discource de opiniones. Trantanse en este libro varias cases y puntos curiosos, tocante a diversas ciencias y facultades, conque se varia historia de mucho gosto para el ingenio y entendimiento de hombres agudos y curiosos. Segunda impression emendada &a. In fo. Madrid. 1720.
167. Colden's. History of the five Indian nations of Canada, which are the barriers between the English and French, in that part of the world. In 8o. London. 1750.

168. Eidous, Bailly d'Engel. Essai sur cette question: Quand et comment l'Amérique a-telle été peuplée d'hommes et d'animaux? Amsterdam, 5 vol. in 12o. et 2 vol. in 4o. 1767.
169. De Paw. Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine, avec une dissertation sur l'Amérique et les Américains par Don Pernety, 3 vol. in 12o. 1771.
170. Adair's (James). History of the American Indians, particularly the nations adjoining the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina and Virginia. In 4o. Map. 1775.
171. Carli (le Comte). Lettres Américaines dans lesquelles on examine l'origine, l'Etat civile, politique, militaire et religieux, les arts, les sciences, les moeurs, les usages des anciens habitants de l'Amérique; les grandes époques de la nature, l'ancienne communication des deux hémisphères, et la dernière révolution qui a fait disparaître l'Atlantide, pour servir de suite aux mémoires de D. Ulloa. 2 vol. in 8o. Boston et Paris. 1788. *C'est Lefèvre de Villebrune qui a traduit ces lettres de l'Italien, après avoir donné la traduction des mémoires philosophiques de Don Ulloa (indiqués sous le No.)*
172. Genty (abbé). L'influence de la découverte de l'Amérique sur le bonheur du genre humain. Paris. Nyon. 8o. Carte et fig. 1788.
173. Barton's (B. Smith). New views of the origin of the Tribes and nations of America. Philadelphia. In 18o. 1798.
174. Williamson's. Observations on the climate, in the different parts of America, compared with the climate in corresponding parts of the other continents. New York. 8o. 1811.
175. Heckewelder's. Narrative of the mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Monegan Indians. 1740 to 1808. 8o. Philadelphia. 1820.
A été traduit par Duponceau sous ce titre:
176. Moeurs et coutumes des nations indiennes de la Pensylvanie. Paris. 8o. 1822.
176. bis. Hunter's. Manners and customs of several Indian Tribes. 8o. Philadelphia. 1823.
177. Church's (Th.) The history of Philip's war, commonly called the great Indian war of 1675 and 1676, also of the French and Indian wars in 1689, 90, 92, 96, and 1704, in 12o. Boston. 1827
178. MacCulloh's. Researches concerning the original history of America. Royal 8o. Baltimore. 1829.

179. Tanner's (John). A narrative of the captivity and adventures, during thirty years of residence among the Indians of North America. New York. Map. 8o. 1830.
A été traduit en français sous ce titre:
180. Mémoires de J. Tanner, ou trente années dans les déserts de l'Amérique du nord, traduit par de Blosseville. Paris. A. Bertrand. 2 vol. 8o. 1835.
181. Thatcher's. Indian Biography, or an historical account of those individuals who have been distinguished among the North American natives as orators, warriors, statesmen, and other remarkable characters. 2 vol. in 18o. New York. Harper. 1832.
182. Flint's (Timothy). Indian wars of the west, containing biographical sketches of those pioneers, who headed the western settlers in repelling the attacks of the savages, together with a view of the character, manners, monuments and antiquities of the Western Indians, in 12o. Cincinnati. 1833.
183. Dunmore-Lang's. View of the origin and migrations of the Polynesian nation. London. 8o. Map. 1834.
184. Irving's (J.) Indian sketches taken during an expedition to the Pawnee and other Tribes of American Indians. 2 vol. in 12o. London. 1835.
185. Washington Irving's. A tour on the prairies. In 12o. Paris. 1835.
186. The Same. Adventures of Captain Bonneville or scenes beyond the Rocky Mountains of the far West, 8o. Paris. 1837.
187. Antiquitates Americanae sive scritores septentrionales rerun ante Columbianarum, in America edidit societa regia antiquariorum septentrionalium. Hafinae. In 4o. 1837.
188. Supplement to the Antiquatates Americanae by C. Rafin. Copenague. 8o. 1841.
189. Delafield's (John). An inquiry into the origin of the antiquities of America with an appendix by J. Lakey. In 8o. New York. 1839.
190. Bradford's. American Antiquities and researches into the origin and history of the red race. New York. 8o. 1841.

GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON

*A Paper Prepared and Read by his Great-Grandson
James Wilkinson*

In complying with the kind request of this Society, I desire first to discuss the charges made in Gayarre's History of Louisiana, and adopted from that history by many other historians, that Wilkinson while a Brigadier General of the United States Army sought to betray his country by procuring the secession of Kentucky, and effecting an alliance between that territory and Spain.

In the first place Wilkinson during the whole time of this alleged conspiracy with Governor Miro was a private citizen, that is from the close of the Revolutionary War until December, 1791, at which latter date Washington again appointed him a Lieutenant Colonel in the regular army. In the next place, at the time Wilkinson was charged with this attempted betrayal there was properly speaking no country or nation for him to betray; and lastly every act of his life proved that he was devoted to the true interests of the people of the United States.

The Third Article of the Confederation, adopted 1777, expressly declared it was but "firm league of friendship" that the several States were entering into, and the Second Article of the same instrument expressly declared each State retained its own sovereignty.

The Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. 23, p. 745 says, that under these articles of confederation:

"The States were separating from one another and from Congress. There was no executive. Congress could with difficulty bring enough members together to form a quorum. Scarcely any one outside paid any attention to what it did. Least of all was it respected by foreign governments."

The Encyclopedia Britannica further says, Vol. 24, p. 260,

"King James in 1609, gave the London Company a sea front of 400 miles of frontage throughout from sea to sea, and under this charter Virginia had jurisdiction over her imperial colony territory and under it holds the fragment of this colony called Virginia."

Channing's History of the United States, p. 109, says,

Virginia's claims on these lands "had been annulled in 1624, after which she became a royal province."

This claim of Virginia to the colony of Kentucky was vague and shadowy. Under the grant of King James in 1609 of the country from ocean to ocean (even if it had not been annulled), that State really had as much right to California as it had to Kentucky.

In Shaler's History of American Commonwealths, (Ky.), that author says,

"The Colonial charters of Virginia gave to that colony a claim on all the lands of the Mississippi Valley that lay to the west of the boundaries of New York and Pennsylvania, as well as Virginia itself. At that time when the grants were made and for generations afterwards, this western domain was to Virginia a very intangible property, if indeed it deserved the name a possession."

Butler in his history of Kentucky, Vol. 2, p. 262, says, that the confederation of States was often called "A political barrel of 13 staves without a hoop."

Collins in his History of Kentucky says,

"Repeated efforts were made by General Harry Lee to obtain a continental force of 700 or even 800 soldiers to protect the western frontier from the savages, but the frantic jealousy of the central power cherished by the sovereign states at a time when that central power grovelled in the most hopeless imbecility, peremptorily forbade even this small force to be embodied, lest it would lead to the overthrow of State rights."

James K. Hosmer, member of the Minnesota Historical Society, in his history of the Mississippi Valley, published in 1901, says:

"The critical period in American History between the peace of 1783 and the adoption of the Constitution was not less threatening and disorderly in the Mississippi Valley than in the east. In 1784, the Wantauga settlement which had been merged in North Carolina constituted itself the State of Franklin. At the head of the faction was Sevier, ever combative, * * * * No one can be blamed that in those days loyalty to the feeble union was languid, and a strong separatist feeling rife. The union being a jelly, what protection or credit could it afford to win adherents? In these western communities, some favored complete independence; some would have gone back with equanimity to England; some again were ready to connect themselves with Spain, which held New Orleans and the world beyond the river. The resourceful Clark and the well poised Robertson, even showing Spanish sympathies, while Daniel Boone finding the air contaminated by the swelling immigration, pushing across into a new wilderness took the oath of allegiance to Spain, and became an officer (the Alcade) of the District of St. Charles, a Spanish post on the Missouri."

The eastern part of Kentucky also set itself up as the province of Transylvania, and opposed the authority of Virginia. A State convention had been held in 1784 in Kentucky looking to her independence.

In 1784, the year that Wilkinson settled there, the grievances of Kentucky were three fold—

1st. "This infant commonwealth rocked amid the war whoop and the rifle, plundered by Indians and shut up by Spaniards, was still subjected to a portion of the domestic debt then existing against Virginia." (Butler p.

181). The capital of Virginia, 500 miles distant, could only be reached by two mountain trails and across unbridged rivers, all traversible by pack horses only; and the main source of the public revenues, arising from the sale of Kentucky's public lands, were taken by the parent mother with hardly any compensating sustenance for her hungry child.

2nd. The settlers of Kentucky demanded protection against Indian atrocities, from Virginia and her sister States in vain. Smith, in his History of Kentucky, p. 316, declares that the pioneers of that region lost over 5,000 men, women and children alone, from Indian attacks; and these victims were often made to suffer frightful tortures before death.

Whether in their fields or at their churches, the rifle was then always the inseparable companion of the pioneer.

3rd. Kentucky, with her 4,000 miles of water ways, barred by granite walls of mountains from trade on the east, desired above all else the free navigation of the Mississippi River, her only avenue to trade and commerce. This, if she was a component part of Virginia, had been guaranteed to the Colonies by the recent British treaty of peace, the British having formerly acquired that ceded right by treaty from Spain. This right was wrongfully denied to Kentuckians by the Spaniards, and every vessel sent by them as far as Natchez was seized and with its cargo, confiscated by the Spanish buccaneers of the Mississippi. All their complaints as to this had been ignored, and no redress was afforded them.

Fiske's "Critical periods of American History" p. 211 says:

"By the treaties that closed the Revolutionary war in 1783, the province of East and West Florida were ceded by England to Spain. West Florida bordered the Mississippi River, and the Spaniards claimed that it extended up to the Yazoo River. The Americans claimed that it extended only to Natchez, but by secret treaty with England and the United States, it was agreed if England could continue to keep West Florida, the upper boundary should be the Yazoo. When the Spaniards found out about the secret treaty they were furious and closed the mouth of the river. Congress was informed that until this matter was set right no American sloop or barge should dare to show itself below Natchez without danger of confiscation. These threats produced opposite feelings in the North and South. New York and the Eastern and Northern States cared no more for the Mississippi River than for Timbuctoo. On the other hand the pioneers of the West were not willing to sit still when their pork and corn were being confiscated. The Spanish envoy, Gardaquo, arrived in Philadelphia in the summer of 1784, and John Jay, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was directed to negotiate a new treaty with him. A year of wrangling passed between the latter and the Spanish Minister. At last in despair Jay advised Congress for the sake of a Commercial treaty, to allow Spain to close the navigation of the Mississippi River below the Yazoo for 25 years. As the rumor of this went abroad among the settlements of the Ohio there was an outburst of wrath to which an incident that then occurred gave greater virulence. A North Carolina native named Amis sailed down the River with pots and pans and flour. His boat and cargo were seized at Natchez and he was forced to return home on foot alone through the wilds; Spaniards were attacked at Vincennes; Indignation meetings were held in Kentucky; the people threatened to send a force down the river to capture Natchez and New Orleans and a more dangerous threat was made that should the Northern States desert then and adopt Jay's suggestion, that they would secede and throw themselves on Great Britain for protection. Leaders in the Northern States declared that if Jay's suggestion was not adopted that it would be high time for the Northern States to secede from the Union and form a federation by themselves. The situation was dangerous in the extreme. Sooner than see their colonies go, the Southern States would have themselves seceded and broken away from the Northern States. But New Jersey and Pennsylvania came over with Rhode Island to the Southern side and Jay's proposal was defeated."

During the early part of this excitement in 1784 the Kentucky settlements held a convention, and this convention passed a resolution requesting the admission of Kentucky into the Union as an independent and sovereign State.

The Northern States were always bitterly opposed to admitting Kentucky because it would increase to their disadvantage the political strength of the South and West.

Virginia,—who claimed jurisdiction over these settlements, was opposed to letting Kentucky go, and even then preparations were being made to establish a water connection between the head waters of the Potomac and Ohio, and the free navigation of the Mississippi and the independence of Kentucky meant a loss of much prospective trade to the Eastern States.

Fiske's "Critical Periods of American History," p. 214 says:

"Washington himself ardently desired the traffic of the Western States brought eastward. In 1785 he became President of a Company for extending the navigation of the Potomac and James Rivers established by legislative act of Virginia, and the scheme was to connect the head waters of the Potomac with those of the Ohio."

From a convention between Maryland and Virginia to advance this work, grew out other conventions and subsequently the great convention that formed the Constitution of the United States.

In Washington's farewell address (September 17th, 1796) he says:

"The east, in a like intercourse with the West already finds, and in the progressive *improvements* of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence and the future maritime strength to the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interests as one Nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength or from an *apostate* and unnatural connection with any foreign power must be intrinsically precarious."

Walker's "Making of the Nation," p. 111, says:

"The settlers had a passionate desire to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi. To this end the hardy pioneers were almost ready to sacrifice their allegiance to the Union. * * * * * * * * *"

"On the other hand it must be admitted that the first administration especially Washington and Judge Jay showed a singular obtuseness with dealing with the demands of the West on that point. Washington having penetrated as a surveyor beyond the mountains * * * * * had become deeply interested in projects for opening up trade between the West and the seaboard as to be almost infatuated with the idea. Jay on his part held that the benefits which would result to the whole country from favorable commercial treaties with Spain would be so great as to justify asking the Western people to submit for twenty-five years longer to restrictions on the navigation of the Mississippi."

Having shown the conditions in the section where Wilkinson was to become a leader, I will now refer to his early life.

Wilkinson was born in Calvert County, Maryland, in 1757. He was forced to begin his life's work early as his father died when he was six years old. He was a student of medicine when the revolutionary war began. In 1775 he joined the revolutionary army as a private. On March 1776 he was promoted to a captaincy by General George Washington. On July 17th, 1776, he was promoted to be brigade Major. On May 24th, 1777, he was made Adjutant General by Major-General Gates, and was one of the representatives of General Gates, that arranged the surrender of Burgoyne.

In the report of this surrender by General Gates which Wilkinson bore to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, dated October 18th, 1777, the former said:

"This letter will be presented to your excellency by my Adjutant General, Col. Wilkinson, to whom I beg leave to refer you for the particulars that brought this great business to so fortunate and happy a conclusion. I desire to be permitted to recommend this gallant officer, in the warmest manner to Congress, and entreat that he may be continued in his present office with the brevet of Brigadier General. The Honorable Congress will believe me when I assure them that from the beginning of this contest, I have not met with a more promising, military genius than Colonel Wilkinson, and whose services have been of the last importance to this army."

I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant,
Horatio Gates."

On November 6th, 1777, Congress honored Wilkinson with the brevet of Brigadier General.

We have thus presented the remarkable showing that an orphan boy, without fortune or friends, entering the revolutionary war as a private, at 18 years of age, had already taken a leading part in that war, and in two short years had won his way by several successive promotions to the brevet rank of Brigadier General.

Subsequently Wilkinson owing to ill health and an unfortunate misunderstanding with his superior officers in regard to what was known as the Conway Cabal, which had for its object the elevation of Gates over Washington as Commander-in-Chief, resigned his commission.

Wilkinson denied that he ever had anything to do with the Conway matter, and it is hardly probable that he, then only 20 years old, and friendly with both generals, would have taken part in any such scheme. Subsequently Wilkinson was appointed to the

responsible position of Clothier General of the Army and served as such to the close of the revolutionary war.

After the close of the revolutionary war, Wilkinson moved, in 1784, with his family to Kentucky, and opened a mercantile business in Lexington. His means were limited, as the continental money in which soldiers of the revolution had been paid was worth about as much as confederate money was during the late Civil War, and historians of that early time say it took about twenty dollars of it to buy a single meal.

When Wilkinson arrived, the settlement of Kentucky was in a turmoil. There had already been one convention held in 1784 to obtain Kentucky's independence and admission as a State.

Wilkinson was elected as a delegate to the 2nd Kentucky Convention held in 1785. He took a leading part in that convention and wrote its memorial for Kentucky's independence.

Smith in his History of Kentucky, p. 251, writes:

"In this address is recognized the florid writer and eloquent orator General James Wilkinson. This gentleman had removed with his family from Philadelphia to Lexington in the fall of the preceding year, and was now for the first time elected a member of this convention."

Smith adds, as to the address to the people:

"This address and these resolutions are from the same pen. It will hardly escape remark that the prayer for the separation is for an acknowledgment of Sovereignty and Independence."

Butler, in his History of Kentucky, says, (p. 148, 149).

"This resolution and its eloquent preamble were followed by an address to the legislature of Virginia and the people of the District in a style of dignity and ornament as yet unprecedent in the public proceedings of Kentucky. They were certainly the production of General Wilkinson, at the time in question a member of the convention. This gentleman whose emigration in the District has been noticed, now began to act a leading part of the History of Kentucky; indicative of the distinguished figure which his impressive powers as a fine writer, his military service and distinguished abilities enabled him to exhibit in the affairs of a Nation. It will be perceived that there is in these papers an elevation of political ideas richly dressed in appropriate composition; nor should any political imputation rest on them as has been insinuated because this assembly petitioned for 'Sovereignty and Independence.' Sovereignty was much more consistently the attribute of the members of the old confederation than those of the present constitution union."

In September, 1786, a fifth Kentucky convention was held whose object was again either to secure the indepedence of Kentucky or obtain her admission into the confederation as a sovereign State. This convention, of which Wilkinson was also a member, adjourned from day to day until January, 1787.

On June 28th, 1785, Mr. John Jay, Secretary of State for foreign

affairs was authorized, as I have shown, to negotiate a new treaty with Don Gardaquo, Minister to Spain, then located at Philadelphia, but Congress expressly prohibited any relinquishment thereby of the right to a free navigation of the lower Mississippi river. In spite of this prohibition, Mr. Jay, in an endeavor to procure traffic advantages with Spain for the Atlantic States, recommended to Congress a treaty containing a stipulation that the United States should recognize the Spanish right to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi River for 25 or 30 years.

In the 6th Kentucky Convention that met at Danville, October, 1788, Wilkinson, again a member, delivered a fiery address which in part stated:

"That it was with general abhorrence that the people received the intelligence that Congress was about to cede to Spain the exclusive right of navigating the Mississippi River for 25 years; that the western people were being driven to the alternative of separating themselves from the union on that account considering this navigation indispensable to their future growth and prosperity; that Spain should be so blind to her true interest as to refuse the use of the river to the western people and thereby compel a resort to military means. Great Britain stood ready with a sufficient force of armed allies to cooperate with them in enforcing this national right."

Wilkinson also read to the convention an address he had made the Spanish authorities on his visit to New Orleans the previous year.

Smith's History of Kentucky, p. 287, says:

"After reading this the author received a vote of thanks from the convention without a dissenting vote."

Smith says, (p. 301):

"Thus, from the first meeting in 1784 to consider the necessity of forming an independent State government for their own protection and management of home affairs, until the admission into the union eight years later, the people of Kentucky were subjected to the torturing and irritating necessity of appointing or electing delegates for assemblages in ten successive conventions, were embarrassed by sectional jealousies of the North Eastern States, for a natural affiliation with the Union, and hampered and delayed by restrictive legislation with Virginia."

It will therefore be seen that Wilkinson, embittered no doubt by the massacres of so many of his people by the Indians, without any attempt to extend them protection; by the unwelcome, and uncompromising attitude of the Northern States to the admission of Kentucky as a State; by the fact that John Jay was attempting to sell even then the natural birthright of the Western country for a mess of pottage for the benefit of the Atlantic States, which States were openly threatening to secede from the confederation if Jay was not allowed to do so, was not only openly suggesting before this convention a possible agreement with Spain; but he went further

and was openly and boldly advocating the independence of Kentucky and a possible alliance with England, and that convention *unanimously* approved his address.

The late venerable Claiborne of Mississippi, nephew of the first Governor of Louisiana, in his History of the men of Wilkinson's time, agreed with Butler that Wilkinson was openly advocating an alliance with Spain to force an admission into the union of Kentucky as a State.

And Smith, Kentucky's later Historian, p. 292-3, says:

"No party intended * * * * * anything more than commercial relations granting to Kentucky the right of navigation and exclusive trade. With consummate skill, the party under the lead of Wilkinson played the game of diplomatic strategy to tantalize the eager rapacity of Spain, while they menaced Congress to action by pointing to the open arms and seductive blandishments with which Spain stood ready to welcome Kentucky to her alliance."

Under the 9th article of the confederation no colony or part thereof could be admitted as a State without the consent of nine of the thirteen States. So, as the Northern States were opposed to the admission of Kentucky, her case seemed hopeless.

That some powerful lever was necessary to obtain the admission of Kentucky into the Union is evidenced by the fact, that Vermont, whose soldiers, under Ethan Allen, fought bravely for the independence of the colonies, was herself forced to apply to Congress for admission for 15 years, before becoming a State, and was then, in 1788, like Kentucky, still an applicant for admission; and while it took nine State conventions in Kentucky held from 1784 to 1790 to plead, implore and threaten her way into the Union in 1792, it took nearly double that time for Vermont to achieve admission.

Not a single new State was admitted during the existence of the Confederation from 1777 to 1789.

In this connection, although by the 3rd article of the French treaty of the cession of Louisiana from Napoleon, it was provided, that Louisiana should be promptly admitted as a State in the Union; the jealousy of the Northern States prevented this for eight years, it being contended by the Northern States, that the highly civilized French and Spanish residents were not capable of self government; and when the bill was presented for Louisiana's admission, that admission was only obtained after the most bitter protests from certain northern States, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts declaring in Congress:

"That if Louisiana was admitted the Union of States was thereby dissolved, and that it would be then the duty of those States to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must."

The chair thereupon sustained a point of order made by Mr. Pointdexter, of Mississippi, that language involving a dissolution of the Union could not be permitted on the floor of the House; but on appeal, this ruling of the chair was reversed, and thus encouraged the speaker went on with furious invective against the dangers of admitting Louisiana, or any State from her territory, as subversive of the Union.

Again as late as 1814, the delegations from Northern States, to the Hartford Convention adopted there resolutions that meant the secession of those States, which secession was only prevented by peace being declared between England and this country.

Strange it is that it should be deemed treasonable for Wilkinson to have advocated the secession of Kentucky, an outlying territory, from a confederation of States that had refused to receive her as a sister State, and all this before a union of States had ever been formed, while it should be held no sin to preach secession by force by leaders of the principal States of the union on the floor by Congress itself, 23 years after the Union had been formed, and the former confederation had ceased to exist, and later again during a war which menaced the very existence of this country.

Apart from and beyond a diminution of political power there may have loomed up before these leaders of the North a prophetic vision of the time when New Orleans, the Queen City of the South, would be the successful rival of every Sea Board City in the Union, save New York, for foreign trade, as they no doubt realized the self-evident truth that every pound of import or export freight that ascended or descended the Mississippi River, either to, or from the west, was that much less trade for the North and East.

But taking up these charges against Wilkinson and analyzing them logically, and I may add comparatively, with later events in American History, they do not on the admitted facts justify the severe criticisms levelled against Wilkinson the private citizen, when he led the threatened secession of Kentucky between 1785 and 1790.

There is no character that is more revered and admired in modern American History than that of General Robert E. Lee. He was not a private citizen, but an officer in the army of the United States when eleven States of the Union began one by one to secede from a Union of States, whose national government had existed for seventy years.

General Lee and the men of the South affirmed the right of the

States to secede from the Union, and the former resigned his commission and cast his lot with his native State of Virginia.

If Lee and the entire people of the South, including some of Wilkinson's descendants, who sealed their convictions with their blood, believed their States had the right to secede, after the union had existed under a stable national government for seventy years, to secede too, the North claims, largely on the question of negro slavery; if they could justify and defend the firing on the union flag at Fort Sumter, if they could justify and participate in a war that cost blood and tears and treasures and suffering untold, during which war they appealed both to England and France for aid and support, her most famous admiral, Semmes, just previously an officer of the United States Navy, securing a warship from England with which he almost swept the commerce of the United States from the seas, without taking the life of a single non-combatant; if they could do all this, then Wilkinson, a private citizen, one of the pioneers in 1784 in a western wild, before a union of States had ever been formed when the right of a sovereign State to secede was not denied and could not be denied; where the settlements he lived in was not even a State, or justly a part of any State; where the territory he lived in had itself been thrice denied admission in the federation of States, surely then he could not be justly condemned because, with thousands of others, he advocated the adoption of a policy which seemed to him and those other pioneers of Kentucky, vital to the preservation of both their property and their lives.

Butler, p. 173, says:

"To try the conduct of Kentucky statesmen in 1788 under a confederation in ruins and in factions, by the same principles which should now direct the mind under an efficient and beneficent government, would be absurd and unjust."

Shaler's History of American Commonwealths (Kentucky), says:

"There is a remarkable likeness between the incidents of separatists struggle of 1784-1790 and those of the secession movement of 1860-1, * * * In the former, however, the proposition was for a separation from a government that hardly existed and against which many valid objections could be urged, such a separation would have violated no pledges whatever."

Parton's Life of Burr, Vol. 2, p. 32, says:

"The reader must be reminded that during the administration of John Adams, the Union, to backwoodsmen, had not the sacred charm it has since possessed. The noise of party contention filled the land. The Union as Wilkinson himself said, seemed to hang together by a thread, which any moment might break. Wilkinson may have thought of hastening the catastrophe, of forming a western republic, of becoming its Washington, without being in any sense of the word, a traitor."

Smith in his History, p. 291, says:

"In making up the verdict of judgment we must consider that the chaotic and imbecile government of the Union of 1788 was a very doubtful and precarious hope of the future compared to the Union of today, and the proposed independent separation from Virginia was just what Virginia and the other States had done a few years before with Great Britain with less cogent reasons."

"The alleged cause of the American Revolution, (Taxation without representation), consisted in a levy in April, 1770, of a six cents a pound import duty on tea. The mother country then paid an inland tax of 24 cents a pound on the same article, and the preference shown the colonies in this matter was resented as an attempt to bribe them to support this form of a tax." (Channing's History of the U. S., p. 65.) The proceeds of this tax only amounted to about three hundred dollars a year, and England had probably spent a thousand times as much as this on the armies she had sent over a few years before to protect the colonies from the French and the Indians.

The United States later adopted in her own territories practically the same system that she had waged war about with the mother country.

Section 1862 of the U. S. Revised Statutes, still in force, limited each territory to one delegate in the House of Representatives, and gave no territorial representation in the United States Senate. The delegate in the lower body was expressly denied the right to vote on any question. Represented in the Lower House by a political eunuch, and with no representation at all in the Senate, the territories, that so long comprised three quarters of the entire area of this country, paid millions of dollars of both Internal Revenue and Import taxes to the Federal Government without representation in the levy of such taxes and had the same right to secede on this account as the colonies originally had.

Adams, History of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 143, says:

"Even after the adoption of the new constitution, Union was a question of expediency, not of obligation. This was the conviction of the true Virginia School and of Jefferson's opponents as well as his supporters."

We must moreover judge the conduct of Wilkinson at that time by what a great many others were then doing in the United States.

Hart's "Formation of the Union", p. 112-117, says:

"The revolutionary war had left behind it an eddy of lawlessness and disregard of human life. The support of the government was a heavy load on the people. The States were physically weak and the State legislatures habitually timid. In several States there were organized attempts to set off outlying portions as independent governments. Vermont had set the

example by withdrawing from New York, in 1777, and throughout the confederation remained without representation, either in the New York legislature or in Congress. In 1782 the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia threatened to break off and form a new State. From 1785 to 1786, the so called State of Franklin formed out of the territory of what is now Eastern Tennessee, had a constitution, legislature and Governor and carried on a mild border warfare with the government of North Carolina, to which its people owed allegiance. The people of Kentucky and of Maine held conventions looking towards separation. The year 1786 was marked by great uneasiness in what had been supposed to be the steadiest States in the Union. In New Hampshire there was a threatened insurrection against the legislature. In Massachusetts in the fall of 1786, concerted violence threatened the courts from sitting. * * * * * As a speaker in the Massachusetts Convention in 1788, said, 'People took arms, and then if you went to speak to them you had a musket of death presented to your breast. They would rob you of your property, threaten to burn your houses; obliged you to be on your guard night and day. * * * * * How terrible how distressing this was * * * * * had any one who was able to protect us come and set up his standard, we should have all flocked to it even should it have been a monarch. The arsenal at Springfield was attacked; the State forces were sent in the open field by armed insurgents; had they been successful the Union was not worth one of its own repudiated notes. * * * * * The year 1786, marks a crisis in the development of the Union. The inefficiency of Congress, was reflected in the neglect of the Constitutional duties of the States; Rhode Island recalled her delegates and refused to appoint new members; New Jersey felt so much injured by a New York tariff that an act was passed taxing the light house established by New York on Sandy Hook; Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Georgia had already raised troops on their own account and for their own purposes in violation of the articles of confederation. Davie, of North Carolina, a little later declared, that the 'encroachments of some States on the rights of others are incontestable proofs of the weakness of the confederation.' Of the requisitions of that time for two million dollars, in specie, only about four hundred thousand dollars was paid. Some States offered their own depreciated notes, and New Jersey refused to contribute at all until the offensive New York acts were withdrawn. In May, 1786, Chas. Pinckney on the floor of Congress, declared, 'That Congress must be invested with more power or that federal government must fall.' "

Channing's recent History of the United States, p. 121, repeats most of this and adds:

"Another instance of the same interstate rivalry was to be seen in the relations of Massachusetts and Connecticut. To protect her shipping and manufacturing interests Massachusetts passed a severe navigation act designed to keep the English goods and traders out of that State. Connecticut thereupon repealed every trade law on her statute book, thereby inviting foreign trade to her harbors and owing to the facilities for overland smuggling, completely frustrated the policy of Massachusetts."

Rhode Island levied both an export and import duty on eggs going into and coming from New York and caught the hen fruit industry both ways.

Where the confederated States, that during their entire existence *never admitted another State*, were themselves engaged in a prohibitive trade war inter-sese, I ask, what hope was there for the settlements of Kentucky, that those States would, or could, ever

enforce against so strong a power, as Spain then was, a freedom of trade which they did not, and could not, enforce among themselves?

Channing says, (p. 121):

"The real cause of the downfall of the confederation and the establishment of a more perfect union, was * * * * * to be found in the conviction, which gained ground rapidly in 1786-87, that the several States could not long continue on the existing basis without civil war."

• The confederation was to quote the general consensus of opinion, an unhappy experiment of an impossible form of government.

Gauging Wilkinson's views, not by the present strong and stable union, but by a disintegrating confederacy tottering to its own fall; not by the magnificent domain of the west as it exists today, but by what public men of his own times thought of it, as a desert and forest wild, it would not seem that anyone then deemed the secession of the scattered settlements of Kentucky, barely able to hold their own against the Indians, or the non-acquisition of that western wild, would have mattered much to the majority of the States then engaged in internecine strife and carrying on a commercial war among themselves. The lands of the Atlantic States too were still sparsely settled, and neither Washington, Adams, nor even Jefferson prior to 1800, looked with favor on Western emigration.

Even at a later date in his letter to Breckenridge, August 12, 1803, President Jefferson wrote,

"Whether we remain one confederacy or form into Atlantic and Mississippi Confederacies, is not important to the happiness of either part of the country."

And of this Adams, in his History of the United States, Vol. 1, p. 72, said, "Even over his liberal mind history cast a spell so strong that he thought the solitary experience of a political confederacy not very important beyond the Alleghanies."

Hosmer's History of the Louisiana Purchase, p. 64, says:

"Madison is on record as believing that emigration west of the Mississippi River would be detrimental; that settlers should remain on the Eastern side and not 'dilute population' by spreading too widely. To occupy that unknown desert, such as it was believed to be in great part, would most unwisely 'slacken concentration' and be a certain promoter of disunion sentiments. It was a necessity that the West Bank should be under a separate government. These views of his secretary the President probably shared."

When Monroe and Livingston were sent to negotiate for the purchase of Louisiana they were only authorized to buy New Orleans, west Florida and the lands adjacent thereto, and they were instructed not to buy the west bank of the river, and were authorized to guarantee a joint use of the Mississippi River to the nation owning the west bank country above New Orleans. Livingston in his arguments

to Napoleon and his minister repeatedly said, that he attached no great importance to anything but the New Orleans section of Louisiana and it was Napoleon alone that insisted practically, that the tail of the ox must go with the hide, that the commissioners must take all of Louisiana, or none. The commissioners were authorized to promise \$10,000,000, for the limited area they were to buy. They increased this limit by five million dollars for all of Louisiana, and the addition of this land and increase of price were not welcomed either by President Jefferson or by his secretary, James Madison.

So unwelcome in fact was it, that far from thanking the commissioners for their splendid service, Howard, on the "Louisiana Purchase," p. 121, says:

"Madison wrote a personal letter to James Monroe finding fault with Livingston for this action."

In the spring of 1787 while the feeling between Kentucky and the Spanish authorities was at its hottest, Wilkinson loaded a flat boat with tobacco, hams, butter and flour and started fearlessly on a 1400 mile floating test voyage to New Orleans. Early historians say that trips of that kind were usually made by three flat boats lashed abreast, the center one being used by the crew and the others as a fortification against Indian attacks, and that frequently white captives were placed on the banks to entreat succor, as a lure, which several times resulted in the capture or massacre of an entire crew by the Indians. Wilkinson risked the Indian peril in a single flatboat. A further peril was successfully overcome by Wilkinson at the Spanish Post at Natchez, but on his arrival at New Orleans his cargo was seized.

In Daniel Clark's memoir to Hon. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, dated April 18th, 1798, the former, strange to say, gives a truthful account of how Wilkinson overawed the Spanish officer at Natchez into allowing him to pass, and how, when his cargo was seized at New Orleans, Wilkinson threatened the vengeance of Kentuckians for the outrage.

Clark said to Pickering:

"Governor Miro, a weak man, unacquainted with American Government, ignorant even of the position of Kentucky, with respect to his own province, but alarmed at the very idea of an irruption of Kentucky men whom he feared without knowing their strength, communicated his wishes to the intendant that the guard might be removed from Wilkinson's boat which was accordingly done * * * * * * * * * * In his interview with the governor, Wilkinson, that he might not seem to derogate from the character given of him, by appearing concerned in so trifling a business as a boat load of tobacco, hams and butter, gave the governor to understand that the property belonged to many citizens of Kentucky, who avail-

ing themselves of his return to the Atlantic States by way of New Orleans, wished to make a trial of the temper of this government as he, on his arrival, might inform his own government that steps had been pursued, under his eye, that adequate measures should be afterwards taken to procure satisfaction. * * * * * Convinced by this discourse that the General rather wished for an opportunity of embroiling affairs, than he sought to avoid it, the governor became more alarmed * * * * * and he resolved to hold out as a bait to Wilkinson the permission to trade at New Orleans if he would use his influence with Kentuckians to prevent an invasion of Louisiana."

The Honorable Oliver Pollock, American Agent at New Orleans, during the revolutionary war, who was a great favorite of the Spanish governors of Louisiana, testified under oath at Wilkinson's trial:

"I was deeply interested in the information that General Wilkinson had obtained permission to bring down tobacco, wishing to have the exclusive privilege myself, and I immediately went to Governor Miro, to ask the cause of tobacco coming down the river in large quantities, as I was informed, whereupon he told me that he had consented for General Wilkinson to bring down tobacco in hopes to pacify the Kentuckians and people of the western country, to prevent a rupture between Spain and America, and in order to give time for negotiations between the two powers relative to the navigation of the Mississippi."

Upon its face every one of Wilkinson's statements to Miro were true. His adherents in Kentucky were ready and anxious for the fray and his statement in the Kentucky convention later in October, 1788, was that if Spain denied Kentucky's rights that he was prepared to lead them against the Spaniards at New Orleans and even invoke England's aid, just as President Jefferson wrote in 1803 to Livingston that if France attempted to take possession of New Orleans under her purchase from Spain, this country would become "married to the army and navy of England."

Wilkinson won out with Miro, to use a slang phrase, purely on his nerve. It is doubtful whether Miro gave Wilkinson a privilege to trade at New Orleans, but if he did, this privilege in Wilkinson's name was also used for the property of other Kentuckians. Otherwise Wilkinson could not have retained his popularity.

Wilkinson constituted Clark and Rees his selling agents, returned from New Orleans to Kentucky, via sea and the Atlantic States, and took a leading part in the proceedings of the Danville Convention in October, 1788.

Gayarre and all the historians who have sought to cast obloquy on the ashes of General Wilkinson, have sought to show that during the Miro administration, which ended in 1791, General Wilkinson was, both by a trade monopoly and a money pension, bribed as a mercenary of Spain. The alleged copies of Wilkinson's letters which Governors Gayoso, Miro or Carondelet may have forwarded to Spain to enhance and magnify the importance of what they were doing

for the mother country, while they contained much that was true, like a lie that is half the truth, give color to Gayarre's charges. Gayarre's secret bitterness against Wilkinson arose no doubt from a belief that the latter had tricked and deceived the Spaniards, Gayarre's grandfather having been one of the intendants of Spain.

It is true that Laussat reported to his government, that Wilkinson had tricked and deceived the Spaniards, but Wilkinson did not trick and deceive them half so much as Laussat's chief, the first Consul, did, when the latter bought Louisiana in 1800 from Spain, under a solemn promise not to sell it to any other power, and proceeded promptly to sell it to the United States. Wilkinson did not equal even his own government in duplicity, when by the treaty of 1783, England and the United States accorded East and West Florida to Spain, and then by a simultaneous secret treaty this country urged England to hold on to West Florida and deprive Spain of it.

Whatever visions of a prospective alliance with Kentucky, Wilkinson did hold out to the Spaniards, I have yet to see any alleged letter written by Wilkinson that proved that he ever actually got a dollar from the government of Spain save in commercial transactions. That he received nothing on his first visit to New Orleans Miro admits in his letter of June 15th, 1788, quoted in 3rd Gayarre, p. 212.

Wilkinson sent Mr. Isaac Dunn down with his tobacco boats in 1788 and did not go to New Orleans himself again till 1789.

In this letter Miro wrote:

"From the beginning, he, Wilkinson had informed me he was not possessed of any pecuniary means. Here an individual on the recommendation of the intendant Navarro had loaned him \$3,000.00. He now begs me not to seize his cargo, as he has pledged the products of its sale to refund that sum, and to pay his crew, and the amount due on the tobacco which he has bought on credit, and as the balance is to enable him to support himself without embarrassment, which will tend to increase and preserve his influence in his State." (3 Gayarre 212.)

Miro adds:

"Although his candor and the information I have sought from many who have known him well, seem to assure us he is working in good earnest, yet I am aware that it may be possible that his intention is to enrich himself at our expenses with promises and hopes he knows to be vain." (3 Gayarre 313.)

We find here, according to Miro, Wilkinson asking, by his agent Isaac Dunn in 1788, that his cargo be not seized as it is all he has to pay money borrowed by him on his previous visit and his crew and to use for his personal expenses.

If there had been any trade agreement between Wilkinson and

Miro in 1787 why should the former beg Miro not to seize his cargo in 1788.

Compare Wilkinson's honesty with his subsequent treatment by the Spaniards.

The King of Spain had a monopoly of the tobacco trade. The records shows that Governor Miro had an interest in Wilkinson's cargoes and was always urging the King to buy tobacco in New Orleans. In 1790 Wilkinson working on a scanty capital after his coolness with Miro, shipped 135 hogsheads to his agent Phillip Nolan at New Orleans. On a pretense that they were damaged, the King's inspector, Arrieta, kept and refused payment for these hogsheads of tobacco. This tobacco was however, passed, the following year, by another inspector, Brion, and the proceeds of same, \$17,874, were only partially paid for during the ensuing five succeeding years, which left Wilkinson, in 1791, without any working capital.

After this when General Harmar's forces were cut to pieces by the Indians, Wilkinson volunteered early in 1791 as second in command of the Kentucky Rangers under General Scott and was appointed December 1791, by General Washington, a colonel in the regular army. Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. 2, declare, pp. 114 and 227, that he was not trained for trade and that his commercial ventures had been failures, and that after he again drew his sword, in 1791, he had taken leave of trade forever.

Honorable Oliver Pollock also testified at Wilkinson's trial, that as he was delivering his own tobacco at New Orleans in 1790, the inspector told him that Wilkinson's tobacco was condemned and lodged in the King's store.

In Robertson's recent "History of Louisiana under Spain," is reported an alleged letter from Gayoso, then Spanish Governor at Natchez, dated July 5th, 1792, in which he says:

"Wilkinson was recommended by Don Estevan Miro for a pension and other help, the resolution was delayed so long because of the distance that separated us from that court that in the meanwhile he lost his credit in Kentucky for lack of means to maintain it. However, his majesty's approval of the pension that had been proposed to him having arrived at the beginning of this year (1792) it was communicated to Wilkinson by messenger. His answer just arrived a few days ago, but I am ignorant of its contents, as I sent it under seal to Baron de Carondelet, the Governor of the province."

No copy of the alleged reply of Wilkinson to Governor Carondelet has ever been produced. If favorable to this pension why was a copy thereof not forwarded to the Spanish archives? On his trial before the courtmartial Wilkinson produced a carefully detailed statement from the Spanish Treasurer, Gilberto Leonard, of his last

transactions with the Spanish authorities. The payments to him on this statement were for the loss of the "Speedwell," a boat and cargo sent up the river for Miro's account, and later was for the tobacco and began on June 2nd, 1790, more than two years before the date of the alleged pension approval, and up to January 4th, 1796 totaled \$27,900, or over treble the amount of the alleged pension from the time of its allowance. Wilkinson supported by ample evidence the facts; that these different payments were made for condemned tobacco and for this vessel and cargo, formerly lost for Miro's account; he showed, as all historians agree, that the lower Ohio was at the time infested with white bandits and thieving Indians and that his previous agent, Owens, had been robbed and murdered while bringing him \$6,000.00; he showed the safety of this money had been insured, and how a subsequent messenger, Jose Collins, has spent most of the insurance money, before he delivered the small balance to him, and this by the sworn testimony of Collins himself. Collins further testified that the money formerly sent by Owens was due to Wilkinson for tobacco, and it is clear that men do not insure the delivery of bribes. The \$9,640 Wilkinson's agent Nolan, had sent by Thomas Powers from New Madrid to be delivered to Nolan at Louisiville in 1796, was in silver specie, which was packed at New Madrid in sugar barrels so as to save both it, and the bearer from the previous fate of Owens, and to this evidence Wilkinson added the testimony of Gilberto Leonard, the Spanish Treasurer, then residing at Baton Rouge, the only remaining Spanish official in Louisiana, that all moneys paid Wilkinson by the Spanish authorities were on account of his commercial transactions, and there was still up to the period Wilkinson re-entered the service of the United States, "a very considerable balance in favor of the General."

Much larger sums than that due Wilkinson were later defaulted on by the crown of Spain. The former Intendant Morales, gave as an excuse for remaining in New Orleans for over two years after its cession to the United States, that he was expecting four hundred thousand dollars from Spain to pay debts due parties in New Orleans. (4th Gayarre 130).

In Martin's History of Louisiana, pp. 306 and 307, the Spanish official receipts and expenditures of 1802 are given. The statement attested by Gilberto Leonard, Treasurer, Manuel Almirez, Secretary, shows:

"The Royal Chests owe, \$255,518 to the fund of deposits, \$48,372 and 31 cents to that of tobacco, (p. 306). On page 307, as explanatory of the foregoing, "*funds of deposits*," the deposits constituting a part of this fund, proceed from property *in dispute* to which the King has a claim, and

the amount is deposited until the claim is decided. The sum due to the fund for tobacco is a balance which remained of that particular fund after the King's purchases were completed."

The crown bought Wilkinson's tobacco. In 1790 there was a dispute about the soundness of this tobacco. The amount therefore would have in due course been placed in the fund of deposits, to which the crown owed by 1802 over a quarter of a million dollars.

France too, owed our citizens some twenty million francs in 1803, which debts were assumed by the United States as part of the purchase price of Louisiana. I do not know how much of this was ever paid as the United States appears to have inclined to Falstaff's favorite motto "base is the slave that pays," and is still holding on to millions of dollars of money from cotton, as wrongfully seized in New Orleans, 1863, as Wilkinson's tobacco was in 1790.

Miro, in one of his letters to Spain, laid great stress on the bogus attack that Wilkinson had caused to be made on a British emissary in Kentucky, and then how Wilkinson had hustled this emissary out of the country, ostensibly to save his life. If may have later dawned on Miro that Wilkinson's efforts as a humorist were not confined to England alone.

Fortier, Vol. 2, p. 486, says, the population of the colony of Louisiana, when Spain took possession in 1769, was about 14,000, the annual revenues were over \$19,000, and the expenses \$10,000 a year, or about 70 cents per capita. Under the Spanish domination, this population had increased in 1803 to 50,000, the income was \$120,000 and the expenditures of the previous year (1802) \$800,000, or sixteen dollars per capita, and Gayarre admits that the Spanish Governors of Louisiana cost their mother country a clear loss of Fifteen Millions of Dollars. I mention this to show that Louisiana produced nothing like enough for her own governmental alimony and whenever the pay rolls were to be swelled by claims for pensions, the money had to be sent from Spain.

It is therefore clear on the face of the papers that Wilkinson did not receive a pension or bribe from Miro, who left Louisiana for Spain in 1791. If Miro did write Spain for a pension for Wilkinson, it was not authorized by Wilkinson, and on the evidence, to be hereafter referred to, it would seem reasonably certain that the amounts paid him were for tobacco purchased but not paid for by the Miro administration and for the purchase of which, in 1790, Miro was criticised by his home government. (See 3 Gayarre, p. 308).

A reasonable explanation of Miro's request for a pension for Wilkinson, if he made such application to the King of Spain, has

been overlooked by Gayarre and other writers, who have been eager to condemn Wilkinson at every opportunity. The word "pension" in either French or Spanish has not the same meaning that the English word pension has.

A world wide authority, B. Larousse, "Dictionnaire Universelle," Vol. 12, letter p.—Verbo "Pension" says, this word comes from the Latin word "Pensio."

"Before 1790 the word "Pension" applied indistinctly to all the benefits distributed by the sovereign, and confounded under that name the modest recompense of the obscure officer and the richest establishment of princes."

Therefore the word cited in both French and Spanish meant, before 1790, a recompense for personal service. The sense of the word was changed after the French revolutions.

Now, all histories agree that Gardaquo in 1786 did all he could to obtain American settlers for upper Louisiana, and that New Madrid was largely composed of these settlers. Miro was trying to do the same by West Florida and Louisiana in 1787. When Wilkinson took his tobacco down to New Orleans, the latter admits he agreed to become, under certain conditions, to be approved by the court of Spain, the immigration agent for Governor Miro. There was nothing wrong about this. Spain was at peace with this country and there are today many immigration agents in the United States whose official duty it is to secure desirable immigrants from foreign countries.

Wilkinson states at some length in his Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 112, this conditional agreement with Miro, as to bringing these families to Louisiana, and states specifically it was to be for his personal emolument. On his visit in 1789, he says:

"I was then informed by Governor Miro that the opening of the Mississippi to the western inhabitants had been approved and the permission for the settlement had been granted, but he informed me he had received no advice for our plan of colonization and the tobacco speculation."

Historians of the life of Boone, who from 1795 to 1804 was a Spanish subject, say that the object of the Spaniards, in endorsing American immigration, was to interpose between themselves and the British on the North a people, who like themselves, had recently been at war with England.

Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, declares, that he realized that, under whatever allegiance or guise American settlers came to settle West Florida, the safest and surest way to make that country American was to make the majority of its residents American. That in

proposing to do this; in his endeavors to obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi river, and to put through the then apparently impossible task of securing the admission of Kentucky as one of the States of the Federation, Wilkinson used duplicity and guile both with the Spaniards and the leaders of the Northern and Eastern States of the Union, I do not deny. I do, however, deny that the language used in the retranslation of his alleged letters is correct. Miro admits, in his letters on file in the Louisiana Historical Society, that he knew little English and though Navarro was his superior in that respect, the translation of an English cipher letter into Spanish was necessarily a difficult task for either of them.

In doing this they have adopted the obsequious tone that was usually used by them in addressing their master in Spain, for instance, the American word "subject" is always translated as "vassal." the American Congress as "Americano Corte," the American Court, and such other liberal use of words.

I must however insist that not one of the alleged original letters of Wilkinson have ever been produced, and no court in any civilized country would admit these alleged retranslations of former alleged translations against Wilkinson living and they certainly should not be admitted against him now that he is dead, unless the dastardly pleas prevail that what is not admissible against the living can be safely used to defame the dead.

Miro certainly did not expect Wilkinson to serve as immigration agent without pay, and no doubt the pension he applied for, if he did apply for one, was a salary to be paid Wilkinson for such service.

In 1790 Miro wrote Wilkinson "you are our agent and I am ordered to give you hopes that the King will *recompense you* as I have already intimated."

It would therefore seem that the word pension then meant as Larousse says, a recompense for personal service.

I cannot otherwise reconcile Howard's statement, in his "Purchase of Louisiana," page 61, "That Miro spent in 1786 three hundred thousand dollars in inflaming the Indians against the Americans," with Gayarre's asserted fact, that Miro attempted the year later, to control the leader of the men he most feared, by a recommendation, that at *some future date*, the King of Spain would pay him a paltry two thousand dollars a year.

This does not sound reasonable. The explanation I offer seems logical, that this pay was to be for immigration services, which plan was abandoned in 1791. It is a coincidence that Wilkinson was ap-

pointed as Colonel in the army in December, 1791, the same month that Miro left Louisiana never to return.

While Gayarre, raised by a grand-father, De Bore, who was so anti-American that he refused the first commission that Madison ever issued to a legislative council in Louisiana, denounced Wilkinson as a bribe taker, he claims that the alleged bribe giver, Governor Miro, was about as pure and honest as the angels around the throne. I propose hereafter to show that the Spanish rulers in Louisiana and other American colonies from the earliest times to the time they were driven from their last western possession, Cuba, exhibited a long record of financial infamy and rottenness, and that no fair man would convict anyone on their ex parte and sworn, much less, their unsworn statements.

Could the servants be expected to be better than the master?

Spain ruled by the infamous Godoy from 1792 to 1808, was, during that time, reeking with rottenness. Harrison's History of Spain says, p. 609:

"There was only despotic power, unmitigated license, a throng of hateful lickspittles and the depraved spectacle of an obscene queen and her lover." * * * * * The vicious and despotic administration of Godoy crowned the anarchy of the Indies and Sierras, * * * * * leaving a debt of over 1,200 millions of reals. * * * * * The deficit in one year amounted to 800 millions of reals. (p. 614).

"The six years between 1802 and 1808 were years of infamy, of profound criminality on the part of the Prince of Peace (Godoy), perpetually coquetting with Napoleon and dreaming of an independent sovereignty in Portugal, and of shameless squabbles in the Royal family. *The mere mention of an honest meeting of expenses created a paroxysm of disgust, terror and indignation in the palace.*" (p. 620).

"The immorality of the governing authorities gave an infinity of details to the general misery." (p. 621).

"Godoy is reputed to have stolen *two thousand millions* and Napoleon tried in 1808 to execute him and forever banish the imbecile King Carlos IV and his termagant queen to private life." (p. 631).

"In 1808 as for finances *there were none*. The state debt at that time amounted to more than seven millions of reals, but one-third of which was due to earlier governments. And the Castiles had lost one-third of their population by epidemics and famines." (p. 635.)

Bancroft's History of Mexico. Vol. XII, p. 5, speaking of the decadence of Spain, says:

"Godoy, a young officer, the queen's favorite, impudent, incompetent, ambitious, thoroughly immoral, sycophant or conspirator according to the tide, but *always villain*."

"Spain under these baneful influences sinks lower than ever. * * * * * There is in circulation one billion nine hundred and eighty million dollars paper money in 1799, at 40 per cent discount. Religion is everywhere present as the handmaid of vice." Bancroft 6.

Mr. Gayarre in his panegyric on Spanish honor, failed to remember the Spanish Knights who in order to make native Americans produce their hidden treasures, sprayed their feet with burning oil, and even at the time that Gayarre wrote of, Robinson's Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 11, says:

"During the famous, or rather infamous administration of Godoy, sacrilegiously called the Prince of Peace, every office in America, from that of Vice-Roy down to a menial dependent in the customhouse was publicly sold; except in a few instances, in which they were bestowed on the servants of the Prince, as a premium for their intrigues, or, as it was styled to reward their fidelity to his royal master or royal mistress. * * * * * Under men like these were the lives and property of Spanish Americans placed. Out of one hundred and sixty-vice-roys whc have ruled in America only four were creole born and even those four were brought up from their infancy in Spain."

* * * * *

"The commerce of the colonies felt the fatal influence of Spanish despotism. The acts, exactions and injustice of those avaricious monopolists would scarcely be believed by the civilized world. Our limits will not permit us to detail them; but we may observe that extortion was the leading feature of that disgraceful commerce." pp. 13-14.

I wish to call special attention to the enmity and bitterness that attended the various transfers of Louisiana. Louisiana was ceded from France to Spain by the treaty of Fontainebleau on November 3rd, 1762. Governor Ulloa from Havana was only sent to take possession of it for Spain on March 5th, 1766. When he came he remained for months at the Belize, nearly 100 miles below New Orleans, where he raised the Spanish flag, and Judge Martin says for "nearly two years Ulloa haunted the province as a phantom of dubious authority." On October 31st, 1768, Ulloa was forced to leave.

On July 23rd, 1769, O'Reilly arrived at the Belize *with* 3000 Spanish troops. Concealing under the cloak of hospitality the dagger of the assassin, the latter slaughtered the leaders of the Creoles, the first Americans on the Western continent to proclaim their independence of Europe.

Judge Martin says of this tragedy, "Posterity the judge of men in power, will doom this act to public execration."

Though Louisiana was retroceded to France by the treaty of St. Ildefonso on October 1st, 1800, the Prefect Laussat, only came to New Orleans on March 26th, 1803, and lingered here afraid to even attempt to take possession for France, until November 30th, 1803. But when December 20th, 1803, twenty days later, arrived, and it came to be the turn of the United States to take possession, both Claiborne and Wilkinson acted promptly, and the actual transfer took place at the hour and minute fixed. Spain was then pro-

testing that Napoleon had no right to sell Louisiana, and the Creoles still hoped that their dream of being governed again by La Belle France would be realized, and consequently the feeling towards the representatives of the Saxon power was anything but kindly.

Gayarre, half Spaniard and half French, was born and grew to manhood under ancestors imbued with these prejudices and probably is not to blame for feeling as he did.

In his History of Louisiana he is very unjust to Wilkinson. It will be remembered that Wilkinson on his first visit to New Orleans in 1787 prepared a memorial to the Spanish crown at the request of Miro and Navarro, which memorial Miro forwarded to Spain, * * * * But Gayarre says, (3rd Volume 202).

"So much for Wilkinson's ostensible doings, but it leaked out at the time and passed current among those who pretended to be well informed, that Wilkinson had delivered to the Spanish Governor a memorial containing other representations which were kept from the public eye."

"They say" or "it is said" might do for a gossip's tale, but no historian should resort to such hearsay as "it passed current among those who pretended to know," particularly where the writer could not have known those who so pretended and he does not cite his authority for such pretence.

In Gayarre's own history (3 Volume 228) is quoted an alleged letter of Wilkinson to Miro in which he states, that at the Danville Convention, held in Kentucky in 1788, "I submitted them *my original memorial* and the joint answer of yourself and Navarro."

It would therefore seem that Gayarre's statement as to there being two memorials was a draft on his imagination.

This memorial of Wilkinson is set forth in Miro's Despatch #13 and as outlined there is an able paper.

It showed that Wilkinson had a greater grasp on the future destiny of the Mississippi Valley than any man of his time. I cite one passage from this memorial, written at a time when Washington was preparing to laboriously dig a canal, by hand, to connect the Potomac with the Ohio, and seventeen years before, even Jefferson, awoke to the truth of what Wilkinson then portrayed.

"When we cast our eyes on the country east of the Mississippi we find it of vast expansion, varied in its climate; of excellent lands, the best in the new world; abounding in the most useful mines, minerals and metals. On making this examination the question naturally arises; For what purpose did the Father of the Universe create this country? Surely for the good of his creatures since he has made nothing in vain. Does it not therefore, strike the most limited intellect that he who closes the only gate by which the inhabitants of this extensive region may approach their neighbors in pursuit of useful intercourse, opposes this benevolent design? Is not the Mississippi this gate? The privation of its use takes away from us Americans what nature seems to have provided for their indispensable convenience and happiness."

However indiscreet, unpatriotic or censurable from a strictly American standpoint some of the expressions in Wilkinson's alleged letters may seem to be, would anything short of very strong assurances or invitations from Wilkinson have been sufficient to induce Spain to pay such active court to the people of Kentucky as would have caused the Northern States to at last come to the conclusion that it were better to take Kentucky as an unwelcomed sister than to see her elope as the bride of Spain.

It will be noted that as soon as the admission of Kentucky as a State was assured, Wilkinson and Miro grew cool to each other, and that Wilkinson's tobacco was seized or as Gayoso said in his letter of July 5th, 1792, Wilkinson "lost his credit in Kentucky for lack of means to maintain it," "The extra five year's pay that Wilkinson had received as a veteran officer of the Revolution was then all gone and Wilkinson was then a ruined man willing, nay glad, to accept the service and pay as a Colonel of Volunteers of the Indian Fighters of Kentucky.

Daniel Boone was the pioneer of Kentucky but Wilkinson was undoubtedly the pioneer of American trade on the Mississippi River.

To show how petty was the spite manifested against Wilkinson, Gayarre says Governor Gayoso died of a malignant fever on July 18, 1799. This probably was from the yellow fever which was then epidemic in New Orleans. Gayarre then proceeds to claim that Gayoso's death was due to a convivial celebration with Wilkinson.

Of course, it was a heinous offense in Gayarre's view for a Kentucky veteran to stand a celebration that killed off a Spanish Grandee, but it is the first time I ever heard of a malignant fever resulting from a convivial celebration.

That Gayarre was not capable of forming correct judgments, in even trivial affairs is shown by an incident in his own life. While living in Baton Rouge he sent his carriage to a blacksmith at Baton Rouge, the capital, to be repaired. These repairs cost and were worth two dollars. Because the blacksmith required payment before delivery of the carriage, Gayarre's Spanish pride was so outraged that he sued the blacksmith for the carriage and for one thousand dollars damages. The case was carried finally to the Supreme Court of Louisiana where, of course, Gayarre lost. (See decisions Supreme Court of Louisiana.) *Tunnard vs. Gayarre*, 9 Annual p. 254.

The claim that Wilkinson, while sojourning in Louisiana, took an oath of allegiance to Spain, if true, is of no significance. Under

instructions from the King of Spain, Miro after 1785, enforced the laws against strangers rigidly, and no one was allowed to trade in, or remain in the Louisiana colony without taking such an oath. Nor was it improper that one living under the protection of a government, should swear allegiance to that government while in its territory. During the late Civil war, oaths of allegiance were freely taken within Northern and Southern lines, though even the children of the affiants were fighting on the opposite side. If one can take an oath of allegiance to those at war with one's country, through stress of residence, surely Wilkinson had the right, for the protection of his person and property, to take an oath of allegiance while in Louisiana to a country that had aided the colonies in their war for independence and with which his country was then at peace. Daniel Boone, the patron Saint of Kentuckians, while Wilkinson was fighting the savages in defense of Kentuckians was safely away with his two sons in a Spanish province, commandant of the Femme Osage District of Spain. No Spanish land was ever given to Wilkinson, but Boone was given 10,000 arpents choice Spanish land, and in this grant he was dispensed, from what Spain always required to perfect a grant, its settlement and cultivation. After the cession of Louisiana the American Commissioners refused to confirm this grant because it had not been ratified by Governor Carondelet, or settled and cultivated, and on appeal to Congress that body on February 10th, 1814, expressly granted to Boone, a Spanish subject from 1795 until 1804, "1,000 arpents of land."

One of the strongest proofs of the integrity of Wilkinson, is to be found in the fact that the eight volumes of the American State papers which contain all the Spanish land grants, and include hundreds of such grants to American settlers, do not show one grant in Wilkinson's favor. One of his historical calumniators says, Wilkinson wished in 1796 to get a tract of land that Gayoso had, for the balance due him on his pension. To show how vile and baseless such a charge is, the Spanish Governors had a right up to 1798 to make gratuitous land grants, and if Wilkinson was such a prime favorite with both Miro and Gayoso and was a subject of Spain he could have gotten an empire of land for the asking. Daniel Clark got over 100,000 arpents of Spanish land, much of it now in the Parish and City of New Orleans, which was worth, years ago, millions of dollars, not including tracts which the American Land Commissioners refused to confirm title to, declaring he had, through parties interposed, tried to enter same fraudulently.

Wilkinson never got enough land from the Spaniards to serve him for his grave.

One entry in those volumes of American State Papers, Vol. 5, pp. 498-9, shows, that General James Wilkinson bought on May 12th, 1806, from Moreau, the original grantee of Governor Galvez, Dauphin Island at the mouth of the Mobile Bay. The American Commissioners, on the application of Wilkinson's heirs, refused to confirm Wilkinson's title stating, "Wilkinson was not allowed to hold lands under Spain, *not being a Spanish subject.*"

That one entry is eloquent of how much of a Spanish subject Wilkinson really was.

How wonderful moreover that a man charged, from Washington's time, with conspiracies with Spain, should have been selected by the fathers of our republic to lead *every hostile movement of American troops* against Spain down to 1812, and should have succeeded in every such trust.

Collins' History of Kentucky, p. 273, states, that in a campaign against the Indians north of the Ohio, a regular army under General Harmar was defeated in 1790 with dreadful slaughter, over half of the troops being killed. General St. Clair of the regular United States army was thereupon appointed to command and volunteers were called for. The Kentuckians had no confidence in the regular army and its officers as they did not consider they knew how to fight the Indians.

Arthur and Carpenter's History of Kentucky, states that while these troops were being organized an expedition was gotten up by a local war board in Kentucky composed of Scott, Shelby, Logan and Brown, 800 mounted men were called for and responded in June, 1791.

"Wilkinson though holding no commission from the State enlisted for the expedition. He was chosen second in command under General Scott, assuming the title of Colonel, and soon rendered himself conspicuous by his activity, attention and address."

This campaign succeeded, and the same authority says, "After these acts of retaliation on the Indians the Volunteers returned home pleased with their new commander and highly delighted with the conduct of Wilkinson."

Indian depredations continuing in the Southern and Northern parts of Kentucky, Wilkinson published a call in July, 1791, for 500 mounted volunteers to proceed against the Indians. With Wilkinson, as their commanding officer, this little army marched in to the Indian country in August, 1791, and destroyed the village of L'Anguille, killed some warriors and returned without losing a man.

Washington deemed these campaigns of Scott and Wilkinson

so successful and important that he sent a special message to Congress on that subject on October 27th, 1791.

General St. Clair having raised and equipped his army in 1791 began a campaign against the savages, his army was shortly afterwards cut to pieces and Scott and Wilkinson raised a volunteer force, and were about to go to his rescue, when he reappeared.

In December, 1791, Wilkinson was appointed a colonel in the regular army by President Washington, and took command of Fort Washington.

At that time Kentucky had not as yet been admitted as a State. Washington acted advisedly as Butler says, pp. 182, 183.

"On the election of Washington, in 1789, Col. Thomas Marshall, senior, wrote General Washington an account of matters in Kentucky as to intrigue and defection, specially complaining of Wilkinson. Evidently Marshall withdrew his statement later as General Washington wrote him on September 11th, 1790," in a manner that showed that such was the case, and in 1791 appointed Wilkinson."

The following extracts of official letters of President Washington to Wilkinson through his secretary of War, Mr. Knox, shows he placed great confidence in Wilkinson.

War Department, April 3, 1792.
"The expedition to the field of action, is an honorable evidence of your military zeal, and I am happy you returned safely. * * * * *
I cannot close this letter sir, without expressing to you, the entire satisfaction of the President of the United States, of the vigilance and discretion you appear to have exercised since your command; and I flatter myself your judgment and talents will meet with all the approbation to which they will be entitled."

On April 21st, 1792, the same official wrote:

"It is with pleasure, I transmit to you the notification of an appointment of Brigadier General, and I sincerely hope the other gentlemen appointed to act with you, as well as the commanding General will be perfectly agreeable to you."

Again on April 27th, 1792, the same officer writes:

"I confess I shall feel anxious about your return from the establishment of Fort St. Clair, which will be an operation somewhat critical. However, the confidence I have in your intelligence and activity assures me you will avoid all unnecessary hazard."

Again on May 13th, the same officer wrote:

"I have the honor to enclose your commission as Brigadier General. I have not heard of your return from establishing Fort St. Clair, and therefore some anxiety is entertained on that subject. But the confidence in your discretion is no small relief on the occasion."

"Major-General Wayne is still here but will shortly set out, as well Mr. O'Hara, the quartermaster-general." General Wayne joined General Wilkinson soon after this.

It would make this paper too long to review Wilkinson's career through the successful campaign prosecuted up to and including 1794, by General Wayne against the Indians. But a number of historians agree that he showed ability and bravery there. McElvoy's History of Kentucky (pp. 180, 181) says:

"In signalling out the heroes of the battle of Fallen Timbers, as History has called it, Wayne in his official report, gives the first place to Brigadier General Wilkinson, whose brave example inspired the troops."

Wilkinson served under Wayne until the latter's death, December 15th, 1796. In 1795 Wayne, hearing that one Jos. Collins had brought certain money from New Orleans to Wilkinson, which money was, as Collins subsequently testified, due Wilkinson for tobacco sold Governor Miro, he without making any charges, directly against Wilkinson, instituted certain researches which offended Wilkinson so much that the latter wrote President Washington on February 6th, 1796, and had his letter delivered in person by Major Cushing. I have the original copy of this letter made and signed by Wilkinson. An enclosure in this letter also by Wilkinson stated among other things,

"That my conduct during the campaign of 1794, was too conspicuous to be equivocal, too ardent to be insincere, and that nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than the most rigorous investigation of it."

Washington paid no attention to these charges, Wilkinson, however repeatedly requested an investigation. This is shown by an excerpt from Wilkinson's letter to President Adams, December 26th, 1797, as follows:

"The death of General Wayne silenced an investigation which I had much at heart, because it would have unfolded scenes and circumstances illustrative of my utility, my integrity and my wrongs, which now can never reach the public eye. So soon as his death was announced in Philadelphia I waited on the Secretary of War and held a conversation with him precisely to the following effect. Prosecution is in the grave with General Wayne, but the door is still open to investigate, and I most sincerely wish an inquiry into my conduct military and political; indeed the vindication of my aspersed reputation has directed the obstinate perseverance with which I have pursued this subject. I know, sir, that a sinister connection with Spain is slanderously imputed to me, * * * * * but conscious of my innocence I court inquiry to obtain an opportunity of vindication, which I have amply in my power. To this Secretary McHenry said he did not know that such things were being said or insinuated, but if they were I must be conscious from the President's conduct to me, that they made no impression on his breast, and added: 'I advise you as a friend to give yourself no more trouble about it.' I followed the advice given me in the hope that the prejudice and animosities of my enemies might subside, but I find I have been deceived, that calumnies are still circulated to wound my fame and impair the public confidence."

To this letter President Adams replied:

Philadelphia, February 4th, 1798.

"I have received your favors. It is very true that I have tortured for a great part of the year past with written, anonymous insinuations against several persons in conspicuous, public stations that they have formed improper connection with Spain; and among others against yourself. It has been frequently asserted that you held a commission and received pay as a colonel in the Spanish service. This opinion appears to have taken root among the people on the Mississippi that scarcely any man arrives from that neighborhood, who does not bring the report along with him. They seem to be in such a temper in that neighborhood that *nobody escapes accusation*. * * * * * For yourself, sir, I esteem your talents, I respect your services, and feel an attachment for your persons, as I do to every man whose name and character I have so long known in the service of our country, whose behavior has been consistent. We may be nearer than we suspect to another trial of spirits. I doubt not yours will be found faithful. What measures you may think fit to take to silence the villainous rumors of your connection with Spain or France I know not; but no violent ones or military ones will do any good. I shall give no countenance to any imputations unless accusations should come, and then you will have room to justify yourself. But I assure you that I do not expect that any charge will be seriously made. I am sir, your most obedient servant.

JOHN ADAMS.

On Wilkinson's subsequent trial, President Adams, testified to the above facts, and there, produced a personal letter to him from Alexander Hamilton, recommending Wilkinson's promotion as Major-General, and as Wilkinson is pilloried as a former friend of Burr, let us see what Burr's political enemy, the statesman that Burr killed, thought of him.

New York, 7th, 1799.

"Sir: General Wilkinson, who has been some weeks in this city, in consequence of having for object the readjustment of our military affairs, is about to make a journey to pay his respects to you. On such an occasion, I hope it will not be thought improper that I should address you on the subject of this officer, since what I shall say will accord with what *I know to be the views of General Washington*, and with what I have reasons to believe has been suggested to you with his support by the Secretary of War. You are apprised, sir, that General Wilkinson served with distinction in our revolutionary war and acquired in it the rank of Brigadier General; that for many years since that war he has been in the military service of the government, with the same rank, in which rank he, for some time, had the chief command of the army. That he has served with distinction in the latter period as General Wayne, who was not his friend, has in one instance very amply testified. The decided impression on my mind, as a result of all I have heard, or known of this officer, is, that he is eminently qualified as to talents, is brave, enterprising, active and diligent, warmly animated by the spirit of his profession and devoted to it. * * * * * I, as well as others, have heard things said of the General, but I have never seen the shadow of proof; and I have been myself too much the victim of obloquy, to listen to detraction unsupported by facts."

Mediocrity, intemperance, constant plotting and intrigue, have all been laid at Wilkinson's door. Washington declared during his second term that he was himself then worse denounced, than if he had been a Nero. Jefferson was repeatedly charged with political

treachery and even with attempting the judicial assassination of Burr. It was an age of suspicion, invective and abuse. Such charges against Wilkinson were untrue unless Washington, Adams and Jefferson, to whom the former owed his elevation, were alike incompetent to judge of Wilkinson's ability, habits and integrity.

True it is that Marshall, of Kentucky, Wilkinson's former political opponent, said, that Washington promoted Wilkinson to so high a military command to keep him out of mischief. Yet, I cannot imagine of how any one could suppose that that great, proud and austere first President would so debase his high office, as to entrust almost Supreme military power in the West to a man whom he deemed not only an incapable officer, but capable of treachery to his country.

Wilkinson in 1795, was stationed at Cincinnati and the cities of the Ohio.

The most serious charge affecting the reputation of Wilkinson is, that of having received a bribe, or bribes, from Governor Carondelet of Louisiana, in 1797, subsequent to the former's appointment as commander-in-chief of the army.

The evidence, as to this, on which Gayarre and subsequent historians rely, is the testimony of an English Spaniard, Thomas Powers, who testified before the Court Martial that tried Wilkinson in 1811, that he had brought \$9,640 to Wilkinson from New Madrid to Cincinnati, (in the summer of 1796, sent as pension money by Governor Carondelet from New Orleans. Gayarre states the amount brought by Powers, to have been the round sum of ten thousand dollars, but I suppose we should be duly grateful that the exaggeration was so small. Gayarre further states this amount was sent to Wilkinson because he was then a Major-General of the United States and as such Commander-in-Chief, had the power to aid the Spaniards (III Gayarre p. 364.)

General Wayne, Wilkinson's superior officer, died on December 15th, 1796, at Presque Isle, and the latter was not in Supreme Command until the early part of 1797. Wilkinson showed by the account exhibited and evidence adduced by him at his trial in 1811, that \$6,000 on account of the money due him on the former seizure of his tobacco had been forwarded to him in 1794 from New Orleans, but that his messenger, Owens, bringing that amount had been robbed and murdered; that in 1796, \$9,640 was sent on similar account to him at New Madrid, where it was received by his Agent, Philip Nolan, which still left \$2,095 due him on his tobacco; that Nolan employed Powers then at New Madrid to bring this money by water to Louisville while Nolan proceeded overland to that place with a

drove of horses he was then selling; that the specie was packed in sugar barrels to protect it from the Indians and other bandits that infected the lower Ohio as well as to save it from the rapacity of the crew of the boat. Wilkinson admitted that Powers brought this money to Louisville and was paid for his services in 1796. To the critics of such crude methods of protecting or caring for money, I answer, that we had then no iron safes, time locks, or postal guards, that are so common now-a-days.

Gayarre, 3rd Volume 384, states that Powers and Sebastian sailed from New Orleans to see Don Gardaquo at Philadelphia in the spring of 1796. Powers testified that he and Sebastian arrived at Philadelphia after 19 days passage. From Philadelphia they went across by stage to Cincinnati, reaching Cincinnati, on May 18th, 1796.

(See appendix 46 Wilkinson Memoirs, 2nd Volume).

The evidence of all the witnesses is, that Powers went down afterwards from Cincinnati to New Madrid and brought the \$6,640 from New Madrid back to Louisville, and the evidence adduced by Wilkinson showed the money was delivered to Powers by his agent Philip Nolan at New Madrid and was delivered by Powers again to Philip Nolan at Louisville in September, 1796. After Elisha Evans saw the *money at New Madrid* in 1796, he went up the Ohio and stated he met Powers *coming down the Ohio*; Powers testified, "that after delivering the money to *Nolan* at Louisville in pursuance of my directions, Nolan conveyed the barrels of sugar and coffee, in which the dollars were packed, to Frankfurt where he, the deponent, Powers *saw them opened in the store of Mr. Montgomery Brown.*" (See report of Butler Committee of Congress p. 39.)

There was no attempt at secrecy in either the receipt of or in the forwarding of this money. If the Spaniards were forwarding by a secret emissary ten thousand dollars as a bribe to a leading American; the slightest publicity given to the matter would have defeated the very object sought and would have brought disgrace to the givers as well as the receiver of the bribe.

In the evidence taken before Congress, in 1810, Elisha Winters testified against Wilkinson, that the Spanish commandant at New Madrid told him freely of the amount going to Wilkinson in 1796, and showed him the chest of Spanish dollars. That he, Winters, wrote out the full particulars of this and gave same to General Wayne and afterwards saw his letter in the hands of Mr. McHenry, the Secretary of War, under President Washington. (2d Memoirs appendix 35.)

On February 6th, 1796, six months before this incident, Wilkin-

son was pleading in writing with President Washington, and with this very secretary for a searching inquiry of this conduct with Spain. His explanations must have been entirely satisfactory since Alexander Hamilton wrote that Washington before his death wished to see Wilkinson promoted to the Chief command.

To show how sadly Gayarre got his facts jumbled up, he says (3 Vol.364) that after Powers had gone to Philadelphia in the Spring of 1796, he *soon* returned to Kentucky with a memorial from the Baron de Carondelet, and with tempting offers.

"To back these tempting offers, and to smooth difficulties, money had been *sent up* the Mississippi and the Ohio, and Powers, who had several interviews with Wilkinson delivered to him \$10,000, which he carried up concealed in bags of sugar and coffee. Wilkinson had *just been* appointed Major General of the United States army in the place of Wayne, who had *died recently*, and Powers was directed to avail himself of his intercourse with Wilkinson to ascertain the force discipline and temper of the army under that General, and report thereon to Carondelet," (3 Gayarre 364).

To all of which memorial Wilkinson is alleged to have returned an emphatic refusal to aid Spain.

Now it is hard to get more errors in a small compass than this. Powers came to the Ohio from Gardoquo at Philadelphia in 1796, and not from Carondelet at New Orleans. The incident as to the money took place in 1796, as all the evidence shows, yet in order to justify his bribe theory Gayarre kills off General Wayne months before he died, promotes Wilkinson to the Supreme Command of the army in 1796 instead of the actual time 1797, and either post-dates the alleged bribe or antedates Carondelet's memorial one year so as to combine the bribe and the Memorial.

On April 12th, 1802, Wilkinson, Hawkins and Anderson were appointed by President Jefferson to negotiate a treaty and lay off the boundary between the Creek Nations and the United States in the State of Georgia. (See Message of President Jefferson, December 13th, 1804.)

Wilkinson Memoirs (2nd Vol., p. 248), says:

"Having completed the demarcation of the Indian boundary under extreme ill health during an inclement season, I arrived at Fort Adams the 27th of January, 1803, and took shelter under a roof the first time in six months."

Prior to this on October 16th, 1802, the Intendant Morales had suspended the right of deposit at New Orleans guaranteed to the American settlements on the river above by the treaty of 1795. The

answer of the west to this violation of their rights was, "No power on earth will deprive us of this right. * * * * * If Congress refuses us effectual protection, if it forsakes us, we will adopt measures that our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union and our connection with other States,—*No Protection—No Allegiance.*" (3rd Gayarre, p. 457).

Wilkinson was at that time in the wilds of Georgia or he, no doubt, would have been held responsible for these bold utterances by men who 13 years later helped to save the day for American arms at Chalmette.

Wilkinson had heard of the annulment by Morales of the right of deposit at New Orleans, guaranteed by the treaty of 1795, and had sent Captain Schaumburg to protest against this occlusion. Foreseeing the certain war that this act of the Spaniards would bring on, Wilkinson sent a secret letter to Vice-Consul Huling which asked, from the latter, a full report of the fortifications on New Orleans. His letter to Huling and Huling's reply are cited in his Memoirs (Vol. II, appendix). This followed the appointment of Livingston, and subsequently Monroe, as commissioners to France and their successful treaty for Louisiana. At the cession proceedings Jefferson chose Claiborne, Governor of Mississippi, representing the Civil Power, and Wilkinson, the highest military officer in the South, to represent the army, to receive Louisiana at the hands of the French, thus answering Clark and other slanderers who had been defaming Wilkinson to him.

One historian has said:

"To the last Wilkinson was protected and honored by Jefferson; was thanked by the Legislature for betraying Burr; was acquitted by a packed court of inquiry, and has left behind him, in justification of his life and deeds, three ponderous volumes of Memoirs as false as any written by man." (McMaster's History U. S., Vol. 3rd, p. 88).

Wilkinson attached to his Memoirs over 300 pages of authentic evidence in appendix.

How lost to public decency a writer must be, who without the slightest proof to sustain it, charges Jefferson with packing a court to acquit any man and that a body of honorable officers of the revolution constituting such court corruptly violated their oaths.

Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," indulges in many strictures against Wilkinson. This writer, though noted as a seceder from every person or party that has not agreed with him, has no patience with Wilkinson's leanings towards secession.

Mr. Roosevelt has not the poise to meet the requirements of an

historian, as that which does not seem "bully" to him or with which he is not "delighted" is apt to meet his too severe condemnation.

As I do not wish to be elected a member of Mr. Roosevelt's Ananias Club, I pass on to a discussion of the views of later writers as to Wilkinson's record.

Prof. Shepherd in his article on Wilkinson in the 9th Volume American Historical Review, p. 503, says:

"Gayarre is misleading when he states (Vol. III, p. 195) that on the occasion of Wilkinson's first visit, Miro gave Wilkinson permission to introduce into Louisiana, free of duty, many western articles of trade which were adapted to this market." * * * * * There are several reasons to believe the contrary."

"Among them may be mentioned first, aside from the proverbial caution of the Spanish officials, the fact is that the laws of the Indies prohibited the grant of commercial privileges to foreigners without the specific approval of the home government."

"In the second place, the Spanish Colonial officials were accustomed to render the most minute reports of their administration, particularly if the business belonged to the reserved or secret class."

Prof. Shepherd also lays stress on Wilkinson's alleged oath of allegiance to Spain in 1789, and the latter's memorial of 1797, all of which have been fully discussed by me.

The latest article I have noted on Wilkinson is from the scholarly pen of Prof. I. J. Cox, another Northern historian.

This article is printed in Vol. 19 American Historical Review, p. 794, and charges Wilkinson in the Spring of 1804, to use a common and expressive term, with having "maced" Governors Folch and the Marquis de Casa Calvo out of \$12,000.00, for certain "reflections" that Wilkinson wrote, and Folch translated and signed and sent in his own name to his home government. This is alleged to have occurred shortly after the time of the transfer of Louisiana, and is probably the weakest of the many weak attacks made on Wilkinson. It is on its face extremely improbable. No people on earth were ever more proud of their military knowledge and training than the Spanish Military Officials, and no class of men, from the cruel Cortes down, were more noted for their capacity to get and unwillingness to give.

Prof. Cox would have us believe that Casa Calvo, a Spanish Grandee and general, gave Wilkinson \$12,000.00 for his "reflections" and this without the authorization from his home government.

Miro deemed such an authorization necessary for even a proposed pension of \$2,000.00.

Martin's History of Louisiana, p. 323, says. After the cession of Louisiana,

"Considerable distress was felt from the great scarcity of a circulating medium, *silver was no longer brought from Vera Cruz* by the government and the Spaniards were not very anxious to redeem a large quantity of *liberanzas*, or certificates, which they had left afloat in the province and which were greatly depreciated."

If Casa Calvo had the \$100,000.00 of government money then on hand, as Prof. Cox states, it was no doubt to pay a part of the enormous sum of \$400,000.00 that Spain then owed in Louisiana, and the receipt of which the Intendant Morales waited for in vain when he was expelled with Casa Calvo by Claiborne in 1806. Therefore, it would have been necessary for Casa Calvo to have embezzled or diverted some \$12,000.00 of this money from its proper destination, and to have given same to an officer whose recent conduct had shown his zeal against Spain and his devotion to his own country. I do not mean to say that Casa Calvo was too good to do such a thing, but the Spaniards had not suffered as the Egyptians had, when their departing hosts, led by Moses, "Spoiled the Egyptians," and I do not think the Spaniards could have been such easy marks. The sole authority for these statements of Prof. Cox are reports made by Governor Folch to his home government.

When the first court of inquiry was held in 1808 at Washington to examine into Wilkinson's conduct, the latter produced a letter from Governor Folch and later the latter's sworn testimony, obtained by Governor Claiborne, that Wilkinson was entirely innocent of all these charges. This sworn testimony of Folch was fortified by the testimony of Gilberto Leonard, the former Spanish treasurer, who Claiborne in his letter to Madison of January 31st, 1804, declared was a man of integrity. But says Prof. Cox, this testimony of Gov. Folch was obtained by allowing him, in violation of Jefferson's embargo, to get through New Orleans a shipment of 1500 barrels of flour to the starving people of Pensacola. It is an elementary rule of law that both the previous verbal and written statements of a witness may be adduced to impeach his sworn evidence.. Here it is averred that the witness was bribed to make and did make false sworn declarations and yet Professor Cox asks us to give full faith and credit, not to the sworn, but to the later unsworn and *ex parte* declarations of *the same witness*. Again Wilkinson was in Washington during this time and Governor Claiborne was in full charge of the Port of New Orleans. Any such attempts to bribe Gov. Folch must have been made with and could not have been carried out without Claiborne's knowledge, assent and connivance. Claiborne certainly did not bribe or suborn Folch to give false testimony.

Daniel Clark before his open rupture with Wilkinson in his

letter to the latter, dated February 7th, 1807, (Wilkinson's Memoirs Vol. 2nd, Appendix 57) speaks of this rumor, "As to your having received \$10,000.00 when you went to take possession, I have pointed out the utter impossibility of such a thing."

But one thing was not impossible, Casa Calvo and Folch could have spent this money and then charged it to a source which their own government would have been tempted to keep quiet about.

Of Casa Calvo, only a few months before, Laussat had written to his home government, "The same Marquis de Casa Calvo, was, in January, 1793, and during the following months in command of Fort Dauphin at St. Domingo, and was at the head of his troops drawn up in battle array, when the blacks led by Jean Francois massacred seventy-seven defenseless Frenchmen, who were relying on the faith of treaties. The Colonists of St. Domingo still speak of this fact with feelings of horror."

In Lewis and Clark's Journal, Vol. 7, Appendix p. 379,

Capt. Meriwether Lewis, who went to St. Louis in 1804, before its transfer from Spain, says:

"From the commencement of the Spanish Provincial government of Louisiana, whether by permission of the crown, or originating in the pecuniary rapacity of the Governor's General, this officer assumed to himself the right of trading with all the Indian Nations in Louisiana; and therefore proceeded to dispose of this privilege to individuals for specific sums; his example was followed by the governors of upper Louisiana, who made a further exaction."

"The evil resulting from high prices for necessities of life to the Indians caused so much trouble by the latter, that expeditions had to be set on foot to quell them. These parties rarely accomplished anything, but Lewis adds, the soldiers on their return were made to sign receipts for about four times as much as they received, "*and the balance was of course taken by the governor.*"

About the same time Governor Claiborne wrote to Madison, January 2nd, 1804, "It is a shameful fact that under the administration of Governor Salcedo many of the positions of honor and profit within his gift *were sold*, and that even when exercising the sacred character of a judge he often vended his decisions."

"After such an account you will not be surprised that the same depravities pervaded the system *in every direction.*"

"The arrears in the department of justice are very great, many of the causes are of considerable importance and some of them have been pending upwards of twenty years. Corruption has put her seal on them." (Robertson's Louisiana, Vol. 2, p. 23.)

Probably Casa Calvo was no better than Salcedo. The record shows the Spanish rulers of Louisiana had just prior to that time tried to defraud the United States out of large tracts of lands by antedated grants. Spain still owed Wilkinson \$2,095.00 a long overdue

balance on his tobacco, and Casa Calvo and Folch may have followed the example of the unfaithful steward in scripture by casting up false accounts to their ultimate advantage.

The Marquis of Casa Calvo's mission in Louisiana was to act as boundary commissioner; which was to see that Spain got as much and the United States as little as possible of the ceded territory. To this end, the Marquis appointed on March 31st, 1804, the crafty Don Thomas Power as one of the surveyors.

(Robertson's Louisiana Vol. 2, 174).

The same authority quotes a letter of March 31st, 1804, from Casa Calvo to Laussat in which the former protested to Laussat about the American claims. Robertson also quotes several letters from Casa Calvo to the Spanish Minister, from the archives of Madrid denouncing the American claims, which claims were of course championed by both Wilkinson and Claiborne to the President.

Finally on January 10th, 1806, Governor Claiborne wrote Casa Calvo stating his authority to act as boundary commissioner, had never been accepted by the United States and as there was no possibility of their agreement on the subject his presence here was no longer desirable.

Not only, as I will hereafter show, was the Spanish government then robbing with rapacious greed the people and even the churches of Mexico, to send money to the infamous Godoy and his mercenaries in Spain, but Louisiana had slipped from the failing hand of that bankrupted government, the latter owed the people of her former colony nearly a half million dollars, and the Spanish paper currency called *Liberanzas* was then circulating at a ruinous discount in New Orleans and nothing was being done to redeem it. (Martin p. 323).

It is more than improbable that Casa Calvo had any large amount of money at all in New Orleans in 1804. In his letters to his home government, quoted in Robertson's Louisiana, he mentions the employment of two surveyors, one of whom was the notorious Thomas Power, as I have said, and this survey work did not require much money, and none of it was ever actually done. The claim is made that he brought this \$100,000.00 from Vera Cruz in silver and that the \$12,000, it is alleged he paid Wilkinson, was in bags of this same silver, the large part of which was invested by Wilkinson in "*a cargo of sugar*" that he took with him to Philadelphia.

Now one hundred thousand dollars of silver would have weighed over 7,000 pounds, and \$12,000.00, of silver, 1,000 pounds, or three mule loads of silver. Gayarre states that when Casa Calvo left Louisiana *overland* in 1806 it was "*suspected*" he took considerable

money with him. It would have taken a caravan of at least 20 mules to have carried away \$100,000.00 of silver and *suspicion* would hardly have been necessary concerning what would then have been a patent fact.

I submit further that the affidavit of John McDonaugh, Junior, in Clark's Proofs, p. 51, is also questionable. This affidavit states that in March, 1804, affiant bought for Wilkinson 107 hogshead of sugar for \$8,045.35; that he, affiant, chartered the ship Louisiana, for Wilkinson, to take this sugar to Philadelphia on which ship the General also took passage; that Wilkinson paid for this sugar in Mexican dollars.

In the Louisiana Gazette of that time sugar is quoted at 10 to 15 cents a pound. Allowing 1,000 pounds to each of the above hogsheads, the entire weight would have been only 53½-tons, a very small quantity of freight to warrant the charter of an entire ship for a 1,200 mile ocean voyage. It would therefore seem that this witness was either lying or exaggerating. Wilkinson's pay as a General in the army with allowances was between \$3,000 and \$4,000 a year while on active service. He had been working for years on the frontier and among the Indians in Georgia where all his expenses had been paid, and he had there no chance to spend money. Besides he stated that the government had allowed him extra for his survey work which was paid to him by Mr. Taylor, the disbursing agent. This purchase of sugar, if made at all by Wilkinson, was open and not by a party interposed and the payment, as alleged, if made, was entirely open. The quantity may have been exaggerated, since McDonaugh, Junior, errs even in his date, March, 1804, for on March, 24th, 1804, Governor Claiborne wrote Madison, "Wilkinson is still here, and I believe will not depart until the Spanish troops are withdrawn and the public buildings delivered."

Clark claims that Taylor was then dead, but such payments of disbursing officers are all of record in Washington. Clark was a member of Congress there two years later, and his chief mission on earth at that time was to hunt up evidence against Wilkinson.

He made this special charge against Wilkinson in his "Proofs," but it was entirely ignored and dropped in the charges made against Wilkinson in 1810, which latter were all based on Randolph and Clark's attacks. Merchandise of that period was usually paid for in New Orleans in Mexican silver. There was no other money then in circulation in New Orleans. There were no mints in this country south of Philadelphia. Mexican money largely circulated all over the South and even in the East and West Indies up to the Civil War.

There was always more pure silver in the Mexican sunburst than in our own dollar.

Northern historians are singularly silent on those statesmen of the North, who, during all this time, were willing to rend the Union whenever their interest prompted it, and yet they twist every circumstance to fit their attacks on Wilkinson.

This article of Prof. Cox contains a statement as to the testimony of Isaac Briggs from "Wilkinson's Memoirs, 2nd Volume, Appendix 59," which is grossly incorrect. Briggs there stated that he held a conversation with Wilkinson in October, 1806, in which Wilkinson jestingly referred to himself as "a Spanish officer on his way to fight the Spaniards," and of how he had received \$10,000.00 from them in 1804. Professor Cox states that Briggs testified he visited Wilkinson again in the middle of November, 1806, when the latter's wife was at the point of death at Major Minor's house at Natchez, and that Wilkinson assured him then, that the money he received *in 1804* at New Orleans from the Spaniards was due him for tobacco.

In the Briggs deposition, every line of which I have examined most carefully, no reference whatever is made to this subject on this visit of Briggs to Wilkinson in November, and in his deposition, as to the former interview in October, Briggs on his cross examination expressly declared Wilkinson "*spoke jocularly and precipitately.*" (Appendix 59).

I submit it is not fair to turn what a witness expressly says was stated to him in jest by the speaker, as an admission of the latter's guilt.

Wilkinson remained in New Orleans for some months after Governor Claiborne assumed control. In 1805 Wilkinson was made military governor of upper Louisiana, with headquarters at St. Louis. Under orders of the War Department, dated March 13th, 1806, he was ordered to send most of his forces down the river to Fort Adams.

On March 18th, 1806, he was notified that the Spaniards were making a reinforcement of the post of Natchitoches necessary, and to that end to send Col. Cushing with several companies and artillery there. Shortly after receiving this order Col. Cushing was sent down with discretionary powers over his force.

On May 6th, 1806, Wilkinson received orders from the War Department to repair himself to the Territory of Orleans, and take command, to resist any encroachments by Spaniards thereon, and to repel invasion and oppose force by force, but his specific orders were:

"It is highly probable that within a very short time, we shall receive accounts of a satisfactory adjustment of all disputes between us and Spain; hostilities ought, therefore, to be avoided *by all reasonable means within our power*, but an actual invasion of our territory cannot be submitted to."

Wilkinson, finding the Spaniards had encroached on Louisiana soil, acting in obedience to his orders, arranged a conference with the Spanish Commander, and induced him to keep his forces to the west side of the Sabine, to await the result of later negotiations, which were successful, thereby achieving a bloodless victory, for which he was much complimented by President Jefferson. While engaged in this campaign, an emissary of Burr, Samuel Swarthout, delivered a letter from him in cipher to Wilkinson at Natchitoches, October 8th, 1806.

Some historical hyenas evoke suspicion against Wilkinson from the use of this cipher. Wilkinson, however, proved on his trial that he corresponded in the same cipher with Burr when he was Vice-President, and with other army officers whom he named, and produced such letters. Burr loved the mysterious so much that he corresponded in cipher with his own daughter.

In Jefferson's writing will be found a number of his letters declaring that he refrained from writing often because the mails were not safe and his letters were subject to espionage. That the chief officer in the United States army should be suspected, because he had corresponded in cipher with the man who, up to the year previous, was Vice-President, would be to suspect every prominent official of the present day of crime.

Even the writers who accuse Wilkinson of venality admit he was keen and brilliant. He was then at the summit of military power. The warrior Joab was not closer to David than he was to the President. That he should throw all this away; throw away a long record of military bravery and loyalty in which he fought from the lowest rank to supreme command, to become second in command to a man that Wilkinson pitied and tried to help, in vain, in 1805, second in command too, if Burr's claims were true, on an uncertain filibustering expedition, like those later of Walker in Nicaragua and Fry in Cuba, would certainly not show venality, but sheer insanity. The ill informed writers who say Wilkinson first intended to attack the Spaniards and then concluded not to attack them, and to betray Burr, lose sight of the fact that Wilkinson in his actions towards the Spaniards complied exactly with the orders of the President of the United States given him beforehand; that if he had disobeyed

these orders and, without first having held a conference had attacked the Spaniards and caused great loss of life, he could have been court-martialed and shot. These attacks are on a par with an attack of another historical scavenger, who claims that jealousy prompted Wilkinson to send Trueman and Hardin, two of his officers, under a flag of truce in 1792, to the Indians, both of these officers being murdered on that mission. The records show that Wilkinson was ordered by Washington, through the War Department, dated April 3rd, 1792, to make no attack on the Indians until he had extended the olive branch. This order further read:

"In pursuance of the design of peace Captain Trueman is by his own request and desire employed on a mission to the hostile Indians. He will disclose to you his instructions and the message to the said Indians of which he is the bearer. You will advise him the most direct measures to accomplish his object and afford him every possible aid to that end."

And by letter from General Knox, Secretary of War, dated July 17th, 1792, the appointment of Colonel Hardin, selected to go with Trueman, was noticed and, "the terms you stipulated to Col. Hardin shall be performed on the part of the public."

The first military service that was performed by George Washington was on such a mission.

Even so fair and kindly an historian as the late President of this society, Mr. Fortier, has impliedly charged Wilkinson with the great mortality of his troops in 1809 by camping at a morass or swamp in Terre aux Boeufs, below the city, when as District Attorney of that District for twelve years, I know the site where Wilkinson encamped his troops at Terre aux Boeufs is the highest land between New Orleans and the mouth of the river, over 100 miles distant, and has much better natural drainage than the city of New Orleans, being a high ridge of land that extends from the river for 15 miles back in the interior.

The defamers of Wilkinson also failed to note the fact that all the previous charges made against Wilkinson were that he was strongly pro-Spanish, while, whatever doubt there was of the true object of Burr's expedition, there was no doubt on the point that it was to be against Mexico or some other dependency of Spain. Burr, knowing Wilkinson loved adventure and that he had once been active for the secession of the settlements of Kentucky, believed he could be readily induced to act with him. Conspirators do not arrest each other when they have been writing in cipher to each other on the subject of conspiracies, unless, like Samson, they desire to pull down a temple on themselves. Wilkinson, then living under a different

form of a stable government, in a territory justly belonging to the United States, refused to act with Burr. The arrest of Burr, Burr's second arrest after he attempted to escape, the action of the same Judge, that fined General Jackson and Judge Workman's similar action against Wilkinson, the forwarding of Burr for trial to Virginia and his subsequent acquittal, are all well known. While Burr, after his acquittal, and every witness that knew anything, were living to testify against Wilkinson on his trial in 1811, the latter was then acquitted by a jury of his peers of all complicity in the Burr conspiracy.

Even John Randolph, Wilkinson's bitter enemy and the person who acted as foreman of the Grand Jury that indicted Burr, could not scrape up enough evidence to indict Wilkinson of complicity with Burr, much less to prove him guilty.

The defamers of Wilkinson all fail to note that fact, as found by Wilkinson's court-martial later, that the latter could have attacked the Spaniards at the Sabine river, thereby engaging his troops with the enemy and thus have left the field clear for Burr's forces against New Orleans, and this without incurring the least responsibility to himself, if Burr had failed in his undertaking.

The charge, that Wilkinson gave Burr suspicious letters of introduction to General Adair and to Daniel Clark are fully explained in his Memoirs. Burr at that time desired to be elected as a delegate to Congress from one of the territories and had made successive suggestions in that direction as to Tennessee, Indiana and Louisiana. These letters, seeking support for Burr, a non-resident, left the latter to explain to the recipients of these letters his own candidacy. Wilkinson's expression in his letter to Adair, most seized upon, was,

"Colonel Burr understands your merits and reckons on you. Prepare to visit me and I will tell you all."

We must have a peep at the unknown world beyond me. I shall want a pair of strong carriage horses at about \$120.00 each, young and sound, substantial but not flashy." * * * * *

St. Louis was at that time our most western city, Wilkinson's son James was then preparing to leave with the Pike survey party towards the Rocky Mountains, and that no warlike expedition was then contemplated is shown by the fact that the proposed trip was to be by carriage. Eight months later, United States Senator Adair wrote to Wilkinson from Washington, on January 27th, 1806, saying,

"Burr's business in the west is to avoid a prosecution in New York * * * * * Both the ruling parties in New York

have made proposals to Colonel Burr offering to pass a law pardoning all his past and promising to elect him Governor if he will return. He left this a few days ago for the South and will return before the session closes. Whether he will accept their proposals I cannot say."

Burr wrote the same month from Philadelphia to Wilkinson on January 6th, 1806.

"We are to have no Spanish war except in ink and words. It is undoubtedly best, for we are in a poor condition to go to war, even with Spain."

It is therefore only fair to suppose that Wilkinson's letter introducing Burr to Adair did not refer to a warlike expedition, since nothing appears to have been contemplated of that character between the date of the letter of introduction, May 28th, 1805, and the letters of January, 1806, quoted above and both published at greater length in Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. II, Appendix. That Adair himself, attached no suspicion to this letter of Wilkinson is shown by a quotation from "Memoirs of Aaron Burr" by Davis, (Volume 2nd, page 379.)

"General Adair possessed the confidence of Colonel Burr in relation to his western movements *in a greater degree than any other individual.*" Burr was introduced to Adair by General Wilkinson. In a letter dated March, 1807, General Adair says:

"So far as I know or believe of the intentions of Colonel Burr, and my enemies will agree that *I am not ignorant on this subject*, they were to prepare and lead an expedition *into Mexico*, predicated on a war between the two governments."

General Adair said further that Wilkinson agreed to act with Burr in this and that the former had,

"Made a venal and shameful bargain with the Spaniards at Sabine River."

Burr seems to have had such wonderful powers of fascination or personal magnetism as to have hypnotized some of his followers.

How inconsistent it is for historians to condemn Wilkinson for having given a letter of introduction to Burr, when Adair, the recipient of that letter, later declares that Burr intended no wrong. One of the most singular of the angles of the attacks on Wilkinson was that while the friends of Burr were most bitter in assailing Wilkinson as a factor in the Burr conspiracy, they at the same time claimed that the leader of the conspiracy was himself perfectly innocent.

To show what sophistry Adair resorted to, he could see nothing wrong in an attack on Mexico, a country with which we were then at peace.

His attacks on Wilkinson were unethical and absurd on their face. As a soldier he knew that a soldier's first duty was loyal obedience to his commander, the President.

One would have supposed that a good citizen would have rejoiced that Wilkinson had obeyed the orders of the President and achieved an honorable and bloodless peace at the Sabine instead of denouncing Wilkinson because that peace left the little army under Wilkinson free to crush Burr's plans. I am willing to concede that up to the time that Wilkinson received Burr's cipher letter from Swarthout near Natchitoches on October 8th, 1806, neither he, nor any one in Louisiana, believed that Burr had any serious designs against any United States territory.

While Adair was much with Burr, Wilkinson had only seen the latter, after leaving Washington, twice in 1805 and not once in 1806, and had not heard from him but three times in 1806. I have shown that Burr wrote Wilkinson a letter on January 6th, 1806, declaring there was no chance for a war with Spain, and he then being near the seat of government ought to have been better posted than Wilkinson, in far off St. Louis. But later that spring the Spaniards increased their forces at Mobile on the east, and a large force invaded Louisiana at Sabine river on the west, and Wilkinson received orders to send a force to the latter territory, in March, 1806, and later, in May, to go there himself. Wilkinson admits when he first heard the news of the encroachments of the Spaniards he said to many people he believed it meant war.

He had held no communications with Burr since the previous October and was busily engaged with his military preparations at St. Louis, when on May 12th, 1806, he received the following letter from Burr which is published in the appendix to the second volume of his Memoirs.

April 16th, 1806.

"The execution of our project is postponed until December; want of water in the Ohio rendered movement impracticable; other reasons rendered delay expedient. The association is enlarged and comprises all that Wilkinson could wish. Confidence limited to a few. Though this delay is irksome it will enable us to move with certainty and dignity. Burr will be throughout the United States this summer. Administration is damned which *Randolph* aids. Burr wrote you a long letter last December replying to a short one deemed *very silly*. *Nothing has been heard of Brigadier since October*. Is Cusion at Portes right. Address, Burr, Washington."

This letter is published in Wilkinson's Memoirs, 2nd Volume,

Appendix 83. Wilkinson declared that he never got the letter Burr said he had written in December, but he produced the one written later to him by Burr in January, 1806.

In those January letters not a hint was given, either by Burr, or by his self-avowed confidant Adair, of any proposed expedition. If Wilkinson was to have been the moving spirit of any such expedition and was to have constituted it's military arm, why had the "Brigadier" not been heard from for over six months and why had he not been considered important enough to consult, as to when, and where, the movement was to be launched. At first blush it would seem that Burr's troubles had then unsettled his mind.

No doubt the rapid change in the Spanish situation had inspired him with the idea of launching some military movement in which he strongly counted on Wilkinson's aid against the Spanish authorities, but Wilkinson's critics have always charged that he had a leaning to Spain and in this instance he should be given at least the credit of not going to war on his own account against her without cause.

Wilkinson wrote the following day, May 13th, 1806, asking Burr, to explain what he meant by this letter. I will show later how Burr, after a hypocritical pretence that he could not possibly show what had been written to him in confidence, on being requested by Wilkinson, in open court, to produce this and all other letters that he had written to him, refused to do so claiming he had given this particular letter to a third party. Who that party was Burr did not state, as he, if known, could have been summoned to produce this letter. I call particular attention to the fact that the most bitter charges were made against Wilkinson both before and after the Burr trial, the daughter of Burr having written a book against him, yet this letter, demanded by Wilkinson face to face with Burr, has never as yet been produced.

I attach little importance to the charge that Wilkinson furnished Burr a boat to go down the Mississippi River in 1805, as Andrew Jackson had furnished Burr a boat on the Ohio, to do the same on that river, had entertained him elaborately, and Davis in his Memoirs of Burr, (Volume 2, page 382) says, "Jackson promised to aid Burr in his invasion of Mexico with a whole division of troops." Jackson also went to Burr's defense at Richmond and made a speech on the streets there in his defense.

But the truth is, that Wilkinson did not furnish Burr with either a boat or crew to go down the Mississippi in 1805. Capt Daniel Hughes testified before the Bacon Committee in 1811:

"Q. Did General Wilkinson send a boat for Colonel Burr, to the mouth of the Cumberland?

A. No, I do not believe he did. Col. Burr came down the river in his own flat, passed a boat in which I lodged, and was hailed by a sentinel before he landed.

Q. Did General Wilkinson furnish Col. Burr a crew or a barge to descend the river, and what was his mode of transport?

A. No, Colonel Burr embarked in a barge, the private property of Capt. Bissell, manned by a crew taken from a detachment, which had been ordered to reinforce the *lower posts* on the Mississippi."

A very careful examination of certain of the salient facts connected with the Burr conspiracy has not been made in any of the many publications that I have read on this subject.

The very causes of Burr's unpopularity in Puritanical and righteous New England made Burr a hero in the West and South with such men as Jackson who believed in the duelling code.

In Creole New Orleans, particularly, duelling was so fixed an institution that Mr. Lewis, the brother-in-law of the governor, was killed in 1806 and in 1807 it's governor was wounded in a duel by the member of Congress from that territory and nothing was thought of it.

When Burr went down to New Orleans in 1805 he received an ovation. His stepson, Prevost, was one of the Superior Judges of Louisiana. Burr immediately allied himself with the party opposed to Governor Claiborne, in fact Burr's friends claimed that Claiborne's appointment, as the territorial governor of Mississippi, was but a reward for his vote for Jefferson, for President, in Congress, two years before his appointment as Governor. If this be true it may be said that for such service Claiborne deserved much more from his country.

On Burr's expedition down the Ohio in November, 1806, he was again the recipient of the greatest attention. Even after his arrest and trials at Frankfurt he was given a banquet. Burr was conceded to be a man of courage. Now Adair and other friends of Burr declare he only contemplated an invasion of Mexico. Wilkinson became convinced, as well as did Governor Claiborne, that Burr had hostile intentions against New Orleans after Burr's cipher letter to him, written in July and received by Wilkinson October 8th, 1806.

The North American Review (Vol. 49) says:

"That there was really a double plot seems hardly deniable. * * * * * This double plot was characteristic of Burr. He found in the west he had to deal with a decided attachment to the Union and the ad-

ministration of Jefferson. In order to get over this he gave out among those to be affected by it that his project was only against Mexico and that that in this he was promised both the cooperation of the British and American governments while to his more intimate associates he breathed a spirit nothing short of utter contempt and enmity to the institutions of the United States themselves."

Wilkinson's opinion, formed from Burr's and Dayton's letters and from Swarthout's statements, was strengthened by other news of Burr's intended descent with his forces to New Orleans, which all agree was Burr's prospective destination. Now none of the words I have read noted that the route then to Mexico coming down via the Mississippi River from the Ohio was to turn westward when Red River was reached and ascend that river to Natchitoches and then to proceed westward over land to Texas.

New Orleans was then, and is now, flanked on both the east and west by impenetrable marshes too soft for foot soldiers to march in, for at least fifty miles. There is no pretence that Burr had then any fleet at New Orleans to transport his troops by sea to Mexico. To have come down to New Orleans, 208 miles below the mouth of Red River, and then to have ascended *against the current* back to Red River would have added to his trip at least five hundred miles. Besides this, If Burr expected aid from Wilkinson, he then knew that Wilkinson and his forces were already near the banks of the Sabine at the Texas border.

Jefferson declared that Burr's real intention, was to capture New Orleans and to loot the banks there, to furnish the funds to fit out his expedition. It is also claimed that Daniel Clark, was an accessory, and was himself to advance fifty thousand dollars to Burr, but as shown hereafter, Clark while devoted to Burr, had little cash money about that time.

Now if Adair was right and Wilkinson wrong in their respective surmises as to Burr's intentions, when Burr was arrested at Bayou Pierre coming down the Mississippi River, and released under bond at Washington, Miss., why did he then seek refuge in flight? The Good Book says, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." No man was pursuing Burr at that time. He had a powerful coterie of friends both in the west and at New Orleans, including the powerful Edward Livingston, subsequently one of his lawyers. Yet Burr not only fled, but he fled in disguise and under an assumed name. A reward of \$2,000 was offered for his arrest, and he was arrested on February the 9th, 1807, while working his way eastward to Spanish Florida through the woods near Wakefield, Alabama. He was later taken to Richmond for trial.

He attempted again to escape on his way to Richmond, and appealed to bystanders for help.

In McCaleb's book on Aaron Burr, which is largely a defense of the latter, the excuse is given for this flight, that Burr might have feared violence at the hands of Wilkinson. Burr had then been released by the Judges on \$5,000.00 bail, was not under confinement, and was being then made the object of much hospitality and attention. The great Henry Clay, his former attorney, Andrew Jackson, and a host of others, were his friends and no one would have dared to do him violence. None of the calumniators of Wilkinson have ever charged that he was an assassin. The real truth was that Burr feared his person would be demanded in other jurisdictions where better proof could be had against him than in Mississippi, and therefore, he forfeited his bail and fled.

In the report of the proceedings published in the Louisiana Gazette of Friday February 27th, 1807, (now in the City Hall, New Orleans) the Attorney-General Poindexter stated to the court, that under the depositions on file against Burr, the Court had no jurisdiction. "He further observed, that in order to procure the public safety, the Territorial Judges ought immediately to convey the accused to a tribunal competent to try and punish him (if guilty of the charges against him) *which they might legally do.*"

To thus Burr objected. In consequence of this view of the Attorney General, no indictments were presented for the Grand Jury to act on, and the Grand Jury was later discharged after stating they had no presentments to make against Burr, etc. The question then was whether the court should cancel the bond and discharge Burr when they discharged the Grand Jury, or hold him on his bond subject to prosecution in another jurisdiction.

Burr's former discharge in Kentucky had not prevented the later expedition down the Mississippi River and the court, though at first divided, refused to cancel Burr's bond; hence his flight.

It is remarkable that every attack on Wilkinson harks back to Daniel Clark, the friend of Burr, or to the attorneys for Burr. As was truthfully said by Jefferson in his letter to Wilkinson, on June 21st, 1807, "But it was soon apparent that the clamorous were only the criminal endeavoring to turn the public attention from themselves, and their leader upon any other object."

Burr and his friends, with lawyers hired in almost every large city, to act as his "claquers," were doing their utmost to prove that this prosecution was instigated by Wilkinson.

One query repeated in the Louisiana Gazette of April 31st, 1807,

as published in the "Aurora" shortly previous, seems pertinent. If, as contended by Clark and a host of Burr's friends and attorneys, Wilkinson was suspected or known as a venal mercenary of the Spanish crown since 1794, why do they claim he was to hold so prominent a position in their own anti-Spanish movement, and why was no open attack made on him until forces under his command had crushed Burr. "No thief ere felt the halter draw, with good opinion of the law."

As to Burr's pretensions, Jefferson declared that Burr had forged a letter from Dezaborn, Secretary of War, endorsing his scheme, to get western men to join his expedition.

In the *Louisiana Gazette*, March 8th, 1807, is published a three column deposition containing the full details of Burr's plot as explained by Burr himself to the deponent, General William Eaton, which deposition Eaton declares was forwarded in substance to the President by him in September or October, 1806, which was about two months before Wilkinson's letter to the latter was received. Mr. Eaton testified that when Burr told him Wilkinson was to be his Lieutenant, "I replied, Wilkinson will be a Lieutenant to no man in existence." Mr. Eaton testified that he believed his reference to Wilkinson was "an artful argument of deduction."

Burr was utterly unworthy of belief.

In a criticism of Davis' *Memoirs of Burr*, the *North American Review*, Vol. 49 (1839), p. 155 said:

"Washington was so distrustful of Burr that he rejected the recommendation of his friends to make him minister to Paris declaring he had no confidence in his integrity."

This dislike Burr cordially returned since, "From the day of Burr's resignation from the revolutionary army to the day of his death he never failed to speak of Washington save in terms of disparagement," (same article) (p. 168.)

Henry Clay, formerly deceived by Burr's former protestations of innocence, refused to shake hands with the latter, when he met him in the Federal court house in New York, after his return from Europe (Parton's *Life of Burr*).

On October 6th, 1806, two days before Wilkinson in far off Louisiana had received Burr's letter, the citizens of Wood county, Virginia, held a mass meeting and denounced Burr's intended expedition and called for troops to suppress it. Resolutions were there adopted and sent to the President and published in many newspapers.

The Monongahela Gazette published these resolutions on October 16th, 1806, and that publication was republished in the Louisiana Gazette of December 26th, 1806.

Wilkinson's letter in November was merely a confirmation of Jefferson's previous advices.

Jefferson in his message to Congress on January 22nd, 1807, said that he knew over two months before he received Wilkinson's letter, on November 25th, 1806, of Burr's preparations, and he had in the latter part of October, sent a confidential agent to the Ohio to keep him thoroughly posted. Jefferson stated that from the information there gathered and Wilkinson's letter he became convinced that Burr's object "was to seize on New Orleans, plunder the bank there, possess himself of the military and naval stores and to proceed on his expedition to Mexico." * * * * * After stating the steps taken and the orders given to counteract Burr's designs, Jefferson said to Congress, "A little before the receipt of these orders in the State of Ohio, our confidential agent, *who had been diligently employed in investigating the conspiracy*, had acquired sufficient information to open himself to the Governor of that State, and to apply for the immediate exertion of the authority and power of the State to crush the combination."

"Governor Tiffin, and the legislature, with a promptitude energy, and patriotic zeal, which entitle them to a distinguished place in the affection of their sister States, effected a seizure of *all the boats, provisions and other preparations within their reach*; and thus gave a first blow, materially disabling the enterprise at its outset."

The President stated to Congress how Kentucky and Tennessee had also aided him in putting down the Burr expedition, and when McCale~~s~~, and other Burr historians, declare, that the 135 patriots who came down with Burr were too petty a force to warrant Wilkinson's alarming disptaches, they fail to note that but for the promptness with which Jefferson and the officials of Ohio and Kentucky acted thousands might have joined Burr's standard.

Among the many false and exparte statements gotten up to do service in assailing Wilkinson was that he sent Colonel W. Burling down to the Vice-Roy of Mexico with a letter stating all the details of the Burr expedition and demanding over \$100,000 for his services in preventing the invasion of Mexico.

Daniel Clark had less than a year before returned from a visit to the Vice-Roy of Mexico and the Spanish officers generally disliked Wilkinson so much that they would have been willing, at the

former Spaniard, Clark's instigation, to make any statement to the former's discredit.

Such a statement was no doubt instigated by Clark who could not use it because Burling still lived to refute it. Therefore, it was not brought up either in the Court of Inquiry in 1808 or in the Court Martial in 1811. It is however, cited in both Davis' Memoirs of Burr and in McCaleb's work and in Clark's "Proofs."

Any visit of Burling to Vera Cruz late in 1806 must have been made at Jefferson's suggestion since later on January 3rd, 1807, the President wrote Wilkinson that he was anxious as to the safety of Vera Cruz which a French or English fleet could capture.

"You may expect further information as we receive it."

I prefer on this matter to take the sworn evidence of Colonel W. Burling, dated November 9th, 1807, and offered before the Court of Inquiry in 1808, within less than a year after the latter's return from Vera Cruz, rather than a suspicious improbable and unsworn statement from one of the most corrupt Spanish rulers that ever disgraced Mexico, concerning an alleged letter from Wilkinson, and two other unsworn statements, deposited many years later, with one of Burr's former attorneys.

Colonel Burling after testifying to the prominent part he had taken in the agreement between the American and Spanish forces in the fall of 1806, concludes, "The following morning (November 3rd, 1806), the Inspector Viana came to our camp, when the agreement was made which removed our difficulties for that time; and shortly after the General, leaving the troops under the command of Colonel Cushing, set off for Natchitoches whither I accompanied him. After a short stay at this place *we proceeded to Natchez, where I took leave of him as a public man, nor have I since that period had any communication with him of a public nature.*"

"I take this occasion to declare in the most solemn manner, that *in all General Wilkinson's transactions, until I left him to follow my private pursuits, he appeared to have no other object in view than the faithful performance of his duty.* * * * * * * * * Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. 2, App. XCVII.

To show to what lengths in vituperation, the chroniclers of that time, have gone, Davis, in his memoirs of Burr, Vol. 2, p. 400, says:

"Accordingly *after the trial of Burr at Richmond* General Wilkinson despatched Capt. Walter Burling his aid to demand of the Vice-Roy of Mexico the repayment of his expenditures and compensations for his services to Spain in defeating Burr's expedition against Mexico. The modesty of this demand being about *two hundred thousand dollars*, is worthy of notice."

Following this statement is what purports to be a copy of an act of deposit by Richmond Raynal Keene, an ex-Spanish officer, then attorney in New Orleans, before William Y. Lewis, former attorney of Burr, and then Notary, dated December 24th, 1836.

The documents so deposited were two unsworn statements, one dated 1816, purporting to be from the former wife of Vice-Roy Iturrigary, and the other, in 1821, from an Irish-Spanish priest at Salamanca, and both containing an account of how Wilkinson demanded through Walter Burling, his aid, over \$200,000 from Iturrigary for his expenses and as a reward for frustrating the Burr invasion of Mexico.

I have searched the Notarial archives of New Orleans for these documents, but find the records of Notary Lewis, up to 1840 were burnt *during his life*, and that these documents were never deposited there.

The animus of the author of this deposit is easily explained. This Richard Raynal Keene, was much embittered against both Wilkinson and Claiborne; against the former for charging in 1807 that he was a confederate of Burr and against the latter for making affidavit that he had gone to Jamaica to obtain a British Naval force to aid Burr. Though the charge by Wilkinson was withdrawn in the Louisiana Gazette of September 1st, 1807, Keene never forgave him. These Keene statements are not only unsworn to, but no evidence of their authenticity is attached to them and for aught to the contrary, they were manufactured in New Orleans.

It is more than improbable that the particulars of a letter received and destroyed on its receipt by Iturrigary, as he states, in 1807, should have been remembered for so many years by third parties whom it did not concern and who were passing through such fearful trials and reverses as the former vice-roy and his house-hold suffered after 1808.

Not only this, but the uncontradicted facts show, as stated by McCaleb in his work on Burr, (pp. 165 to 169), that Burling left Natchez on this mission for Mexico on November 17th, 1806, that he went westward overland to Vera Cruz reaching there January 20th, 1807, and returned by sea in February. From the time Burling left Wilkinson on November 14th, 1806, until the latter reached Vera Cruz, and saw Iturrigary, January 20th, 1807, Wilkinson had no opportunity to communicate with Burling. Now the Burr trials did not begin until June, 1807.

The Burr expedition did not come down the river and Burr was not arrested until January 15th, 1807. The projected invasion of

Mexico by Burr was neither frustrated or defeated for nearly two months after the mission of Burling to Mexico began, therefore, on its face, any such demand by Wilkinson for defeating, what had then never existed, would have been ridiculous and preposterous.

I am inclined to believe that as Wilkinson was making all the preparation and getting all the assistance possible; as the United States forces, their forts, their cannon and ammunition were weak and in a wretched condition, he may have warned Iturriaga of the projected invasion and asked Mexico's financial aid, just as the United States once tendered her financial aid to help Carranza wipe out Villa. But from a careful examination, I am inclined to believe that there was a thorough understanding between Iturriaga and Burr's friends and that the news brought by Burling was a disappointment to the most disreputable and treacherous ruler that Mexico has ever known, and consequently he did all he could to discredit Wilkinson.

Davis in his memoirs of Burr 2nd Volume, p. 382, says, "On the suggestion of Wilkinson, Mexico was *twice* visited by Daniel Clark." (The letters from Clark and Wilkinson, both before and after Clark's trip, show Wilkinson did not know what the object of Clark's visit was, and they had not seen each other at all during the year 1806).

Parton, says, Vol. 2, p. 45: "My own impression, after reading all the procurable documents, is, that neither Clark or Wilkinson were really embarked in Burr's Mexican scheme: though both up to a certain point may have favored it."

Davis continues, "He (Clark) held conferences and effected arrangements with many of the principal militia officers who engaged to favor the revolution. The Catholic Bishop, resident at New Orleans, was also consulted, and prepared to promote the enterprise. He designated three priests as suitable agents, and they were accordingly employed. The Bishop was an intelligent and social man. He had been in Mexico and spoke with great freedom of the dissatisfaction of the Clergy in South America. Madame Xavier Tyrcon, Superior of the convent of Ursuline Nuns, was in the secret. Some of the sisterhood were also employed in Mexico. So far as any decision had been formed, the landing was to have been effected at Tampico."

Clark in his "Proofs of the Corruption of General Wilkinson," page 94, says:

"On the 11th of September 1805 I purchased a ship called the *Caroline* and prepared her for the voyage. I embarked in her with a cargo amounting

to \$105 000 and sailed for La Vera Cruz. I remained there *about two months* and then returned to New Orleans leaving behind me about \$56 000. In February I made a second voyage to La Vera Cruz with the double view of bringing back the funds before left there and of disposing of the cargo of the ship *Patty* which was to follow me in a few days with a cargo amounting to \$55 000. I effected both these objects leaving at Vera Cruz about \$40 000 which I did not receive till the next year."

The story of Clark's second Mexican trip in February, 1806, is true. In his letter of September 7th, 1805, to Wilkinson (Memoirs Appendix 23), Clark says, "I am on the point of setting off to Vera Cruz." * * * * * * * * * My return will be in *three or four months.*" In this letter Clark desired Wilkinson to look after certain of his land titles in his absence. He left on his second trip February 9th, 1806. As soon as he returned, in a letter dated New Orleans April 14th, 1806, (Memoirs Appendix 73), Clark wrote Wilkinson, "I wrote you in the month of August of last year, enclosing plots and titles of sundry tracts of land. * * * * * * * * * Be pleased to dissipate my fears by giving me some information on the subject. * * * * * * * * * I have been *since* I last wrote to you, *in the land of promise*, but what is more I have gotten *safe from it*, after having been represented to the Vice-Roy, as a person dangerous to the Spanish government."

This shows that Clark when he left New Orleans for Vera Cruz in September, 1805, intended to stay about four months. He did stay on both trips five months.

In the deposition of Daniel W. Coxe, partner of Daniel Clark, against Wilkinson, dated June 13th, 1808, the former swore that late in 1806, the Marquis de Casa Yrujo, (the Spanish minister) "jestingly observed to me, that he understood Mr. Clark was going to Vera Cruz and was intimate with Burr when at New Orleans, I immediately wrote Mr. Clark (which was about the end of the year 1805), and advised him to have nothing to do with Burr.

The following is an extract of Clark's letter to me:

"New Orleans February 6th 1806.

My dear Friend

I received this day your favor of the 20th of December by post and I thank you for the information contained in the private enclosure. Be pleased to assure the respectable person who informed you I was closely connected with Colonel Burr that he has been much imposed on in this particular. That I never was acquainted with him until he came last summer to New Orleans and that I neither was or could be mad enough to attach myself to a man of desperate fortunes whose stay among us did not exceed a fortnight. * * * * * * * * * What in God's name have I to expect or could I hope from Col. Burr. And is it probable I should commit my fortune and perhaps reputation at my period of life to commit follies for him? * * * * * * * * *

This short extract of Clark's longer letter shows it was written for the Spanish Minister's consumption. Such a declaration was

certainly necessary for one then under suspicion setting sail again for Vera Cruz three days later, in the William Wright."

Reading between the lines of this letter, written months before knowledge of Burr's plans came to public light from any one, it showed Clark then knew how "mad and desperate" Burr's plans really were, and that they were enough to cause any one to risk his "fortune and reputation." On May 19th, 1806, some three months later, Clark was elected to Congress from Orleans Territory. The man who was such a patriot, that he had in 1802, tried to ruin Wilkinson's reputation with forged documents with the President, while the country he lived in was under Spanish rule, when a prominent federal officer, never once gave the government warning about Burr, and every political friend and associates he had, when the arrest of Burr and his friends occurred, rallied to the support of that "bad" "desperate" adventurer, for whom it would have been so foolish "to risk one's fortune or reputation."

Now these appear to have been the *first* and *last* ventures of Clark at Vera Cruz.

In his "Proofs," Clark says:

"By the letter of the Spanish commercial laws all trade was prohibited to her colonies except it be carried on by natives or naturalized residents. This rule was first relaxed under the administration of the Baron de Carondelet."

Iturriagay was later condemned by the Residencia to restore nearly a half million dollars, part of which, was for goods illegally shipped into Vera Cruz. Therefore, Clark, if he shipped goods to Mexico, of which he adduces no proof whatever, had to stand in with the Vice-Roy. He went there on his two visits shortly after Burr left Orleans and stayed there five months. He also admits he saw the Vice-Roy.

Historians have all failed to notice the curious coincidences between the careers of Burr and Iturriagay of Mexico. The former was a Vice-President, the latter a Vice-Roy. The former was arrested in 1807, and the latter in 1808, for high treason and other crimes. Both urged technical defenses. Both gave bond to appear, Burr for five thousand dollars, the latter a \$40,000 cash deposit bond. Both fled, Iturriagay to Africa. Both returned to die in their native land, Iturriagay, after pardon.

Bancroft in his History of Mexico says, p. 22:

"Iturriagay's appointment as the 56th vice-roy of Mexico was due to Godoy." "Iturriagay's first act on taking possession was to defraud the crown by illegally importing a cargo of merchandise into

Vera Cruz which netted him 119,125 Pesos. This fraud was the first of many serious charges proven against him in his Residencia, of which an account will be given later."

"Moreover he at once began a system of a sale of employments on his own account and established for his benefit an impost on quicksilver, by which he unjustly secured to himself large benefits. Other frauds were perpetrated in contracts for paper used in the government cigar factories, the contractors charging fictitious prices and paying a bonus to *Dona Ines (wife of the vice-roy)*" (pp. 23 and 24). On pages 25, 26, 27, the historians states that by other corrupt methods the vice-roy gained enormous wealth.

"The Spanish government involved, under Godoy's rule, in political difficulties corruption and extravagance and harassed by the exorbitant demands of Napoleon * * * * decreed by royal order of December 26th, 1804, to sequester all the real estate belonging to benevolent institutions. * * * * * * * * * * In order to stimulate the zeal of the functionaries and to make these sequestrations more productive they were allowed a percentage of the sale. Such an incentive with men like Iturriaga, left little hope for the people; and great was the clamor among all classes, especially the clergy. * * * * * * * * * * Subsequently all corporate property was taken, deposits of all kinds even money designed to ransom prisoners; never had royal license to fleece the colonists been more barefaced never had the robbery of a people by its rulers been more merciless and infamous. * * * * * * * * * "

"The merciless rigor with which the vice-roy executed every oppressive decree and the fact that he and a host of officials profited by the ruin of others, gained him the odium of the sufferers." (p. 31).

"More and more urgent (in 1805) were the appeals to the Vice-Roy for Mexican silver and gold. Iturriaga seems in every respect equal to the emergency. The colonists are made to bleed."

"From corporations, from the clergy and from private individuals, thirteen millions of dollars are secured at this juncture, and shipped in four frigates, some five millions more being retained for later transportation. To make up this amount he (Iturriaga) has not only seized any deposits, however sacred, he could lay his hands on, and forced money from the poor, but he has resorted to a swindling system of lotteries," (p. 32).

"In 1801, Philip Nolan (Wilkinson's friend) makes an incursion into Mexican territory as far as Neuvo Santander and under the pretext of purchasing horses erects some forts. He is however, attacked and slain." (p. 33).

"When the news was received of the victory of Lord Nelson at Trafalgar over the French and Spaniards in 1805, Iturrigary believed Vera Cruz would be attacked." (Bancroft 35).

In 1808, Iturrigary was suspected of treasonable designs. "But Iturrigary is a coward and hypocrite—a man not the best either for a traitor or patriot. He has no thought of self sacrifice; on the contrary *should he make Mexico free, he must be well paid for it.* * * * * * * * * " (p. 41).

On the 19th of July, 1808, an address was presented to Iturrigary asking him to *become the ruler of Mexico. To this he assented.*

On September 14th, 1808, Iturrigary was arrested and deposed and on the 6th of December, 1808, was taken on the ship San Justo to Cadiz. "There impeached for treason and accused of extortion and mal-administration, he awaited trial." His trial began in August, 1809, but was later suspended, and he was required to give a deposit of 40,000 pesos for bond. In October, 1810, the new regency ordered that he be re-arrested and his trial be proceeded with. He then fled to Africa. On the 26th of November, 1811, he was allowed the benefit of the general pardon. In the residencia in Mexico the late vice-roy was condemned to pay \$435,413. On appeal this decree was affirmed by the council of the Indies in February, 1819, and later by the supreme tribunal of justice.

In 1821 Dona Ines, Iturrigary's *widow* went to Mexico *after its declaration of independence*, and claimed "the vice-roy had been the first promoter of independence and had fallen a victim to the cause," and she succeeded so well in proving this, that she recovered \$400,000 of the money, the former vice-roy had been condemned to pay. (Bancroft p. 62).

It would therefore seem, that if Iturrigary was one of the *first* promoters of independence in Mexico, prior to 1808, he must have been a party to the Burr conspiracy of which that independence was one of the main objects. General Eaton testified that Burr in his declaration to him said he had influential agents in Mexico.

But the record shows that both Iturrigary and his wife were first class frauds; that they were the devoted slaves of royalty, while in Spain, yet leading patriots of independence in Mexico, when money was to be gotten by it.

What sweet scented specimens they were, to convict an American on their unsworn statements.

On his visits to the West in 1805 and 1806, Burr spent thrice as much time with Andrew Jackson as he did with any other man. Jackson could abide no equal or superior and either envied or hated

Wilkinson. Jackson necessarily knew more than Wilkinson did of Burr's plans.

On November 12th, 1806, Jackson wrote to Governor Claiborne, * * * * *

"Put your town in a state of defense organize your militia and defend your city as well against internal as external enemies. My knowledge does not extend so far as to go into detail but I fear you will meet with an attack from quarters you do not expect. Be upon the alert; *keep a watchful eye on your general and beware of an attack on your own country as from Spain*. I fear there is something rotten in the state of Denmark. You have enemies within your own city that may try to subvert your government and try to separate it from the Union. You know I never hazard ideas without good grounds: You will keep these hints to yourself. But I say again be on the alert; *your government I fear is in danger. I fear there are plans on foot inimical to the Union*, whether they will be attempted to be carried into effect or not I cannot say but rest assured they are in operation or I calculate boldly. Beware of the month of December. I love my country and government; I hate the Dons; I would delight to see Mexico reduced; but I will die in the last ditch before I would yield a foot to the Dons or see the Union disunited; this I write for your own eye and for your own safety. Profit by it and the Ides of March remember. With sincere respect I am as usual, your sincere friend Andrew Jackson.

A very cursory reading of this letter shows that Jackson knew Burr's intentions as to Mexico, and feared he would also attack New Orleans and dismember the Union. He knew even the month that Burr intended to descend, and did descend, the Mississippi with his expedition, yet he disclosed nothing beyond an insinuation to beware of Wilkinson's treachery, the man he hated. He declares and repeats the "government is in danger"—"the union is in danger," yet says nothing about it to the President, the head of the nation, and bids Governor Claiborne "Keep these *hints* to yourself."

Contrast his conduct with that of the man he suspected, who informed the President, informed Governor Claiborne, and took the most active step to arrest the conspirators as soon as he knew of the conspiracy. The foes of Wilkinson declare he acted the despot at New Orleans. Judge Workman was in league with Burr's friends, and was releasing them as fast as he could, yet Wilkinson's conduct on that occasion was not one-tenth part as arbitrary, as Jackson's was, later in New Orleans, if Judge Martin is to be believed.

In fact after peace was declared, and after Judge Hall, imprisoned by Jackson, had been released on the President's proclamation, and after Jackson had been fined by Judge Hall, which fine was taken out of the United States coffers and returned by Congress, thus endorsing Jackson's course, Jackson again denounced Judge Hall. Martin (p. 410) says, Hall replied, "Judge Hall knows full well how easy it is for one with the influence and patronage of General Jackson to procure certificates and affidavits. *He knows that men*

usurping authority have their delators and spies, and that in the sunshine of dictatorial power swarms of miserable creatures are rapidly changed into the shape of buzzing reformers; Judge Hall declares he has at no time made the statements he is charged with making by General Jackson and challenges him to his proof." This proof Jackson never attempted.

McCaleb says, (p. 86):

"Though Burr failed, history emphatically shows his plans were opportune, and that their wreck was due to influences he had properly failed to estimate and *chiefly to the conduct of Wilkinson*.

McCaleb in his work on Burr, declares that Blannerhasett stated he had sued Andrew Jackson for a due bill or note the latter had given Burr for over one thousand dollars borrowed money. Patton says Jackson followed Burr to Richmond and there, "harangued a crowd from the steps of a corner grocery for Burr and damning Jefferson as his prosecutor." Parton on Burr 2 Vol., p. 105).

He further states that it was Burr in 1815 who first suggested Jackson for the Presidency. (2nd Vol. 256).

When Jackson became president in 1829, he gave Samuel Swarthout, Burr's man Friday, the New York collectorship, one of the best offices in his gift. (Parton 2 Vol. 280).

Burr, however, presuming on Jackson's strong friendship, tried to get the administration of the latter to allow him one hundred thousand dollars for his expenses and services in the revolutionary war, and in order to get this through, agreed to give a young lawyer, then courting the daughter of Jackson's secretary, and holding office in that department ten thousand dollars to have this claim allowed, Jackson declared it a piece of rascality and this claim was rejected. Parton 2nd, pp. 281-2.

To show how nasty and vituperative the partisans of Burr's supporters were I quote an excerpt of Judge Workman's public criticism of Claiborne's address to the legislature, published in the Louisiana Gazette of April 10th, 1807. Thus,

"There is not extant such a monument of impudence, vanity and falsehood as the speech from which those extracts are taken."

* * * * *

"The poor dog may continue to wear and display the feathers which I charitably gave him to clothe his unfledged miserable tail, but he shall not steal any of the plumes which I have appropriated for my own use and ornament."

Such nice, dignified language from a judge to the Governor was typical of the time.

The letters produced by me from Governor Claiborne show, that before the Burr trial came on, and even before his indictment, the friends of Burr and enemies of Wilkinson were doing all they could to aid the former and injure the latter.

Burr was represented at Richmond by five able lawyers, Edmund Randolph, John Wickham, Benjamin Botts, John Baker and Luther Martin, the last named being the celebrated lawyer who had just successfully defended Judge Chase. Burr had lawyers all over the country. He was represented in New Orleans by the leading firm of Livingston and Alexander and at Natchez by Hardin, of that bar. Daniel W. Coxe testified before the court of inquiry in 1808 that William Lewis was Burr's attorney in Philadelphia. Burr also had powerful friends who were most active in his behalf. Evidently money for him was not lacking. In the four Claiborne letters, that I now produce, it will be seen that General Adair came all the way from Kentucky, before Burr was indicted, and spent weeks in New Orleans hunting up evidence against Wilkinson, and as he left there to go to Richmond, we can take for granted that such evidence was to be used to impeach Wilkinson and help Burr.

As Wilkinson was the most important witness against Burr, the lawyers of the latter directed their fire against him, even before Burr was indicted. Wilkinson had hardly landed from the vessel that brought him when Burr's counsel prayed for an attachment him for contempt on the ground that he had kidnapped Lindsay and against Knox, two of the witnesses of the government against Burr, and had brought them to Richmond on his ship. They further charged that Wilkinson had tried to bribe Knox to testify against Burr. There are numerous cases where men have been accused with trying to keep witnesses away from Court, but this is the first case ever heard of where an attack was made on a man for bringing state witnesses to Court.

This trial for an attachment for contempt of court took four days and is reported in full in Robertson's Trial of Burr (1st Volume, pp. 258 to 390). The result was Wilkinson's complete vindication and acquittal. The friends of Burr have attacked Jefferson as the prosecutor of Burr, the friends of Jefferson and Jefferson himself have attacked Judge Marshall as leaning to Burr, but both Jefferson and Marshall held that Wilkinson had done his full duty in the Burr affair by his country.

The statements of a witness that traveled from Kentucky to New Orleans to hunt up testimony against Wilkinson, and thence to Richmond, about twenty five hundred miles, and was, as Claiborne

says, abusing Wilkinson while hunting for such testimony, does not show that General Adair was an impartial chronicler.

One thing is certain that the attorneys for the defense of Burr were engaged in ransacking the country to procure evidence of some kind against Wilkinson and seem to have found nothing to his discredit. The defense of Burr was a technical one and his case went off on the plea that he had not actually waged war against the United States. The friends of Burr seem to have missed the point, that, but for the arrest of Burr by the forces under Wilkinson, this defense might not have availed Burr, and the stopping of his expedition in time by Wilkinson, may have saved Burr, and at the same time other persons, their lives.

But not only were the attorneys of Burr ready to seize on every pretext to attack Wilkinson, but his bitter enemy, John Randolph was the foreman of the Grand Jury that indicted Burr and a number of his supporters, and was also anxious to indict Wilkinson. The indictments against Burr and his friends were returned into Court on June 24th, 1807, while the rule against Wilkinson was being tried. On the same day I cite what then occurred from "Robertson's trial of Burr," (Volume 1, pages 356 to 359.)

"While Mr. Hay was speaking the Grand Jury entered and their foreman Mr. Randolph addressed the court to the following effect: 'May it please the Court the Grand Jury have been informed that there is in the possession of Aaron Burr a certain letter with the post mark May the 13th, from James Wilkinson in ciphers which they may deem to be material to *certain inquiries now pending before them*. The Grand Jury are perfectly aware that they have no right to demand any evidence from the prisoner under prosecution which may tend to criminate himself. But the Grand Jury have thought proper to appear in Court to ask its assistance if it thinks proper to grant it to obtain the letter with his consent."

"Mr. Burr declared that it would be impossible for him under certain circumstances to expose any letter which had been communicated to him confidentially; how far the extremity of circumstances might impel him to such a conduct he was not prepared to decide; but it was impossible for him even to deliberate on the proposition to deliver up something which had been confided to his honor; unless it was extorted from him by law."

Thus the court was given to understand that Burr then had this letter, and that his refusal to produce it was dictated by the most punctilious sense of honor that would not permit him to not do anything that would injure the writer of the letter.

At the same time Burr's refusal was an undercut at Wilkinson, who, believing that no such privilege applied as a protection for illegal acts, had produced before the Grand Jury Burr's letters to him. Fortunately for Wilkinson he learned of Burr's declaration, and District Attorney McRae at his request made the following statement in open court, "The Grand Jury has asked for a certain letter in ciphers

which was supposed to have been addressed by General Wilkinson to the accused. The court had understood the ground on which the accused had refused to put it in their possession to be an apprehension lest his honor should be wounded by thus betraying matters of confidence. I have seen General Wilkinson since this declaration was made, and the General had expressed his wishes to me, and requested me to express these wishes, *that the whole of the correspondence between Aaron Burr and himself be exhibited to this court.* The accused has now therefore, a fair opportunity of producing this letter; he is absolved from all possible imputation; his honor is perfectly safe."

(Mr. Burr): "The court will probably expect from me some reply. The communication which I made to the court, has led, it seems to the present invitation, I have only to say sir, this letter will not be produced. The letter is not at this time in my possession and General Wilkinson knows it."

Burr stated afterwards to the court that he had given this letter to a third party. Who that party was, or whether it was one of his counsel, he did not say, but though challenged by Wilkinson to produce this letter he dared not do so.

But more than this, after Burr's acquittal for treason and all serious danger to him was over; when he was put on trial for misdemeanor only, Wilkinson gave his evidence which is quoted verbatim in the issues of the Louisiana Gazette from November 13th, to December 11th, 1807. In this testimony Burr's counsel cross examined Wilkinson as to this letter dated May 13th, and postmarked May 18th, the contents of which Wilkinson stated he could not remember. Counsel for the government thereupon declared that as this letter was in the possession of Burr or his counsel, and the same was the best evidence it should be produced or at least, the same should be shown to refresh the memory of the witness. This was not done. Finally on Saturday, October 9th, 1807 (as published in Gazette of December 11th):

"General Wilkinson having been informed there were no more questions to be propounded to him, addressed the Judge as follows: "Upon a former occasion you will recollect sir, that reference was made to a certain letter, of which so much has been said. That letter is designated by the words said to be used in it, "Yours postmarked the 18th of May has been received." Yet that letter has been withheld under the pretext of delicacy; while we have seen it employed in the most artful and insidious manner to injure my reputation and tarnish my fame. Sir, I demand the production of that letter. I hope the reputation acquired by nearly 30 years of service is not to

be filched from me by the *subtlety, artifice or fraud* of Colonel Burr and his counsel * * * * * * * * * * * * * The letter postmarked the 18th of May, has often been mentioned and has been used to injure my character and envelop it in doubt and suspicion. This letter if written at all, must have been written in answer to one received from Colonel Burr. Why has it not been produced? *I challenge its production.* * * * * * * * * * * * I have no hesitation in saying that the declarations of that gentleman (pointing to Col. Burr) that he had put the letter beyond his power, and with my knowledge, is totally destitute of the truth."

All this Burr's historians have suppressed.

The rule is well settled, that where one man seeks *to introduce* evidence and another suppresses it, the strongest presumptions are in favor of the former and against the latter.

The change made in a copy of the cipher letter of Burr of October 8th, was made by Mr. A. L. Duncan, an attorney on whom Wilkinson had called for advice before he left New Orleans, and this was testified to by Duncan at Wilkinson's trial four years later. (Wilkinson's memoirs, Volume 2nd, pp. 332 to 335). The change, did not affect Burr to the slightest extent, but was of course seized on by Burr's attorneys to denounce Wilkinson.

I submit where every motive of hostility and interest was taken advantage of to the utmost in the Burr case against Wilkinson and where all the witnesses were then living to testify against him he came forth unscathed. Now when he and they are no longer here to speak for themselves suspicion ought not to be indulged in to wrong Wilkinson's memory.

Wilkinson, while having warm friends, made powerful and bitter enemies. The two men who hated him most were John Randolph and Daniel Clark. Randolph having in 1807, attacked Wilkinson on the floor of the House of Representatives, the latter challenged him, and on Randolph's refusal to fight, posted him as a coward and poltroon and called attention to the fact that he had been previously caned by an officer of the army.

In the Louisiana Gazette of April 3rd, 1807, is printed the following editorial from the Baltimore American, "The reader will find in our columns yesterday the far famed speech of Mr. J. Randolph. It is tinctured with all the bitterness which that gentleman never fails to mingle with his observations when he speaks of those whom he dislikes. It would really seem uncandid and ungenerous, for Mr. Randolph to treat with such inmerited severity, were it not

known that he entertains towards the commander-in-chief *a deadly rancorous personal hostility.*" * * * * *

This editorial shows Mr. Randolph's great inconsistency in first calling on the President to take the most "Prompt and efficacious measures for securing the union threatened with external war and conspiracy and treasons," and then in assaulting Wilkinson by declaring the Burr conspiracy was merely "an intrigue."

Randolph was then writhing from the result of the Chase impeachment. John Randolph no doubt derived his bitter and revengeful nature from his Indian ancestry.

His command of invective was only equalled by his ignorance of law and unfairness in debate. His most famous prosecution and failure was that of the impeachment of the federalist United States Judge Chase. After Chase's acquittal, Adams, Vol. 1, p. 240, says:

"The Northern democrats talked of Randolph with disgust and Senator Cocke of Tennessee who voted guilty as to Chase, told his federalist colleagues in the senate that Randolph's vanity, ambition, insolence and dishonesty, not only in the impeachment but in other matters, were such as to make the acquittal of Chase no subject of regret."

Wilkinson's other greatest enemy, Daniel Clark was born in Sligo, Ireland, in 1766, and was educated in England. He came to New Orleans on the invitation of his uncle about 1784, and succeeded to the latter's estate in 1799. He was 21 years old when Wilkinson first came to New Orleans. Untrue to the country of his birth, like his compatriot, Thomas Power, he became and remained a Spanish subject when Great Britain was at war with Spain.

It is a coincidence that O'Reilly, who invited the Creole leaders in New Orleans to a banquet and then treacherously murdered them, and Clark, who spent so much time and effort to assassinate Wilkinson's good name, were both Irish-Spaniards.

The firm of Clark and Dunn, in which the elder Clark was a partner, became in 1788, Wilkinson's agent in New Orleans, but owing to overcharges by young Clark, acting for that firm Wilkinson in 1790, transferred his business to Philip Nolan, who then became Wilkinson's agent.

The misunderstanding on Wilkinson's part was soon forgotten and Clark subsequently wrote Wilkinson the most fulsome letters, but the member from Sligo was simply biding his time to get even.

Clark's own letters to Wilkinson, (Memoirs, 2nd Vol., Appendix 14, 16, 17, 18, 33) show that deceit and treachery were habitual to him. He never did anything openly that involved any risk or blame to himself that he could get another to do for him.

Even after the time that Clark was stabbing Wilkinson in the back by secret charges to Jefferson in 1802, he was writing April 13th, 1803, to Wilkinson, * * * * * * * * * "I already look on my fortune as lost, I am careless of personal danger. Point out therefore a useful line of conduct for me to pursue, and rely on its execution. In hopes of hearing from you shortly I subscribe myself with esteem, dear sir, Your very humble servant, Daniel Clark."

Among other fawning letters as late as June 15th, 1806, just after his election as a delegate to Congress, Clark wrote Wilkinson, * * * * * * * * * "I would likewise thank you for your advice respecting the part I ought to act in Washington; what people I should most see; *what use can be made of them; how they are to be acted on, etc.*, and I count on your sending me a few letters which will serve to introduce me to your friends, so as to procure me on arrival some acquaintances who will take the trouble of giving me information. * * * * * * * * * Do not forget to mention to me the state of the *land office* in your country; and the state of *the titles to lands*, with the amendments you think necessary, and the *land law*." * * * * * * * * *

'If you have among your books and papers, any *history, maps or plans of your country, or this territory*, let me beg of you to send them, and I promise you to take special care to have them returned safely. * * * * * * * * * Let me hear from you, I beg without delay, and let me know in what can I be of service to you, Yours sincerely, Daniel Clark," (Wilkinson's Memoirs, 2nd Vol., App. 75).

Again on September 27th, 1806, Clark wrote Wilkinson, after calling attention to the poor military condition of New Orleans.

"I know I am entering a thorny path, and shall expect a great deal of trouble. I would thank you for your advice to direct me; and if you would give me a line to some of your friends in Congress disposed to favor or serve Louisiana, you would, afterwards, perhaps, find your account in it." (Clark's Proofs, etc., p. 156).

Clark again wrote Wilkinson, October 2nd, 1806. (Clark's Proofs, p. 157):

"Captain Turner told me you expected to see me at Natchitoches, I have no time to make the journey and return in time to go to the seat of government, and however strong the desire is of seeing you on my part I must defer that pleasure till my return next spring."

Yet of this writer, Daniel W. Coxe, his partner, testified at the trial of Wilkinson in 1811, "I never considered Mr. Clark and General Wilkinson as friends, beyond mere appearances, Mr. Clark always

thought illly of the General on account of his Spanish connections, and never to me (even in confidence) uttered an opinion in his favor."

To show the recklessness and venom that animated Clark against Wilkinson because the latter was indirectly the cause of preventing his bigamous marriage, in the collection of the mass of forgeries and *ex parte* affidavits Clark procured and published as his proofs, at his own expense and all to gratify his hatred and malice, we find a suppression of the truth in the first few pages. An affidavit is published there of Col. John Ballinger, a man of high standing, stating that he had brought two mule loads of silver from New Orleans and delivered same to Wilkinson on December 26th, 1789, at Frankfurt. This was at a date that there was no question as to the integrity of Wilkinson's dealings at New Orleans. But by publishing that bald truth without stating the source of the money Clark knew Wilkinson would be prejudiced with the masses. On Wilkinson's trial in 1811, Col. Ballinger, was cross examined on this affidavit, and testified, I carried the money into Frankfurt as openly as I came into this town; delivered it to Wilkinson in the presence of many persons, whom I found there, some of whom I knew, some of whom I did not know; that from their conversations I found they knew I was coming, and were waiting my arrival; that they were tobacco planters of Lincoln county, in Kentucky, and were there to receive their money for tobacco which Wilkinson had purchased of them; for the cargo of which the money conveyed by the witness *was only a part of the proceeds*; and that some disappointment was expressed by them, because the whole amount of the shipment had not been forwarded from New Orleans as had been expected."

To show what a degenerate Clark really was, early in 1801 a confectioner in New Orleans, named Jerome Des Granges, sailed for France with letters of introduction from Clark, leaving his very young and beautiful wife, born Zulime Carriere, to be aided by Clark's advice.

Evidently Clark became too intimate with the confectioner's wife as he later sent her to Philadelphia, where in April, 1802, a child was born to the guilty pair. The child was left in Philadelphia, and the wife was brought back to meet her husband on his return to New Orleans, in September, 1802, when strange to say the latter was arrested for bigamy. This was an improvement on King David's method of getting rid of a husband.

In Gaines vs. Relf (12 Howard, p. 282), the Supreme Court of the United States said of this incident:

"The reports to which these witnesses swear, obviously originated with, and were relied on by Madame Desgrange, her sisters and friends, to harass and drive Desgrange from the country, so that his wife might indulge herself in the society of Clark, unencumbered and unannoyed by the presence of an humble and deserted husband, and this was in fact, accomplished, for Desgrange did leave the country soon after he was tried for bigamy, and Clark did set up Desgrange's wife in an handsome establishment, where their intercourse was unrestrained."

"In 1805, when Desgrange again came to New Orleans, his wife immediately sued him for alimony as above stated; speedily got judgment against him for \$500 per annum; on the same day issued execution, and again drove him away.

No proof for bigamy was presented against Des Granges and he was discharged. Des Granges, however, left New Orleans, and did not return until 1805, and during his absence, in 1803, Clark secretly married the grass widow in Philadelphia, and about 1805, in the city of New Orleans, a child was born of this marriage; the celebrated Myra Clark Gaines. The child, while an infant was turned over to Mr. and Mrs. S. B. Davis, who raised her. She did not learn of her parentage until many years after the death of her father. On his visit in 1802 to Philadelphia to see his concubine, Clark found time to go to Washington and lodge charges against Wilkinson. In the case of Myra Clark Gaines vs. the City of New Orleans, Supreme Court of United States, 6 Wallace's reports, p. 677, is quoted a letter from Clark to Chew and Relf, dated *February 18th, 1802*, which stated: "I return three or four days from Washington, where I had an opportunity of seeing the President and officers of the government, by whom I was well received * * * * * * * * * * It has been hinted to me that *a great deal* is expected from my services."

In his message to Congress, dated January 20th, 1808, "Messages and Papers of President, Vol. 1, p. 437," President Jefferson says that in 1803, "He, Clark, was listened to freely, and he then delivered the letter of Governor Gayoso addressed to *himself*, and of which a copy is now communicated. After his return to New Orleans he forwarded to the Secretary of State other papers with the request that after their perusal *they be burnt*," (a la Mulligan Letters).

The administration of Jefferson paid no attention to this attempt to defame Wilkinson.

Clark prior to the cession of Louisiana had been United States vice-consul at New Orleans. He expected an important position from the President, and failing to receive it grew bitter against the

new regime. Possibly the fact that he had succeeded through himself, and in part by parties fraudulently interposed, in obtaining titles to over 100,000 acres of valuable land from the Spanish regime, in Louisiana, worth subsequently over ten million dollars, may have accounted for his anxiety to be a ruling power in Louisiana. Note his anxiety on land matters in his last quoted letter to Wilkinson.

Governor Claiborne wrote on June 19th, 1805, to President Jefferson:

"It may perhaps be to you a matter of curiosity to know the nature and extent of the party to which I am indebted for those unfriendly attacks. I have no hesitation to tell you they proceeded originally from the resentment of Mr. Daniel Clark, who conceiving himself entitled to the confidence of the President, and possibly to some distinguished place in the administration here, is mortified to find himself so completely overlooked." Gayarre Vol. 4, p. 103.

Claiborne said further:

"Such persons from long practice are more conversant with the arts of intrigue. To what lengths the opposition to me may be carried I know not, but I am inclined to think that nothing will be left unsaid which can wound my feelings, and that my public and private character will be cruelly misrepresented."

Randolph also extended his hatred to Claiborne, as Gayarre, (Vol. 4, p. 131), says:

"In 1806, John Randolph made a most bitter attack on Governor Claiborne in Congress which the latter much resented. This attack charged his administration with weakness and imbecility. In 1806 Claiborne again denounced Daniel Clark as being among the intriguers who opposed him. Clark from disappointment is greatly soured with the administration and unites in doing the Governor here all the injury in his power." Gayarre 4, p. 142.)

"What contributed to increase Claiborne's vexation was the election of Clark, his personal enemy, as a delegate to Congress about that time." Gayarre 114.

In the Gaines case, above cited, a reference is made to a duel between Claiborne and Clark which Gayarre says nothing of.

Upon his election to Congress from New Orleans Clark repaired to Washington in 1806. He kept his marriage concealed, and posing in Washington as a man of great fortune proceeded to pay his addresses to a Miss Caton, a lady of a very prominent family from Baltimore, at that time in Annapolis, who subsequently married the Duke of Leeds. In the Gaines case, on pages 654 and 655, are his letters to his partner Daniel W. Coxe, about this projected marriage, the same Coxe who later wrote for Clark, the "Proofs of the Corruption of Wilkinson."

Wilkinson being asked at a dinner in Annapolis, about that time, as to Clark's wealth said he was not a wealthy man, which statement was overheard by a member of the Caton family.

That Wilkinson's statement was true the U. S. Supreme Court in the Gaines case, 6th Wallace, p. 689, fifty-nine years later, verifies, saying:

"That up to the time of Clark's death he had no ready money and was greatly shortened for want of it; not being able to supply even his mother's small requirements."

In Wilkinson Memoirs (2nd Volume) he traces Clark's bitter enmity to this, his remark, as to Clark's fortune. Strange that in 1867, nearly 60 years later, Wilkinson's statements should be thus verified. In a letter quoted in the Gaines case, from Clark to Coxe, dated February 14th, 1808, the writer stated as to his courtship, "I am sorry to have to mention that it not only has not been effected, but that the affair is *forever* ended."

Coxe testified in the Gaines case that the engagement was broken off, because of a demand for marriage settlements by the lady's family, thus corroborating Wilkinson's statement in his Memoirs that the marriage was broken off because Clark could not make good his pretensions of wealth. In the meantime Clark's wife, offended by his refusal to proclaim her his wife, and offended by her husband's attempt to marry another woman, in August, 1808, married in Philadelphia a French gentleman named Gardere, Clark not objecting. (See the Gaines case, p. 656).

Clark died on August 16th, 1813. Owing to his secretiveness to the last, he made a private will and the same was stolen and destroyed and secondary proof thereof was not successfully made until 1856, over 40 years later. (See succession of Daniel Clark, 11th Louisiana Annual Reports p. 124). By the decision of the Louisiana Supreme Court, Clark's mother was disinherited.

The contest of his daughter to prove her legitimacy was not however, entirely successful until December, 1867, (see the above Gaines case in the Supreme Court of the United States) and I, myself, remember Mrs. Myra Clark Gaines, as a tottering old woman, before she began to enjoy the proceeds of the enormous quantity of valuable lands her father got from Spain.

Clark was a man untrue to the country of his birth; untrue to his friends; untrue in his sworn depositions; untrue and deceitful to the woman he betrayed, as even after he made her his wife, he kept that marriage hidden and allowed her to be considered as his mistress before the world; he was untrue to the woman whom he subse-

quently tried to commit bigamy with and to dishonor; he was untrue even to his own daughter, whose parentage he concealed for almost all of his life, whom he allowed others to care for and raise, and whom he subjected by his unnatural, deceitful and depraved disposition to suffer almost all of her long life from the unjust imputation of adulterous bastardy.

No man with a spark of honor or decency would convict any human being on the testimony of such a degenerate villain.

I desire to call particular attention to the fact that both Claiborne and Wilkinson, from the time they came to New Orleans together in 1803, to the admission of New Orleans as a State were surrounded by a coterie of powerful French and Spanish enemies; that New Orleans then extended only from Esplanade to Canal streets and from the river to Rampart street, not one hundred blocks, and that New Orleans was then but the size of a modern village.

From 1803 to 1806, when Claiborne expelled the Spanish officers, he was thrown in contact with all classes of Wilkinson's enemies and if there had been any fact detrimental to Wilkinson it would have been impossible for Claiborne not to have learned of it. I now make public for the first time the private and confidential letters from Governor Claiborne to Wilkinson in May, June and September, 1807, which show that Claiborne had the most unbounded confidence in and regard for Wilkinson and also an abhorrence and contempt for Thomas Power, the principal witness in 1811 against Wilkinson. I now cite an original letter from Governor Claiborne to Wilkinson:

(Private)

Dear Sir:

New Orleans, May 29th, 1807.

In a paper of yesterday General Adair's arrival at Nashville is announced, and it is added "that he is on his way to this city for the express purposes of visiting General Wilkinson." Adair must know of Burr's trial in Richmond and of your summons to attend. If, therefore, he be on his way hither, it seems to me to be his object to avoid rather than seek you.

A splendid dinner was given on the 27th to the Honorable D. Clark. Mr. Ed. Livingston (Burr's counsel) presided assisted by Mr. Phil Jones and the ex-Sheriff George Z. Ross. Among the guests were the Judges of the Superior Court and Mr. Alexander (another of Burr's lawyers) Counsellor at Law, the ci-devant mayor of New Orleans and *James Workman*, late Judge of the County of Orleans. The latter spoke in his paper and said that great was the contrast between this dinner and the dinner which was given to General Wilkinson; that at the Clark's function function that one hundred gentlemen sat down to dinner but at yours only thirty could be obtained. In point of numbers they may boast but I perceive that in point of respectability of character they do not claim pre-eminence."

I surely hope you had a pleasant voyage and that your arrival in Richmond was sufficiently early to meet the wishes of Government.

Your friends here are all solicitous to learn the result of Burr's trial and the favorable impression which your conduct when it comes to be explained, must make on the American Society.

I pray you therefore to keep us advised of particulars and to receive my best wishes for your health, happiness and prosperity.

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE."

"General James Wilkinson."

The next letter from Governor Claiborne to Wilkinson, of which I produce the original, is marked "Private and Confidential."

"New Orleans, June 16th, 1807.

"My dear Sir:

You will have heard of my duel with Mr. Clark and the issue: I have suffered much pain; but the wound has assumed a favorable aspect and I hope in ten or fifteen days to be enabled to walk. General Adair is still here and receives great attention from some of our citizens. I am told that he is lavish in his abuse of you; but that was to have been expected.

With all my heart do I wish you prosperity and happiness but alike with myself, I fear you may have some difficult scenes to encounter.

I have given up the idea of writing a book. It would not assist me with my friends and would tend only to make my enemies more bitter. I think your book also might as well for the present be postponed; we have both justified ourselves to the President and with that I think we should be content.

For several reasons I must entreat you in no event to make public the statement I gave you concerning Mr. J. B. It can be of no service to you to make it public, and among other effects it might probably involve my friend Dr. Flood, in a dispute.

It is said that Dr. Bollman will be here in a few days and that Swarthout is also expected, I fear. I much fear the danger is not over.

Mr. Clark in his affair with me, acted the part of the gentleman and the soldier.

I am, dear sir,

Your friend,

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE."

"General James Wilkinson."

The next letter from Governor Claiborne is also marked "Private."

New Orleans, June 26th, 1807.

Dear Sir:

I am this moment informed that General Adair is busily engaged in obtaining at this place such information in writing as he thinks is best calculated to injure you and that his object is to proceed on to Richmond in a few days. I know not what documents Adair may have collected but possibly it may be of some service to you to know, that he is thus employed.

My wound has been very painful, but is now much better and I hope to be enabled to walk in ten or twelve days. I sincerely wish you well.

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE."

"General Wilkinson."

The deposition of Lieutenant J. S. Smith of the U. S. Army, on March 25th, 1807, is published in the Louisiana Gazette of April 10th of that year, in which that officer declares that while Adair was a prisoner in his charge the latter said that if he had remained 48 hours in New Orleans, it would *not have been in the power of Wil-*

kinson to arrest him. * * * * * * * * * He further swore he would take the life of the General at the first opportunity."

The fourth and most important letter of Governor Claiborne deals largely with the witnesses who were subpoenaed in the Burr trial, and particularly with the character of one Thomas Powers whom Daniel Clark suborned to commit perjury against General Wilkinson, on his later trial in 1811.

It will be noted that this letter was written years before Governor Claiborne ever knew that Wilkinson would be tried, or that this man Powers would be the star witness on Daniel Clark's part against him.

Powers, Derbigny, Merciere and McDonough, four out of the five witnesses Governor Claiborne states in this letter as summoned by Burr, are anti-Wilkinson witnesses whose evidence Clark has printed in his "Proofs" and Claiborne himself opposing Burr had just been shot by Clark in a duel.

This letter is as follows:

New Orleans, September 8th, 1807.

"Dear Sir:-

I thank you for your friendly letter of the 29th, of July. Ashley is now here, and was the bearer of many *blank* subpoenas. *Thomas Powers, Derbigny, Fromentine, a man of the name of Merciere and Mr. McDonough* have been summoned on behalf of Burr. Powers has gone; the other gentleman I learned have forwarded their depositions.

Hardin acts, (I understand) as Burr's counsel at Natchez and Livingston and Alexander in this city. Thomas Powers has said that if compelled to tell the truth, he must ruin you; but that he would claim the protection of the Spanish Minister, and if possible, avoid giving testimony. With this man Powers, I once had an interview, with a design of obtaining some particular information relative to certain propositions which he had made to certain persons in Kentucky. I did not attain my object *but I clearly ascertained that Powers was a most unprincipled man and susceptible of a bribe. At this same interview, I well recollect, that Powers told me General Wilkinson was not either directly or indirectly concerned in the Spanish business and he called his God to witness the truth of what he said.*

Our enemies here continue their exertions to injure us both and will omit no effort to accomplish their objects; but I trust and believe they can do us no injury.

I am, dear sir,

Your friend sincerely,

WILLIAM C. C. CLAIBORNE

"General James Wilkinson."

It will be noted that these letters evince a respect, esteem and affection on the part of Governor Claiborne towards Wilkinson, with whom he was very closely connected, both officially and personally, and both of whom were the object of the most persistent and bitter attacks of enemies who were industriously collecting every scrap of evidence that they could get to injure them.

As between Randolph and Clark, the latter was utterly without principle and much the worst, but both were equally malignant and laid their plans carefully against Wilkinson. Randolph having been put in possession of all the papers and forgeries in Clark's hands that he had gathered against Wilkinson, on December 31st, 1807, sent up these papers (afterwards pronounced forgeries) for the Clerk of the House to read, and presenting a resolution to instruct the President of the United States to institute an inquiry into the conduct of Wilkinson for having "while commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States corruptly received money from Spain or its agents," to create a more dramatic effect, then and there declared, pointing to Clark, that the latter, *coerced* by the authority of the House, could give more damning evidence against Wilkinson," and Clark (like Powers) in order to falsely appear as a reluctant accuser, demurred to giving evidence, although both Randolph and Clark were both full of venom and like snakes were coiled for their spring.

Wilkinson met this resolution and demanded a court of inquiry, which was granted by the President, January 2nd, 1808. Both Randolph and Clark were summoned as witnesses and neither *dared attend the trial*, the former because he knew nothing of his own knowledge, the latter, for the same reason that he had asked Jefferson that his previous papers be burned, dared not submit his forgeries and scoundrelism to the test of a cross-examination and like a jackal at the presence of a lion slunk away afraid of the scourging he would have received. After six months of investigation and delays the court of inquiry brought in a verdict finding Wilkinson not guilty and further stating "that he had discharged the duties of his station with honor to himself and fidelity to his country." This finding was approved by Thomas Jefferson.

Clark in his "Proofs" claims a letter dated and signed "R. R.", calling Jefferson "a fool" and Claiborne "a beast" received at Philadelphia by Coxe, his partner, was written in Wilkinson's hand, and this statement is repeated, but like the story of the three black crows, the letter is credited directly to Wilkinson, in the Coxe article. (19 Am. Historical Review).

The main Wilkinson letter to Gayoso published in Clark's "Proofs," was proven and declared a forgery and was traced to Powers and Clark by the Wilkinson Court Martial in 1811, Clark not daring to appear before the tribunal to back his hand-work, though duly summoned.

A little thing like ascribing an anonymous letter to Wilkinson was easy for Clark, however false the charge. Clark knew Wilkinson's handwriting well, therefore what object could the latter have had in writing a letter to Coxe, his partner, in his own hand, signed with fictitious initials and in it abusing his best friend and superior, Jefferson.

On December 2nd, 1808, Wilkinson was ordered by President Jefferson to assemble almost all the available troops at or near New Orleans, "and to have such disposition of the troops in that department formed as will most effectually enable you to defend New Orleans against any invading force.—H. Dearborn, Secretary of War."

Wilkinson does not mention in his memoirs that on his way to New Orleans he was entrusted by Jefferson with a secret mission to the Spaniards at Pensacola and Havana, which had for its object a possible coalition between Mexico, Cuba and certain South American colonies, and their later formation into powers independent of Spain. This was the first attempt at what became later the Monroe Doctrine in the United States.

Owing to the unsettled conditions in the Spanish possessions this mission was not a success.

By reason of the delay in these negotiations and because of slow transportation by sea Wilkinson did not reach New Orleans until April, 1809, where he found the troops already assembled many of them sick and destitute of supplies. It is important to note that under Jefferson, the evangelist of peace, the entire army of the United States had been allowed to dwindle to 3,000 men, 2,000 of which were then to be under Wilkinson at New Orleans. To preserve discipline, prevent desertions, and drill his troops, many of whom had never had proper military training, Wilkinson ordered his men into encampment at Terre aux Boeufs, a higher and healthier site than the present New Orleans U. S. Barracks site, and about 10 miles below the latter.

Mr. Madison had then become President. The greatest warrior that ever lived said, "An army travels on its stomach." The present efficiency of the greatest military machine that the world has ever known is due largely to the Kaiser's automobile kitchens. Railroads and automobiles were then unknown. The present anxiety over the use of the railroads for supplies by our army in Mexico shows how important that branch of the service is. Wilkinson without complaint had for years marched his men through trackless forests and over marshes and unbridged rivers where there were no roads even for

wagons or carts, and had made no murmur, but he bitterly complains in his Memoirs of the miserable state of his commissary where his men were dying and even the medicines the doctors ordered were not supplied. One fact entirely overlooked by historians deserves careful notice. Gayarre says, Vol. 4, p. 224:

"Claiborne in 1810, in consequence of the ravages of yellow fever *during the previous year*, recommended the legislature to make a sanitary code." Now it is a grave mistake to suppose that yellow fever does not spread to the country. The old original home of my grand father on the Pointe Celeste plantation, 40 miles below New Orleans, was burned down by its owner to kill the yellow fever germs of several persons who died there some time after the civil war. Mosquitoes also produce malarial fevers. We had then no Reed or Goethals, but Wilkinson finding the mosquitoes bad in his camp made a lengthy report to the Honorable Wm. Eustis, Secretary, of War, dated May 12th, 1809, in which among other things he said:

"The troops are without bunks or berths to repose on or mosquito nets to protect them against that pestiferous insect with which this country abounds; these accommodations are absolutely necessary not only to the comfort but the health and *even the lives of the men*, but they have not been provided yet."

The penurious administration of Madison let an army suffer and die all summer, in spite of Wilkinson's solemn warning, because they were too ignorant and mean to protect that army from disease and death. The report of the Hospital supplies, appendix CV of Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. 2nd, shows on hand, "106 bed sacks, 75 sheets, 8 mattresses, 89 blankets and 35 mosquito bars," and this for an army of 2,000 soldiers. No bars were provided, and even requisitions for delicacies, ordered by the surgeons for the sick, were refused by Mr. Eustis, Secretary of War.

See official document, Wilkinson Memoirs, Vol. 3, 354, which says:

"These under the existing "fifty dollar order" (the utmost that he could spend) "cannot be procured because they would cost at least ten thousand dollars; the men must therefore suffer, until some different arrangement is delivered. * * * * *

New Orleans was not well sewered, leveed and drained artificially then, as it is now, and was undoubtedly at that time a very unhealthy place.

The French Government had just before that time lost an army in San Domingo by yellow fever from mosquitoes. Mosquitoes vanquished the French and cost them thousands of lives before they abandoned the construction of the Panama Canal. In the

country below New Orleans common humanity still requires in summer the screening of stables and hen houses. In August, 1809, the hottest month of our southern summer, Wilkinson was ordered to move his army up to Fort Adams, which, to use the laconic expression of one of the surgeons made the "sick die and the well sick." On account of this mortality, which his enemies took advantage of to hold him responsible for, Wilkinson was ordered to report at Washington and to surrender his command to General Hampton.

Wilkinson arrived in Washington April 17th, 1810. Two committees of the House of Representatives had then been appointed, one to inquire into the cause of mortality among the troops that he had recently commanded, and the other with powers to investigate his public life, character and conduct. Randolph and his partisans by this means sought to evade a judicial inquiry and under shelter of an *ex parte* inquiry, held out of Wilkinson's presence, to collect a mass of informal, unauthentic and hearsay evidence, which, being sent throughout the union as parts of congressional records, would blacken Wilkinson's character, and so poison the public mind against him that he would be ruined. This was kept for two sessions by four committees, Wilkinson, all the time demanding a hearing by court martial. The effect of this poisonous attack on the public mind overreached itself. The public began to ask why, if Wilkinson was guilty, as pretended, he was not prosecuted. In vain Wilkinson was asked by the Secretary of War to return and let these scandals die out. To every appeal his answer was, "I am innocent and wish to face my enemies."

On June 14th, 1811, the President was forced to order a court martial to try him, to assemble the 1st Monday in September, 1811. Thirty-one counts, which no doubt both Randolph, Clark and the latter's hired informers, aided in preparing, were specified in the charges against Wilkinson. Facing these charges, some of which were punishable with death, without counsel, which he was probably too poor to employ, the old veteran with the same courage with which he had sailed down to New Orleans to brave alone the hostility of Spain, faced an entire hostile administration and Congress, and without technicality pleaded not guilty.

In spite of the fact that every serious charge against him was then barred by the statute of limitations, he disdained such shelter; in spite of the fact that he had been acquitted by a previous court of inquiry of every serious charge in this new indictment and under the Constitution of the United States could not be twice put in jeopardy, for the same offense, he did not plead *autrefois acquis*; in spite

of the provision in the Constitution of the United States that in a criminal trial the accused and the witnesses must be brought face to face, and he, a scholar, knew it, he allowed the whole record of the Burr trial, to which he was not a party, the entire *ex parte* evidence and proceedings before four committees of Congress, largely hearsay evidence, to be introduced, and during the trial which lasted for over four months in which he denounced Clark for a perjurer, forgerer and scoundrel, in which he produced witness after witness to prove that both Daniel Clark and his venal dependant, Thomas Powers, were unworthy of belief, Clark did not dare to appear and testify in open court. Not satisfied with defaming Wilkinson through congressional reports, Clark previous to this trial had procured Daniel W. Coxe, his partner and two other parties to write a book called the "Proofs of the Corruption of General Wilkinson," which he had published at his own expense, yet when called upon afterwards to make good his proofs Clark crawled like a snake into his hole.

It is true that an *ex parte* affidavit, filed by him in the shelter of a congressional committee room, was handed over to the court martial with other committee records. Knowing full well that it would be strange that he, posing as such a noble patriot, should have kept such important evidence as he testified to, locked in his bosom so long, Clark, in his carefully prepared statement, sworn to January 11th, 1808, stated:

"At the periods spoken of and for some time afterwards, I was resident in the Spanish territory, subject to the Spanish laws, and without an expectation of becoming a citizen of the United States. My obligations were then *to conceal* and not to communicate to the government of the United States the projects and enterprises, which I have mentioned of General Wilkinson, and the Spanish Government."

When he made this affidavit Louisiana had been American territory over four years.

Clark did not know when he made this deposition, that President Jefferson would by special message to Congress on January 20th, 1808, nine days *later than Clark's deposition*, prove that he was a perjurer and that while he was a citizen of Spain had tried to stab Wilkinson in the back, and then to have the weapons he did it with destroyed.

I do not propose to quote the many complimentary and fawning letters that Clark had written to Wilkinson before, after and during the times he charged the latter with wrong doing; I do not propose to cite the testimony of the many prominent men that Clark had

previously told that Wilkinson was innocent of these charges; I do not propose to cite the evidence of the witnesses that testified Clark was the most malignant of men, as these are all set out in Wilkinson's Memoirs, (2nd Volume.) Suffice it, that the members of the court martial, in their finding, stated that Clark was impeached, which meant that he could not be believed under oath. Clark's star witness, Thomas Powers, arrived after the evidence was closed. At Wilkinson's request the case was reopened and Powers permitted to testify. His evidence was entirely shattered. Since his depositions have been quoted and relied on by some historians, I mention that Capt. John Bowyer, Silas Dinsmore and Governor Claiborne testified that Powers had declared to them that Wilkinson was innocent. Wilkinson further produced a voluntary written and signed statement, dated May 16th, 1807, and enclosed to him by Powers long after the incidents that Powers, who was later suborned by Clark narrated, which statement began:

"I, Thomas Powers, of the city of New Orleans, moved solely by a sense of justice and the desire to prevent my name being employed to sanction groundless slanders, do most solemnly declare that I have at no time carried or delivered to General James Wilkinson from the government of Spain or any other persons in the service of said government bills of money specie or other property."

This statement further absolves Wilkinson from any connection with Powers' mission to Kentucky in behalf of Spain.

On February 6th, 1803, Thomas Powers had written Wilkinson a fawning and obsequious letter concluding:

"I respect your virtue, admire your understanding, reverence and esteem your character and shall ever be proud of your friendship not only as an honor but an ornament."

Wilkinson further produced the depositions of Major G. C. Russell, Geo. Mather, and William Wikoff, Jr., that the character of Thomas Powers was infamous, as he was generally known as a venal dependent of Clark. The court martial in its reasons for verdict declared in its report, that Thomas Powers, like Daniel Clark, was unworthy of belief. The court martial delivered its lengthy verdict Christmas Day, 1811. We cite only a few passages from it:

"It appears evident to the court that in 1795 a considerable sum of money was due to General Wilkinson from the Spanish government at New Orleans on account of his commercial transactions. This circumstance is deemed sufficient to account for such parts of said correspondence as have been proved which was apparently to preserve the friendship of the officers and agents of the Spanish power to magnify the importance of General Wilkinson in their view; to secure his property then under their control in New Orleans; and to facilitate its remittance from that place

It is pertinent to remark, that if attempts were made to corrupt the patriotism and integrity of General Wilkinson, the records of this court exhibit no one act of military life which can by the most constrained construction be considered as the effect of that construction. If General Wilkinson actually formed a corrupt connection with the Spanish government, the repeated application made by him many years ago for an inquiry into his conduct, appear rather inexplicable especially as many of the witnesses of his guilt, if he was guilty, then lived to testify on that subject.

On the whole, the court thinks it proper to declare, that from a comparison of all the testimony, General Wilkinson, appears to have performed his various and complicated duties with zeal and fidelity and merits the approbation of his country. (Signed) P. Gansevoort, Brigadier General presiding."

This decision was reluctantly approved by Wilkinson's enemy, President Madison, on February 14th, 1812, a month and a half after rendition.

"But," says, Mr. Gayarre, "newly discovered evidence warrants a rearraignment of General Wilkinson's memory at least before the bar of history."

It is an axiom in both civil and criminal law that to discover truth, trials should be prompt. The statute of limitation is of divine origin (15 Deuteronomy) and is based on that axiom. Similar documents to those that Gayarre cites, from both Governor Carondelet and Gayoso, were produced, examined and pronounced forgeries at Wilkinson's trial. The whole new evidence cited are similar letters, and copies of Wilkinson's alleged letters deciphered, translated into another tongue, and then retranslated back into English.

When Wilkinson was tried, Gayoso and the Baron de Carondelet were both dead, and Miro had gone back to Spain. Whether in the deciphering of these letters, or their translations into Spanish, they were not added to, to justify the leeching process by which these Spanish officials magnified their own importance, and were ever bleeding the home government, I know not, and neither did Gayarre. The Americans were to the Spaniards then what the Gringos are to Mexicans today, and Gayarre certainly has vented much ill will against Wilkinson.

The first rule as to evidence to prove a fact is, that the witness produced must be a credible person. I have previously shown the misuse and waste by the Spanish Governors of the funds of the colony of Louisiana, and even the "honest" Miro was charged with embezzlement after he left by the Spanish Intendant.

(See Gayarre Vol. 3).

Howard's History of the Purchase of Louisiana, says, p. 51, that in 1786 Governor Miro spent \$300,000.00 in inflaming the Indians against the Americans. Miro undoubtedly shared in Wil-

kinson's ventures. Gilberto Leonard, the Spanish Treasurer, was also interested as in his letter about the last payment to Wilkinson in 1796, for the condemned tobacco, which was the last money Wilkinson ever received from Spain, as shown clearly on his trial, he asked Wilkinson not to let it be known that he was so interested.

To show how prone the Spaniards were to fraud, when it was noised abroad in 1803 that Louisiana had been ceded to France and negotiations for its purchase were on by the United States, the Spanish rulers, knowing that private land titles would probably be respected, attempted to make a large number of antedated grants and back them by fictitious surveys.

In the American State Papers "Public Lands" Vol. 8, pp. 835-6, the United States Commissioners adopted a report:

"That the frequency of these land grants at the close of the Spanish government furnishes strong evidence of fraud * * * * * * * * * These antedated concessions bear date in the most part in 1799 and 1800, for the purpose of covering up matters and preserving fair appearances."

It is not so long since in Louisiana that a law was passed against padding dead head pay rolls. It is a favorite device of the average ward politician to get money in elections for alleged pensionaires, which money he keeps for himself.

The French Prefect Laussat wrote home of Louisiana in 1803, "I will now proceed to show how justice is administered here, which is worse than in Turkey."

United States Consul Clark wrote to Washington in 1803; "All the officers plunder when the opportunity offers, they are all venal from the Governor down." (Howard's Purchase of Louisiana, p. 127).

Havana, Cuba, was the parent colony to which the Louisiana and Pensacola Colonies reported.

In the Ostend Manifesto of October 18th, 1854, the American Commissioners, James Buchanan, N. J. Mason and Pierre Soule, the latter at one time United States Senator from Louisiana, in recommending the purchase of Cuba said:

"The irresponsible agents sent by Spain to govern Cuba, * * * * * are tempted to improve the brief opportunity thus afforded to accumulate fortunes by the basest means."

General Fitzhugh Lee in his History of Cuba's Struggle Against Spain, says (p. 100):

"The Spanish Governor who made the highest record at home was he who wrung from the Cuban the greatest amount of gold * * * * * (p. 107). "Arbitrary governors and swarms of officials, military and political, *were always quartered* on the people with the uniform hope of returning to Spain rich with the spoils of vice."

General Lee says, (p. 118):

"While the Cubans were daily growing poorer the Spanish officials were increasing their private fortunes * Such was the corruption in the collection of duties that in 1887 the Havana Customhouse was cleared at the point of the bayonet by Captain General Marin."

A greater one than Wilkinson has said, "A tree is judged by its fruits." The Talmud says "deeds speak louder than words," and whether in the revolutionary war, the Indian wars, at Sabine River, Natchez, Mobile or New Orleans, Wilkinson in no single act ever wavered in bravely doing his full duty by his country.

Wilkinson to the day of his death was comparatively poor. I saw only recently at Pointe-a-la-Hache the original of an act by which he bought a portion of the present Live Oak Grove Plantation, 25 miles below the city of New Orleans for fourteen hundred dollars, of which he paid only four hundred dollars in cash. This purchase was made from Dufour Freres on December 28th, 1818.

I again repeat that no fair or just man would convict an American General, who uniformly opposed them, on the unsworn and ex parte statements of his Spanish enemies whom he uniformly opposed.

Wilkinson after his acquittal by this court martial was ordered to take charge of and place the defenses of the city of New Orleans in order, which he did.

Martin says, (p. 256):

"On the 12th of February 1813 Congress authorized the President of the United States to occupy and hold that part of West Florida lying west of the River Perdido not then in the possession of the United States. Orders for this purpose were sent to Wilkinson who immediately took measures with Commodore Shaw and the necessary equipment being made the forces employed in this service reached the vicinity of Fort Charlotte between the 7th and 8th of April having on their way dispossessed a Spanish guard on Dauphin Island and intercepted a Spanish transport having on board detachments of artillery with munitions of war. Don Gayetano Perez, who commanded in Fort Charlotte received the first information of Wilkinson's approach from his drums. The place was strong and well supplied with artillery but the garrison consisted of 150 effective men only and was destitute of provisions. Don Gayetano capitulated on the 13th. The garrison was sent to Pensacola. The artillery of the fort was retained; with part of it Wilkinson established a new fort at Mobile Point. He left Colonel Constant in charge of Fort Charlotte and returned to New Orleans, which he left a few days after, being ordered to join the army on the frontiers of Canada."

On his way to Canada he stopped at Washington and conferred with Secretary of War Armstrong. His advice as to the projected campaign was rejected, and the plans of the War Department for an attack on Montreal was adopted.

In the wars of 1812 the blame for the many failures of the American land forces has never been placed where it properly belongs, that is on the War Department of the Madison administration. The war of 1812 was most unpopular in the northern States. William J. Bryan was not more of a peace at any price leader, than was Thomas Jefferson, who permitted the army of the United States to shrink to 3,000 men, and as small as this force was, the arms, ammunition and general equipment under both Jefferson and Madison, were infinitely more meager. Twenty-nine years had elapsed between the end of the revolutionary war and the beginning of the war of 1812, and during this time both Jefferson and Madison had acted on the belief that eternal peace was the heritage of this country.

During twenty years of this time, the British were largely engaged against the greatest general the world had ever known, and both their army and navy had vastly improved. The raw recruits sent against the flower of the British veterans, in the war of 1812, were poorly drilled and trained and were worse equipped and fed.

Secretary of War Armstrong, under President Madison, was utterly inefficient. Moreover the French, who had greatly helped the Americans in the revolutionary war and Spain and Holland that indirectly helped them were not our friends in 1812, and even if they had been, the battle of Waterloo had been in effect fought at Trafalgar, 10 years previous to the latter, the French fleets were destroyed, and England was then, as now, the mistress of the seas. I do not propose to describe General Hull's campaign, surrender and subsequent court martial and condemnation to be shot for cowardice; nor the unsuccessful campaigns of Generals Dearborn, Van Rensselaer and Smyth; nor the cowardly and abject surrender of the city of Washington and the burning of the capitol there by the British, since these are matters of well known history. Nor do I propose to dwell at any length on how Wilkinson was ordered to go to Sacketts Harbor and take charge there of raw levies of undisciplined troops, with which he was subsequently to conduct a winter campaign in Canada. Canada is a far colder section than Valley Forge, where Washington had to seek winter quarters with his army. Winter overcame even Napoleon at Moscow. Wilkinson's army was largely sick, miserably equipped and with hardly any clothing, arms or food; the boats to transport them were insufficient and many of them unseaworthy; the army under General Wade Hampton also refused to join and cooperate with him, as they had originally been ordered to do, and owing to Secretary Armstrong's vacillating policy, they were not forced to obey this order. Added to all this Wilkinson, then

57 years old, had been for years fighting, marching, counter-marching and running boundaries, in the revolutionary wars, in Indian campaigns and in the wilds and swamps of Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana, and his health had broken down, and he not only asked to be relieved of his command but his surgeon also certified to Secretary of War Armstrong that he was ill and there was a necessity of his being relieved, which was not done. Much of the time then Wilkinson was on a sick bed with the army, and the failure of his campaign was due as much to "the infantry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast" as to the failure of General Wade Hampton to cooperate with him, and his lack of supplies. In order to shift the responsibility of the failure of this campaign from the shoulders of his war secretary, charges were preferred by President Madison's orders involving inefficiency and drunkenness while on duty against Major General Wilkinson. After a trial before a court martial lasting nearly two months, on March 21st, 1815, Wilkinson was honorably acquitted on all charges, and President Madison approved the finding of the court martial.

One of these charges against Wilkinson was for drunkenness. In those days many leading men were hard drinkers and before studying the record I was under the impression that Wilkinson, like many Kentuckians, might have been too much addicted to liquor, but after reading the evidence taken on that court martial, which is carefully quoted verbatim in Wilkinson's Memoirs, 3rd Volume, I find that evidence completely disproved this charge, even his attending surgeon testifying that Wilkinson was then abstemious as to liquor and opposed to its use in the army, and the court martial, in its verdict specifically found he was not guilty of each and every charge, including the charge of drunkenness.

Wilkinson at the conclusion of the war in 1815 left the army and came to Louisiana, where he engaged in planting on the Mississippi river below New Orleans, and where his descendants, to the fourth generations, are still to be found. The same lure of the wild that called such Kentuckians as Wallace, Crockett, and Houston, to go over into Texas, tempted Wilkinson to go there himself at an earlier date, about 1823. Lands were to be had then for almost nothing in Texas and he went down to the City of Mexico, that had jurisdiction over Texas, to enter titles to certain of these lands. Like many men, who begin life young, and endure many hardships, he had by that time worn out a naturally strong and rugged constitution, and falling sick died near the City of Mexico in 1825 at 68 years of

age. His grave is situated in the Baptist Cemetery in the City of Mexico.

It may be possible that Wilkinson, who seems to have been somewhat garrulous and sometimes quarrelsome, may have been reckless and indiscreet in his utterances. Edward IV, in his remorse at a brother's murder is made to cry out, "He slew no man, his fault was thought, and yet his punishment was bitter death." Men are not usually condemned for what they think but what they do, and on what he did Wilkinson was an able and true soldier of the republic.

Wilkinson, while living, valued his reputation more than his life. From his scanty means he had published three large volumes in his own defense which are quoted as an authority of his times by a great many authors. The Roman centurion, when on trial, had a right to bare his breast and call on his judges to note the wounds he had suffered for his country's sake. Wilkinson is the only American officer that ever led the forces of this united country from the St. Lawrence to the Sabine River, and whether in the revolution, the Indian wars, or in his campaigns against Spain, he discharged his duties, as his court martial said, "with honor to himself and fidelity to his country."

If some of the writers who love to denounce him in their comfortable studies, could have endured all the hardships and exposures that Wilkinson did on his many campaigns, wars and explorations; if they had risked their lives, as often as he did, against British and Spanish enemies and in trackless wilds against the more cruel Indians, all in services and defense of their country and its people, they would not have been so willing to condemn him.

No public writer has given Wilkinson credit for the principal work of his life.

I have shown that he had hardly set foot in the west, before he began a comprehensive study of the Mississippi Valley. During his travels, by every means in his power, he was obtaining maps and information as to the west. Acting, under his instructions, Nolan, his agent, in his trips through West Louisiana and Texas, brought him maps of these sections. He was prior to 1800 repeatedly consulted as to the geography of the west by Jefferson's administration and by public men, Clark included.

Surveys in Georgia and Mississippi were made by him. Partly owing to his activities the Lewis and Clark surveys were begun in

1803, and continued long after, during his command of the department of the west. Professor Cox says:

"Wilkinson sent to Jefferson in 1804 a 22 page memorial describing the country between the Mississippi and the Rio Grande accompanied by 22 maps."

American Historical Review, Vol. 19, p. 809 (Wilkinson to Dearborn July 13th, 1804, and enclosures).

"It is likely that this information caused the President to modify the instructions already issued to our envoys at Madrid, and *to insist more strongly* on our boundary claims, (same article).

(American State Papers foreign relations, 627 et seq.)

How wonderfully Spain benefited from such work!

In the last edition of the "Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike," by Elliot Coues, that author, Preface VI, says of the Lewis and Clark and Pike expeditions:

"Both expeditions originated with the commander-in-chief of the army (Wilkinson), both were as strictly military in method as in purpose."

All that Pike accomplished "was incidental to Wilkinson's main aim."

On July 30th, 1805, Zebulon M. Pike was detached for this service. The author adds:

"His selection for the duty by Wilkinson was the beginning of all his greatness."

These expeditions of a few men through boundless western wilds among hostile savages and Spaniards showed great courage. Wilkinson's son James was with Pike, and is the first American officer who ever traced the Arkansas river from its source. He reached New Orleans in time to see his mother, Mrs. Ann Wilkinson, the devoted wife of General Wilkinson, die there, February 23rd, 1807.

Pike acted under General Wilkinson and the orders to him from the latter show great skill in engineering and a good knowledge of astronomy. These orders led Pike too close to the Spanish possessions and he was arrested by the Spaniards and taken to Chihuahua, where he arrived April 2nd, 1807. He was subsequently released. In his journal, he says, that he talked with the Spaniards about the Sabine compromise of October, 1806, about which Wilkinson is attacked by Burr historians, some of whom have the temerity to claim that Wilkinson was bribed by Herrera:

"Notwithstanding the vice roy's orders and the commandant General Gov. Cordero's, which were to attack the Americans Herrera had the temerity to enter into the agreement with General Wilkinson *which at present exists relative to the boundaries of our frontier.*

On his return Herrera was received with coolness by his superiors, 'I experienced,' said Herrera, 'the most unhappy period of my life, conscious that I served my country faithfully though I had violated every principle of military duty.' " (Vol. 2, p. 703).

Above is an extract from Pike's diary written at a date shortly after the Sabine compromise.

These surveys of Wilkinson, of Lewis and Clark and of Pike were the first plans laid for the future greatness of this country from the Alleghanies to the Pacific slope, and though in the capital at Washington the picture of "westward the star of Empire takes its way" attracts all visitors, the leader of the wise men who first followed that star in this country has been given no share of the credit for his great work.

But there is another reason why Wilkinson has the right to demand justice at the hands of his people. His only brother, Joseph Wilkinson, was a general in the revolutionary war; his son, my grandfather, Joseph B. Wilkinson, was an officer in the navy and served under Bainbridge in the Mediterranean and under Perry in 1812 on the great lakes; his second son, James Wilkinson, was a captain in the United States army and the latter's son, Theophilus, was an artillery officer in that service; his grandson, Major Robert A. Wilkinson of the Confederate army, was killed at the second battle of Manassas; his great grandson, J. B. Penrose, was later killed in the same war; three other grandsons, including my eldest brother, Jos. B. Wilkinson, Jr., fought on the same side; his eldest son, my grandfather, then nearly 80 years of age, and the latter's son, my father, were both put in prison by the Federals for aiding the South.

I remember a little over 44 years ago, when a lad, I was here charging Kellog's infantry entrenched in this very Cabildo, and two years later I was in the 14th of September fight of 1874. General Wilkinson's great great grandson, Lieutenant Theodore S. Wilkinson, Jr., of the United States Navy was some years ago the honor graduate at Annapolis and wears today a medal on his breast for a gallant charge in the recent capture of Vera Cruz.

For five generations Wilkinson and his descendants have served and suffered for their country's sake and he, and they, deserve something better of that country than slander and calumny.

Wilkinson, like Sir John Moore, has answered the reveille of the great beyond and his dreamless dust rests in a far off land.

But for his country's sake, that he loved, for history's sake that honors truth, I present this imperfect contribution to the memory of an able soldier and a patriotic statesman.

Appendix added by Louisiana Historical Society:

**LETTER FROM THE MAYOR OF NEW ORLEANS TO
BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON***General:*

We have witnessed your conduct at the time of Burr's conspiracy and the proceedings instituted by the District Court have opened our eyes to the treacherous aims of the conspirators, thanks to the energy and zeal that you displayed in the time of trouble, the inhabitants of New Orleans were saved from pillage and the United States from civil war.

Enemies have assailed you with malicious calumnies, that your actions have proved false. They have solicited and obtained from the government the institution of a court martial to prosecute an officer whose only crime was, to have resisted all temptation.

Disappointed to see that the decision of the tribunal has rendered homage to your honour assailed, and has turned on the accusers an eternal shame; those same people are trying today to influence public opinion in preaching in profusion all sorts of ridiculous and false anecdotes that they had published in detail in the *Gazette* pages.

Notwithstanding the proof given by the decision of the tribunal, that, false publication, General, will receive the fate it deserves. It will be looked upon in this territory by all honest men as the monstrous fruit of madness and the last efforts of a foolish ambition that they forever have lost and that opinion will be shared by the citizens from the northern States when they will have learned of the infamous libel and when they see the uninterrupted confidence with which you have been honored by the virtuous Jefferson and his illustrious predecessors.

Please receive, General, the expression of esteem and gratitude of the corporation of New Orleans; be assured that in whatever circumstances it will please divine providence to place you, we will always take the deepest interest in your welfare and happiness.

Signed CHARS. THFS. PORREE.

President Pro tempore and the Members of the Council.

Oct. 4th, 1809.

Translated from the original on file in the Library of Louisiana State Museum.

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JOHN DYMOND, Cabildo, New Orleans.

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BIENVILLE'S SEAL

CONCERNING THIS BIENVILLE NUMBER

As Bienville's genius for good government made him the cornerstone on which the settlement of the great valley of the Mississippi was built, he having made sure France's control of this territory, reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes and from which territory we have carved out many of the present most progressive States of the Federal Union, it would seem most fit that the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans by Bienville should be celebrated by the Louisiana Historical Society.

In this our conferees in France, although engaged in the greatest war ever known really led the way by celebrating on their own part the same event, choosing as they did the date, October 24, 1717, on which the King of France, Louis XIV signed the order making Bienville again Governor of Louisiana, and directing his return to Louisiana to again take up the work of development of this French Empire in the New World.

The Louisiana Historical Society has therefore dedicated this issue, of its quarterly to the memory of Bienville who, the records will show, was the chief factor in the founding of New Orleans, establishing adequate military and police control, pacifying the Indians, securing settlers and developing such agriculture as seemed most fit, and doing all these things with a degree of success unparalleled in American history, and unappreciated until now, two hundred years later when the people of France as well as ourselves look with admiration and appreciation on Bienville's heroic figure as through the records we follow him during the two score years in which he devoted himself to his beloved Louisiana.

In order to emulate here the proposed programme of the proposed celebration in Paris of the founding of New Orleans, the New Orleans bi-centenary Celebration Committee was created to take charge of the whole work of which the Honorable Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans was made chairman, and Mr. T. P. Thompson, Vice-President of the Louisiana Historical Society, was made chairman of the Celebration Committee's Executive Committee.

This committee arranged a preliminary programme to correspond with the date to be utilized in France viz: October 24, 1917, and this was carried out with much success on that date in the City Hall in New Orleans. A brilliant musical program was provided; Mr. Thompson delivered his address on the Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans which appears in this issue; Honorable E. F. Zenoyer de Bourneury, Consul General of France in New Orleans, delivered an address in French and Miss Grace King the well known able and accurate historian of all phases of life in Louisiana, read, "Notes on the Life and Services of Bienville," which appear in this issue.

It was contemplated to hold the Bi-Centennial celebration of the founding of New Orleans on the two hundredth anniversary of the date on which Bienville gave orders to proceed therewith, viz: February 9th, 1918, the ceremonies to include the following two days. The ceremonies were to include a military mass in the cathedral, civic and military parades. With the near approach of the return of the committee sent to France to participate in the celebration there, it was announced that the Bishop of Orleans found it impossible to come to New Orleans at the bi-centennial date, other engagements demanding his presence in France, at that time. Further, the great St. Louis Cathedral at Jackson Square, New Orleans, undergoing imperative repairs these were found impossible of completion at that date. Considering all these facts the New Orleans Bi-Centenary Celebration Committee postponed the proposed celebration for the present. Doubtless the gravity of the war situation in Europe, and the great part that our own country is taking therein were also factors leading to this postponement.

The notable reception our Louisiana delegation received in France is fully recounted in the delegation's official report made upon its return to New Orleans and now published in full in this issue of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*. The enthusiasm with which our Louisiana delegation was received in France, its recognition of the ties that bind our nations together, and which have so bound them from the days of Washington, Lafayette and Rochambeau, still bind them together in these days of Wilson, Pershing, Poincaré, Joffre and Foch. The American army in Europe may enable the French and English to dictate on the banks of the Rhine the terms of any coming peace, just as Rochambeau and Lafayette aided George Washington at Yorktown in 1781 in securing such peace as completed the independence of the American colonies.

To add to our knowledge of Bienville's life in New Orleans Madame Heloise Hulse Cruzat, one of New Orleans' most accomplished French scholars, has made a considerable study of the archives of the period, now in the possession of the Louisiana Historical Society, and from the original data thus secured she has written the article on "New Orleans Under Bienville," which appears in this issue. In her research work many odd items have been secured, and from these she has chosen a number which we now publish under the general title of "Sidelights on Louisiana History." Many quaint items will be found therein and those of us who have lived here most of our lives or all of our lives, will be profoundly impressed with the progress Louisiana has made during these two centuries. Some of the old customs and modes of life remain with us to the present day.

Quebec in the north, and New Orleans in the south, the two extremes of French settlements in America are now much visited by travelers and dealers in antiques have so many orders that it is rumored that here, as in Europe, the dealers are compelled to manufacture antiques to order, as the demand for them is greater than the supply. Medical men will be interested in the experiences of Louisiana doctors of 200 years ago. The penalties inflicted for crimes remind us of the old law of the Hebrews, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. At least the man who sold dog and cat meat as wild game, was put on parade with his crimes placarded on his breast.

It will be found that the Mississippi river levees became at once matters of great interest 200 years ago, and disputes as to the rights of individuals and as to the natural water courses arose at once. What would Bienville, or the people of his day say, could they see the splendid levee system now existing and maintained in the Mississippi Valley.?

. As the Louisiana of those days reached from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes and included mineral stores the search for them was maintained and lead mines were quite a feature.

Slave labor was in vogue and negroes were freely imported and freely sold. Such was the case throughout all the colonies that now comprise the U. S. Federal Union. Some Indians were enslaved and were bought and sold, but that phase of human slavery never developed to any large proportions. The Indians do not seem to have been sufficiently docile for satisfactory enslavement.

An interesting feature of this issue is Dr. Bispham's account of the rivalry of two great branches of the Catholic church for ecclesiastical control of Louisiana. The common motive to the rivals was the religious and educational development of all the people, the natives included. Dr. Bispham is a careful student and writer and his contribution to the literature of this epoch is a valuable one.

Mr. William Kernan Dart, one of our younger historical writers, and one of the Vice-Presidents of our society contributes an essay on "Early episodes in Louisiana History," in which Mr. Dart cites authority and makes no claim to original research but does give us much interesting matter and particularly his account of the Massacres of the settlers by the Natchez Indians. The Indians here in the Western world were fire worshippers, and sun worshippers, apparently similar to the worship of the disciples of Zoroaster or Zarathrushta in ancient Persia. These Natchez Indians seem to have been of a higher grade than the average American Indian, and the data given concerning them in this Bienville number of our quarterly we hope will excite more interest in them.

Miss Nellie Warner Price's (now Mrs. L. R. Graham) contribution of "La Spectacle de la rue St. Pierre," will be found interesting and attractive and suggests what a mine of data lies dormant among us today which requires only earnest and careful work to bring these data out in attractive form and in such form as will lead us to a better appreciation of the work done by Bienville and by his successors during the last two centuries.

We give in this issue a full account of New Orleans' recently adopted official flag. The details of the work of the committee in charge of the many designs shown and of the difficulties found in reaching a final conclusion as to the merits of the designs and the final division of the honors between two designers and the raising of the flag in Jackson Square in January 8, 1918.

An immense quantity of historical material lies in the archives of the historical society not yet classified. In this issue we give some thirty pages of abstracts from these official papers which to those who can read between the lines clearly show the trials and the tortures, as well as the peccadilloes of the men and women who began our civilization in this then new Western world, which civilization has attained its present high level during these two centuries and we believe shows to all the world that we in America have chosen the best lines for national progression.

These papers are all suggestive of the work the Louisiana Historical Society is engaged in. It occupies a field fuller of romance and tragedy, of successes and of failures, of joys secured and of sorrows realized, than does any other section of our country. The Society asks all those interested in any wise in these matters to lend a hand and to aid in the good cause of perpetuating Louisiana's splendid history.

The Cabildo wherein we are housed is itself a constant reminder of the chief events of the last two centuries. The portraits of the chief actors in Louisiana's history for two hundred years are there displayed. The first hundred years reaches from Bienville to Napoleon Bonaparte and Thomas Jefferson, covering the French and Spanish domination, the second, from Thomas Jefferson to Woodrow Wilson covering the acquisition of Louisiana by Thomas Jefferson, covering the wars of 1812, of 1846, the Civil War and now reaching to the European War of which the end is not yet.

Again we may say, lend a hand and make our Louisiana Historical Society the chief of its kind.

JOHN DYMOND, Editor.

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ADDRESS OF HON. E. F. GENOYER DE BOURNETY CONSUL-GENERAL OF FRANCE

Discours de M. E. F. Genoyer:

Monsieur le Maire, Messieurs les Membres du Conseil Municipal et du "Bi-Centennial Committee,"

Mesdames et Messieurs:

Je demande à vous dire quel honneur et quel plaisir c'est pour moi, de me trouver aujourd'hui au milieu de vous dans l'accueillante maison municipale de cette grande belle cité et d'être appelé à prendre la parole devant une aussi sympathique assistance, en des circonstances particulièrement flatteuses pour le représentant à la Nouvelle Orléans du Gouvernement de la République Française.

Mes sentiments de reconnaissance vont tout spécialement vers le premier magistrat de la ville, dont le nom, devenu ici synonyme d'affabilité accueillante invoqué, dans tous les Etats de l'Union aussi bien qu'en Louisiane, l'image prototype de l'administrateur municipal parfait, du Maire énergique, qui, entre mille autres bonnes habitudes, possède celle, bien pratique, de toujours réussir dans ce qu'il entreprend.

Nous savions que l'Honorable Martin Behrman ne laissait jamais échapper une occasion de nous témoigner sa sympathie et la sollicitude dont il est animé à l'égard de notre colonie; mais, aussi habitué que l'on puisse être aux attentions délicates, elles ne laissent pas cependant de toujours vous faire le plus grand plaisir: Quand, acceptant l'invitation qui lui était adressée par la ville de Paris, votre Maire envoya en France une délégation de Néo-Orléanais choisis parmi les notabilités les plus distinguées pour représenter la Municipalité aux fêtes du Bi-Centenaire de la Nouvelle Orléans nous en fûmes certainement très flattés; nous sommes aujourd'hui très touchés de l'heureuse idée qu'il a eue de nous convier à une réunion destinée à marquer la communauté de pensée qui anime nos deux peuples, afin que les cérémonies françaises aient leur écho immédiat sur les rives du Mississippi. Je suis heureux de l'occasion qui m'est offerte de l'en remercier publiquement.

Aujourd'hui, à cette même heure qui nous trouve réunis ici, Paris est en fête, Paris la ville lumière dont l'éclatant prestige moral, artistique, littéraire et scientifique ne peut être terni par les ténèbres de l'heure présente. Paris la capitale intellectuelle du monde, a, pour un jour, dépouillé les vêtements sombres et revêtu ses atours,—

parce qu'aujourd'hui Paris célèbre joyeusement l'anniversaire de sa soeur d'Amérique de cette perle Louisianaise qui fut elle aussi une fille de France, fille chérie et choyée, jamais oubliée bien qu'elle ai dû quitter sa famille d'origine pour entrer dans la grande famille Américaine, unissant ainsi à tout jamais nos deux nations.

Et certes, Messieurs, le Gouvernement et le peuple français ont raison d'ainsi se réjouir. C'est avec fierté que nous, enfants de France, restés dans la vieille patrie d'où nos aieux communs virent partir Bienville et ces pionniers qui avec lui vinrent porter sur les côtes du grand Golfe les bienfaits de la civilisation Européenne, nous pouvons tendre la main à nos cousins américains et admirer l'oeuvre accomplie par les fils des anciens colons. Sur la plage où il y à deux cents ans débarquèrent les compagnons de Jean Baptiste Lemoine, là où ne se trouvaient alors que dunes de sable et marais, l'industrie humaine, la persévérance et l'intelligence d'un peuple jeune et énergique ont fait naître une ville que est devenue la métropole du Sud de l'Union et une des cités les plus actives et prospères du monde. . . . A l'heure de son quadruple jubilé, la Nouvelle Orléans se doit de relever orgueilleusement sa velle tête de puissante créole, car elle a le droit d'être fière de chacune des deux cents années de son existence, années toujours bien employées puisqu'il nous est permis d'admirer aujourd'hui le merveilleux résultat de ses efforts: cette belle et riche cité si commerçante et prospère, allant toujours de l'avant, grâce à l'impulsion que lui donne sans cesse l'administration municipale actuelle si énergique et avisée.

Mais, Mesdames et Messieurs, en ce jour, grâce aux circonstances héroïques des années tragiques que nous vivons, la célébration parisienne sort des limites tout d'abord assignées et devient nous manifestation nationale. Certes, en tout temps, il nous aurait été précieux à nous autres Français de France de fêter la Nouvelle Orleans, son Bi-Centenaire, sa prospérité actuelle et ses touchants souvenirs; mais, l'aurions nous fait cependant avec autant d'enthousiasme et d'émotion reconnaissante, si, derrière la députation civile que vous nous avez envoyée, n'apparaissaient les uniformes kakis des légions américaines? . Ils sont venus vos fiers jeunes hommes; les voyez-vous débarquer en France, prouvant à l'univers attentif que la démocratie du Nouveau Monde ne pouvait pas rester sourde à l'appel des défenseurs du bon droit et de la justice? Ils arrivent sur la terre gauloise, conscients de leur rôle glorieux, prêts à donner leurs vies pour que la civilisation latine qui leur fut apportée il y à deux siècles par le sieur de Bienville ne périsse pas à sa source même. Ils savent que sur le champ d'honneur toutes les dettes d'amour et de gratitude seront payées, et leur cœur frémit à l'unisson de tous les coeurs français, alors qu'en l'honneur des amis de toujours et des nouveaux alliés la France entière raisonne d'un joyeux vivat.

Montrons que nous les comprenons, que nous sommes dignes des sacrifices qu'ils se préparent à accomplir, en unissant les deux grades démocraties dont nous sommes si fiers d'être les enfants dans le même cri de nos poitrines et de nos coeurs:

"Vive l'Amérique, Vive la France."

"Honorable Mayor, Members of the Bi-Centennial Committee,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

"I wish to express the great honor and great pleasure it is for me to be present today in the municipal building of this great and beautiful city and to be requested to speak before such a sympathetic assembly on the occasion of circumstances particularly flattering for the government's representative of the French republic in New Orleans. I wish to extend, very particularly, expressions of gratitude to the first magistrate of the city whose name, synonymous of great affability, has acquired in all the States of the Union, as well as in Louisiana, the prototype picture of the per-

fect, municipal administrator, the energetic Mayor who, with a thousand other good qualities, possesses the practical one of being always successful in everything he undertakes.

"We all know that the Honorable Martin Behrman never overlooked the least opportunity to express the sympathy and solicitude which animate him in regard to our colony. But, as accustomed as we can be to delicate and thoughtful attention, they never fail, however, to arouse, always the greatest pleasure. When accepting the invitation which was addressed to him by the City of Paris, your Mayor sent to France, a delegation of New Orleanians chosen from among the most distinguished and notable men to represent the municipality at the celebration of the Bi-Centennial of New Orleans, we were certainly most highly flattered.

"We are, today, deeply touched by the happy idea he had to invite us to a reunion destined to express our communion of thoughts, which animates the people of our two nations so that the French celebration would have a spontaneous echo on the banks of the great Mississippi. I am happy of the opportunity which is afforded me to thank him publicly.

"Today, at the same hour at which we are here united, Paris is rejoicing. Paris, the luminous city, with its brilliant moral, artistic, literary and scientific prestige, cannot be tarnished by the circumstances of the present hour. Paris, the intellectual capital of the world, has for this day discarded her somber vestments and has donned her brilliant attire. Paris is triumphantly celebrating the anniversary of her sister of America, of the Louisianian pearl which was also a daughter of France, a cherished and most beloved daughter never forgotten, although she was separated from her original family to enter in the great American family, thus uniting forever our two nations.

"And indeed, gentlemen of the government, the French people have a right to rejoice; it is with pride that we, natives of France left in the mother land descendants of the compatriots of Bienville and of the pioneers who with him, came and brought on the coast of the great gulf, the benefits of the European civilization, we can extend the hand to our American cousins and admire the work accomplished by the sons of the ancient colonists, on the bank on which 200 years ago, landed Jean Baptiste Lemoine; there where nothing could be found but sand and marshes. The human industry, the perseverance and the intelligence of a people, young and energetic, have promoted the growth of a city which is now the metropolis of the South of the Union and one of the most active and most prosperous cities of the world.

"At the hour of her double jubilee, New Orleans can raise proudly her beautiful head because she has the right to be proud of each of the 200 years of her existence, years always well employed, and we are permitted to admire today, the marvelous results of her efforts—that beautiful, bountiful and rich city so commercial and prosperous, always going forward, due to the impulsion which is incessantly given her by the triumphal administration, so wise and so energetic.

"But, ladies and gentlemen, due on this day to the heroic circumstances of the tragic years we are living, the Parisian celebration leaves, at first, the limits assigned and becomes a national manifestation. Certainly at all times it would have been most precious for us—Frenchmen of France—to celebrate the founding of New Orleans, her Bi-Centennial, her actual prosperity and her touching souvenirs, however, would we have done so, with so much enthusiasm and gratifying emotion if, beyond the civil delegation you have sent, did not appear the khaki uniform of the American Legion?

"They have arrived—your proud young men. Do you see them landing in France, giving to the attentive universe that the democracy of the new world could not remain dumb at the appeal of Justice? They arrived on the Gaulian Land, and conscious of this glorious role, ready to give their lives that the Latin civilization which was brought to them two centuries ago by Sieur de Bienville does not perish at its source; they know that on the battlefield of honor, all the debts of love and gratitude will be said and their hearts beat in unison with all the hearts of France. Now, in honor of her friends, forever, and of the new allies, France in its entirety is jubilant and rejoicing today.

"Let us prove that we are worthy of the great sacrifice they are preparing to accomplish in uniting the two democracies of which we are so proud to be the children—with the same feelings in our hearts and in our whole beings let us exclaim:

"Vive America; Vive la France."

Delivered in French and translated by Mrs. Victoria Mermillod Jones.



BI-CENTENNIAL OF NEW ORLEANS
OCTOBER 24, 1917.

By T. P. Thompson.

*(Delivered by him at the Bi-centennial meeting, New Orleans,
October 24, 1917.)*

It would seem that the Creator of this world made instinct the ultimate and logical Western trend of its population. He started its peopling in Asia, and with this plan of their eventual migration Westward, how necessary it was that there should be formed for man's last assembling place, a habitat of nature's best resources.

This objective of the strongest and the proven was located in a temperate zone, and a great belt of varied soil with proper topography was provided, and kept virgin for the eventual occupancy of God's fittest.

Thus was wonderfully fashioned the great basin of the Western Continent, and in charge of it, temporarily, were placed the original foresters,—a simple people,—the Indians,—to await the slow grinding of God's mills, until the final development of the earth's most finished product,—man,—into a Democracy.

Many charts and maps were drawn during the first three hundred years following the discovery by Columbus of this new Western world, showing the location of its natives and the distribution as they came, of these new people who pioneered from Europe.

When time was at last ripe, and the spirit of seventy-six sprang into existence, there was, as yet, but a narrow strip of what is now known as Atlantic seaboard peopled by whites. Plantations of unknown depths, reaching back into dark forests, where the red man awaited to be relieved of his curatorship; to be pushed back and segregated into selected reservations. Today they yet remain with us, and are witnesses to the care and providential disposition which the Merciful Father ordained, as a means by which there should be delivered to this best beloved and most favored sons, this paradise of plenty,—the Mississippi Valley,—held long years for Democracy's triumphant habitat during the final millenium, before our last reckoning and reward.

"Armageddon! One thousand years of Peace! then Heaven, all for a perfected people." Thus reads the Scriptures. Our interpretation would take it that the great Western Valley of the Mighty

Mississippi is the last training ground of God's chosen,—the heart of a world's Democracy!

It has been the part of Bienville and his successors who had charge of the mouth of the Mississippi river, to render a peculiar service to the perfected American nation, as we know it today.

The original French settlers of Louisiana were the pioneers princeps of this Southern Gateway. They "builded better than they knew,"—they served, and today we must honor them,—their bravery and loyalty to duty as they conceived it, for it was their indomitable courage and tenacity which enabled them to maintain organization, to fight disease, starvation, and the Indian, as well as jealous Europeans, who would, but for them, have usurped and colonized for their own kings this fair valley.

We may not say that the early French knew that they were furthering the cause of liberty and democracy while they held to this fair valley. From LaSalle, on through Iberville and Bienville to Aubrey,—from 1682 to 1769, but the strike made in 1769 by liberty loving de Noyan and others, indicated that Freedom's air was being scented, soon to be demonstrated at Mecklenburg and Lexington by pioneers of democracy, more numerous and mature.

We desire today to draw attention to the service rendered our present nation of 100,000,000 freemen, by those whom Providence originally had placed in this delta, and who maintained for nearly one hundred years, the guardianship of this great South Gate of the future American Republic.

The United States could not today be a power of the first-class, if it had not also been for France and Frenchmen, all moving according to their lights towards the same goal, mankind's freedom: Marquette, LaSalle, Tonty, Iberville, Bienville, Louis XIV, the Duke of Orleans, Louis XV, Napoleon, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and many more, did their part in the evolution and logical working-out process, which today is concreted into the American nation.

DeTocqueville, nearly a hundred years ago, predicted the future of Louisiana, saying: "The Valley of the Mississippi is, upon the whole, the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode," a prophecy by a French sociologist and historian, who seems to have foreseen the day of democracy's championship, as expressed by Woodrow Wilson, the student of history, who now leads America.

The Spanish were the original discoverers of the River,—but theirs was a search for gold, and it remained for the Jesuit Missionary, Marquette, and Joliet, the merchant, to begin things in 1672, with their pioneer journey to the mouth of the Arkansas. LaSalle was

commissioned by France, ten years later, to take possession and to build forts for the protection of Louisiana, which he had named in honor of Louis XIV and Anne of Austria.

Then came the redoubtable Lemoyne brothers, Iberville and Bienville,—who colonized. His elder brothers having died, it was Bienville's part to carry on for France this Western province, and when challenged by Captain Barr and Coxe of Carolina on the waters of the Mississippi, his already located fort, and his authoritative voice in response, quieted for the time the first menace to the infant settlement of the lower valley.

Two hundred years ago, today, in Paris, there met the Western Company, headed by John Law, recently organized to exploit the trade and colonization of the Province of Louisiana, which had been claimed for the Crown of France by LaSalle thirty-five years before. Iberville had been sent in 1698 to colonize and set up government, and his successors had tried several sites for a capital: Dauphin Island, Mobile and Biloxi.

A letter was read at this meeting by D'Artaguette. It was from the faithful Bienville, and it told of a crescent bend in the Father of Waters, where Lake Ponchartrain almost reached the river through bayou St. John, a place about halfway by water between Mobile and Natchez, recently located, easy of access, and safe from tidal wave and hurricane.

Bienville had, by seventeen years of residence, learned intimately the country, and he asked authority to set up the seat of government on the Mississippi river.

His advice was acted upon, and a Cross of St. Louis sent him with the Commission of Governor-General of Louisiana. These honors he received on February 9th, 1718,—the bi-centenary of which we are shortly to celebrate.

The Province of Louisiana comprised then all terrain drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. This meant a stretch of country from Lake Chataqua to Yellowstone Park, larger than France and continental Europe, today holding a population of some sixty million people, the purest of Americans, democracy's most stalwart manhood.

Bienville was authorized by the John Law Company to manage its interest, and the Regent of France commissioned him Governor of the Province,—all on this day, two hundred years ago, in Paris. The Duke of Orleans, then in control, gave great credit to the indefatigable Bienville, and Bienville, in February following, named the infant capital in honor of his house, "Orleans." This appellation,

prefixed by "Nouvelle," gives it a title of great significance, and an intimate pseudonym we like is: "Paris of America." We have ever tried to live up to this name with our Opera and Carnival, our cuisine and shops, and our seriously gay population, who combine, consistently, industry with the pleasure of living, who go to church and who give staunch support today to our great Republic. Loyal and liberty loving, under one—the only Flag—yet fond of traditions that lead back to France, to which our hearts yearn in sympathy this day.

Bienville located New Orleans, gave the name and laid out the Vieux Carré. He governed benignly and in a most fatherly way. He asked that a school faculty be sent over, also nurses for a hospital. He invited these noble ladies—the Ursulines—to occupy his house while their Convent was being built, a knightly offer, which they accepted, he moving to smaller quarters for the three years involved. Later, that the country might be made social, as well as civil, he asked France to send over wives for his colonists. That the menace of Indians should not stop this progress, he campaigned against the Natchez in several battles, conquering and dispersing this warlike tribe, and pushing on to the Chickasaw nation, helping in the French Indian wars, and doing continuous and valiant service in the peopling of the Mississippi Valley, also in the promotion of friendly relations with the Choctaws; not forgetting to placate and to establish proper trade relations with our Spanish neighbors. In short, Bienville was a business man, a diplomat, a Christian gentleman combined, and a soldier in this country for fifty-six years. A long active life time, this, with all of his thought and energy directed towards the care of his early settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi. He lived to see the fruition of his plans and the proper organization of colonial government, with peaceful conditions established with Indian and Spaniard, all now ready for the great changes which the settlement of the upper valley was bringing, and the wonderful river traffic that was shortly to begin, and which soon made New Orleans a great world's port.

The flat boat commerce was just beginning to appear when Bienville retired to France because of increasing age. Louisiana was shortly after his departure transferred to Spain. This was in 1763. The people did not desire to change flags. They stood for either France or Democracy. An earnest appeal was made to Bienville, whl was now in Paris.

Le Moyne's best work was to seek the King and to beg to secure from harm his faithful subjects in Louisiana. To his last day, full of faith in New Orleans, this founder and builder of the Crescent City,

expressed his fatherly love and fidelity to our small, but nobly conceived capital.

The first blood of martyrdom to freedom's cause in America, happened as a consequence of the King's failure to take Bienville's advice. The Spanish came and our people rebelled, and the spirit of Democracy in America had its embryo suggestion here at the mouth of the Mississippi.

The Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans by Bienville will be celebrated in February next in our city.



BI-CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION IN PARIS OF THE FOUNDING OF NEW ORLEANS.

*(In one of the Official Municipal Bulletins of the City of Paris,
November 11, 1917.)*

Reception at the City Hall of Paris of the New Orleans Representatives.

The municipality received at the City Hall at 3 p. m. on the 26th day of October, 1917, the Hon. André Lafargue, chairman of the delegation from New Orleans and his colleagues: General Behan, and Messrs. Vergnolle and Paul Villere, who had come to Paris for the celebration of the Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans.

Mr. Frazier, Secretary of the United States Embassy, representing His Excellency, Ambassador Sharp, (who was ill).

General Allaire, representing General Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the American troops in France.

Mr. Hanotaux, former minister, President of the French-American Committee.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant, Senator.

Commander Mahan, military attachee of the United States Embassy.

Mr. Hovelaque, President of the Bi-centennial committee of the founding of New Orleans.

Professor Baldwin.

Mr. B. J. Shoninger, former President of the American Chamber of Commerce, Paris.

Mr. Lawrence V. Bennet, President of the American Club of Paris.

Mr. Frederick Allen, American Marine Lieutenant.

Mr. Vidal de la Blache, member of the Institute.

Mr. Gaston Deschamps.

Mr. le Vicomte d'Avenel.

Mr. John Labusquiere, former Municipal Councillor of Paris, Director of the German and the Bernard Palissy schools.

Mr. Abel Lafleur, author of the medal which was to be offered to the city of Paris by the New Orleans Municipality.

Mr. Jaray, director of the France-American Review.

These personages on their arrival at the City Hall, were led to the cabinet of the President of the Municipal Council, where they were received by:

Mr. Ambroise Rendu, vice-president of the Municipal Council, replacing President Adrien Mithouard (who was ill.)

Mr. Delanney, Prefect of the Seine.

Mr. Hudelo, Prefect of Police.

Mr. Deslandes, President of the General Council.

Messrs. Lalon, Pointel, Fiancette, secretaries of the Municipal Council.

Messrs. Ernest Gay, Mayer, Froment-Meurice, Delavenne, vice-presidents of the General Council.

Messrs. Fontaine, Aucoc, Delpech, Loyan, secretaries of the General Council.

Mr. Andre Gent, syndic of both Councils.

Messrs. Achille, Alpy, d'Andigne, Chausse, Cherioux, Dausset, Deville, Dherbecourt, Henaffe, Lallement, Lamprie, Le Corbeiller, Le Menuet, Levec, Paris, Peuch, Ranvier, Rebeillard, Municipal Councillors.

Messrs. Bachelet, Guibourg, Marin, Vandrin, General Councillors. The directors of the Prefecture of Police; Colonel Lanty, commanding the legion of the Republican Guard.

The representatives of the municipal press after apposing their signature in the Golden Book, and the personages present, preceded by the ushers of the Municipal Council, and accompanied by the representatives of the municipality of Paris went to the salon des Lettres, Sciences et Arts, where the following addresses were delivered.

Address by Mr. Ambroise Rendu, vice-president of the Municipal Council:

Gentlemen:

My first words must voice regret. The Ambassador of the United States, who had promised to honor this reunion with his presence is unfortunately absent, kept away by sickness, which we all hope will be of short duration. I must then, before tendering my thanks and homage to the New Orleans Delegation, express in the name of all, the regret for Ambassador's absence.

Gentlemen Delegates:

Orleans 1429, New Orleans 1718!

These names and these dates, at an interval of three centuries, are inscribed in our annals and in our hearts.

Before the towers of Orleans, just as Dunois had sounded the retreat Jeanne cried out: "The banner touches the wall. Bold and enter, all is ours." And never was flock of birds seen to alight more swiftly in a thicket than these men went up the said bulwarks.

These few lines of the chronicler show the return of fortune which was to restore to France her territory and her rank.

"The year one thousand four hundred and twenty-nine," writes Christine de Pisan, "the sun shone again."

And it was the sun again rising for France, when her children, a swarm vigorous and bold, went to found beyond the Atlantic, a new "Orleans."

The race had grown, its power was established by as many exploits as masterpieces and it overflowed on the New World.

Bienville, the founder of the young city, placed it south of St. Louis, another French town on the Mississippi. Do I need to say what she is today? But can we not also affirm that the entry of the Americans in the arena, in 1917, made new stars shine in our darkened sky? With them fortune returned to us, and many victories demonstrate that French blood is still warm and generous.

Of this you are judges, gentlemen delegates from New Orleans, and I may greet you as fellow citizens who reenter their mother-country.

You are also the offspring of that race of brave men who never despaired even in the sombre days of history and who have embellished it with the superb pages which are the marvel of the world.

Facing that past common to us both we may be proud of those great ancestors who freed the invaded soil with Jeanne d'Arc, who went to plant the banner of France in far and immense regions hardly wrenched from savage nations; who sixty years later, with Montcalm, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and so many others, brought their sword to liberate the United States.

Without overpride can we not declare that our country has always been the champion of great causes, as well during the war of a hundred years as during the struggles for American independence, and in the sublime epopee which lasts since three years. (Applause.)

Be also proud, gentlemen, of this country from which you issue and who welcomed your soldiers as brothers too long separated. Our union is the token of our success: it insures the triumph of right and liberty now as in times past.

You have said it in your letter of introduction and I cannot do better than copy it:

"Our delegation will consider it a pleasure and an honor to wait on you upon our arrival in Paris. We are commissioned by His Honor, the Mayor, to tell you how much New Orleans finds the moment propitious to affirm once more the lofty and legitimate pride it feels in reason of its French origin. As a matter of course New Orleans cannot lose sight of the fact that what constitutes the subtle charm and special culture of New Orleans comes to her from France, from that France who more than ever astonishes the whole world, amazes and dazzles it by its spirit of valiance and sacrifice. What thanks we owe you! My dear Colleagues, allow me to speak of our guests, the New Orleans delegates, who have been well chosen. They represent every branch of municipal activity.

On this score they will be good advisers and we shall be pleased to show them everything beautiful and useful made in our great city.

Besides, what need have they of guides? Here, as in their home, the streets, and avenues bear familiar names: Chartres, Royale, Dauphine, Dumaine, LaHarpe, Laperouse, Lafayette, les Champs Elysees.

In Paris they are in their beautiful city, as we too would feel at home in theirs if the war did not prevent our making plans and our responding to their most cordial invitation.

I now wish to mention this detail which will not escape our amiable and sagacious visitors: Paris is established on a bend of the Seine and this position gives it quays and ports. New Orleans was placed by its ingenious founder on the crescent of the Mississippi, from this its prodigious development; and there, as well as here, it is French they speak. Perhaps our cousins of Louisiana have preserved, as in Canada, the strong outlines of the language of the 17th century which has altered much in the mother-country.

Besides what signify shades when the same blood makes their hearts beat. We speak the same language since we have the same thoughts and the same ideal. (Good! Good!)

Gentlemen delegates: In our city you are as in your own home. Paris recognizes you as its own, and I am more proud than I can say to have been chosen as the interpreter of the day. Be assured that I very imperfectly express our affectionate feelings. (Applause.)

Visit then the industrious and fecund hive of which the city hall is the centre of attraction. Municipal life never slackens, and in the worst days it was not removed.

It remains but to welcome you and to make you visit the city hall, in the absence of the President, whom fatigue has temporarily kept away, and whose echo I am.

The entire municipal council, the conscript fathers, as well as the youth held at the front, all unite with me in fraternally holding out our hands. How can we best thank you for your visit and the voyage which you have not feared to undertake at the risk of so much fatigue and real dangers. Such testimonies are never forgotten and are the seal of an enduring friendship, and I shall add a definite alliance between us.

Gentlemen of New Orleans, once more, "Thank You." (Applause.)

Address by Mr. Delaney, Prefect of the Seine:

Gentlemen:

Welcome to the City Hall of Paris.

We have already received from your great country a thousand proofs of sympathy, this one touches us more intimately perhaps. It comes from a city which bears the name of an old provincial metropolis of ours; our language resounds in your streets and in your public places, and we do not ignore the fact that among you there are hearts beating for France, not as a friend, but as a venerated ancestor. Yes our friendship is delicate and profound and it draws its strength as much from the past as from the present, reciprocal esteem enriches and fosters it, but what makes it dear and ennobles it rests on cult of memory. (Applause.)

We then celebrate with pride common to both the origin of your beautiful and powerful city, which under a sky radiant with light and joy, unites the exuberance of the tropics and the graces of cities of the sun to the most and modern and methodical organization, harmoniously combining the most different civilizations, taking from the Latin world its imagination and its vivacity and retaining the Anglo-Saxon coolness, perseverance and precision; and we must also commemorate the creativeness of the first pioneers from France who laid the base of the solid edifice, whose valiant energy, initiative spirit, and profound faith in the future we love to recall. (Good! Good!)

The immense and mysterious solitudes of Louisiana, the grand and majestic course of the Mississippi brought to their minds the thought of a marvelous future. What imagination, however, could have risen to the foresight of actual reality.

What our pioneers could not foresee is the entire American continent fecundated, one hundred million free men addicted, under just laws, to perfecting life, a hundred prodigious cities bustling with activity, the initiative spirit always on the alert, the countless instances of invention and daring held up to the admiration of the world, brilliant, intellectual culture united to material prosperity, in fine, gentlemen, an admirable consciousness of the moral solidarity of humanity in that great people standing for the defense of right. (Applause.)

New world! Gentlemen, we hold that word as a symbol. A day will come, perhaps soon, when that name will no longer be given to your continent which took the best from the ancient and left her, alas, the sadness of sanguinary strife. The new world! Our united soldiers already descry it beyond the trenches: it is concord delivered from evil powers and founded on respect for eternal justice."

Address by Mr. Hudelo, Prefect of Police:

Gentlemen:

But a few months have elapsed since the day that the United States, by President Wilson's voice, announced to the world that it entered the ranks of the defenders of right and liberty. We have already experienced how much strength and grandeur such a resolution carried with it; for this war formidable by the number of men therein engaged, and by the power of the material for combat, this war was to carry down to history the spectacle of a nation sending beyond the sea citizens coldly resolute, conscious of their duty towards humanity, and crossing thousands and thousands of kilometers over the Atlantic to become the guardians of the fire which shed its light on free nations: You have come with the proud qualities of your race, your lungs filled with the pure air of your plains, your mind sustained by the practical and useful formulas of your cities, with hardened muscles and ardent hearts. You have come to us who were never more deserving of the name of old world, since there was still in this world a people sufficiently attached to the forms of the first centuries to halt the flowery bloom of a civilization of peace under hatred, by fire and blood.

Your General in Chief, your officers, your soldiers have met a vibrant welcome in Paris. They traversed the city between two living hedges; they received acclamation in which mingled the gloved hand of the woman of the world, the laugh of the "musette," and the reflection of the "gavroche." In our city veiled by the shadow of mourning they threw flowers to your fellow citizens, and fathers, mothers, and children who had made the most bitter sacrifice to their country, found at the passing of the American troops a smile of gratitude and hope. (Applause.)

This beautiful attitude of our Parisian crowd, so prompt to give itself to those it loves, will not astonish you, gentlemen, who on the American continent continue the traditions of our Latin soil. Does not your presence here today prove this?

It did not suffice that you sent soldiers, expression of the will to vanquish the enemy's pretensions of conquest; you were to bring fresh assurance of the fraternity of feelings which animate the two republics, at a time when our banners are to mingle on the same battle field. To this assurance you have moreover added the touching affirmation of faithful remembrance of the French soil kept through two centuries by the descendants of those, who with Jean de Bienville, created the free city of New Orleans.

Everything here in Paris should assure you that you are at home. Our clasped hands, our looks comprehending each other, and that delicate emotion from which is born the certitude of mutual affection, tell you better than words how cordial and sincere our welcome is.

There is not even a promenade in our dear Paris which will not produce the illusion that you have not crossed the ocean; our constructions recall your houses, our crowd is like yours, active, varied and curious, its women supple and adorned with native elegance, its men of alert and disengaged manner, with that indefinable harmony of a people enamored of its work and liberty.

Let me then believe, evoking the perennial aspect of the present hour, that in the lives of nations there are monuments more lasting than cities, perpetuated through the centuries and before which history halts a moment to rest from bloody struggles and war devastations. These monuments are foundation stones laid by citizens united by the same origin, by feelings which spring from kindred hearts, and whose thoughts, aspirations and desires mingle in an individual soul. You have come today, leaving the banks of your great luminous river to those of the more modest Seine to raise one of these grand monuments. The anniversary of the founding of your city will be in the coming centuries the day when Paris and New Orleans, their eyes turned to the battle front, vibrating with the same hopes, allied for the same destinies, founded the monument of an infinite and fraternal friendship. (Applause.)

Address by Mr. Deslandres, President of the General Council:

Gentlemen:

Allow me at the outset to thank my excellent colleague, the President of the Municipal Council, for having invited me to this festival, thus giving the population of the Seine the occasion to express through me its welcome and its gratitude for the step you have taken, and which from present events borrows a special signification.

In the hour that France undergoes such bitter trials every sign of affection, every word of comfort, every manifestation of solidarity cannot fail to touch us deeply; but we are especially moved by the mission you fulfil. We recognize ourselves in you; we are of the same race, we have the same traditions, many among you still speak our language, our intellectual formation is identical; we are two nations of common origin, bearing in our minds the same ideal. You, like us, have faithfully preserved the cult of remembrance. For you, and for your half-brothers the Canadians, beautiful France has ever remained the old country. Thence the ardent demonstrations of friendship of which your visit has been the auspicious occasion. (Good! Good!)

If we greet in you, gentlemen, the representatives of a great city with rights to our fraternal affection, we bow down before the citizens of free America, whose intervention into the conflict which divides the world we celebrated a few months ago. It brought to our cause which is that of right the sanction of the greatest and most complete of all the democracies which have ever existed. (Approbation.)

That this democracy, essentially pacific, should stand at our side in the struggle which for over three years has deluged the world in blood is a matter of astonishment for those who recall the counsels given by Washington to his fellow citizens in a letter which is as the political testament of that great man: "Europe has certain interests which are special to her and have no reference or a very indirect reference to us. It must then find itself frequently entangled in quarrels to which we are naturally strangers, to attach ourselves by artificial links to the vicissitudes of her—of her politics, to enter into the different combinations of her friendships and her animosities, and to take part in the struggles resulting thereof would be to act imprudently."

Those do not understand the nature of the drama which is approaching its end. Actually there is no question of a war similar to those of which history offer

so many examples, struggles in the interest of dynasties for satisfaction of appetites or rancors.

Repeating President Wilson's forcible words neutrality is no longer possible nor desirable, when the world's peace and liberty of nations is menaced. It is to safeguard the heritage of humanity itself that the United States, without spirit of conquest, without its own interests being directly threatened has thrown in the balance the weight of its sword. (Applause.)

We can from this moment assert that victory is ineluctable. I go further, gentlemen, the consequences of this victory will be incomputable, and we can hope that from it will come, reposing on a basis more solid than brass, the society of nations, the association of free peoples who alone can assure the world of peaceful morrows.

Let not our beautiful dream of universal concord be treated as utopian. The example of the United States proves that the creation of this confederation of nations is in the realm of possibilities.

At the end of the seventeenth century, when on the continent, absolute royalty was triumphant over feudal anarchy, when in the bosom of brilliant and corrupted Europe the very idea of the rights of man was slighted, misunderstood were the principles on which rested modern constitutions, these same principles were proclaimed in the new world and were becoming the future symbol of a great people. (Good! Good!)

The reason is that the colonies, be they of English or of French origin, contained the germs of complete democracy. If the pilgrims differed from each other on many points, they had however common traits and they were in a situation almost analogous. The mighty and the happy ones are rarely those who seek exile and poverty, and misfortune is a sure guarantee of equality.

Accord was then possible between the divers States founded in similar conditions, and it is a fact that whatever differences that climate, origin and institutions may have put between the ninety-five million men who actually trod the soil of the United States, the agreement they concluded subsists in its entirety.

The reason is that man has ideas and sentiments besides material interests. For a confederation to be able to pretend to a long life there must be between its members more community of ideals than community of interests.

Well, when Germany, awakened from its bloody dream, will have demanded an account from those governing the ruins it has accumulated, when it shall have overthrown the autocracy which still dominates there, but under which yoke it begins to grow restless, an accord will be possible between people equally free, equally desirous of tasting the benefits of a just and enduring peace. (Good!)

Then the plague of war will be definitely distanced, the spirit of conquest will have lived and the nations after having dressed their wounds may prepare a better future and take up their march towards light and truth. (Applause.)

Address by the Honorable André Lafargue, Chairman of the New Orleans delegation:

*Sir, President of the Municipal Council, Gentlemen Prefects,
Municipal Councillors and Gentlemen:*

In the name of Hon. Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans; of the Municipal Council of that city, and of four hundred thousand inhabitants who constitute the sympathetic population whose generous hearts and eminently French minds, (precious talismans), undoubtedly went forth to us during the perilous crossing

we have just made, we lay before you in this day of great civic commemoration an homage of unbounded admiration and respectful friendship. (Applause.)

It is the greeting of the loved daughter to the tender mother in the hour of trial and sacrifice; it is the greeting that the New Orleanians since the outset of this great conflict have addressed from their hearts and minds to the French people. It is the homage of the descendants of the proud and hardy pioneers, who at the price of sacrifices and numberless and most incredible traits of heroism, two hundred years ago, in a region peopled with hostile savages, founded this ancient colony bearing the sweet name of "Louisiana," which of itself when it is pronounced spontaneously evokes such an illustrious past of French colonization that history has never recorded the like. In fine it is the homage of a whole population whose traditions and customs are indissolubly linked to those of your country, and who, though justly proud of being part of the great republic of the United States, cannot lose sight of what it owes to France, to its people, to French genius, and especially the gratitude incumbent on it to the city of Light, to Paris, the brain of the world, who conceived and executed in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the establishment and definite foundation of the great city my colleagues and myself have the honor to represent on this solemn occasion. (Good! Good!)

And never, I assure you, homage was conveyed and tendered with more sincere affection, loyalty and enthusiasm, for do we not count as yours since more than two centuries?

When William the cursed, William the infamous, William the execrated of nations present and to come, in a fit of diabolic pride had unchained the tempest of iron and fire which fell upon the peaceful French nation and her allies, my fellow-countrymen, the New Orleanians, notwithstanding the presidential order given them to preserve a neutral and impartial attitude towards the belligerents, cried to you, across the seas, that they were with you body and soul, that they shared your anguish and your mourning as well as your glories and your triumphs. (Applause.)

The voice of the descendants of Bienville, d'Iberville, Noyan, Marquis, Milhet, Villere and Doucet, of all those whose names figure in flaming characters in the history of Louisiana must have been heard in your midst above the clash of arms and the gigantic struggle in which you are engaged.

Instinctively, though invisibly, you must have felt in France that we were truly with you and that our national duty solely, deterred us from giving you the physical and more tangible proof of our deep attachment and traditional loyalty. (Applause.)

With Paris, we have lived through the hours of anguish and of feverish preparations which preceded the battle of the Marne and when the Prussian soldiery impudent and insolent was advancing on your fair city, determined to profane and soil it, like the heroic Alsatian, whose image adorns your beautiful garden, of the Tuilleries, we answered the enemies who rejoiced beforehand. "Even so!" yes, "even so." said we. Even if the barbarous Teutons reduced to silence the exterior line of fortifications which surround Paris; even if the last defenses were carried by assault, even if the enemy penetrated almost into the heart of your city; even if the city had fallen into the brutal and sacrilegious hands of the Kaiser's hordes, the struggle would not be over. Each city, each hamlet of France would have to be taken. They would have to kill the last Frenchman on that soil of Gaul, watered from end to end by the generous blood of her heroic children, before the enemy dared to declare itself the victor. "And even then," we would add, "victory would not be won, for the descendants of the French throughout the world, and all those who have inherited the

male energy and greatness of soul of the French people would rise fierce and implacable and in thundering tones would say to the conqueror, barring his way: "Even so."

We knew that Paris would prove equal to the trial, and that the cause defended by the French armies was so beautiful, so grand, so sublime and so truly that of right and civilization, that final victory would not remain uncertain and that your old historic city would not fall into the enemy's hands.

We knew in those early days of September, 1914, that the sun of Austerlitz would shine once more in all its glory on France and on its capital, and gild again the dome of the edifice in which He sleeps his last sleep on the banks of the Seine, who once dictated his laws to the Prussians and to the Austrians. (Very Good! Very good!)

Our confidence was more than justified for today the sun of Austerlitz has become that of the Marne, the greatest victory that democracy has ever gained over autocracy and tyranny. (Applause.)

Paris during this time was not anxious, for Paris, back of its triple surroundings of scientific and modern fortifications, shielded many who had been through the painful period of the siege of 1870, who knew of the heroism displayed by the Parisians on that occasion, and whose children would that it might be said of them: today. "Talis pater qualis filius." (Applause.)

We were with you even at that period, and our nation's entry into the war only gave us the right to proclaim aloud what we had always felt. This is why we come today in full communion of spirit and ideas to celebrate with you the Bi-Centennial of the decree authorizing Bienville, your Bienville and our Bienville, to found on the banks of the mighty Mississippi, the city whose children we are, and we hope, that in return, you will send us next February a delegation of your compatriots commissioned to represent your admirable and eternally luminous city at the commemoration which we have planned with a view of making a dignified and enduring entry in our civic annals of the 200th anniversary of the arrival of Bienville and his brave companions on the spot where stands today in all her splendor as Queen of the South, and in all her industrial might, New Orleans, daughter of France and devoted sister of Paris. Your delegation, like ours, will accomplish their pilgrimage in safety, for they will be inspired by the proud motto which is yours and which we ourselves adopted on setting foot on the steamer which brought us here: "Fluctuat nee mergitur." (Double salvo of applause and bravos.)

Translated from the French by Mrs. Heloise Hulse Cauzat.

The Honorable André Lafargue then read the following letters remitted to him at the time of his departure from New Orleans by his His Excellency, R. G. Pleasant, Governor of the State of Louisiana, and by the Honorable Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans:

STATE OF LOUISIANA
STATE DEPARTMENT

Baton Rouge, September 25, 1917.

Honorable Andre Lafargue.

My dear Lafargue:

I remit under fold a commission naming you as my personal representative and delegate of the State of Louisiana that you may represent me as well as the State at the bi-centennial ceremonies of the founding of New Orleans which are to take place in Paris the 24th and 25th of October this year.

I hope that you will not only have a pleasant voyage but a profitable one also, and that your visit and that of your colleagues to Paris will be a manifestation which will more closely cement the ties of friendship which bind the people of our nation and particularly those of the State of Louisiana to those of the great sister republic across the sea.

Kindly express to the authorities of Paris how respectfully devoted I am to them and tell them that by you I extend the most cordial invitation to the great people of that glorious city, and to all of France, to send a delegation to Louisiana to participate in a commemoration analogous to yours, in New Orleans on the 9th, 10th and 11th of February, 1918.

Accept the expression of my highest consideration.

R. G. PLEASANT,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

MAYORALTY OF NEW ORLEANS

Hon. Martin Behrman, Mayor.

September 17th, 1917.

Mr. Adrien Mithouard,

President of the Municipal Council of Paris.

My dear Sir:

This letter which will be tendered you by the Hon. André Lafargue, one of our honored fellow citizens, whom I have delegated very specially as my personal representative and as chairman of the mission that is to participate in the commemorative ceremonies of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of New Orleans; to take place in your beautiful and historic city on the 24th and 25th of October of this year.

I confide particularly to the Hon. André Lafargue the care to transmit our most cordial greetings and congratulations in the name of the city of New Orleans and its people, and wish him to say, on the occasion of the ceremonies of the 24th and 25th, the happy result which we hope will come from the fraternal manifestation which will take place between the two municipalities. May I express the hope that the city of Paris will be represented at our local ceremonies, which, as I have already mentioned, will take place on the 9th, 10th and 11th of February, 1918, and at which, I assure you, the representatives of the French Government and the Municipality of Paris will receive the most cordial welcome and our distinguished consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

MARTIN BEHRMAN, Mayor.

Honorable André Lafargue next read the text of the official invitation addressed to the Municipality of Paris by the Municipality of New Orleans. This invitation is thus worded:

1718 - BI-CENTENNIAL - 1918
MUNICIPALITY OF NEW ORLEANS
MARTIN BEHRMAN, Mayor

September 17, 1917.

You are respectfully invited to participate in the commemorative exercises of the 200th anniversary of the founding of New Orleans, which will take place on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of February, 1918.

MARTIN BEHRMAN,
Mayor of New Orleans.
T. P. THOMPSON,
President of the Bi-Centennial Committee.
G. CUSACHS,
President of the Louisiana Historical Society

General Behan then expressed himself in these terms:

*Mr. President of the Municipal Council,
Gentlemen, Members of the Municipal Council.*

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The amiable invitation which you addressed to the Mayor of the city of New Orleans, mayor whom I have the honor to represent in this patriotic and historic circumstance, gives me the pleasure of greeting you.

We are the representatives of this industrious city of New Orleans founded two hundred years ago by a decree of your King Louis XV. The instructions of the monarch were executed with great courage and a great spirit of sacrifice by Bienville and Iberville, two brave and intrepid knights.

It was French education, it was French blood which enabled them to overcome the obstacles and the difficulties presented by a country well nigh impenetrable and to found establishments and colonists on the banks of the Mississippi and the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. It was an arduous task. At times they had to contend against the mighty waters of the Mississippi, at times they had to battle with tribes of savage Indians who sought revenge for the arrival of white men from France. Bienville intrepidly swept away all opposition and had soon founded a colony which today is the richest and most enterprising part of the globe. (Applause.)

Today this part of the United States of America which was founded and colonized by your pioneers under Bienville was acquired by us and was turned over to us by the greatest of all men, whose ashes rest under the gilded dome of the Invalides, the man who made his own name imperishable, Napoleon, the unique.

This great dominion ceded by you 1803 tenders today for your soldiers and your people its rice, its sugar, its cotton by hundreds and thousands of tons, its corn and its wheat by thousands of bushels.

Its riches and the vigor of its youth come to you to aid you in repulsing from France and Belgium the inhuman enemies who have invaded your beautiful country.

Friends and comrades, of the city of Paris and of the government of France, what we are, the great results of which we are capable for your grand republic, for its magnificent army and its people, all this must be attributed to your foresight in

1718, which conceived the exploration and colonization, with the help of the French colonists, Bienville and his brother Iberville, who established themselves on the banks of the Mississippi and founded the city of New Orleans in 1718. (Bravos.) We are here today to unite with you in the celebration of that important event which has so much relation to the progress of the city we have the honor of representing and with the progress of the country in general.

At home our French traditions were never lost. They survive in our blood and in our customs. (Applause.) In all the United States New Orleans is known as the Paris of America, compliment of which we are justly proud, and I hope that we shall never lose the French "esprit de corps" innate in the nature of New Orleans and of the old province of Louisiana. (Applause.)

After Gen. Behan, Mr. Hovelaque, President of the Bi-Centennial Committee of the founding of New Orleans, delivered the following address:

Mr. President of the Municipal Council of Paris,

Mr. Prefect of the Seine,

Messrs. Municipal Councillors:

I did not expect to speak today, therefore I will simply recall that the Committee must remit to the city of Paris a Commemorative medal; there does not seem to be any time more opportune than the moment.

This done I recall what Mr. Prefect of Police said awhile go when he spoke of monuments more durable than marble and bronze; in effect the medal which we tender you this day commemorates a date; it will remain a remembrance of this day's events in a time fraught with momentous importance. I will say that from the extreme ends of the world the American nation have come to bring to France, aid, friendship and even the last drop of their blood.

I remit to you, Mr. President of the Municipal Council, this medal brought by the delegates of New Orleans. (Applause.)

Mr. Hovelaque then gave to Mr. Ambroise Rendu, Vice-President of the Municipal Council, the medal offered to the city of Paris by the Paris Bi-Centennial Committee.

A lunch was served in the course of which Mr. Ambroise Rendu, Vice-President of the Municipal Council, gave out the following toast:

"All gratitude and friendship to the Gentlemen, Delegates from New Orleans, and to their brothers to whom we send our most cordial and affectionate remembrance. We will drink to the health of all, but beforehand allow me to evoke a memory: A few weeks ago I was in Bordeaux whilst the Mayor of that large city was receiving American ships, representatives of the army and of the navy, and he recalled that when Lafayette left Bordeaux in 1777, he had back of him a chosen troop of cadets of Gascogne. Among them was one named Michel de Lachassaigne: one of his grand-sons is here. I called him from the 118th heavy artillery in which he is engaged. I ask you to raise your glass with him to our brothers of America. This soldier, I beg leave to mention it, is my grand nephew; he bears the same name as his grand-father, Henri de Lachassaigne. (Applause.)

Gentlemen a toast to the memory of those who liberated the great friendly nation."

At 5 p. m. the reception terminated. The eve of the reception the President of the Municipal Council had received the following telegram from the Mayor of New Orleans:

"On the occasion of the bi-centennial of the decree which established New Orleans on the banks of the Mississippi, we are happy to unite with you and our representatives in Paris in celebrating this event. We celebrate today in our city hall, commemorative ceremonies in which the representatives of France take part with the elite of our city. Across the ocean we stretch out hands to our oldest friends to whom we are linked by our origin, our like democratic traditions, and the red, white and blue banner which now floats over every one of our cities.

We are happy in this hour of trial to offer you our sympathy. From the days of Lafayette and Bienville unto those of Joffre, six generations of Louisianians greet you. We will be with you until the triumph of our common ideal. Behrman, Mayor."

Mr. Ambroise Rendu, Vice-President of the Municipal Council immediately responded by telegram:

"We thank you for your telegram so warmly cordial, and we are not less happy than you that the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans furnishes the occasion of adding other links to those which already unite us. It is particularly satisfactory to think that actual events are Bienville's justification and coronation, and that the descendants of the founders of your city are side by side with us in the combat which we are sustaining against barbarity for liberty and justice.

In welcoming your distinguished representatives, we honor the municipality and the population of New Orleans.

Paris sends you an affectionate greeting, and her best wishes for speedy triumph in our common cause.

"AMBROISE RENDU,

"Vice-President of the Municipal Council of Paris.

On October 26th, at noon, the office of the Municipal Council entertained the New Orleans representatives at breakfast.

At this breakfast were also Messrs. Delanney, Prefect of the Seine; Hudelo, Prefect of Police; G. Hanotaux, former minister, President of the Committee of France-American; Hovelaque, President of the Bi-Centennial Committee of the founding of New Orleans; Jaray, director of the Review of France-America. M. Poiry, Vice-President of the Municipal Council, made the following address:

Gentlemen:

We are always pleased to welcome with hearty cordiality the guests who come to us from the United States of America, but in the bosom of the great Franco-American friendship it is our privilege to take up other friendly ties, and we certainly feel a most special friendship for the beautiful city which today sends you to us.

I have not the pleasure of knowing New Orleans and many Frenchmen, too many alas! are like me. But what Frenchman familiar with the history of his country has not often thought with admiration shaded by melancholy of the strange and magnificent destiny of this city by turns French and Spanish, and again French,

and in the end American, which has not ceased in the midst of so many vicissitudes to develop vigorous prosperity fostered by an incomparable commercial situation, and which preserved the original characteristics implanted by her founders.

What Frenchman reading the accounts of travelers, or turning the pages of a simple guide book, has not evoked with deep emotion on the banks of the majestic and legendary Mississippi, under the luminous sky, in the midst of luxuriant tropical vegetation, the sweet, white city whose galleries, blinds and arcades so closely recall our southern France, and whose streets bear the names of Chartres, Bourbon, Dauphine, Laharpe, La Perouse and La Fayette.

What Frenchman, in fine, has not been touched and flattered in realizing that the qualities of subtle charm and refined culture which distinguished New Orleans among all the cities of the United States are attributed by the Americans themselves to the French blood which flows in your veins.

But these feelings, gentlemen, were not, as I said, without some sadness, for this magnificent shoot from the French tree, separated from it since a century, had preciously kept the memory of its origin. But would time which spares nothing, be likely to spare so fragile a link? Gentlemen, this anxiety is now vanished from our hearts; the great war came which separated the world into two camps, that of civilization and that of barbarism, into that of liberty and that of servitude, had to make and does make us brothers in arms. And this fraternity, we have the certitude, will not be limited to the duration of the present war. It will fill our future and as its benefits are developed it will become from generation to generation more vital, deeper and more profound.

In the reorganization of the world of which the immortal messages of President Wilson has so masterfully laid out the salient lines France and America will give, nay, they already give an example of the fusion of minds and hearts which a short while ago was not deemed possible.

Well, gentlemen, in the midst of the early workers, amidst the precursors of this marvelous union which is cited and praised, at the side of Franklin and Washington, of Rochambeau and Lafayette, it is more than just and legitimate that we forget not near them, and chronologocially at least ahead of them, the founder of New Orleans.

I raise my glass to the memory of Jean de Bienville, founder of New Orleans; I drink to French-American friendship and the speedy triumph of the great cause for which we are combatting side by side. (Applause.)

At the Sorbonne.

Address delivered by the Honorable André Lafargue, chairman of the Bi-Centennial Commission, sent by Louisiana and by the city of New Orleans to celebrate with Paris the two hundredth anniversary of the signing of the decree founding New Orleans.

I could never have summoned the courage and temerity necessary to speak in this illustrious and solemn sanctuary of French thought if my official character as chairman of this mission, and the duty incumbent on me as speaker of the New Orleans delegation, sent to Paris by that city to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of one of the most important acts of colonial French history, did not require that I shoułd tell in public sitting of the great affection, and the unbounded admiration that we have so preciously kept in Louisiana for France and her heroic people.

I have neither the talent, the competence, nor the experience which the great honor devolved upon me calls for, and which I do not attribute to any personal merit, but to the historic titles of the great metropolis of Louisiana, which I and my fellow delegates have been appointed to represent at the commemoration here of one of its most important anniversaries.

Where could the bi-centennial of the founding of New Orleans be more appropriately celebrated than in Paris? the place where was consummated the act which was to have such great results later on, for your country and ours. From Paris, came to Bienville, Sieur de Lemoine de Longueuil the instructions and authorization which allowed him to realize the fairest dream of his existence—that of founding a great capital on the banks of the most majestic river of North America—the Mississippi.

From Paris, in after years, were controlled and directed the destiny of our city, then the seat of the government of the colony. In Paris, Bienville, the illustrious founder of our city, whose name we speak with love and veneration, lived his last days, and died a prey to grief after having tried to obtain the annulment of the treaty by which a king of France, autocratic and indifferent, with one stroke of his pen, annihilated the fruits of his laborious and historic career.

Paris, was one may say, the cradle of New Orleans. It is then just that we celebrate in Paris the first act of its founding, the two hundredth anniversary of the authorization, so long demanded by Bienville, to lay the foundation of a city which would be an outlet for all the French establishments of the valley of the Mississippi and its environs, and whose importance in our day has more than justified the hope of its founder.

We were deeply affected by the thought which Paris and the French people had in inviting New Orleans to participate in a celebration in the course of which would forcibly be evoked common memories and illustrious figures that we venerate at home as much as you do here. Therefore when the New Orleans Municipality received the gracious invitation of the City of Light, it eagerly responded by sending us to represent it at your fine commemorative exercises with the mission of faithfully transmitting the testimony of the filial affection of the former colony for the ancient mother-country, and also prayers from the depth of our hearts for the triumph of the cause which has become ours.

I distinctly recall the words of our New Orleans mayor at the moment our delegation took leave of him and I repeat them: "You will tell the Parisians and the French people that New Orleans has never deviated from her historic origin. That in heart and mind she has been with France since the beginning of this war, and today, more than any other American city, by her rights of filiation she proudly takes her stand at her mother's side to struggle valiantly with her until the complete crushing of Prussian militarism, and the definite establishment of a peace which will insure the happiness and security of the generations of today and those to come hereafter." I hear him adding these last recommendations: "Tell them, above all, that the New Orleanians of this age have inherited the great qualities of valiance, endurance, and the spirit of self sacrifice of their French ancestors, of which France is actually giving to the world the most glorious and the most sublime demonstration, and that our motto is that of Gallieni: "To the end!" "

I could not better translate the feelings of my fellow citizens towards you than in quoting the very words of the mayor of our city.

But New Orleans is not alone in wishing to participate in the ceremonies of the day: The whole of Louisiana would associate in the great event which we com-

memorate, and His Excellency, our Governor, Ruffin G. Pleasant sent me, by special messenger, the eve of our departure a letter and a commission investing me with the requisite power to represent our State in its entirety at this manifestation. In this letter His Excellency commissioned me particularly to greet in his name the great friendly and allied nation and to tell you that from end to end of Louisiana, in all its Parishes, throughout its extent, the hearts of its inhabitants beat in unison with yours and that we pledge ourselves to be with you in life and in death.

This is what the Governor of Louisiana wrote when he heard that I and my companions were going to Paris for the bi-centennial celebration of the founding on (paper) of our large and beautiful city. He did not leave this occasion pass by without loudly proclaiming, with the authorized voice of the chief dignitary of our State, that the Louisianians are bound to the ancient mother-country by indissoluble ties, that they rejoice to be able to bring you at this time moral and material support, which, as I said yesterday, they desired so much to offer since the beginning of the war.

And as it was meet that our mission should receive its final consecration in the capital of the great American nation, we went to Washington before coming here.

The great statesman who has succeeded Washington and Lincoln, and who proves worthy of the heritage, received us with the utmost kindness and friendliness as soon as he was aware of the purpose of our small embassy.

I recall Mr. Wilson's words when I invited him to assist at our commemorative festival, next February, in New Orleans: "The moment is most opportune to fulfill the mission you are intrusted with. The event which you will commemorate is that which allowed the United States in after years to include in its domain one of the finest regions of the American continent. It is an event of considerable importance and compass and actually your mission can but more strongly accentuate the similar links which bind France to the United States; you consequently take with you my best wishes for the success of your undertaking. God speed you, gentlemen, in your historic journey."

We would not have gone to Washington without paying our respects to Mr. Jusserand who represents your grand nation with so much dignity, who since so many years has incessantly and efficaciously striven to maintain cordial relations between the two republics, and who is always interested in all manifestations the end of which is the bringing together of Louisiana and the ancient mother-country. The event we celebrate today could not leave him indifferent.

We received at the French embassy a welcome so benevolent and so courteous that it gave us the illusion that our voyage was ended and that we were already on the soil of France. It was your Ambassador and his gracious companion who again put into our hands the pilgrim's staff and afforded us the means to proceed on our way, when it seemed barred by numberless difficulties and obstacles which arose from all sides. And so, without delay, from here we send respectful and grateful greetings to Mr. and Mrs. Jusserand.

It was likewise just that before participating in your celebration, before being admitted to set foot on the glorious soil of France, still impregnated with the blood of its heroic children and bearing the indelible stamp of their spirit of sacrifice and of their greatness of soul, we should go through some trials, infinitesimal it is true, to prepare us in some way and to make us more worthy of coming in contact with your immortal nation. The dangers we incurred in crossing the zone, pretendedly blocked by the submarines, and separation from dear ones left in the greatest anxiety have

perhaps given us the right to stand before you today, and tell you of the strong secular and historical friendship which we have always held for you and your country.

I am therefore happy to be able to affirm in the name of the New Orleans population, in the name of the two million inhabitants of Louisiana that the memory of France is still living amongst us and that the seed thrown on our soil in the early days of the 18th century has germinated through ages, has not ceased fructifying, and that presently, using the heart stirring words of your great statesman Mr. Viviana a few months ago in the legislature: "You have only to reap the fine and durable harvest."

And as a living expression of these thoughts and sentiments the French language has been preserved and is in use amongst us, as also the admirable memories and traditions left by the illustrious founders of a city and a State not less anxious in the days of Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Grasse, and so many others, to offer their services and their swords for the defense of common right and for the safeguarding of the liberty of nations.

I repeat it, Louisiana has remained faithful to the principles inculcated in her, and is preparing to send you, without counting her best children, and to give her purest and most illustrious blood; to that source from which she derived it in 1718, to be shed to the last drop if necessary.

The voice of our ancestors was heard among us in imperative tones; from the first shock we burned with the intense desire to come over and give the convincing proof that two centuries have not been able to obliterate the memory that we are the descendants of those who knew how to die valiantly far from their own, in a strange land, for their King and justice.

We respond today to that appeal from our ancestors with all the more enthusiasm and fervor from the fact that the cause we will defend has become that of all civilized peoples of the world, the holy cause of democracy, for which France, vigilant guardian of world right and justice, has drawn her invincible sword which she will sheathe only when liberty of nations and their security will no longer be threatened by the sacreligious aggressions of an impious Hohenzollern or a renegade Hapsburg.

We take our stand at your side with all the more determination and vibrant patriotism because the voice that calls to us is that of our oppressed brethren throughout the world, that it is consequently the voice of God.

"VOX POPULI, VOX DEI."

We deem that in combating for you we participate in the greatest crusade of ancient and modern times, the one which is to liberate not only a holy site or territory, but which will save the human race from the most infamous yoke which barbarians ever dreamed of imposing on it. We want it said that we are the worthy sons of worthy sires. We too want to gird the armor of truth and justice that we may entone with you on the day of liberation the hymn which on the morrow will be that of the allied nations as well as yours: "Rise children of the civilized world, the day of glory has come since it is the day of universal peace."

Oh France! Mother country of Duguesclin, Godefroi de Bouillon, Bayard and Turenne, your sons of Louisiana also claim their immortal page in the legend of centuries, and will thank you for calling them to your side.

Oh France! Mother country of the great liberators of 1789, country of Napoleon, Joffre, Castelnau, Nivelle, Pétain, we, more distinctly than ever, hear your clarion call and with gladness we hasten to respond. Here we are. Allow us to enter your ranks with our standards, which, like yours, are those of Liberty, Equali-

ty, and Fraternity, in the height of the battle that we may shed our blood with yours for the great glory of nations and for their security to come.

Mother, tenderly loved and venerated, your sons will not have worked in vain to implant your civilization and your genius on American soil, for from the depths of the impenetrable forests of Louisiana, and the uncultivated swamps of the lower Mississippi, I see advancing in serried ranks their descendants who come to greet you, render homage to your valiance, and take their place by the side of those who since three years have woven your crown of immortal glory. Iberville, Bienville, La Salle and their like will have conquered for you the finest of all empires, that of hearts and minds, that neither the course of ages nor political convulsions can break nor destroy.

A la Sorbonne.

Discours prononcé par l'Honorable André Lafargue, President de la Commission envoyée par la Louisiane et par la Nouvelle Orléans pour célébrer avec Paris le 200^e anniversaire de la signature du Decret de Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans.

Je n'aurais jamais eu la hardiesse et la témérité de prendre la parole dans cet illustre et solennel sanctuaire de la pensée française, si je ne m'étais rendu compte que le caractère officiel dont je suis revêtu, en ma qualité de chef de mission, et le devoir qui m'incombe comme porte-parole de la Delégation que la Nouvelle-Orléans à envoyée à Paris pour y célébrer le 200^e anniversaire d'un des actes les plus importants de l'histoire coloniale française, exigeaient que je dise en séance publique toute la grande affection et toute l'admiration sans borne que nous avons toujours précieusement conservées en Louisiane pour la France et pour son peuple héroïque.

En effet je n'ai ni le talent, ni la compétence, ni l'expérience, que comporte le grand honneur qui m'échoit et que je dois attribuer, je le sais, non pas à mes mérites personnels, mais bien aux titres historiques de la grande Métropole Louisianaise, qui à bien voulu me désigner ainsi que mes compagnons pour la représenter à la commémoration chez vous d'un de ses anniversaires les plus importants.

En temps normal, un évènement de l'envergure historique de celui que nous célébrons aurait acquis une importance considérable; aujourd'hui cet évènement et sa commémoration en raison du cadre et de l'époque revêtent un caractère dont la signification et l'intérêt palpitant ne sauraient échapper à personne.

Ou pouvait-on mieux célébrer le 200^e anniversaire de la signature du décret de fondation de la Nouvelle-Orléans qu'à Paris, à l'endroit même où cet acte qui, devait plus tard avoir de si grandes conséquences pour votre pays et pour le nôtre fut consommé. C'est de Paris que furent envoyés à Bienville, Sieur Lemoine de Longueil, les instructions et l'autorisation qui devaient le mettre à même de réaliser le plus beau rêve de son existence,— celui de fonder une grande capitale sur les rives de plus majestueux des fleuves de l'Amérique du Nord; le Mississippi. C'est de Paris, que par la suite, les destinées de notre ville, devenue le siège du gouvernement de la colonie Louisianaise, furent contrôlées et dirigées. Et c'est à Paris, que Bienville, l'illustre fondateur de notre ville, celui dont nous ne prononçons le nom qu'avec amour et vénération vécut ses derniers jours et mourut en proie au plus grand chagrin, après avoir vainement tenté une dernière fois de faire annuler le traité par lequel un roi de France, d'un trait de plume autocratique et indifférent mettait à néant tous les fruits de sa laborieuse et historique carrière.

Paris à été pour ainsi dire, le berceau de la Nouvelle Orléans. Il est donc juste que ce soit à Paris que l'on célèbre le premier acte de sa fondation, le 200^e anniversaire de l'autorisation, longtemps demandée par Bienville, de jeter les fondements d'une ville qui devait servir de débouché pour tous les établissements français de la vallée du Mississippi et de ses environs et dont l'importance de nos jours à plus que justifié les prévisions et l'espoir de son fondateur.

Nous avons tous été profondément touchés de la délicate pensée que Paris et le peuple français ont eue en invitant la Nouvelle-Orléans à participer à une célébration au cours de laquelle on évoquerait forcément des souvenirs communs et des figures illustres, que nous vénérons chez nous autant que vous les vénerez chez vous. Aussi lorsque la Municipalité de Nouvelle-Orléanaise reçut la très gracieuse invitation de la Ville Lumière, elle s'empressa d'y répondre en nous envoyant pour la représenter à vos beaux exercices commémoratifs, avec mission de vous apporter fidèlement le témoignage le plus complet de l'affection filiale de l'ancienne colonie vis-à-vis de l'ancienne Mère-Patrie et de vous transmettre tous les voeux que nous faisons du fond du cœur pour le triomphe de la cause qui est devenue la nôtre.

Je me souviens fort bien des paroles de notre Maire de la Nouvelle-Orléans au moment où notre Délégation le saluait avant de partir et je vous les répète: "Vous direz aux Parisiens et au peuple français que la Nouvelle-Orléans n'a jamais menti à ses origines historiques. Qu'elle n'a cessé de combattre avec la France par le cœur et par la pensée dès le commencement de la guerre et qu'aujourd'hui plus qu'aucune autre ville Américaine, elle se range fièrement et de par ses droits de filiation aux cotés de sa mère pour lutter vaillamment avec elle jusqu'à l'écrasement complet du militarisme Prussien et l'établissement définitif d'une paix qui assurera aux générations d'aujourd'hui et de demain le bonheur et la sécurité." Je l'entends encore ajoutant ces dernières recommandations: "Dites-leur surtout que les Neo-Orléanais d'aujourd'hui ont hérité des grandes qualités de vaillance, d'endurance, et d'esprit de sacrifice de leurs ancêtres français, qualités dont la France donne actuellement au monde entier les preuves les plus éclatantes et les plus sublimes, et que comme eux, notre devise est celle de Galliéni: 'Jusqu'au bout!'"

Je ne pouvais mieux faire pour vous traduire les sentiments, dont mes compatriotes sont animés à votre égard qu'en vous citant actuellement les paroles du Maire de notre ville.

Mais la Nouvelle-Orléans n'est pas la seule qui ait voulu participer aux cérémonies d'aujourd'hui. Tout l'Etat de la Louisiane a voulu s'associer au grand événement que nous commémorons et son Gouverneur, l'Honorable Ruffin G. Pleasant, m'a fait parvenir par courrier spécial, à la veille de notre départ, une lettre et une commission, me revêtant des pouvoirs nécessaires pour que notre Etat en entier soit représenté officiellement à cette manifestation. Dans sa lettre, Son Excellence me chargeait tout particulièrement de saluer en son nom la grande nation amie et alliée et de lui dire que d'un bout à l'autre de la Louisiane, dans toutes ses paroisses et dans toute étendue, les coeurs de ses habitants vibraient à l'unisson avec les vôtres, et que nous faisons le serment d'être avec vous pour la vie et pour la mort.

Voilà ce que m'écrivait le Gouverneur de la Louisiane lorsqu'il apprit que je me rendais avec mes compagnons à Paris pour y célébrer le 200^e anniversaire de la fondation sur papier de notre grande et belle ville. Il n'a pas voulu laisser échapper cette occasion de vous affirmer hautement et avec la voix autorisée du chef de notre Etat, que les Louisianais restaient attachés à l'ancienne Mère Patrie par des liens séculaires et indissolubles et qu'ils se rejoissaient de pouvoir aujourd'hui lui apporter

leur appui maternel et moral, appui qui, comme je le disais hier, ils avaient tant désiré offrir dès la première heure, dès le début des hostilités.

Et comme il était juste que notre mission aille recevoir sa consécration définitive à la capitale de la grande nation Américaine, nous nous sommes rendus à Washington avant de venir ici. L'illustre homme d'état qui à recueilli la succession des Washington et des Lincoln, et qui s'en montre si digne, nous reçut avec la plus grande bienveillance dès qu'il fut avisé du but de notre petite Ambassade.

Je me repelle distinctement les paroles de Mr. Wilson alors que je l'invitais à assister à nos fêtes commémoratives du mois de Février prochain: "Le moment est tout à fait opportun pour remplir la mission dont vous êtes chargés," nous disait-il, l'événement que vous devez commémorer est celui en vertu duquel les Etats Unis plus tard purent inclure dans leur domaine une des plus belles régions du continent américain. C'est un événement dont l'importance et la portée sont considérables et à l'heure actuelle votre mission ne peut qu'accentuer d'avantage les liens séculaires qui unissent la France aux Etats Unis, vous emportez par conséquent mes meilleurs voeux pour le succès de votre entreprise. God speed you gentlemen, in your historic journey."

Nous ne voulions pas nous rendre ici sans aller saluer celui qui depuis tant d'années travaille chez nous incessamment et efficacement à maintenir les rapports les plus cordiaux entre les deux républiques soeurs et qui représente si dignement à Washington votre grande nation. M. Jusserand n'a cessé de s'intéresser à toutes les manifestations qui ont pour but de rapprocher la Louisiane de l'ancienne Mère-Patrie. L'événement que nous célébrons aujourd'hui ne pouvait le laisser indifférent. Nous avons rencontré à l'ambassade de France un accueil dont la bienveillance et la courtoisie toute française nous donnaient véritablement l'illusion que nous avions accompli notre voyage, et que nous étions déjà en terre de France. C'est votre Ambassadeur et sa gracieuse compagne qui nous ont remis en main le bâton de pèlerin et qui nous ont mis à même de poursuivre notre route, alors qu'elle nous semblait barrée par des difficultés sans nombre et des obstacles qui surgissaient de tous les côtés. Aussi, sans retard, nous adressons d'ici à un excellence, ainsi qu'à Mme. Jusserand, un salut respectueux et reconnaissant.

Il était juste, aussi, avant que nous ne participions à notre célébration et avant que nous ne fussions admis à mettre pied sur le sol glorieux de France, encore tout imprégné du sang de ses enfants héroïques et portant l'empreinte ineffacable de leur esprit de sacrifice et de leur grandeur d'ame, que nous travisions quelques épreuves, —eh bien infimes, il est vrai, pour nous préparer en quelque sorte et nous rendre plus dignes de prendre contact avec votre nation immortelle. Ces quelques dangers que nous avons couru en franchissant la zone soi disant bloquée par les sous marins ennemis et la séparation de ceux qui nous sont chers et que nous avons laissés là bas dans la plus vive inquiétude, nous ont peut-être acquis quelques droits à nous présenter devant vous aujourd'hui et à vous dire de vive voix toute l'amitié séculaire et historique que nous avons toujours conservée pour vous et pour votre pays.

Aussi suis-je heureux de pouvoir vous affirmer au nom de toute la population Néo-Orléanaise, en celui des deux millions d'habitants de la Louisiane, que le souvenir de la France est resté vivace parmi nous et que la semence qui a été jetée dans notre sol au commencement du 18^e siècle par vos ancêtres, a germé à travers les âges, n'a cessé de fructifier et qu'aujourd'hui, pour nous servir des paroles vibrantes que votre grand homme d'état, Mr. Viviani, prononçait il y à quelques mois à la Chambre, "Vous n'avez qu'à en récolter la belle et durable moisson."

Et comme expression toujours vivante de ces pensées et de ces sentiments, la

langue française est conservée et mise en usage parmi nous ainsi que les souvenirs et les traditions admirables laissés par les illustres fondateurs d'une ville et d'un état dont les habitants, je tiens à le redire encore, ne sont pas moins empressés que jadis, au temps des Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Grasse, et de tant d'autres de vos héroïques et invincibles compatriotes, à offrir leurs services et leurs épées pour la défense du droit commun et pour la sauvegarde de la liberté des peuples.

Je vous le répète, la Louisiane est restée fidèle aux principes qui lui ont été inculqués et elle s'apprête à vous envoyer sans compter ses meilleurs enfants et à vous donner son sang le plus pur et le plus illustre, pour le verser s'il est nécessaire jusqu'à la dernière goutte à la source ou elle l'avait puisé en 1718. La voix des ancêtres s'est faite entendre chez nous de façon impérieuse dès le premier choc et nous brûlons du désir intense de venir vous donner la preuve convaincante que deux siècles n'ont pu nous faire oublier que nous étions les descendants de ceux qui savaient mourir avec vaillance loin des leurs en terre étrangère, pour le roi et pour la justice. Aujourd'hui nous répondons à cet appel des aieux avec autant plus d'enthousiasme et de ferveur, que la cause que nous allons défendre est devenue celle des peuples civilisés du monde entier, la cause sainte de la démocratie pour laquelle la France gardienne vigilante du droit des gens et de la justice mondiale, a tiré son glaive invincible, qu'elle n'abaissera que le jour où la liberté des peuples et leur sécurité ne seront plus menacées par les agressions sacrilèges d'un Hohenzollern impi ou d'un Hapsbourg renégat.

Nous nous rangeons à vos côtés avec d'autant plus de détermination et de vibrant patriotisme que la voix qui nous appelle est celle de nos frères opprimés de par le monde et qu'elle est par conséquent la voix de Dieu. "Vox populi, vox Dei." Nous estimons en combattant pour vous, que nous participons à la plus grande croisade des temps anciens et modernes, à celle qui doit libérer non pas seulement un lieu saint ou un territoire quelconque, mais sauver la race humaine du joug le plus infame que les barbares aient jamais songé à lui imposer. Nous voulons que l'on puisse dire que nous sommes les dignes fils de dignes pères. Nous voulons, nous aussi, nous ceindre de l'armure de la Vérité et de la Justice, afin de pouvoir entonner avec vous le jour de la libération cet hymne qui deviendra demain celui des nations alliées aussi bien que le vôtre: "Allons enfants du monde civilisé, le jour de gloire est arrivé, puisque c'est le jour de paix universelle."

O France patrie des De Guesclin, des Godefroid de Bouillon, des Bayard et des Turenne, tes fils en Louisiane veulent aussi avoir leur page immortelle dans la légende des siècles et ils te remercieront de les appeler à tes côtés.

O France patrie des grands libérateurs de 1789, patrie des Napoléon, des Joffre, des Castelnau, des Nivelle et des Pétain, nous percevons plus distinctement que jamais ton appel claironnant auquel nous nous empressons de répondre avec allégresse. Nous voilà. Permettes nous de nous ranger avec nos étendards, qui comme les tiens sont ceux de la Liberté, de l'Égalité, et de la Fraternité au plus fort de la bataille afin que nous puissions verser notre sang avec le tien pour la plus grande gloire des Peuples, et pour leur sécurité à venir.

Mère tendrement aimée et toujours vénérée, tes fils n'auront pas travaillé en vain pour planter ta civilisation et ton génie en terre d'Amérique car du fond des forêts impénétrables de l'ancienne Louisiane et des marécages incultes du bas Mississippi, je vois accourir leurs descendants en rangs serrés, qui viennent te saluer, rendre hommage à ta vaillance, et se placer à côté de ceux qui depuis trois ans t'ont tressé une couronne de gloire immortelle. Les Iberville, les Bienville, et les La Salle t'auront conquis le plus beau de tous les empires, celui des coeurs et des esprits, que ni le cours des âges ni les convulsions politiques ne peuvent entamer ou détruire.

NOTES ON THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF BIENVILLE

By Miss Grace King.

*(Read before the Bi-Centennial meeting in New Orleans,
October 24, 1917.)*

Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville was born at Ville Marie (Montreal) in 1680. His father, Charles Le Moyne and his mother, Catherine Primot, belonged to the best emigrant stock that came from France to Canada, furnishing a race of pioneers unsurpassed, if not unequalled by any that history chronicles.

The Le Moynes came from Dieppe. Dieppe had always been one of the busiest stations on the road from the old World to the New. Charles Le Moyne in 1641, opened his career in the New World by taking service with the Jesuits, who sent him into the country of the Hurons, as trader, soldier and interpreter. After this he entered into the service of Ville Marie on the frontier of Montreal and at the age of 28, he was not only celebrated on account of his fights and treaties with the Indians, but in addition was possessed of a large fortune, consequently in a position to marry. He made a good choice and married well. The marriage is recorded in the registry of the church of Notre Dame.

It has been said that no marriage ever contracted within her lands, had ever been so profitable to Canada. Of the 12 sons of Le Moyne, nine lived distinguished in history, three were killed on the field of battle, three became governors of cities or provinces.

The father died in 1685, when our de Bienville was only five years old. He was raised by his eldest brother the Baron de Longueil, who lived on the princely estate of Longueil, in his great chateau which was the wonder of the time.

Bienville intended to pursue his career upon the sea, following the example of his brothers Iberville and Serigny. At 17 he was midshipman serving under de Serigny and Iberville, in their heroic expedition against the English at Hudson's Bay. He returned from it with Iberville to France, where Iberville almost immediately received the commission to discover and take possession of the Mississippi. He retained Bienville as his garde marin or midshipman.

It was a race between France and England for a great prize. But Iberville was not a man to be distanced to a prize by any competitor. He fitted out his little fleet with a rush, two small frigates

Taken from Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, by Grace King's "Makers of America," Series, Dodd, Mead, New York.

and two sloops; engaged crews, laid in supplies, making his arrangements he said, "not only to arrive first at the goal, but to fight for it should he come in second." He sailed on the 24th of October, 1698—and in due course of time entered the Gulf of Mexico, and began his search for the Mississippi, passing Pensacola, then in possession of the Spaniards, entering Mobile Bay, and finally anchoring in the little harbor of Cat Island, as he named it, although the cats were raccoons.

From the Indians on the opposite shore of the lake, he heard of the great river, but could get no sure direction to it. Finally on Friday, 27th of February, taking Bienville with him, he set out in two barges, with provisions for 25 days, and leaving orders with the ships to sail to France in six weeks if he had not returned.

The morning of Friday, 27th of February, Saturday and Sunday were passed skirting around the shores and shoals of the delta until a great storm overtook them. After battling with wind and waves for three hours, as darkness was coming on there seemed no choice but of perishing at sea or being wrecked on the rocky palissades of the shore. Iberville put his barge about, and with full wind astern, drove his boat on what appeared to be a rocky reef. The rocks, they were only drift wood covered with slime, separated before him. Beyond them was a great tawny stream; the Mississippi was discovered. It was the night before Mardi Gras, as the men reminded one another, lying around their camp fires. Then followed their reconnaissance of the river; for some definite proof that it was the Mississippi.

Bienville's barge went ahead, Iberville's following. The progress by oars was slow and laborious. They secured an Indian guide and at night they camped on the shore.

One night on the left bank of the river about 35 leagues or 105 miles from its mouth, on a point of the bank, they came to a small Indian village of ten or more cabins thatched with straw; in a kind of fortification; an oval space surrounded by canes and saplings the height of a man. Both banks here were almost impassable on account of the canes that grew to prodigious height and thickness.

The guide took Iberville six leagues or 18 miles above this stopping place to about the site now of our city and showed him the Indian portage between the river and the lake, where the French ships lay. To prove how short it was, the Indian took a package from the river to the lake and returned during the night. The Frenchmen explored the river as far as the Houma Indians, visiting the villages. When Iberville, becoming convinced that he was in the Mississippi,

decided to return to his ships. Leaving Bienville to come down the river, he with a guide made his way through Manchac Bayou, into the lake and reached his ships eight hours before Bienville. Iberville, unloading the ships, made a settlement at Biloxi and Ocean Springs and sailed away to France with the news of his success, leaving his lieutenant Sauvole in command of the little settlement that had been made at Biloxi, and Bienville second in command.

Bienville's task was to explore the new country and render a report to Iberville. He made a reconnaissance around Pensacola and explored Mobile Bay and the river. After that he repeated his and Iberville's explorations of the Mississippi and visiting the Indian tribes. He went as far as Bayou Plaquemine and explored it. It was on his return from this expedition while paddling down stream, he discovered ahead of him two vessels lying midstream. They proved to be English vessels in search of the Mississippi. Bienville, advancing in his pirogue, recognized in the Captain of one of them an old acquaintance and convinced him that the river now belonged to France, strongly enough established to defend her rights. The English vessels turned and sailed out of the river. English Turn, in the Mississippi, commemorates this event.

Iberville returning during the following summer, set out in search of a spot of high land, one not subject to inundation, upon which to build a fort on the Mississippi. He found it about 18 leagues from the mouth of the river, and began work at once upon it. While this was going on Bienville was sent to make an exploration of Red River. This he did to the satisfaction of Iberville. His journal of it, though much too brief, is one of our most interesting historical documents and is well worth careful study today. He went as far as the Caddo Indians. Iberville, putting Bienville in command of the Fort on the Mississippi, called Fort Maurepas, returned to France.

The younger man had every difficulty to contend with—starvation, scarcity of drinking water and dissatisfied men. Sauvolle, at Biloxi, fared even worse; for yellow fever broke out among his men, and he himself died of it in August, 1701. Bienville hastened over from his Fort and at once took command. He was just 21.

Iberville, on his return trip to the colony, for strategical reasons removed the French settlement at Biloxi to Dauphin Island in Mobile Bay.

This settlement was only a temporary shift. Bienville was forced shortly to abandon and choose a less exposed site.

He removed to a situation on Mobile river where he built a substantial fort called after the King of France: Fort Louis de la Mobile (the ruins are still to be seen). Here he remained in command and at twenty-two years of age became as we call him, the first governor of Louisiana, a name that then covered an extent of three states and a half. It was not an easy position. Surrounded by hostile Indians; with the aggressive English on the Atlantic coast constantly arming new tribes against him and the jealous, treacherous Spaniards at Pensacola always watching for an opportunity to drive him out; harassed besides, by the internal dissensions in the Fort; the poisonous enmity of the Curate de la Vente, aided by the Commissary de la Salle, who left no stone unturned; no accusation that could be invented, unwritten to vent their malignant spite and enmity against the young officer. He nevertheless held his post undauntedly against inside and outside foes through ten long years of trial and tribulation. In 1712 the French government tired of its unprofitable colonial venture, made it over to the Sieur Antoine de Crozat, a capitalist and moneyed favorite of the court; giving him a charter of its trading privileges for the term of fifteen years. A new Governor La Motte Cadillac was appointed in Bienville's place and he was transferred to Fort Ste Rosalie, a post at Natchez, and made commandant of the Indians. This was owing to his influence over the natives who feared and trusted him above all Frenchmen. Cadillac, his most truculent and disagreeable superior, pays this tribute to him in his report:

"I cannot too highly praise the manner with which M. de Bienville has been able to gain the savages and dominate them. He has succeeded in this by his generosity, his loyalty, his scrupulous exactitude in keeping his word and every promise made, and by the firm and equitable manner with which he renders justice among the different Indian tribes. He has particularly conciliated their esteem by punishing severely any thefts or depredations committed by the French, who are forced to make amends every time they commit an injury against an Indian."

This power over the Indians was soon proved in a remarkable instance. In 1716 the Natchez revolted, pillaging Crozat's store house, killing his commissioners and putting to death all Frenchmen, traveling up and down the river. Bienville at the time was about leaving for his post with a small force of men. He hastened his departure and paddling his pirogues with all speed up the river, he arrived at the Tunicas a few miles below Natchez before the revolted Indians knew of his approach. He camped on an Island in

the river where he entrenched himself and then sent a summons to the Natchez chief. Three warriors promptly answered, sent by the chief to present the calumet to Bienville. He coldly waived it aside saying he would never smoke a calumet of peace presented by a Natchez chief. A week later eighteen warriors arrived bringing the calumet. Again he refused it asking them haughtily what satisfaction they were going to give him for the Frenchmen slain, declaring that he must have the heads of the murderers brought to him with the head of the chief who had ordered the killing. Five days later, three heads were laid at his feet, but he was inexorable until the head of the guilty chief was brought him and then and then only would he smoke the calumet with the tribe. The Natchez never forgot the punishment, and never broke the peace that followed with Bienville.

The Crozat charter came to an end in 1717. Louisiana was given over for 25 years to the Company of the West and of the Indies, whose president was John Law; and Louisiana, become the great financial speculation of the day in France, was advertised and boomed as never before or after in her history.

Soldiers, colonists, provisions and merchandise arrived and were sent over by the ship load until the narrow accommodations at Dauphin Island and Biloxi were blocked with the accumulating human and mercantile freight. Bienville, who had been made commandant under the new regime, profiting by his opportunity and the necessity of the moment, took fifty men and put them to clearing the site he had selected years before as the one site in his judgment for the city, destined as he was convinced, to become the capital of the Mississippi valley. He made a beginning by having a few huts built here and settling on the spot a small number of emigrants.

There has been some discussion and a good deal of misapprehension concerning the true date of the founding of New Orleans.

In Paris today, is celebrated the date of the official edict to the Law Company, authorizing the founding of the city upon the banks of the Mississippi.

Martin and Gayarre, our earliest and as far as we know, our most correct historians, whose statements are generally accepted as decisive, give the following.

Gayarre states:

"The government of Louisiana was accorded for a second time to Bienville (Feb. 9th, 1718). The first act of his administration was to seek a favorable settlement upon the Mississippi upon which

to put his principal establishment."—Gayarre *Histoire de la Louisianne*. Vol. 1, Ch. 8. page 162.

Martin tells it thus:

"On the 9th of February three of the company's ships arrived, with as many companies of infantry and 69 colonists; Boisbrillant, who came in this fleet, was the bearer of Bienville's commission as governor of the Province. Bienville dispatched Chateaugay with fifty men to take possession of the Bay St. Joseph. In the meanwhile Bienville visited the banks of the Mississippi to seek a spot for the principal settlement of the Province. He chose that upon which the city of New Orleans now stands and left there 50 men to clear the ground and erect barracks."—Martin. Vol. 1, chap. 9, page 204.

Both of these historians possessed all the documents that we have for historical guidance; and both lived a century nearer the facts of the case than we do. Historians today generally base their opinions on these two authorities, considering them sufficient, with the addition taken from that unquestioned good source of historical information: The "*Journal Historique*" of Bernard de la Harpe, which begins in 1699. This item comes in its proper sequence of date in his journal: "At this time (Feb., 1718), M. de Bienville sought a fitting spot on the banks of the Mississippi upon which to establish his capital. He chose one since named New Orleans, situated 30 leagues from the sea, on the river, on account of its communicating with it by Lake Pontchartrain and the Bayou St. Jean. He left there 50 persons, carpenters and convicts, to clear the land and build a few shelters."

The Louisiana Historical Society in consideration of this testimony, passed a formal resolution in its March meeting, that the dates for the celebration of the founding of the city of New Orleans could, with all security of historical conviction, be decided upon as February 9, 10, 11.

The city was named for Law's patron, the Duke of Orleans, the Regent at that time of France; and this is the one pleasant compliment to a man, whose memory by common consent of historians, has been consigned to infamy.

Bienville's own history is almost lost sight of now in the progress and prosperity of his city, although his own responsibilities and labors were increased by them.

It was not until 1722 that orders came from the Council in Paris to make the city on the Mississippi, the official capital of the colony. In the meantime Law's Mississippi scheme had become the

Mississippi Bubble and Louisiana, overcapitalized by speculators, was threatened with bankruptcy, the usual fate of such enterprises.

When the news of Law's failure reached the city, a panic ensued and all enterprise was stopped for the moment, but emigrants and merchandise continuing to arrive, the momentum already acquired was kept up, and soon it became evident to even the ill-wishers among the officers of the colony that Louisiana in the parlance of today was going to make good and in spite of tornadoes, conflagrations and tempestuous disasters of all kinds and epidemics of fever New Orleans thrived and prospered, in the eyes of all. Not so its founder. A spirit of envy and jealousy, fostered by his discontented council board had long been set at work against him. Complaints against him and his administration had passed constantly to France from petty sources of malignity in the colony.

They had been treated with indifference by the Minister, but a more formidable attack, prepared by his enemies, could not be ignored; this was an affidavit by Commissioner Raguet, countersigned by the Superior of the Capuchins and Curate of New Orleans with a notarial certificate attached charging Bienville with peculation and malversation. A letter from the King directed him to return to France and answer the charges.

He made his preparations and sailed at once. "Arrived in France, he presented his justification to the minister,—the memoir of the services that had filled his life since, a mere stripling, he had followed his brother Iberville in quest of the country, for the government of which he was now, a middle-aged man, called to account.

"The services form all there is of the history of Louisiana up to this date. Somewhat may be gathered of the history of Bienville from a few extracts. The paper begins: 'It is thirty-four years since the Sieur de Bienville has the honor of serving the king, twenty-seven of which as lieutenant of the king and commandant of the colony.'

"After the *résumé* of his policy with the Indians,—

"'It is not without trouble that I arrived at being absolute master of so many nations of such barbarous tempers and such different characters, almost each one of which has a particular language. One can conjecture how many difficulties I encountered and what risks I ran to lay the foundations of the colony and maintain it to

the present time. Necessity, it is said, renders us industrious; but I experienced that it also renders us intrepid in danger, and makes us perform, so to speak, the impossible, in the different conjunctures in which one finds one's self confined in an unknown world with such a small force. I first applied myself to putting myself in a position to govern by myself without the aid of an interpreter. I applied myself to the language which appeared to me to be the dominant one among the savages, and of which the knowledge would facilitate me in learning the others in the end. I was fortunate enough, from the first years, to gain their confidence and their friendship. I studied, to know well their customs, so as to be able to retain them in peace with one another; so that, for the twenty-seven years during which I had the honor of commanding in the province, I was the arbiter of their differences. I always governed these nations, born in independence, so to speak, despotically, and I pushed my authority to the deposing of chiefs.'"

"He terminates:—

"The Sieur de Bienville dares to say that the establishment of the colony is due to the constancy with which he has attached himself to it for twenty-seven years, without going out of it since he made the discovery of it with his brother Iberville. This attachment made him discontinue his services in the Marine, where his family was so well known. . . ."

"In New Orleans, the Superior Council, through the attorney-general, summoned the Sieur Raguet to sustain the deposition signed with his name and given to the curate Raphael.

"The Sieur Raguet," says the requisition* of the attorney-general, "did not appear, in consequence of which M. de la Chaise, Superior of the Council, condemned him to pay a fine of ten livres, and resummoned him. He neither appeared in answer to this second summons, simply making answer to the clerk that he 'did not remember anything any longer,' in language and with a levity improper and unsuitable to justice, showing everywhere a contempt of and disobedience to the colony which should be suppressed. As in these revelations the Sieur Raguet had advanced general accusations so grave against all those who had been at the head of the colony, he should either prove them, and not affect silence and default of memory, which was his excuse, or pass for a calumniator, who, contrary

*"A messieurs du Conseil Supérieur de la province de la Louisiane . . . arrêtes en la chambre du conseil le 28 aout, 1725," signed De la Chaise, Perrault, Fasende, Perry. The instructions to the Superior Council in regard to the investigation are not in the compilations of official documents either of Margry or Magne.

to the respect due his superiors, falsely accuses them of the most horrible malversation, with the sole object of blackening them, and insinuating the most disadvantageous opinion concerning them. It was the council's duty on his [the attorney-general's] requisition, to condemn the Sieur Raguet to such reparation, punishment, fine or prison as they should judge proper.

With nothing but the bare compilation of official records before one, it is impossible to form other than vague conjectures as to the effect at the time of these orders upon Bienville, his friends, and the colony. The affairs of the latter since its foundation had never been in so equitable and promising a condition, the colony itself never so vital with life and strength, not from distant French interfusion, but from the inherent vitality and strength, which men, like trees, derive from the soil in which they are planted. Iberville's grasp of continent had become a country; Bienville's establishment on the Mississippi, its city, its brain and nerve centre. The shadowy hopes of twenty-five years ago were becoming realities; the poignant vicissitudes, a parent's memory, from which the children's future dawned, a fair and promising morning.

Bienville, while his letters of recall were journeying to him, was holding regular sittings in New Orleans, with the Superior Council, purveying to the ever-increasing legislative needs of the growing community under their charge, recognized that the time had come to extend the aegis of the law over the accumulating population of negroes who had been, and were being, brought into the colony, with all the crude barbarity of their native wilds upon them, by the competing cupidity of alien companies. A legal mode was required for freeing those whom gratitude or affection thus commended (a by no means inconsiderable number, as statistics of the time show), and for defining and protecting the human rights which a state of slavery still allowed the others. The code of regulations, celebrated under the name of the Black Code,* compiled by the jurists of Louis XIV, for the island of St. Domingo, was adopted, and, with a few curtailments and alterations, promulgated in Louisiana in March, 1724. It was the last public ordinance to which Bienville attached his name before returning to France. He, nevertheless, was destituted and in his ruin involved his family.

Perrier was named governor to succeed him. His name dropped out of the official records. His life in Paris is a blank which the imagination alone can fill.

Affairs in Louisiana prospered and New Orleans progressed in the good way of all commercially necessary cities. But under Perrier

military discipline was relaxed and the absence of Bienville's firm grasp and vigilant eye upon the Indians soon made itself felt.

Systematic injustice and daily petty tyrannies on the part of the French had consolidated the whole Natchez nation against them. In 1729, a culminating outrage; usurpation of their territory by the officer in command had been the signal of revolt; the gross carelessness and the blind self confidence of the same officer had not only made the catastrophe possible but a bloody success. The massacre of the entire French white settlement followed, and the news came to Perrier of a general confederacy of the Indians and a grand plot to massacre the entire French colony. The Natchez in the meantime securely fortified themselves in their village. Perrier proved totally unfit to meet the situation and the futility of his campaigns and his failures to punish the Indians increased their confidence and audacity. The warning came from New Orleans to France, "If it is desired to save the country which is in the greatest danger, it is indispensably necessary to send back the Sieur de Bienville." The Ministry of Marine acted upon it. Bienville was re-established in his former position by the Royal Government. He arrived in New Orleans in 1733 and took up his residence in his old hotel and for two years devoted himself to the measures necessary to punish the Natchez.

His plan of campaign was one in which he thought he had employed every imaginable means for success. Artillery and troops were sent to him from France under competent officers. He raised a force of five hundred men in the colony and secured the cooperation of friendly Indians. But his first expedition met with a defeat as bad as Perrier's and he was forced to return to New Orleans where he began anew preparations for another campaign based on the disastrous experience acquired. All the assistance demanded from the home government was sent him; arms, ammunition, provisions, merchandise; seven hundred soldiers, including bombardiers, cannoneers, and miners; four hundred horses were collected for transportation service, sixteen hundred Indians were added to the Colonial troops. One hundred Canadians were sent to him. With such an armament against them, it was counted on with confidence that the Indians could make no effective resistance. But the end of this campaign was even more disastrous than the first one. The end of it was a council of war held by Bienville and his officers to decide how to end with the least humiliation to the French arms a situation that was becoming daily more critical and untenable. The Indians assisted by bad weather, had proved themselves the military masters

of the French and had outfought and outwitted the pompous array of arms against them.

Bienville, in his account of it to the Minister of Marine, says all that could be said about his failure: "I feel with grief that your Highness will not be satisfied with this enterprise which has cost the King so much expense; but I flatter myself at the same time that you will kindly observe that I did not neglect a single precaution necessary to render the campaign as glorious as his Majesty had reason to expect;" relating the conjunction, in time, of all his reinforcements, his store of provisions; more than necessary, had it not been for the inevitable obstacles, his loss of cattle and horses. "At any rate, my Lord, if we have not come out of the affair with all the glory we had a right to promise ourselves, the glory of the king's arms has not suffered."

Through the succeeding years of his administration, Bienville's sense of failure increased instead of diminished. His discouragement sapped from his heart all the old optimism that had vivified his devotion to the colony. He wrote to the Minister asking leave to resign: "The labor, the anxiety and the trouble of mind which I have had to bear for the eight years during which it has pleased your Highness to maintain me in this government have so enfeebled my health that I should not hesitate to supplicate you to give me leave to cross over to France by the first vessel of the king if the interest of the Colony and my reputation did not exact of me that I should put the finishing touches to the treaty of peace I have commenced with the Chickasaws. It is thus after having re-established peace and tranquility in the colony that I desire that it may be permitted me to make a voyage to France to restore my exhausted health. I supplicate your Highness, therefore, kindly to ask permission of the King for me. I do not expect to be able to profit by it before the return of the vessel of 1742, and in case France does not take part in the war which is lighted in Europe."

There is no allusion in any of his reports or letters to the jealousies, piques, and contentions with which he might have sought to excuse some of the unsuccess of the expedition. On the contrary, writing, so soon after his humiliation, he makes a moving plea for promotions among his officers and that they be paid in bills of exchange, instead of in the vitiated card money of the colony:—

"Losses have fallen upon them, which make their life so hard that it is not possible for them to maintain themselves here. I supplicate his Highness to have some regard to the very humble prayer which I have the honor of making him. I know that the officers who have no plantations, however

moderately they live, cannot sustain themselves without going into debt; and those who have plantations have difficulty in keeping even with their revenues."

"If success had always responded to my application to the affairs of this government, and to my zeal for the service of the king, I should willingly have consecrated the rest of my days to him; but a species of fatality, for some time, pursuing and thwarting most of my best-concerted plans, has often made me lose the fruit of my labors, and perhaps a part of the confidence of your Highness in me. I have not thought, therefore, that I should strain myself any longer against my misfortune. I wish that the officer who will be chosen to succeed me may be happier than I."

His last demand upon the Government was for a college for the colony, to be situated at New Orleans—a demand that was refused.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, his successor, arrived on the 10th of May, 1743, when Bienville took his departure from the colony, never more to see it. He had passed forty-four years working in it and for it. As a mark of favor, the Minister of Marine allowed him the bills of exchange asked for, in which to place proceeds of the sale of his property. The fear of bearing too heavily upon the commerce, he said, had made him ask for only sixty thousand livres, which would be about the sum of his effects and a part of his negroes. He had decided not to sell his land at present, nor the rest of his negroes. His salary for last term of his appointment was twelve thousand livres a year.

Out of the oblivion of his after life in Paris the figure of Bienville arises but once again into history, at the appeal of the colony which had learned to call him "Father." It is an episode which local traditions cherish,—a scene the imagination loves to represent.

At Versailles, April 21, 1764, the king and his minister, De Choiseul, signed the instrument which instructed the Governor of Louisiana, Abadie, to make known to the colonists the fact of the donation of their country and themselves to Charles III of Spain, and his gracious acceptance.

It seemed too incredible, even from a king of France, too base even from Louis XV. The colonists passed from their first state of consternation to one of deliberation and reason. By a precocious intuition of the rights of a people; a large and notable assembly, composed of representatives from every parish, was held in New Orleans; and to the orders of the king to Abadie, they responded, with a petition from themselves to the king—a petition heart-moving in its ap-

peal not to be thrown out from their mother-country, not to be cut off from their ancestral allegiance.

Jean Milhet was deputed to take this petition to France and lay it at the foot of the throne. Arrived in Paris, Milhet sought out Bienville. The young ensign of the discovery of the Mississippi was then in his eighty-six year. The white-haired Canadian patriarch appeared with the young deputy before the courtesan's servitor who had penned it all away,—the great Mississippi river, valley, and delta, the long, unbroken line of Gulf coast, Iberville's great scheme, his own great colony, the city he had founded.

The chronicle merely adds that De Choiseul managed to prevent both them and their petition from coming under the eyes of the king, who, in his saturnalian orgies, far from remembering that he had ever had a Bienville, had forgotten that he ever possessed a Louisiana.

Bienville died in 1768. He was thus spared overliving the final passing of his colony and family and friends under the Spanish yoke.

During Milhet's absence the colonists, with the blind faith of bigots in their king and country, refused recognition of Spanish authority, ordering the Spanish governor, Ulloa, and his ships away.

Milhet returned with the account of his fruitless efforts. The colony fell into the desperation that succeeds to hoping against hope. A wild, premature flutter for liberty broke out in their councils. Their talk, their speeches, rang with a tone which was afterwards to be qualified in history as "American." Armed resistance was made. O'Reilly, the avenger of Ulloa and Spanish royalty, landed in New Orleans, July, 1769. On the 25th October following, six of the rebels, as they were called, were shot in the barrack yard. Among them was Bienville's grand-nephew, the young Jean Baptiste, commonly known as Bienville de Noyan. Six more were exported to Cuba and condemned to prison for terms varying from six years to lifetime. The twelve had their property confiscated. All the "chiefs and authors of the rebellion," as wrote Ulloa to Grimaldi, minister of Spain, were the children of Canadians, who had followed Bienville to Louisiana, "and who had received so little education that they did not know even how to write, having come, with the axe on their shoulder, to live by the work of their hands."

**BIENVILLE'S WILL
MADE IN 1765.**

In the name of the Father, etc.

Persuaded, as I am, of the necessity of death, and of the uncertainty of the hour, I wish, before it arrives, to put my affairs in order. Firstly, I consign my soul to God. I wish to live and die in the bosom of the Church. I implore the mercy of God and of Jesus Christ, my Saviour. I ask the protection of the Holy Virgin, Mother of God, and of Saint John the Baptist, my patron saint, and of all the saints of paradise.

I give and bequeath to the poor of the parish in which I die, the sum of one thousand pounds, in one payment. I direct that three hundred masses be said for the repose of my soul, in such church as my testamentary executor may choose. I give and bequeath to the herein-named Veuraine, called Picard, my valet, a pension of two hundred and fifty pounds during his life, if he be in my service the day of my death. Moreover, an agreement shall be made with him, by which he shall receive, by the payment of two hundred and fifty pounds, a life rental of the house I placed over his head. I further give and bequeath to him my wardrobe, consisting of all my personal apparel, such as coats, shirts. I further give him the bed and bedding on which he sleeps.

I give and bequeath to the herein-named Renaud, my cook, the sum of three hundred pounds, if she remain in my service till the day of my death.

I give and bequeath to the herein-named Marechal, my footman, two hundred francs, to be paid at once, if he remain in my service till the day of my death.

I give and bequeath to the herein-named Baron, my coachman, the sum of one hundred pounds, if he is still in my service.

I give and bequeath to the herein-named Marguerite, the girl who helps in the kitchen, sixty francs, if she remain in my service till the day of my death.

I declare that all my property is acquired, and that the little which I should have received from my father and mother was lost during my minority; for this reason, being free to dispose of my property in favour of whom I please, I wish by this will, as much as is in my power, to give to all of my nearest relatives marks of my friendship and liberality.

I give and bequeath to my nephew, Payan de Noyan, Siegneur de Chavoy, in lower Normandy, son of my sister Le Moyne de Noyan

the sum of ten thousand pounds, to be taken from the share of my grand-nephew, Payan de Noyan, to whom I advanced a like sum of ten thousand pounds to buy a commission in the cavalry, and whose note I hold.

I give and bequeath to my nephew Le Moyne de Longueil, son of my eldest brother, Le Moyne de Longueil, a diamond worth fifteen hundred francs, to be paid at once.

I give and bequeath to my two grand-nieces, De Grandive de Lavanaie, (or Savanaie) who are daughters of my niece Le Moyne d'Iberville, who was daughter of my brother Le Moyne d'Iberville, each a diamond worth fifteen hundred pounds.

I make and institute my universal legatees for one fourth, my grand-nephew Le Moyne de Longueil, son of my nephew Le Moyne de Longueil, who is son of my eldest brother Le Moyne de Longueil; my nephew Le Moyne de Serigny, younger son of my brother Le Moyne de Serigny, for another fourth. My nephew Le Moyne de Chateauguay, who is the son of my brother Le Moyne de Chateauguay for another fourth. And my grand-nephews Le Moyne de Serigny de Loir, and their sister, children of my nephew, Le Moyne de Serigny de Loir, for the last fourth.

I charge my said universal legatees to pay all my just debts, should I leave any,—I do not think I shall,—and to carry out all the provisions of this my present will.

I name as executor of this will my said nephew Le Moyne de Serigny, younger son of my brother Le Moyne de Serigny, praying and desiring him to execute my present will as containing my last wishes. To this end I revoke all other wills and codicils, this present one containing my last wishes.

Made, written and signed by my hand in Paris the fifteenth of January, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five.

LE MOYNE DE BIENVILLE.

On the margin:—

Registered in Paris, the fifteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

Received: sixty-five pounds.—LANGLOIS.

I have forgotten in this will to make mention of my nephew Payan de Noyan, son of my sister Le Moyne de Noyan, to whom I give and bequeath a diamond worth fifteen hundred pounds.

Paris, the fifteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five. LE MOYNE DE BIENVILLE.

Registered in Paris, April fifteenth, seventeen hundred and sixty-seven. Received: thirteen cents.—LANGLOIS.

New Orleans Under Bienville

Sidelights on New Orleans in Bienville's Time

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT

REFERENCES: Louisiana Historical Society MSS.
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NEW ORLEANS UNDER BIENVILLE.

By Heloise Hulse Cruzat.

The history of the founding of the city of New Orleans is of world wide interest, combining as it does in its early years the most divergent blood of Europe, and having as a part of Louisiana, undergone the most vital changes. Founded by the French, it was turned over to failing financiers returned to a dissolute monarch, to be bartered like ordinary chattel to Spain, reverting once more to France to be sold to the infant republic which it has helped to swell to the giant republic of today.

1718-1918.

1718. The Ryswick peace in Europe after long wars instigated and allowed the establishment of Louisiana (1699) and the founding of New Orleans (1718).

1918. The demon of war let loose over the whole world will change our maps, alter boundaries, and consolidate or annihilate democracy. In the history of nations some dates conjure up the past, repeople it, bring back names and personages that loom up so large at a period that they make it their own. In going over the ink-eaten and time-worn documents in the care of the Louisiana Historical Society, the soundless voices of life and love and death resuscitate these wraiths of the past. We live over with them their hopes and fears, their disappointments, their failures and their successes, and the grandest of them all is the "Father of New Orleans," Bienville.

Bienville the great, the just, navigator, explorer, soldier, legislator, financier, surrounded by a halo which has not waned with time. In a new and distant land he upheld the banner which bore the lillies of France with its traditions of honor and glory; with strength of character and courage which never faltered he faced danger, labor, privation, external and internal foes. His great mind rose above persecution and petty jealousies; he realized and mastered the needs of the colony he founded on the banks of the Mississippi and forced the nations of this continent to treat it with respect. His work was not the outcome of a thirst for gold nor adventures. A higher ambition stirred his soul, and the sublimity of the task he undertook and fulfilled equaled that of the missionary. Bienville belonged to that race Casgrain has called "the strongest ever implanted on the Ameri-

can continent: the Canadian. The noblest blood which ever ran in the veins of humanity flows in theirs,—the blood of France."

The French Canadian family of Lemoyne did so much for Louisiana that we have as great a claim upon it as Canada. Six of the Lemoyne brothers gave their services to the establishment of Louisiana, and one of the daughters paid her tribute of blood to France in the person of her grandson, de Noyan, one of the Louisiana martyrs. Bienville was of Norman descent. His father, Charles Lemoyne, was born at Dieppe, Normandy, (France) in 1626. His parents were Pierre Lemoyne and Judith Duchesne. The transplanting of Bienville's ancestors in the new world came in 1641, when Charles Lemoyne went to join his uncle, Adrien Duchesne in Quebec. Shortly afterwards, the boy of fifteen was sent by the Jesuits to the Huron settlement, where he remained four years, and in that time learned all the Indian dialects (*journal des Jesuites*). He afterwards served as an interpreter at Ville Marie and married there, in 1654, Catherine Thierry, born in Rouen, (France), but we find her in Quebec in 1652, as a pupil of the Ursulines. She was afterwards called Catherine Primot from her foster parents, who, after her marriage to Charles Lemoyne, legalized the adoption. In 1657 Charles Lemoyne became master of the grant of Longueuil, "concession seigneurale," opposite Montreal, south of the St. Lawrence river, and in the course of the eight following years obtained the islands of St. Helena and de la Ronde.

In 1667, at the instigation of Talon, intendant of Canada, Charles Lemoyne received from Louis XIV of France letters patent of nobility in return for services to the crown. He is supposed to have named the grant of Longueuil from the village of that name in Normandy, but Viger says that it was so called by Lemoyne in significance of the extensive view of the St. Lawrence from Longueil (long-oeil). He received three concessions besides those above mentioned, among them Chateauguay, which title he annexed in 1673 to that of Longueuil "Sieur de Longueuil et de Chateauguay (notes from Howard library).

Charles Lemoyne died in 1685 and his widow in 1690, Lemoyne shortly before his death ceded his title to his eldest son Charles. Charles Lemoyne and Catherine Primot had 14 children.

1°. Charles Lemoyne, Sieur de Longueuil, created Baron of Longueuil in 1699, first married to Elizabeth Souard d'Adoucourt, and secondly to Marguerite Legardeur. This first baron of Longueuil with two of his brothers took part in the battle of Hudson bay. At the death of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, the baron de Longueuil governed

the country during the year which elapsed before the nomination of the next governor. He was killed at the battle of Saratoga. From this Charles (II) Lemoyne descend the Grant family of Canada who have a right to the title though they do not bear the name of Longueuil.

- 2°. Jacques Lemoyne, Sieur de Ste Hélène, took his title from the island of that name opposite Montreal. He was killed defending Quebec in 1690. The Onantaguas in consideration of his valor adopted him, and at his death sent his widow a delegation bearing a porcelain necklace as a sign of sympathy. He had married Jeanne Dufresnoy Carion and left two daughters and a son,
- 3°. Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville, a soldier at the age of fourteen, was the greatest mariner of his time. He was the first to enter the Mississippi by its delta and founded Louisiana. He died of a fever in Havana in 1706, aged 44 years. He had married Marie Therese Pollette de la Combe Pocatiere and left two children. His widow, by a second marriage in France, became Countess of Bethune.
- 4°. Paul Lemoyne de Maricourt, born in 1663, married twice. His first wife was Marie Madeleine Dupont de Neuville and the second Francoise Aubert. He accompanied Iberville in all his expeditions and aided him in concluding the great treaty of peace with the savages in 1700. Paul Lemoyne died in 1704.
- 5°. Francois Lemoyne de Bienville I, born in 1666, died in 1691, at Repentigny, Quebec, fighting against the Iroquis, who set fire to the house he was defending. He was but 25 years old.
- 6°. Joseph Lemoyne de Serigny, born July 22, 1668, married to Elizabeth Heron, soldier and explorer, died as governor of Rochefort in 1734. He left two sons and a daughter.
- 7°. Francois Marie de Sauvole, born September 22, 1670, died August 22, 1700 or 1701 (explorer).
- 8°. Antoine Lemoyne lived but a day.
- 9°. Catherine Jeanne Lemoyne, born March 15, 1673, married to Pierre Payen, Seigneur de Noyan, captain in the navy.
- 10°. Louis, Sieur de Chateauguay, January 4, 1676, killed in battle November 4, 1694—aged 18.
- 11°. Marie Anne, born May 13, 1678, married October, 1699, to Jean Baptiste Bouillet, écuyer, Sieur de la Chassaigne, governor of the town of Three Rivers.

- 12°. Jean Baptiste Lemoyne de Bienville (II), the "Father of New Orleans," born February 23, 1680, died in Paris in 1768.
- 13°. Gabriel Lemoyne, Sieur d'Assigny, born November 11, 1681, died, 1701.
- 14°. Antoine Sieur de Chateauguay (II), born July 17, 1683, died March 21, 1747, governor of Cayenne, of l'Isle Royale. He married Emilie de Fontaine.

The name of Lemoyne among the descendants of Charles Lemoyne de Longueuil, extinct in Canada, still existed in France at the end of the past century in the posterity of Joseph Lemoyne de Serigny, governor of Rochefort.—(Jadouin and Vincent, Howard Library and Annals of the Ursulines of Quebec.)

Pierre d'Iberville, the third son of Charles Lemoyne, had distinguished himself by exploits which had brought him great renown. His victories over the English in Hudson Bay and on the New Foundland coast read like a tale of the ancient Paladins, and when the peace of Ryswick brought respite to France and seemed to break his career, his mind and desires turned to explorations. He petitioned the French Cabinet for a commission to explore and colonize the lower part of the Mississippi. He obtained a fleet of four vessels, and, at San Domingo, added to it another under command of Chateaumorant. The first land they sighted was Santa Rosa island and the harbor of Pensacola (formerly Anchusi). It was in possession of the Spaniards under Don Andres de la Riola. A heavy fog like a winding sheet enveloped the harbor and both French and Spaniards waited with no little anxiety for it to lift. The French were not allowed to land and the Spanish after an exchange of courtesies, on the gulf, bade them God-speed with as much alacrity as politeness. A letter from Chateaumorant to Count Ponchartrain gives details of this reception. All that bears on this episode is contained in the following excerpt:

(Translated from Louisiana Historical Society documents.)

"June 23, 1699.

"Your Lordship:

"I left, as I had the honor of informing you, Wednesday, December 31st, at midnight from the harbor of Léogane with Messrs. d'Iberville and de Surgères, Mr. de Grasse, captain of a light frigate, embarked with me and was of great assistance; besides being a perfect sailor he knows all the rocks and ports to Mexico, having all his life navigated on that route.

"Thursday, January 22, at 10 P. M. I found a sounding of 180 fathoms, mud bottom. I made for the channel waiting for daylight, sounding from hour to hour and as at two hours after midnight the weather was exceedingly windy and the night very dark and stormy and that I only found 160 fathoms of water, mud bottom, I gave the signals of the point, where I stayed until Friday 23rd when the weather cleared, and in sounding I only found 140 fathoms, mud bottom. Then the wind being north N. W. I made my way with half sail N. E. to hunt for land, sound in hand; two and a half hours after noon I found 36 fathoms, coarse sand, grey-white mixed with small shells. At 4 P. M. I sounded and found but 32 fathoms same bottom; at 5:29 P. M. I determined to anchor to wait for day, not sighting any land, though the weather was fine. Night having come I saw a great fire to N. W. . . . which showed me that I could not be very far from land. I have since heard that when savages went on a hunt they set fire to the ends of the savannahs holding wild beasts, in the path of the wind, and these animals fleeing from the fire pass the places where the hunters are posted who kill as many as they wish. Whilst I hugged the shore, almost every night I saw these fires. The savages choose a time of great drought to go on a hunt and it is generally in December, January and February, because at that time there are heavy north-west winds.

"At six Saturday morning, January 24th, I got under sail and steered for the cape, to the north, north-west, until 1 A. M. when I sighted land, remained to N. E. only five or six leagues distant, then I put on full sail for reconnoitering, but there was little wind; at noon it was still north and N. E. about from four to five leagues. It is a low land completely inundated and as I still held the sound in hand two hours after noon I found 20 fathoms of water, coarse grey-black sand; at 4 P. M. there were 16 fathoms, at 5 o'clock 16 fathoms fine white sand, at six P. M. same bottom with black stains, and as I was only two leagues from land I anchored to await day.

"Mr. d'Iberville came on my board this night and I told him, that having come solely to aid him, we had but to follow his instructions and as to myself, I would follow him as long as my provisions would permit me and that he would deem me useful.

"On Sunday, January 25th, at 6 A. M. the wind was to the east and Mr. d'Iberville made the signals to set sail. I followed him, running along the coast. We put the cape to the west.

"The Biscayen (shallop) was ahead of us with Mr. Lescalette trying to discover some harbor or mouth of a river. . . .

"At 9 A. M. Lescalette signalled that he had reached the entrance of a river and came on board of Mr. d'Iberville's boat to tell him that he saw boats and they immediately came to warn me, but as soon as they boarded the fog became so thick that we had to anchor and they begged me to give the signals which were five cannon shots, that the vessels and fishing vessels anchor also. The ships in port answered, thinking it was their armadilla which was to pass there to go to Vera Cruz. The fog lasted till 3 or 4 P. M. when we perceived sails and vessels, one of which flew the white flag at the head of the main mast, and a shallop with many persons coming to us, but when it was near it stopped; we knew that it was because we had not yet shown our colors; as soon as we unfurled the flag the shallop went back to land and we sent no one on account of the late hour, but we anchored about one and a half miles. The next day, Tuesday 27th, Mr. d'Iberville sent Mr. de Lescalette at the break of day to ask permission to enter the port, under pretext of taking on water and wood. I did not carry any flame, leaving to Mr. d'Iberville the whole care as Your Lordship ordered in the given instructions. He sent a messenger to ask me to display my colors as my ship was the largest, and that they could very well turn out to be English from the news he had. They were Spaniards who had come to establish themselves since three or four months. They were in bad condition, and were even obliged to keep some of their men in irons whilst we were near, coming as they did from all parts of the world. They began a fort which is not finished; the country is so poor that the officers proclaim that they wish they were out of it. They say however that five or six leagues inward it is not the same.

"The commander of this country asked Mr. de Lescalette who commanded the vessels of the king; he told him it was I, and he sent me his sargent major with a letter expressing regrets not to be able to allow the ships of the King to enter the port as he was forbidden to permit any nation to do so, being a recent colony, not yet firmly established, and as to the wood and water which we might need, their men would furnish with their shallops as much as the King's ships needed and as to other refreshments they needed them more than us, having naught but what came from Vera Cruz. I kept the letters he wrote and if it pleases you I shall have the honor to forward them to you. He also offered the officers if they wished to land to receive them as best they could. Those who manned the shallop, the sargent major and the officers with them, all speaking good French, begged me for biscuit, saying they were starving on land and that, if we wanted to receive them, they and some of their comrades on

land would be delighted to leave this country and serve the King of France. I had them fed and sent them word to guard well against deserting because I would be obliged to send them back. As to the sargent major, and the officers who came on board, from the way they ate, we saw that what had been said was true.

"In concert with Mr. d'Iberville, I informed the Governor that, not finding the King's ships in security, I would on the morrow sound the entrance of the river, that I might be familiar with it in case a south wind forced me into its mouth.

"On Wednesday I sent Mr. de Brache, lieutenant on the Francois, with a pilot who sounded up to the anchored vessels, whereupon the governor wrote and begged me to call back the shallop which were sounding, and after getting my letter saying that I did not feel secure, he sent me the royal pilot with orders for him to put me in safety at some place on the coast, but not in their port. Those people fear everything, they are very weak, they are few in numbers, and if we had orders to take their country, we would have done so at small cost. I kept this pilot until the eve of my departure from their port. He told me that there was a ship in the port with sails spread for the gallions, ready to leave for Vera Cruz, and that the governor was to leave on the 27th or 28th; that the arrival of the King's ships had retarded his departure and that of his ships. I forgot to say that the captain of one of these vessels came to dine on board. I showed him the ship; he found it very fine. I wrote to the governor on this captain's return, at Mr. d'Iberville's bidding, and told him that I was to sail along the coast in order to get news of some Canadians who left Canada to join the savages, and to serve on them the King's orders to retire.

"I had from this pilot, before sending him away, a description of this coast and asked if there was no danger to range alongside. He informed me that there was a bar a half a league out at sea. You will see it marked on the map I am sending you. He named these isles, isles of St. Diegue and, as I afterwards heard, was correct in what he said. I showed him the map you sent me and he said there were some places not well marked, but Mr. de Brache had one from his brother, who is at St. Diegue, which he found much better and which is certainly superior to the first as we saw in regard to this coast. I also asked if there were any strange ships on the coast, he said there were none. Then I asked Mr. d'Iberville if I was still useful to him, to execute orders given me. He answered that he might need me and begged me not to leave him, which I did as directed

by you, following him, Your Lordship, till the day he gave his packages saying I could leave when I wished.

"January 30th at 7 A. M. Mr. d'Iberville gave the order to start. Saturday, January 31st at 7 A. M. we set sail.

"On the 10th of February I dined with Mr. d'Iberville and he told me that as soon as it would be a little finer he would sail along the coast to try and speak to some savages, which he did the same day. He found a dugout with savages; as soon as they saw him they all made for land and took to the woods, except one good old man who had been wounded in the thigh, some days previous, by a wild bull, and who could not escape as his companions. Mr. d'Iberville made him understand that he was a friend, that he wished him no harm, and seeing that the poor old man was cold he made him a present of some shirts and a blanket, had him set on the ground and a fire lit for him on account of the intense cold. The savage thanked Mr. d'Iberville in his way and gave him to understand that he was leaving, but would come back the next day.

"Mr. d'Iberville retired but returned the next day, and found a great number of savages who received him very well. He took some on board with him and left in their place his brother and two Canadians. I saw them; they are all well built and robust and they told us that their nations were: The *Bayongonlas*, *Mongoulouchas* and *Anaxis*. I questioned them by sign and they answered like real hogs by an aspiration.

"Mr. d'Iberville who will trade with them will more particularly inform you of what he knows of them, if he can understand them.

"On the 20th of February, I dined with Mr. d'Iberville and he asked me if I was in condition to be able to give him provisions for his crew. I was too short to offer him any but had some flour and wine from my provision bought at Léogane. What I brought from France was partly spoiled. I offered it to him on condition that he would pay me what it had cost, so that I might buy more, or that he would have the sum refunded to me in the same kind by Mr. Ducasse. He wrote a letter to Mr. Ducasse who reimbursed me in kind. The same day he gave me his packages saying that I was free to leave when I chose, that he was going to look for the Mississippi and would leave the vessels where they were with Mr. de Surgeres. I asked the pilot if he had no acquaintances on this river. He said he knew no one but he had heard of a river which went up to Canada, which was beyond the isles of St. Diegue, but that at its mouth there was no water, only great floods, and so great a quantity of trees that they had formed a kind of bar and that he did not think

there was more than one fathom of water. Mr. d'Iberville will have the honor of telling you about it." Chateaumorant then gives an account of all the mishaps which attended his return trip to Léogane, San Domingo, where he arrived June 23, 1700.

Proceeding on its way the expedition arrived at Mobile Bay and touched at an island which they called Massacre, on account of the large quantities of bones found there. This island was renamed Dauphine Island by Bienville and Diron d'Artaguette in 1711, the French authorities in Paris finding that the gruesome appellation was not encouraging to immigration. The next islands on their route were the two Chandeleur islands, a barren stretch of land named from the recent celebration of the feast of Candlemas; Isle Bourbon, now Cat Island, infested by raccoons which the French took for cats; Horn island, (granted in 1717 to Bienville); Deer Island which Raudot petitioned for as a grant "to raise rabbits;" and Ship Island, where the greater part of the expedition encamped whilst the rest remained on Chandeleur island.

From Ship Island Iberville and Bienville headed a reconnoitering party to the mainland. The variegated hues of foliage which clothes the gulf coast in mellow beauty in Autumn had passed away, but the abundant and stalwart trees on that thickly wooded coast precludes its ever taking on the forlorn aspect which denuded trees, draped with sombre grey moss, impart to some shores.

Reaching the bay they came upon seven dugouts with savages who fled to the woods at their approach, but they were able to catch up with an old man and a woman whom they loaded with presents, at the same time giving the man a mat to sleep on, and lighting a fire to keep him warm; unfortunately, as La Harpe relates, the grass caught fire during the night and though the French rescued the aged savage and cared for him he expired shortly after.

However, the woman whom they had treated so cordially induced the savages to meet the white men. These savages belonged to the peaceful *Bilocchy* tribe. Iberville named the bay Biloxi, and the next day met the *Bayougoulas*. Having established friendly relations and exchanged presents they smoked the calumet, and as customary, when the ceremony was ended d'Iberville gave them the calumet which was made in the shape of an iron ship, adorned with "fleurs de lys." and then left them to follow out his mission and search for the delta of the Mississippi.

On February 27th, d'Iberville, Bienville and Sauvolle with 48 men left Ship Island, Iberville and Bienville in separate barks, and on the third day after their departure came in sight of a great ex-

panse of water which seemed like an angry flood. The wind howled and swept over them in widening gusts, the white crested waves rolled on, and broke with deafening sound against the shore. The heavy dark clouds lowered until they seemed to blend with the black foaming waters. Threatened by storm and wind no landing was possible on the spongy banks, when another obstacle rose before them in the shape of destructive reefs. Iberville, in desperation, drove his boats on them,—the slush parted,—the hollow of his hand filled with the muddy water and brought to his lips proved it to be sweet—and the end seemed to have been reached. As they ascended the river canebreaks, sun-baked prairies, and now and then a patch of primeval forest passed before their expectant eyes, but no sign of human life, but, even in that season, the air was vibrant with insect life.

They reached the *Bayougoulas* before being certain that they were in the Mississippi. The Mississippi which had been the river of the Immaculate Conception, bearing on its virgin bosom Marquette and Joliet; the river Colbert when it carried down to its mouth the indomitable Cavelier de la Salle, the river St. Louis in Iberville's day; the Indian Meschacebee, "Father of Waters," and the Malbouche, (with its destructive mouth), which went from the gulf to the lakes."

La Harpe says: "Mr. d'Iberville was uncertain as to his being in the Mississippi, finding none of the nations mentioned by La Salle. The reason thereof was that the Tangipahoas had been destroyed by the Quinipissas who had taken the name of Moughalachas. He was greatly satisfied that Mr. de Bienville, in searching for Father Athanase's breviary found in an Indian basket a prayer book (*paire d'heures*) in which were inscribed the names of several Canadians of Mr. de La Salle's detachment and a letter from Tonty to de La Salle. He wrote that having heard in Canada of his departure from France to found an establishment on this river, he had descended it to the sea with twenty Canadians and thirty Shawnee savages from the neighborhood of the Wabash. This news dispelled all doubts and confirmed the situation of the entrance of the Mississippi at 29° Lat.—(Journal historique de La Harpe. MSS. La. Hist. Society papers.)

Other relics of La Salle's expedition were found in possession of these Indians, among them Tonty's coat on a Moughalacha chief. All doubts laid to rest, the expedition continued on its way up the Mississippi as far as the settlement of the Houmas, visiting and conciliating the savage tribes and smoking the calumet or chanting it with them.

"The Calumet," says Gravier, "was among the North American Indians the mysterious symbol of honor and sworn faith. Sceptres and crowns in their day were never the object of more sincere or more deserved respect.

"The cross of honor and the flag have a more restricted significance. The communion which bound the knights of the middle ages and the love feasts of the Christians of the first centuries are more faithful images of it.

"In the memory of man the faith of the calumet was never violated. There was one for peace and one for war. They were distinguished by the color of the feathers ornamenting them. Red, color of blood was special to the war calumet.

"The calumet, a kind of pipe, was formed of a perfectly polished red stone. The stem, two feet long, was trimmed with gaudy feathers and women's hair.

"In affairs of minor importance it was smoked around, passing it from hand to hand. In a great ceremony, in honor of a distinguished stranger or a neighboring nation, or to declare war they danced it."—(Translation.)

In some tribes the calumet was made of marble. The ceremony ended by the gift of the calumet to the honored guests.

At the Bayougoulas Iberville found the calumet with the fleurs de lys which he had given to the savages he met on the Biloxi coast.

On reaching the Houmas the explorers halted. Around the Houma village there was a pallissade of canes 10 feet high. Their temple was in the centre and had a circumference of 30 feet, the roof was made of split cane. Among the tribes of the lower Mississippi the chichicouchy rattles were used in their dances; they were made of gourds in which were enclosed a few pebbles.

From here the expedition redescended the river to the Ascantia river, otherwise the Bayou Manchac, and Iberville and Bienville separated, Iberville returning to Biloxi by way of Manchac through the lakes, and Bienville continuing to the mouth of the Mississippi. Iberville passed from Bayou Manchac through two lakes which he named Pontchartrain and Maurepas, after the minister of Marine of France, Count Pontchartrain, and the other for the Minister's son. Natchez was then one of the eight villages composing the Indian village of Theloeil. Iberville called it Rosalie in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain. Many of the names then given by d'Iberville remain to this day to recall the French domination and the memory of the great man who founded Louisiana.

Manchac, which means Indian Pass, was long known as Iberville river; Plaquemine, from the French word for persimmon, which abound in that region; Pointe a la Hache and Pointe Coupee explain themselves; La Croix from the cross planted there by the explorers, and Baton Rouge from the leafless red stalks which grew there; Bay St. Louis for the King of France, and Biloxi and Pascagoula from the tribes inhabiting them.

Iberville on his second voyage came through Bayou St. John where there was a well known Indian trail. Du Pratz says he came through Bayou Tchoupic, and that the deserted village of the Quinipissas was on the banks of Bayou Saint John. The conclusion, either way, is that Iberville on this trip covered or came very near the present site of New Orleans, on which spot formerly stood the ancient village of Tchouchouma. In Gravier's "Decouvertes et établissements par le sieur Cavelier de la Salle," there is a map by Franquelin, dated 1684, which bears the site and name of Tchouchouma. When the French ascended the Mississippi in 1699 this village was but a memory; it had been destroyed, or the savages, as it is usual with them, had sought fresh vantage grounds.

Bienville and Sauvolle continued down the river, but the brothers met at a point 18 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. The ground covered had alternately been swamps and canebreaks, but here it was high and of easy access, so they determined to erect a fort. They had laid it out when Tonty appeared among them. Maltot remained to finish the fort and Iberville, Tonty and Bienville started out to explore Red River. The first cotton planted in Louisiana came from seed given by Iberville to the Houmas on this expedition.

In these explorations Iberville was accompanied by Serigny, Bienville and Sauvolle. Many historians have contended that Sauvolle was not a Lemoyne, that Iberville and Bienville never referred to him as their brother. It must be remembered that Sauvolle's career in Louisiana was of short duration. Iberville, omnipotent in the colonies from powerful influence he commanded in France, obtained for Sauvolle a nomination as governor and placed the younger brother second in command. In a Lemoyne genealogy he is mentioned as Sieur de Sauvolle, Governor of Louisiana. Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, a recognized authority on Louisiana history, says in his "Dernières Années de la Louisiane," page 6, speaking of the voyages on the Mississippi: "A month later d'Iberville returned to France to secure reinforcements, leaving the government of the colony to his two brothers: Lemoyne de Sauvolle and Lemoyne de Bienville." Further he mentions that Iberville on his

return to Biloxi brought "to his brother Sauvolle his nomination as governor," left him some provisions and recommended to his brother Bienville to continue the progressive exploration and occupation of the Mississippi.

The Mississippi and Red River expeditions ended, Bienville remained at the fort on the Mississippi and Iberville returned to Biloxi and began the construction of a fort on Biloxi bay. It had "four bastions and 12 pieces of artillery." When the clearing was made and the colonists housed, Iberville, the count de Surgères and Father Athanase Membré returned to France, leaving Sauvolle commander and Bienville as first lieutenant.

Now begins properly speaking the Bienville record as father of Louisiana as well as "father of New Orleans." In this short sketch of Bienville many incidents will seem to have been passed over lightly and others to have been wholly forgotten, but Grace King's able and fertile pen has left so little for those who come after to glean that one hardly dares to tread the ground she has so thoroughly covered.

Sauvolle's first act of authority was to import provisions from San Domingo; his next care to establish friendly relations with the savages. The usual presents were given by the French to the savage tribes. It afterwards became a yearly duty. The English in order to gain over the savages tried to outdo the French in generosity, until the fund for presents weighed heavily on the French, and to prove efficacious it should have been inexhaustible. They accepted the custom almost as a tribute and instead of considering it a generosity classed it as cowardice.

Sauvolle, following Iberville's instructions sent Bienville to explore the bayous of the Mississippi and it was on his way back to Biloxi that he met an English sloop of war. This episode from which English Turn took its name is mentioned by d'Iberville in a letter to Ponchartrain.

Excerpts from d'Iberville's letter or journals of his second voyage to Louisiana:

"On the morning of January 9th Sieur de Sauvolle came on board and told me that an English sloop of 12 cannons commanded by Captain Banc came into the Mississippi river towards the end of September; my brother Bienville had gone there with 25 men to sound its mouth. He found this sloop 25 miles in the river and ordered it to retire, otherwise he would compel it to do so. The captain did not hesitate and made for the sea. He learned from him that in October 1688 three ships had left London to form an estab-

lishment on the Mississippi, that they had put in to harbor at Carolina from which two boats left, one of 24 cannons and the other of 12.

"Having gone to the end of the gulf searching for the Mississippi which, according to relations, was 100 leagues further west, he had found no port except in a bay 80 miles west from here, between islands where he found enough water for large boats, but no river, only a sandy coast, well wooded near which there was a Spanish settlement on the banks of a small river.

"From there they followed the coast, going east, without finding any port up to the Mississippi in which the small boat had entered, the large one having retraced its route to Panicos, having a meeting fixed at the Judjos river on White Cape."

White Cape was the east end of Santa Rosa Island.—(*Translator's note.*)

"This Captain asked many questions about several Englishmen from Carolina who must be on land higher up, where he wished to lay up. He threatened my brother to come back with boats able to enter the river, where he had found but 10 or 12 feet of water, to make an establishment on one of its banks. He pretended that the English had discovered it more than 50 years ago and taken possession of it with the intention of founding a colony there. I do not believe that the threat will be carried out.

"Several Englishmen from Carolina were at the Chickasaws where they trade deer skins and savage slaves. They come from Carolina by ascending a river which ends at high mountains over which they make a portage and carry, by means of mules, their provisions to the Chickasaws.

"This report came from a missionary priest from Canada, who was sent to the Tonicas who inhabit the banks of a river which empties into the Mississippi, 20 leagues above Tensas. He went there with one of the Tonicas to see if there were any Canadians with beaver skins to sell.

"These Englishmen solicit the Chickasaws to kill the missionaries, which fact was made known by other savages, our allies. I shall take measures to take these Englishmen, first drawing them away from the Chickasaws, for fear of giving offense to the latter who are our friends.

"Mr. de Sauvolle will have the honor, Your Lordship, of rendering an account of all that has happened at the fort, where there is nothing extraordinary. Four men died there. Coming and going from different places I passed there in January for soundings and in-

vestigation for establishing a harbor without finding anything good and commodious.

"Messrs. d'Avion and Montigny, missionary priests from Quebec, placed at the Tensas, came to the fort last summer with twelve Canadians who joined them at the Arkansas, to which they returned.

"The Oumas and Bayou Goulas reported that the Natchez killed Mr. de Montigny and one of his men who went to their village. This news gave me much grief to see ourselves at war with that country and to see the Oumas and the Bayou Goulas declare it to each other. This precludes my sending persons up the river in safety and stops communications between the Illinois and the sea, for which consideration I believe a reconciliation with the Natchez necessary, and to also bring about peace between the Bayou Goulas and the Oumas, to be able to penetrate more safely and sensibly into the lands to discover the commercial advantages we may expect in this country.

"I believe, your Lordship, that it was necessary to take possession of the Mississippi by a small establishment, for fear the English might make one knowing that we have none, and that it might be a pretext to maintain themselves there.

"For this reason I left February 1st, in the long boat with two feluccas, and sixty men, and all that I needed for my journey to these lands. On February 3rd at 9 a. m. I entered the river, in a strong east wind and by the East Pass where I found but eleven feet of water, and the entrance difficult of access, the channel being but twenty paces wide. In the two other passes there, water is only seven and eight feet high. At midnight I met my brother Bienville and six men who were eighteen leagues up in the river, the nearest spot to the sea in the river which is not inundated. A Bayou Goula was brought from the village. He assured us that to the right, going up the river, there are six or seven leagues of land which are never under water at high water time. On the edge there is a border of wood 50 paces in width of oaks, ash, elm, poplar, and back of them prairies 75 leagues in depth in which are bouquets of trees. "I set workmen to cutting down the trees and squaring, in order to built a square house of 28 x 28 feet, two stories high with machicoulations, two four pounders, surrounded by a ditch of eight feet width. I shall leave my brother Bienville in command here with 15 men.

"On the 10th I sent a felucca loaded with provisions up the river as high as the Bayou Goulas. This winter is very severe, and strong south winds and heavy rains delay my work.

"On the 16th, Mr. de Tonty arrived in a canoe with two of his men, and 19 Canadians in five canoes who had joined his party. Some are from Tamaroua, some married and at the Illinois; they brought beaver skins which they left at the Bayou Goulas. They relied on finding merchandise here and hoped to dispose of their beavers which embarrass them greatly. I heard from Mr. de Tonty that there is no truth in the report that the Natchez have killed Mr. de Montigny, that they are our friends as well as the other nations.

"Being ready to ascend the river of La Sablonnière I invited Mr. Tonty to go with me which he did with pleasure. Considering that it was for the King's service I induced the other Canadians to do likewise, paying them as the other Canadians for the time I employed them, in powder and other merchandise which I have here as presents, and which I shall use to satisfy them. I hope, Your Lordship, that this will meet with your approval. I needed this aid, not having 30 Canadians to take with me, 20 being sick and the others at the fort on the river.

"Mr. de Tonty denies ever having written any "relations" of this country. Whoever did so made them on spurious memoirs to earn money.

"Mr. de Tonty will be of great assistance as he speaks the Illinois dialect and some of the Canadians will serve as interpreters.

"This reinforcement of good men will enable me to push much further on. I shall be at least two or three months on this journey in order to become well acquainted with the country in case I should be short of provisions, having only enough to last to the month of July. I have written to Mr. de Surgeres that it is advisable for him to return to France as soon as possible and to leave me, from his share, one month's provisions and more if he can, as he, like myself, has enough to last till the end of July.

"The 17th and 18th, there was a heavy sleet during the whole day and it was very cold. The 19th I left with Mr. de Tonty to go to my felucca 40 miles above on the river, at a portage of one league from Lake Pontchartrain to the river, where I made Mr. Lescalette come with all his baggage by the biscayen (a shallop or long boat); he will make pirogues at this portage and ascend the river.

"Mr. de Tonty and the other Frenchmen believe that he cannot, with safety, go to the Sioux without being plundered by the Illinois, who are determined that no Frenchmen shall go to the Sioux, their enemies, with munitions of war. They pillaged eleven Frenchmen,

who had 33,000 pounds of beaver skins on their return east last October.

I sent the larger long boat to sound the coast to the Appalachees and verify the report that the English are established at the bay of Carlos.

The long boat having burned, without our ever being able to find out who set fire to it, prevented me from sending east and west. I thought it was preferable to send to the Appalachees and find out what is going on there on account of the English who know a river in the land where they are which empties into the sea near Appalachicola.

"The establishment of the Spaniards which the English found about 90 leagues to the west of the Mississippi is where Mr. de La Salle went, and from which place he did not like to see the approach of other nations; I will hear news of this at the Cenis where I think they may be established.

"From the way the people above speak there are lead and copper mines in abundance beyond the Tamarouas. If I had been able to send for a sample I would have taken it away this year. I shall send a reliable man to look into this. The Tamarouas are 480 leagues from the sea coast in the upper part of the river. The Sioux, where where Mr. Lesueur* is going are about 800 leagues from it. The opinion of 15 men who followed this river is that Mr. Lesueur will not be able to reach it this year.

"I hope, Your Lordship, that before I leave this country I will know it well enough to make a faithful report.

"The 23rd I went to the portage from which I sent my brother with men to the Tensas to get a Shawnee who speaks all the dialects of the savages on the Sablonniere. This soldier will come over land to meet us at the Cadodaquias. The 26th I reached the Bayou Goulas with my feluccas which I rowed to bring in 10 marine guards and some of my men who were not able to go by land. The Canadians have about 4,000 fat dried beavers.

"I remain with profound respect, Your Lordship,
Your humble and obedient servant,
Signed: d'IBERVILLE."

Sauvolle during the short time he governed the colony proved that he was capable and firm. His first care was to send to San Domingo for provisions. Famine was a frequent guest in those first colonial years, the colonists and the mother country being bent only on the discovery of mines. France exploited Louisiana, but the

help sent was so irregular that Bienville from his fort on the Mississippi, had to send his starving men to hunt at Bay St. Louis, (1701) and Sauvolle gave the missionaries going to the Natchez, 15 pounds of beads to pay for corn, which they were to put in a hut so that it would be ready for those who would come for it, (1701). Sauvolle writes that he is obliged to extend charity to travelers, of whom there are sixty in Biloxi, though he is hardly in a position to succor them. They had come down from Canada with peltries and beaver skins and he awaited orders from the mother country; in the meanwhile he had not allowed a single beaver skin to be embarked on the vessel which carries this letter, (1701). A memorial from Canada to France complained of the exodus of Canadian traders to lower Louisiana where they disposed of their peltries and skins and thereby hurt the commerce of Canada.

Sauvolle, following out d'Iberville's instructions, sent Bienville to explore the bayous of the Mississippi and on a mission of conciliation among the different savage tribes.

Sauvolle was for establishing the principal post on the Mississippi. He considered Biloxi to be of minor importance, and wrote to Count Pontchartrain that the destitution of the neighboring savages was such that if the hope of discovering mines was not realized the mother country would never be reimbursed for the expenses incurred.

To discourage him still more, famine could not be avoided, notwithstanding the help of the friendly savages, and, following it, came that dread scourge, yellow fever, to which the ambitious and promising young commander fell a victim.

Bienville came from the fort on the Mississippi to replace him, and though this sketch is supposed to deal with Bienville in New Orleans, it would be incomplete if some account was not given of his previous services at Fort Bourbon on the Mississippi, where Iberville had left a few Canadian families; in Biloxi, Dauphine Island, Mobile, etc. He acquired great power over the savages, who loved him for his kindness but dreaded his unflinching sense of justice. He conciliated some savage tribes by presents and promises, but others he had to subdue. His provisions were scanty and his force of men inadequate, but his will and spirit were indomitable and he achieved success which surpassed all expectations. Famine again made ravages in the embryo colony, and the years following Sauvolle's death were strenuous ones for the young commander. There were several factions in the colony headed by the Curate de la Vente and La Salle, who was second in command.

D'Iberville's powerful influence in France thwarted their plans, but their open insolence did not abate. In 1704 *The Pelican* arrived at Biloxi with provisions, ammunition, two companies of soldiers and 27 women and girls, but it also brought the plague from Havana. Bienville reports 25 deaths on board, 22 dead at the fort and two-thirds of the garrison stricken down. In this letter he mentions that there is no fresh meat and that the sick are nourished with broth made of salt meat. He begs the King to maintain a transport for cattle in order to end this hardship.

The curate and La Salle continued their intrigues and finally succeeded in having Bienville recalled to France, but de Muys, who was to replace him, died before reaching Louisiana. Bienville, awaiting the appointment of another commander, remained in command, but La Salle, caught in his own trap, was replaced by Diron d'Artaguette, who having investigated, according to orders, Bienville's administration, exonerated him of all the charges La Salle had brought against him. There are documents proving that Bienville at this time, far from enriching himself at the expense of the government, was so poor that he had to borrow money to meet his daily expenses.

It was in this interim that Bienville proposed to exchange three savage slaves for two negroes. The only colonists who up to this time had amassed any kind of fortune were tavern keepers who dispensed liquor.

Diron d'Artaguette in a report to France mentions a few colonists between the Mississippi and Lake Pontchartrain. Gayarre places this small colony of "5 to 7 inhabitants who have planted an arpent of corn" at Gentilly. These were the first farmers of Louisiana, for it seems to have been a fixed idea with the other colonists that they were to receive everything necessary for their subsistence from France.

To replace De Muys, Lamothe Cadillac was sent to Louisiana, and if his first memorial had carried persuasion with it, Louisiana was doomed. He winds up all his disparaging remarks by calling the colony, in 1716, "a beast without head nor tail." We have not to deal with his mistakes, but the consequence. There is no doubt that this, added to d'Artaguette's disparagement of Louisiana, determined the concession to Crozat of the exclusive commerce of all the territory owned by France between Carolina and Mexico, and of that lying on the Mississippi, the Wabash, (St. Jerome river) and the Missouri, up to Illinois. In this charter it is evident that France claimed what is now Texas. This monopoly was granted in 1712 and was supposed

to last fifteen years. It gave Crozat exclusive right over all the known and unknown products of Louisiana, and a sum of fifty thousand pounds or francs was to be allowed yearly by the French government for the salaries of officers of the crown. Its government was vested in a Superior Council.

It obligated Crozat to send yearly two ships and a fixed number of colonists to Louisiana, and it was this charter which instituted the slave trade in Louisiana. France admitted that once a year they should send a ship to the coast of Guinea for negroes. The governor resided at Dauphine Island. During Cadillac's administration Bienville was sent against the Natchez, who had murdered four Canadians, but with his usual obstinacy Cadillac gave him but 34 men with which to meet 800 Natchez savages.

Bienville with this small force knew that he was powerless, but his sagacious mind soon formed a plan which he carried out to the advantage of the French where they had nothing to expect but defeat from overwhelming numbers. The Great Sun, the Little Sun, and the Tattooed Serpent were detained as prisoners until Bienville had obtained satisfaction and the heads of three murderers. The fort which was later on to become the scene of a bloody massacre was built at this time.

Crozat's monopoly was a signal failure, and in 1717 he gave up his charter, which was turned over to a company registered in Paris September 6, 1717, as the West India Company, with a capital of one hundred millions, with privileges as extended as those granted to Crozat. There were clauses added for the protection of the colonists. For instance, no taxes were to be levied on them before the expiration of three years.

Bienville was again nominated as governor, and in 1718 three ships arrived with three companies of soldiers and 69 colonists. Bienville was now able to carry out his cherished dream of a post on the Mississippi, for which he foresaw the brightest possibilities. The spot for the establishment of New Orleans had long been determined by Bienville. He immediately sailed for the Mississippi and left there 50 men to do the clearing under de Pailhoux, as commander. It must have been between the 14th and 16th of April, 1718, but in 1719 there were only four houses in New Orleans besides the Company's sheds. Diron d'Artaguette in a memorial to France says that New Orleans was really founded in 1722, for the men and convicts left under de Pailhoux's orders to clear the canebrake and begin building had done nothing. In 1719 a terrible hurricane and inundation occurred and made all work impossible. In 1720 the petty war,

relative to the establishment of this post was still rife. Manchac, in the interior and communicating with the lakes by Iberville river, was deemed by many the most advantageous position; others thought the principal post should be at Natchez, founded since 1716; most of the colonists preferred the capital to remain at Biloxi, and Le Blond de la Tour, chief engineer of the colony, belonged to this party. He had been ordered to look into the situation of New Orleans, and to remove it, if necessary, to a more favorable site, but he neglected these instructions.

De Pauger sounded the mouth of the river. He first found 10 feet and later on 14 feet of water at the entrance, making it navigable for the largest ships of the Company. In 1721 Bienville commissioned him to make the plan of the city. When de Pauger arrived the convicts, unwilling to work, fled to the woods, and he had to appeal to de Pailhoux for laboring hands. The commander put an officer and a few soldiers under his orders; and with these de Pauger finished the clearing and laid out the plan of our present city.

Dumont says that the first circuit contained but four blocks defended by a parapet of ditches, the second eight blocks facing the river by five in depth. In 1721 there were not 500 inhabitants in New Orleans, which was to comprise "all the land on both sides of the river St. Louis," and that included between the river and Lake Pontchartrain, and from "Lake Maurepas to the east, ascending to the country of the Tonicas." De Pauger had to contend against the ill-will exhibited by the clerk of the Company who threw all sorts of obstacles and delays in his way; against insubordination and laziness among the laborers, and persecution in every shape, but he persevered, and when the plan was completed he sent a copy to Le Blond de la Tour and one to Bienville.

Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage says that the plan was "mis-laid between New Orleans and Biloxi." It remained in Le Blond de la Tour's possession and he never produced it until ordered to do so by the authorities in Paris. It may be easily conceived that Bienville, who at first sight had discerned all the advantages of our present site, lost no time in forwarding de Pauger's report on the Mississippi and the plan.

Bienville held out for his cherished idea against intrigue and opposition until the order came to transfer the seat of government to New Orleans.

In 1723 we find Adrien de Pauger at work at the Balize. In 1724 the streets of New Orleans were first named. The city extended from Esplanade to Bienville and from the river to Rampart. Bar-

racks and Hospital were not then open; the first street then mentioned is rue de l'Arsenal, which afterwards became "rue des Ursulines," St. Philippe, du Maine, Ste Anne, Orleans (the widest), St. Peter, Toulouse, St. Louis and Bienville. The river front extended to what is now Decatur and was called "rue du Quay"; then comes Chartres, later on the portion from Esplanade to Orleans was called Conde and the rest kept its name, Chartres; the next street was "Royale" and lastly Bourbon. Dauphine was opened later and gradually the city extended in length and breadth.

The MSS. of the Louisiana Historical Society show how little appreciation was accorded to Pauger. His letters to France are long recitals of the wrongs inflicted on him. Even his letters were intercepted and tampered with. It was on his complaint that was issued the decree inflicting a severe penalty for interception and opening letters addressed to another. The development of the suit of Pauger vs. Bienville seems like a tragedy, for the man who did almost as much as Bienville towards the founding of New Orleans.

He was evicted from the land he had cleared and cultivated and on which he had erected a house, but after his death De la Chaise claimed and obtained for his heirs the price expended upon the improvements put on this land, and de Noyan, who represented Bienville, turned the sum over to the estate of de Pauger. De Pauger was one of the first proprietors of Pointe St. Antoine, later on Pointe Marigny (at the site of Vallette St., Algiers). He died in 1726 and was buried in the Parish Church, which on the same site preceded our present Cathedral of St. Louis. One of the streets in olden times was named rue St. Adrien from him, but it has long since been forgotten. New Orleans seems to have been lavish in memorials to all passing heroes, but entirely oblivious of those to whom it owes its existence.

True, it was the transmission of Crozat's charter to the Company of the West India Company which determined and allowed the founding of New Orleans, but it was Bienville's stubborn perseverance in his design and de Pauger's accurate science and energy which were the starting point of the rights we possess today. Their faith in the future did not waver, and time has fully justified it. Laws' magnificent scheme fell into fragments under treachery. Louisiana, doomed to another change, weak and panting under a terrible burden, was to emerge from its successive mutations strong and brilliant. Truly the history of the world is not made by chance.

When Bienville founded New Orleans his first care was to protest against sending to the infant colony such persons as would retard rather than advance its growth and prosperity; he wanted no

useless mouths to feed, he pleaded for a clean city and his plea was granted, as may be proved by an ordinance from France prohibiting the importation of criminals, vagabonds, etc., to his colony. It was customary for European nations to send their criminals and turbulent element to their colonies in the new world. What Bienville obtained for Louisiana was not extended to the other French colonies, but Bienville obtained redress in New Orleans.

Since it has so often been brought up against us let us mention the girls who came to New Orleans. Those who came from the house of correction went to Pascagoula; those who came under charge of the gray sisters had been, as demanded "raised in piety and drawn from sources above suspicion, and knew how to work." As to those sent to New Orleans in 1728, (De Villiers du Tarrage says, 1727), they were virtuous girls of whom no descendant need be ashamed. They were entrusted to the care of the Ursulines, where they remained until married. Le Mascrier gives an amusing account of their landing, the precautions taken to guard them, the speed with which their respective marriages came off, and the quarrel over the last remaining one, for whom lots were cast. "One alone," he writes, "had come willingly and was called the damsel of good will." These girls were called the "filles de la cassette" from the small box or trunk given them by the King.

The mother country had forbidden the granting of lands in free tenure from Manchac down to the gulf, but it encouraged concessions of two or three arpents frontage by a depth of 60 arpents to different families of workmen and soldiers. The purpose of this ordinance was to increase the number of inhabitants, to hold them near together, above and below New Orleans, so that, in case of attack, the entrance from the gulf side might be adequately defended. The lands conceded were to be partly cleared and cultivated within the first six months and a verbal process made of taking possession of grant, letters patent registered, land to be completely fenced, front, rear and sides. The colonists neglected these conditions and their indifference gave rise to discussions and quarrels. The records of those days abound in suits of expropriation, recovery of land, etc. The Company provided negroes to aid in cultivation, and they were paid for in installments at stated periods. Some of the colonists sold these negroes before they had finished paying for them. They were obliged to obtain permission from the Company to sell even a part of their land. Hunting and fishing were free throughout the colony.

In 1723 it was decreed that concessions which had not been cleared and cultivated or had otherwise failed to comply with the

conditions imposed on them should revert to the Company of the Indies, which Company was free to concede them to other colonists. Abandoned lands likewise reverted to the Company.

That same year the King reduced the quantity of the land to be conceded from 60 arpents to 20 arpents; those however who had more than 20 arpents in cultivation were confirmed in their titles of possession of all the cultivated land and the surplus went to the Company.

The lands granted were paid for four years after taking possession of them. To enable the Company to construct churches, presbyteries and hospitals, a tax was levied on each negro head. They tried in the beginning of the colony to concede lands carrying with them the title of "sieur," but this fell through immediately and the "sieurs" in Louisiana came from France and Canada. The fact is that the best part of our population were hardy Canadians, some with titles and others of humble origin who had come to build a home and seek for fortune.—Compiled from Notes from Margry and MSS. of Louisiana Historical Society.

Concessions granted to the colonists with the purpose of encouraging agriculture would have been of no avail if the Company of the Indies had not allowed and encouraged the importation of negroes from the coast of Guinea. Negroes and negresses, in good physical condition, above 17 years, were called "piece d'Inde," which meant that they were property of the Company. In 1721 about 900 negroes came from the coast of Africa, but one of the frigates burned at sea with its human freight and only 500 reached Louisiana.

A colony of Germans sent to Law's concession (1721) as colonists lingered long at Biloxi before obtaining transportation to the Mississippi. Famine survened and they were decimated not only by sickness and privation, but by poison from ravenously devouring plants, unknown to them, to appease their hunger. On June 4, 1722, another company of 250 Germans, under Chevalier d'Arensbourg, a Swede, arrived in Louisiana, and with them came the news of Law's failure and flight. One may imagine the despair of the colonists, and the destitution which followed this news; but France seemed to shake off its usual indifference; a shipment of provisions reached the colony and hope revived, but the hurricane of 1722 again threw the colonists into desperate straits. The only remedy which could be suggested as alleviation of their misery was free passage in the Company's ships for those whose discouragement led them to wish to return to France. Among these were the lately arrived German colonists. Bienville to retain them conceded lands to them 20 miles above New Orleans,

on both sides of the river, in the present parishes of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist. D'Arensbourg was named commander of the "German coast" and these men became the most successful and thrifty cultivators of Louisiana. Bienville placed many of these destitute families on his concession which he partitioned into minor tracts. A sale to Rodolphe Guillard by Veurer, a German vassal of Bienville, shows on what terms the lands were given. In 1727, Veurer, with the consent of de Noyan, acting for Bienville, turned this tract over to Guillard on a yearly rental of 6 farthings an arpent or 36 francs in all. He was held to 12 days labor in the year for benefit of Mr. de Bienville, and also to furnish him 12 capons. Veurer owed 372 francs and Guillard accepted this responsibility.

In this so called German company there were men of different nationality: Pictot, aged 50, came from Moncouteau, Brittany; Gaspard Toubs, Erizman and Maurice Kobel were from Switzerland; Jacques Poché, was from Artois, France; Joseph Waguespack, was from Alsatia, which was then a French province and had been one since 1648; the Verret family of the "German coast" came from Quebec, Canada, etc.

About this time the Company of the Indies divided Louisiana into nine districts: Mobile, New Orleans, Biloxi, Alibamons, Natchez, Yazoo, Nachitoches, Kaskaskia and Illinois, which had been incorporated in the government of Louisiana in 1717.

In 1723 Bienville had the satisfaction of transferring the seat of government and his residence to New Orleans. There were then about one hundred houses and two hundred inhabitants in the city, and the distress was such that the governor implored the Company to send salted meats to save them from starvation. With all these internal troubles Bienville had not been spared anxiety from without. The recurrence of quarrels with the turbulent Natchez savages came from illicit trade between them and the French colonists, and finally led to a second Natchez war. Bienville again subdued them and claimed the heads of the assassins of the Frenchmen, but his efforts and success brought no satisfaction within the colony. Intrigues went on increasing in importance and numbers and finally Hubert's calumnious accusations occasioned his recall to France. His last act was to promulgate the Black Code for the government of the numerous negro slaves indispensable to the planter. This code was so complete and so deserving of commendation that O'Reilly adopted it for Spain with only a few minor changes. Bienville had been in Louisiana 34 years when recalled. He presented a memorial to the Minister justifying his administration of the colony, recalling

his campaigns, his services, his discoveries, the hardships endured, the attachment of his family to the King in whose service seven brothers had given up their lives, he and three others still being in the service, faithfully performing their duties to crown and country.

His departure did not mend matters; his cousin de Boisbriant, governed the colony until the arrival of Perrier, named to succeed him.

Bienville had obligated the planters to make levees before each plantation, and under Perrier this work took a more general aspect. In 1727 Perrier announced that the levee was finished before New Orleans, that it was "nine hundred fathoms long by eighteen in width and height. This year it will extend six leagues above and six leagues below the city, and these extensions, though not as strong as the city levees, will prevent inundation."

There was a canal on Bourbon street and every lot was surrounded by a ditch. Bienville had intended to connect the river and bayou St. John by a canal but had not been able to carry out his plans. He had succeeded in driving the colonists to cultivation of the land and success had followed, holding out a promise of future prosperity. Harvests were abundant; rice, indigo and tobacco became staple products; the soil produced native fruit, and others, such as oranges and figs were readily naturalized. The impulse was given and Louisiana under an experienced administration would have progressed rapidly, but insubordination was always rampant in Louisiana, and the outside conditions demanded so much attention that it was difficult to quell the turbulent spirit and dissensions within. Bienville had held the savages in check by his individuality. They knew that any hostile act would be swiftly followed by retribution. Perrier tried to keep all the tribes on the Mississippi from the Arkansas post to the delta in peace; he made presents to the Chickasaws to induce them to harass the English; he had tried to fortify the different posts but had met with no response, and finally the brutality and despotism of the commander at the Natchez post brought on a conspiracy which was intended to be general, and which, if it had not been thwarted in its unity by a Natchez savage woman, would not have left a single Frenchman on Louisiana soil. As it was, the massacres at the Natchez and Yazoo posts cost the French 250 lives at Natchez alone, and at the Yazoo post but one woman escaped. Even the Choctaws vacillated between joining the conspiracy or denouncing it. The Chickasaws were the instigators of this conspiracy, though then at peace with the French, and after the ineffectual campaign undertaken by Perrier, to punish the

Natchez, they gave refuge to the Natchez fugitives. Diron d'Artaguette throws the blame of the failure of the French to obtain satisfaction from the Natchez on Governor Perrier.

Perrier in his report says that he cannot sufficiently eulogize those who took part in the retaliating expedition. Perrier himself acted treacherously towards the Natchez chiefs whom he made prisoners when they had come at his instance under a flag of truce. The Great Sun, the Little Sun, 450 women and children and other prisoners were sent to Hispaniola to be sold as slaves, and the Natchez through vengeance continued their depredations on the river. The Chickasaws espoused their cause and harassed the colony on land and water. Mr. de Beauchamp in a despatch (1731) complains of Perrier's hardness to colonists and foes and begs for Bienville's recall, as he alone could subdue the savages.

The Company of the Indies had held their charter 14 years and during that lapse of time had spent twenty million pounds; they now gave it up and Bienville was again sent to Louisiana as governor in 1733. Stopping at Cape François, San Domingo, he saw the Natchez chiefs who had been sold as slaves; they assured him that they had been goaded on to hostilities by cruelty and injustice, and that his return would bring tranquility to the colony.

A letter from Perrier, dated March 6, 1733, relates that as soon as Bienville arrived in New Orleans he transmitted the government to him, though Bienville, the eve, had sent him an insulting message by the Sieur de Macarty, who came to his house (intoxicated) and signified to him that he must at once remove his belongings or he would have them thrown on the street. Bienville, to Perrier's disgust and amazement, refused to be received before the troops, and thought it sufficient to be installed in presence of the Council. He criticizes Bienville's design of concluding a treaty of peace with the Chickasaws and thanks the Minister for his recall.

Bienville immediately set to work to clothe the destitute troops, to study the changes in the colony, in order to ascertain its needs and know what posts he should reinforce. The barracks were not habitable; he suggested a new building and pavilions adjoining the barracks as lodgings for the officers. He also petitioned the King for a year's pay to the retired soldiers who had been formed into companies to fight the Natchez. He expected them to remain as inhabitants after their discharge if the gratification was allowed. He asked for the same compensation for those serving at l'isle Royale and thereby retained an industrious and useful unit as population. He also claimed a shipment of guns to replace those of the garrison,

out of service from use and rust. As products of Louisiana, he mentions: Indigo, abandoned for the culture of tobacco; rice; sugar cane, for which he dreads the frost; cotton, sea island cotton, a failure, but Siam cotton comes abundantly and without labor; the seed being hard to separate a mill was invented of which great results were expected. He speaks of silk, (the Ursuline orphanage, the cradle of the fabrication of silk in New Orleans); hemp, results not satisfactory; linen, fine and good; bray, tar, etc. In this memorial Bienville and Salmon also mentioned their intention of renewing commerce with the Spaniards "which had been surrendered through bad faith and incapacity," their wish to foster and protect the establishment of the Jesuits for the welfare of the colony; he states that the fund of 5000 pounds which the King allows for maintainance of the hospital is insufficient, his Majesty having 800 men in the troops, two-thirds of whom are continually ill with fevers and dysentery. This same year famine and an epidemic of small-pox visited the colony, and desertions increased from want and fear of the plague; the savages profited to become more aggressive, and Bienville was obliged to invoke the aid of Beauharnais, who sent the Canadian savages against the Chickasaws.

Bienville on his return found that the feelings of the savages towards the French had greatly changed since the Natchez war. His influence over them had been unbounded. Cadillac, who was his enemy, was forced to recognize it, but Bienville now found the different tribes in sympathy with the English and seeming to disdain the French since the Natchez war. The Chickasaws and Alibamons were almost English allies and the faithful Choctaws and Illinois were on the verge of a break with the French. Bienville realized the difficulties of the situation, but, with his usual pertinacity, undertook to overcome them. He had never allowed the savages to come to New Orleans or Biloxi for their presents. He gave the chief an individual one, and those remitted to him intended for the nation he distributed as he chose. After Perrier the chiefs were numerous; the customs were so different among the savages and so well rooted that it was impossible to return to the old order of things. All these chiefs controlled a party and had to be dealt with according to their influence. The Natchez, during some time after Bienville's return, remained quiet, but with that absolute quietude which portends evil, the Illinois and Ouabache tribes were uncertain, the Nachitoches had for some time been more than restless, the Osages had killed eleven French hunters. The colony had every reason to fear that they were on all sides surrounded by treachery and danger. Bienville had little

hope of re-establishing the conditions which existed in his previous term. Perrier's domineering spirit, want of discernment, cruelty and weakness, had borne bitter fruits. Conciliation was possible with some, and war on others was inevitable.

The Choctaw chief called Red Shoe, in 1734, was invited by the English to visit their settlements in Carolina. The French had shown this chief very little consideration; the English gave him a commission, the title of King, a medal, presents and the flag of Great Britain, which he proudly displayed on his return among the Choctaws. The Jesuit Father Beaudoin was Bienville's friend and had great ascendancy over the Choctaws, among whom he spent many years as a missionary. He counselled Bienville and used his influence over them to the advantage of the French, but they remained divided in their sympathy between the French and the English. Red Shoe let no pretext go by to thwart the plans of the French and de Lery reports that, while the troops were on the march in the Natchez and Chickasaw campaigns, the English came into the Choctaw camp with twelve horses laden with provisions and merchandise and traded with these savages. The Choctaws had 32 villages, and the scarcity of French provisions made it difficult to supply their wants and facilitated the intrigues of the English traders.

Bienville felt the coils of savage warfare tightening around him. He could put but 200 soldiers in the field and his savage allies could not be relied on. The Chickasaws had 450 well armed warriors and had erected fortifications. They had five palisaded forts and their cabins were surrounded by triple rows of stakes and so covered as to make them fire proof. In a letter to France, (1736), the writer says that miners and not soldiers would be required to destroy these Indians as they lived buried like badgers in huts like ovens covered with thatched straw roofs. The roofs, he declares, would burn but the hut, in the shape of a half circle, made of mud a foot thick, around and above, is indestructible by fire or ammunition. They are moreover so disposed that they held together and defended each other.—(Margry's notes.)

Bienville and d'Artaguette had planned to meet and take the savages between two fires, but d'Artaguette reached the place in March and Bienville, owing to continued rains, arrived only in the month of May. d'Artaguette, no longer able to hold his savages, gave the signal for attack. The Illinois and Miamis abandoned the French and d'Artaguette and many brave officers lost their lives. Some Iroquois had been in d'Artaguette's command and on their return excited the Hurons and Ottawas against the Chickasaws. A

letter to France (Feb. 21, 1737,) denies that Mr. d'Artaguette and all his officers were left dead on the battle field with Pere Senac and seventeen others: "These unfortunates were thrown alive into two fires prepared by the savage women who watched them burn to death." The slave Avoyelle, a prisoner of the Chickasaws, relates these facts which she witnessed. She also declared that during the preparations for this barbarous holocaust the Frenchmen and the black robe sang as is the custom of the savages who value a warrior's courage by the sound more or less loud of his voice when death is inflicted. The savages only spared the lives of two soldiers whom they are to exchange for one of their chiefs named Courseac whom Mr. de Bienville holds as a prisoner of war.

After d'Artaguette's defeat, the Illinois post was re-enforced with men and munitions and Bienville was planning a second campaign. The confederate savages comprised the Chickasaws, the Natchez, the Chouanois, etc. They numbered about 800 and Bienville deemed it imprudent to march against them with less than one thousand good soldiers.

In 1739 Beauharnais sent a detachment commanded by the Baron de Longueil and Lesueur wrote from his post at "Tombecke," that the Choctaws were well disposed towards the French. Red Shoe, dissatisfied with the English, was willing to serve Bienville. The Canadian forces and those from the colony were to meet at a point near the Chickasaw settlement. The reconnoitering of the ground, by the engineer de Verges made for the last campaign was to serve in the present one but it no longer existed and Sausier and de Noyan sought another. There were in the army counting savages and whites in Canadian and local forces, about 3,600 men. Yellow fever decimated the northern troops, and when a road was finally located by the engineer Broutin, their provisions were exhausted and they began a retreat. As Bienville retired Mr. Celeron and his Canadians and savages appeared and marched against the Chickasaws, but no battle took place. The Chickasaws humbly sued for peace which they obtained from Bienville by giving up Natchez savages and by binding themselves to the extermination of this nation which had been as prominent in North American annals as the fire-worshippers of the Orient. Celeron saved the honor of the French of the lower Mississippi and was the hero of this last campaign. Bienville's memorial of May 6, 1740, giving an account of these events is replete with excuses for this unfortunate campaign; he felt and says that the French cabinet would not be satisfied with results which did not justify the considerable sums expended in this cause.

When we consider Bienville's position during this second term, we can hardly blame him. He says in asking for his recall that "fate was against him," fate in the shape of traps laid by faithless and unscrupulous fellow-citizens bent on his undoing, and the years of maladministration and mistakes of his predecessor. He feared to let the propitious moment go by of seemingly dictating peace terms when later on he would have to accept them, for the weakness of the Louisiana colonists was apparent, and it was fostered and increased by dissension and the complete absence of that *esprit de corps* which would have made them strong.

That the peace concluded would be of short duration was to be expected, but before a year had elapsed the Natchez again began their depredations on the Mississippi and on the Wabash. The Natchez took refuge with the Cherokees, and the Chickasaws were only deterred from abandonment of their settlement by its extreme fertility.

Bienville, since 1740, had asked for his discharge and in March, 1742, he again broached the subject. He knew that his continual efforts for the betterment of the colony had not always been followed by the success they deserved, but his fidelity and zeal could not be questioned. This was the tenor of his petition through its long wording, and though he knew that his time in Louisiana had drawn to its close, he zealously guarded its interests till the day of his release in 1743.

To take Bienville's dimensions as explorer, founder and statesman, would require an able pen, but none who has studied the history of Louisiana, can withhold the need of reverence and gratitude due this grand figure. His career began at the age of twelve, following an older brother through danger and hardship on land and sea, to a new world, part of which he helped to conquer and give to the old. From the day he set foot on this soil and with the eagle eye of genius foresaw the possibilities of the site on the Mississippi, he dreamed of founding a great city; he nursed that dream and fought for it with strength and mind until he made it a reality and a success. He gave his heart, his mind, his strength to foster the life of the city he created with foresight of its future success, but without illusions as to the gratitude which should have been his by right, without conviction that his work and sacrifices would ever overcome the cabalistic warfare waged against him which embittered his life, especially, without hope that the mother country would uphold him till final success.

From the day he left New Orleans in 1726 to seek rest and peace in Paris, rue Champfleury, to that other day when realizing its great mistake France returned him to Louisiana to unravel the tangled skein of weak administrations, Bienville's brave heart never faltered. Through penury, distress and war he steered his colony with ability. He sacrificed his youth to its founding, he gave his manhood to its establishment and development, and in his declining years came the dark hour when, at the foot of a tottering throne, he pleaded in vain for its life as a child of France.

As phantoms all those years of toil and persecution, of expeditions undertaken and battles won faded into nothingness, and the brave spirit which had never quailed went down before the annihilation of all his past.

His death in 1768 saved him from adding to this crushing blow that of the bloody tragedy which inaugurated the Spanish domination, and in which the Lemoyne blood again flowed for France.

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT.

April 23, 1918.



SIDE LIGHTS ON LOUISIANA HISTORY.

To appreciate the changes and progress which two centuries have brought to Louisiana we must know its past history; not the history of its battles and conquests, but the chronicles of its administrations, its moral and its strenuous life, the crimes committed and the penalties inflicted, the influences brought to bear upon religion, education and manners, all of which stamp the national character.

The documents and excerpts which follow, derived from papers and MSS. in care of the Louisiana Historical Society, give the sidelights which will put in relief the inner life of the colony in Bienville's time.

Church and Education in New Orleans.

Bienville's first care in founding New Orleans was to choose a site for the church, accompanied by the Jesuit, Ignatius de Beaubois, he selected a central tract in the plan of the city and Bienville with his sword marked out the square where the Saint Louis cathedral now stands. Religious services were first held in the Company of the Indies' store and under a tent, but, under a father Matthias, there was a church built of wood, dedicated to Saint Ignatius. It was blown down by the hurricane of 1723 and this church was replaced in 1724 or 1725 by a brick church called the Parish Church of Saint Louis, which outlived the French domination and was a very active unit of the Spanish domination during 26 years. Father Matthias was its first rector.

When Crozat's charter passed to the Company of the Indies it had to comply with an ordinance which compelled them to erect a church on any settlement made by the company, and to bear the expense thereof.

In May, 1722, the company with the approval of the Bishop of Quebec, divided Louisiana into three ecclesiastical provinces under the Carmelites, the Capuchins and the Jesuits. The recall of the Carmelites left the whole region to the Capuchins and to the Jesuits. There was a Recollet in New Orleans in 1720, and other priests, off and on, from that date appear to have exercised their ministry but they were not permanently established here. The Capuchins first appear in Louisiana records in 1720, though the King's brevet to them dates from 1717. Father Matthias was in New Orleans in

1720, but his signature also appears in "Old Biloxi" and in the Mobile registers.

There was but one religion followed in Louisiana, the Roman Catholic, and Bienville and his French successors upheld the church so that its history blends with the political history of Louisiana; it is said that much of the animosity against Bienville came from his partiality to the Jesuits.

There was much laxity in the observance of religious rites in Louisiana but after the priests were permanently established and that the Ursulines formed the minds and hearts of the wives and mothers of the colony religious influence spread. The child had scarcely opened its eyes upon the world than the priest gave the soul in its infant body its rank as an individual and a Christian; love was idealized and sanctified by a sacrament, and death, the dividing line between two worlds, again brought the priest to bless the lifeless clay which had held an immortal soul. Still these first colonists were not devout nor bigoted. Laws had to be enforced to compel them to abstain from work on Sundays, to close the cabarets and gaming houses, and even though the ordinance was limited to the hour of Mass on Sundays and feast days, many delinquents were found when the attorney-general made his rounds of inspection. They were cited and fined to the benefit of the hospital and a second offense brought a more severe penalty, but the fines were paid and the games and the parties went on.

Bienville believed that religious orders had a salutary influence and gave vitality and expansion to the colony. There were Capuchins stationed at the Balize, Tchoupitoulas, les Allemands, Nachitoches, and Mobile. The Jesuits had full sway over the Indian missions but had a house and a chapel in New Orleans, adjoining Bienville's house, which was then at the extreme end of the city, which extended only to what was then Bienville street.

The missionaries were to be supported by the Company of the Indies, but records of the seminary of Quebec show that little attention was paid to promises. The seminary was to receive 3,000 pounds or francs a year for the missions, and the missionaries were admonished to subsist thereon. Three thousand pounds seemed to be a goodly sum for priests among the savages, but until then the number had not been large on account of the difficulty of maintenance, the sum stipulated not being paid for several years, and when payment was made it was in notes or orders on the royal treasury, which had to be negotiated at half price to secure any money. On 3,000 pounds only 1,500 had been received.

Still, living was more expensive in Louisiana than in France and it was impossible for the missionaries to subsist. The document sets forth their poverty; things most necessary to life could not be made to grow; there was no bread nor wine as nourishment; no clothes nor cloth to cover them. Permission was sought by the seminary of Quebec to send produce for their support, by agents from Paris.

The minister, Count Pontchartrain could alone obviate these difficulties. The missionaries being among the savages could not be helped by specie, but had to live by exchanges of beads, knives, axes, vermillion, etc., for corn and meat. They had no traffic with the savages.

The King gave 1,500 francs for maintenance of the Curate at Fort Louis, but this sum was reduced to half on collection. One may imagine what subsistence could be had on 750 francs a year, and this might explain the commercial activities of the curate de la Vente. A priest was sent to Dauphine Island without increase of the allowance. The priest appointed as almoner of the troops was to receive 600 francs a year, but at the time the petition was written he had not received a cent, though he had labored faithfully during several years. The curate's gratifications could not supply the wants of the assistant priests, for no charity, however small, was made to the church for burials, marriages and christenings. The governor and priests deemed it best not to make any ecclesiastical demand for fear of the colonists being led away from their Christian duties, which they fulfilled with so much laxity and indifference. Count Pontchartrain was asked to pay the past debt and to enforce regular payments of the priests' allowance and to consider that, the inhabitants not being able to build a church or to furnish the requisites for holy service, all expense was borne by the missionaries. His Majesty's piety was relied on to remedy this evil, not only for the service of God, but for the honor and usefulness of the nation.

(Written up from *Correspondence generale, La. Hist. Scty.*)

The priests tried renting pews as a source of income, but the pew rents were not paid, though each pew was to be paid but 60 francs a year in 1726.

Bienville always took the initiative in trying to extend religious influence in the colony, but it happened that after bringing his efforts to a successful ending others reaped the glory of their achievement. He called for a convent for the young girls of New Orleans and sent Father de Beaubois to France to obtain fitting subjects to accomplish this mission. The contract with the Ursuline nuns was

signed in 1726, when Bienville was recalled to France and they arrived in 1727.

On Bienville's return he undertook to build a presbytery for the priests who were the spiritual directors of the colony. At the request of Father Matthias, he called a meeting at the Government House, over which he presided with Mr. Edme Gatien de Salmon, marine commissary and judge of the Superior Council. The meeting was called by the sound of the Church bells, it was well attended and it was decided that the presbytery was to be begun on short notice; but war broke out between the colony and its savage neighbors; dire distress and want followed and the building had to be put off till better days. In 1744 the matter was again taken up and it was decided, that with this end in view, a tax would be levied on every negro head and on real estate owned by the inhabitants and the presbytery was soon erected.

The priests of the seminary were called by the savages "Blancs Collets" (white collars) and the Jesuits "Robes Noires" (black robes).

All the missionaries were given free passage on the Company's boats, but the Jesuits were debarred from receiving any bequest or donation under any pretext whatsoever.

The Jesuits protested to the Company of the Indies claiming that it was not just that the Louisiana contingent should be on a different footing from those in France. To this the Company responded: "The company's interest exacts this clause for the establishment of the hospital."

The Jesuits at their own expense built two churches and two houses in villages of the Illinois and a chapel in New Orleans. They asked to be reimbursed by the Company, but no attention was paid to their demands.

In 1726 we find the Jesuits given in care a hospital in New Orleans, on condition that they would perform no ecclesiastical rite without the consent of the Capuchins. The Jesuit chapel (*la chapelle du Père de Beauvois*) was frequented by the intelligent element and patronized by the aristocracy, for even in those early days of New Orleans rank and caste were considered. It was called the chapel of honest folks ("la chapelle des honnêtes gens.") Father de Beauvois was devoted to Bienville and thereby incurred the enmity of the cabal opposing him.

The Jesuit bore the brunt of their jealousy and hatred, was traduced and persecuted. He was accused of intriguing among the

colonists for Bienville's return and the beauty of the Jesuits's house was reproached to him.

The new church erected at the end of Bienville's administration was blessed April 24th, 1727. When the procession entered the church, Attorney Fleurian noticed three arm chairs covered with blue cloth in the choir. They were intended for Mr. Perrier, Commander General, for Mr. de la Chaise, first Councillor of the Supreme Council, and for the priest officiating.

A few months after this ceremony the Ursulines arrived. The Company had accepted Father Beaubois' proposal to establish the Ursulines in New Orleans and in 1726 a contract signed by the Company and the Ursulines, giving over to these nuns the care of the hospital and the instruction of the youth of the colony; the last duty to be undertaken only if the school did not interfere with the care of the sick.

This contract was signed by: Raguet, (Abbe); J. Moren, Dartaguette Diron, Saintard, Deshayes, Fromaget, Langeane.

From the annals of the Ursulines of New Orleans, the following details are taken:

These nuns embarked on the Gironde February 22nd, 1727, and after a perilous journey arrived at mouth of the Mississippi on the 23rd day of July of the same year.

At the Balize Commandant de Verges received them very cordially. On the 31st of July the Superioreess, five sisters, Father Doutreleau and Brother Crucy embarked in a pirogue, the others followed in a shallop. The first party arrived early on the 6th of August, the other on the following day, which is the day usually given for the landing of the Ursulines.

Father Ignatius de Beaubois conducted the Ursulines to Bienville's house* which was assigned to them as a temporary residence.

"This house is said to have been situated at the Southeastern corner of the square bounded by Bienville, Chartres, Conti, and Royal Streets. It was a two story frame building, each floor having six apartments. The windows were numerous but instead of being glazed, each was furnished with a frame covered with some kind of light material, which, while admitting air, was almost as translucent as glass."

◆ Sr. Catherine de Bruscoly de St. Amand, (Soeur Supérieure des Ursulines de France.)
Sr. Marie Tranchepin St. Augustin, (to be Superior of New Orleans Ursulines.)
Sr. Marie Anne Le Boulanger, Angelique.

This contract had been examined at a meeting of the directors, in presence of Mr. Fortia, de Landevian, Aigran and Pereine de Moras.—Notes from Margry).

*From the Ursuline Annals, a description of Bienville's residence.

The Ursulines immediately began their missionary duties. In their school they received boarders, and day pupils, they also instructed the savages and the negresses, and in 1729 the female orphans spared from the Natchez massacre formed the nucleus of their orphanage.

Speaking of this orphanage a memorial to France in 1732 mentions that the orphans raised by the Ursulines are taught the care of silk worms and the fabrication of silk and "when they are married will teach their negresses". This orphanage received some help from the colonial authorities, but for long years the expense was borne by the Ursulines. It flourished under five different flags and was abandoned for want of space a few years ago when the nuns moved into their present Convent on State Street.

The length of time the Ursulines occupied Bienville's house has never been positively stated. The Company had made them a concession of a plantation, and tradition is that they removed there as soon as a building large enough for them was erected. Nun Street and Religious Street for many years recalled this temporary abode of theirs. The Convent which the Company was constructing for them progressed slowly. In 1730 Dame Catherine Le Chibelier, wife of Governor Perrier, laid the corner stone, but the building was not completed until 1734, and in the meanwhile Bienville had again been appointed Governor of Louisiana. He, as governor, the intendant Edme Gatien de Salmon and the most distinguished citizens attended the removal. This convent is said to have cost 100,000 pounds or francs. The company intended it should serve as Convent and hospital, but upon Father de Beaubois' representations a separate building was constructed for the hospital. The sick were removed to this building in August, 1734.

The third Ursuline abode was situated on Chartres Street; back of it was the river front, then called Quay, on one side rue de l'Arsenal which became rue des Ursulines, and the other side became Hospital Street, from the King's hospital.

In Margry's notes we find the Ursulines still in charge of the hospital in 1752 and their annals give 1770 as the date they gave up this care on account of "their small number and of the difficulty of obtaining reinforcements from France."

In 1765 the annalist records that Sister d'Angelica Boulanger, alone remained from the pioneer nuns from France, "to tender a cordial welcome and minister to the needs of the poor, heart-broken exiles from Acadia.

There are many other interesting facts in the history of these devoted women, the first infirmarians and educators of Louisiana, but this data is admissible only insomuch as it touches Bienville. The harboring of the expatriated Acadians was one of the last-heart stirring events to precede his death.

Bienville had been no less anxious to obtain educational advantages for the young men of the colony. After his return to the colony, in 1742, we find a joint memorial signed Bienville and Salmon asking for the establishment of a College under the supervision of the Jesuits. Bienville thought that wherever the Jesuits had been established the uplift of the population had followed.

Salmon, the very next day, wrote to the minister asking for two Christian Brothers instead of the Jesuits, setting forth the pecuniary advantage it would be to the Crown.

Again Bienville left the colony before obtaining results.

**Memorial of Messrs. Bienville and Salmon to Establish
a College in New Orleans, 1742.**

"The inhabitants have since some time represented the necessity of establishing a college for the education of their children, and they, on their side, realizing the advantage of such an establishment have proposed to the Jesuits to provide it. These religions are deterred by the scarcity of subjects and lodgings. It is, however, essential that it should be seen to on account of the classical studies, of geometry, pilotage, etc. The children besides will learn religion which is the base of morals. It is but too apparent how useless the young men raised in luxury and idleness, prove to be. It is also to be feared that most of these young men, disgusted of this country, if educated abroad, may come back to it only to collect the heritage left by their parents.

Another incentive besides these motives is that several persons of distinction in Vera Cruz would wish to send their children to Louisiana to learn the French language and to acquire polished manners. Some of them wrote to the Jesuits to this effect, and, without awaiting their answer, sent two children. They would send them several others if they had lodgings and teachers to provide.

The Jesuits were determined not to receive any, but considered that it might bring on commerce between Vera Cruz and New Orleans, which trade would greatly contribute to the prosperity of the colony.

These Fathers have written to their Superiors to await Your Highness' orders on this question."

Mr. Salmon proposed privately to send to the colony two Christian Brothers for the instruction of the children, and he declares that "Malo, one of them here since several years, would find some who would not ask better than to accept the offer if they were allowed 300 pounds or francs salary a piece." This brother had written to the community of the State, and promised to share with those who might be sent the little wealth he had in this colony which may have amounted to 3,000 pounds or francs.

Mr. Salmon adds that "the establishment is all the more necessary from there being none but soldiers who know nothing and cannot give the first principles to children. These teachers will occasion an expense of only 600 pounds a year, and will be housed without cost to the King on land conceded near the church to a merchant who "binds himself to erect the required building." This was in June 16, 1742.

Hospital.

Jean Louis' Will—Bequest which was the nucleus of the present Charity Hospital. (1735.)

"Holographic will written by my own hand:

"Nothing being more certain than death and nothing more uncertain than its hour, stricken by a dangerous bodily malady but sane of mind, I wish to settle my affairs, to explain how I intend my last will to be carried out by my testamentary executor who will be named hereafter. Without any one being able to contravene, being of age, having neither father nor mother, one having died in my childhood and my mother thirteen years ago, what I own I earned irreproachably in this country.

As to what may come to me from France of any nature whatsoever, I set in order and willed where I should before leaving.

I recommend my soul to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to the Holy Virgin, to my Guardian Angel and to all the Saints of Paradise, particularly to my Holy Patrons; praying that when my soul passes from this world into the other it may be received among the blessed. Amen.

I give my soul to God, my body to the earth, asking my executor that my interment be simple and to have a high mass with sermon before it. Low masses are to be offered during one year, every first Monday of the month, a funeral service to take place for me in the parish church and fifty low masses.

Idem.—I ask those whom I may have offended in any way whatsoever to forgive me as I forgive.

Idem.—I will that my notes and debts, if any be found, be acquitted and paid preferably to all other things.

Idem.—I give to the parish church for an ornament or embellishment which my executor may choose, such as a large crucifix or anything else, at his will 200 pounds which will be used by him with this end in view according to the most pressing needs.

Idem.—I give to the poor of the city who are ashamed to beg 200 pounds and 100 pounds to procure clothes for the most needy orphans according to my executors will.

My debts being paid and the above bequests distributed, with the remainder and my small lot of ground I will a pension to serve perpetually for the founding of a hospital for the sick of the city of New Orleans, (without power to change its destination) and to be able to secure the necessary things to assist the sick.

I will and intend that the said pension be made by my testamentary executor, to whom I leave the inspection and direction of said hospital during his life, and in case of his death or removal to the person he will choose and name to execute my will.

This present will written by my hand, in full possession of my faculties and judgment, revoking all previous wills and codicils I may have made which same are null and void, willing and intending that this present be executed according to its form and tenor, and this rather increased than diminished, trusting in the matter to the good will of my testamentary executor to accomplish all herein contained.

I name Mr. Raguet, Councillor in the Superior Council of this province and request him to take this in charge as if it belonged to him, without being obliged to render any account whatever, and without any official investigating it, trusting entirely in his honesty and faithfulness.

New Orleans, this sixteenth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five. (1735). Signed: JEAN LOUIS."

Filing Jean Louis' Will, 1736.

"January 21, 1736.

"In the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six, on the twenty-first day of January, at one of the clock in the afternoon, we, Edme Gatien de Salmon, commissary of the marine, intendant commissary and supreme judge of the Superior Council of the province of Louisiana, have opened in presence of the attorney-general of the King, of Messrs. Bizoton and Raguet the holograph will of

Jean Louis, inhabitant of Louisiana, who died in New Orleans this day and hour of the afternoon, beginning by the words: In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen. Nothing being more certain than death, and ending with these words: "and to execute and accomplish all herein contained I name Mr. Raguet, Councillor in the Supreme Council of this province and request him to take it in charge as if it belonged to him, without being obliged to render any account whatever, without any official personage investigating it, trusting to his honesty and faithfulness. New Orleans this sixteenth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five. Signed: Jean Louis." And after having given cognizance of it to Mr. Raguet, and having delivered it to him, who voluntarily accepted the charge and promised to have it executed with all possible exactitude, therefore we have drawn up this present verbal process by our clerk of court, Sorel, which act having been read to the said Mr. Raguet, above named, signed we present, in New Orleans the aforesaid day, the said will, and the gentlemen here named have signed with us the present in New Orleans this day, that the said will was made by Jean Louis, and was registered at the registry to serve whom it may concern, the other delivered this day.

Signed: Salmon Fleurian
Bizoton Raguet"

Jean Louis in 1732 appears in the list of inhabitants on Orleans Street. He had been a sailor, but later in life went into commerce; he "made and sold boats;" in the census of 1732 he is styled "patron de bateaux."

**On the Foundation of a Hospital in New Orleans
From a Memorial by Bienville.**

"May 20, 1737.

"Jean Louis, a sailor in the employ of the Company of the Indies, who had a small commerce died last year, (1736), being a bachelor, without children, he leaves by holographic will all his estate, which, all debts paid, will bring 10,000 piastres cash."

In accord with the curate and the testamentary executor of Jean Louis, Messrs. Bienville and Salmon purchased Mrs. Kolly's house, situated on a large tract *at the extremity* of the city and formerly occupied by the nuns, then they bought beds, clothing and utensils necessary to a hospital. After these expenses there remained 5,000 piastres which added to aid from the inhabitants was employed in building a large brick hall to shelter the sick. The house on the grounds could not have lasted much longer. At its opening there

were five patients admitted. Messrs Bienville and Salmon continue: "By this means there will be no beggars; they will all be interned and kept at work according to their abilities. This will contribute to lessen their number for most of them will prefer work to loss of freedom.

"This beginning of the institution will encourage the inhabitants to join and furnish the material and days of labor needed to finish the solid buildings which will be of such urgent need when the old house no longer exists. At the same time it will relieve the King's hospital which was so often compelled to receive the poor inhabitants, who, without their aid would have perished of want."

The "historical epitome of New Orleans and of the State of Louisiana locates this first hospital for the indigent sick of New Orleans on the west side of Rampart street between Toulouse and St. Peter. It was destroyed by the hurricane which devastated New Orleans in 1779 and five years later Don Andres Almonester y Roxas erected at his own expense the "New Charity Hospital of San Carlos." It cost 114,000 piastras and he endowed it with a revenue of 1,500 piastre per annum.

In Bienville's day, besides the King's hospital for soldiers, there was also a smallpox hospital, for in court records we find a mention of a fine imposed "available to smallpox hospital."

The King's hospital for soldiers in 1728, was on "rue du Quay (river front) now Decatur Street, between Rue de l'Arsenal (now Ursulines), and Rue St. Philippe.

In 1734, when the Ursulines moved to the Convent, which was on the site where stands the former archbishopric, the Company of the Indies placed the hospital in its rear on what is now Decatur Street, though they had intended to combine convent and hospital in the same building. In 1723 the hospital was also on Rue du Quay, but differently situated and Dr. Prat is reported in charge of it with "three infirmarians, a gardener, a washerwoman, two negroes and two negresses."

Census.

Census of New Orleans and its environs in 1721, followed by summary of a memorial upon the land, its production medicinal herbs, grants, etc., made by the Inspector General of the troops in the province of Louisiana and in New Orleans. November 24, 1721:

"Bienville, Commander General; Mr. de Pailhoux, Major General; Mr. Banes, Major; de Gauvrit, Captain; de Pauger, Engineer; Rossard, Recorder; Berard, Surgeon Major; Sarazin, Watchman of the Store.

Officers: Decoublans, Delatour, Basset, Coustillas, Dupuy."

In 1721, Population of New Orleans, Bayou St. John, ancient villages of the Tchoupitoulas, Colapissas, Gentilly, Cannes Bruslees, Little Desert, English Lookout, and Chaouachas, numbered:

293 Men, 140 women, 96 children, 155 French servants (white),
514 negro slaves, 51 Indian slaves,

Animals: 231 Horned cattle, 28 horses.

(*Products*). The lands of New Orleans and adjoining places spoken of in the above census are very good. They produce rice, wheat, corn, all kinds of vegetables and tobacco in abundance. Vines, wheat, rye, barley would yield well if the ground were more open or less wooded, which may be attended to later on.

"Mr. Dubuisson, concessionary, inhabitant of the Bayou Goulas, 30 miles above New Orleans has tried the cultivation of wheat and succeeded very well, it ripened to perfection. He had a fine harvest in proportion to what he sowed. He also sowed indigo seeds which gave fine results, and they reckon on three, or at least two, very good cuttings in the year.

"There is no quarry in the environs of New Orleans. There are large quantities of medicinal plants for all sorts maladies, but very few Frenchmen have any knowledge of them. The savages who know their properties use them with success, but jealously guard the secret from the French.

"Silk may be made, silk worms thrive well but it is difficult to raise them in great numbers because the mulberry trees, though common, are scattered through thick woods and cane brakes, so that any colonists undertaking this culture would have to employ a great many negro slaves to bring in the mulberry leaves, and they could be given no other work. If in the spring the young mulberry trees are transplanted near the plantations raising silk worms, less slaves would be required. Mr. Dubuisson made a trial which gave, a fine and good quality of silk of which he sent a sample to the Company of the Indies and one to Paris associates.

"Good wood is found here, such as cypress, white oak, green oak, cotton-wood, elm, bay-trees, of various kinds, copahu, vinegar-trees, and others.

"Cypress is used for all sorts of constructions, it is the best wood, makes fine planks and ship boards. They maintain that it does not rot in the ground and is never worm-eaten in water.

"They use the bark and root of the cotton-wood for fresh and old wounds, boiling it and then spraying the wound or sore with the liquid.

"They make fine and good ship boards and planks from the white oak.

"The bark and root of the elder tree is used to allay swelling. It is boiled, put in brandy with soap, made into a poultice and applied to the swollen part.

"Copahu produces a gum good for all sorts of fresh wounds, which it heals in twenty-four hours and brings the flesh together.

"The Mississippi sometimes inundates New Orleans and its environs. We have not had an inundation since three years; the water then rose three or four inches above the banks of the river. The old inhabitants and savages say that they have never seen the water higher than at this time. It is conceded that it would be easy to guard against this overflow by making a levee. The water begins to rise in March and continues until June at which time it gradually falls.

This memorial was made by Diron D'Artaguette, inspector general, of the troops of Louisiana and of those in New Orleans, November 24, 1721.

Signed: DIRON,

and countersigned:

BIENVILLE,

Le Blond de la Tour,
Duvergier,
de Cormes.

The following list of the most important grants was also given by Diron at a later date:

"Louisiana Grants:

"Concession of M. Leblanc, secretary of war, at the Yazoos—climate and land not favorable. Mr. Le Blond de la Tour, engineer in chief of Louisiana, is administrator of this grant—on it, all counted, there are about 140 persons.

"Concession of Madame de Mezieres and Desmarches, half at the Ouachitas and half on the Mississippi, from the 'Ecores blanches' of Pointe Coupee to Iberville Island which is two leagues below. The lower part of these tracts is quite good; Mr. Marie is the director—120 inhabitants in all.

"Concession of Count D'Artagnan, is at Cannes Bruslees, six leagues below New Orleans. There are broad fields cleared which should be sowed. The land is good but in the great overflows it is inundated to the height of 8 or 10 inches—levees to be built to remedy this; land being subject to inundations a grant of four leagues was added to it at the Cross of the Tonicas, where there were fine high

prairies. Messrs. D'Artagnan and de Bénac are directors of this grant which comprises 70 whites and 20 negroes.

"Concession of Mr. Dyrion, inspector of Louisiana troops, is situated at Baton Rouge, 40 leagues above New Orleans,—this tract is fine and good with many prairies. 30 Whites, 20 negroes and 2 Indian slaves.

"Concession of Mr. Coetlogon at the Natchez, works wonders. Mr. Dumanoir, director, has asked for another grant below English Lookout. On this grant about 90 whites, 30 negroes and some Indian slaves.

"Concession of Mr. Kolly at the Chapitoulas, three leagues above New Orleans, excellent land which yielded 600 quarters of rice against 14 quarters sowed, besides quantities of vegetables and corn. Mr. Ceard has asked for another tract of four leagues, which was granted from the "Ecores blanches" of Pointe Coupee, ascending the river. About 100 whites, 46 negroes and two Indian slaves.

"Concession of Mr. Law divided between the Arkansas and English Lookout. Directed by the Company of the Indies.

"Concession of Mr. Danceny, will be established with difficulty, owing to Mr. Lepinay, (director), having lost most of his effects in the fire at the store, and he expects to return to France by the first ship.

"Concession of Mr. Chaumont situated at Capinaus on the Chaptoulas river—good land—directed by Mr. Lagarde—about 25 whites, 30 negroes.

"Concession of Mr. Dubuisson, supposed to belong to Mrs. Paris, established at the Bayou Goulas, twenty-eight leagues above New Orleans—land good—4 whites, 15 or 20 negroes. Mr. Dubuisson, director, trying the culture of silk.

"Concession of Mr. Cantillon, Irishman, on the Ouachita river, otherwise called Black river which empties into Red River—10 whites and 20 negroes. Mr. Cantillon manages it himself.

"Besides these grants there are other smaller plantations in different parts of the colony.

"*Les Allemands.*" The German families numbering about 330 persons of both sexes and different ages—12 leagues above New Orleans on the left side, ascending the river, settled on very good land where there were formerly Indian fields easy to cultivate—divided into three villages—tract extensive in area and never inundated—As the people are very laborious there is reason to hope that their harvest will be abundant this year, and that, in the course of time, they will make good establishments in the colony.

"Illinois. In March 1722 there was no certain news in the lower end of the colony from Illinois save a letter dated November, 1721, mentioning that "Mr. Renaud, who has a grant, is working a lead mine which yields 90 per cent." If this is true it will be confirmed."

(Here the memorial touches again on the products of Louisiana, extends itself on indigo, tobacco, etc., and then takes up the important question of negroes.)

"Negroes. It is absolutely necessary to send a great many negroes here (Louisiana). They are better adapted to the cultivation of the ground and just as the islands of America were established by negro slaves, Louisiana will never be well established until a sufficient number of them is sent. They are easily and rapidly acclimated, and there is no subjection but to clothe them in winter; the expense is moderate.

"The concessionists having settled on their tracts only in January, 1722, the establishment of the colony must date only from that time. The new inhabitants and the few who remain of the former ones work very hard raising their provisions and there is reason to hope, that barring accidents, the crops will be abundant this year, after which they will, according to the quality of their land, apply themselves to the cultivation of indigo and tobacco and to the fabrication of silk, bray and other things which will bring returns to France; but to attain this result negroes must be furnished, otherwise their establishments cannot be successfully carried on."

"Then follow projects of commerce with the Spaniards by sea and land, most advantageous at the post of the Nachitoches and on the Arkansas and Missouri rivers, etc.

"Horses and Cattle. As cattle and horses are absolutely necessary to the colony we should neglect no means of procuring them. They may be obtained from the Spaniards by land or by sea from Tampico; it is probable that they may be also brought from Bayahonda, a port of Cuba, west of Havana. Horses and horned cattle are indispensable for transports and carriages and for the labor of the colony. It is also to be desired that we have a quantity of beef sufficient to establish butcheries in the more thickly populated places, where living is always rough and difficult.

"The main object is to form establishments on the Mississippi, and the greatest misfortune of the colony comes from not having made all the ships bringing colonists to Louisiana come by the river, which was as navigable in the first days of the establishment as it is today, but they did not know it or did not want to profit of it, for all the concessionists and their effects were landed on the sands of the coast, and there was not enough small craft to bring them up the

river, which the ships of France could easily have done; half of the workmen and those engaged for the grants perished from their long sojourn on an arid coast from hunger and destitution during sickness; almost all their effects were used up or sold, whilst if they had sent them up the river on ships these poor people would be living and aiding in the perfecting of the plantations which would now be in condition to repay past expenses made to establish the colony.

"It is certain that the navigation of the Mississippi presents no difficulty and that all ships not drawing more than twelve and a half feet of water can easily go through it. Ordinarily there is a depth of 13 feet of water and sometimes more at the entrance of this river. The bottom is of soft mud which has been attested by different captains who have passed through several times and by Father Charlevoix, who passed in June, 1722.

"Travelers assure that the lands are excellent from and including English Turn, to the farthest that the French have been able to go ascending the river, except at the Yazoo. The same is said of the lands below English Turn. The general direction of the colony was first at Dauphine Island, where there is a good harbor, but since the entrance has been obstructed by shifting sands they moved to Old Biloxi and later to New Biloxi which is now called Fort Saint Louis. The ships going to the last named place were obliged to anchor at Ship Island four leagues from land. This road is exposed to violent north winds and the ships to insults from enemies, there being no fortifications on the island to defend the harbor.

"As it is absolutely necessary that the general direction should be on the Mississippi, the order was given to remove it to New Orleans. According to many who are familiar with the colony it would be better to establish it at English Lookout on the same river, because the ships are obliged to unload at New Orleans and they require more time to go up the river to New Orleans though there are but seven leagues difference between the two places. From English Lookout it would take put 24 hours to reach the mouth of the river."

In 1722 Diron made a voyage to Natchitoches, where St. Denis was commander, and he mentions "quantities of trees called plaque-mines (persimmon tree) bearing a fruit, plaquemine, which resembles the plum of France, but which is incomparably better. The savages make flat bread of it which is astringent and even used as a remedy.

"You may also find quantities of walnuts as good as those of France but there is much difficulty in getting almonds, of which the savages make sagamie, which is very good. Mississippi lands produce the same trees and fruits. Peach and prune trees are very common

and the fruits as good as those of France. They cling to the stone and are of one kind only. The savages of this nation (Nachitoches) make a fine red dye which never loses its color from the root of a medicinal plant unknown to the French. They dye small baskets and the mats on which they sleep with it; they make black dye from another root. This nation has about 100 men bearing arms; they love the French, whom they support during the greater part of the year by hunting and fishing.

"On the road from Nachitoches to the Spanish post, which is seven leagues distant, there are fine trees, walnuts, pine trees, and at intervals, beautiful prairies where wild vines bear grapes as good as those of France. Until now they only make vinegar of them, but Mr. St. Denis and other private individuals intend to make wine as good as French wine. This vine bears a year after planting; in the winter old vines were burned to the ground and the same year new shoots came up and bore grapes."

(Diron at St. Jean Baptiste and Nachitoches, May, 1722.)"

Certificate of Freedom.

"October 10, 1741.

"I certify that the negress named Genevieve is not a slave, and that she may marry when the Reverend Capuchin Fathers approve.
BIENVILLE."

"I certify the same.

SALMON."

"Filed as minute in registry of the Superior Council, this seventeenth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty-two.

"HENRY, Recorder.

"Fleurian."

Bill In Name of Chevalier d'Aubigny.

December, 1742.

"A dozen embroidered jackets and accessories 1530½ francs
Gold and silver trimmings, colors were yellow, silver
white, gold, pink, blue and cherry.
from Bordeaux.

Silk goods and jackets sold 6957 francs
Another shipment 3713½ francs

Red Shoes, "Savage King."

Commission given by George II, King of Great Britain, to
Mottoi Mecco, warrior of the Choctaw nation:

"Whereas, you have shown your friendship and zeal for the ser-

vice of our subjects and have come down in person, on behalf of the Choctaw King, Red Shoes, and the whole nation, to propose friendship and commerce with our subjects, and also claim to be distinguished by having our commission and authority, we therefore, reposing especial trust and confidence in your courage, prudence and integrity do hereby commission and appoint you, the said Mottoi Mecco, to be chief war captain under the said Red Shoes, King, and all the Choctaw nation is hereby required to pay due obedience to their chief captain.

Given under the great seal of our province.

Witness, William Bull, Esq., president and commander in chief in and over our said province of South Carolina, this thirteenth day of June, Anno Domini, 1738, and in the twelfth year of our reign."

(The ties of the seal were on it, but the seal itself missing.)

Translation—Notes from Margry.

**Contract with Surgeon in 1724. Copy of Contract with
Sieur Dominique Douat de Sanson, Surgeon.**

"I, the undersigned, Dominique Douat de Sanson, native of Bagneres (Bigorre), surgeon and apothecary by profession, acknowledge having engaged myself this day in the best possible form and manner, in presence of Mr. Sorlier, consul of France in the Canary Islands, to Mr. René Louis de Verteuil, general administrator of the concession named Le Buisson, former village of the Bayougoulas, in Louisiana, to serve in the said concession during the term and time of three years, as surgeon and apothecary, to the best of my ability and with all possible affection; on condition that the said Sieur de Verteuil, pay me as wages and appointments, the sum 600 pounds per year, and that besides I shall be lodged and that my clothes be laundered at the expense of the grant. It is also agreed with the Sieur de Verteuil that my salary is to be increased in proportion to the increase of negroes beyond seventy-five, the present number, and of those in the concession on the arrival of the first slave ship in New Orleans, which appointments will go into effect the day I set foot on the soil of Louisiana.

In testimony thereof I have signed these presents, in presence of the undersigned witnesses, which I promise to execute under penalty of damages and interest.

Done (double) at Ste. Croix of Teneriffe, the twenty-fifth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four.

Signed: D. Douat de Sanson.

Signed: E. SORLIER,
Consul of France in the Canary Islands.
De GALIBER, Chancellor.

Signed: de Verteuil, New Orleans.

Conform to original in my hands.

Consultation and Diagnosis of Physicians

Over Swiss Soldier in 1727.

"We, the undersigned surgeons major of the hospital of the city of New Orleans certify that we examined Mr. Gaulas, aforesaid lieutenant of the Swiss company, and we declare a fracture of the collar bone, so badly reduced, and the callus so solidified that it is impossible to remedy it without danger from the violence necessary to break the callus, the patient having arrived too late in this city to be methodically dressed, so that he will be deprived of free movement of his arm. In testimony of which we have signed this present for whom it may concern, and for his use, if needed.

"Done in New Orleans this twenty-second day of September, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven."

POUYADON de LATOUR.

Signed: Alexandre.

Gaulas was a property holder on Bourbon street in 1725.

Petition of Sieur Prat, of the King's Hospital, to Mr. Salmon, Intendant Commissary in Louisiana

Summary: Observations on remedies sent from France and their excessively high price, for which he cannot account, asks aid to keep up a garden of medicinal plants which will do away with the importation of many remedies now drawn from France, and afford many which could not bear transportation without alteration of their qualities. Advantages held forth from anticipated success of fructification of seeds brought in by last ship. The Ursulines nuns are expecting a nun who is a pharmacist. Asks for building as a lodging for the sick, according to promise made, convenient to them and which would afford him the facility of cultivating the proposed garden. On the growing importance of the New Orleans hospital; Prat petitions minister for salary of 2,000 pounds, begs him to consider that lodging was always furnished to the physician in this colony, that

he was honored with a place as councillor and thereby enjoyed 400 pounds surplus salary.

This demand seems all the more just from the fact that the colonists being accustomed to free services from the physician he has no resources but those which the country may afford him."

"In April, 1742, in a letter to the Minister in France, Prat answers different questions concerning the memorial of Sieur Alexandre, who 17 or 18 years previously had informed the Academy of the researches made by him relative to the wax tree in Louisiana. Mr. Prat has likewise written a memorial on the subject, (1742), and forwards his own with that of Sieur Alexandre. He intends to make experiments with this production which will enable him to answer more accurately their inquiries.

Plantations of this shrub are likely to become of great commercial advantages to the colony. Cotton will not be less lucrative if some facility is afforded to extract the seed. Here follow answers to information sought concerning Dr. Alexandre's memorial. Insurmountable difficulties suscitated by the directors of the Company of the Indies then at the head of the colony, turned him away from this culture at the time; the said Doctor Prat had informed the Academy of his observations shortly after his arrival in Louisiana. He sends a report on dried plants, and branches of two different kinds of wax trees with leaves and flowers, and a small package of seeds."

Prat says that the savages call this tree "Anemiche, that it grows best in low, marshy ground, put that it has been known to thrive on high, dry land." He then goes into botanical details and cites Linnaeus in classing it. Dr. Alexandre had given still more details about this tree, of which he mentions three different varieties. He says that it grows in any soil but thrives best in low, damp, sandy ground. He has even found it rooted to drift wood on the river. He then writes of conditions under which this culture would become a source of revenue to the colony. This is evidently the Hoya and the Myrica, (Bayberry, Sweet Gale), of which many varieties are found as high up as Lake Erie and the coast of Canada.

Penalties Inflicted in Louisiana During the French Domination.

Ordinance Relating to Deserting Sailors:

An ordinance passed in Paris, May 22, 1719, sentenced the captain, master or patron who enticed away a sailor from another master's service to be fined 100 pounds, half of which was to be turned over

to the admiral and the other half to the former master, who could claim the sailor's services if he chose. As this fine did not prevent such enticements, by another ordinance it was increased and the guilty captain, master or patron was subject to a fine of 300 pounds on the same conditions and applications as the previous ordinance.

The sailor who deserted the vessel on which he had engaged was condemned the first time to the iron collar, and in case of relapse to the stocks and to the "cale" (ducking). (This punishment consisted in suspending a man to the yard arm of the main mast and dropping him into the water. This was often repeated several times.)

Hotel keepers and tavern keepers were forbidden to harbor sailors under certain penalties.

A marine ordinance obliged the captain, commanding officers, clerk, chaplain and surgeon to sleep on board ships and the officers were to enforce the same on sailors, soldiers and ship boys; even the commissary was subject to this law; an inspection being made every day in the officers' presence. During a campaign the captain and other commanding officers were obliged to send their shallops to land to serve as a conveyance for wood which was to be hewed and of which they were "to make the greatest possible provision." It was to be put on board and under no circumstances to be brought to land again.

At the same time another ordinance was passed regulating the distribution of rations. His Majesty through the marine treasurer paid for rations granted to general officers and other commanders for their persons and utensils; for subsistence of the officers, almoner, (or chaplain), clerk, surgeon major and marine guards who were fed together at their table; baker and butcher were part of the equipage as sailors, and were paid by His Majesty 16 pounds or francs a month, and had a right to 1½ rations which was delivered to them by the commissary.

It was prohibited to deliver the value of rations in money or produce; exception however, was made for the food of cattle and poultry destined to the table of the commanding officers, clerks, chaplain and surgeon.

"Rations or victuals for a foot soldier consisted of 24 ounces of baked bread, stale, between brown and white; one pint of wine, (Paris measure), and one pound of beef or mutton at the choice of the provision master."

"The ration of victuals furnished to a guardsmen, light-horseman, musketeers, of the guard; horsemen and light horsemen of ordnance companies, and grenadiers on horseback will consist of two loaves

of bread of 24 ounces each, baked and stale, between white and brown; two pints of wine of the country (Paris measure), or of two pots of cider or beer and 2½ pounds of beef, veal or mutton at the quartermaster's choice, etc."

Slave Ordinances.

Negroes were forbidden to sell any sort of provisions without the authorization of their masters, and without a mark or badge. Persons purchasing anything from a negro who had no permit were subject to a fine of 1500 pounds.

There was a law subjecting the purchasers to the pillory for this offense and to the King's galley for a relapse.

Slaves were forbidden to carry any fire arms or even a heavy stick, under penalty of the whip and confiscation of the property to the benefit of the finder. Exception was made in favor of those sent to hunt for their masters. They were forbidden to assemble on the highways or in another negro's cabin, under penalty of corporal punishment of not less than a flogging and in case of often repeated relapses, with aggravating circumstances, the offense was punishable by death. Masters allowing assembling of slaves were condemned to a fine which was doubled on repeating the offense.

Slaves were forbidden to expose anything for sale in the market or to carry the same from house to house, any sort of provisions or vegetables, of wood to burn, any kind of seeds or other merchandise, clothes or provisions without permission of their masters, under penalty of fine to master of profit and of returning such goods sold to master. Buyers and receivers were likewise sentenced to a fine and to punishment for theft. The officers of Superior Council of Louisiana were requested to give their opinion on rations, quality and quantity of clothes to be furnished to slaves by their masters, and the masters were forbidden to give the slaves brandy to replace food and raiment. It was also prohibited for a master to shirk the duty of feeding and clothing his slaves by allowing them to work certain days of the week to provide for their own support in order to get these clothes and food.

Slaves not provided for by their masters were to inform the members of the Superior Council and have justice rendered them. The slaves who from infirmity, old age, or any other cause were unable to work were to be fed and supported by their masters, and if abandoned, the slaves were sent to the hospital and the master condemned to pay daily the price of their subsistence and upkeep and for payment of these dues the hospital acquired claim on plantations of master wherever situated. All property acquired by slaves through their industry or by presents given them, belonged to their masters,

and neither the slave's parents nor children had any right to the same. They could not inherit and could not make contracts without approval of their masters. The slave who struck his master or mistress or their children, occasioning contusion was punishable by death. Any assault upon a free person by a slave was severely punished, sometimes by death, according to circumstances.

Thefts of horses, mares, mules, goats or cows carried a severe penalty and in some cases were punishable by death. Thefts of sheep, hogs, chickens, grain, forage, vegetables and provisions made the slave liable to be flogged by the public executioner and branded with a "fleur de lys." The slaves' masters in cases of theft were held for damages and if unable to pay the slave who stole was turned over to those he robbed. The fugitive slaves, who remained away one month from the day his master denounced him to justice had his ears cut off and was branded with a "fleur de lys," on one shoulder. In case of a relapse in like conditions he was hamstrung and branded on the other shoulder. The third relapse was punishable by death. The free negro harboring a fugitive slave paid a fine of 30 pounds or francs for each day the fugitive remained in his house, other free negroes aiding fugitive were sentenced to 10 pounds fine for each day and it often happened that the free negro being unable to pay the fine was again reduced to slavery or sold, and if the price obtained was more than the fine, the surplus went to the hospital. The King allowed any person in the province of Louisiana having fugitive slaves to search for them or have them hunted for in whatever way suited the masters. The slave sentenced to death on denunciation of his crime by his master (if not participating in his crime) previously to his execution was estimated by two of the most prominent inhabitants, and the value turned over to the master.

It was prohibited in the province of Louisiana, to all colonists of whatsoever class or condition to inflict torture on their slaves, or to subject them to mutilation under penalty of confiscation of their slaves. They were, however allowed to have them chained and flogged with switches or ropes when they deserved it. Masters guilty of mutilation or murder of slaves were prosecuted by the Superior Council and punished for murder, according to the atrocity of the circumstances. The King decreed that women slaves and their children under age should not be sold separately if they belonged to the same master, and that the seizures and separate sales be declared null and void and those infringing this ordinance were deprived of their remaining slaves, that were adjudged to the purchaser without his paying any extra price. It was forbidden to seize slaves from 14 to

60 working on a plantation, for any price above that originally paid for them.

The same privileges and rights were granted to free negroes as enjoyed by those born free. The King wished that liberty gained by merit should carry the same results as the happiness given to those born free.

This decree was promulgated in France in 1715, and ratified at Versailles in March, 1724.

Signed: "LOUIS."

and opposite::

Flerian

Philippeaux

It was registered and published in New Orleans, September 10, 1724.

Signed: "ROSSARD"

"Clerk of Court."

Sentence and Punishment of Robert Villeneuve for Selling Dog and Cat Meat to the Hospital.

July 13, 1723.

Among other witnesses Saint Martin testifies that "the above named Villeneuve said that the dog belonged to Mr. de Pauger, that he would kill it if they gave him a gun, and that he not wanting to give him the gun killed the dog himself.

"James Peirjoin, workman under the engineers declares that Villeneuve served dishes of cooked dog to the sick at the hospital.

"Adauit, Swiss, declares that the man named Villeneuve sold dog meat to the hospital.

"*Judgment:* I demand in the name of the King that the said Villeneuve be put on the wooden horse and paraded around the city with a placard in front and back, bearing in large letters, "Eater of dogs and cats," and that a cat be hung around his neck if one can be found.

FLEURIAN.

"To be done according to judgment, this tenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three.

"Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry.

"The council after having summarily heard all the witnesses against the aforesaid Robert Villeneuve, and having interrogated, examined and convicted him of having killed several dogs, roasted them and sold them to the patients of the hospital, who seek satisfaction from us for the offence committed by the said Villeneuve, do sentence him to be put on the wooden horse and to be paraded around the city

during two hours bearing front and back an inscription in large letters, "Master eater of dogs and cats," as corporal punishment.

"Given in the Superior Council this thirteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three."

Theft in 1720.

We find robbery carrying a sentence of flogging and three years prison, confiscation and 50 francs fine, however, the fine was deducted from the confiscated goods.

Murder..

In a case of wife murder the culprit "to be strangled."

Destruction of Animals.

In 1724 an ordinance was passed bearing on the importance of preventing the destruction of animals in a colony not solidly established and of finding at the same time means to multiply the breeds. Persons of any class or condition convicted of having shot or wounded animals belonging to others were sentenced to capital punishment. It was forbidden to kill cows, sheep, lambs and any female domestic animal. 300 francs fine the first time; for repetition of the offense, 600 francs and three months imprisonment in the garrison.

PHILIPPEAUX.

May 20, 1724.

In 1724 edict of the King countersigned by Philippeaux, fixes a fine of 500 pounds or francs for intercepting letters or packages. Officers, for this offense, were deprived of their commissions, the laborer was condemned to the iron collar and to a fine of 500 francs. The engineer Pauger, in a letter to French authorities, complained that his letters were tampered with and even abstracted.

Documents Relative to Lead Mines in Upper Louisiana.

In a memorial dated 1699, d'Iberville asked for a concession of all the lead mines between the 38° and 39° of lat. but as it was impossible to work these mines in a way to make them valuable, he asked for help: "The return of vessels which the king sends to the colony; permission to go to purchase negroes in Guinea with one of His Majesty's ships with the privilege of free freighting; to bring into the country conceded distant savage nations, that may be needed; exclusive trade with the Company of Canada, of beaver skins which they may need, and if they do not find enough in Cananda to prevent

the runs in the woods and even hunting while this Company does not need them; a detachment of 25 soldiers to hold in check the savage nations, the negroes and the hunters. A small tract of ground at the mouth of the Mississippi on the sea coast, to establish a post and his warehouses; moreover exemption from duty on lead taken from the mines on his concession."

Lesueur Spoken of in d'Iberville's Journal.

Mr. Lesueur went to the Sioux not to trade beaver skins, but to look into the quality of the mines.

These savages had traded with the French and were well provided with guns. Lesueur made them presents of powder, balls, and knives and invited them to come to the fort he was to build. These savages generally remained in the prairies between the Mississippi and the Missouri and lived on what they killed in their hunts. Their religion was different from that of the other savages.

La Harpe writes: "The Sioux in general claim to have three souls: After death the soul which has lived well goes to warm countries, the one of evil life to cold countries and the other guards the body. They are polygamous and very jealous of their wives for whom they sometimes fight duels. They are experts in the use of the bow and arrow and have been seen to kill ducks on the wing. They make their wigwams of hides sewed together, land carry them wherever they go. In each tent ordinarily there are two or three men with their families; they are great smokers. Some Sioux swallow all the tobacco smoke, keep it in their stomach for a time and then expulse it through the nose." Mr. Lesueur, a famous traveler and geologist, was commissioned by the French Government to discover and direct the work of the mines. He was taken prisoner by an English ship and threw his commission into the sea that the English might not thereby obtain knowledge of their situation, and when peace was declared he returned to Paris, secured another commission and embarked with d'Iberville, bringing with him 30 miners to begin the work without delay.

Mines! Gold and silver mines! This hope was the ignis fatuus which led the first colonists on and made them neglect the certain advantages of agriculture to indulge in this mad search. Bienville's sagacious mind embracing the situation of the colony and the opportunities at hand, prognosticating a brilliant future from the harbor facilities and the products of the soil, told the colonists and repeatedly wrote to France that prosperity would come to Louisiana only when wealth and energy would be turned to agriculture.

On this trip d'Iberville, besides Lesueur, brought on Mr. Boisbriant as Mayor of Biloxi, and Juchereau de St. Denis, who was first at the fort on the Mississippi and then at Natchitoches.

**Lead Mines Worked in Illinois in 1719. Their Yield in 1742
Just Before Bienville Returned to France.**

A reconnoitering party left Kaskaskia and crossed the Mississippi June 6th, 1719, and a few days later the Saline, to reach the La Mothe concession, where lead mines had been located.

Mr. de la Mothe had previously caused a hole four feet deep to be dug. There was "a bed of lead four inches from the surface of the reddish earth which has yellow, black, green and grey, stains; beneath is hard rock mixed with grains of lead, and six inches below this, is another bed of lead four inches thick.

Lead Mine of La Mothe 14 Miles From Kaskakia.

The small river Saline was so called from the proximity of its outlet to a wonderful salt spring in the Mississippi and near there were great numbers of wild turkeys. We quote from memorial:

"Snow in this region sometimes remained from six weeks to two months on the ground but here it melted as soon as it fell; the surrounding area in a circumference of three or four leagues produces but a few oaks which seem to grow with regret, there is no grass of any sort, no moss, not even stones. The French left here a lead tablet bearing the arms of France at the foot of a tree."

"The miners in the Illinois country worked individually and their only aim was to find a vein. When they find one they dig a large hole drawing from it all the mineral they can possibly get. If they meet with obstacles they abandon this site and begin their work elsewhere.

"When they have a sufficient provision of mineral to eke out a living for a year they cease working the vein and begin smelting. They hew down two or three large trees which they cut into lengths of five feet; they then make a basin in the ground placing three logs against each other over it. They cover these with shorter logs, and place one crosswise at each end until they have formed a sort of coffer dam which they fill with mineral and load it with as much wood as will hold on and around it. Then they set fire to the lower logs, and a part of the mineral melts.

"They are sometimes obliged to repeat this process three times to obtain the matter which falls into the basin, which they remelt and shape into flat bars each weighing 60 or 80 pounds to facilitate

transportation to Kaskakia. This transportation is effected by horses each bearing four or five of these bars."

Notwithstanding these unsatisfactory methods La Mothe's mine yielded twenty-five thousand bars in 1741 and two thousand two hundred and twenty-eight bars in 1742, though the mines worked but four or five months each year.

There were also copper mines in that part of Louisiana which is now Illinois, and tools, spades and pickaxes were made by a "white blacksmith who had gone among these savages."

Suicide in New Orleans in 1738.

A curious document is one giving details of proceedings against a certain Labarre who had committed suicide in 1738. A verdict was rendered against the inanimate body that had held life as too heavy a burden and it was sentenced to be abandoned without burial.

Ordinance Against Dogs in 1735.

As it has become necessary to prevent the disorder caused in New Orleans by the great number of stray dogs, most of which have no masters and attack the pedestrians on the streets and highways during the night as well as in the day, we hereby order that every first Monday of each month, persons named to this duty, go through all the streets and cross-ways from five to six o'clock in the morning and kill all stray or abandoned dogs.

The negroes and savages were forbidden to keep dogs under penalty of the iron collar.

Memorial of Bienville Asking for His Recall.

June 18, 1740.

Work, anxiety and worry of mind which I have had to bear since eight years that it has pleased Your Highness to place me at the head of this government, has weakened my health to such a point that I would not hesitate to ask for leave to return to France by the King's next vessel, if the interest of the colony and my own glory did not require that I set my hand to the treaty of peace which I have begun with the Chickasaws, the conclusion of which I believe it best not to press, in order to leave the Choctaws time to avenge on the Chickasaws and on their protectors the insult which they have received. This remnant of warfare can but weaken the Chickasaws and turn the English away from commerce with our nations.

This is the aim I have in view and which I hope to attain.

After having restored peace and tranquillity to the colony, I desire to be permitted to make a voyage to France to recover my broken health.

I petition Your Highness to kindly ask of the King this permission. I do not expect to be able to take advantage of it before return of the vessel of 1742, only in case, however, that France take no part in the war now raging in Europe.

On March 26, 1742, he wrote again to the Minister concerning his recall: "If success had always followed my attention to the affairs of this government and my zeal in the King's service, I would willingly have devoted the remainder of my life to him, but a sort of fatality pursues me since sometime and thwarts my best projects, makes me lose the fruit of my labor and probably a portion of the confidence Your Highness has placed in me. I have considered it best not to struggle against adverse fortune any longer. I hope that the officer who will be chosen to replace me may be happier. I shall give my entire attention during the rest of my stay here, to smoothing down the difficulties attending the place which I will remit to him, and I may flatter myself that I leave these affairs in better order than they ever were.

I am too truthful to assure that the peace with the Chickasaws is faithfully adhered to by the whole nation. We hear, by the prisoners that the Choctaws take from them, that a few villages, seduced by English traders, objected to the willingness of the others, to execute the conditions of the treaty, but their party is now too weak to cause any anxiety to the colony. Besides our allies have never before been so well disposed, and have never until this day so efficaciously carried out their plans of reducing that rebellious nation. There is no doubt that with a little attention we will soon gain the advantage over them."

At this time the pay roll for the officers in the service of France, stationed in New Orleans, read in francs thus:

October, 1740, Bienville, 12,000; his secretary, 1,200; Salmon, (Commissioner), 8,000; his clerk, 1,200; Chevalier de Louboey, (King's lieutenant), 2,400; Chevalier de Noyan, (lieutenant du roi), 1,200.

Salary and gratifications of officers commanding the different posts were as follows: Reformed officers, missing; military companies, missing; other employees, missing; officers of justice, missing; to the three most ancient Councillors, 400 francs; Attorney-General, 1,500 francs; Clerk of Court, 600 francs; Executor of Public Works, 300

francs; door-keeper of prison, 300 francs. Functionary of New Orleans Hospital? Those employed in fortifications?

In the last days of Bienville's administration we also find in New Orleans salaries as follows: d'Hauterive, (major of New Orleans), 1,200 francs; Bobe Desdozeau, (comptroller), 1,800; Le Breton, (chief clerk), 1,000; De Belleisle, (aid major), 1,080. Buildings of the artillery and other general expenses, 310,001 francs; expenses of the Church in 1741 amounting to 17,104; Hospital in New Orleans, 18,270; fortifications and buildings, 49,600; general expenses? Total 319,411 francs.

Expenses of Louisiana in 1743 were 348,528,056 francs for drainage, slaves and value of money.—(Notes from Margry.)

A memorial of Salmon dated March 24, 1732, shows how much attention was given to the needs of New Orleans, according to means and matériel on hand in those early years.

Salmon emphasizes the necessity of bridges over the ditches, (afterwards called gutters), 116 bricks would be needed, he writes, but 60 would suffice, if constructed in a way to make the water from four streets run under the same bridge. Each inhabitant was expected to contribute to the construction and upkeep of these bridges, and later on would be compelled to make a revetment of brick over these ditches; otherwise they would fill up with refuse. The tax imposed for this work could afterwards be applied to the levees of the lower Mississippi. He continues: "These levees were begun by squads of negroes, but this labor was neglected as the inhabitants owned very few negroes and could not spare them for this work." He asks for a decree forcing the planters to furnish the slaves required.—(La. Hist. Scty. MSS.)

Still in 1731, there were two thousand negroes in Louisiana, according to Gayarre; the negroes were valued in the inventory of 1732, at the sum of 700 pounds or francs. That same year an ordinance of the King decreed that thereafter, "Since the piastres had the value of 5 pounds or francs and the half-piastres that of two pounds and 10 cents, the fourths would be worth 25 cents and the eighths 12½ cents, which were previously valued at 20 cents for $\frac{1}{4}$ and 10 cents for $\frac{1}{8}$."

Bienville Sells Plantation Adjoining Old New Orleans

"Before the King's Councillors and notary, in Paris, were present Mr. Jean Baptiste Lemoyne de Bienville, commander General of Louisiana, Knight of the military order of St. Louis, now in Paris, residing in rue Champfleury in a house where hangs the sign "la

pomme du Pin," parish of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, who by these presents has sold, ceded, transferred and abandoned now and forever, and guaranteed against all trouble, gifts, dowries, debts, mortgages, eviction, substitution, alienation and other consequences generally to the Rev. Father Louis Davaugour, priest religious of the Company of Jesus, living in Paris at the College of Louis-le-Grand, St. James street this present, accepting purchases of the tract, as agent vested with general power of attorney of Rev. Father Baudoin, Provincial of the Company of Jesus of the province of France, passed before Mr. de Raucy who has the said act and as associate notaries in Paris, January 13, 1722, 20 arpents of land, or about, fronting on the Mississippi with the whole depth of 50 arpents or about, without, however, encroaching on the tract conceded or to be conceded by him; Mr. de Bienville to concurrence of 40 arpents of depth; the 20 arpents situated above New Orleans and at its limits, facing the river, running west in depth, $\frac{1}{4}$ northwest, adjoining the boundary of the city, granted in free tenure to Mr. de Bienville as a concession by the Commander General and Directors General of the Company of the Indies in New Orleans, according to act of March 27, 1719, registered in the registry of the Superior Council of the province of Louisiana by the recorder in chief of said council, in folio 15 of said register; consequent to ordinance of Messrs. the Commander General and of the Directors of the province, April 21, 1728; the said writ confirmed by another attached to it by the Directors General of the Company of the Indies, Paris, February 6, 1720.

Moreover the said Sr. Lemoyne de Bienville sells as above mentioned to said purchaser, of said name, a concession of 52 feet in length, a dovecote of wood, built and constructed on part of said 20 arpents, a corps de logis, garden planted with fruit trees holding to said house as also said houses, corps de logis, dovecote, following and counting without anything excepted, or reserved by the vendor of the buildings and dependancies constructed on said 20 arpents above mentioned, sold as a whole at these presents.

Moreover, comprised in this sale a negro named Brise fer (Break iron), his wife and daughter, (slaves); three bulls, a mare, six sheep, a ram, four goats and a he-goat, the donkeys and asses that are in the buildings sold, owned by the vendor, with the exception of one ass reserved by Mr. de Bienville; all the pigeons in the dovecote, all comprised in the present sale, which animals the purchaser will take possession of and will have them furnished and delivered by said de Noyan, captain of infantry in New Orleans, or some other having

power from Mr. de Bienville; of which information must be given to whosoever delivers them.

For the said 20 arpents, buildings on these, and animals, to be disposed of by Rev. Father Nicolas de Beaupoil, priest religious of the Company of Jesus, Superior of Louisiana at present in Paris, lodging at Louis-le-Grand College, here present and accepting in full ownership beginning from the first day of May proximo, whereas the present acquisition is made by the said Father Davaugour, of said name, for Rev. Father de Beaupoil in his office of Superior of the missions of the Company of Jesus in Louisiana.

The 20 arpents of said land sold with its dependences being unencumbered, having been conceded in free tenure.

This present sale for the sum of twelve thousand pounds or francs, on which price said parties have agreed for which sum the said Father Davaugour has sold, created, constituted, and assigned now and forever, and guaranteed exemption from any trouble, etc., the said Sieur Lemoyne de Bienville, ratifying the sale from him and his heirs, Father Davaugour, held and obliged to pay said Sieur de Bienville in Paris or to bearer six hundred pounds or francs of annual and perpetual rent in four equal payments quarterly the first of which will fall due, in proportion, on the first day of next July, the rent beginning on the first day of May and will thus continue quarterly as long as the remainder will be due, to take and be taken on all movable and immovable property present and to come owned by the Company of Jesus in Louisiana and specially without obligation devolving on the other relative to the said 20 arpents of land and other property thereon, sale which the said Father Davaugour has attested, obligated, mortgaged, guaranteed to furnish and make valuable, the said rent payable without any reduction, notwithstanding any unforeseen circumstance, the said Father Davaugour obligating himself to keep in such condition that a sale may be easily made every year, under penalty of the said rent and arrears to be disposed of by the said Sieur de Bienville in full ownership to begin on the said day, May first.

The said parties respectively transfer all rights of property, estate, names, reasons and exceptions rescinding and rescisory—willing, procuring the bearer, conferring power.

This done the said Sieur de Bienville furnished and delivered to Rev. Father Davaugour copy signed by him of the concession, obliging himself to furnish at will copy collated in good form of the letters of concession which will be remitted to him by the said Company of the Indies.

This positively agreed that the arrears of rent and the present principal, which will be hereafter mentioned shall be paid to Sieur de Bienville only in gold and silver specie without bills of any nature whatever, notwithstanding law decrees and declarations to the contrary, to the benefit of the said Father Davaugour, and which the said father renounces in favor of the said Sieur de Bienville by condition as part of the price of sale and without which it would not have been made.

The said sale redeemable forever by return and payment by said Father Davaugour in name of Sieur de Bienville, having cause, like sum of twelve thousand pounds or francs, in two equal payments of six thousand pounds or francs each with arrears then due and payable, the said rent executed in loyal costs made for the preservation of the rent, all in gold and silver specie as said and not otherwise, which reimbursements cannot be made by the said Father Davaugour, before having given notice in writing to said purchaser of domicile, one month before reduction of specie, of all expense, damage and interest; the said Father Davaugour has delivered to said purchaser power of attorney declared by Rev. Paul Bodin that the present acquisition is for and to the benefit of Rev. Father de Beauvois, accepting and purchasing as superior of mission of the Company of Jesus of Louisiana.

Therefore all agreed between said parties, and for execution of these presents the said Father Davaugour, whose domicile is the Royal College of Louis-le-Grand, and the said Sr. de Bienville in the study of Chevre, one of the undersigned notaries, to whom these present promising obligating, renewing, etc.

Done and passed in Paris, at the residence of the said Sr. de Bienville, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six, this eleventh day of April, afternoon parties have signed.

Thus signed:

"Lemoine Bienville," L. Davaugour, S. J. de Beauvois, S. J., Caron and Chevre, the two last notaries.

And on the 27th of June, 1730, the said Sr. Lemoine de Bienville, presently in Paris, rue Champfleury, a la Pomme du Pin, has acknowledged having received in gold and in circulating money, as stipulated in power of attorney of said Provincial of the Company of Jesus, in the province of France the sum of 12,000 pounds or francs, rent agreed upon by above contract and acquitted and discharged the said Rev. Father Davaugour, the said company and all others; acknowledges having been paid arrears of rent due up to date, ac-

cording to past receipts given and which will serve with the present discharge, etc.

Made and passed in Paris in this study on the said day.

Signed: Bienville, Davaugour. Caron, Chevre. These last two notaries with paraphe. (Sign Manual).

In the year 1816, July 17th, these presents were collated by Mr. Louis Antoine Gillet and his colleague, notaries of Paris, undersigned on the discharge in possession of Mr. Gillet of said Maitre Chevre, aforesaid notary."

This act of sale to the Jesuits by Bienville was followed by several others. In May, 1728, he sold them a tract adjoining their first purchase, 5x40 arpents, and from Caesar Le Breton des Chapelles, they bought another adjoining tract, 7x30 arpents. An act passed in 1743 gives the Jesuits plantation a frontage of 32 arpents by 50 deep.

A grant of land in 1734 by Bienville and Salmon to the Jesuits, extended to Bayou St. John and gave them 339 arpents by 200 fathoms (a fathom measured 2 yards). This concession was afterwards annulled, carrying with it the condition of digging a canal to connect the river and Bayou St. John which was not fulfilled.

This plantation which began by the sale of Bienville's house in 1726, contained in 1763, according to titles, papers, plan and verbal process, of an act passed in Paris, originally made by Broutin, engineer and surveyor of the colony, 32 arpents facing the river St. Louis by a depth of 50 arpents. Bienville in his last years saw this religious community which he had honored and protected dispossessed of its property and banished from Louisiana.

Bienville's house had first been sold to Dutisné, a payment of 1058 francs paid cash and the rest secured by mortgage; the land sold with it was 12x25 fathoms facing the Mississippi. Dutisné was obliged to reconvey the house to Bienville, deducting the sum paid at the sale.

The act of this reconveyance was passed January 30, 1725. It mentions that the house measured "32x21 feet, with seven rooms, above and below, partitions, doors and windows, locks and hinges, front gallery, shingle roof, kitchen of stakes, bark roof, etc." This house was for a time occupied by the Ursulines.

Gentilly, a Summer Suburb of New Orleans.

In 1726, Gentilly was also called Chantilly. It is classed as a "small village one-half league from New Orleans." Bayou St. John, one league from New Orleans, is cited as "embarkation of Lake Pont-

chartrain to reach Biloxi, Pascagoula river, Mobile and the Alibamons." The separate census of these two villages in that year read thus:

Chantilly: Masters, 23; servants, 6; negro slaves, 8; Indian slaves, 2; horned cattle, 21; horses, 6; cultivated tracts, 154.

Bayou St. Jean: Masters, 21; servants, 50; negro slaves, 41; Indian slaves, 5; horned cattle, 139; horses, 11; cultivated tracts, 290.

At Chantilly we find the Dreux Brothers. In after years they were called "les Messieurs de Gentilly." Did the village change its name for them or was it a corruption of Chantilly?

Another inhabitant was Sanson, the physician, who was very conspicuous for his differences with de Verteuil, which was aired in court and caused amusement to the audience whilst it embittered their quarrel.

At the Bayou, were already established the Rivards, famous for their wealth, and the Dugués. Both families still have numerous descendants in New Orleans. When Bienville came back to New Orleans to replace Perrier, the Bayou, notwithstanding, the ever present mosquito, was considered as a summer resort.

Bienville's Land Titles.

"We, commander general and general directors, at request of Mr. de Bienville, do grant him, in free tenure, concession of a tract situated above and at the boundary of New Orleans, facing the Mississippi river, running in depth to the west, a fourth northwest to the Mississippi in the bend below the Tchoupitoulas, which tract cannot be better bounded nor surveyed on account of the inundated country.

"We, acting on our right, have conceded the said tract to the said Sieur de Bienville, which he may from this present clear and turn where it is practicable, awaiting the formal concession to be sent from France.

Passed in New Orleans, March 27, 1719.

Signed: De BIENVILLE, HUBERT.

"The Company has confirmed and approved the act of which the above is a copy, and in consequence letters patent will be sent to Mr. de Bienville for the grant made him by said act reporting process verbal of the situation, surveying and limits of said tract.

"Passed in Paris at the hotel of the Company of the Indies, this sixth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and twenty."

(Correspondence générale de la Louisiane. Louisiana Historical Society documents.)

Bienville Secures German Families for His Lands.

"To the members of the Council of the Province of Louisiana:

"Mr. de Bienville has the honor to declare.

Gentlemen, That the Company has granted him a concession of almost three leagues above New Orleans, which he cannot render valuable for want of hands. He would wish, if the Council approves to put on these lands twelve to fifteen German families, who have lost all their stock of provisions by the storm and who are therefore obliged to take service in order to support their families. Mr. de Bienville would cede to each one a part of his concession, with victuals for a year, tools to turn the ground and to build; he would advance them cows, hogs and chickens.

As the said Mr. de Bienville cannot enter in any contract nor convention with the said families without the consent of the Council, he petitions them to grant his demand.

From New Orleans, this first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two.

[1722]

Signed: BIENVILLE."

"Seen and examined the bargain and conditions passed between Mr. de Bienville and the German families who would be obliged to begin a new establishment on account of the bad situation and the difficulties to meet on the tract they occupy at the Tensas and that besides they would be a burden on the Company for their subsistence and the fresh advances which would have to be made to them.

The Council allows the contract to be passed between Mr. de Bienville and the said families, said contract to be executed according to its form and tenure.

Passed in New Orleans this eleventh day of December, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two.

"LE BLOND DE LA TOUR,"
"Delorme."

Establishment of Superior Council in New Orleans,

September 11, 1719, and First Councillors Named

The said Western Company, now Company of the Indies, (1719). To obtain a speedier execution of these presents, being informed of the ability, honesty, sufficiency and affection in our service of Sieur Lemoyne de Bienville, director of the said Company and Commander-General for us, and of Sieur Hubert, another director of said company, of Messrs. Larchebault and Monicault, de Villardeau

and Le Gac, also directors of said Company, of Sieur de Boisbriant, our first lieutenant, of Sieur de Chateaugué, second lieutenant, of Sieur Couturier, named and introduced to us by said company and this nomination and presentation here attached to counter seal of this present, etc., commit and decree to-wit, the said Sieur Bienville, to hold the first place in said Council, the said Hubert to be our first Councillor and as such to fill the office of president and take the second place; Messrs. Larchebault, Monicault, de Villardeau and Le Gac to be our Councillors, and the Sieur de Boisbriant and de Chateaugué to be councillors of the sword, which councillors shall take rank and place as they are above named, and the said Couturier to be register of said Council, to keep exact record of decrees rendered with all other acts of justice, and to deliver where need be to other parties. We will that Sieur Chartier de Baune, former Councillor, who sat as President in Paris, to whom we have promised the place of Attorney-General of the Superior Council, etc.

Smuggling.—On March 24, 1724 a document signed Bienville orders an inspection of the *Chameau*, at the instance of Attorney Fleurian, as the officers and the crew are suspected of smuggling, thereby wronging the Company of the Indies. Brusle and Fazende, both members of the Superior Council, were ordered to report for a visit of inspection to ascertain if there were really contraband goods on hand, to state what they were, to seize and hold until the Company could be informed and store them in the Company's warehouse to be sold at the Company's profit.

Bienville's Lands Near New Orleans.

On Bienville's land, from New Orleans to Chapitoulas, situated on the banks of the St. Louis river, to the right ascending, in 1726, we find: "Bienville's two nephews; Mr. Demony; German vassals; Gaspard Saxe and two children; Jacques Onnere, his wife and one child; André Seerement, his wife and two children; Jacques Igouette (*homme de force*); Le Roy, his wife and Bellair, (*associates*); Simon Comine and his wife; Daniel Gope, his wife and one child; Joseph Verret and his wife. Mr. Bonnaud, former store-keeper, has begun an establishment."

On this tract in 1726 there were: Masters, 30; servants, 13; negro slaves, 13; Indian slaves, 2; horned cattle, 47; horses, 2; cultivated tracts, 161.

Bienville since 1723 had divided his immense concessions into tracts which were held by tenants under a sort of feudal system.

In 1719 a decree from Paris forbade the Commander General, First Lieutenant and Intendant to own plantations for fear of their monopolizing the commerce thereof to the prejudice of the company. Bienville had received immense concessions in 1719 and 1720, and as the men at the head of the colony were debarred from any cultivation save vegetables, he had an immense vegetable garden above the city and one on the other side of the river. These were his "habitations." The tenants on the rest of his land paid him money and produce.

On the Chapitoulas tract there were: "Dulude, manager of the concession of Ste. Reyne and two children; Mr. Dubreuil, concessionaire, his wife and two children; Mr. Chauvin de Lery and three children; Mr. Chauvin de Beaulieu, his wife and three children; Mr. Chauvin de Lafreniere, his wife and three children; masters, 21; servants, 21; negro slaves, 385; Indian slaves, 11; horned cattle, 313; horses, 45; cultivated tracts, 800."

**Decree of the King's Council of State, Forbidding the
Deportation of Vagabonds, Persons Without
Known Occupation, Smugglers and
Criminals to Louisiana.**

May 9th, 1720.

Extracts from Records of the Council of State:

"The King being informed that the Company of the Indies is in condition to begin the work of clearing and cultivating the lands of Louisiana by means of the negroes it furnishes to the colonists, that besides, a great many strangers and French families offer to establish themselves on the grants made by the Company to different individuals, that the grantees refuse to hold themselves responsible for vagabonds and criminals condemned to serve in the colonies, these loafers and persons of bad morals being less fit for labor than to corrupt the other colonists and even the aborigines of the country who are a mild, docile, industrious and laborious nation and friendly to the French, and lastly that the vagabonds and criminals may be more surely and usefully employed in the other colonies, considering the great number of French inhabitants, them which His Majesty wishes to provide for, and has heard the report of Sr. Law, the King's Councillor and Comptroller of Finances. His Majesty in Council has ordered and orders that no more vagabonds, unknown persons, cheats and criminals, be sent to Louisiana, and that orders which may have been given relative to this subject be changed and that the destination of vagabonds, etc., be directed to other colonies. His

Majesty forbids all judges to pronounce sentence carrying the deportation of criminals to Louisiana, but only to other French colonies. His Majesty orders that the judgments which may have been given before this day, ordering such vagabonds and criminals to be transported to Louisiana and which have not been executed shall be considered carried out by their transportation to the other colonies, in virtue of this present decree which shall be read and posted where it may concern, and for the execution of which all necessary letters will be dispatched.

Passed in the council of state, His Majesty being present, held in Paris this ninth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and twenty.

Signed: FLEURIAN."

**Ordinance Forbidding Traders, Merchants, Commoners
and Others Who Are Not Officers to Carry
a Sword.**

Given at Paris, July 23, 1720.

By order of the King:

"The King being informed of disorders arising in his colonies from persons carrying a sword who have no right to do so, and desiring to stop this abuse, His Majesty advised by the Regent, His Highness, the Duke of Orleans, forbids all traders, merchants and commoners who are not officers of merchant ships to carry any offensive or defensive weapon in the towns and villages of his colonies under penalty of three months imprisonment. Permission is given by His Majesty to captains, lieutenants and ensigns of the said ships to carry a sword.

Mandate and order by His Majesty to governors and lieutenants general in his colonies, and to the Intendants of these to hold all Councillors to the execution of the present ordinance which shall be read, published and registered where needful.

Done at Paris, this twenty-third day of July, one thousand, seven hundred and twenty.

Signed: "LOUIS."

And lower: FLEURIAN."

Specie in Louisiana in 1723.

Extract from Records of Council of State.

"The King being informed that the piastre has circulated in Louisiana only at the rate of four pounds or four francs a piece, and this price not being proportionate to the value of the same specie

established in Martinique and St. Domingo, nor at its actual value in France, and this difference being prejudicial to commerce in this colony, it is necessary to establish the specie and that of Spain on the same basis as that in circulation in the islands of America.

Considering the report Sieur Jodium, (councillor of the Royal Council of Council of Regency, Comptroller General of His Majesty's finances, aid to the Regent, Duke of Orleans), has ordered and orders that Spanish specie in circulation in Louisiana, beginning at the time of promulgation of this edict will be on the same footing: viz, at thirty pounds or francs for a pistole in weight and of seven pounds and seven cents for the piastre in weight.

His Majesty intends that other moneys of Spain should be valued according to the substance they contain.

Given at the Council of State of the King, at Versailles, this twelfth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three.

Signed: "FLEURIAN."

Registered in the Superior Council of New Orleans, Louisiana, April 20th, 1723."

Friendly Note in 1726.

"Fifteen days ago, dear Friend, I asked you to have 100 francs paid to me on account of your... I believe that you have not yet been able to do so, since you did not send the sum, and the laws of friendship forbid me to think otherwise; I then beg you, in the name of those same laws and of all that is most dear to you to send it to me. I am denuded of everything; I have not enough to pay for a pint of milk. I took on credit today a pair of thread stockings for my daughter.

I embrace you as usual,

Your constant and faithful friend,"

A. DEFONTAINE.

I am on broth, I have but one chicken to kill."

Data Concerning the Natchez Massacre

1729-1730.

Joined to Mr. Salmon's letter July 29, 1741:

"We deputies of Council following the French army, commanded by Mr. Chevalier de Louboe at the Natchez Company of 1729 and 1730, certify having received the declarations which come hereafter of the numbering and "recensement" of those killed at the time that the massacre was begun by the Natchez savages, Novem-

ber 1, 1729, to August 1st, 1730.—*Compiled from the Archives of the Louisiana Historical Society.*

AT THE NATCHEZ POST.

Messrs.

1. De Chepart—Basque—Commander at said post.
2. Du Coder—from St. Simphorien, commander from the Yazooes.
3. Rev. Father Poisson—Jesuit from the Yazooes.
4. Bailly—from Picardy, chief clerk.
5. De la Loire—des Ursins, de St. Germaine en Laye.
6. Masse—Lieutenant, his wife and his niece.
7. de Noyer—function of aide major and director of the concession of "Terre Blanche," his wife is living, married to Mr. Joye, called Rougeot.
8. Duges—called La Sonde, surgeon of the post, his wife is living.
9. Delongrais—Director of the concession of St. Catherine.
10. de Koly—Father and son, Bavalon and Valer, overseer and notary.
11. Renepez—Notary (Bavalon).
12. Ville Neuve—Gascon, his wife and one child.
13. Louis Mirault—(called St. Louis) tailor, his child, his wife is living, married to Plaisant (fisherman).
14. Le Tontillier—(called La Marche) his wife and a child.
15. Livenrai—his wife and one child, provincial who came to the concession of Mr. W.
16. Gavignon—Antoine, called La Trape; his wife is living married to Judice.
17. Chartier—Julien, from Burgundy, his wife and child, came to the concession of Mr. de Koly.
18. Dispasse—Jean (called Beauesejour) came as a soldier, his child.
19. Dubie—Francois, Parisian from the parish of St. Sulpice; his wife is living.
20. Lemaire—Jean Charles (called Cambrelot); came as a soldier to Mr. Le Blanc's concession, also his wife, a German.
21. Henry—(called little St. Louis), his wife and two children.
22. Picard—d'Aberville, his wife and son-in-law.
23. Leonard—Gascon, came to the concession of Mr. Law.
24. Charente—his wife, two children and a slave.
25. Brise Bois—Canadian.
26. Mesplet—de Pau in Bearn.
27. St. Amand—his wife is living, married to Merillon.
28. Caron—Parisian, (Patron) for the Company.
29. Pascal—from Province, master of a galley; his wife is living, married to Marin, inn-keeper.
30. Sabaniez—from Bayonne, and his wife.
31. Langlois—Parisian, came in the troops, cadet.
32. Laurent Hurlst—(called little La Soude); his wife and daughter.
33. Antoine Jouard—(called Mouton), from Savoy; came as a soldier.
34. Jean George Sent (called Lalemand), his wife is living, married to Nicolas.
35. Jean Rousin.
36. Pierre Billy, (called La Tenesse) Gascon.
37. Joseph Ducrocq—from Provence, cooper of the Company.
38. Pierre Dovido—(called the Blue) Gascon, came to Law's concession.
39. La Forest and wife, came by compulsion.

40. Grimand La Plaine—his wife, child and niece.
41. Le Choux—clerk and interpreter, his child and niece. His wife is living, married to Cantrel.
42. Anselme Foucault—(called La Fleur), Parisian, came as a soldier.
43. François Sentis—German.
44. Jean Dillon and a child.
45. François Certain, his brother-in-law and two children.
46. Gabriel Poulin—Parisian, his wife is living, married to Vaudoine.
47. Levesque—(from La Rochelle), and a boy.
48. Lambremont—Pierre, and a child from concession of Mr. Ceard.
49. Jean Louis Dupin, came as a soldier.
50. Jean Flandrin, from Mont Dragon, his wife, two children; he has a son living.
51. Francoise Tresson—(from Picardy), wife of Michel Beau.
52. Papin—his wife, two children.
53. Longueville—Louis, came to Mr. Kolly's concession.
54. La Ferte—from Canada.
55. Etienne Reine—Flemish; his wife is living, married to Roy; came to Mr. Ceard's concession.
56. Larteau—tailor from La Rochelle.
57. Bideau—son of a wagon-maker of Paris, came as a soldier, and his wife whom the savages slacked open to take the unborn child.
58. Ponçonnet—his wife and two children.
59. Mandet.
60. Le Drusseau—his wife.
61. Barbien.
62. Massiot.
63. Cantrel Fe—wife of Cantrel, mid-wife by profession.
64. Guerin—his wife and child.
65. Tondere Fe—Tondere's wife, daughter of the wife of Soubaniez, sister of Rousseau's wife. (Rousseau was le poetier.)
66. Simon Robinet—from Burgundy, his wife is married to La Coste.
67. Du Chene—Tuvalide, came to Mr. Koly's concession.
68. Quidor—from Burgundy, came under compulsion with a man named Pierre.
69. Fouliaux—his wife and one child, came to Mr. Koly's concession.
70. Le Clerc—his wife and two children.
71. Le Neven—de Mr. de Langrais.
72. Madame—came to Mr. Koly's concession.
73. Pry-Valin—his wife and one child, came to Mr. Le Blanc's concession.
74. Robechon—his wife and one child.
75. Auberlus—his wife and child.
76. Pierre Selsemitte—his wife and his brother's child.
77. Caspar Tilly—his wife, his brother and two children.
78. Rossort—his wife and child.
79. La Douceur—came as soldier to Dartaguette concession.
80. A child, Nicholas' son.
81. Maçon (called Le Grand) from Rochelle, his wife and two children.
82. Sans Soucy—servant of Mr. Giulio. (Sans souci means without care).
83. Estienne—blacksmith of Mr. Langrais.
84. Mirly (woman) wife of Mirly and one child, came from Mr. Le Blanc's concession.

85. Du Couroy—cooper from La Rochelle.
86. Pascal—cooper from La Rochelle.
87. La Lande—his wife.
88. Gorepil.
89. Bonaventure.
90. Joly (cabinet maker) and his wife, from Paris.
91. La Coeur, cabinet maker, from Paris.
92. Le Gere—cabinet maker from Paris, came from concession of Mr. Reveillon.
93. Fobu—carpenter from Paris, came as a soldier.
94. Baptiste—carpenter from Paris, came as a soldier.
95. Jean Joan—from Paris, his daughter married in St. Louis.
96. Ribert—from Paris, came as soldier.
97. Picart—from Paris, came as soldier.
98. Montiot—his wife and child, from Picardy.
99. Charlot—servant of Mr. de Kolly.
100. Bourbeaux—was killed coming down the river, came from Poitou.
101. Pierre Tondou—wife and child.
102. Beau Soleil—in the service of Sabaines.
103. Bourguignon—wore long hair (under compulsion).
104. Cormeray—cooper from Nantes, and a woman he was to marry.
105. Richard (widow) and her child.
106. La Renaudais—store-keeper of Terre Blanche.
107. Pierre Litant—soldier.
108. Benischere.
109. St. Pierre—workman of Mr. Bourbeaux, came to Reveillon concession.
110. Badaud.
111. Le Maire—Company's cooper from La Rochelle.
112. Dauphine—his wife and adopted daughter.
113. Montauban.
114. Pierre Alain Duguay—from Rennes (Brittany), his wife married to La Prade.
115. Aubrelay—his wife and child.
Unknown German and one child.
116. Bourguignon—tailor, who came to Mr. Dumanoir's concession.
117. Louis Brunet—called La Giberne, Parisian, came as soldier.
118. Bersonis—from Provence, came as soldier.
119. François Doyer.
120. Bacanal—from Burgundy, drummer in Mr. Le Blanc's company.
121. Boury (woman), wife of Boury and his daughter burned by the savages.
122. Castahonet—from Picardy (sailor) came under compulsion.
123. Caillon—from Donay, (Flanders), his wife and daughter, came under compulsion.
124. Collin, and his wife, came to Mr. Le Blanc's concession.
125. Cappé—his wife and brother-in-law.
126. Chevalier—from —, from Mr. Diron's concession.
127. De Viengé—officer for the Company.
128. Du Bourg—soldier (from Brittany).
129. Felix—corporal.
130. François Frattin (from Laws' concession), and brother-in-law.
131. Flamand, and his wife.
132. Tuma—from Provence, Law's concession.

133. Soyoux.
134. Fontaine—Jean Baptiste, from Artois, came as soldier.
135. Unknown boy, seven years old, died at the Chonachas.
136. Gratin—(called Plantin) from Arcours, wagoner on Le Blanc concession.
137. Gonpy.
138. Jean Hollande—Hollande and his wife came under compulsion.
139. Jean Louis—soldier.
140. Le Prince—corporal, servant of the count de Vreux, came from Le Blanc concession.
141. La Jeunesse—soldier, from Le Blanc concession.
142. Le Houssaye—his wife is living, married to the gardener of the Rev. Jesuit Fathers.
143. Lauclume—soldier.
144. Lovrain—soldier.
145. Le Boileux—wife and child.
146. La Ferte—from Burgundy, on Mr. Kolly's concession.
147. Jacques Lottier.
148. La France, soldier.
149. Lionnois—soldier of Mr. Le Blanc's concession.

AT TERRE BLANCHE.

150. La Jazette.
151. La Rose.
152. La Croix—Parisian, whose father is clerk; his son-in-law, who came from Le Blanc concession.
153. La Gibardiere.
154. La Fortune—corporal, from Le Blanc concession.
155. Sans Chagrin—from Auvergne, corporal.
156. Parisien.
157. Pierre—his wife.
158. Two children belonging to Mr. Le Page du Prat.
159. Poulin.
160. Petit Jean.
161. Postillon (from Abbeville), soldier, his wife living, married to Avignon, inn-keeper.
162. Charles Pichon—(called La Ramée), his wife and one child.
163. Quimpert—(from Brittany), officer on Siam concession.
164. Three children from Raimond's, one his own, the others unknown.
+ Unknown man from Rousseau's.
+ Unknown child from Rocancourt's.
165. Rabier—Gascon from Law's concession.
166. Saint Denis (called La Lauvette), came as soldier, his wife is married to Ferand, tavern keeper.
167. Paul Salomon—(from Brest), came to Ste Houie concession.
168. Saint François—his wife living, married to Maupierre.
169. Saint Jean—soldier.
170. Saint Simon—soldier, from Lisle, Flanders.
171. Frianon—cadet from Brittany.
172. Visse Bras (from Brittany), cadet from Dumanoir concession.
173. Va de bon Coeur—(from Brittany), cadet from Le Blanc concession.

POST OF THE YAZOOS.

174. Chevalier des Roches, commander of the post.
175. Rev. Father Souel, Jesuit, and his negro burned.
176. Poupart—son of a Paris butcher.
177. Trusol, from Provence.
178. —, a native of Orleans, aged 29 years, his family is at Mr. Villeray's in Paris.
179. Cossard—surgeon of Paris from the parish of St. Germain l'auxerrois.
180. Castor—from Law's concession.
181. Aubry—came as soldier to Dartaguette concession, and an English associate, known under no other name but.
182. L'Angliche—
183. Adrien—builder from St. Malo, parish of St. Servant.

"We the undersigned inhabitants of the province of Louisiana, certify to all whom it may concern that the names in the present "recensement" have been really killed and buried at the time of the massacre of all the French at that post, and at the post of Yazoo by the Natchez savages.

In faith whereof, we set our hand and seal, in New Orleans, this thirteenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven."

(Original, signed:)

"AVIGNON,
TARASCON,
JACQUES JUDICE,
(for his wife, widow Trape.)
MAURICE
LUC,
LEVESQUE."

Toudes.

Mark + of widow La Lancette, called St. Simon.

Mark + of widow Andree Georges.

Mark + of widow Criee.

Mark + of widow Louis Henry.—A cross for their ordinary mark and Prevost with manual-sign (paraphe) Deputy of Council in the campaign of Chevalier de Louboy.

"We, the undersigned, Apostolic Missionary, Vicar-General of His Bishop of Quebec, do certify to all concerned that the present list of persons killed in Natchez massacre is conform to the original paper in our hands.

In faith whereof, we have signed for whom it may serve, in New Orleans, this fourteenth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven.

FATHER MATTHIAS, Vicar-General."

Relative to Natchez Massacre.

Fort Chartres, April 14, 1730.

"My dear Friend:

The dugout of Mr. Perrier and de la Chaise made — leagues to come to this place in all haste to advise us of the massacre of the French established at Natchez, at the Yazoo and on the river. We are all affected by this tragic event. The conspiracy did not break out this far though the Illinois had been invited by the Chickasaws, last summer, to that effect, and we would not have had wind of it through our settlers till the advent of Mr. Girarda and Coulanges. This gives us reason to think that they had bad designs and we have no way of knowing if they still persist.

However it may be, we are actually praying, fortifying ourselves and holding everything in condition so as to avoid a surprise from those barbarians, who cannot be trusted, and in whom we must not have any confidence, being always exposed to be slaughtered if not on our guard.

Signed: TERISSE de TERNAN."

(Translated from Louisiana Historical Society papers.)

PROPOSAL TO FREE NEGROES**Memorial of Mr. de la Chaise.***To the Councillors of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana:*

"Exposed to a disaster like that which happened at Natchez, where all the inhabitants were inhumanly massacred, obliged to have recourse to all sorts of means to baffle these barbarians, the most pressing need was to speedily advise the distant posts to be on the alert. Mr. Perrier found men of good will who offered to undertake the perilous journey. They were accompanied by a few negroes chosen among the boldest, and they were promised freedom if they inviolably kept their word. There are also several other negroes who, at the time of the Natchez siege, gave proofs of valor and attachment to the French nation, and exposed themselves to peril with intrepidity. Some were even wounded, and as this is a very important affair, and that it is a question of holding the negroes and attaching them, so that we may rely on them on such occasions, the question is to find means best calculated to attain that end. We believe we cannot reward them otherwise than by granting them freedom. That will give others a great desire to deserve similar favors by material services, and besides a company may be formed

of free negroes that can be placed in the posts which the commander will judge proper, which company is to be always ready to march on short notice.

As there were then a great number of negroes at Natchez, I do not exactly know those who did best and who will be rewarded, therefore they will be chosen from the reports and testimony of the officers in this war and on the account given by them to Mr. Perrier, who will choose them. We cannot do better than to refer this to him and beg him to demand an account of their good and bad qualities.

This considered, may it be your pleasure to grant freedom to the negroes who went to Illinois, and to whom it was promised Mr. Perrier to point out those to whom he judges it to be proper to give the same. In the report made to him, conditions and clauses prescribed by the "Black Code," must be adhered to.

New Orleans, this sixteenth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and thirty (1730)."

(Translation from Louisiana Historical Society documents.)

Military Companies in New Orleans in 1724.

In New Orleans, 3 leagues below the Tchapitoulas are the companies hereafter named.

I have the honor of giving you a summary of the condition in which I left them and if I have not done so for the others it is due to my inability to ascertain their strength.

Richebourg Company:—Sargents, three; corporals, two; drummers, two; fifers, one; soldiers, twenty-four.

De la Marque's Company:—Sargents, two; corporals, three; drummers, one; soldiers, forty-one.

Le Blanc's Company:—Sargent, one; corporals, three; drummers, one; fifers, one; cadets, one; soldiers, twenty-seven.

There are also the companies of Mandeville, Latour, Loubois and Marchand. Though this post does not seem to be advantageous, it cannot fail to become important on account of its proximity to Pensacola, where the Spaniards are established, and that is the key for us to New England it is but sand and all the other posts are very good lands.

Here, there are thirty heads of horned cattle, five or six horses and thirty to thirty-five hogs, etc.

Further on the memorial describes the different concessions; taxes Le Blanc with extravagance and improvidence in erecting "magnificent building".on land liable to be inundated and which will never give any return for the money spent on it.

Of Mr. de Bienville's plantation he writes that it is only a half league below the city, that "it is not one of the least fine in the colony" and that it will this year make more indigo than any other, etc.

This memorial is signed:

BAUET.

And is written in 1724.

Presents for the Indians in 1699.

In 1699 d'Iberville gives the list of presents bought for the savages: 500 small axes, 20 jackets and fustian caps, 20 red cloaks of limburg cloth, trimmed with gold and imitation silver braid on their edges, 30 white blankets of $2\frac{1}{2}$ points, 60 kettles, 600 trade needles, 500 common scissors pairs, 10 gross of ordinary leggings, 10 gross of boucherons, common, 400 tin mirrors, medium size, 400-lbs. of assorted beads, 200 scrapers, 10 gross of mystery bells, 200 trade shirts, 50 pairs of trade stockings, 400-lbs. of tobacco, 10-lbs. of vermillion, 10-lbs. of azure, 100 swords with handles, 400 steel arrows for bows, 200 bellows, 1-barrel of raisins, 50 swords of better quality, 100-lbs. of pots, 2-barrels of prunes, 6 steel calumets.

Census of 1726.

In 1721 New Orleans extended from the river to Dauphine, which was not yet opened, and from North to South from Ursuline to Bienville.

The census of 1726, at the time of Bienville's recall to France, gives the names of the different streets and their inhabitants. This paper is reproduced to show the gradual extension of the city.

"*Rue du Quay*" (river front)—The hospital, 3 infirmarians, Mr. Prat's servant, a gardener, a washerwoman, 2 negroes, 2 negresses; Mr. Massy; Mr. Raguet, his wife; Messrs. Dartaguette and Thierry residing together; Mr. Dupuy, ensign, and his wife; The "direction" where Mr. Perrault and his two clerks are lodged; Mr. Duval, his wife and one child; Bellegrade, (baker), and Conian, employee and boarder; The Dreux brothers are counted on their plantation; Matthieu Roy, (blacksmith); Reboul, hunter; Mr. de Pauger, engineer; Tisserand, counted on his plantation; Mr. Bonnaud, former store-keeper, his wife and child; Mr. Trudeau, and six children; Mr. de Noyan's house in which Petit de Livilliers and his wife reside.

Rue de Chartres was that portion of this street beginning at St. Peter street; the other side of Esplanade was called Condé.

House belonging to the Jesuits (vacant); a large house owned by the Ste. Reine concession, occupied by Mr. de la Chaise, his wife, two

children and a clerk; Morand and his wife; Deblanc (major); Michel Seringué, carpenter, his wife and child; Mr. Ceard; Mr. Brusle, concessionaire, his wife and sister-in-law; Mr. de Mandeville; his wife and two children; Mr. Perry, concessionaire and a clerk; Prevost, bookkeeper; Cariton, tailor, his wife and child; Findor, traveler, Joseph Ducro, wife and child; Mr. Sarazin, former store-keeper, his wife and three children; St. Martin, wife and three children; DuVal occupies an old house; three Canadian travelers; Messrs. Marest de la Tour, brothers; Mr. Rossard, notary of court and a clerk; Couv, (store boy), Clairfontaine (employee) and Tesson (traveler); Bellair (workman by the day), his wife and three children; Aufrère, his wife and children; Thomelin, cabinet maker, and two children; a non-rented house belonging to the Dartagnan concession.

Rue de Condé:—Ozanne and Pannetier, coopers; a small house belonging to Joseph Carrière, where he stops when he comes to town; Messrs. de Lassus (brothers), surveyors; DuVal Chevreuil, (goldsmith), Thomas Anulin, (hunter), and his wife; Jean Caron (baker), his wife and child; Chapron, counted on his plantation; Joseph Moreau, (locksmith), and three children; Mr. de Boisbriant, Commander-General, his nephew and his secretary; Busson, (Indigo worker); Villeurs, billiard keeper; Lefrère Malo, (tailor), and Louis le Dain; Provenche and his wife; a house belonging to deceased Cabassier where reside St. Laurent and his wife; widow Drillard and two children.

Rue Philosophes:—Chesneau, cannoneer of the town, and two children; Joseph, day workman, his wife and two children; Etienne Barrosson, (blacksmith), and wife, one child and Jacques Veillon, turner; Dupont and his wife; Nicolas Guidon (traveler), his wife and child; Louis Colet, wife and child and widow Lafonet.

Rue de l'Arsenal:—La Violette (traveler), and wife; widow Christine de la Vallie, her daughter and François La Clerf, her husband, (sailor); Jean Simon, wife and child; Réné Malin, wife and child.

Rue Royale:—Mr. Cheparre; Laurent; Jean Resnau, (day workman), wife and child; Henry Bigeon (called La Violette), his wife and child; and Gilles, (hunter); Antoine Micon, (carpenter), and wife; Jacques Gouy, (called St. André), his wife and two children; Gracé, (hunter), and wife; Jean Merle; Vincent Huissier and wife; Dizier, (wig-maker), his wife and two children; Nicolas Fisseau, wife and two children; Bonnaventure, wife and two children; Thomas Dezerey, (carpenter); La Flamme, (day workman), and wife; Martin Godart and wife; Guillaume Blanvillain, Barthelmy Mackie, wife and child;

Louis Brouet, (wagon-maker), and wife; Noel Aubert (chandelier), wife and child; Joseph Petitchard, wife and child; Lue Poirier, (armorer) and wife; Louise Bouret, (widow), Gilles Lemire and two children; Yres Onet, (sailor), and wife; Françoise Portier; Joseph Boisdore, (tailor), Pierre Poitevin and wife; Jean Pascal, fat wife and child; Julien Binard, (blacksmith), and wife; Guillaume Lemoine, (called Le Normand), wife and child; Nicolas Portier, (cabinet maker), and wife; Jean Mansieres (patron), wife and child; Pierre Pitin, wife and child; La Raguette, (sailor); Marie Beauregard; Jean Naner, (called Plaisance), and one child; Denis Fernandou, wife and François Dunalie; Jacques François Jaquet, wife and child; the Rev. Capuchin missionary curates; Pierre Plouin, (workman); Pierre Ponselle, (tailor); Claude Fontaine, (traveler), wife and child; wife of Guillaume Perrier; commander of the Company's plantation and one child; Sulpice l'Evique (locksmith), wife and three children; Sans Soucy, (traveler), and wife; Barbejouanne and one child; Le Veuf, (shoemaker), wife and two children; Nicolas Pierron; Dame Alorge, widow Grandschamps, and one child; widow Candel, and two children; Jean Coupert, (cabinet maker), wife and two children; Mr. Roger and wife; a large house belonging to Mr. Chauvin de Lafrenière, where he stays when he comes to town; Mr. Fazende, (concessionnaire), wife and child, mother-in-law, and brother-in-law; Danville, wife and child, and Ste Marie, (employee-boarder); house belonging to Mr. Dupuy Planchard, where no one lives; Mr. Bru, cashier; Mr. St. Quintin (employee); Mr. Etienne, (former store-keeper); Dame Sylvestre.

Rue Bourbon:—François Triboulet; (former sailor); Mr. Du Tour, (employee); Gaspard Didier, (cabinet maker), wife and two children; Charles Goubin, (workman), by the day; Antoine Caron, (patron), and wife; Jean Baptiste Barre and wife; François Chero-pecheur; Françoise Leflot; Lafleur, (wagoneer); Jacques Guyon and wife; Joseph Le Cham (called La Rose), wife and child; René Père, (marshal); Joinette Genest and one child; Antoine Bunel, (wagon maker), wife and child; François Bourdon, (carpenter), wife and their children; Mr. Jacob, (employee) and daughter-in-law; widow Delaistre and one child; La Bouillonnerie, (called La Douceur), wife and three children, are to return to France; Pierre Bernard and wife; Nicolas Francoeur and wife; Daniel Raffaeu and wife; (slater); Jacques Coquelin, (called le forme), wife and three children; Etienne Durant, (called Durante), wife and three children; François Frignet, wife and child; Michel Brosset, surgeon; Nicolas Branton, (armorier of the company); Pierre Pivot, (armorier of the Company); Pouyadon de la

Tour, surgeon; Antoine Negrier (contre maitre), and wife; Dumesnil, (traveler), wife and child, (return to France); Martin Duchateau and Nicolas Duire, (shoemakers); Antoine Commercy, (cutter); Nicolas Xavier, wife and child; Etienne Beaueour, (hunter), and wife); Marie Magdeleine Bachelet and four children; François Alix (called La Rose), brewer, wife and child; François Canelle, (carpenter), and wife; Messrs. Bron and de Montarges, (employees); Louis Phildor, (called St. Hilaire), carpenter, wife and two children; Marie Landreau; François Mansion, (traveler), and wife; Jean Mertuis, (called Dauphine), and wife; Claude Donney, (caulker), wife and two children; Jacques Vallerand, (turner), wife and one child; André Bertot, (carpenter), and wife; Mr. Mesnard, (former employee of concession); Nicolas Goumy, (mason), wife and two children; Bastien Leguin, Claude Martin, Jacques Selain, and Pierre Le Comte, (workmen); Jean Baptiste Bergeron and wife; Mr. Tronquidy, wife and child; Jacques Saunier and wife; Gracien Lautier, wife and two children; Pierre Piguere, (baker), wife and child; widow Guyot and one child; Pierre Petit, wife and child; Thomas Guichard, wife and child.

Rue de Bienville:—Mr. de Chavannes, (secretary of the Council); Mr. Fleurian, (Attorney-General), his wife and sister; house of Jacques Carrière, (counted on his plantation); Mr. Goulas, former Swiss officer; François Brachon, wife and child; François Gagné and wife; Rodolphe Martin, wife and two children; Toussaint Bonvalier, wife and two children; David, (cabinet maker), his wife and brother; Etienne Patray and David Billon; Dr. Alexandre, surgeon-major of the hospital; Jean Vit, (cabinet maker), and son; Jean François Manard; Martin Lantier, (cabinet maker), wife and child; Jean Baptiste Lantier, (cabinet maker); Morice Canot and wife; Nicolas Christino, (cabinet maker), wife and child.

Rue St. Louis:—Gilles Anot, wife and child; Therese Pichot; Sébastien Lartaut, (tailor), wife and child; Edme Soupart, (called La Fleur), traveler; François St. Amand, (employee of concession), wife and two children; Toinette Frambert, wife of Penigault Couturier.

Rue Toulouse:—Claude Courtin, Jacques Le Fevre, Jean Drou, François Loiseau, Marc Le Gaufre, all sailors; Jean Costier, (carpenter), and wife; Honore Roturiau, (miller); Pierre Carmes, wife and child; Charles Dupont and wife; Claude Hue, (boiler-maker), and wife; Nicolas Cardon, (wagoner), wife and child, and Viniant, (fisherman); Joseph Breda and wife; Antoine Allard, (called Postillon), and wife; Louis Rousseau, his wife and two children; Louis Corneille, (tailor).

Rue St. Pierre:—Morisset and Huet, (former employees); wife of Chamilly and five children; widow Saussier and five children; widow Lasalle and one child; Jacques Robert, his wife and three children; Martin Jacquillon, (sailor), and wife; Pierre Coussot, Joseph Terrier and wife and Guillaume Dieu; Mr. Pitache, (employee), wife and child, Jacques Dupré, (cabinet maker), and wife; François Moreau and wife; Jean Molet, (called La Riviere), and wife.

Rue St. Adrien:—Carpentras, (carpenter), his wife and one child.

Rue de Clermont:—Réné Touche and wife; Vincent, (workman by the day); La Guidon.

Rue Dumaine:—Beaume, (Canadian), his wife and three children; Jean Bignard, (cooper), wife and child; Contois, (lime maker), wife and one child.

Rue Ste Anne:—Bodson, (blacksmith); La Treille, (cooper), and wife; Jardela, wife and two children; Marguerite La Provencalle; Bourguignon, (locksmith), and wife; Lazon, (captain of a transport), and wife; Dezerbois, (captain of a transport), and wife.

Rue Orleans:—Fontaine, (tailor,) and wife; Robert Guitain, wife and one child; Joseph, (workman), wife and child; St. Paul, (workman), wife and child; Honore Lambert and wife.

In 1727 the census shows the King's hospital "rue du Quay with Sr. Grau as overseer."

On rue Conde we notice the added names or P. Raphael, Grand Vicar and Father Theodore, curate of New Orleans and Brother Siriet, (probably Brother Cyrillo who for a time taught the boys of the colony). On Rue Conde, Pouyadon de la Tour, (surgeon).

A cross street had been opened in the rear of Bourbon street, (probably Dauphine); and Conti is mentioned for the first time.

The comparison between the census of 1726 and that of 1727 stands thus:

		Masters	
1726—602		1727—729	
Servants			
"	47	"	65
	Negro Slaves		
"	81	"	127
	Other Slaves		
"	25	"	17
	Horned Cattle		
"	1	"	132
Horses			
"		"	10

In 1732 Condé street does not appear, and before "Philippe's" comes "Façade de Bois," (front facing woods).

The population of New Orleans in 1732 numbered:

Men carrying arms.....	229		
Marriageable women and girls.....	169		
Children.....	183		
Orphans.....	45		
<hr/>			
Whites.....	626		
Negroes.....	102		
Negresses.....	74		
Young negroes (negrillous ou negrites)...	76		
Savages.....	3		
Savagesses.....	6		
Mulattoes (male and female).....	6		
Horses.....	14	Guns.....	313
Bulls.....	13	Pistols.....	25
Cows.....	39		<hr/>
			338

Instance of a Claim of "Squatter's Rights" in 1724

The engineer Pauger who made the first plan of New Orleans, and the sounding of the Mississippi which established the depth of the mouth of the river, entered suit against Bienville who sold part of a concession made to him, to the Company of the Indies, on which land de Pauger had settled and expended a sum of money on improvements.

His Petition

Gentlemen of the Superior Council of Louisiana:

Mr. de Pauger humbly represents that since three years he is in possession of a non-occupied tract of land on the side of the river, opposite New Orleans, where he has built a house, cleared about eight arpents of frontage, and put it in condition to produce a passable crop; that to maintain this enterprise he bought a negro for whom he last year refused 1800 pounds or francs offered him by different individuals, which negro, (piece d'Inde)* has since died from overwork on said land; he then installed, during a year, a German family to whom he made considerable advances, and also to five or six workmen whom he kept during more than fifteen months, fed on French bread, brandy and meat, hoping after this peaceable possession to enlarge his plantation and put it

on a good footing. He was astonished to hear today that Mr. de Bienville wishes to evict him from this tract and cede it to the Company, the Company knowing him to be in possession of more than four leagues of land on both sides of the river, has requested a portion of it for itself, which Mr. de Bienville could easily have granted without affecting to cede this particular tract occupied by me which, by law, cannot belong to him:

Mr. de Pauger's reasons are:

1°. He has had undisturbed possession of it since three years without any judicial notice concerning it.

2°. He has cleared it, built and spent on it more than 2500 pounds, and lost a negro, (piece d'Inde), worth 1800 pounds.

3°. Peaceable tri-ennial possession followed by clearing and successive culture, without interruption, gives him incontestable right according to the laws made for unoccupied and uncultivated lands.

In consideration of this and all these just reasons, may it please you, gentlemen, to order that the said Mr. de Pauger be maintained and held in possession of said plantation as is just.

New Orleans this third day of February, seventeen hundred and twenty-four.

Signed: Brusle, Fazende, Perry.

**Judgment of Superior Council in Suit
of Pauger vs. Bienville.**

Considering the suit between Mr. de Pauger, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, engineer of the King, plaintiff in a demand to be confirmed in possession and privileges and Mr. de Bienville, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Commander General of the province, defendant: All evidence having been duly examined I demand for the King that the said Mr. de Pauger, be declared in non-possession, and without plea nor prescription; that Mr. de Bienville's right to sell the heritage in question, situated on the right bank of the St. Louis river, be maintained; that experts be named to value the clearing, cultivation and buildings made on said plantation, and all considered and carefully examined, that, if not named by the parties they be named by the Superior Council, who, after having sworn them in, will draw up the verbal process.

New Orleans, this ninth day of February, 1724."

Signed: FLEURIAN.

**Pièce d'Inde* was a negro or negress above fourteen years.

Levees.

An ordinance obliged each concessionaire to build levees and forbade the opening of an outlet to the river into the plantations. Some planters protected themselves by draining their land into the adjoining plantations and numerous suits followed:

March 15, 1724.

"Mr. de Chaville, engineer of the King, and Broutin, captain and engineer, went to the Chapitoulas, by request of the Superior Council, to examine the course of the water proceeding from the overflow of the Mississippi river. We first noticed the plantation of Mr. Dubreuil in ascending, those of the de Lery brothers; Beaulieu and Lafrenière, and beyond the grant of the Ste. Reine, that the waters from the overflow opposite the said grant and plantation flowed towards the first aforesaid and that the checking of the said waters affected by a levee the length of these plantations made them rise higher than the Ste Reine grant, where they spread to reintegrate their natural stream.

Their ordinary outlet according to what we examined is through a bayou or stream between the Lafrenière plantation and that of Mr. de Beaulieu, which carries the water into the depth of their land, where it spreads more or less as its situation allows, all of which confirms that the stream would be an outlet for an ordinary flow of water which accumulated opposite the said plantations.

There are swamps on the south bed which is an evident sign that from all time they were subject to overflows from the Mississippi river. It appears to us besides that the weight of water sustained by the dam extending from the Dubreuil plantation to the river is considerable, and it is likely that the water partly drains through low bottoms situated opposite the Debreuil plantation and spreads over Mr. Debreuil's cultivated ground.

All considered and carefully examined it appears to us that the inundation reaching the grant of Ste Reine was caused by the checking of the drainage above and especially by the opening of a ditch by Mr. Lafrenière to the river, which furnished the first waters, and that the actual present disorder in the said concession can be remedied by draining the water through the above mentioned stream which apparently will suffice to draw the water away from the Ste Reine tract, which in a short time would be fit for cultivation.

For the common welfare of said concessionaires and plantations it is of absolute necessity to prevent the water from spreading over the lands and to this end each plantation should build a levee joined

to the next, and so on the whole length of the Mississippi, with a ditch, within the grounds, to receive the water which would come through the levees and would be brought through canals into the depth of the lands; to fill up the ditches which communicate with the Mississippi, it being well understood that this is for those who have made them; this would prevent all accidents and contention between the concessionaires and the inhabitants of the Chapitoulas.

Chapitoulas, March 15, 1724.

Signed: CHAVILLE,
BROUTIN."

**Memorial of Mr. Ceard vs. Chauvin Brothers,
Inhabitants of Chapitoulas.**

Gentlemen of the Superior Council will have the kindness to notice that Mr. Dubreuil having made a levee to guard against overflowing water from the river, this levee gave occasion to Messrs. Chauvin to conceive the design of constructing a mill on their lands. Mr. Lafrenière since made a levee reaching to the banks of the Mississippi; and to insure his safety, he also had a ditch dug to the river, which made an outlet which is "Authentically" forbidden by the law. This ditch gave entrance to the Mississippi, which was not necessary, as the lands from Mr. Dubreuil's plantation to the buildings of Mr. Ceard are low bottoms, which sometimes become a lake, never dry summer nor winter and remaining swampy during the whole year, serving as a drain to these lands and as an outlet to the overflow of the Mississippi.

Petitioner begs the Council to note two facts: The first that the soil gradually rises from the Mr. Dubreuil's to petitioner's tract, so that even if the land is flooded it is never half so much so, and this only after Messrs. Dubreuil and Chauvin are submerged. It is to be noted that, even when these lower lands were under water, it never happened to the Ste Reine plantation, when it was occupied by Messrs. Guenot, Massy and Courot, and that it always was a half foot above water.

Secondly, that as soon as the levees and ditches of Messrs. Chauvin were finished and the bayou of Mr. Beaulieu closed, the water fell at Mr. Ceard's. Long before the Mississippi overflowed tracts were inundated which had not been flooded within man's memory.

He took the precaution to build levees proportionate to the site under suspicion, and to show that this is not a case of negligence he can assert that this precaution had been taken before Mr. Lafrenière

had constructed the levee as far as the fence of Mr. Ceard, and, not satisfied with this, he built a second levee when he saw the water rising over the first levee, to prevent the overflow from reaching any further; all to no avail, though he had large ditches dug on his land to facilitate the drainage of the waters.

This expense would have brought good results if the Messrs. Chauvin had not worked in a way to cause the swell of the waters. Otherwise Mr. Ceard's land would not have been inundated. Last year the Mississippi rose and its overflow was much greater. As proof of facts advanced these same inundated lands were sowed with indigo and prepared to receive seeds, all of which tends to prove that the cause was the outlet made to the river and the closing of the bayou on land of Messrs. Chauvin.

Thirdly. That the precautions taken to put in pipes and to dig ditches for drainage instead of being to our advantage helped to destroy us by leading the water in too great abundance into the cypress wood, back of our clearing.

This spot not being able to hold the water which the work done by these gentlemen caused to rise higher and which fell on our land from the natural slope of the said cypress wood and inundated the rear of our tract. This prevents our ploughing or sowing, except on so small a portion that it will not suffice to furnish even one-fourth of the food necessary for our dependents to the next harvest. We are moreover unable to have any labor done on planks and carpenter's work in this same cypress tract, which being unapproachable to all workmen cuts short our work on edifices and levees. I have ascertained that the parties above us, to gain their cause, say that if Mr. Ceard had made ordinary dikes he would not have been inundated.

This falls of itself for three reasons: The first that these same parties made theirs only after having waited for results of Mr. Dubreuil's work which they at first blamed.

Secondly, that Mr. Ceard being higher could not consequently diminish the swell caused by the works of the said Messrs. Lafrenière and Beaulieu, which was so evident that Mr. Lafrenière knowing that the fault was unquestionably his, from having opened the Mississippi into his ditch which gave it access all over, made every effort to stop it, but in vain and too late.

Thirdly, because all this work was authorized and done without Mr. Ceard's consent and without notice to him or any one near him.

For all the above reasons Mr. Ceard's land would not have been inundated nor have remained under water twenty-four hours before the river overflowed, and immediately after Mr. Dubreuil closed his

bayou, though the said Mr. Ceard had made dikes and ditches to the length of his enclosure which were sufficient to prevent direct inundation from the river.

There is no answer to be made by the above named gentlemen, but by empty words that we must pass over in silence for fear of annoying the Council.

From all these considerations Mr. Ceard concludes, in name of said grant, and from all on it, that it may please the Council to render judgment against Messrs. Beaulieu and Lafrenière and sentence them to obligation of indemnifying the Ste Reine grant for temporary loss of the inundated lands which are unfit for sowing with indigo and other crops of the country, also to works of indigotery and building projects, those begun and those ready to be set up, all of which loss should be to their cost, also the re-establishment of the same conditions, the water to drain by ordinary channels, the lands to be put in previous state in a fortnight, the aforesaid to be besides held to pay cost of grading and all other costs of proceedings.

New Orleans, this nineteenth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four.

Signed: CEARD."

Mr. Lafrenière answered Ceard's memorial by another in which he endeavored to prove that Mr. Ceard made an error in stating the cause of the overflow. He declared that the same bayou had been closed the year before during the season of high water and that Mr. Ceard had not complained. As to the ditch on the Lafrenière ground which opened into the river, had filled it in before the flood. Here Lafrenière and Ceard were at variance in their statements. Ceard's memorial asserted that Lafrenière had tried to close the ditch and avert the inundation; that he had done so too late and had worked in vain. Lafrenière held that Mr. Ceard could blame but himself; that the trouble was due to his own negligence and procrastination and that besides he had not tried to stop Mr. Dubreuil when he began the work which now met so much opposition.

The Council ordered Messrs. Dubreuil, Delery, Beaulieu and Lafrenière to build a coffer dike along the Ceard grant. This work was to be supervised by Broutin. An ordinance was passed compelling all concessioners to build a solid levee close to the stream and those neglecting to do so would to be obliged to pay damages which might follow. In this case the costs of court were paid by Chauvin frères. The Council demanded that the concessionaires should furnish negroes to work on the levees, to prevent the overflow of the river, and to do all that was necessary for the drainage of Ste Reine.

"Quota of negroes demanded from different plantations: Ste Reine grant, 35 negroes; Lafrenière, 45; de Beaulieu, 25; de Lery, 25; Dubreuil, 20; total 150 negroes.

Decree of Council March 21, 1724.

Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry and Fleurian."

(La. Hist. Society papers.)

This same Sieur Dubreuil in 1740, recalling his services, describes New Orleans during its first years as a town: "The beginning was dreadful. The river from its height spread itself over the entire ground and the water rose in the houses as high as two feet; which caused sickness and mortality." He asserts that at his own expense he built two-thirds of the levees and saved New Orleans from inundations, and made it as dry as if it had been built on dry ground."

He mentions a canal which would soon be finished and which was dug at his expense. He undertook this work to facilitate the transportation of timber for the construction of vessels, which enterprise he would like to establish in New Orleans, which he thought afforded great facilities and the best conditions to make ship building a great success.—(Notes from Margry.)

In this year, 1740, Bienville was again in the colony. After the suit against Dubreuil and the Chauvin Brothers, instituted and won by Ceard, Bienville had been recalled, but in 1733 returned to New Orleans as governor of Louisiana. He approved of Dubreuil's ship-building enterprise.

Dubreuil, when he speaks of having "saved" New Orleans, makes no allusion to the disastrous inundation in 1735, when the river rose higher than usual, the levees broke, the plantations were under water, and the condition such that Bienville wrote to France that they were so threatened by the flood that they saw the time coming when it would be necessary to abandon their houses and take refuge in boats.

The quota of negroes furnished by the above named planters for work on the levees is the first mentioned in the annals of New Orleans, after the enforced labor of the first year of its establishment, but it was so necessary to the welfare of the colonists to have this ordinance complied with, that it was from time to time repeated and enforced.

For instance in 1784 we find that "most of the inhabitants of the colony to maintain their estate and fulfill their obligations are obliged to employ a portion of their negroes to repair their levees, and keep the roads in good condition, which are often damaged by the continual rise of the river and the number of animals abandoned

on the levees and on the roads, from which may result considerable damage as much to the city as to the country, as has already been experienced. To avoid these prejudicial results it is necessary that during high water time it be prohibited to leave any animal roam on the levees or on the roads, under any pretext whatever, and that those who leave them at large to the detriment of property be held to pay the damages, at the value set by arbitration, and moreover, a fine of one piastre per animal, payable to the majordomo and applicable to the expense incurred for the pursuit of runaway negroes (negres marrons), etc."

This ordinance was to go into effect only after the harvest on account of the hardship entailed on the poorer inhabitants, who would at that time find it impossible "to change their ways.

Plantations Formed From Bienville Concession

We the undersigned, royal and special surveyors of the province of Louisiana, certify and declare that we have verified limits and laid out by line for and in presence of Jean Bienvenu and in presence of his neighbors, whose lands border on his a tract containing 8 arpents frontage on the river by 80 arpents in depth, which tract is situated one-fourth of a mile from the city of New Orleans, on the right bank of the Mississippi, adjoining on one side Mr. Pierre de St. Martin's land, and on the other that of the Chevalier (Knight) Louis de Macarty; the boundaries are parallel by two air lines, the first starting from the river bank, running in depth southward, 5 degrees towards east by our compass; the second also running southward in depth, 27° 30' east by our compass without considering variation of the compass. This verification was made in the month of October of the present year, after having verified, bounded and laid out by line 12 arpents frontage that the Sieur Bienvenu declared having sold to the Chevalier Louis de Macarty, which arpents frontage proceed from a concession of Mr. de Bienville, deceased, as also the adjoining lands, which fact is confirmed by the process verbal of survey of deceased Mr. François Ignace Broutin, engineer and general surveyor of this province at date of the twenty-fourth of December, of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-one, which process verbal declares to have been conceded to Mr. de Bienville, forty-six and a half arpents of land fronting the river by four thousand eight hundred fathoms in depth, the depth being trembling prairies and swamps; of which concession eight arpents frontage by forty in depth were sold to Mr. Alexandre Viel, physi-

cian; and twelve (12) facing the river by the same depth in favor of Mr. Nogues.

These two portions were surveyed and bounded by the same surveyor, Mr. Broutin. Mr. de Bienville also sold to a man named Saint Louis six arpents by forty in depth. St. Louis sold them to Vorsin, who later on sold them to Mr. Jean Bienvenu.

Mr. de Bienville sold the rest of his concession to Mr. Hugon and Hugon sold to Destrehan fourteen and a half arpents in two portions and finally he sold to Louis Ranzon in favor of Mr. Jean Bienvenu, who, in his turn sold twelve arpents to Chevalier Louis de Macarty by which means of ninety-four arpents acquired by Mr. Mr. Ranzon, Mr. Bienvenu reserves for himself (?) arpents, which joined to those acquired from St. Louis or Voisin form the (?) frontage which constitute at this date Mr. Bienvenu's plantation, as demonstrated on the plan by the black lines.

Mr. Voisin on the twelfth day of November, 1776, sold to Mr. Bienvenu six arpents frontage by forty in depth, with a second depth granted him March 8, 1763. It is then affirmed that Mr. de Bienville's concession covered four thousand eight hundred fathoms in depth. Mr. Voisin could not have obtained concession of a tract which was not vacant and which should be owned by the last purchaser of Mr. de Bienville's plantation after having given over the lots and sold by Messrs. de Bienville and Hugon, etc.

I, thé undersigned, C. N. Bouchon, Chief State Surveyor, certify the above copy and plan annexed, true and in conformity to the original, deposited in the archives of New Orleans, this twentieth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

List of Officers Serving Under Bienville.

Captains:—De Gauvrit, came to Louisiana in 1716, aged 59 years; D'Hauterive, 1720, aged 52; De la Buissonniere, 1720, aged 45; De Benac, aged 52; De Berthel, 1732, aged 40; Lesueur, 1707, aged 44; De Blanc, 1719, aged 57; Benoist, 1717, aged 47; De Membrede, (served in France) captain in 1732, aged 32; De Macarty, 1732, aged 34; De Velles, 1732, aged 32; Chevalier d'Orgon, 1737, aged 42.

Lieutenants:—Duterpuis, came to Louisiana in 1717, aged 72; Maret Dupuis, 1717, aged 44; Bonille, 1717; Maret de la Tour, 1717, aged 40; Vandereck, 1731, aged 53; d'Herneuville, 1731, aged 29; de Grand-Pre, 1731, aged 46; Hazure, 1732, aged 29; Montcharnau, 1732, aged 43; Favrot, 1732, aged 33; Mongrand, 1737, aged.

Ensigns (en pied):—De Pontalba, 1732, aged 26; De la Houssaye, (Knight), 1731, aged 26; Populus de St. Protais, 1735, aged 28; Masan, 1736, aged 25; La Gautraie, 1737; Guerin de la Martilliere, aged 24; Soullegre, 1739; Chevalier de Macarty; Chevalier de Villiers; Du Passage; Gouville.

Ensigns (second):—Ducoder; Macdenot; Trudeau, 26 years; Porneuf, 23; Lusser, 17; Boissy, 47; Le Pelletier, 24; Voisin, 23; Le Grand; Du Plessy, 34; Rouville.

Officers on Half Pay

D'Arensbourg St. Ange, 39 years; Taillefer brothers; Lieutenant Lavergne; Lieutenant Monbereau; Lieutenant Dombourg.

Cadets:—Le Corbier, Des Essarts, La Perriere, Ballet, De Gruize, Montreuil, Marigny de Mandeville, La Bedhe, Masse, Sersigny, Trudeau.

This list is also given by Gayarre in his *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. 1, with more details. It is dated June 15, 1740, and signed Bienville.

• Indian Tribes Appearing in Bienville's Colonial Life.

The Biloxis, who were the first savages d'Iberville's expedition met on the gulf coast were of the Siouan nation and were then settled on Biloxi bay with the Pascagoulas and the Moctobis, each tribe living in its own village. They made wooden utensils and baskets and were gentle in character. They held their name and traced descent from the mother.

The French made two settlements here. Old and New Biloxi. At the Pascagoulas was the Chaumont grant, where the girls from the house of correction in Paris were sent.

The Bayougoulas lived on the west bank of the Mississippi. Margry says that the sacred fire burned perpetually in their temples. They warred with the Mongoulaches whom La Salle mentioned in his journal and who had been exterminated by them before d'Iberville discovered the delta of the Mississippi. They in turn were decimated by the Tonicas.

Iberville, when he ascended the Mississippi in 1699, here found capes made of Canadian blankets, Tonty's letter to Cavalier de la Salle and other relics of this expedition.

The Houmas near Red river had a large village on the east bank of the Mississippi, the limit of which was marked by a red stick (baton rouge). This tribe's settlement adjoined that of the

Bayougoulas and was the site of a massacre of the Tonicas in 1706. They are called Ojumas, Omoto, Humas, Homas by different historians.

There was a church at the Houmas settlement in 1700, built by the Jesuit Du Rhu, who had come with d'Iberville in 1699. This nation held in great reverence the memory of a female warrior.

The Colapissas settled on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain. Bienville was sent to their village by Sauvolle in his attempt to conciliate the savage tribes. At first the Colapissas resented the intrusion, taking Bienville and his companions for Englishmen, who three days previously had raided their village and carried away warriors, women and children. The Bayougoulas chief who accompanied the French explained that they had come to make a friendly treaty and were themselves enemies of the English. "All enemies of the English are our brothers," said the Colapissas, "you may depend on our fidelity." One of them kissed the gun which had killed two Englishmen and gave an exhibition of his skill with the bow and arrow. Bienville cemented their friendship with presents and continued on his mission of conciliation to the Mobilians.

These Mobilians were the same "Mauvilas" who so fiercely repulsed De Soto in 1540 and made such a terrible slaughter of the Spaniards. The French entered into a treaty with the Mobilians and even gave them and the Tohomes a tract of land, near Fort St. Louis, on which they settled. A large body of Alibamons, Cherokees and other savages fell upon the Mobilians some years later but Bienville defended and avenged them. The French found idols in this tribe and destroyed them to the stupefaction of the savages, who soon embraced Christianity. This tribe was said to trace their origin to the same source as the Choctaws.

The Alibamons had a fortified town at the time of De Soto's exploration. With their allies the Catawbas, Cherokees, etc., they gave Bienville much trouble. They attacked savages friendly to the French and burned their villages. They were fierce and stoical. Penicault relates that their children, of both sexes, were cruelly flogged once a year to harden them. They were hospitable but suspicious, and practiced polygamy. They had some ideas of agriculture, and were easily influenced by the English.

The Taensas were a kindred tribe to the Natchez. Their country was explored by La Salle and by Tonty a few years later. Davion and de Montigny had evangelized this country before d'Iberville settled Biloxi. At war with the Yazooos they fled to the Bayougoulas and treacherously killed most of them. In their temple burned a

continual fire and their religious rites so closely resembled those of the Natchez that they have often been confounded with them.

Tonty speaks of three eagles looking towards the rising sun as their divinity. They also adored the rising sun. It was in this tribe that Tonty exchanged glass beads for a pearl necklace worn by one of the chief's wives. Their temple was oval, 30 feet by 12 feet, and painted red. This tribe after several migrations settled on Taensas bayou. D'Iberville after Sauvolle's death mentions the Taensas as having three (300) hundred warriors.

The Tonicas or Tunicas, specially mentioned by La Harpe in 1719, were settled on Red river. He describes them as fierce warriors, rarely at home, given to the wandering life of hunters, depending on the buffalo for subsistence. The French for a time thought of utilizing buffalo hair (*laine de boeuf*) as an article of trade. The Taensas tents were made of hides and were carried with them on their hunting expeditions. Mézieres says that the buffalo supplied all their wants; that they used the brains for a kneading salve, the horns were made into spoons and cups, and it also furnished spades, bow-strings and all their riding equipment for their horses.

The Choctaws covered a large area of our Southern territory, extending over Mississippi, Alabama and a part of Georgia. They were allies of the French from the very first years of the colony and remained faithful to them to the end, though, for a time, there was a split in their nation, one party going over to the English. The famous chief Red Shoes, seduced by the glamor of English gold and titles, was the leader of this party, but under Bienville's tactics, he came back to the French and remained their friend till his death. They however played a double game after the Natchez massacre.

The Choctaws were always at war with the Creeks and Chickasaws, though their origin was supposedly the same, and their language identical. They took an active part in the disastrous war of the French against the Natchez and the Chickasaws and continued it for their own account when Bienville concluded a semblance of a treaty of peace with these nations. The Choctaws cultivated their ground and were fond of games calling for exercise of physical strength.

The Chickasaws, whose main settlement was at the spot where Memphis now stands, were a large confederacy. The settlement was composed of seven palisaded villages, without enumerating their conquests which their warlike spirit and strong bodily endurance helped them to extend. They were constantly at war with all their neighbors and when Beauharnais sent French and savage troops from Canada to help the French in Bienville's last disastrous campaign

they defeated the fierce Iroquois. Excited and led on by the English they lost no occasion of manifesting their hatred of the French, of protecting and abetting their enemies and finally forced them to conclude peace. True that it was demanded by the Chickasaws but they gave no guarantee that they would hold their peace. This war cost France "from January 1, 1737, to May 31, 1740, the sum of 1,088,383 francs."

The Illinois savages occupied the territory of upper Louisiana, which in 1717, by a decree from France, became a part of Louisiana. The Jesuit relations give intimate and interesting details of the mode of life, and the character of this nation. Accounts of missionaries and explorers differ regarding their strength. It is certain that they comprised a large confederation. The Kaskaskias, Peorias, Tamaroas, etc., belonged to the Illinois tribe. The celebrated chief Pontiac was murdered by an Illinois savage of Kaskaskia; this brought on them the vengeance of the Canadian tribes and threw them on the mercy and friendship of the French of the lower Mississippi. Studying the histories of the times it strikes one that they were not reliable; though apt at war, they gave up easily.

They were polygamous and the unfaithful wife or one under suspicion was disfigured by having her nose cut off. Gravier and Hennepin give many interesting details of this tribe, under different names, of their rain proof and wind protected cabins and their open towns.

The Natchez inhabited the country around Fort Rosalie, now Natchez. A fort was built there in 1716. They were a powerful tribe, strong in numbers, in industry, and held in invincible union by the unlimited power vested in their King, the Great Sun. Bienville called them to account in 1716 for thefts and murders committed on French traders. He imprisoned three of their chiefs: The Big Sun, the Little Sun and the Tattooed Serpent and held them until the heads of the murderers were brought to him. His firmness on this occasion was a lasting and salutary lesson to all the savage tribes and showed them that though Bienville was just and friendly his goodness never degenerated into weakness.

In 1722 the Natchez again brought trouble on themselves by murdering three other Frenchmen and by an attack on the Kolly plantation. The third war was due to the brutality and injustice of Chepart, the French commander at the Natchez post. It caused a vast conspiracy which ended in 1729, by the massacre of the French by the Natchez and the Yazoo, and the annihilation of the Natchez power.

The Yazooes belonged to the Coroas nation. The French had a trading post at the junction of the Yazoo and the Mississippi in 1720. In 1729 the Yazooes massacred the French at the Yazoo post, which was where Vicksburg now stands. Only one woman escaped to tell the tale.

The Yatassés inhabited west Louisiana and belonged to the Caddo nation. Bienville, when he occupied the fort on the Mississippi, made an alliance with this tribe and they were faithful to the French. After 1714 we find them near Natchitoches.

The Ouachitas were allies of the Taensas; they were not numerous and at the time of the Chickasaw war they joined the Natchitoches.

The Natchitoches gave their name to the post commanded by Juchereau de St. Denis. They successfully resisted the Natchez, the Yazooes and the Chickasaws and absorbed many of the adjoining weaker tribes who sought refuge with them. They helped the French to repulse the Natchez when they besieged Natchitoches. The Natchez were so badly beaten that they fled to the woods and took refuge with the Chickasaws.

The Sioux were a large confederacy of savage tribes. Their settlement began on the west bank of the Mississippi and they were divided into upper and lower Sioux. They are often in the annals of those first colonial years of Louisiana called Coroas. Dumont places the "Sioux" near the Natchez and speaks of them as trading with the French. They cultivated the ground and had been very warlike. They were drawn into the war which followed the Natchez massacre when Beauharnais sent the Canadian tribes to aid the French.

The Creeks, allies of the English, who harassed Bienville and his colonists, lived in Georgia and Alabama.

The Kaskaskias belonged to the Illinois nation and formed a village with the Peorias. They were great hunters and friends of the French.

The Kickapoos, called by Lesueur the geologist, "Quicapous," lived in houses; they cultivated the ground and worshipped dogs.

The Apalachees, are also mentioned in Bienville annals. A remnant of this tribe settled near Mobile.

The Chetimaches were punished by Bienville for the murder of the missionary St. Cosme, and three other Frenchmen. Not satisfied with this attack, Bienville excited the other savage tribes against them but at the time of the founding of New Orleans, these savages again became aggressive. Bienville made them "sing the Calumet" and exacted that they should establish themselves on the banks of the

Mississippi; the slaves taken from them at different times were not returned and this accounts for the Chetimaches slaves in New Orleans in the first years of its establishment.

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT.

Compiled from Gayarre's "Histoire de la Louisiane," "Journal de La Harpe," "Notes from Margry," "De Bouchel," "Essai historique de la Louisiane," par Gayarre; references, "Handbook of American Indians," by Hodge.

References.—Louisiana Historical Society MSS.: "Margry," "Correspondence de 1698?" "Journal de La Harpe," "Concessions," "Documents in 'black boxes,'" Gayarre (essai historique), Dernières Annés de la Louisiane (De Villiers du Terrage), Annals of the Ursulines of New Orleans, Annals of the Ursulines of Quebec, Lemoyne family, by Vincent and Jadouin, (Howard library).

Bill for Services Rendered to Mr. Pailhoux's Negroes in the Year 1726, Rated in French Pounds or Francs.

August 15—Bled a negro on the plantation.....	5 pounds
" 16—Medicine to negress Louison composed of manna and rhubarb.....	2 pounds
" 16—Bled the same negress at the plantation.....	5 pounds
" 21—Reiterated, moreover gave to negress Louison astringent potion.....	6 pounds
" 22—Visited the plantation.....	3 pounds
" 23—Medicine for Pierre (negro).....	4 pounds
" 30—Four doses of pills.....	5 pounds
September 14—Went to the plantation to bleed Tanob, a negro.....	5 pounds
" 15—Went to see Mongoullas negro.....	3 pounds
" 17—Went to bleed him.....	5 pounds
" 20—Bled at my house negro from said plantation 2 pounds	
" 22—Gave Tanob a purge.....	4 pounds
October 8—Went to see Salle, negro on the plantation.....	3 pounds
" 10—Bled a negro on the plantation.....	3 pounds
" 10—Moreover saw Louison, negress on plantation ..	3 pounds
" 12—Gave six aperient powders to Tanob (negro) ..	6 pounds
"I certify having furnished the above bill to Lagoblage, this 10th March, 1726.	Signed POUYADON de LATOUR, Surgeon.
"I have signed Pouyadon De Latour, surgeon, major of the city; acknowledge having received from Sieur de la Goblaye, the sum of fifty pounds on account for above bill.	POUYADON de LATOUR.
New Orleans, March 13, 1726.	

CONTEST FOR ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

1763-1803.

*By Clarence Wyatt Bispham,
of the Louisiana Historical Society.*

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF RELIGIOUS WARFARE

1. Introduction.
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4. Episode of Father Beauvois, S. J. and Father Raphael de Luxemburg, Capuchin.
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CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

The recital of a church quarrel during the short period of some forty years of *Spanish Domination* in New Orleans, 1763-1803, seems at first sight to be matter almost too insignificant for serious attention. Yet it is fraught with the conclusion of a momentous subject that shook North American civilization to its very foundations. It signifies the result of century long struggle between Jesuit and Franciscan for supremacy in the New World; a struggle between absolutism on the one hand and liberty on the other. It is a matter that has to do purely with the Roman Catholic Church. There is no hint of Protestantism in any shape or form, and yet it is Protestantism and Liberty that came forth as conquerors!

This is the philosophy of history; the fusing together of many well-known events, trodden in the path of many historians, and yet as far as the writer knows, never considered as a whole.

It seems passing strange that to understand the real meaning of the passages at arms between French and Spanish Capuchins and interference on the part of Jesuits, we must hark back to the days when the Society of Jesus was established!

Yet it is so! If the Church of Rome had been so wise and prudent as to allow only one religious Order to go to this new world, then,

it must be easily apparent to the observer who only looks on the surface of things that all would have been different.

One word concerning the motive that played King in the mind of the Founder of the Society of Jesus: Of books, Loyola knew little or nothing. His training had been in courts and camps. He was born and bred in the very bone and sinew of Romanism. His conversion meant a change of life and purpose—not of belief. He inquired not into the Doctrines of his Church: He simply enforced them. Prayer, penance and meditation were but aids to subdue the world to the Dominion of Dogma; to organize and discipline a mighty host controlled by a single mighty master hand. The Jesuit is never a dreamer, he is a man of action. Yet the problem Loyola faced was terrific in its intensity—to rob a man of free-will and yet to stimulate those energies which would make him the most efficient instrument of a mighty design. Look at Loyola's Book of Spiritual Exercises. See his famous *Lecture on Obedience*. The novice is required to reveal to this Confessor all his sins—nay, all those hidden tendencies and impulses. Each must report what he observes of the acts and thoughts and deeds of his brother workers and yet be splendidly able to go forward and make the power of his Society felt throughout the whole world. The wise and far-reaching Jesuit policy soon saw that New France might be a means of furthering their struggle and so they bent all their energies to conquer that enormous district for God and for the Society of Jesus.

And they spent their great strength in their mission to the Huron Indians. The fierce struggle between the Hurons and Iroquois is a part of history to which the world of today pays scant heed. But Parkman realized what it all meant when he wrote those momentous words: "The defeat of the Huron by the Iroquois spelt defeat for the Jesuits, for the hope of the Jesuits to conquer the West fell to the ground in ruins." For if the Iroquois had been tamed, the great West and South would have been ruled by Priests of the Society of Jesus. England and the Missionaries of the Church of England would have been confronted not by a defeated antagonist against whom the ban of expulsion had been levied, but by an athletic champion of the principles of Loyola, bent on carrying all before him.

The Iroquois Indians are responsible for the defeat of the Jesuits in New France, and the ruin of their hopes. For the Indians ruined the trade which is the life blood of a country and were the means of turning the eye of the Jesuits southwards by following the explorations of La Salle and Bienville. They found that a city was being

built ninety miles north of the Mississippi's mouth; a city which was destined to be a strategic point and they determined to be spiritual rulers in the city of New Orleans. But here they found opposition. Part of this is an old story, but part was the factor which finally led to their undoing.

If the Jesuits had determined to be supreme in the New France, so also had the Capuchins—the Great Minor Order of the Franciscans. From time to time we see them reaching out and trying to snatch away the power of the Jesuits.

The rivalry between Capuchin and Jesuit in Canada brought them ardent friends and fierce enemies. As La Salle was a friend of the Recollets (a branch of the Capuchins), so was he an enemy of the Jesuits. As Bienville was an enemy to the Capuchins, so was he an ardent friend of the Jesuits. And When La Salle and Bienville, the latter following the former after a brief interval, began to explore the regions of the Mississippi Valley, these hatreds and friendships were carried with them. Read "Sieur de Bienville," by Grace King, (1893). Read Parkman's description of La Salle and you will at once see that both men were pursued during their life time by violent and unrelenting enemies. The Jesuits were at the height of their power in Quebec, when La Salle began to explore the great Lakes and finally discovered the sources of the Mississippi river. La Salle's hatred towards them was almost an insanity. Who adroitly put obstacles in his way until a dozen times he nearly perished? Without doubt, the Jesuits! And who were the active enemies of Bienville and spread false reports about him as he worked to lay out the streets and the city of New Orleans? The Capuchins. And why? Both orders desired the Spiritual Supremacy of the Mississippi Valley. The quarrel in 1773 in New Orleans was only the end of the contention in Quebec in 1659.

Before that date, the Jesuit held full sway. Quebec in those days was half military, half monastic. The Jesuits watched and guarded all. Everywhere the colonist was under his rule. Even to the best of laymen this state grew to be intolerable. "Relations des Jesuits," give full and authentic accounts of the efforts of the Society to spread the Christian Religion in Quebec. In spite of our admiration for the great work done by them we must sympathize with the deputies of Canadians who were sent over secretly (1640) to France as Le Clerc says: "Pour leur representer la Gehenne ou estoient les consciences de la Colonie de se voir gouverné par les mêmes personnes pour le spirituel et pour le temporal." (1-476). Cardinal Richelieu heard their complaint. How far he was touched with

pity we do not know. No documents exist. Only this is certain: An attempt was made to introduce the Order of Capuchins, who might be able to offset the influence of the Society of the Jesuits.

Then began the struggle between the Orders started by the King of France and the Pope himself, as we shall see in the chapter called "The Vicar-Generalship." This opposition of more than an hundred years in length was an old story, but the part that was new and strange could not be reckoned with even by so powerful a Society as the Jesuits. This was the very character and trait of the people they desired to govern. New Orleans, composed for the part of French and then Spanish with a little English and American blood began to be a people with a sense of freedom. They were not prepared even as good Roman Catholics to sit complaisant under a rigor of any Ecclesiastical Regime. They were and still are to a great degree a people fused together from different Latin nations. The two priests whose memories are still held in grateful memory are Father Dagobert and Father Antonio, who gained the love of the people by their broad-gauge conduct of affairs. They would never tolerate the iron hand under the velvet glove. And that to my mind is the chief reason why the Jesuit was finally defeated, and why a French Capuchin triumphed over a Spanish Capuchin, even during the Spanish Domination.

Enough has been said to prove to the impartial student that this contention for spiritual jurisdiction is much more important than could possibly be exhausted in the limits of an essay. A glance at the Bibliography will convince any student of this statement. The writer pleads an impartiality in discussing these questions. In the documents referred to, some of which the writer has translated, there is a tremendous number of questions almost untouched by historians. This investigation is rendered the more difficult by the fact that Gayarre, Phelps, Fortier and Shea, to say nothing of the Catholic Encyclopedia, (1910) have contradicted one another many times.

To arrive at the truth, reference must be made to the Original Documents contained in Spanish, French and Canadian Archives, and more thorough reference to the wealth of material in the Historical Society of Louisiana. Material, some of it never translated, has been most courteously put at my disposal by the President of the Louisiana Historical Society. And my most sincere thanks are given to Mr. William Beer, Howard Library, whose learning and historical sense are deep and cover a wide area of sound knowledge.

Of one thing we can be certain: The Roman Church has allowed a quarrel of over a hundred years to endure but has tried to keep her disputes behind closed doors and to minimize them as much as possible. This is greatly to her credit.

The object of this study is not to uncover faults and failures of human nature, but to undertake for the sake of the truth investigations almost unnoticed.

CHAPTER II.

Bibliography.

In the Carnegie Publications, there is a Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives. One of the first actions of the Congregation called the Propaganda was to divide the world into provinces and direct one of the Nuncios to act as its representatives in each province.

Over the Bishop of Quebec, its control was most direct, for after a struggle with the French Government, the See of Quebec was attached directly to the See of Rouen. Here follows a list of Italian documents germane to the subject of ecclesiastical supremacy between Capuchin and Jesuit.

1677. August 2. F. 183; No. 25. Request from the Capuchin of the Province of Normandy to be allowed to exercise certain faculty during the voyage to the French islands of America.
1689. F. F. 49-50. Custodian of the Capuchins relates scandals, relaxation of customs.
1693. June 22. No. 16. Request of a Capuchin that orders be given that Missionaries of one order, shall not involve themselves, with Missionaries of another order.
1703. September 24. F. F. 211-212; No. 7. French Jesuits petition that orders be given to the Bishop of Quebec to assign them a district in North America, called Mississippi, because they are disturbed by the Missionaries of Foreign Missions.
1722. April 13. F. 138; No. 25. The Procurator General of the Capuchins requests that the Provincial of the Province of Champagne be declared Prefect of the Islands of Louisiana.
1759. July 9. F. 229; No. 13. Dispute between Superior of the Jesuits, constituted Vicar-General by the Bishop of Quebec, and the Capuchins.
1778. September. F. 255; Page 184. (Latin). The Capuchin Mission in New Orleans.

1662. June 10. F. 6. Memorial on the Capuchin Missions: Province of Paris.
1663. August 24. F. F. 35-36. On the conflict of jurisdiction between the Vicar-Apostolic and the Abbe Queylus.(Canadian Archives).
1698. July 14. Confirmation by Bishop S. Vallier of the permission given to the Seminary of Quebec to have exclusively the Mission to the Tamaroas. C. IIIV.
1757. April 29. To Abbe Charles Baudoin, S. J. Letter to him as Vicar-General of Louisiana. C. 224 R.
1768. Letters of Bishop Briand to Father Meurin—Capuchins and Ursulines in New Orleans. (Page 8).
1769. April 26. To Father Meurin: Capuchins and Quebec jurisdiction in New Orleans.
1777. April 29. To Father Meurin: His authority as Vicar-General; jurisdiction in New Orleans.
1776. May 23. Jurisdiction contested in Spanish territory: To Bishop Briand.—(Archives des Colonies.)

**Documents in Spanish Archives Relating to History of
the United States of Which Transcripts Are
in American Libraries.**

2038. Unzaga to Bishop of Havana. Ecclesiastical Condition of Louisiana. L. H. S. Mississippi Valley-3.
2039. Cirilio, to Bishop of Havana. L. H. S. Mississippi Valley—Page 4.
2045. Ditto. Mississippi Valley—Page 5.
2046. Father Dagobert to Bishop of Havana. L. H. S. Mississippi Valley—Page 6.
2045. Is cited by Gayarre 73-83 III.
2038. Is cited by Gayarre 66-71 III.
2048. Cirilio to Bishop of Havana.
2039. Is cited by Gayarre III-57-66.
2048. Is cited by Gayarre I-7-8.
2049. Is cited by Gayarre III-84-85.

CHAPTER III.

The Question of the Vicar-Generalship.

In order to understand the real significance of the struggle between the Religious Orders we must realize thoroughly the difference between the Vicar-General and the Vicariate Apostolic.

What is a Vicar-General? The highest official in a Diocese after the Ordinary. He is a cleric really exercising the Episcopal jurisdiction in the name of the Bishop, so that his acts are reputed the acts of the Bishop himself.

The office of Vicar-General is unique and therefore there should not be several of them in one Diocese. Separate Vicar-Generals may be appointed for the faithful of different languages.

The power of the Vicar-General extends to all duties of ordinary Episcopal jurisdiction. The tribunal of the Vicar-General is one with the Bishop's and there can be no appeal from the one to the other.

This office rests not only on powers committed by the Holy Father but also by common law.

What is meant by Vicariate-Apostolic? During the last few centuries, it has been the practice of the Holy See to govern either through Prefects Apostolic or Vicars Apostolic—the territories which are thus governed are called Vicariates Apostolic. This has been done by the Holy See where, owing to local circumstances, such as the Church and custom of the people or from the hostility of central powers it is doubtful whether an Episcopal See could be permanently established.

This excursus into definition of terms is valuable when we inquire into the beginnings of the struggle for Ecclesiastical Supremacy.

The Church in Canada received new life and vigor by the formation of the Colony into a Vicariate Apostolic. Laval was made Vicar-Apostolic by the Holy See.

At once France protested. Why? Why should the Archbishop of Rouen oppose this action? Read between the lines: In the Diocese of the Archbishop of Rouen lay the home and strength of the French Capuchins, a minor order of St. Francis. If Canada or the Diocese of Quebec was to be made into a Vicariate Apostolic that put the Jesuits, already on the field, into a position almost irresistible as far as New France was concerned.

But the protest of Rouen was without avail: The Pope overruled the protest. A Bull was issued declaring Laval Vicar-Apostolic but indirectly confirming all acts of the Archbishop of Rouen! Was this strange and ambiguous language, a sop to the Archbishop and the Capuchins? Was it in effect something like this? We do not wish to offend you but nevertheless we intend to have our own way! For on the heels of this pronouncement Laval was consecrated in the

Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain, outside the Diocese of any Bishop, as Vicar-Apostolic with authority directly from the Pope.

The struggle however, for supremacy had just begun: The letters patent of the King of France who without doubt entered the contest as the ally of the Archbishop of Rouen show a desire to make the future Diocese of Canada part of France and that Laval should rank simply as a Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Rouen. But the Pope as we have seen would not have it that way! His authority was to come directly from the Holy See. Disregarding the warnings of the French Parliament Laval sailed for the New World and reached Quebec in 1659. Laval's authority was recognized by all the clergy in Canada save one who had received a new appointment from the Archbishop of Rouen as Vicar-General and who attempted to question the authority of the new Vicar-Apostolic. Here we have the triumph of the Vicar-Apostolic. But what all historians neglect to notice is a fact to be read between the lines, so weighty and serious that it is almost incredible that it has been omitted.

John G. Shea tells these facts and he is a member of the Society of Jesus.* Why should the Archbishop of Rouen dare to clothe any one with the authority of a Vicar-General after the Pope had decided against him and his order? The answer is very obvious:

Despite the authority of the Holy See the Capuchins were bound to take a part in the Ecclesiastical Struggle for Supremacy in Canada.

But other forces were at work which were destined to take away this triumph for the Jesuits. After twenty years, 1681, the world was amazed by the discoveries and explorations of La Salle.

We have nothing to do with his journeys except to point out two well-known facts: His hatred of the Jesuits amounted almost to insanity; and again, owing to this state of mind, remember that it was a Recollet and not a Jesuit accompanied La Salle when the latter took "prise de possession" of very little less than the whole of the Southern portion of the North American Continent.

Instead of being content with their own enormous territory to work in, the Jesuits in their "Relations" promptly quote the Recollet Father, Father Meubre as saying: "All we have done has been to see the state of these nations and to open the way to the Gospel and to missions, having baptised only two infants whom I saw at the point of death."

The Recollets however, regarded the Mississippi Valley as a field assigned to them, and the whole influence of Frontenac, La Salle's ardent friend, was with them and against the Jesuits. So the

*See article John G. Shea in Catholic Encyclopedia.

French Government asked the Holy See to establish a Vicariate Apostolic over the Mississippi Valley. This took place about the year 1685. Again we pause to read between the lines. Quebec had apparently been lost for the time being to the Capuchins and the Archbishop of Rouen.

As the Recollets were a part of the Capuchins, did the Archbishop wish to imitate the establishment of Laval?

However that may be, the Propoganda, thinking all was well, granted their request. But meanwhile Laval was no longer Vicar-Apostolic of Quebec for St. Vallier had newly been made Bishop of Quebec. As soon as he heard that the Mississippi Valley (a part of his enormous diocese) had been made into a Vicariate-Apostolic without his consent or approval he naturally protested strongly. He had already appointed Father Gravier, S. J., as Vicar-General among the Tamaroas Indians, who were a branch of the Illinois Indians, regarded geographically as a most important and strategic point opening out as it did into the whole west and unknown country—a gateway in fact between the civilization of Quebec and savagery.

St. Vallier in his complaint stated that he claimed the Mississippi Valley through the discoveries of Marquette and Joliet. Marquette was a Priest in his Diocese and Joliet a pupil in his Seminary. Here then was an establishment of Vicar-Apostolic and Vicar-General over practically the same country.

What was to be done? Louis XIV, King of France, referred the whole matter to three Commissioners and on their report he asked the Holy See to revoke the establishment of the Vicariate-Apostolic. The revocation of the Vicariate-Apostolic followed.

But more trouble was to come! We have pointed out that Gravier, Vicar-General of Quebec, had been appointed to work among the Tamaroas. And now St. Vallier was in power also over these Indians, whose territory was a part of his Diocese as Bishop. This fact made no difference in the opinion of the Jesuits who at once protested to St. Vallier that this was their own territory. But the Seminary Priests from Quebec nevertheless arrived and began their work, permission for which had been given by the Bishop of Quebec, 1698.

Father Gravier, the Vicar-General, was thus deprived of that part of his work and the reason was easy to see: in 1703 Mobile was erected into a separate parish of which the District of Tamaroas became a part and the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris agreed to supply the clergy. Gravier, although Vicar-General, was a Jesuit and was not to be allowed into Mobile. Not that they had

not done good work holding the head of the Mississippi, they had asked from the Bishop of Quebec exclusive spiritual control of the district which hereafter was to be known as the Valley of the Mississippi, including the beginning of the city Bienville laid out and called New Orleans. Oil and water cannot mix.

But if the Jesuits were officially defeated, practically they still conquered. Notwithstanding the decision of St. Vallier against them, the Fathers of the Foreign Mission found the situation so unpleasant that in 1700 they went back to Paris by way of New York.

I have tried by the recital of these facts and by a grouping of them together to set forth what is between the lines of these shiftings for position.

Capuchin and Jesuit used the authority of Vicar-General and Vicar-Apostolic as means to an end.

Each wanted supreme Ecclesiastical authority.

The means each used to gain this authority were carefully planned. Sometimes one and then the other conquered. For nearly one hundred years this struggle continued. We shall notice the next development.

CHAPTER IV.

Episode of Father Beaubois, S. J., Vicar-General of Louisiana, and Father Raphael de Luxemburg, also Vicar-General of Louisiana.

In 1872 in Paris there were printed one hundred copies of the book of Monograph called "Relation du Voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen a la Nouvelle Orleans avec un Introduction et des notes par Gabriel Gravier." It contains the account of the voyage and settlement of the nuns in New Orleans. With the work of these godly sisters we are not concerned. It is Gravier's introduction and notes that are of special interest to our subject. After commenting upon the work of Bienville, Gravier says:

"Powers of another sort worked in Louisiana not only to establish the French authority but the Christian Religion. They were the Jesuits. At this time the Bishop of Quebec was Suffragan to the Archbishop of Rouen. Since the creation of this Suffragan, Canada was made part of the Diocese of Rouen. This being proved establishes the importance of the Norman element in the discovery and colonization of New France.—April 22, 1657, Francis II. named Gabriel de Queylus Vicar-General of New France. The same day he gave the right to preach to Gabriel de Tubieres and two others (see

Archives de Rouen, Reg. des Collations du 26 Mars, 1657, au Mars, 1660.

Gabriel de Tubieres seems to have been the Superior of the Jesuits for in the Archives of Rouen there is an "acte" dated Paris, Mars 30, 1658. "Acte pour terminer les differences entre l'Abbe de Queylus, V. G., et le Ven. Superior des Jesuits de la Maison de Quebec tous les deux," both of them Vicar-General in the part of our Diocese called New France. Both these reverend gentlemen were appointed. This nomination and revocation was done by the Archbishop of Rouen and without any apparent consultation with the Bishop of Quebec.

To continue the introduction: "In 1722 the Bishop of Quebec in accord with the Company of the Indies divided Louisiana into three spiritual jurisdictions: The first part would seem to comprehend all the country that one finds in seeing the River St. Louis from the sea, up to the altitude of the entrance of the River Wabash into the River St. Louis and the whole country East of this River in the said space of country.

The Churches and Missions of this jurisdiction shall be placed under the Capuchins; their Superior always to be Vicar-General from the Bishop of Quebec in this department and to live in New Orleans.

The second jurisdiction is to extend over all the country which is found in the height of the Province from the River of the Wabash (the Ohio) and must belong to the control of the Jesuits whose Superior shall live in the District of the Illinois and is to be Vicar-General of that District.

The third jurisdiction should extend over all the country which is found on the East of the River from the sea up to the Wabash, and is given to the Carmelites whose Superior is also to be Vicar-General and live in the Mobile District. "In the same year, 1722, the Capuchins took possession of the District. The Jesuits had for a long time been established in theirs.

The Carmelites were at Mobile but the Bishop of Quebec was displeased at their conduct and joined the jurisdiction to that of the Capuchins by an ordinance, *December 19, 1722*. So the Carmelites returned to France.

In *December, 1723*, the Company judged that the Capuchins were not able to look after the jurisdiction of all the Churches and Missions in so vast a territory as had been allotted to them and decreased their jurisdiction up to and including Natchez, allowing them all the country through which the river flows as much to the

East as to the West, and gave the remainder to the Jesuits, who in this department had for their helpers two Priests of Foreign Missions.

This readjustment offended the Capuchins. They demanded surely for that which remained to them and what was left comprised a very large stretch of country containing the largest number of people. The Company to satisfy them made an Ordinance, *June 27, 1725*, affecting all the Churches and Missions established or which might be established in the district last set aside for the Capuchins, that they would be served by no other religious Order unless by Priests and that only after their consent. And this edict which was indeed their sole desire was confirmed by a brevet from the King, July 25, 1725.

But the Capuchins had more zeal than knowledge of the world. The Precinct of Champagne is small and sterile compared to Louisiana. The Company there, seeing they did not give enough religious instruction to fill the Ecclesiastical post of their district and knowing of others who were little fitted to tend the missions at the dwelling places of the savages, judged that it would be absolutely necessary to establish a new division which would meet the character and particular virtue of the two orders. In consequence, the Company made a treaty, *February 20, 1726*, with the Jesuit Fathers by which they engaged themselves to furnish missionaries, not only in the territory of their districts but also with the savages where it would be of interest not only to the Church but the better to establish them in that stretch of country formerly given to the Capuchins. The Company took it upon itself the duty of giving all the French Missions to the Capuchins and placed the savages under the care of the Jesuits with the approval of the Bishop of Quebec who was pleased with this new division. It seemed necessary to the Superior of the Jesuit Mission to build a hospital in New Orleans. The Company only gave this hospital to the Superior of the Jesuits on condition that they would not perform any ecclesiastical function without the consent of the Capuchins. In December, 1726, a number of Jesuits left France—a number necessary to fill up the Missions they had been given the right to establish. Their arrival in New Orleans and the publication of their treaty, caused much jealousy among the Capuchins. And if they had listened to reason, all would have been well, if the Rev. Fr. P. Beaubois, Superior of the Jesuits, had been punctual in keeping his engagements. (The word punctual is a literal rendering of the French.) In reading over the articles of the treaty with the Company, there appeared this direct condition:

That no Ecclesiastical functions of any kind should be performed at New Orleans without the consent of the Capuchins. ("Qu'il ne feroit a la Nouvelle Orleans aucune fonction Ecclesiastique sans le consentement des Capucins.") He (Beaubois) had signed with his superiors the same treaty bearing the same conditions. He had promised M. de Mornai, then Coadjutor and now Bishop of Quebec that he would faithfully abide by this treaty. He had also written to Père Raphael, Superior of the Capuchins, that he would go to New Orleans only to live his peculiar and simple life.

And in addition, during all this time that he would go to Quebec at the command of the Bishop to have himself given (pour se faire accorder) the authority of Vicar-General, the same as for New Orleans. Having arrived in this city, (New Orleans) with the answer of the Bishop which was nothing more than a simple agreement to his demands, he pretended that this agreement was an absolute order, a command from his master. He deposed that the letter of the Prelate was at the Public Registry (sur ce pied la au greffe public la letter du prelat.) He bore himself proudly as a Grand Vicar in the exercise of his duties. He made himself Superior of the Community of the Ursulines and clothed himself with full authority. The Company was the scapegoat of all this quarrel and the resultant scandals. And these are of such weight that the Superiors of Père de Beaubois have set them forth and have revoked every settlement after having read them. This revocation was the more necessary inasmuch as the Capuchins demanded of the Company the return of Father Beaubois, and because M. de la Chaise, with whom he had been exceedingly angry, could not endure more, and they also added, that they, the Capuchins, would all return to France if the Père de Dubois should be recognized. M. de Mornai, to whom the Bishop of Quebec had given full authority in Louisiana following the last letters of M. de la Chaise and those of Raphael, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, had at last hopes of an understanding between the two Orders, M. Le Petit (who succeeded de Beaubois) being the kind of a person whose character was very moderate and circumspect." Here follows a list of the Missionaries, both Capuchins and Jesuits, showing exactly where each worked. With the exception of the Jesuit, M. Le Petit, who lived in New Orleans, the other ten Jesuits worked among the Indians.

"Archives du Min. de la Mar."

This signature is at the end of the "Memoire."

Before we pass to an examination of the criticism showered

upon this "Memoire," I ask you to notice a passage in Shea, "The Church in the Colonies." Page 543:

"With missions among the Illinois at the mouth of the Mississippi, the Jesuits solicited from Bishop St. Vallier the *exclusive direction* of the *French posts* in Louisiana. They asked that the Superior of the Mission should always be appointed Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec."

You will notice that this "solicitation" was in direct contradiction to the agreement which the "Memoire" says was made between Capuchins, Jesuits, and the Company of the Indies. This "solicitation" was made about the year 1700. Shea gives no date. Now let us quote a letter from the Minister of the Marine to the Bishop of Quebec, dated Versailles, June 17, 1703.

"Sir: The Jesuit Fathers and the Superiors of the Foreign Missions have spoken to you separately of the Missions of the Mississippi. The Fathers wishing to avoid any unpleasantries with the Missionaries have demanded that it would be best (plus) for his Majesty to assign them the right of travelling alone and without the rivalry of others.

They said with some sort of reason on their side that their differences (*demas lez*) scandalized the faithful and perhaps kept back the conversion of the savages, and that it would be of service to God and to the King to take away all obstacles that can prevent them from embracing the Christian Faith; and since they, the Jesuits, are the first who have settled on the Mississippi, and were responsible for the mission *which was started at Mobile*, they demanded that this part of the country would be assigned to them with such restrictions as would be pleasing to his Majesty. They pretended that it would be most agreeable to your wish to take for your Vicar-General of this district the Superior whom they should establish there. On their side, the Priests of the Foreign Missions, represented that they themselves already had a number of Missions, and that it would be necessary that they should have an establishment in the place where they would have the chief post of authority. This is only the right of those who are strong; who know that the Jesuits cannot reside without having thier own Spiritual Jurisdiction.

The King has not wished to decide anything before consulting you. His Majesty desires that you examine with care all these points, and after having reflected seriously, to favor that side which you think ought to do, for the greatest glory of God and good of His service. I pray you try to make a good answer as quickly as you can, (*le plutot que vous pourrez*) so that in the statement you give to

his Majesty, the necessary orders can be given to put the affairs of this colony on a sound foundation, for which, I am persuaded, that you would wish to give me the best of advice, inasmuch as it all depends on you; the neighborhood of the English, always an enemy to the Catholic religion of his Majesty, is a reason strong enough to induce you to make plans strong enough to put this Colony on a sound footing and to impress them that they must put to one side their differences on account of the great number of savages who inhabit that country." This seems to relate to the newly directed district of Mobile, and seems to show that the Jesuits, not content with trying to obtain a footing in New Orleans, were also inten upon the Supremacy in that district which the Bishop had given to the Seminary at Quebec. *Shea* does not give any letter of the Bishop in answer to the Minister of the Marine. He says that the Bishop declined to give any religious order the complete and exclusive direction of Louisiana, deeming it better to assign from time to time districts to religious or secular Priests, all to be subject to a Vicar-General named by the Bishop of Quebec until the state of the Church would warrant the establishment of a See in New Orleans. (The proof of this statement can be found in the Archives de Quebec in the Bishop's Memoires upon the Missions of the Mississippi.)

The statements of the "Memoire" have not been allowed to pass without challenge. The "Memoire," *Shea* asserts, (Page 567) is unsigned and contains evident errors, so that its authority cannot be considered great. No ordinance of Bishop St. Vallier in this matter exists at Quebec, and the whole affair seems to have been arranged by Père de Mornay. And yet, the History of events in Louisiana which all Historians confirm, *Shea* among them, seems to regard this missing Ordinance to which the "Memoire" refers as *an undoubted fact!*

The Jesuits appealed from the decision to the King and in June, 1701, a Commission of three Bishops decided that Quebec had jurisdiction over the Tamaroas Indians and therefore settled the Jesuit question as to their spiritual jurisdiction over Louisiana.

To continue the question of the "Memoire:" We find that in August, 1717, the Regent Duke of Orleans in the name of Louis XV. issued letters patent establishing a joint stock company called the Company of the West, to which Louisiana was transferred. That the trouble between Jesuit and Capuchins was real, and not a matter to be lightly regarded, as Marie Louise Points says in her article in the Catholic Encyclopedia, "New Orleans," we point to a Note in Pierre Margry: *Memoires and Documents*, Tome IV.-Pages 634-635.

"Note taken from the manuscript of P. Leonard de Saint Catherine de Sienne." "In the month of *May, 1702*, M. de Beaucharois, Intendent of Canada, in the place of M. de Champagne, who came to take this office at Havre de Grace, has worked to reconcile the Jesuits with St. Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, who is in Paris. He has given a dinner to both parties, the better to cement this reconciliation, and some days afterward, the Jesuits in their dwelling house at Gentilly entertained the Bishop of Quebec. He did not wish them to send a Mission to the *newly discovered part of the Mississippi River.*"

This extract is a strong indirect testimony of the real position taken by the Bishop of Quebec.

Evidently, he had no idea of allowing the Jesuits to work in New Orleans.

Was the declaration of the third jurisdiction as narrated in the "Memoire" a fabrication? Let us examine the testimony of what we call secondary authorities, since the original Ordinance of the India Company appears to be lacking.

Phelps in his history of Louisiana (1904) says: "It was also necessary to re-establish Ecclesiastical relations to avoid disputes among the rival orders of Missionaries. The first division comprises the Valley of the Mississippi from the Gulf of the Ohio, comprising the territory west of the River and was allotted to the Capuchins whose superior was to reside in New Orleans.

The second division, including the territory north of the Ohio, was given to the Jesuits, whose head was among the Illinois.

The third division, South of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, was under the care of the Carmelites, whose Superior was to reside in Mobile.

The Church of Louisiana was still under the general supervision of Canada and each of the Superiors of the three orders was a Grand-Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec."

If by Grand-Vicar Mr. Phelps means Vicar-General, his statement corresponds to the "Memoire," but he gives no authority for this statement. Is this only a copy? Again, Fortier in his history of Louisiana, (Vol. I, 108 P.) says:

"Father de Baubois S. J. pretended to have obtained from the Bishop of Quebec the authority of Grand Vicar for New Orleans and acted as such, in spite of the remonstrances of the Capuchin Superior, Raphael." No authority is given.

But Gayarre (Vol. III.-49) seems to take the other side and says the Capuchins pretended they had a contract with the Company of India giving them exclusive jurisdiction in New Orleans, and were

therefore opposed to any exercise of spiritual authority by the Jesuits. Again, no authority is given.

In volume II.-262 of the *Histoire de la Louisianne, par Me. le Page du Pratz, Paris, 1768*, occurs the following comment in the description of New Orleans in its first beginnings: "La Place d'Armes est au milieu de la partie de la ville qui fait face au fleuve; dans le milieu du fond de cette place est l'Eglise de la Paroisse sous l'invocation de S. Louis disservie par les R. R. P. P. Capucins. Leur Maison est au côté gauche de l'Eglise." Facing page 262 there is a plot of this newly founded city and the house of the Capuchins is on the Place d'Armes, number 3. While that of the Ursulines and Hospital is Number 11. There is no "logement pour les Jesuits."

The deduction is significant. No Jesuit was living in New Orleans before Beauvois came. And the Capuchins were living there and had a house assigned them. The writer dislikes to find discrepancies and to make the same author seem to contradict himself, but he feels bound to call attention to what Gayarre says, Volume II.-79.

"1717. The Capuchins of the Province of Champagne secured exclusive power over lower Louisiana. 1726, the Jesuits also obtained permission but in order to avoid conflict they had been confined to a remote region in upper Louisiana, but they had obtained permission that the Jesuit Superior might reside in New Orleans, on condition he should not discharge any Ecclesiastical function save with the consent of the Capuchin Superior. The well known extraordinary dexterity of the Jesuits turned this to good purpose. So they began by obtaining from the Bishop of Quebec a commission of Grand-Vicar within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Capuchins when they had no right to interference because of the contract between the Capuchins and the India Company, in 1717."

Here is a statement in direct agreement with the "Memoire," Why should Gayarre use the word 'pretended' in Volume III? Did he change his mind?

Then came the Ursulines, and with them Father de Beauvois S. J., who asked the Superior Council, 1729, to record the nomination of himself, made by St. Vallier as Vicar-General. This, says Gayarre, the Superior Council properly refused to record. Nevertheless, the Jesuits took on the functions of the Capuchins who were bewildered and lacked the ability to cope with these rivals.

Shea completely contradicts the "Memoire" when he says: "The gentlemen of the Company of the Indies by the contract which they made with Rev. Father Beauvois, Vicar-General of Monsieur

the Bishop of Quebec and Superior-General of the Louisiana Missions.' But the Bishop raised a host of objections to their coming and on one occasion, say the Jesuits, they were obliged to appeal to his Eminence,* Cardinal Fleury, Minister of State. Has there not been registered here a curious error? Has not Beaupois been inserted in place of Baudoin S. J. who was made Vicar-General of Louisiana in late years by Bishop Pontbriand?

It would seem so.

This above contradiction is the only one that seems to upset the words of the "Memoire."

Bossu, "Nouveaux aux Indes Occidentales," *Part I-28*, says:

"The Capuchins are the first monks who came to New Orleans in 1723 as Missionaries. The Superior is Curé of the Parish. These good religious only occupy themselves with affairs relative to their own ministry. The Jesuits after two years are also established in Louisiana. 'Ces fins politiques,' have found the secret of entering the richest dwelling place of the Colony which their intrigues have allowed them to obtain."

It is Shea who in a few words highly significant says:

"While the Jesuits whose Superior, Father de Beaupois, had been recalled, awaited the arrival of the new Superior, Father le Petit."

This again confirms the "Memoire."

And still further, he says that he (Beaupois, 1733) was recalled for what reason no one knows:

And again, we quote the words of Gayarre (Vol. I.-380):

"The Superior of the Company of the Louisiana Jesuits was to reside in New Orleans but could not exercise therein any Ecclesiastical function *without the permission of the Superior of the Capuchins* under whose spiritual jurisdiction New Orleans happened to be placed."

Without doubt this dispute, concerning which the barest outline has been given, did not tend to the upbuilding of the Church. "Vice increased unchecked."

It is more than probable that any one who reads this contradiction of authorities will be perplexed. The writer ventures to make this summary:

The whole controversy ought to be settled by an appeal to the Edict drawn by the India Company in 1722.

Careful search among the Documents in French and Canadian Archives has failed to produce this Edict.

We therefore only have the "Memoire" which refers to the Edict and which is to be found in the Archives of the Minister of Marine.

We have noticed Shea's objections and that Gayarre has also used the word "pretended."

On the other hand all the documents and secondary authorities that I have examined refer to the three Divisions of spiritual jurisdiction as a settled fact. Then the dispute is narrowed to this question: Raphael de Luxemburg was not only Superior of the Capuchins in New Orleans, but Vicar-General of Louisiana at the same time that Father Beaubois appeared claiming to have been appointed Vicar-General of the same district by the Bishop of Quebec. But there is no Edict in the Archives of Quebec which sets forth that St. Vallier did this. How could he? He had appointed De Mornay Vicar-General of all Louisiana, *April 22, 1714*. When the India Company applied to him for Priests he sent them Capuchins to take charge of the new district. As we have seen (says Shea) by the arrangement of the trading company, the highly educated Jesuits were confined to the Indian field and were not allowed to exercise their ministry among the settlers of Louisiana who were assigned to a less cultured body, (the Capuchins.)

St. Vallier would never have allowed De Mornay to put one man in the field and then himself put another man of an Order repugnant to him in the same field.

The strong probability is that Beaubois either mistook his orders, or else deliberately forged them. At all events there is no doubt that he was expelled and Le Petit became the Superior.

This dispute therefore was settled for the time being when Raphael was allowed to exercise his ministry undisturbed—a complete triumph for the Capuchins.

In justice to the Jesuits, it ought to be stated that Beaubois was responsible under St. Vallier for bringing the Ursulines to New Orleans. "The Rev. Jesuit Father, animated with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls came from New Orleans to France to obtain an establishment of his order, and of the Ursuline nuns for the education of youth. God blessed his good intentions by enabling him to succeed completely in his undertaking, notwithstanding a host of crosses and opposition which he had to suffer at the hands of those who were most important to his work. But after a year's exertion by the Reverend Father and the nuns; after a thousand difficulties raised by the Lord Bishops (St. Vallier and De Mornay) who after having first approved the project subsequently raised many

objections when it came to giving obediences to the religious of the Diocese.

On one occasion, they were obliged to appeal to his Eminence, Cardinal Fleury, Secretary of State. The "Compagnie des Indes," thinking that the most solid foundation for the Colony of Louisiana is what tends to advance the glory of God and the edification of the people, such as the establishment of the Reverend Capuchin and Jesuit Fathers, etc."

What did Beauvois really do? He must have known that St. Vallier would never grant him a Vicar-Generalship over the same district as Raphael de Luxemburg held. And he must also have known that if De Mornay was engineering the whole affair (as the assertion is made) he never would have had the slightest chance.

Did Beauvois pretend to have something he never had?

That is a dangerous thing to do as we all know! The brief note of Shea (page 581) is perplexing but to the point. "From some cause Father Beauvois was interdicted, 1733."

And yet on the *following page* (582) he goes on to state that while the Bishop of Quebec had appointed Beauvois his Vicar-General in Louisiana, the Capuchins refused to acknowledge his authority (because of the old agreement.)

He adds that the colony was divided into two camps and a disedifying struggle ensued. The "Capuchins succeeded in inducing Bishop Mornay to suspend Father de Beauvois and to ask the Provincial of the Jesuits to recall him to France."

Shea seems to be trying to bolster up a very weak case. Just how weak I shall try to show in the discussion of the Banishment of the Jesuits. In the meanwhile religion was at the lowest possible ebb. People lose interest in matters of Religion when instead of the lion lying down with the lamb they claw one another! Grace King in her life of "Sieur de Bienville" puts the whole affair very strongly when she says: "The Ecclesiastical affairs of the Parish were still in a flourishing discord." Bienville, the Governor, was asked by de Luxemburg what he should do about the interdict of the Jesuits in New Orleans.

Bienville wisely advised him to do nothing. But he pointed out that the Jesuits greatly served the cause of religion; that the Capuchins could not administer to the needs of the extensive Parish, comprising also the Hospital and Nunnery; that the nuns did not wish to submit to a Capuchin for Director. It is difficult to reclothe the acts of men dead for so many years but this we can say with all sincerity. Both Beauvois and de Mornay appear to have

behaved very well in this war of authorities. The fault evidently was not with them but with their Superiors who tangled up matters so effectually that even at this date it is next to impossible to find out the real facts.

CHAPTER V.

The Record of the "Voyage Du Nord" Concerning "Les Compagnie Des Indes."

While it has been impossible to obtain knowledge of the whereabouts of the Edicts of the different companies, yet it is interesting to see how the King formed the different companies and the nature of the powers that he gave them. The "Recueil du Voyages au Nord" was published at Amsterdam in 1720; a resume of volume VI follows:

Page 1. Concession de la Louisianne à M. Crosat pour dix années. Lettres du Roi du 11 Septembre, 1712.

Sorrow is expressed at the continued wars, which Louis, ever since he began to reign, was obliged to wage. He wishes to seek all possible occasions to study and augment the Commerce of the American colonies. Reference is made to the discoveries of La Salle who has extended New France to the Gulf of Mexico, and that by the discovery of the Mississippi River, a great quantity of gold and silver has been procured for France. Sieur Crosat is given authority to regulate these matters of trade.

Sixteen articles are written down to regulate commerce.

Page 2. Lettres Patentées en forme d'Edict du mois d'ut registres en Parliament le 6 September, 1717, portantes établissement d'une Compagnie du Commerce, sous le nom de Compagnie d'Occident.

Here are fifty-six articles, most of them of a very stringent nature to govern the actions of the Company in any circumstances that may arise, and yet granting them large powers. This is to remain in force for twenty-five years.

Page 23. Arrest.

Qui nomme des Commissionnaires pour passer les contracts des Pentes de la Compagnie d'Occident du 24 Septembre, 1717. Extrait des Régistres du Consul d'Etat.

Page 21. Arrest.

Qui nomme des directeurs de la Compagnie d'Occident du 12 Septembre, 1717. Extrait des Régistres du Consul d'Etat.

Page 116. Edict du Roi.

Portant Reunion de Compagnies des Indes Orientales et de la Chine, a la Compagnie d'Occident, donné a Paris au Mois du Mai, 1719.

Summary: The good standing acquired by the Company of the West, though so newly formed, has determined us to examine into the companies established for some time, and we have seen with sorrow that they have ill-repaid the benefits conferred upon them by the King.

There follow reasons why the Company has failed in both capital and interest. The China Company also has failed to bring in money sufficient to the King's expectations. Of these companies, that Company of the West has alone excited the King's admiration. All these therefore will be merged into one company of Commerce which will govern the trading of the four parts of the World.

Article I. The privileges given to the Company of the East Indies are revoked. Also those of the company of China.

Article II. Sole right is accorded the Company of the West to trade practically all over the known world.

Article IV. Gives to this Company all the properties formerly held by the three companies.

Article XII. Says that it is the King's wish to have this three-fold Company called "Compagnie des Indés."

Page 126. Lettres Patentes. (Ten articles)

Page 133. Arrest.

Concernant la Reunion des Indés Orientals et de la Chine a la Compagnie d'Occident, 17 Juin, 1719. Extrait des Registres de Consul d'Etat.

Legal matters concerning this *Morger*.

Page 135. Edit.

Par lequel S. M. fait former vingt-cinq millions de sa Banque a la Compganie d'Occident.

Page 139. Arrest.

Concernant les actions de la Compagnie d'Occident endosses par S. M. etc. Mai 30, 1719.

The rest of Volume VI. is taken up with matters concerning the Hudson Bay Company and the journal of Frobisher to Detroit.

The best authority upon the formation of the different companies is Mims' "Colbert's West Indian Policy."

But nowhere in this book is the authority quoted to which the writer of "Voyage au Nord" introduces us. In effect the *details* of the forming of the Company of the Indies are given.

Twenty-five million francs were required to float this new enterprise.

For twenty-five years this company had the monopoly of the commerce of Louisiana. It paid homage only to the King. It had the right to declare war or to make peace. Its ships could give battle to strange vessels and to all French people who went into Louisiana without its authority. It was exempt from all toll or tax. So great was the success of the Compagnie des Ind's that it excited the wonder of Voltaire himself who wrote about it to a friend in 1719, "Is this a reality or a dream?"

All France was shaken by its lust for the possession of imaginary riches, which this Company declared in its prospectus. The princes of the blood, the Grand Signors, the country-folk, all precipitated themselves into this hideous tangle of excitement which passed from the Rue Quincapoix to the Place Vendome in the gardens of the Hotel of Soissons. In an instance, immense fortunes were made or lost. In this Saturnalia the old and laboring France forgot its moral sense and its modesty.

It was the worst kind of gambling. It was in these days 1720-1722 that Father Beauvois came over to France to make his arrangement with this tremendously strong Company which apparently took a hand in matters religious as well as in matters commercial.

CHAPTER VI.

The War of the Jesuits and Capuchins, 1755-1772.

Before we go with this peculiar war, glance at the Succession in the matter of the Quebec Bishopric.

St. Vallier.

De Mornay.

Dosquet..

Pontbriand, 1741-1760.

It is necessary to have the truth clearly in our minds. In the Article "New Orleans," signed Marie Louise Points, Volume XI.-Page 7, we read: "It was the successor of De Mornay, Pontbriand, who appointed Beauvois his Vicar-General."

But Pontbriand appointed Baudoin S. J. his Vicar-General, and Dosquet was De Mornay's successor.

How much longer Raphael de Luxemburg remained in New Orleans we do not know. He was safely ensconced there in 1733 and all seemed to be in peace and contentment. Bienville, although an

ardent supporter of the Jesuits, had too much common sense to enter into a war of words with a Capuchin.

But in 1741 Pontbriand S. J., was made Bishop. St. Vallier had been forced to resign by the King on account of the disputes, charges and counter charges that made him the centre of a political whirlpool. De Mornay had never come to America at all, transacting all his Ecclesiastical affairs for Quebec in France. Of Dosquet little or nothing is said, and in Pontbriand we see the last Bishop of Quebec who was there during the French Domination. It was during his Bishopric that Wolfe conquered Montcalm and the English entered Quebec. Pontbriand evidently had made a careful study of the whole question of the dispute, for he thought himself justified in appointing Father Vitry in 1744, and at his death Father Baudoin, both members of the Society of Jesus. He *had* been justified, for an appeal had been made to the French King. In this appeal two arguments were used:

(a) *Vol. 67-37 Jesuit Relat.* "This contract was evidently made with the Company of the Indies, but when that association surrendered its charter, its obligations were transferred to the French Government." Apparently this is the confession of the Jesuits to the much disputed contract. The contract is admitted by the Jesuits, but, they say the Spanish Government, not the French is (1763-1803) the *de facto* government in New Orleans: ergo we do not hesitate to say that the contract is at an end!

This without doubt is the real reason, why they wish to go on in Louisiana! Because one Company should go out of business, why should a contract be broken?

(b) Another argument which certainly was used by the Jesuits in their appeal to the French King was the following: They claimed that Baudoin's being Vicar-General of New Orleans was not a violation of the contract, inasmuch as their Superior was acting *not* as a Jesuit in New Orleans, but as Vicar-General. These two arguments gave Baudoin the coveted place.

And to quote the Jesuits still further:

"They could not, as Bishops of Quebec, admit the assent of Bishop De Mornay, a Coadjutor, to an agreement between a trading Company and a Religious Order, thus depriving them of the right to act as fully in Louisiana as in any other part of their Diocese. (See letters of Bishop Briand. June 1767-April, 1769.

Baudoin was finally made Vicar-General, but *before* he accepted, at least one man had been asked by Pontbriand to take the office

and had refused: And the same thing happened in 1767 when the Bishop of Quebec, Briand, asked Father Meurin.

The following is taken from one of Father Meurin's letters to the Bishop of Quebec. Evidently he is writing about the Vicar-Generalship for he says:

"How would I have been received by them (the Capuchins) after having agreed over my own signature, (in order to obtain permission to revisit the Illinois District) how would I comport myself as Vicar with the Reverend Father Capuchins, subject to their visits and reprimands and corrections, saying that their jurisdiction ought to be the sole jurisdiction in all the Mississippi?"

And what did they do? As soon as they had heard that you had made me Vicar-General, a warrant of proscription was issued against me and would have been executed if I had not escaped to English territory, and then by taking the oath of allegiance, I secured myself from Spanish persecution which declared that it was criminal in me to have received the jurisdiction of Quebec so contrary to the wishes and best interests of Spain."

This letter was read very differently from Shea, who says: "The Bishop of Quebec, finding it impossible to exercise *any control* over the Capuchins in Louisiana, through their Superior, to maintain discipline, or to carry out the rules of the Diocese, constantly insisted on confiding the office of Vicar-General to some member of the Society of Jesus."

Evidently the Bishop of Quebec was firmly resolved that he would have his own way; his letters of appointment to Father Baudoin gave him powers that were *most explicit*. The letter recites that from the beginning of his administration he had made the Superior General of the Jesuits *his* Vicar-General in all parts of Louisiana, and specifically gave Baudoin full powers over all Priests whether Jesuit or Capuchin to give or withhold powers according to his discretion. This letter of appointment is in the Archives of the Archbishop of Quebec, C. 224. At once the war between the Jesuits and Capuchins began again all the more furiously because by this time (1755) the arguments that the Orders used had become more or less known.

In 1759 the trouble was still in full blast. Bishop Pontbriand laid the whole matter before the Society of the Propoganda. It is with deep interest we read that no decision was reached. These reasons that were behind this Scotch verdict in Rome are interesting. The banishment of the Jesuits was very near; and it was and is true that in no country are the Capuchins so powerful as in Italy. Even under these circumstances, it was Greek meet Greek, and so power-

ful were the Jesuits even in the hour of their defeat that the Propaganda were not *able* to come to any decision, however much they might have wished to decide! One more matter must be told and this also rests in uncertainty: Did the Superior Council of New Orleans register or not the appointment of Baudoin? It is uncertain. Jesuits say the appointment was registered. Others say that it was *not* registered. And we can make no appeal to Documentary Evidence. The Records of the Superior Council just prior to the Spanish domination have been lost. *Perhaps* they were lost at sea. But the banishment of the Jesuits could be put off no longer: Three reasons were alleged for an action which was about as forceful as the decision against the Standard Oil in 1910.

The Jesuits are back again in New Orleans and are very powerful. There is no Capuchin Church or any of the Order in the city (1917.)

However, this may be, the Jesuits were banished 1764 and one of the three reasons was "the usurpation of the Vicar-Generalship of the Episcopate of Quebec." Let us allow the Jesuits to tell their own story of the Condemnation: (Jesuit Relations. Vol. 70-259.)

"Almost eighteen or twenty years ago, (1744) Pontbriand, Bishop of Quebec, sent letters to Vitry, Superior of the Jesuits making him Vicar-General. Vitry died 1750, and Baudoin was made Vicar-General. (Gayarre says the Superior Council refused to register Baudoin's appointment.) Vol. 2-80.

To continue the version as given in The Relations, "these letters *were* registered by the Superior Council. But afterwards, there arose disputes. The Capuchins persuaded themselves that the name and function of Vicar-General had been given to *their* Superior by the Bishop of Quebec when the Company of the Indies had named him as Curé of New Orleans, and these two titles (Curé of New Orleans and Vicar-General) ought to be inseparable and in consequence ought to belong to them.

The pretensions of the Capuchins were well known to the Bishop of Quebec. The Jesuits (many will not believe it but the fact is no less true) directed all their efforts to be freed from a position which was only for them a source of perplexity and contradiction. But the Prelate persisted in wishing that the office of Vicar-General should remain with the man whom he had nominated. The Capuchins refused to recognize Father Baudoin. The matter was then referred to the Superior Council, which after several disputes adjudged to the Jesuits by a decree the legitimate possession of the Grand-Vicariate and the registers of the Council testify to this.

Father Baudois had the name and performed the duties thereof until the day in which the decree of destruction was issued."

According to these "Relations" Baudois was Vicar-General until April 1, 1767. Then the Jesuits were banished and the Capuchins were free to govern as they pleased, and the War of the Jesuits with all its bitterness was at an end.

It is almost impossible to give a table of names and dates of the men of either Order who were Vicar-Generals, some of them at the same time, but the attempt has been made and is now laid before the student of history.

Jesuit.

Capuchin.

1722.

(Making efforts without success to combat contract.)

Contract made for Vicar-Generalship by Company of the Indies.

1723.

Raphael de Luxemburg first Vicar - General, appointed by Archbishop of Rouen.

1727.

Beaubois asserted he was made Vicar-General, but was expelled after three years, from New Orleans, April 1, 1730.

Not known when Raphael was asked to leave.

1733 to 1744.

Matthias, Vicar-General.
(John Shea only one to give this name.)

1744 to 1750.

Father Vitry appointed by Bishop Pontbriand.

Dagobert, who says he was made Vicar-General by Quebec; no date and no document.

1750 to 1755.

Baudois appointed by Pontbriand.

Same as above.

1764.

Jesuits expelled.

1752.

Dagobert, Superior of the French Capuchins.

Capuchin.**Spanish.****1755 to 1772.**

CIRILLO appointed by Bishop of Havana to investigate ecclesiastical matters.

French.

Hilaire de Genoveaux, whose coming and going is uncertain; was made Apostolic Vicariate about 1755.

1772.

DAGOBERT made Vicar-General, Sept. 14, 1772, by Bishop of Havana.

1773.

BATTLE ROYAL, Cirillo and Hilaire attacking and Unzaga defending. Dagobert subject of battle.

CIRILLO wins battle in 1780 by being made Bishop Coadjutor of New Orleans. Having won his battle, he lost it by being deposed in 1797.

As soon as New Orleans became a separate Bishopric the struggle concerning the Vicar-Generalship ceased.

CHAPTER VII.**The Triple Struggle for the Vicar-Generalship.****1772-1773.**

And now we come to the end of the contention. Three men participated as principals—all of them Capuchins: Hilaire de Genoveaux, Cirillo of Barcelona, and Dagobert. As keenly interested and maintaining a brisk correspondence on the subject were Unzaga, second Spanish Governor of New Orleans, and the Bishop of Havana.

With an almost complete list of Spaniards as participants in the three-fold struggle, it speaks volumes for the justice of those who finally decided, that they seem to give the preference to Dagobert and not to Hilaire or Cirillo, both Spaniards. The matter is made very clear by the documents which can be seen upon the subject at the Louisiana Historical Society at New Orleans. In the years 1772-1773 we find three letters from Unzaga, the Governor, to the Bishop of Havana; three letters from Cirillo to the Bishop of Havana, one from the much discussed Dagobert himself to his Bishop thanking him for the bestowal of the Vicar-Generalship, and finally two from Unzaga to the Marquis de la Torre, and Julian Arriaga, Justice of the Indies. Dagobert's letter has been translated in part: the letter to de la Torre is given by me in such parts as are vital to the

discussion. The one point on which I have no information is the answer of the Bishop of Havana to this fusilade of attacks. It is useless to attempt to do work that has already been done better than almost anyone else could do it. For this reason I have not attempted to translate the letters of Cirillo or those of Unzaga to the Bishop, which the late Charles Gayarre has translated and which form part of his Volume III, History of Louisiana. If any sentences are quoted it will be simply to bring out certain points that have escaped the eminent translator. With this introduction we go on with the final episode.

The first word we learn of Dagobert is when O'Reilly came to take possession of New Orleans. "The curate as Vicar-General in behalf of the people addressed the general a pathetic harangue coupled with the most earnest protestations of fidelity on his part."

This must have been Dagobert, although Gayarre does not say so here.

We know that Dagobert had been Vicar-General, receiving his authority from the Bishop of Quebec: "Para la continuacion del empleo que el Ilmo. Sr. Obispo de Quebec me tenia confiado," (letter from Dagobert to Bishop of Havana). How came a Capuchin Vicar-General, after Pontbriand had made such a point up to 1760 of having Jesuits? And was not Baudoine Vicar-General in that year? Unzaga in his letter to the Bishop, July 11, 1772, gives a detailed statement of the ecclesiastical organization of Louisiana. "The King supported out of his treasury a mission of Capuchins. The Bishop of Quebec appointed for his Superior a Jesuit who also was Vicar-General. But the Friar Hilaire had been made Superior of the Capuchins by the Provincial of Champagne in France."

Hilaire seems to have been a man of superior education. He disputed the rights of the Vicar-General of the Jesuits and the old quarrel began in full blast again. He went quietly to Europe and returned with the title Apostolic Prothonotary—a title new to this war for jurisdiction. An Apostolic Prothonotary is a member of the highest college of Prelates in the Roman Curia. In the middle ages they were often raised from this rank to that of Cardinal. This new rank of Hilaire and his attempt to take the spiritual jurisdiction of New Orleans simply added fuel to the fire of contention already piled so high. The Jesuit Vicar-General asked the Bishop of Quebec, Briand, 1762 (?) to expel Hilaire as a usurper of Episcopal jurisdiction. Other forces however were at work. This time the secular forces took a hand. Hilaire was expelled, but by the Superior Council of New Orleans, "La novedad causaria alguna numeracion claustral esta

se revelaria por el P. Hilaire Genoveaux, religioso Capuchino Frances antiguo missionario de esta Orovincia y que fue expulsado del ella por disputas y que tuvo de jurisdiccion con los llamados antes Jesuitas que dandole quejas contra el P. Dagobert por que no hiso la causa Suya."

This news would no doubt cause some trouble which would show itself in the person of Father Hilaire Genoveaux, a French Capuchin priest, formerly missionary of this province and who was expelled for some disputes which he had concerning the jurisdiction with the aforesaid Jesuits, who complained against Father Dagobert for not making their quarrel his won.

The Superior Council did expel Hilaire, not because of his religious disputes, but because he would not agree with them in their attempted uprising against Spain (1763) who in the person of Ulloa were attempting to govern the country.

Hilaire and the Jesuits being disposed of, the most natural thing in the world happened when O'Reilly (1770) became Military Governor, and, as Gayarre says, "the old Superior of the Capuchins, the Reverend Father Dagobert, remained in the undisturbed exercise of his pastoral functions, in the southern part of Louisiana, of which the Bishop of Quebec made him Vicar-General."

Then came Unzaga and was made Governor of Louisiana, *August 17, 1772*. Father Dagobert was well fitted for his office; he had long served the Diocese under the French Regime; now he was as willing to serve under Spanish Domination. He was a man of peace. He tended his people faithfully. And the Spanish Government viewed him with favor. Almost with the advent of Unzaga, Father Dagobert, already Vicar-General by appointment from Quebec, received a letter from the Bishop of Havana and, September 12, 1772, wrote his answer: "He recibido la carta con que ora grandera ha gustado honorara me." He was therefore in a double sense of security. Evidently from Dagobert's letter the Bishop of Havana was pleased with Dagobert, for he also made him Vicar-General. There was alas need that this honor should be conferred upon him. For evil times had come among them. Shortly after the Spanish Domination, Hilaire, the Apostolic Prothonotary, came back to New Orleans. But he passed his days, seemingly, in prayers and meditation and gave Dagobert no trouble at all. For about seven years all went smoothly until it became known that Fr. Cirillo, Spanish Capuchin, and sent by the Bishop of Havana to investigate conditions, was soon to appear on the scene.

On the 19th of July, 1772, (three months before Dagobert received his appointment) Cirillo came and was welcomed by Dagobert with all honors at the Cabildo. Unzaga also welcomed Cirillo and declared that he would do all in his power to aid in carrying out orders of the Bishop of Cuba to see that true religion and good morals should adorn this new Spanish possession. At once Cirillo began to write his letters to the Bishop. Gayarre translates that dated August 6, 1772, (Vol. III-57-66.)

After some caustic remarks concerning the personal characters of the French Capuchins, he advises the Bishop "until we can learn the French language to commission Dagobert as the Vicar-General of this province." In the meanwhile information came to the Bishop of Havana from a different source. Unzaga wrote very fully to the Bishop, July 11, 1772, and this is also translated in part by Gayarré, (Vol. III-66-71). He advises the retention of Dagobert for *one year* as Vicar-General. Afterwards that one of the Spanish Franciscans be selected to succeed him. So far so good. But Cirillo (14 September, 1772) who had still more time to make investigations concerning the French Capuchins, waxed still angrier and so expressed himself to the Bishop of Cuba. He gives a detailed account of how Dagobert came to be Superior. In that his account differs from Unzaga, it is of interest:

When Louisiana was ceded to Spain, 1763, the French conspirators asked Hilaire, then Superior, to help them. He refused. Then they asked Father Dagobert to help them. He said he would do so. Then the conspirators seized Hilaire and sent him to France. Dagobert wrote to the Provincial in Champagne that Hilaire had run away to the English and on this representation, "Got himself confirmed in the office, to which he had been promoted,—what remains for us to do is to write to the Court to obtain the dismissal of Dagobert."

But *only the day before*, Dagobert wrote to Havana to thank the Bishop for the title of Vicar-General, just granted.

Cirillo and the Bishop evidently had two minds about this matter!

The more Cirillo writes the angrier he becomes, until Gayarre declines to translate his last epistle, saying that it savors too much of the style of Juvenel. It is not pleasant nor is it of any historical value to wade through filth.

Here and there are stray sentences which seem to show why the Friar waxed wrath. "Under these circumstances, I would advise you either to send an impartial person to look into ecclesiastical conditions or to give me the power vital to make reform thorough."

And again: "This Father Dagobert has promised the Governor that he would do all you ask and on this condition the Governor is willing to allow Dagobert to remain Vicar-General *for one year* only and that then, I should take his place." Now at last we understand what is at the bottom of all these contentions! It is the desire of Cirillo for power!

Evidently, from the letter of the Attorney-General on the state of the Church—a letter in manuscript at the Louisiana Historical Society—matters in regard to Holy Matrimony were in a very undesirable state.

As no reference has been made to this letter by any historian, the title of the letter is now given. "Informe de Fiscal del Consejo acerca de las pastoral y demás providencias del Obispo de Cuba para el arreglo del gobierno Eclesiastico de la Louisiana, 1773."

There are very particular and exact rules laid down for this Sacrament (Matrimony) and its proper celebration by the Priests. In fact, the bulk of the letter is taken up with the question. However, attention is called to the fact that the letter is unfinished or else has been cut out of the volume containing the Spanish manuscripts.

After examination of the letter, it would seem that for some unknown reason the part of the letter that has been cut out refers to the settlement of the quarrel, and we are left in doubt as to how this matter was decided.

Here is a very important paragraph to the effect that the Fiscal calls both Cirillo and Dagobert Vicar-Generals, but he makes this distinction, Cirillo is called Auxilliary Vicar-General, while Dagobert is to have supreme control, and again, the following paragraph is noteworthy, in that Cirillo seems to have brought his charges before the Attorney-General, and here is the answer:

"The Fiscal has examined with strict attention this state of affairs, and finds that the Prelate has conducted himself with an exquisite prudence.

"El Fiscal lo ha examinado con prolija atencion y halla que el prelado se maneja, con exquisita prudencia."

And later the Attorney-General adds: "En nada infringen ni vulneran las Regalias de S. M." "He, (Dagobert) infringed the law in no respect, nor did he break the bread the privileges of his Majesty."

And finally, in Unzaga's letter to Julius Arriaga in 1773, the moral character of Dagobert becomes the subject of discussion:

"Yo no hablo de pecados secretos cuantas veces el predicador ensena lo que no ejecuta, las negras mulatas que servian a los Capu-

chinos y de que informe al Ilus Obispo tal vez nacidas de su habitation, esto es de los negros de su hacienda de compana."

It is very curious that both the Attorney-General and the Governor could speak so stoutly in defense of Dagobert and that apparently the only person to raise a voice against him was a Friar of his own Order.

After a study of the letters, there is no reason to believe that Dagobert was the sort of a person depicted by Cirillo, nor is there apparent ground for the eminent historian Gayarre, in making Dagobert resemble a libertine in character. Whether or not Dagobert was compelled to give up his work, we do not know; until more documents shall be found we are in ignorance. But certainly a man who can have two such good champions as the Attorney-General and the Governor must have been a man of merit.

And Cirillo and Hilaire played a very unworthy part.

Certainly we do not find that they have been traduced by Dagobert!

To the onlooker it seems a clear case; that both Cirillo and Hilaire were eaten up with the desire for power, and that the arraignments of Dagobert were simply the deeds of jealous men who were disappointed because they were deprived of the Vicar-Generalship.

Enough has been said to prove that the subject of the Hundred Years' War has many ramifications and that this essay only touches the hem of what some day may prove to be a large garment, covering a very large body of truth.

It will also be of interest to learn this undoubted fact that the letter of Dagobert to the Bishop of Havana is certified to be a correct translation from the original. Evidently Dagobert wrote in the French language and not in the Spanish.

CHAPTER VIII.

Interesting Fragments.

Many questions can be asked as we rehearse the events of this war of over one hundred years! Among the transcription of letters in the Louisiana Historical Society, Vol. II Valley of Mississippi, is one of three letters from Cirillo to the Bishop of Cuba. The following is from the letter *September 15, 1772*:

"Por que, tratando con el Sr. Gober de todo lo que le escribo y diciendole yo que me sabia mal de haber consentido de que tro Padre

fuse Vicario General un ano; y mi conciencia me acusaba continuamente de haber caido en esta ligeresa. . . ”

* * * * *

The tender conscience of Cirillo is greatly touched concerning the enormities of Dagobert, yet in the letter of Unzaga to the Marquis de la Torre, Captain-General of the island of Cuba, the Governor does not hesitate to tell him that if Cirillo should triumph over Dagobert, it would be against *his* conscience and honor; it would be the triumph of malice and artifice over innocence; and instead of protecting Cirillo, he ought to be sent away to the most remote part of the province.

“Si fortificaba contra mi conciencia y honor al P. Cirilo triunfar la malicia, el artificio y oprimida la inocencia si me aplicaba a proteger a esta, era forzoso hechar al P. Cirilo lo menos a lo mas remoto de la Provincia.”

Dagobert is the subject of both these contentions and Dagobert has left but one letter—the letter of a man of admittedly low birth and breeding, but as far as it goes, perfectly decent and respectful. Which is right?

In the Archives of the Indies at Seville, in Spain, a transcript of which is in the Cabildo, there is a manuscript with this title:

“Expediente relativo a la Real resolucion que S. M. se ha dignado tomar, y participado al lonsejo y lamara por su Rl. decreto de 31 de Enero de este ano de 1769 sobre el gobierno y establecimiento de la Provincia y colonia de la Luisiana.”

“Provision concerning the Royal Decree that His Majesty has thought worth while to set forth, and to have the King’s Council by this Royal Decree of the 31st of January, 1769, about the Government being established in the province and colony of Louisiana.”

It is in the days of Ulloa, first Spanish Governor, when the times were stormy in New Orleans, which was then so overwhelming French. One clause here is germane:

“Que en cuanto al parto espiritual de la colonia, conceptua necesario diez y ocho sacerdotes. Informa asi mismo las buenas calidades del Padre Dagobert y lo util que sera su permanencia en la Provincia y concluye manifestando su opinion de que la Luisiana debe depender en lo espiritual del Obispo de la Havana.”

“He also informed us of the good personal qualities of Father Dagobert and that he would be always useful in the Province and that it was manifestly certain in his opinion that the Province ought to depend in matters spiritual upon the Bishop of Havana.”

Here we clearly see that in 1769 Fr. Dagobert was the ecclesiastical head, and when he was perhaps asked the question whether Louisiana should be under Quebec or Havana, he said Havana.

Finally, look at a portion of Unzaga's letter to the Marquis de la Torre, July 10, 1773; its subject is "La competencia entre los Capuchinos franceses y Espanoles." (Note that I have correctly copied the head-lines; "franceses" has a small f and "Espanoles" a capital E!)

"No obstante como estos Religiosos poco se embarasan en el fondo de las cosas, y solo estaban pendientes de la Vicariacomo Su ultmo hubiese dejado al Padre Dagobert de Vicario interino y al P. Cirillo de Auxiliar se unieron, y dejaron al P. Hilario solo y sin amigos entre ellos."

"Nevertheless as those religious stain themselves not a little in the slowness of their movements, and are only clinging to this Vicar since your illustrious Bishop has given Father Dagobert this respected Vicariate and has given to Fr. Cirillo the position of Auxiliary Vicar, thus leaving out Hilaire alone and without friends among us."

We see real cause for Cirilo's ungovernable jealousy. In spite of his trying to blacken Dagobert, it is the French Capuchin who is in authority with Cirillo playing a bad second. Gayarré leaves the whole subject *in medias res* and nothing more is said and the episode is closed. The only other news is in 1780 when Cirillo finally triumphing is made Coadjutor of Louisiana.

The reader will notice that the person against whom these vigorous complaints are made is quite silent. I mean the Bishop of Havana. No where in Louisiana or Cuba are there documents which purport to come from him; there may be letters in Spain. Perhaps they are in Seville in the Archive des Indes, having been carried over from Cuba when that country ceased to become a Spanish province, and was under the rule of the United States. Up to this present time no Carnegie Research has found these letters. Why? Time and careful search, only, can answer this question, but at present these letters are not available, unless documents which have not been available shall have been found. And there is another strange silence. There is not one word direct from Capuchins who figure so prominently in this quarrel. Indirectly there are many strong testimonies, some of which you have already read, but if there is any more direct testimony, Spanish, Italian and French Archives have successfully hidden it. It may take years to find out the story from the Capuchin view-point, for all three archives are difficult of access.

There is the following episode from Gayarre, purporting to have taken place in 1752:

"Dagobert, Superior of the Capuchins, courteously invited Baudoin, Superior of the Jesuits, to give his benediction to a hospital built for the poor while he himself acted as assistant at the service. This Baudoin agreed to do and at once made the service and the part he took in it a basis for the following argument:

"Baudoin said that he had been publicly recognized after the service as Vicar-General of New Orleans and that now it was too late for the Capuchins to dispute his title."

This story fits in beautifully with my episode of what is called, "The War of the Jesuits and Capuchins." It is not inserted in that chapter because so far no documentary evidence is found to support it.

Enough has been said to make this fact certain. Only the barest outlines have been given of an episode of history that is as interesting as it is shrouded in mystery.

To the student who wishes to unravel this tangle, a rich vein may be uncovered, and its discovery will be under Spanish, Italian and French flags, to say nothing of Canadian Archives and the MSS. in the Louisiana Historical Society.



EARLY EPISODES IN LOUISIANA HISTORY

By William Kernan Dart.

Foreword.

Bossu, who was a French Captain of the Marines, visited Louisiana in 1751, and subsequently in 1761. He reported his travels in letters to his patrons in France, notably the Marquis de Lestrade. He was an acute observer, and described his adventures in a straightforward, direct style. The three volumes which contain his narratives are replete with historical descriptions concerning Louisiana, its natives, its flora, and its fauna. Certain historical inaccuracies appear in his accounts, notably in his account of the casualties in the Natchez massacre, where he fixes the dead at 2,000, while the modern historians fix them at 200.

Little is known of the career of this explorer and historian of early Louisiana, not even his first name being remembered. He had a long career in the armies of France, being seriously wounded at the battle of Chateau Dauphin in July, 1744, in the Alps. His work is now not generally accessible, and so far as is recorded, was only translated into English once, and then by John Reinholz Forster, in 1771. Forster's translation was printed at London, and now seems to be as rare as the original French text.

The account which is here rendered into English is given in the English equivalent of Bossu's French. The thoughts are those of Bossu, as are the criticisms and historical statements. No credit or originality is to be ascribed to the present translator, unless it be that of the scribe who has laboriously reduced to our language that which Bossu so readily told in his own easily flowing French.

The first person is used in the following account because it is Bossu, who is speaking. The description of the Natchez massacre, and the events preceding it are selected for two reasons: Because it is peculiarly appropriate to the times of Bienville to whose memory this number of the Quarterly is dedicated, and because it relates the story of perhaps the first battle in our own part of the country in which white men participated. It is, of course, only an incident in the history of warfare, and would in all likelihood not even be deemed worthy of a communiqué in the great battle reports of today; but it is evidence of the fact that Frenchmen and Frenchwomen knew how to die just as bravely in the early eighteenth century defending their

firesides as they know how to die along the western front in these sad days of nineteen hundred and eighteen, Anno Domini.

But let us turn to Bossu, and listen to the story he tells:

I.

The Trip From France.

While I was at Belle-Isle on the sea in 1750 under the command of the Chevalier de Grossolles, he gave me a letter from the Count d'Argenson, advising me that His Majesty had seen fit to appoint me a lieutenant in the Marine troops. His orders were for me to present myself without delay at Rochefort. After a tempestuous voyage from Belle-Isle, during which our frail vessel narrowly escaped shipwreck, I ultimately arrived at Rochefort, reporting to the Intendant of Marines, Le Normant de Mesi.

The Intendant, who was a man of true merit and well worthy of his position, informed me that it was necessary for me to make a voyage beyond the seas. Accordingly I departed for La Rochelle, where I embarked on a ship named the *Pontchartrain du Port*, a vessel of four hundred tons. Le Normant had outfitted this ship for His Majesty with the object of transporting four companies of marines, who had been taken from the fort of the Isle de Rhé, and who were to reinforce the garrison of New Orleans.

We left La Rochelle on November 26th. For fifteen days, contrary winds tossed us about the shores of Spain, until we were almost ready to put into some nearby port for repairs. Fortunately the wind changed suddenly, and at the end of January, we sighted the coast of Madeira, then the property of the Crown of Portugal.

On February 15th, we entered the Tropic of Cancer, and on the following day the sailors initiated, with many ludicrous ceremonies, those aboard who had never hitherto passed this line. Finally, two months after our departure from La Rochelle, we arrived in good health at Cape Francis, on the coast and island of St. Domingo, which was the first land of America where the Spaniards had built towns and fortresses.

The Cape is situated at the foot of a mountain. It is defended by a fort built into the rock at the entrance of the port, and this fort is protected by artillery which juts out into the sea over a promontory or cape. From this promontory the cape takes its name. It is inhabited by European merchants, creoles, and negroes, the latter being employed by the inhabitants in the cultivating of sugar cane, coffee, indigo, cocoa, cotton, and tobacco. The Spanish and the

French share this country; the latter inhabiting the more western part of it.

The Indians in this island have been frightfully oppressed by the Spaniards, but the European inhabitants are most courteous and gentle, and justify all praise that is given them. It is with good reason that France accords the title of nobility to the creoles; they uphold it completely by their distinguished capacities, either in the profession of arms or in the other arts which they exercise with equal success.

We left this place on March 8, 1751, and on March 15, we arrived at the island of Cuba, which is the most temperate of the Antilles. Departing from Havana, the capital of this island, we met between Cape Catoche and Cape St. Anthony on March 23, a violent equinoctial storm. I became very sea sick, and was only strengthened by my ardor in serving my country in a new land. Suddenly the wind changed, the sea became appeased, and a few days later we entered the famous Gulf of Mexico. There we came across a prodigious amount of floating trees, which came from Louisiana, and which had been carried into the Gulf by the Mississippi river. This in a measure served to guide us to the mouth of this river, which is blocked by sand bars and shoals.

During the first days of April, we perceived the Balise, a fort established at the mouth of the Mississippi river.

Monsieur le Moyne d'Iberville, a Canadian gentleman, discovered this mouth in 1698, after de la Salle had missed it in 1684. Our boat crossed the bar, and we fired our cannon in order to call the coast pilot. At the same time the captain of the ship disembarked his artillery, and two hundred men who had been selected for service on this border of the colony of Louisiana.

On April 4th, we, eighteen officers, descended from the ship and reported to the Fort of the Balise, which was, measured by the sinuosities of the river, about ninety miles from New Orleans. M. de Santilly was in command of this fort, and he made us as comfortable as we could be made at this post, which was isolated and surrounded by a marsh filled with serpents and crocodiles.

Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor of the colony, having been informed of our arrival, sent several ships for us. They brought many delicacies, which we distributed among our soldiers, and we left for New Orleans on these boats, arriving there on Easter Day. The Marquis had just received twenty four companies of marines to increase his force in Louisiana, and on the same vessels that brought these marines there came girls who had been recruited in

France to populate this country. The King granted those who married a certain number of arpents of land for cultivation, supported them for three years, gave them a musket, and a half livre of powder, two livres of shot a month, an axe, a mattock, poultry, and cattle for their lands.

II.

Life in New Orleans: An Indian Treaty.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil distributed the twenty-four new companies in different quarters of the colony, without exception as to persons, the most influential being ordered with the most weak to these far posts of duty. It was my fate to be allotted to the company that was ordered to the Illinois, a frontier post about fifteen hundred miles from New Orleans. I had the honor of being one of a number of officers, who were particularly recommended to the Marquis by Monsieur Rovillé, the Minister of the Marine, and his hospitality enlivened my stay until I was definitely settled. He lived in great affluence, but this Governor did the honors with such nobility and with such generosity, that he acquired the esteem and the friendship of all the officers, who justly gave him the title of Father of the Colony. M. Michel de la Rouvilliere, the *ordonnateur*, contributed on his side to render our existence more pleasant by the gentle way in which he distributed the produce of the country, just as he did everything relative to his ministry.

We departed August 20th for the Illinois post with Monsieur de Macarty, who had been named commandant by the Court. The different nations which I was obliged to visit during this long voyage permits me to give an ample description of the beautiful Mississippi river, and of the peoples who inhabit its borders.

In New Orleans the streets are well arranged and today this city is greater and more thickly populated than it has ever been. Its inhabitants are of four sorts, Europeans, Americans, Africans or negroes and Mongrels. The Mongrels are those who were born of Europeans and of those natives of the country whom we call savages.

They describe Creoles as those who were born of a Frenchman and a Frenchwoman, or a Frenchman and an European.

The Creoles are in general very brave, grand, and haughty. They are disposed towards the cultivation of the arts and sciences, but as they do not have the opportunity of following the teachings of good masters here, the rich and well meaning parents do not hesitate to send their children to France as the first school of everything in

the world. They do this particularly in order that the respective sexes might properly learn their positions in the world.

New Orleans and Mobile are the only cities where they do not speak in a patois. Here the French that is spoken is correct. The negroes are brought from Africa. They are used in cultivating the soil, which is excellent for the cultivation of indigo, tobacco, rice, maize, and of sugar cane, for all of which there are very well managed plantations.

The city of New Orleans is inhabited by merchants, artisans, and foreigners. It is an enchanted place because of the salubrity of its air, the fecundity of its ground, and the beauty of its position. This city is situated on the banks of the Mississippi, one of the greatest rivers of the world, since it flows through more than twenty-four hundred miles of known country. Its pure and delicious waters (M. Normant de Mesi, while he was Intendant of the Marine at Rochefort served it on his table; this water has the virtue of contributing to the fecundity of women), serve a country of an hundred and twenty miles, in the middle of which are a number of homes which present a delightful spectacle on both banks. The owners of these homes enjoy in abundance all the pleasures of the chase, of fishing, and of all the other delicacies of life.

The Capuchins were the first priests to arrive in New Orleans. They came as missionaries in 1723. Their superior was the first Curé of the Parish, and these good religious devoted themselves solely to the affairs of their ministry.

The Jesuits, two years later, established themselves in Louisiana; these splendid diplomats discovered the secret of exploiting the rich land of the colony, which they obtained through their political moves.

The Ursulines came about the same time as the Jesuits, or a little later. These pious women, whose zeal is assuredly most praiseworthy, devoted themselves to the education of the young girls. They also received the orphans into their community, and for this service the King gave them a pension of fifty crowns for each orphan. They were also in charge of the military hospital.

When the colony was established, a tribe known as the *Chitimachas* lived on a stream to the west of New Orleans, which bore their name. In 1720, one of this tribe assassinated on the banks of the Mississippi, the Abbé de S. Côme, the missionary of this colony. M. de Bienville, then Governor, took the entire nation to task, and he attacked them with the aid of several tribes, our allies.

These savages were defeated, and the loss of many of their best warriors forced them to demand peace. Bienville granted it to them

on the condition that they would bring him the head of the murderer. They punctilioously satisfied this condition, and came to Bienville to present him the calumet of peace.

The calumet is a long pipe of red, white, or black marble, the stem being about three feet of cane. The savages send it by deputies to the nations with whom they wish to make treaties or renew alliances. They dress themselves for this occasion with white eagle plumes, for this is their symbol of peace and of amity. They will go anywhere without fear with this calumet, for there is nothing more sacred among these people.

They arrived in all their regalia at New Orleans, singing the song of the calumet, and beating the wind in cadence so as to announce the arrival of their ambassador.

The chief of the deputation then said: "I am happy to present myself before you. It is a long time since you have borne hatred against our nation. We have been told that this enmity has departed from your heart, and we see with joy that happier days are before us both."

They then seated themselves on the ground, placing their faces on their hands. Their leader spoke without hesitation and they kept silent without changing their positions during his harangue. A word uttered, or a laugh escaping by the French during this address would have been considered an affront by them.

The chief having spoken, some moments later he arose with two others. One of the latter filled the pipe of the calumet with tobacco, the other lit it, the chief puffed it, and he then presented it to Monsieur de Bienville to do likewise. The Governor smoked it as did each of his officers in turn according to each's respective rank. This ceremony being concluded, the old orator took back the pipe, and gave it into Bienville's custody.

Then the chief again seated himself, and the other ambassadors produced the presents, which they had brought the Governor. These consisted of deer and other skins, all being white as a sign of peace.

The chief was then covered with several sable skins sewn together; they were crossed over the right shoulder and under the left arm. He gathered together the folds of this robe, drew himself up with a majestic air, and delivered this harangue to the Governor:

"My heart smiles with joy to see me before you. We both understand the word of peace that has passed between us. The heart of our nation laughs with happiness until it leaps for pleasure! Our women forget at once all that has passed! They dance! Our children are as happy as the young roe. Your word will never be

forgotten. Our hearts and our ears are overflowing with it, and we will defend it and protect it as long as the memory of man lasts. As this war has made us poor, we had to order a general chase to bring you these skins, but we did not dare to go far fearing that the other nations would not understand your word. Even until now we came trembling on our way until we saw your face.

"My heart and my eyes are happy to see you today. Our presents are small, but they are brought with a full heart, so that we may obey your word. When you command us, our limbs will hasten as quickly as the stags in order to do that which you wish."

Here the orator paused. Then raising his voice, he continued gravely:

"Ah! how beautiful is the sun today compared to what it was when you fought us. How dangerous is a wicked man! You know that one of us has killed your chief of the prayers, whose death has caused us the loss of our bravest warriors. There are only left among us our old men, our women, and our children, who hold forth their arms to you as they would to a good father. The son who was otherwise in your heart now comes to take his better place. The Great Spirit is no longer angry with our nation. You have asked for the head of our wicked man. To have peace, we have brought it to you.

"Yesterday the sun was red, the roads were filled with thorns and brambles, the clouds were black, the waters were troubled and muddied, our women wept unceasingly over the loss of their relatives and did not dare to seek wood for our support. Our children cried with fear. Even while the night birds sung, our warriors were on their feet. They only slept with their arms in their hands. Our cabins were abandoned, and our fields were overgrown with weeds. Our stomachs were unfed, and our faces thin. Our game fled from us, the serpents hissed at us in anger and in fear, striking at us with their fangs. The birds, which lived near our homes, seemed by their sad melodies, to only sing to us the song of the dead.

"Today, the sun is brilliant, the skies are clear, the clouds have flown away, the roads are covered with roses, our gardens and our fields are cultivated, and we offer to the Great Spirit the first of their fruits. The water is now so clear that we may see our images, the serpents have fled, or else they no longer start at us, the birds charm us by the sweetness and the harmony of their song, and our wives and daughters dance even so that they forget to eat and to drink. The heart of all our nation rings with joy to see that henceforth both the French and ourselves march along the same road; to see the

same sun enlightening us both. We both speak the same tongue, and our hearts shall be as one, for neither shall we kill the French nor the French kill us. Our warriors follow the chase so that they may live, and so that we may both eat together. Do you not say that this is good, my Father?"

To this discourse, spoken in a firm and assured tone, with all the grace and gentility, and with all the majesty possible, M. de Bienville answered in a few words in common language, which he spoke with ease. He told them that he was happy to see that the nation had regained its spirits, he invited them to dine, and as a sign of amity he placed his hand in that of the chief, and thus the treaty was concluded.

Since that time, this tribe has been devotedly attached to the French, and to this day they furnish the game and venison of the city of New Orleans.

III.

The Natchez Tribe, and Their Massacre of the French.

After leaving New Orleans we arrived at the place inhabited by the superb nation of the Natchez. These people are forever in the public news and by their power and by the extent of their territory they impose their will upon the other contiguous nations. Their country extends from the *Menchak* river, which is about an hundred and fifty miles from the sea up to that of the *Hoyo*, which is in the neighborhood of thirteen hundred and eighty miles from the sea.

We departed from New Orleans on August 20th for our Illinois voyage, with six boats carrying the four companies already mentioned by me, all of us being under the command of M. de Macarty. The trip was made by rowing against the current of the Mississippi, because of the sinuosities of this river. This stream flows between two high banks covered with great forests, the trees of which are the most ancient in the world.

We first met two German villages, which had been established in 1720 through a concession made to Law by the King. These places were inhabited by people from Germany and their provinces numbering fifteen hundred persons, and the land occupied by them formerly belonged to a savage nation called the *Akanca*. They had twelve square miles, and had been created into a duchy. With them came a transport of a company of Dragons, and more than a million of merchandise, but Law lacked the necessary facilities to support them.

The emigrants separated, and the Germans settled about thirty miles above New Orleans. They are a very hard-working people, and they are regarded as the purveyors of the capital. Their two villages are in command of a Swedish captain, who is the Sieur d'Arensbourg. He was at the battle of Pultova with Charles XII in 1709, and is the head of a large family which has settled in Louisiana.

Six miles further up we found the *Collapissas*, a tribe distinguished for their attachment to the French, but they are very much depopulated today. Their true name is *Aquelon Pissas*, that is to say, a nation of men who understand and who see.

Above them are the *Oumas*, sun worshippers. Like nearly all the other nations of America, there people believe that the Sovereign Being resides there, and they therefore revere in this living sun the author of all nature. They say that nothing on earth compares to this wonder, which enlightens the universe, and which dispenses joy and abundance. It is according to such principles that they follow this worship as a cult and pray to the sun as the physical image of the grandeur and the goodness of a god, who deigns to communicate to mankind by showering them with this benefits.

Forty-five miles from the *Oumas*, going up the river, we came to "*la pointe coupée*." This post is situated about an hundred and twenty miles from New Orleans. The ground there is most fertile, and is covered with fruit trees. The place is mainly colonized by the French, who busy themselves with the culture of tobacco, cotton, rice, maize, and such other commodities. These colonists are also engaged in the cutting of timber and wood, which they transport to New Orleans as rafts.

On the left bank of the river, a short distance from Pointe Coupee, is the village of the *Tonikas*, a savage nation which is likewise greatly attached to the French. Their chiefs are always ready to mobilize their warriors in order to be our allies in war. Their last chief, who was very brave, was dangerously wounded in an expedition against the Natchez, and by reason of the services he had rendered to the King, his Majesty honored him with the brevet of Brigadier of the Armies of the Red Men. In addition he decorated him with a blue ribbon from which hung a silver medal containing a picture of Paris, and he likewise received a golden-head cane.

After the massacre of the French by the Natchez, of which I will give an account later, a deputation from this nation was sent to make peace with the great chief of the *Tonikas*. The latter at once communicated their offer to the Commander General of the French, but the Natchez, not awaiting the answer, assassinated the *Tonikas*,

commencing with their great chief. The latter were awaiting our orders and our assistance, and suffered the death and loss of many of their subjects. We have never ceased to sorrow over the loss of these good savages, with all their good qualities and splendid behavior.

After traveling for two hundred and forty miles from New Orleans, we arrived at the post of the Natchez. Twenty years ago this was a considerable establishment, but it is of little consequence today.

The fort is situated on an eminence which dominates the Mississippi, which may be controlled at that point by a cannon shot. The land in this part of the colony is most elevated; it is the most fertile in the country, and is cultivated in cotton, tobacco and maize.

I sojourned for sometime at this post, which is commanded by the Chevalier d'Organ, a natural son of the Prince of Lambex, of the House of Lorraine.

The Natchez, who were once powerful there, are a considerable people. They consist of several villages, governed by individual chiefs, who in turn obey a great chief, the head of their nation. All their princes bear the name of *Sun*, and there were five hundred of these, all allies of the *Great Sun*, their common sovereign. This latter bore on his breast the image of the sun, from whom he pretended to be a descendant, and which was adored under the name of *Orachil*, which meant "the very great fire," or the "supreme fire."

The religion followed by the Natchez was one of great dignity. The Great Priest arose before the rise of the sun, and marched at the head of his people in a serious step, bearing the calumet of peace in his hands before him. He smoked it in honor of the sun, and took the first puff of tobacco. As soon as the sun started to rise, the priests' assistants successively succeeded to this honor, smoking, and raising their arms towards heaven. They then debased themselves to the earth. The women, bearing their children in their arms, assumed a similar religious posture.

During their harvest season, which occurred in the month of July, the Natchez celebrated a very great feast. They commenced by blackening their faces, they did not eat for three hours after mid-day, after which they purified themselves by baths. Then the eldest person of the nation offered to the god the choicest of their harvests and of their fruits.

They had a temple, where they kept an eternal fire burning. The priests were entrusted with its care; they could not serve this fire except by the wood of one tree. If through ill luck they were

prevented from so doing, consternation reigned in the nation, and the negligent priests were put to death, but this was a very rare event. These guardians were always able to readily renew the sacred fire, under the pretext of lighting their calumets; for they were allowed to use the sacred fire for this purpose.

The sovereign at death was accompanied to his tomb by his wives and by several of his subjects. The little *Suns* were bound to follow the same custom. The law condemned to death any Natchez who married a daughter of the Sun, together with this spouse.

Among their tribe was a savage named Eteacteal, who would not submit to this law. He contracted an alliance with one of the *Suns*. His wife fell sick, and while she was dying he fled, embarking on a pirogue and going to New Orleans. He put himself under the protection of the Governor, who was then M. de Bienville, offering to be his huntsman. Bienville accepted this service, and interceded for him with the Natchez, who told Bienville that he had nothing to fear, for the ceremony had been performed, he was not to be found, and he was no longer a desirable prize.

Etteacteal, reassured, returned to his nation, without making his home there, and made several voyages there. On one of these he arrived when the Sun Stinging Serpent, a brother of the Grand Sun, died. This noble was a relative of Etteacteal's deceased wife, and had sworn revenge on Etteacteal. Bienville had returned to France, and the sovereign of the Natchez decided that the absence of the protector had revoked the agreement of protection that had been given Etteacteal. He was arrested, and was brought into the cabin of the Great War Chief, with other victims to be sacrificed in honor of Stinging Serpent, where he became very melancholy. The favorite wife of the deceased had been immolated for the sacrifice, and saw through her half closed eyes his fear of death. Appearing to be impatient to join her spouse, and witnessing the lamentations of Etteacteal, she said to him:

"Are you not a warrior?"

"Yes," he said, "I am."

"Nevertheless," she said, "you weep. Life seems so precious to you. Since that is the case, it is not proper that you should come with us. Go with the women."

"Certainly life is precious to me," responded Etteacteal, "I should like to remain on this earth for a while, at least until the death of the Grand Sun, and I will then die with him."

"Go then," she said in scorn, "you are not fit to come with us, for your heart will remain behind on the earth. Get away immediately, so that I cannot see you."

Etteacteal needed no further urging. He disappeared like lightning. Three old women, two of whom were his relatives, offered to pay his debt. Their age and their infirmities did not give them much pleasure in life, and none of them had had the use of their limbs for a long time. The two relatives of Etteacteal had no more gray hair than women of fifty-five have in France. The other old woman, aged one hundred and twenty-years, had three white hairs, which was very rare among the savages, and none of the three was entirely wrinkled. They were executed in the early hours of the night; one by the side of Stinging Serpent, and the others at the Temple.

They died by passing a loose cord around their neck, eight male relatives drawing the cord tight, four on each side. It was not necessary for the relatives to act, but they gained nobility by so doing, and the executions only took a second.

The generosity of these women reinstated Etteacteal as a warrior of the tribe, and he was restored to his honors, which he had lost by his fear of death. He lived quietly after this, profiting by his sojourn among the French, and became a priest and medicine man of the tribe, using his learning to dupe his compatriots.

The day following this execution, the funeral ceremonies took place. The hour having arrived, the grand master of the ceremonies proceeded to the cabin decorated with the ornaments which indicated his position. The victims, who were to accompany the prince in his journey to the country of the spirits, were stoic. These consisted of the favorite wife of the deceased, and one other wife, his chancellor, his doctor, his head servant, and several old people who volunteered for this service.

The favorite had entertained several Frenchmen at the house of the Grand Sun, and she bade them adieu. She then brought before her the *Suns* of two sexes, her children, and she addressed them in these words:

"My children, this is the day when I detach myself from your arms to follow in the footsteps of your father, who awaits me in the country of the spirits. It would wound my duty and my spirit if you should surrender to your tears. I have done enough for you. I have carried you in my body, I have fed you from my breasts. Issue of his blood, nourished at my breast, do you then give way to tears? Rejoice that you will be *Suns* and warriors. You must follow the

examples of endurance and of courage that is typical of the nation. Go, my children, I leave you without your further needing me, and you will not lack friends. Your father's friends and my friends are your friends. I entrust you to their care. As to the French, they have a tender heart, and they are generous. Make yourselves worthy of their esteem, and do not make yourselves unworthy of your own race. Always deal with them without deceit, and never implore to them with baseness.

"And you, French," she added, turning to our officers, "I recommend my children to you, whom I leave orphans. They know you only as fathers. It is your duty to protect them."

She then turned aside, and followed by her retinue, returned to her husband's cabin with the most wonderful composure imaginable.

Among the victims who joined her voluntarily was a noble woman, whose friendship for Stinging Serpent caused her desire to join him in the other world. The Europeans described her as *The Glorious*, because of her majestic carriage and of her splendid air, and because she only associated with the most distinguished of the French. They regretted her very much, for she had an acquaintance with many simple remedies, which served to save many of our lives during our illnesses. The subsequent spectacle only filled us with sadness and with horror. The favorite wife of the deceased drew herself up with a smile and said:

"I die without fear. Sorrow poisoned my last hours. I recommend my children to you. When you go among them, noble Frenchmen, remember that you loved their father and mother, who were your sincere friends and who loved you up to the moment of the tomb. The master of my life calls me, and in a little while I shall join him. I see your hearts sorrow at the sight of his dead body. Do not worry, for we shall always be friends in the country of the spirits, where one never dies."

At the hour fixed for the ceremony little balls of tobacco were given the victims to chew, and they were then strangled. They lay alongside of the deceased, the favorite on the right, the other wife on the left, and the remaining victims according to their rank.

The sad words of the favorite brought tears to the eyes of the French; they had done all they could to save the life of the Grand Sun at the request of the government. This sovereign was furious at the thought of death. He pointed his gun at the sun, who was his presumptive heir, and would have shot him as well as himself. The cabin was full of Suns, Nobles, and Confidants, all of whom were trembling. (Among the savages, the Suns occupy the first

rank as relatives of the Grand Sun; then are the Nobles, after them the Confidants, and finally the people. The wives of all these are called the nobility.) The French reassured them, they detached the locks of the Grand Sun's musket, and filled the barrel of his gun with water, thus effectually disabling it for some time.

When the Suns saw that the life of their future sovereign was saved, they thanked the French by grasping their hands, but saying nothing, a complete silence reigning among all those who were present.

The wife of the Grand Sun during this adventure was shaking with fright. Upon being asked if she was ill, she said very loudly: "Yes, I am." Then she added in a lower tone, "If the French leave here, my husband will die, and all the Natchez will die. Remain then, brave French, for your words have the force of whips. If you go now, what will you have done? But you are his true friends, and you are also his brother's true friends." The law forces the Grand Sun's spouse to follow him to the grave, which was doubtless the motive for her fear as well as her praise of the French, who interceded for her life.

The Grand Sun extended his hand to the officers, and said: "My friends, my heart is so weak that my eyes, although open, cannot see you about. My lips only open to thank you. Pray pardon my extreme illness."

The French answered that they were not offended, which left him quiet; but they said they would no longer be friends unless he ordered the relighting of all the fires, which had been put out by his instructions as is always the case upon the death of a sovereign. This he did, and they did not leave him until after the burial of his brother, which I have just described.

He shook hands with each one of the French, and said to them: "Since all the chiefs and noble officers desire that I shall remain on earth, I will not kill myself. Let the fires be relit on the fields, and I will wait until death calls me to join my brother. This will soon be as I am old, and until this time, I will march with the French. Without them I would have departed with my brother, and the roads would have been covered with dead bodies."

This prince only survived Stinging Serpent by a year, and his nephew succeeded him. The reign of this young prince was a very sad one for the colony, for he did not follow the adjurations of his mother, but brought out the secret conjuration against our nation which she had loved so well.

In justice to these savages, however, it should be said that the campaign they undertook to destroy the French was not inspired by discontent or greed, but that it was caused by the evil conduct of an officer who insulted these people, and aroused their anger when it was his duty to conciliate them. They were free men remaining quietly in the country of their ancestors, and were treated tyrannically by the people whom they had received.

The Sieur de Chepar, the commandant of the Natchez post, neglected to encourage the friendship of the French and the savages entrusted to his care. He maltreated all those whom he did not sentence as criminals. He entrusted the most important posts to Sergeants and to Corporals. Preferences of this sort, contrary to military laws, sufficed to ruin discipline among the soldiers.

M. Dumont, his second officer, protested to him over the turn things were taking, but de Chepar responded by throwing Dumont's representations in the fire, and by putting Dumont in irons. As soon as Dumont was free, he left for the capital and laid his complaints before Perrier, then Governor of Louisiana. De Chepar was recalled, and suspended from his command, but his intrigues and his friends at court protected him; he was acquitted, and sent back to his command.

This mortification not being corrected, it was followed by continued misconduct both among the French, and among the savages. The latter were angered, and suffered the worst indignities from him. De Chepar, anxious to make his fortune as soon as he could, summoned the Sun of a village called the Apple, and ordered him to retire from it with his people, and to abandon the land whereon they lived, which was of great value. The Cacique answered him that the bones of their ancestors rested there. These reasons were futile. The French commandant ordered the Grand Sun to evacuate the village, and threatened to send him to New Orleans manacled in hands and feet if he did not promptly obey. This officer imagined he could talk to this chief as he would to a slave, and he did not reflect that he spoke to a man accustomed to command, and who exercised a despotic authority over his subjects.

The Grand Sun listened and departed without answering him. He assembled his Council, who authorized him to tell de Chepar that they wished first to lay out the plan of a new village before leaving the Apple, and that this would require a period of two moons.

This resolution being adopted was reported to the commandant, who rebuffed the envoys, and threatened their people with cruel punishments if they did not evacuate the village within short order.

The Council heard this order, and decided that they would pretend to submit to these discourteous hosts, but that they would report they must have time to settle elsewhere. To placate de Chepar, and to delay matters, they offered to pay him tribute during this period of maize, deer skins, furs, and other valuable commodities. The avidity of the commandant led him into the trap, and he accepted the proposition, saying to them that he only did so to oblige their nation whom he loved, and because of the friendship they had always borne for the French.

The Sun was not duped by this show of disinterestedness. He assembled his Council, and told them of the delay which had been accorded them, which they should put to good purpose in order to escape the onerous tribute imposed on them, as well as the tyrannical domination of the French. He impressed upon them the necessity of keeping their plans secret, of making instant preparations for defense, and of all the while continuing their show of amity and confidence with and in the French until all was ready for action.

For five or six days, the nobles consulted among themselves, and then reassembled, resolving unanimously to kill every Frenchman. The eldest member of the Council reported this resolution to the chief as follows:

"For a long time we have seen that the vicinity of the French has brought us more evil than good. We old people have long seen this, but our youngers would not see it. The European merchandise gives pleasure to our young, but what good purpose does it serve? To seduce our wives, to corrupt the morals of the nation, to debauch our girls, and to make the others drunk and faint hearted. Our young boys are in the same condition. The married men must kill instead of working that they might furnish luxuries to their wives. Before the French came to our country we were men, we were content with what we had, we marched boldly along all the highways, because then we were masters. But today we are irresolute, fearing to discover thorns. We march like slaves, as we will soon be, since we are already treated as such. When they are a little stronger, they will no longer dissemble, they will put us in irons. Their chief has already threatened us with this affront, and is not death preferable to slavery?"

Here the orator paused, and then continued in a more vigorous tone:

"Why do we wait? Shall we permit the French to increase until they are so strong that we cannot resist them? What will the other nations say? We pass as the most spiritual of the red men; they say,

with good reason, that we have more religion than the other nations. Why then await a disadvantage? Let us free ourselves, and we may then say we are true men. Let us commence today to prepare. Let us prepare to live among our women without telling them the reason. Let us bear the calumet of peace to all the nations of this country. Let them understand that the French only aspire to enslave our continent. As they are stronger in our neighborhood than in others, we will be the first to receive their chains. When they have succeeded in this, they will do likewise with all the other nations. Let us show them how interested they are in preventing this ill from happening. Let all the nations join in union to execute this plan so that the French will be exterminated by all at one and the same hour. Let the time of this massacre be that day which ends the period of grace obtained by us from their chief. We will then free ourselves from the tribute they have imposed upon us, and we will recover the merchandise we have given them. On this great day of liberty our warriors will sleep with their arms by the fire. The Natchez will appear among the French, and there will be three or four of us in each house to one of that nation. We will carry our arms and munitions, pretending that it is a great hunt, being the celebration of some great feast. We will promise to bring them deer. The shot of the gun which will be fired at the Commandant of the fort will be the general signal to fall on all the French. In order to obtain this greatest success by this attack, the other nations should join us in a general massacre. Each man must be prepared with paillets of wood, so as to be ready for the carnage and for the fire. Once we have destroyed our enemies, it will be easy to prevent them from retaking their old habitations. Caution is necessary, and a wise man should supervise our preparations."

With these words, the orator closed, the elders applauded him, the Sun of The Apple added this suggestion: That he was the subject of the injustice of the Sieur de Chepar, and that he personally should punish de Chepar, which would be a proper vengeance. The council hid their plans from their wives, and after placing all of the facts concerning the outrage before the Grand Sun, of the Natchez, they finally obtained this just man's approval and consent. The Council of the Suns and the Noble Elders of the savages again met in an open field, reaffirmed the plan, and sent embassies to the neighboring nations.

Notwithstanding the profound secrecy of the councils, the people of the savages became uneasy, and the women of the nation inquired as to meaning of these conferences. A woman Sun called

Spear Arm chafed at the silence imposed on her, and was told that it was an order to renew treaties with the neighboring nations. But this did not appease her curiosity, and finally journeying to The Apple, she discovered the real plans. At a meeting of the Council, she upbraided them, and protested against the attack, but her protests were to no avail.

She was in love with the Sieur Macé, an ensign of the garrison at the fort of Natchez, and she communicated the entire plot to him. Macé at once went to de Chepar, who placed him under arrest for spreading a false alarm. Seven inhabitants, learning the plan from Macé, requested de Chepar to be permitted to bear arms so as to protect themselves against surprises. The Commandant put them in irons, and was angry that such doubts had been expressed against a nation which had expressed itself so kindly towards him. He did not once suspect that savages of this sort could so adroitly deceive him.

Spear Arm saw with regret that her warnings were useless. She then entered the temple, and destroyed many of their packets of wood, and when the savages discovered this they hastened their plans, and commenced the attack without delay.

On December 28, 1729, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the savages appeared among the French, and at the prearranged signal immediately commenced their onslaught. The two de Kollys, principal agents of the Company of the Indies, were the first killed. The house of M. de la Loire des Ursins made some resistance, his servants killing seven savages before falling.

M. des Ursins, who had gone out on his horse, returned at the first sound of firing, and was met by a troop of savages. He defended himself valiantly, and killed four savages before being pierced through the body. The surprise attack was altogether successful. Nearly two thousand men were killed; only twenty escaped together with five or six negroes, most of those escaping being wounded. One hundred and fifty children, ninety women, and many negroes were made slaves in the hope of selling them to the English at Carolina.

During the massacre the Grand Chief was tranquilly sitting under a shed of the Company of the Indies, where they brought him the head of the Commandant as well as that of the principal Frenchmen, which they placed in a row with the Commandant's in the center. All the other heads were piled up, while the bodies remained without sepulchre and were the prey of vultures. They opened the stomachs of the pregnant women, and killed nearly all the others who had infants at their breasts, because they were affected

by their cries and their tears. They made slaves of all the others, and treated them with the utmost shame.

Some persons claim that de Chepar was elusive enough to be the last to perish, and that he was a spectator at this horrible carnage. He saw then, but too late, the wisdom of the advice that had been given him. The savages said that a dog such as he was unworthy to perish at the hands of their warriors. He was given to the *Puants*, or the servants of the Natchez, who killed him by beating him with a whip, after which they cut off his head.

Such was the fate of the man who would listen only to his cruel desires, his avarice, and his ambition. There was not a Frenchman who escaped from this massacre who would hesitate to say that he was justly punished, and that he suffered from not properly treating a naturally barbaric people. A good administration would have naturally attached them to the French, who were once in great favor with them. Thus it is that the misdeeds of one man often result in the loss of an entire colony, and we cannot be too careful in the choice of the men who are to be commanders in this country.

The savages, notwithstanding the ideas formed about them, are not always easy to manage. One must be tactful, politic, and wise in order to obtain their good will, and they cannot be insulted with impunity. This story is the proof. And without a hint from providence it would have been even more disastrous. Without doubt, we should be grateful to *Spear Arm*, and should have extended her some witness of our appreciation.

The nations who were in the plot with the Natchez did not follow their stratagem against the French. The *Choctaw* nation imagined that the Natchez did not wish them to take part in the assault on the French, and to show the latter that they did not join in the conspiracy, they allied themselves with the French to punish the Natchez. The Natchez in this combat surrendered the French women and the negroes which they had enslaved. Some time after they were attacked in their defenses, but during a tempest they were able to escape, and left the country. We captured nearly a thousand of them, bringing them to New Orleans, and then sending them to the Isle of St. Domingo. Among these prisoners were the Grand Sun, his wife, and his mother, whom we have hitherto described. The Grand Sun disavowed this massacre. He said that the nation had taken advantage of his youth to strike this blow, that he had always loved the French, and that the attack had been caused by the despair and vexations of a people who had always been free. The French were satisfied with his defense, and treated him, his mother, and his

wife with great kindness, but as we did not return them to their country, they soon died of sorrow. We have inhabited this country since that time. The Natchez, pursued by the French, were too feeble to resist them, and they took refuge among the *Tchicachats*, among whom they found an asylum.

Since that time we have had a fort there, but the country is no longer attractive to the savages, and they have not re-established themselves there.



FIRST OFFICIAL FLAG OF THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS.

Address of Mr. W. J. Waguestack, in presenting the Flag to the City of New Orleans:

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the Commission Council of New Orleans:

On behalf of the Bienville Bi-Centennial Committee, we have the pleasure and it is our distinguished privilege to present to the City of New Orleans this, its first official flag. It commemorates, as you see, the two hundredth birthday of New Orleans, it symbolizes the ideals of good government and the triumph of Democracy over autocracy and it is the emblem of the Queen City of the South.

Accept this flag, Mr. Mayor, and let it float above this historical City Hall, for it is eminently proper that your administration, which has been so true and faithful to the best interests of the people of New Orleans, and so splendid in every sphere of its activity, should be the one to unfurl it to the breeze, because, while it commemorates the Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans, it pre-eminently symbolizes the ideals of good government.

And when, your great grand-children and our great grand-children meet beneath its folds upon this spot one hundred years hence, to celebrate this flag's own centennial, may it still float as the emblem of triumphant Democracy and may its folds record a series of administrations as splendid as this which gives it birth today.

Address of Mr. W. J. Waguestack, delivered on the balcony of City Hall:

Mr. Mayor, Gentlemen of the Council,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The flag which has just been unfurled to the breeze on this Bi-Centennial of the founding of New Orleans, commemorates the birthday and the infancy of New Orleans, while it symbolizes the ideals of good government and the triumph of DEMOCRACY.

Miss Ida Barrow was the first one who conceived the thought that New Orleans should have an official flag. It was Mr. W. O. Hart who transmitted Miss Barrow's inspiration to the Executive Committee in charge of the Bi-Centennial celebration of the founding of New Orleans. The Flag Committee was thereupon appointed to select some suitable emblem for a flag. This Committee instituted a contest by offering a gold medal for the best design.

Three hundred and seventy-nine designs were submitted to the consideration of the Committee; three hundred and seventy-nine brilliant ideas inspired by the past history of New Orleans, by her present beauty and prosperity, and by prophetic visions of her future greatness.

To typify the history of New Orleans, under each flag, some of the contestants judiciously invoked as symbols the colors of the United States, of France and of Spain grouped with the crescent of New Orleans in appropriate and happy combinations; combinations as numerous and varied as the imagination can conceive.

Some invoked as symbols, the rising sun, the shining stars and the crescent, some golden crowns upon the red, white or blue as emblems of the Queen City, others the saintly Maid of Orleans in full armour, gates of the sea, steamers of the ocean

entering the gate of the sea, the immaculate magnolia, the historical fleurs-de-lis, the dove of peace, the sacrificial pelican feeding her young or poised for flight over the blue waters, the mocking bird pouring out of her marvelous throat the songs of all the birds of forest and field.

Many other symbols there were too numerous to mention here and now; but most of them will find a home in the Cabildo and adorn the archives of the historical society in this generation and we think in generations yet unborn.

Such was the wealth of strikingly beautiful and brilliant ideas spread before us! We were dazzled and we wished that, either the great burden of making a choice could have been lifted off our shoulders or that we had had a dozen medals to award,

After long and conscientious consideration and analysis, by the process of elimination, the choice dwindled down at last to two ideas, but, as to those we were hopelessly divided and we were compelled to resolve to award two medals. Upon still further consideration, however, we determined to try a final contest between the two victors, but that test resulted in confirming us more strongly in the conviction that the conception of the combination of ideas embodied now in this flag was the property of both contestants and that the awarding of two medals was inevitable.

And why is it that out of such wealth of brilliant conceptions we selected this design? It was because of the happy combination of ideas which it symbolizes.

The white field is the symbol of purity of government, from which alone justice and equality can flow; the blue stripe is liberty, the offspring of purity of government without which there could be no liberty; the crimson or red is fraternity—one blood—or Union, which is also the offspring of justice and equality, without which there can be no Union; the white field of purity is five times as large as the stripe of liberty and fraternity, because it is the mother of both; the combination of these three fundamental principles of good government constitutes DEMOCRACY.

The three fleurs-de-lis historically grouped in triangular form represent the birth and the infancy of New Orleans under the banner of the three fleurs-de-lis; but these having since been snatched from the blue field of the banner of autocracy, now rest upon the field of purity and equality and symbolize DEMOCRACY triumphant over autocracy.

The red, white and blue are the colors of the United States but are also the colors of France, and as New Orleans is the daughter of both, they are so grouped as to constitute a new and separate entity, which is now the flag of New Orleans, distinct and separate from the flag of the United States, and distinct and separate from the flag of France, and yet bearing the three essential colors of both, just like man through whose veins though the blood of both parents courses, yet is he a separate entity from both.

And now, we take pleasure in announcing that the two designs accepted by the Committee were those submitted by Messrs. Bernard Barry and Gus. Couret, both sons and citizens of New Orleans, and we now proclaim them victors ex-equo and award to each the Bi-Centennial gold medal.

RAISING THE AMERICAN FLAG AT JACKSON SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 8, 1918.

Address delivered by Hon. André Lafargue, at Jackson Square, on January 8, 1918:

My fellow American Citizens:

Need I say that I am proud and happy to be with you all again, after having crossed the danger zones of the mighty Atlantic for the purpose of conveying to the great city of Paris and to those who in the "days that tried men's souls," stood by us magnanimously and generously, your message of friendship and of unalterable loyalty?

I don't think so. One who is born and raised under the sun-kissed heavens of Louisiana, one whose life has been spent in the charming and alluring metropolis that stands on the present site, does not have to tell his fellow townsmen that he is glad to return to good old New Orleans and its open hearted, public spirited and broad minded inhabitants. I can assure you that I am highly pleased to have come back to my home town, where almost each person that I run across is a friendly one and where each nook and corner that I gaze upon is one that brings back fond recollections and delightful memories. And I am indeed doubly happy and proud to be given an opportunity to tell you all this on the historic anniversary which we are gathered here to celebrate and on this the most historic spot of our dear city.

One hundred and three years have elapsed since the deep booming of artillery and the rattling of musketry shook the near by plains of Chalmette and gave warning to the world at large that the sons of Liberty, of Truth and of Justice, under the leadership of their peerless general, Andrew Jackson, were battling against the trained and seasoned veterans of Wellington. One hundred and three years have rolled by and lo! the curtain of time has risen again and looking across the broad Atlantic we can see the gallant manhood of America, its youth and its chivalry, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their traditional friends, the French, and with their former brave enemies, the English, somewhere in France, for the defence and the preservation of the highest ideals that humanity and civilization have stood for. Liberty loving England of today has joined hands with the democratic sons of America and France and she is fighting today for the same principles for which we stood against her in embattled array one hundred and three years ago; we can well afford to celebrate this anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans without its bringing up any but a feeling of renewed and intense friendship between America and that great bulwark of present day civilization—England. I am sure that the public spirited and broad minded generation that presently lives in England would unhesitatingly join us in paying a great tribute of homage and of gratitude to the illustrious general whose valor and achievements have put the "name of New Orleans" on the American flag, where it shines with the same lustre as that of "Yorktown, Bunker Hill," "Buena Vista" or "Palo Alto."

Men like Jackson have lived not only to shed great glory and renown upon their country and their fellow men but as an exemplar for future generations. We are living at a time when the destinies of the world are trembling in the balance and when everything that we hold dear and sacred is being seriously threatened by an unscrupulous foe. We should seize upon opportunities like the present one to dwell

upon the example set by our great American statesmen and warriors and derive from such meditation renewed inspiration to greater and nobler efforts.

The name of Andrew Jackson stands in history for valor, consistency and exalted patriotism; three great civic virtues which we need, to go through the present ordeal with a stout heart and an unflinching determination of purpose.

Jackson, when but a youth, was left practically alone to fight the battle of life and we know that he has done so with marked success. Why? Because he practiced incessantly the three great virtues that I have just referred to: Valor, consistency and patriotism. He was but a mortal and consequently had all the failings and weaknesses that human beings are heir to. There were times in his career when he made errors of judgment and when he failed to measure up to the greatness which he had given such evidence of at other stages of his life, but he was above everything else a real, red blooded, energetic American, and were he alive today he would unquestionably be one of the leaders under whose command our boys "somewhere in France" are achieving victory and undying fame. For Jackson was essentially a brave man—physically and morally—and bravery of that type is what counts today. When fighting for his country Jackson knew that he was right and as his country founded on the eternal principles of justice, truth and humanity could do no wrong, he went into the battle line fearlessly and unhesitatingly, not only because he did not fear death but because he knew that he was right and that consciousness alone sufficed to make him face the foe without a tremor and with complete serenity. The cause of righteousness was one that he endeavored to uphold at all times.

His tenaciousness of purpose was one of the dominating traits of his character. He would set himself a task and never rested satisfied until he had fully accomplished it, notwithstanding the many obstacles that he would have to surmount. His spirit of perseverance stood him in good stead both as a warrior and as a statesman, and were he alive today he would unquestionably tell us that we must exercise this great virtue of perseverance if we mean to carry out successfully the great work that we have undertaken, if we are to be efficient allies of those who for the last forty months have never ceased to toil valiantly and painstakingly for the salvation of the human race.

It was when a situation seemed critical, nay desperate, that Jackson's indomitable will and spirit of perseverance helped him to carry the day and to snatch as it were victory from defeat. The odds against him at the Battle of New Orleans were tremendous, but Jackson came out of the ordeal stubbornly victorious, if I may so express myself.

He was indeed a great apostle of perserverance and we should remember on an occasion like the present one that the gigantic conflict that we have entered into calls for a full display of that virtue. As our illustrious and high-minded President, Woodrow Wilson, has well and truly said: "We are in this fight to a finish." We must see it through. Let us not forget that. We cannot indeed forget it, if we follow the example of perseverance set us by Andrew Jackson.

Jackson, we should also remember, was first and above all for his country. He came of good sturdy fighting stock and lived as a young man in the stirring days of the War for Independence. He was an ardent patriot and believed in his country first, last and all the time. In fact he possessed preeminently, as I have already said, three great qualities of mind and heart which made him a leader of men and a sterling patriot.

His life is one that we may well ponder over in these stirring times and his example one that we should endeavor to follow. He was a fighter in the true sense

of the word and as you know we are called upon to be fighters just now. We must bear in mind as Rudyard Kipling has so properly put it at the beginning of this war, that we are fighting for "All that we have and for all that we are," and if we mean to preserve "all that we have and all that we are," if our great democratic institutions, our political fabric, our thriving communities and our sacred firesides are not to crumble and be ground under the despotic heel of Teutonic tyranny and infamy, we must, like Jackson, be brave, persevering and patriotic.



LE SPECTACLE DE LA RUE ST. PIERRE

By Nellie Warner Price.

*(Read before the Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans
February 19, 1918.)*

The history of New Orleans' first opera house is included in the period from 1793 to 1811. I have compiled data which show conclusively that the building first designated as a theater or hall of comedy in New Orleans was the same building known subsequently as LE SPECTACLE DE LA RUE ST. PIERRE where opera as well as drama flourished actively from 1806 to 1811.

In gathering the facts necessary for this research work many difficulties were encountered. The original material is scattered, unclassified, disconnected and devoid of descriptive detail. It is, consequently, easy to understand why the pamphlets and articles which have appeared on this subject are inadequate.

Volumes of history and travel records in the Howard Memorial and Public Libraries contain few accounts of the earliest operatic life in New Orleans. Old newspaper files of that era are incomplete. Contemporaneous notarial records are rarely indexed; many have been damaged and well nigh obliterated by fire and water. Fortunately, ordinances of the City Council have been carefully preserved in the City Archives. From these documents and from early newspapers I have obtained the greatest part of my material.

The first regular newspaper published in New Orleans made its appearance in 1794 under the name of "*Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*." Most diligent search has failed to unearth any copies of this paper previous to the year 1802. In the Cabildo is found the first bound file of *Le Moniteur*. This file contains papers dated from Saturday, August 14, 1802, to Saturday, November 26, 1803, inclusive. The only other files of *Le Moniteur* are in the Archives of the City Hall, beginning Wednesday, October 22, 1806. The missing papers previous to 1802 and those of the years 1803, 1804 and 1805 may exist somewhere and their discovery would be of great value.

Also in the City Archives, dating from 1804, are files of the *Louisiana Gazette*, a New Orleans paper printed in English but devoid of any information on the subject under consideration. The complete editorial file of *Le Courier de la Louisiane*, a contemporary newspaper, is existent but through no fault of the owner, is inaccessible at present. It has therefore been impossible to compare

the data gathered from *Le Moniteur* with that contained in any other contemporaneous publication.

A brief description of these early *Moniteurs* may be of interest. They appeared bi-weekly in French, with occasional translations into quaint English of an advertisement or notice, and are fascinating to the reader. They are aggravating to the research worker because of the paucity of local items.

The first page is usually filled with maritime news---arrivals and departures of river and ocean boats; notices of sale of cargoes. This is followed by a column or two of Foreign News—a decree from France signed by Bonaparte is noticeable. Locally, the items are confined to the bread tariff, accounts of sessions of the City Council, notices of run-away slaves, sales of slaves and a full page full of advertisements of merchants, hair-dressers, mantua-makers, the dancing teacher, cafes, etc.

The earliest reference in these files to theatrical or operatic affairs is in the Supplement to the issue of the 4th of September, 1802. It is an extensive article headed "Lafon to the Public," and begins with this delightful introduction: "It appears to me superfluous to set forth the utility of comedy. There is no doubt that the theater is an amusement, and without diminishing in anything the entertainment it furnishes, it has a powerful influence on morals; it serves to extend the empire of reason and sentiments of honesty; it represses the follies and corrects the vices of man. No one, it is said, is corrected by theatrical scenes. Woe to him for whom this principle is a truth! But if, indeed, the disposition is incorrigible, the exterior at least is not so. Men touch one another only by their surface and everything would be in order if we could induce those who were born vicious and ridiculous or wicked to be so only within themselves. This is the aim which comedy purports in itself."

Mr. Lafon, this believer in comedy as a philosophy, then describes in great detail his proposal to build a new theater, the funds to be raised by a subscription of ninety (90) shares at \$500.00 a share for the "premieres loges" and \$450.00 for the "secondes and troisiemes loges." As there are no subsequent evidences to show that Mr. Lafon ever built his theater, interest in his article is concentrated upon the following paragraph: "The stock-holders of the old theater can participate in the new subscription and their old stock will be received for the amount due them as dividends from the sale of the existing property and they shall pay the balance on the new stock which they shall choose."

The theater which existed at this time of Mr. Lafon's project is the same one that is mentioned in a volume, "Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas in 1802. By an observer residing in those places. Edited by Berquin-Duvallon." Amidst a tirade against the customs and inhabitants of New Orleans, the writer says: "Near the center of the town is a small theater, built of native wood (another imprudent act relative to fires) where on my arrival in that town I saw some comedies, dramas and certain pieces and opera-comiques of the second-class given fairly well." An addendum corrects "pieces and opera-comiques" to "comedies." The narrative continues: "By some misunderstanding between the civil and military authorities of the colony and the indifference of the citizens and colonists, the play has declined, most of the actors and musicians have scattered, and the theater has been closed since that time. It appears, however, that the cause of the disagreement no longer exists," and after an interim of two years the government is preparing to re-open the theater.

The condition of the building must have been one of the causes for closing the theater. An ordinance of the City Council, session of the 20th of December, 1803, follows:

"Mr. Christobal de Armas having withdrawn, citizens Hilaire, Bouts and Trozevand entered, experts who had been named to inspect the theater. They brought their written report in which it is proven that the said hall is ready to fall in ruins and that it is dangerous to permit it to be used by the public. That is why the decision was given that the building was condemned and will be closed henceforth until the many needed repairs are made unless they judge it wiser to order the demolition of it."

The sequel to the above report of the experts is found in the session of the City Council of August 16th, 1804, when "a request from Mr. Fournier was read which asks the privilege of managing and operating the theater in this city and that the Salle de la Comedie be deeded to him for that purpose. Decreed that he shall hold a meeting of the stockholders for the repairs which that hall requires and which shall conform to the ordinances. That meeting ended, the City Council will order a very careful inspection in order that authority in full security may be given to induce the public to attend the theater without fear of accident."

Three months later on the 16th of November, 1804 Mr. Fournier was authorized to announce that the "hall is so repaired that it can be used with safety for public amusements."

In 1805, another examination by experts was ordered because "water to the depth of five or six inches" was found underneath the theater and the hall was "observed to lean very much on one side."

Frequent repairs braced these structural weaknesses for the Spectacle served its destiny as a theater and opera-house without any mishaps.

Turning back to the earliest mention of this theater we find affirmation of its existence in 1793, and of an orchestra in connection with its performance, in the writings of the Louisiana historian, Charles Gayarre.

Describing the period when New Orleans was under the Spanish domination, and referring to the declaration of war by Spain against the new French Republic, he says that in 1793 the majority of the population "were not without secret hopes of being re-annexed to France. The sympathies of the colonists were not concealed; at the theater the celebrated French hymn 'La Marseillaise' was frantically asked from the orchestra." Also, that Governor Baron Carondelet, among other precautionary measures, "put a stop to the practice which had been of late introduced of entertaining the audience of the theater with the exhibition of certain martial dances to revolutionary airs."

Gayarre also draws a picture of some of the conditions of the city in these words: "Until the year 1796, the city of New Orleans had never been lighted at night except by the moon, and had been guarded by occasional patrols only when circumstances required it. But on the 30th of March, of that year, the Baron wrote to his government that considering the frequent and almost inevitable robberies which were perpetrated in a city of six thousand souls by a multitude of vagabonds of every nation, he had as proposed before, imposed a tax of nine reales a year on every chimney to provide for the expense of the police; that he had formed a body of 13 serenos or watchmen and established eighty lamps; that the cost would be \$3,898.00 per year."

In striking contrast to the foregoing conditions was the social life which C. C. Robin, a writer of that period thus describes: "The Louisiana ladies—appeared at—entertainments (given for Madame Laussat, wife of the French Prefect) with a magnificence which was a just cause of astonishment in such a colony, and which might have been successfully compared with any efforts of that sort even in the principal cities of France. The Louisiana ladies who may justly be said to be remarkable for their habitual gravity, are generally tall and exquisitely shaped; the alabaster whiteness of their complexions,

which was admirably set off by their light dresses, adorned with flowers and rich embroidery, gave a fairy-like appearance to these festivities."

I have no proof that opera was given at the Spectacle St. Pierre or in New Orleans before the year 1806. I believe there can be no doubt that it was given in that theater from the very beginning of the existence of that theater in the city.

We have seen that the community was composed of French and Spanish elements; capable of demanding and singing *La Marseillaise* and other Revolutionary airs in its amusement place; able to appear at public functions in astonishing magnificence. Such a society, in a word, the music-loving Creoles of New Orleans, would not have supported a theater with an orchestra as they did unless the operas of their day were presented to them on the boards of their own little play-house.

A heterogeneous and sometimes obstreperous element must have been presented in the audiences of the play-house to cause the following police requirements ordered published and posted at the session of November 28th, 1804:

ARTICLE I.

"No person shall present himself to the several entrances of the theater without having a ticket of admittance, and if any be proven to have gained admission by cunning or otherwise or by having used violence, he will be brought before a competent magistrate to be punished by imprisonment or fine in accordance with the varying degree of trouble he may have occasioned."

ARTICLE II.

If good order is to be maintained, the orchestra of the hall cannot be subject to fanciful demands to play this or that tune; the management binds itself to satisfy the public's demand by the rendition of national airs; no person by bringing up any request in this regard shall disturb either the orchestra or the audience without running the risk of being brought before the magistrate as is provided in the first part of this ordinance."

ARTICLE III.

"Neither shall any one have the right of taking possession of a box or any place which shall have been rented to someone else."

ARTICLE IV.

"No one shall express his approval or his disapproval in such a way as to disturb the calm order of the theater, either by noisy clapping if pleased or by hissing—if displeased."

ARTICLE V.

"No one will be allowed to throw or to pretend to throw oranges or anything else, be it in the theater or in any other part of the hall, nor in a word, shall anyone be allowed to start quarrels with his neighbor or with any one; nor shall anyone insult anybody or come to blows or speak ill of another in order to stir up trouble under penalty of being punished with all the severity allowed by the present ordinance, as a disturber of the public peace."

"The department desires greatly that the order of the theater and the pieces played will contribute to the keeping of harmony, good-will and good manners, for alone on these rests the permanence and success of the institution."

The foregoing facts form a consecutive record of the existence of a theater with orchestra from 1793 to 1806.

There are no records to show that any theater was constructed previous to 1806. The building used in that year for a theater and opera house, described as the Salle de Comedie or Salle de Spectacle, was the same building which has just been traced through the years from 1793 and which served as the home of New Orleans' theatrical and operatic entertainments during those years. From 1806 to 1811 this same building is advertised in "*Le Moniteur*" under the names of "Le Spectacle de la Rue St. Pierre" and "Theatre St. Pierre."

I have found many interesting details relative to the performances of the seventy different operas which were performed at the Spectacle St. Pierre from 1806 to 1811 and hope to present them in article form in the future.

Descriptions of the play-house are meager. We have seen from city ordinances that the building comprised a "hall as well as a theater."

Spanish documents of 1799 and 1802 give proof of the existence of boxes in the Comedy previous to 1799.

The *Literary Magazine and American Register* for 1805 contains an article descriptive of New Orleans and mentions "a play-house, which is rather small; it consists of one row of boxes only, with a pit and gallery."

In the *Moniteur* of the 22nd of October, 1806, the director of the Comedy announced that he was "going to build a parquet composed of thirty places, numbered, and locking with a key." This was in use by the 6th of November of that year.

A pamphlet "Le Theatre-Français a la Nouvelle Orleans," by J. G. Baroncelli, was published in 1906.

Better known is the article by Harry B. Loeb, which appeared in the *Musical Courier* of December 16, 1915 under the title "What New Orleans Has Done for French Opera."

Mr. Loeb and Mr. Baroncelli, both state that the Theatre St. Pierre was built on the site of the old Spectacle in 1807.

I have found that operatic and theatrical performances were given at the Spectacle St. Pierre throughout each of the twelve months of the year 1807. No new theater could have been constructed simultaneously with these performances.

Mr. Loeb also states that this "new theater" opened its doors on the 4th of September, 1808, with a melodrama "Le Prince Tekely" followed by an opera "Le Secret". He has quoted Mr. Baroncelli exactly in this statement, excepting the fortunate correction in the date of the above performance from the 14th to the 4th of September.

"Le Secret" was advertised to be given on the 4th of September, 1808. It is also true that the directors did announce to the public that the opening of the theater would take place on that date. But, a previous notice of this opening dating August 24th, 1808, gives the information that "because of the repairs which have been made to the hall as well as to the theater, making it seem like new, the choice of the members who form the troupe, the novelties of all kinds which they have acquired, several new scenes, paintings by Mr. Godefroi" the directors "hope that the theater will be very pleasing and very well attended during the coming season."

The Spectacle St. Pierre was not re-built but it was designated as the "Theatre St. Pierre" after the renovation of the building as above described.

On the 8th of December, 1810, "the stockholders, owners of the theatre, situated on St. Peter St." advertised that "the land, building and its contents" would be sold at auction—on Friday, December 28th at noon in the auction exchange.

The notarial records and the newspaper files have been thoroughly examined but the result of this sale or proof that it took place remains undiscovered.

The only clue to the possible fate of the Spectacle after 1810 is connected with the question of the exact location of this old theater.

Mr. Loeb and Mr. Baroncelli place the Spectacle in a house on St. Peter street, now bearing the municipal number 716.

The title to Lot 24, where stands the house bearing the number 716 St. Peter Street, has been traced back to 1792. Nowhere in the title deeds is there any mention of any building which was a theater or which was used for entertainments. This does not preclude the possibility that operatic performances could have been given in No. 716, St. Peter Street. It does raise the question, could No. 716, as traced in the chain of title, have been the Spectacle St. Pierre owned

by stockholders, described as a theater, and as such publicly advertised to be sold at auction?

Further reason to question the statement of Mr. Loeb and Mr. Baroncelli is obtained from the only City Directory contemporaneous with the existence of the theater on St. Peter Street.

This is "Whitney's New Orleans Directory and Louisiana and Mississippi Almanack for the year 1811—Printed in New Orleans for the author in 1810." On page 53 of this Directory a terse address is listed: "THEATER, 28 St. Peter Street."

Lot 17, the site of the old number 28 St. Peter Street lies opposite lot 24, the site of the present number 716. The former is on the "down-town" or lower side of St. Peter Street between Royal and Bourbon Streets.

The chain of title of Lot 17 can be traced back only to 1811. On the 28th of March, 1811, one Bartholome Camponel purchased from the Succession of Sebastian Tagiasco, by a notarial act before Stephen Quinones, then a Notary Public for the Parish of Orleans, "a lot with a house bearing the number 28, on St. Peter Street, between Royal and Bourbon."

This title record thus connects the address "Theater, 28 St. Peter Street," and the house number 28 on Lot 17, situated as already described, across the street from house now designated as 716, St. Peter Street.

The thread breaks here. Where did the estate of Sebastian Tagiasco, or where did Sebastian Tagiasco, acquire house number 28 St. Peter Street before 1811? At the auction sale of the "Theatre St. Pierre" or from some other source?

Mr. Loeb, Mr. Baroncelli, Charles Gayarre and other writers attribute the origin of theatrical and operatic entertainments in New Orleans to San Domingo refugees who had fled to Louisiana in 1791.

It would have been a very plausible result to find this troupe, or other actors and musicians established in a building set aside for them, by the year 1793.

In 1793, a building suitable for a theater and also with space enough for a hall, was designate as the Comedy. An orchestra was connected with its performances from that year. Improvements were made, and at least one row of boxes was built before the year 1799.

This theater was closed in 1803, repaired and opened in 1804—still known only as The Theater or The Comedy. Performances were held in it until the year, 1806.

The climax of the career of this old instituiton reached its height between the year 1806 and 1811 when opera, drama, comedy and vaudeville held the boards of the Spectacle or Theater St. Pierre.

There is no question in the writer's mind that operatic performances were given in this theater from the year 1793 to 1811.



Abstracts of French and Spanish Documents Concerning the Early History of Louisiana.

Abstracts from Old Papers.

Petition Tendered and Approved. New Orleans, October, 21, 1723. Mr. Defontaine shows the evils arising from bad management of land grants, and urges the wisdom of appointing a prudent board of control over the *LeBlanc* grant. He would exclude *Mr. LeBlond* as "unfit for every employment."

Mr. Desfontaines is confirmed as general manager of the *LeBlanc* grants.

One of the largest concessions of the Company of the West, was a large tract of land on the Luzon river, to a company composed of Monsg. *LeBlanc*, Secretary of State, le Comte de Belleville, the Marquis d'Auleck, and the Chevalier *LeBlond de la Tour*, Chief of Royal Engineers and Lieut.-General of Louisiana.

The same company acquired a tract of land on the Mississippi, seven miles below New Orleans.

Memorial in Remonstrance. New Orleans, Oct. 23, 1723. *Mr. LeBlond de Latour* learns that *Mr. Desfontaines* is on the eve of starting for the *Chouachas* without *Mr. LeBlond*. Is *Mr. Desfontaines* thus authorized by Council?

Yes, and the consequences devolve on the ratifying board of control, not on the Judicial Council. Due advertisement is provided, and *Mr. LeBlond's* objection shall be filed.

NOTE: The Journal Historique mentions a *Mr. LeBlond de la Tour*, a *brother* of the Chevalier, as director on one of the *LeBlanc* concessions.

Petition for Sealing Property. New Orleans, Oct. 15, 1723. *Mr. Desfontaines*, director of the land grant of *Mr. LeBlanc* and his partners, reports the death of their general manager *Monsieur De La Tour*, asks authority for placing seals on warehouses at the *Chiuchchais* (*Chaouachas* in court ruling) grant, and let therefore the Court Recorder and the petitioner betake themselves to said premises for fixing the seals.

So ruled; and the formality to ensue in the presence of the King's Attorney General.

Petition for Inventory. New Orleans, Oct. 23, 1723. *Mr. Desfontaines* asks that the seals be now removed from property at the *Chouachais*, prior to formal inventory and valuation of goods in storage.

So ruled for Tuesday next, October 26th, when the Attorney General and the Clerk of Court will be present at the proceedings.

NOTE: The Chouachas Indians were found by the French, living on the east bank of the Mississippi a short distance below the site afterwards selected for the city of New Orleans. The Indians in time withdrew before the encroachments of the white men and settled on the west bank of the river.

Court Order for Inventory. New Orleans, Oct. 25, 1723. Council commissions Monsieur Liette, Captain in command at *Natchez*, to superintend an inventory of titles, papers and goods, provisions, warehouses, boats, merchandise, negroes, horses and tobacco in charge of Mr. Broutin or his delegates. All papers to be safely forwarded to New Orleans and filed in Recorder's office, where copies may be had if needed. Mr. Defontaines shall be recognized and obeyed as general manager of the LeBlanc property.

NOTE: In an early census table of Louisiana, de la Tour de Fontainies is mentioned as director of the LeBlanc concession at Lazon, whose chief administrator was the Chev. LeBlond de la Tour, "ingenieur en chef," of Louisiana.

Petition for Control of Papers. New Orleans, Nov. 5, 1723. Mr. Defontaines asks for an inventory of registers and papers belonging to late Mr. De La Tour, and for access to correspondence having to do with LeBlanc grant; this inclusively of letters yet in transit by way of France.

Approved; save the Council will use discretion in the matter of letters and orders arriving from France to the address of the late M. De la Tour.

Hearing Adjourned. Nov. 10, 1723. Francois Duval, executor of LeBlanc estate *vs.* Dupuy Blanchard.

Defendant in default; cited for next audience.

Notice served by *LaMoriniere*. Nov. 13, 1723.

Decisions in Sundry Civil Suits. New Orleans, Nov. 15, 1723.

1. Antoine Brusle *vs.* Bourbault. Defendant in accord with pronouncement of expert viewers, shall make stated repairs on house in contention. Remaining claims excluded. Costs divided.
2. Duval *vs.* Dupuy. Case referred to Attorney General.
Chenarde *vs.* La Violette. Plaintiff shall prove his ownership of disputed dugout. Defendant's opposition nonsuited, and he shall pay hire of dugout computed from date of detention, plus costs.

3. Binard *vs.* Bourbault. Plaintiff is found accountable for sum claimed and shall pay it. Costs divided.

Suit for Damages. New Orleans, Nov. 18, 1723. Board of ten experts shall be appointed for estimating certain ravages on the grant of Mr. Cantillon.

Parties: Jonathan Darby and —

Testimony on Alleged Plot. Further examination of Madame Caron. She adheres to her denials of all part and knowledge as regards the plot in question.

Criminal Procedure. New Orleans, Dec. 2, 1723. 3 p. m. Examination of negro Songot, belonging to Mr. Cantillon, on charge of robbery. Inquiry conducted through interpreter *Jacques*, a negro belonging to the Company. Songot came from Martinique, but is not at home in French. Disclaims robbery and lays it to other hands.

Attorney General orders dismissal of Songot.

Criminal Procedure. Dec. 2, 1723, 3:30 p. m. Examination of negro *Guaissecamant* (also written *Quiscamant*) on charge of robbery. Answers by interpreter Jacques. Name corresponds to *Langlois* (Englishman".) Prisoner belongs to Mr. Manade. Admits robbery in complicity with negro *Petit Jean*, and this repeatedly.

Criminal Procedure. Dec. 2, 1723, 4 p.m. Examination of negro *Petit Jean*, on robbery charge. Answers by interpreter Jacques (Jacquot). Lays the robbery to *Quismant* or *Langlois*, but admits receiving the goods and knowing that they were stolen.

Criminal Procedure. Dec. 3, 1723, 2 p. m. Councillor Fazende and Clerk of Court visit sites of the robberies in question, being accompanied by prisoners *Langlois* and *Petit Jean*, together with armed escort and interpreter Jacques, to ascertain just how the premises were entered. Namely by removal of mud plaster from window sills.

Criminal Procedure. Dec. 3, 1723, 3 p. m. Further examination of negro *Petit Jean*.

Criminal Procedure. New Orleans, Dec. 3, 1723, 4 p.m. Further examination of negro *Quaissamant*, or *Langlois*. Admits, as before, the charge of robbery and in complicity with *Petit Jean*.

Sale of LeBlanc "Movables." Dec. 3, 1723. Auction moved by general manager Defontaines in order to meet expenses and wage accounts, in *copper* specie. Itemized list enumerates 28 blankets, 39 linen tablecloths, 15 pairs of sheets. Proceeds 952 francs.

Signatures: F. Bonnefoi
Francois Bernoudy.
Defontaines.
Rossard, *Recorder*.

Contract of Sale. New Orleans, Dec. 4, 1723. Dreux *freres*, on the one side; Bordieu & Blanchard on the other, agree on transfer of the former firm's boat, rigged and calked, for 1600 francs in *copper*. *Item*, purchasers will carry vendor's freight free of charge on the *first voyage*. Terms, one half cash; residue in three months.

Memorandum of Sale. New Orleans, Dec. 17, 1723. La Forge, edge-tool-maker, conveys a parcel of ground to Cadot, Company's employe, and agrees to build a house thereon in the manner duly set forth in present contract, for 450 francs all told payable as herein defined. In event of broken contract, 100 pounds of flour shall be delivered to Hospital.

Promisory Note. Dec. 17, 1723. Undersigned *Cadot* promises to pay Mr. Lafarge between this date and Easter of 1724, on account of residue on horse today sold by Mr. L. to Mr. C. under stated provisos, 3000 francs in copper.

Testimony on Brandy Cargo. Dec. 29, 1723. In sequel to a seizure of a lot of brandy at Mr. Massy's, Councillor Jacques Fazende hears witnesses *Joseph Houssaye*, sailor (who went to *La Balize* to learn whether *Courier de Bourbon* had arrived) *Michel de la Haye du Rocher* (saw some casks in transit to New Orleans); *Jean Michel* (knows nought of the matter); and *George Joseph Defontaines* manager of LeBlanc grant. Witness Houssaye saw transfer of 32 or 33 "anchors" (each containing 16 gallons) of brandy and some powder. Mr. Defontaines bought two "anchors" from a boat passing up stream, but knows not who delivered them to him. First witness also gives particulars *after* transfer. *Courier de Bourbon* was a slave ship.

Testimony on "Smuggled" Brandy. Dec. 30, 1723. Jacques Bernard Thore de Maisonneuve, mate of the *Courier de Bourbon*, denies knowledge of the alleged illicit brandy, in all points of the recorded testimony, and

states that he had no brandy on board except for his crew. Implies that Joseph Houssaye had a grudge against him and wanted to "get even."

Order for Corn. Natchez, Feb. 22, 1723. Mr. Broutin asks Mr. de Latour to let Mr. Belcourt have 20 barrels of maize (shelled), and an estimate for such an amount, which Madame Belcourt sold in behalf of *LeBlanc* grant.

Petition of Recovery. New Orleans, January 1, 1724. Mr. Belcourt seeks to collect a bill for 20 barrels of maize (shelled), delivered by Madame B. to Mr. Broutin, former manager of *LeBlanc* property at Natchez; note dating 22 February, 1723. Let Mr. Defontaines meet the bill in kind or by like amount of shelled corn plus interest. Action allowed.

St. Martin vs. Massy. New Orleans, January 4, 1724. Council orders defendant to refund the given amount (6140 francs), in gold or silver specie current in France as due, on draught in dispute; together with interest computable from date of protest at 5 per cent. *per annum.*

Letter from Mr. Quenot de Trefontaine. Filed January 15, 1724. Dated *Paris*, 6 August, 1723, and written to his brother.

Letter packed with cautions and forebodings in regard to depressed finances and hard times. Beware of the *Company's notes*, liable to shrink from 2/5 to 3/5 below par. Please *negotiate* their own drafts pending in said notes. Remarks on writers' poor health; he will take the *milk* cure at Tours in September. Cost of living in France jumps upward. Reference to business accommodation with *Mr. Kolly & Co.* (Better compromise in time than lose all.)

NOTE:—The Kolly concession was situated at the *Tchoupetoulas* (land of a small tribe of Indians) situated three leagues above New Orleans.

Memorial of Mr. De Pauger. New Orleans, Feb. 3, 1724. *Squatters'* rights urged. Three years ago he took up a lot of unoccupied ground opposite New Orleans, built a house on it and after the death of a negro from over work, installed a German family and five or six laborers whom he has nourished for 15 months and over, with French bread, brandy and meat. After so much outlay and undisturbed possession, he is surprised that Monsieur de Bienville should seek to evict him

him and seize the land for the Company. Let the Council secure Mr. de Pauger in rightful possession.

NOTE:—Mr. Pauger was an engineer sent out as assistant to le Chevalier de La Tour. He made a map of the passes at the mouth of the river, and sent a report to France to prove Bienville's theory that the Mississippi was navigable for large vessels and that New Orleans should be the capital of the Province. He also laid out New Orleans as a regular city; his map of it is the earliest we have.

Bienville while Commandant General of the Province, secured from the Mississippi Company many valuable tracts of land in and around the site of the city he proposed to found. One tract situated in the heart of the city of today called Bienville's plantation, he sold to the Jesuits, who produced upon it the first cane grown in Louisiana.

As Bienville's lands grew valuable and he more and more wealthy, from them, envious reports were circulated that he had misrepresented the facts to obtain them, stating that they were overflowed lands when in truth they were the most valuable that could be conceded. These reports with other reasons caused Bienville's recall to France in 1724.

Summons of Witnesses. New Orleans, Feb. 5, 1724. Sheriff La Moriniere serves notice, at the instance of Mr. Louis Tisserand on several persons to appear on Monday next, Feb. 7, 2 p. m. before Councillor Brusle to testify in given case.

Names: Reffault, employed on fortifications;
Pistache, employe of the Company and his wife, *Dame* Pistache.

Petition to Sue. New Orleans, Feb. 5, 1724. Louis Tixerant moves for action against Mr. Cadot on ground of spreading defamatory reports. Granted.

"Desertion Plot." Researched. New Orleans, Oct. 11, 1723. Examination of Francois Millet (Milliat), who repeats the allegation that Madame Caron informed him of proposed desertion.

"Desertion Plot" Sifted. New Orleans, Oct. 11, 1723. Examination of Marin La Fontaine. He tells particulars of the proposed flight, as imparted to him by Madame Caron.

Deserter Tried and Sentenced. New Orleans, Oct. 21, 1723. Jean Villars, native of Lyons, aged 23, one of the company's sailors, pleads guilty of desertion (from Illinois region) and is condemned to the stocks (on board

"Dromadaire") three times, besides forfeiting six months wages. One LeRoy, baker, who lent his dugout to Jean and four other deserters, is to be heard in Illinois by Commander De Boisbriant. Costs on Villars.

Court Summons. New Orleans, Feb. 5, 1724. At the instance of Jacques Dupre de Terrebonne Sheriff La Moriniere notifies Mr. Grace, not to start on hunting trip before pending suit be tried. Hearing appointed for Feb. 10.

Summons of Witnesses. Feb. 7, 1724. At instance of Mr. Grace, Sheriff La Moriniere serves notice on parties Baquette and wife (Baquette being drummer for garrison at New Orleans) and *Sansregret* Company skipper, to appear in suit between Messrs. Grace and Terrebonne, at 8 a. m. Feb. 10.

Tixerant vs. Cadot. New Orleans, Feb. 7, 1724. Hearing of witnesses Pistache and wife and Laurent Riffault (Riffaut) on charge of defamatory writings against plaintiff.

It appears that Cadot admitted writing *some* satiric verses, but denied those of scurrilous nature.

Tixerant vs. Cadot. Date torn. Feb., 1724. Plaintiff files his grievance in the article of defamatory verses. So far as the context points, his *name* was made the butt of waggish wit. *Tisserand*, weaver.

Petition for Site. Feb. 8, 1724. Messrs. D'Artiguières & De Benat report a second request of theirs for a site on behalf of Count D'Artagnan.

Feb. 11. Council allows them site No. 66 and refers them for boundary details to Mr. de Chaville, Royal Engineer. Lot must be cleared and staked and stumps cut away to half width of street within two months. Signatures of *Bienville*, Brusle, Fazende, Perry, Fleurian & Estienne (recorder).

M. le Comte d'Artagnan figures in the early census tables as the owner of a large concession six leagues above the city of New Orleans, at "Cannes brulees." D'Arteguieres and Benat were his managers.

Summons of Witnesses. New Orleans, Feb. 9, 1724. Notice served on Messrs. Thomas, Bernoudy, Blanchet and Bidet, to testify in suit between Messrs. Grace and Terrebonne, 8 a. m., Feb. 10.

Squatter's Rights Found Insecure. Feb. 9, 1724. Attorney General Fleurian denies both title and prescriptive

right to Mr de Pauger. He simply encroached where Monsieur de Bienville already held clear title. However, let the parties agree on experts to appraise Mr. de Pauger's improvements; or else let the Council appoint appraisers who will report in due form.

De Pauger vs. Bienville. New Orleans, Feb. 9, 1724. Formal nonsuiting by the Council of Chevalier Adrien de Pauger in his plea for possession of that "squatters" land on right bank of the Mississippi. Monsieur de Bienville is guaranteed his entire ownership and enjoyment thereof. But the defendant's improvements shall be appraised and reported by expert viewers.

Contract on Transfer of "Boat." Feb. 18, 1724. Parties *Bordier and Dubois* (also known as Augustin Dupart) agrees that Bordier shall cede his share in the "boat," which he had bought from one Blanchard, to Dubois, on terms duly understood between the parties. Subjoined note implies that the transfer was effected on basis of 1600 francs.

Summons for Hearing. Feb. 20, 1724. Mr. Marlot, former guard of provisions at New Orleans, is notified to appear and answer with reference to the seizure effected against Officer Pasquier.

Court Hearing on Unlawful Division of Goods. Feb. 23, 1724. Examination of Jean Baptiste Marlot, formerly chief clerk of the Company, aged 25 to 26, with reference to embarking some goods on board the brigantine of one Caron. The goods were those attached, it appears, on the premises of Mr. Pasquier, and were the Company's property. Plea of accommodating his friend Pasquier.

Sentence of Confiscation. Feb. 23, 1724. Reviewing a number of steps in the procedure not thus far shown save by preceding documents of Feb. 20 and 23, 1724, the Attorney General (Fleurian) orders confiscation of the goods in question, to the profit of the Company. They were embarked by Marlot still in the Company's service, without permission or knowledge of the local commander and the Company's directors. Case dates back to December 15, 1722.

Attachment of Goods Repealed. March 3, 1724. Council revokes the seizure decreed against goods at Mr. Pasquier's and orders them restored to him. It would appear that he was not accountable for irregularities in question and stood creditor besides, for equivalent of said goods in the way of a loan to the Company.

De La Garde vs. Graveline. New Orleans, March 4, 1724. Judgment suspended until arrival of first vessels from France. If Mr. de La Garde then still fails to pay, as his note requires, Mr. Graveline may take back the goods sold by himself. But the negroes and cattle in question shall be sold to Mr. La Garde. Mr. G. still being entitled to compensation under final settlement.

Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Perry, Fleurian.

Petition of Recovery. New Orleans, March 8, 1724. Jean Sabanier seeks to collect from Pierre Dreux, the sum of 100 francs; *item*, 4 Spanish dollars, and a bill of 60 francs due for 'sundry supplies.'

Action allowed.

Petition for Normal Drainage. March 10, 1724. Mr. Ceard, director of Ste. Renne grant (written here Ste. Reynne), complains that Mr. Beaulieu has obstructed a certain *bayou* which gave outlet to the waters of a lake fronting on the *Chapitoulas* site. The overflow now floods Mr. Ceard's land. Moreover, Mr. Lafreniere has drained his ditch into Mr. Ceard's property, and makes the selfish excuse: better flood others than himself. Let normal conditions be restored. Council orders abatement of given nuisances.

NOTE:—The Chauvin brothers, Delery, Beaulieu, and LaFreniere, Canadian followers of the Lemoynes, to Louisiana, were known as hardy intrepid men. The son of La Freniere became the heroic Attorney General of Louisiana, who was executed by O'Reilly for being the leader of the revolution against the Spanish government. His plantation (sequestered by the Spanish government) was evidently on the land in question. It lay above the city of New Orleans (the land of the Tchoupitoulas) and adjoined, if it did not occupy, the present site of Audubon Park.

Petition of Recovery. March 12, 1724. Jean Baptiste Marlot, on behalf of Mr. Pasquier seeks to collect from Mr. *de Nolan* the sum of 240 francs, due on his note of July 17, 1722, plus interest and costs.

Action allowed.

NOTE:—M. de *Noyan* (?) the nephew of Bienville.

Proceedings in Flood Suit. March 15, 1724. Ordering survey and proper safeguards in case of flooded lands, in suit urged by Mr. Ceard, director of Ste. Renne grant. (Formalities only).

Engineers Report on Flooded Lands. Chapitoulas, March 15, 1724. Royal Engineer Chaville and Captain Broutin, engineer, find that the immediate cause of overflow on the *Ste. Reine* grant, is artificial or owing to stoppage of an outlet *bayou* between La Freniere and Beaulieu lands, as also to a ditch opened by Mr. La Freniere to drain his land into the river. But there is evidence, too, by marshy formation that the Mississippi has been *long* accustomed to periodic overflows in those parts. They first recommend reopening of the closed bayou and a system of levees with *interior* ditching to carry drainage far back from the river; but secondly, for better economy, they suggest a coffer levee.

Memorial of Mr. Ceard. New Orleans, March 19, 1724. He shows in logical detail, and with reference to the natural topography, the mischief inevitably consequent on the operations of Messrs. Chauvin and La Freniere. He and his fellow sufferers from the abnormal overflow can now neither plant their crops, nor yet utilize the adjoining cypress tracts for timber; since these, too, have become flooded. Mr. *Beaulieu* was another party to the mischief by closing his bayou. Redress besought.

Memorial of Mr. La Freniere vs. Mr. Ceard. March 21, 1724. Aiming to show Mr. Ceard in error as regards the cause of overflow. The same bayou was closed a year ago during flood season, and Mr. Ceard lodged no complaint. As to the ditch opening into the river, Mr. La Freniere closed it before the flood reached the flat. (Mr. Ceard has it that Mr. La Freniere *strove* to do so, but too late and in vain.) In short Mr. *Ceard* had only to blame his own negligence; he should have done like the rest. Besides, why did he not halt Mr. Dubreuil, who first started the operations now opposed?

Regulation Providing. New Orleans, March 21, 1724. *Ceard* suit. The Council orders Messrs. Dubreuil, Delery, Beaulieu and La Freniere to combine all their efforts on building a coffer dike along the Ceard grant. This ruling is based on the report of Messrs. Chauville and Broutin, and the work shall be supervised by Mr. Broutin. At low water each party shall make a solid levee close to stream. Parties refusing shall bear damages to lands overflowed. Court costs on Chauvain *freres*.

Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry.

Ratified by Attorney General Fleurian.

Memorandum of Labor Squads. Levees. March 21, 1724. *Quotas* of negroes to be furnished by six indicated land grants for work on levees and other labors designed to check and correct flooding. Total 150 negroes; to be employed under orders of Captain Broutin, engineer.

Signed: Bienville, Brusle, Fazende, Perry, Fleurian.

Regulation Ordering Levees. New Orleans, March 21, 1724. A more formal repetition of the praribus drafted in succinct terms under same date, together with review of some prior procedure. Water mark with imprint "I. Laroche."

Copy of Agreement. March 21, 1724. Coupard, master carpenter, binds himself to cover with bark, and to weatherboard a house 40 by 20 feet for Mr. De Latour du Pin. Terms 150 francs. Value received in *oil*, (inferentially, *bear's grease* quoted at 8 francs a jug.)

Rulings in Land Suits. March 23, 1724. Dubreuil de Villars, Chauvin Delery, de Beaulieu, La Freniere and Ceard, having requested boundary adjustments, the Council provides for such under direction of Captain Broutin, engineer. Distinct provisos in case of a grant of six six acres formerly allotted to a nephew of Messrs. Chauvin, including landing and right of way for him. (Nephew's name Pierre Chauvin.)

NOTE:—Pierre Chauvin de la Freniere, the future Attorney General of Louisiana.

Petition for Adjustment in Land Suit. March 23, 1724. Joseph Chauvin Delery, referring to his application for frontage of six acres of land at the Chapitoulas woodyard, about March 1719, and to a dispute thereafter between Mr. Ceard and the Chauvin family, bespeaks a compromise arrangement between himself and Mr. Ceard.

NOTE:—Ceard eventually removed to a concession in the higher land of Pointe Coupee on the Mississippi.

Decision in Land Suit. March 23, 1724. A more formal ruling to the same intent as in preceding number; namely, official bounds shall be placed by Captain Broutin and the six acres granted to nephew of Messrs. Chauvin shall be bounded as here prescribed, with provision for a landing and right of way.

Contraband Trade Reported. March 24, 1724. At the instance of the Attorney General who is advised that the officers and crew of the *Chameau* are plying a trade of their own, infringing thereby on the rights of the Company of the Indies, nay more, will accept no currency but Spanish dollars at four francs, whereas the King's Council of State fixes the rate at 7 francs, 10 sous: the Council at New Orleans orders an inspection of the *Chameau* by Mr. Rossard, Clerk of Court and Sheriff LaMoriniere, in presence of Councillors Brusle and Fazende; with a view to ascertaining what contraband goods are on board, so that same may then be seized and exposed in the Company's warehouses.

Contraband Goods Pursued. March 24, 1724. Official search on board the *Chameau* discovers little to the purpose unless a quantity of *hats and satin* prove to violate the law, in the gunner's store room. These goods are seized against Mr. De La Place, in whose trunk they were found.

Remonstrance Against Seizure of Goods. March 24, 1724. Mr. Honore de La Place, clerk of the *Chameau* now in port, is surprised that the Council should attach some *hats* as though belonging to him and intended for sale. He was not expecting to sell the goods, and his own use excepted, he meant simply to accommodate his friends, who had given him funds for the purchase. In short, he did nothing unlawful.

Attachment Ruling Reversed. March 27, 1724. Seeing the small consignment of hats and satin found with Mr. de La Place, the Attorney General annuls the seizure thereof; though this concession shall not let down the general rules against contraband trade, nor shall the public hurry to meet incoming vessels (on contraband errands, seems obviously implied).

Fine Imposed for Killing a Sow. March 27, 1724. Attorney General Fleurian observes that Le Roux, gardener, has made good the value of the brood sow that he killed (property of one Livet), but since this is not a first offence, and Le Roux had also killed a cow, let him be fined 100 francs for the benefit of the small-pox hospital. He shall stay in prison till he satisfy this ruling.

Decisions Filed.

March 28, 1724.

1. Paulin Cadot is sentenced to one month in prison for having published libellous matter and "written verses against the honor of the ladies of New

Orleans." Certain 20 verses shall be erased from the Court Records. Costs on Cadot.

2. Fine of 100 francs imposed on Le Roux for benefit of hospital.
3. Seizure annulled in case of Mr. La Place.

Levee Labor Enjoined Under Due Penalty. March 31, 1724. The Attorney General referring to *levee* ruling under date of March 21 and noting the answer (not here detailed) of Messrs. Chauvin, de Beaulieu, Delery, La Freniere and Dubreuil, together with request of Mr. Ceard dated March 30, 1724, commands Messrs. Chauvin *frères* and likewise Dubreuil and Mr. Ceard, to furnish specified quotas of negroes within 24 hours and thereafter till the work be completed. Messrs. Beaulieu and La Freniere shall open the bayou: if they do not comply, they shall be forcibly constrained and punished as disobedient to the King and to his magistrates, and be imprisoned pending further procedure.

Levee Labor Decreed Binding. March 31, 1724. Formal enactment of the Attorney General's mandate of same day.

Signed: Bienville, Fazende, Perry.

Revised Enactment on Flooded Lands. April 3, 1724. Formal amplification of the ruling under preceding number; that is, ampler phrasing of same substance.

Revised Ruling on Flooded Lands. April 3, 1724. Owing to flooded conditions which now prevent the execution of Council's decree dated March 31, it is here amended to the effect that Messrs. Delery, La Freniere, Beaulieu and Dubreuil shall jointly indemnify Mr. Ceard by ceding to him, for this year's use only, 20 acres in readiness for planting and lying nearest to his grant; and the same within two days of the present notice. In default they shall be fined 6000 francs, available to Mr. Ceard and payable in *provisions*.

Salt Quest and Reported Plot Therewith. April 3, 1724. The Attorney General moves investigation of a supposed treasonable plot in connection with an expedition in search of salt, very scarce in the Colony, but obtainable, it was believed, at the "Salt Keys." Mr. Causse, commanding the enterprise, was ordered not to enter *Havana*; but it appears that he not only disobeyed, but engaged in a plot there, shared by some parties at New Orleans. Let the matter be thoroughly probed.

Proceedings instituted: witnesses to be heard and arrests are in order.

Petition of Defendant in Sow Suit. April 4, 1724. Claude Le Roux, gardener, shows that he should be entitled to full proceeds of the sale of the *sow* that he killed, because he made good the loss and even pawned his clothes to meet the added fine. Sale realized 346 francs; he has been allowed 202 francs and claims the residue. Also, he asks for an estimate of the *damages to his garden* (by sow presumably). Recovery favored.

Petition of Recovery. April 8, 1724. Mr. Martin Desmorges seeks to collect from Madame *veuve* Duflot the sum of 321 francs, plus interest and costs; the same being due, as he relates, on a *gaming* debt contracted by the late Mr. Duflot at *Bayagoulas*. First M. D. went on a trading trip and then fell ill and died; though he had promised to pay the debt.

Action allowed and instituted (by notice to Madame D.)

Statement Filed in Sow Suit. April 12, 1724. Showing that Louis Baudeau attests the fact that the sow killed by Le Roux, gardener, for invading his "deserts," weighed 173 pounds and sold at 40 sous a pound.

Petition to Recover Wages in Arrears. April 22, 1724. Antoine Le Vouf, formerly hired at *Ste. Catherine* grant, claims a wage account of 190 francs yearly or total 570 francs, less what he may have received on account.

Action desired against Mr. Ceard, director.
Granted and notice served on Mr. Ceard.

Petition of Recovery Corn Bill. April 26, 1724. Undersigned *Dumenil*, moves to collect an account of 55½ barrels of corn due him by the LeBlanc grant, as appears by note signed by the late Mr. *Broutin*. Action desired against Manager Defontaine.

Granted and notice served. (Petitioner "will pray God for your health and prosperity.")

Arbitration Verdict. May 2, 1724. Mr. Pierre Chartier, Lord of Baulne, Royal Councillor and Attorney General in the Superior Council of Louisiana Province, and Michel Bossard, Chief Clerk of Court, return their findings, which are also to have the force of a Court ruling, in the dispute between Francois Grace & Jacques Dupre, partners in hunting and fishing; whose partnership is in process of dissolution. The verdict is quite complex and seesaws concessively to either side in the resultant recommendations. Costs divided.

Petition for Recovery. May 4, 1724. Philippe Vincent Quenot de Trefontaine, advocate in parliament, seeks to collect the sum of 3000 francs in specie (gold and silver) due on a protested draft which was drawn by Mr. Dumanoir, director of the *Deucher and Ste. Catherine* grants; protest being served on Mr. Kolly. Let Mr. Dumanoir be held accountable for principal, interest and costs. Date of draft 17 December, 1722.

Action granted.

NOTE:—The Ste. Catherine grant was comprised in the Kolly concession (in the Natchez territory). In the grant from the Company of the Indies Kolly is described as "Conseiller au Conseil de Finances de S. A. E. de Baviere, demeurant a Paris." Deucher as a "Banquier a Paris." Dumanoir was their manager.

Petition in Matter of Stakes. May 8, 1724. Guillaume Allain and one Bailly, formerly a sailor in the Company's service, own a lot of land together, and were to fence it in common. Allain has furnished the stakes and labor, but now Bailly declines to pay his part as due. Recovery desired.

Action allowed.

Petition of Recovery. May 8, 1724. Jacques Langevin, Canadian, at present in town, moves to collect a bill of goods and money advanced for salaries and wages, from Mr. Rene DuMesnil. Goods included salt, tallow, a pair of slippers, a boiler and "a third of gun."

Petition of Recovery. May 9, 1724. Raphael, a negro belonging to Mr. Dumanoir lent 200 francs (copper) to Mr. Cadot, on a month's note dated March 16. Let Mr. Cadot be summoned and held to answer for principal, interest and costs.

Action instituted.

NOTE:—Significant example of a negro suing before a *white* Board for justice against a *white* creditor, and obtaining it.

Petition of Recovery. May 9, 1724. Mr. Sainton, holder of a land grant, moves to collect 500 francs on a note due by Mr. St. Pierre de St. Julien, plus interest and costs.

Action instituted.

Court Sentence in Discharge of Debt. May 10, 1724. In suit of Raphael, negro, against Paulin Cadot, the defendant is ordered to pay the stated debt of 200 francs copper, plus interest and costs. (In this document Raphael is described as a *free* negro.)

Suit Over Stake Decision. May 10, 1724. Guillaume Allain, *alias* St. Paul, *vs.* Bailly. Parties are joint owners of a lot of land; question of a bill of stakes thereon. Defendant is ordered to pay value of stakes in question, plus costs.

Corn Claim Ordered Paid. May 10, 1724. In suit of Mr. Bellecourt against LeBlanc grant Council enjoins Mr. Defontaine to return 20 barrels of maize to plaintiff from next crop and to meet the costs.

Corn Claim Secured. May 10, 1724. In suit of Mr. Dumesnil to recover 55 barrels of shelled corn from LeBlanc grant, Councillor Perry files the declared offer of Mr. Defontaine to meet the said claim in corn of next crop, costs included.

Decisions in Sundry Suits.

May 10, 1724.

1. Claude Le Roux *vs.* Jacques Lynet. Sow claim to be settled in full. Signed: Bienville.
2. St. Martin *vs.* Massy. Ruling of past January sustained. Massy shall consign given sum (6180 francs) to recorder in gold and silver specie. Bienville. (Sum was earlier stated 6140 francs.)
3. Arnaud Bonnaud *vs.* De Fontaine. Hire of negroes in question shall first be paid on estimated basis. Decision still contingent.

Decisions in Sundry Suits.

May 10, 1724.

4. Dumesnil *vs.* Defontaine. Claim to be paid in kind at next crop. *Bienville*.
5. Ceard *vs.* Morisset. M. discharged of the negro in question. Costs divided. *Bienville*.
6. Antoine Le Veuf *vs.* Ceard. Some accounting to be first submitted. Decision contingent. Costs reserved.
7. Jean Soubagne *vs.* Pierre Dreux. D. in default. Judgment for J. S.

Decisions in Sundry Suits.

May 10, 1724.

8. St. Martin *vs.* Veuve Duflos. St. M. nonsuited and subject to costs.
9. Jacques Langevin *vs.* Rene Dumesnil. Out of Court. Costs divided. *Bienville, Brusle, Fazende*.
10. Raphael *vs.* Cadot. C. in default; must pay note and costs.
11. Allain (Guillaume) *vs.* Bailly. B. to return the stakes. Costs divided.
12. Balcour *vs.* Defontaine. "Judgment as in ——"

Decisions in Sundry Suits.

May, 1724.

13. Sainton *vs.* St. Julien. Note annulled; costs on St. J.
14. Louis P—— *vs.* Jean Bordier. J. B. in default and subject to costs.
15. Manade *vs.* Tomeli and Franchomme. F. to pay T. 500 francs; to wit, 300 on account of Manade's part in the matter; 200 for damages. *Bienville, Brusle, Fazende.*

Petition of Recovery. May 20, 1724. Charles Francois Pichot, attorney for Madame *veuve* Duval, Mr. Pelletier, *Demoiselle* Plassier and Mr. Noquiez (parties in France) moves to collect their costs, respectively, 74, 60 and 187 francs plus 146 francs, from Baron d'Hombourg and Thomas Desesy, before sailing of the *Chameau*. Action instituted.

Estate Funds Held Pending. May 22, 1724. In answer to Mr. LeBlond seeking to collect estate proceeds, the Council reminds him that he is but *one* of the heirs of the late Mr. Leblond de Latour and that the Council cannot release the funds without the consent of all the heirs. The marine risks alone, are too great, since not all the claimants might agree to trust remittance by a ship of the Company's funds will be kept on deposit until Council receives power of attorney from other heirs, together with proof that these are the *sole* coheirs.

Draft: Ceard to Kolly. New Orleans, May 26, 1724. In one month at sight Mr. Kolly will please pay to Mr. Brossit or order 220 francs, seven sous and six farthings in gold or silver specie. Value received. Transaction on behalf of Ste. Reine grant. Transferred by Brossit in favor of Mr. Fabre, surgeon, August 12, 1726. Mr. Kolly declines to pay and the draft is protested. Paris, August 23, 1726.

Draft of Ceard-Kolly. May 26, 1724. Original of Mr. Ceard's draft on Mr. Kolly for 220 francs, seven sous and six farthings, to be paid in one month at sight, to Monsieur *Brossiere* or order. Value received in drugs for Ste. Reine grant.

Petition of Recovery. May 29, 1724. Charles Goubin, *alias* Capucin, moves to recover from one *Frere Malo*, tailor, the quantity of nine jugs of brandy and eight jugs of bear's grease; a loan which borrower duly agreed to make good, but instead he has been trafficking in the brandy on a scale of downright *usury*.

Let the Councillor's goodness and charity prevail to oblige the petitioner to "pray the Lord for their salvation." Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. June 8, 1724. Mr. Joseph LeBlond De Latour seeks to collect the sum of 20 Spanish dollars from Mr. Bourbeau, a debt long since due, but unreasonably slighted. Action allowed.

Petition of Recovery. June 20, 1724. Surgeon Major Pouyadon de LaTour sues for the residue 33 francs of his account against Mr. LaMesse, Fleming.

Action allowed.

Petiton to Recover Dugout. July 10, 1724. Estienne Daigle *alias* Malborouti, Canadian, moves to get back the dugout, 18 feet long by 2 feet wide, which was borrowed from him in February by Mr. St. Julien. Or else let Mr. St. J. pay the 80 francs which Mr. D. had to spend on another dugout. Hire also claimed, and the Court "will please to tax him with interest and the costs and ye will do justice."

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. July 13, 1724. Mr. Antoine Brusle moves to collect some residue accounts from Mr. Dumanoir to-wit, 540 francs for board of Mr. Le Faure, and 450 pounds of flour towards which Mr. B. has received, "24 and 8 piastres."

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. July 21, 1724. Estienne Barasson seeks to collect from one La France, 18 *piasters*, five barrels of corn and one *piastre* for a pound of pepper, less what partial payment has been already received.

Action instituted.

Fine Imposed. July 24, 1724. Madame Jeanne La Creuse, wife of one Nicon, having violated the Council's ruling dated July 14, thereby forfeits a pair of shoes that she sold to Mr. Chapron; item, 25 francs, payable to Mr. C., and she is also fined 25 francs in favor of the town hospital.

Signed: Bienville, Perry.

Court Summons. July 24, 1724. In sequel to complaints that Manager Defontaine is negligent in settling his accounts, whereas the complainants are left in "extreme wretchedness," even destitute of victuals, the Council orders Mr. Defontaine to appear at New Orleans in three days from date of notice and produce the *status* of his accounts.

Signed: *Bienville, Perry, Rossard, recorder.*

Notice delivered aux *Chouaschas*, seven leagues from New Orleans by Clerk, F. Bernoudy.

Petition of Recovery and Restitution. July 26, 1724. Raphael Bernard, free negro, hired himself in France about five years ago to Mr. Dumanoir at 200 francs yearly in silver, plus outfit of clothing. He has served Mr. D. "with fidelity and affection," but latterly Mr. D. has "treated him with rigor," and stinted him of clothing and hire.

Let restitution be granted, and Raphael would also fain return to France. Moreover, Mr. D. should restore the *trunk* now detained *aux Chauouachas*.

Notice of "urgency" served on Mr. Jean Baptiste Faucon Dumanoir by Sheriff La Moriniere Sept. 19, 1724. In default of appearing he shall be heard on the morrow.

Signed: Perry.

NOTE:—This seems to be the same Raphael who sued Cadot (fined by the Court for libelous verses against the ladies of New Orleans). The appearance of *free* negroes in the colony is almost coincident with the appearance of the first slaves.

Receipt. August 10, 1724. Undersigned *Morisset*, has received of Mr. La Renaudais the sum of 3536 francs in copper, and will account for the same to Mr. Dalcour.

Court Summons. August 11, 1724. At the instance of Mr. Francois Carriere, Sheriff La Moriniere notifies Mr. Provenche to appear and answer for the claim of four quarters of flour due by terms of a contract between the parties. Hearing set for same date.

Surgeon's Report. August 10 and 12, 1724. Certifying that a certain Indian slave "savagess" recently belonging to Mr. Coupard (Coupart), and now sold to Mr. Laronde, had been badly flogged and bears visible injuries therefrom. *Pierre Manade*, signing under date of August 10, forebodes fatal sequel.

Surgeon Major Pouyadon De La Tour (August 12) likewise anticipates death as inevitably impending.

Slave Suit. Lasonde vs. Coupert. August 14, 1724. Mr. Lasonde lodges complaint over breach of contract, as he describes it, on the part of one Coupert, who sold him a little Indian slave "sauvagess", represented as ailing with a slight fever, nothing worse. But the evidences shows that she had been dangerously beaten and is liable to die from her injuries. Let Mr. C. return the goods that he received on account of this equivocal transaction.

Notice served on Mr. Coupert.

Slave Suit. La Sonde vs. Coupart. August 14, 1724. Defendant denies the charge of beating and ill treating the little Indian slave in question. He also states that he did not accept responsibility for the outcome of her fever.

Memorandum of Public Business. August 24, 1724. Undersigned *Delorme* certifies that while Mr. Tixerant was guard of stores, there were no goods in storage for the *Spanish trade*. Reference to invoice dated May 12, 1722. Mr. Tixerant delivered goods for Colonial use alone. Moreover, Mr. Tixerant had orders not to receipt *notes*, after May 1, 1722, but only card certificates, into which the notes were converted, agreeably to Council's proviso, dated April 23, 1722.

Reverse memorandum, March 8, 1725, states that Mr. Tixerant left the foregoing attestation to be filed with minutes.

Petition of New Plaintiff in Sow Suit. August 30, 1724. Undersigned De Morand placed a sow with Mr. Jacques Livet for half the profit. The same sow was killed by LeRoux, gardener; but when the next sow was left in Livet's care he proved so negligent that the sow went astray and cannot be found or traced. (Remainder of the petition is faded illegibly. Context indicates motion of recovery.)

Action allowed and notice served on Livet.

Petition of Recovery. August 29, 1724. Undersigned *Descairat*, seeks to collect the value of 17 francs in goods, due by one Berard.

Action instituted.

Court Summons. August 31, 1724. At the instance of Mr. François Carrière, Sheriff La Moriniere serves notice on Jacques Provenche to appear for hearing on the morrow.

Carriere vs. Provenche. September 1, 1724. Council orders defendant to fulfil a certain contract of building a house for plaintiff on specified plan.

Remonstrance on Outlaws. September 2, 1724. Deputy Attorney General Raquet shows the demoralizing influence of the robbers and scoundrels who have been sent to this country. Far from reforming an exile, they but use it for aggravation of their criminal excesses, besides corrupting the French servants, Indians and negroes. Let them be transported to parts remote and there live by their own labor; being pensioned in advance for the first year.

Compromise Between Carriere and Provenche. September 3, 1724. The parties amicably readjust their differences. Provenche shall meet the flour claim by stated installments and pay 200 francs by way of indemnity for delayed completion of house. The said 200 francs, moreover, are to be paid to the "Reverend Capuchin Fathers as alms for the poor."

Petition of Recovery. September 5, 1724. Pierre Poitiers, *alias* La Croix, seeks to collect from Nicolas Prouet the sum of 33½ francs due on some skins (25 francs) lumber, (4½ francs) and a day's trip down the bayou.

Action instituted.

Contraband Trade in Wine. September 6, 1724. Examination of Thomas Desarsy, carpenter, on charge of unlawful sale of wine that he bought from cargo of the ship *Bellonne*, for 40 *piastras* at Biloxi.

Signed: Delachaise, Rossard.

Decisions in Sundry Civil Suits. September 10, 1724. (Slurred and scrawled; partly torn.) Parties named on cover of later times.

Decisions in Ten Civil Suits. September 11, 1724.

1. *Frère Malo* shall deliver given quantity of brandy and bears grease.
2. Defendant in default and subject to costs.
3.
4. Lasonde defendant shall pay Tessier, plaintiff, house rent in question.
5. Livet shall pay Morand 60 francs for sow.
6. Antoine Brusle *vs.* Fauçon Dumanoir. Latter in default and bears costs.
7. La France to pay Barasson the residue of stated claim.
8. Calist *vs.* Berard. Defendant in default and bears costs.
9. Potier *vs.* Prouet. Parties nonsuited and costs divided.
10. Dreux *vs.* Soubagne. Defendant to pay 200 francs due for house rent, plus costs.

Decisions in Four Civil Suits. September 12, 1724.

1. André Saune *vs.* Defontaine. Defendant having declared himself no longer director, Mr. De Pauger shall take his place.
5. François Trudeau *vs.* Dupuy Planchard. Case further pending.
3. Lasonde *vs.* Coupert. Plaintiff nonsuited and bears costs.
4. Jean Baptiste Delays *vs.* Cabassier. Adjustment in a land dispute. Costs divided.

Assistant Clerk Appointed. September 12, 1724. Seeing the unsatisfactory service and lack of diligence exhibited by clerk Bernoudy, Chief Recorder Rossard has asked for the appointment of Mr. Droy to succeed Mr. Bernoudy. Stipulated salary *ration* allowance on footing of 240 francs yearly, plus cash 300 francs yearly. Council approves and ratifies the change.
Signed: Bienville, Delachaise, Fazende, Perry.
Marginal approval by Raguet.

Promissory Note in Gambling Suit. September 15, 1724. Undersigned *Laroche*, promised to pay Mr. Petit De Livilliers the sum of 1100 (*honne cens*) francs in copper money for value received, in September, 1725. Endorsed by Petit De Livilliers in favor of *Monsieur Thierry*. (But without endorser's guarantee.)

N. B.—Signature of Laroche bears no mark of "unconscious" intoxication; entire script which appears to be in his hand, looks deliberate and rational. The same is true of other notes.

Promissory Note in Gambling Suit. September 15, 1724. Undersigned *Laroche*, promises to pay to Mr. Petit de Livilliers the sum of 1000 francs for value received in September, 1725.

Endorsed, without guarantee, by Petit De Livilliers in favor of *Monsieur Thierry*.

Petition of Recovery. September 19, 1724. Jean Baptiste Raquet, substitute of the Attorney General, calls for summons of Mr. Dumanoir, director of the Kolly grant, to pay 2700 francs due on his notes and those of his confidants; together with meeting other stated claims.

Notice served on Mr. Dumanoir to appear on the morrow.

Petition of Recovery. September 19, 1724. Attorney Jean Baptiste Raquet, on behalf of Mr. Quenot de Trefontaine, heir to the late Pierre Quenot, his brother, calls for summons of Mr. Faucon Dumanoir, director of the *Ste Catherine* grant, to meet a claim of 1826 francs, 12 sous, due the late Mr. Quenot as sub-director, plus interest and costs.

Hearing appointed for the morrow.

Decisions in Three Civil Suits. September 20, 1724.

1. Raquet *vs.* Dumanoir. Defendant shall satisfy stated claims under conditions duly prescribed and he shall furnish security.

2. In suit of Messrs. Raphael, Mr. Dumanoir shall first turn his accounts with Raphael, restore the detained trunk, allow Raphael to change his service, and advance him 100 francs: all this, pending final adjudication. Costs reserved.
3. Raguet *vs.* Dumanoir. Judgment (a bad scrawl) appears to favor plaintiff.
(Marginal date erroneous, 20 Sept. 1727.)

Promissory Note in Gambling Suit. September 20, 1724. Undersigned *Laroche*, promises to pay Mr. Petit De Livilliers the sum of 1000 francs in copper money, in June, 1725. (This note is dated five days after the two similar notes in same suit.)

Endorsed without warrant on his part by Petit De Livilliers in favor of Monsieur Thierry.

Petition in Remonstrance. September 23, 1724. Jean Baptiste Fauçon Dumanoir, director of *Ste Catherine* grant, enters a plea of opposition to the "ruling rendered by default against him," on September 20, in relation to *Sieur Brusle*.

Petitioner will adduce his reasons in good season.

Matter communicated to Mr. Brusle.

Report of Supposed Cruelty to Horse. September 23, 1724. Mr. François Trudeau files a statement giving particulars which led him to suspect ill usage of a certain horse that he noticed running loose and afterwards tied before the door of Mr. Castillon. On the morrow Mr. Trudeau learned that the horse made its way to Mr. Lasonde's and died there.

(Since the incident is reported as dating back to a Saturday morning "late in the month of October," somewhat strange why so long kept silent?)

Petition of Recovery. September 24, 1724. Antoine Aufrère seeks to collect the items of 60 francs, a pair of stockings and a pair of breeches: these and the stockings being of black skin.

Notice served on the defendant, Jean Cariton, tailor.

Petition of Recovery. September 26, 1724. Undersigned Henry Gaspalliere, a workman for *Ste. Catherine* grant, moves to collect his wage arrears in money, not in tobacco, tendered by Mr. Dumanoir, director, but inconvenient to get rid of: so the petitioner has experienced.

Action approved. Court notice faded.

Promissory Note. New Orleans, October 7, 1724. Undersigned *Dumont* promises to pay Madame Orsée, dealer in edged tools, the sum of 500 francs (a loan to meet his wants) in money of France and none other. Mr. Dumont's mother will please to cover the said amount from her son's portion in his deceased father's estate.

Petition of Recovery. October 9, 1724. That *stray horse* reported by Mr. Trudeau, belonged to Surgeon Pierre Manade and was caught and cruelly beaten by the people of Mr. Castillon's plantation so ordered by Mr. Dalby. Since the surgeon duly paid damages wrought by his cattle on said plantation, it is just that he should also receive compensation for the horse, which died from the beating.

Action instituted.

Petition (reiterated) in Recovery. October 9, 1724. Mr. Pichot, attorney for certain creditors in France, of Baron D'Hombourg and Thomas Desersy, moves for definite collection, as the outstanding debits are still unpaid.

Action ordered.

Petition of Recovery. October 14, 1724. Antoine Brusle seeks to collect arreased rent from Mr. Dumanoir, director of Koly (Kolly) grant. Petitioner had already thus applied on past September 11.

Action instituted, October 19, 1724.

Slavery Suit. October 19, 1724. Undersigned Deboudieu shows that he was deceived in a slave trade with one *Blaisence*. Let Plaisence be held to answer, and to retract the bad bargain.

Action allowed.

Petition to Recover Value of Dugout. October 20, 1724. Antoine Durand charges Henry Gaspillièr, employed on Mr. Kolly's grant at Natchez, with taking possession of Durand's dugout, much to his inconvenience, as he needed it for transporting his poultry and other goods from Natchez. Let H. Gaspillièr be bound to pay cost price as shown by bill of purchase; also fine him 100 francs in favor of *Hospital*, and add interest and costs.

Action instituted.

Petiton of Recovery. October 21, 1724. Undersigned De Larnauais, formerly an accountant for the Company of the Indies, owes the Company 1500 francs, but is also creditor of sundry individuals to the sum of

400 francs. That he may settle with the Company, let him collect his own dues.

Granted and notice served on the indebted parties. (December 15.)

Power of Attorney. October 22, 1724; May 12, 1725. Adrien Dumont, native of Paris, to Madame Marie Claude Baune, wife of François Orsée, for collecting the sum of 500 francs in gold and silver specie from the mother and guardian of Adrien Dumont in France, whither Madame Orsée is about to sail. Supplementary provisos expressed.

Action of Notary Rossard attested. Fleurion. May 12, 1725.

Petition for Delayed Accounting. October 22, 1724. Former manager Defontaines, of Le Blanc grant, calls for statements of certain supplies furnished by himself while actively in charge; the papers being held by Mr. Broutin. Let the desired statements be intrusted to Mr. Duval or to some other acceptable referee.

Granted for further procedure.

Recovery Decreed. (Medical bill 33 francs.) October 23, 1724. Council orders default sentence against *La Messe* and condemns him to pay the given residue bill, plus interest and costs.

Extortion in Sales Pursued. October 23, 1724. Deputy Attorney General Raquet moves for hearing of *Mesdames "La Flamande"* and *"La Chevalier"* on charge of extortionate sale of eggs at 10 sous an egg, to Jean Baptiste Fontaine, soldier in local garrison, and to Mr. Pellerin's domestic *"La Major d'Homme."* He advises fine of 100 francs for each offender; 15 days in prison, and expulsion from this town to a range of 50 leagues. Pillory in reserve if they relapse.

Parties duly cited.

Petition to Recover Value of Dugout. October 20, 1724. Antoine Durand, charges Henry Gaspilliére employed on Mr. Kolly's grant at Natchez with taking possession of Durand's dugout, much to his inconvenience as he needed it for transporting his poultry and other goods from "the Natchez." Let Henry Gaspilliére be bound to pay costs price, as shown by bill of purchase; also fine him 100 francs in favor of *Hospital* and add interest and cost.

Action instituted.

Memorandum of Account. November 29, 1724. Statement of items in Surgeon Pouyadon de Latour's treatment of Madame La Messe "during her illness in the month of November, 1724." Total 31 francs.

Petition for Injunction. November 27, 1724. Undersigned Pourbiau complains that Messrs. Cabucière and La Prade have been meddling with his timber, and asks the Council to stop him; also to order restitution of trees already removed (from his premises presumably.)

Notice served.

Copy of Sale Contract. November 14, 1724. Mr. Sainton files a record of the sale of his property to Mr. Tronquailly for 6424 francs.

Larche vs. Petit. December 23, 1724. Official form of decision reported under preceding number.

Signed: Delachaise, Fazende, Perry.

King's Act of Pardon Sustained. December 23, 1724. The Council accedes to the petition of Nicolas Godfroy Barbin, in the matter of granting entire force to a certificate of pardon, vouchsafed him by His Majesty on November 19, 1720.

Decision in Civil Suit. October 24, 1724. Defontaine *vs.* Broutin. Further in process. Costs reserved.

Signed: Bienville, Delachaise, Perry, de Pauger.

Petition to Recover a Slave. October 28, 1724. Undersigned *de Nolan* tells a distressing tale of the *famine year*, 1722, during which he cared for two injured slaves, the one with a burnt foot, the next one bitten by a snake: victuals then costing "their weight in gold." After all this burden, *Mr. Durand* now claims (and has been allowed) the second slave, whom plaintiff received in exchange for first one. Restitution desired.

Action instituted. Notice served by *Jacques Vincent*.

Petition of Recovery. October 31, 1724. Madame Perrine Le Marie, widow of late Mr. de Morrieres, moves to collect certain accounts which seriously drained her own resources in favor of her late brother in law, Mr. Le Blanc, and four children of his, whom she supported nine years long. Let their trustee, Mr. Ceard, be cited to answer. Two particular items claimed: note of 6200 francs, and board bill 10,000 francs.

Action forward. November 3, 1724.

Bid for Cypress Paling. November 2, 1724. Council advertises to all inhabitants and others concerned, the call for 10,000 boards, 8 feet long by 1 foot wide and thick in proportion, for service of the Company. Award to lowest bidder on Monday November 14. Payable: one-third at start of work; one-third midway in delivery; final third on full delivery.

Signed: Delachaise, Brusle, Fazende, Perry, De Pauger.

Petition to Recover Loan of Rice. November 3, 1724. Jean Fresson lent a barrel of rice to the wife of one Tranchemontagne, "soldier of this garrison," in a time of extreme want (a year ago). Now that he seeks recovery, he gets nothing but "chaff and abuse" (*des sottises and invectives*). He claims 20 francs plus interest and costs.

Action granted and instituted.

Petition for Support. November 4, 1724. *Mariane, Cecile, Servanne and Lorence Le Blanc*, minor children of late La Croix Le Blanc, acting by authority of their trustee, Mr. Ceard, move to receive 2000 francs for their necessary subsistence, from funds held by their father's executor Mr. Duval. Reasons adduced on ground of marriage contract.

Procedure allowed and creditors notified.

Le Blanc Minors vs. Duval, executor. November 8, 1724. Council calls for exhibition of marriage contract, and orders provisional advance of 1500 francs from the 7000 francs now with executor.

Petition of Recovery. November 7, 1724. Matthieu Le Roy, workman, seeks to collect a bill of 227 francs, plus interest and costs, from Mr. Ceard, who keeps putting him off from day to day.

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. November 8, 1724. Antoine Burnelle, workman in the Company's service, seeks to collect 28 Spanish dollars from the firm of Martel, Tessieur & Barthelmy, due on their note. Martel and Barthelmy live at Mobile; Tessier at New Orleans; refuses payment. Let him be cited to pay, plus interest and costs; and he may look to his partners for adjustment.

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. November 8, 1724. Pierre Fleuretat (signed Fleurtet) De Gergy, choristor in parish church, seeks to collect 10 francs allowed him for service

or fees in the employment of the late Madame Bordier. Let Mr. Bordier be held accountable.

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. November 8, 1724. *Christianne Richard* (signature in German script "Christian Riechardt") carpenter, seeks to collect from Mr. Du Rivage a residue of bill of 226 francs plus interest and cost.

Notice served on Mr. Du Rivage, master builder.

Payment Ordered in Collection Suit. November 10, 1724. Mr. Mottet, director of certain land grants, is required to pay stated claim of François Bougeaut, that is, to the extent of his account due, together with his passage to France and costs.

Summons to Pay Medical Bill. November 13, 1724. Sheriff La Moriniere notifies one La Messe to pay "presently" that same outstanding bill of 33 francs, either to plaintiff or to sheriff on his behalf.

Petition of Recovery. November 14, 1724. Robert Boudet and Francois Thomas, workmen, seek to collect a residue bill of 80 francs from Mr. Dejan (also written *Dejan* director of a land grant.

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. November 14, 1724. Undersigned De Larnaudais, renews his request on the score of his own debtors, to the end that he may settle with Mr. Brut, cashier. Let also former Mr. Delcour be summoned, as he is recalcitrant in complying with certain provisos or their consequences, by order of Councillor Brusle.

Notice allowed.

Petition of Recovery. November 14, 1724. Pierre Sainton, preparing to return to France and wishing to redeem advances tendered him by the Company, sold his property to Mr. Troncuedy (Tronquilly) who is backward in delivering the proceeds. Let Mr. Troncuedy be brought to terms and property sold again if he refuses. Amount of claim 6423 francs plus costs, damage and interest.

Action forward.

Copy of Sale Contract. October 5, 1724. (November 14, 1724.) Mr. Sainton files record of the sale of his property to Mr. Tranquilly for 6424 francs.

Memoranda Filed by Pierre Sainton. November 14, 1724. First, as showing that he applied for a grant of land (15 by 40 acres) on the Mississippi, opposite "Bustard

Creek," (*Anse aux Outardes*) on April 16, 1723. *Item*, that the Council granted him such property on *March 11, 1723*. (His application was apparently *formal*, after the granting.)

Third, there follows the statement of what he sold to Mr. Tranquilly in the way of implements and other movables.

Petition of Recovery. November 20, 1724. Claude Bodeson, edge tool artisan, seeks to collect a residue of bill of 200 francs plus interest and costs from Pierre Dreux.

Action instituted.

Petition for Injunction. November 27, 1724. Undersigned *Pourbiau*, complains that Messrs. Cabuciere and La Prade have been meddling with his timber, and asks the Council to stop them; also to order due restitution of the trees already removed (from his premises, presumably.)

Notice served.

Copy of Contract of Lease. December 3, 1724. Jean Bordier leases a property on the Mississippi six acres front by forty acres deep, including cattle and slaves, to Joseph Forsillier, at 250 francs yearly. First year paid in advance.

Accessory provisos expressed.

Petition to Recover Beer Account. December 4, 1724. Jan Lamesse, *alias Le Flamand*, master "hopster" moves to collect 40 francs in silver from Dr. De La Tour, due for the "beer which the said *Sieur de La Tour* has taken at his (La Masse's) house at sundry times and even he was drunk at my house a number of times." Signed, J. J. Lammes.

Action instituted.

Ruling on Executor Will. December 4, 1724. Mr. Bompard, executor for *Sieur Lascom* (?) is ordered to fulfil some (badly scrawled) provisos.

Petition of Recovery. December 5, 1724. Joseph Dufour, about to sail for France by the ship *La Bellone*, moves to collect a debt of 400 francs from Mr. Douceur, plus interest and costs.

Action instituted.

Petition of Recovery. December 7, 1724. Jean Baptiste La Noe *alias Boucher*, seeks to collect from Pierre Le Comte the sum of 200 francs, plus costs.

Action instituted.

Inventory of Estate. *Chatouachas*, December 9, 1724. Detailed report and itemized account of proceedings by Councillor Antoine Brusle. Property of the late Claude Trepagnie, now occupied by his widow, Dame Genevieve Burelle.

Complete outfit of "civilized" household goods both personal and real estate included; also declared business assets and liabilities. Timber buildings were still of a pioneer pattern. Cash comprised Spanish specie and 250 francs in copper. 20 barrels of beans among the provisions and a field of sweet potatoes *en terre* for victualing the negroes. At the stroke of noon, they paused until 2 p. m.

Inventory closed, December 20. Total estimate 27104 francs. (House covered with palm thatch.)

Petition of Recovery by Seizure. December 9, 1724. Antoine Brusle has attached funds of Mr. Dumanoir to the amount of 800 francs in the hands of one Bouche, debtor to Dumanoir. Brusle answers that he had paid Mr. Raquette. Let Brusle be cited.

Approved and notice served. Debt was for flour account.

Larche vs. Charles Petit. December 11, 1724. Council requires plaintiff to prove that the notes in dispute were gambling debts, and not, as the defendant states, tendered in discharge of past obligations.

Costs reserved.

Petition for Technical Justice. December 11, 1724. *Larche Laine*, deferring to genial custom, joined a convivial card party and lost consciousness of what followed. On the morrow he learned, by friends, that he had also lost money, and in fact he had been induced to sign "confidential" promissory notes, now treacherously seeking negotiation in public. Since the money was lost in the pastime forbidden by the Council decree of 1723, he begs to waive payment until he can clear himself in certain still prior business engagements.

Action to stay negotiation in question.

Petition to Cite Witnesses. December 11, 1724. *Larche Laine*, also known as *Larchevesques*, moves for citation of Messrs. des Graves, Pasquer and Marlot, to testify that the plaintiff "lost with the defendant the amount of the notes which he has spread among the public, written in his hand," (matter of 4100 francs).

Action granted.

Testimony in Gambling Suit. December 12, 1724. Henry Desgraves, retired captain, remembers some particulars of the game, but went early to bed and has only hearsay knowledge of the notes in dispute.

Jean Baptiste Marlot is aware that Larche lost heavily to Petit, and adds that on the morrow, or maybe two days after the last "sitting," Larche told him of the notes elicited by Petit for losses in the game.

Court Order. **Collection Suit.** December 11, 1724. La Naux *alias* Bouche *vs.* Le Comte. Council orders defendant to pay claim of 200 francs plus interest and costs.

Notice served on January 11, 1725.

Court Order. **Collection Suit.** December 11, 1724. Julien Bimard (Binard) *alias*, Laforgue *vs.* Paulin Cadot. Council orders defendant to vacate house within eight days, or else to pay residue 100 francs.

Notice (faded) served on December 18, 1724.

Petition of Recovery. December 11, 1724. Sergeant Maldaque (signed Maldaques) informs "Messieurs of the Superior Council of the new Administration" (de la Nouvelle Regle) that one Lasonde, surgeon and soldier at the Yazous, owes him an account that was to be settled, but is neglected by Mr. Des Graves. Let the matter be cited.

Approved.

Recovert Suit. December 11, 1724. Antoine Brusle *vs.* J. B. Lanaux *alias* Boucher. Before final decision, Council orders Mr. Dumanoir, a creditor of the defendant, to appear for hearing in regard to a certain attachment of goods. Costs reserved.

Court Summons. December 15, 1724. At the instance of Mr. De Larenaudais, Sheriff La Moriniere notifies seven specified parties to appear on the 18th instant with reference to paying their debts to the treasury, in copper specie, plus costs.

Fine Imposed. December 15, 1724. Mr. Coustillas having proposed "impudent and inadmissible means" for challenging the decisions of Councillor Fazende, is nonsuited in his plea, and fined 200 francs: one-half in favor of the Company, the other half available to town hospital.

Remonstrance with Civil Suit. December 16, 1724. Major Wille, acting commander (in absence of the Captain, Baron De Hombourg) of *Company De Merveil lez,*

takes exception to *civil jurisdiction* and ruling in case of one Jeanne Marie Du Bois, widow of Pierre Lucie, a native of *Canton Lucerne*; being now the wife of Sargeant Jaquet & Company washerwoman. It would appear that the *Swiss* in French Majesty's service are to be tried only by Court Martial. In event of appeal, the Duke of Maine is final judge and special protector of Swiss defendant in French service. Detached memorandum seems to maintain the Council's ruling on the ground that Jaquet's wife is now French.

Rulings in Favor of La Renaudais. December 18, 1724. Three judgments rendered allowing him recovery of given claims: 88 francs; 24, 22, 18½ francs; and a sum left blank, from *Major Wille*.

Rulings (abridged) in Favor La Renaudais. December 18, 1724.

1. *La Renaudais vs. Major Wille.* Defendant to pay claim within one month, into hands of Company's cashier.
2. *Ditto vs. La Perriere.* Plaintiff allowed 88 francs at issue, payable within one month to Company's treasury.
3. *Ditto vs. Montmort, Defontaine, Bernaudy.* Defendants in default and ordered to pay to the Company's treasury 24, 22, 18½ francs respectively.

Receipts in each instance, will be given by plaintiff.

Memorandum of Sale. December 20, 1724. Undersigned *Beaulieu* acknowledges that he has sold "this day," to Mr. Brusle, a lot situated in this town of New Orleans, 10 "fathoms" front by 20 deep and adjoining the property of Mr. Perry on one side, of Mr. Delamarque on the other, for the sum of 250 francs in copper specie paid and receipted.

Registered by Broutin, December 10, 1730.

Petition for Judgment in Gambling Suit. December 20, 1724. Larche, here signing *Larchevesque*, bespeaks final sentence in his plea against Petit. Two of his witnesses have appeared and in repeated default of the third, there should be evidence enough to guide the Court conclusively.

Defendant's attorney cited.

Decisions in Eleven Civil Suits. December 20, 1724.

1. *Robert Boudet and François Thomas vs. Dejean.* Claim allowed.
2. *Julien Binard alias La Forge vs. Paulin Cadot.*

3. Larche *vs.* Petit de Livilliers. Plaintiff must prove his plea.
4. La Messe *vs.* Poyadon de La Tour. Plaintiff nonsuited; must pay in current money.
5. Adam Gilbert *vs.* Antoine Brusle. Claim allowed.
6. Antoine Brusle *vs.* J. B. Lanore. Mr. Dumanoir shall be cited.
7. — — — Dumanoir. Defendant in default and bound to pay.
8. Roy *vs.* Ceard. Parties rederred before Mr. Roquet result pending.
9. J. B. Lanoue *alias* Boucher *vs.* LeComte. Defendant in default; must pay.
10. Du Four *vs.* La Douceur. Given security shall appear in Court.
11. Claude Bodson *vs.* Pierre Dreux. Claim allowed.

Councillor De Perry vs. Jacquet and Mesnaud. December 22, 1724. Further procedure ordered.

Larche vs. Petit de Livilliers. December 23, 1724. Notes found void because based on forbidden game. They shall be kept on file (the three returned by Mr. Thierry; fourth note is not produced). Costs on defendant; plaintiff is fined 100 francs in favor of Hospital. Future transgressors of the law against gambling are liable to 300 francs fine. Present ruling to be published and posted. (Larche is here named *Louis Quentin Jacques Larcheveque*).

Larche vs. Petit. December 23, 1724. Official form of decision reported under the preceding number.

Signed: Delachaise, Fazende, Perry.

King's Act of Pardon Sustained. December 23, 1724. The Council accedes to the petition of Nicolas Godefroy Barbin in the matter of granting entire force to a certain certificate of pardon vouchsafed him by His Majesty on November 19, 1720.

Slave Suit. De Nolan vs. Durand. December 28, 1724. Defendant argues that there was no question of a *bargain* with plaintiff, nor could slaves be transferred without the consent of official authority, not here invoked. If Mr. De Nolan virtualed the slaves in this case, he also had the benefit of their labor (lent him for putting up a forge). An adduced medical report is challenged as spurious. Further objections urged in refutation of plaintiff's claim.

Plaintiff sustained.

Summons to Pay Claim. December 29, 1724. Sheriff La Moriniere serves notice on Paulin Cadot to pay 100 francs to Julien Binard, or to the Sheriff on his behalf. The defendant refusing, he is forwarded of impending measures against his property.

Petition of Recovery. December 30, 1724. Louis Brissard, preparing to embark by the ship *La Bellone*, would first collect an account of 220 francs from Mr. Du Rivage (Durivage). Attached memorandum shows that Mr. Durivage acknowledges the like debit on 10th December, 1724.

Notice served on Mr. Durivage January 2, 1725.

Sheriff's Notice of Attachment. December 30, 1724. Proceedings in course of collecting the claim of 100 francs owing by Paulin Cadot to Julien Binard *alias* Laforgue. Cadot's house was found locked and Cadot absent. Sale of his property will be advertised in the customary form.

Decision Between De Nolan and Durand. December 30, 1724. Durand shall pay 150 francs in compensation for victuals and medicines on account of the negro in question.



**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.
REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF
AUGUST 24, 1912.**

Of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly, published quarterly at New Orleans, La., for October 1, 1917. State of Louisiana, Parish of Orleans. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and Parish aforesaid, personally appeared John Dymond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912. Publisher Louisiana Historical Society. Editor, Managing Editor, Business Manager, John Dymond, New Orleans, La. 2. That the owners are The Louisiana Historical Society and issue no stock. Officers are G. Cusachs, President; John Dymond, Sr., 1st Vice-President; W. O. Hart, Treasurer, and Bussiere Rouen, Corresponding Secretary, all New Orleans, La. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are None. John Dymond, Editor. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of January, 1918. (*Seal*). Augustus G. Williams, Notary Public, New Orleans, Louisiana.

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APRIL, 1918.



Joan of Arc Number

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JOAN OF ARC, THE MAID OF ORLEANS

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JOAN OF ARC; THE MAID OF ORLEANS

To us in this 20th Century who are asked to look back five hundred years and to consider the life of Joan of Arc in those days, we find the task a difficult one. The mysticism of those days was in full vogue, witchcraft was believed in and occult powers were not considered rare. Columbus had not yet discovered America and there were no railways, telegraphs, telephones, aeroplanes or submarines. How can we sit in judgment on the acts and conclusions of those days?

Of the military actions we have some knowledge and can perhaps by study place ourselves at least somewhat en rapport with those days. Four hundred years before Joan of Arc, William the Conqueror invaded and occupied England and did it so successfully that the English language contains thousands of words that came from the Latin by the way of the French language and in our daily speech these words of greater delicacy of expression are gradually superseding their Anglo-Saxon equivalents. England was made French by William the Conqueror and so very French and combative that four hundred years later, in Joan of Arc's day, England was holding under ther own control the larger part of France. The French people resented this, of course, and desired to drive back to England these invaders who, not content with the land gained by William the Conqueror, were now invading the land of their own forefathers.

To resist these invaders was the dream of Joan of Arc and the following pages will tell the story of her impressions, of her conclusions, and of her actions. With a sublime patriotism she attained a splendid success; by some errors of judgment she met with frightful

reverses and by actual treachery was turned over to the English, then the common enemy, and lost her life as a martyr to the cause of the country. Of indomitable courage, confident of success in her noble cause, patriotic and determined, she set an example of faith in her own final success that thousands of our own soldiers are now emulating. To those who would explain what Joan of Arc accomplished as the work of a hallucinée or of an exalted and overwrought temperament we can only repeat after the great bard that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in their philosophy.

To understand Joan's liberating mission we must go back to the previous reign of Charles VI, father of the Dauphin whom Joan brought to Rheims to be crowned King of France. Under an insane King and a depraved queen France was then in a deplorable condition. It was at the time of the great schism of Occident and state and church were divided. Henry V, of Lancaster, King of England, thought the moment propitious to claim the crown of France as a descendant from Philippe le Bel by the female line. The salic law existed in France and the right of Charles to the throne was incontestable, but England felt strong against a kingdom shaken by internal divisions, and though the French princes, feeling their weakness, made humiliating concessions, Henry V invaded France, landing at the present site of Havre. He conquered Normandy after desperate resistance and expelled all those who would not recognize him as King of France. Then followed the battles of Poitiers, Crecy, and Agincourt where the French, powerless against overwhelming numbers, "could only die bravely." Henry V pursued his conquests, treating resistance as rebellion. During the siege of Rouen the French tried to negotiate with the King of England but he would listen to no proposals of peace and laid siege to Rouen which had belonged to France since the reigns of John Lackland and Philip Augustus. The burghers who could leave the town left with the clothes they wore and two sous each. Rouen then became the scene of the first of the two executions which gave it renown, that of the immortal patriot, Alain Blanchard on whom the English satiated their fury for his heroic resistance. Civil war reigned in the other part of France; the Duke of Burgundy took Paris to revenge his father's assassination and swore allegiance to the King of England. The princes of the fleurs de lys summoned the English Ambassadors to Arras and made terms through them with Henry V, giving him Catherine de Valois, of France in marriage and recognizing him as King of France after the decease of Charles VII, and turning over to

him the greater part of the kingdom. The demented King signed this treaty under coercion of the wicked queen, Isabella of Bavaria, thereby disinheriting his son and handing France over to England. Henry took the title of Regent and heir of France and left for London to have his wife, Catherine, crowned queen of England. Henry V died in 1422 leaving an infant son, and Charles VI lived but a few weeks longer. At his death the Duke of Bedford, Regent of England, proclaimed Henry VI, King of France.

Charles, Dauphin of France, was then twenty years old, of a vacillating disposition, easily influenced, fond of pleasure, obstinate in his worst decisions, too indolent to exert himself and rise to the requirements of the moment, and lacking the fineness of feeling which could stir him to gratitude or appreciation. Queen Isabella of Bavaria and Duke Philip of Burgundy thought when they made the treaty of Arras that it would matter little to the ignorant, miserable people, used to servitude, whether they were under France or England, but indignation roused all who were not in the provinces occupied by the English to side with the Dauphin Charles. With all his weaknesses he represented the national party, all rallied to it and "le petit Roi de Bourges" as he was called reigned in their hearts, but the power of France seemed to have departed forever, when from the forest of Domremi, as had been foretold, came the liberator.

The hamlet of Domremi was a narrow strip of land lying between French and German territory. There, on Kings' day, January 6th, 1412, was born the humble shepherdess who was to save France and sacrifice her own life as the price of that deliverance. An ancient prophecy attributed to Merlin, the Celt, had come down through the centuries that the harm done by a depraved woman would be undone by a virgin, and that what the great and strong had failed to accomplish would be achieved by a lowly woman.

Of this prophecy Joan may not have known, but rumors of the strife and distress in the kingdom had reached that distant village fringed by forests of firs. She had fled with her family and the inhabitants before English and Burgundian soldiers, and had returned after their passage to find the church burnt and the village and her home pillaged. At the fifth centennial of Joan's birth (1912) this house still stood. There she lived with her father Jacques d'Arc, her mother, Isabella Voucthon, so called from her natal village, and surnamed Romée on account of a pilgrimage to Rome; she had a sister, Catherine, and three brothers Jacques, Jean and Pierre. There are still descendants of these brothers in France, bearing the name d'Arc. The family was ennobled in 1429 under the title of de

Lys. Near her home was the famous beech tree called the "Fairies' tree," or "le beau Mai" on which the village girls hung garlands of flowers; it is mentioned in many accounts of Joan's life as her favorite resort and was brought up at her trial in connection with the accusation of witchcraft. At the revision of the trial of Rouen the villagers who had known her testified that she went rarely to this tree. In her village she was called Jeanette as she told her judges: "In my country they called me Jeanette. Since my coming to France, they named me Jeanne. I was born at Domremi, which is one with the borough of Greux * * * * * I believe I am aged nineteen." She could neither read nor write, but "as to sewing and spinning she feared no woman in Rouen." Joan was but thirteen years old when she first heard the "voices" which were to lead her to victory and to a martyr's crown.

She believed that St. Michael, archangel of victory, guardian of France, came to her in a nimbus of light; at times he was accompanied by St. Gabriel, strength of God, and other angels, and St. Catherine and St. Margaret spoke to her often. From thirteen to sixteen she went about her daily duties faithfully, continually hearing the "voices" and the feeling growing stronger that the time had come for her to fulfil their behest. Her path was not an easy one but she allowed no obstacles to impede her mission. Her father would have preferred to drown her in the pond than to see her go among soldiers. She had been bidden to seek the Sieur Robert de Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and to him she went, accompanied by an uncle, Bernard Paxart and a cousin. Baudricourt at first repulsed her but decided to send her to the King after she had given him proof of what seemed superhuman knowledge of a battle lost near Rouvray, which information could not reach him before several days, and which in that time was fully confirmed. Joan chafed under Baudricourt's hesitancy and declared that she must reach the King before Lent, if to do so, she "should wear out her legs to the knees, that none but herself could deliver France, that she would much prefer to remain at her spindle and distaff, near her poor mother, but "God willed it and she must go." In a letter written for her she begged forgiveness of her parents for the grief she inflicted. She cut her long hair and changed her peasant's dress for a military equipment, paid for by the villagers of Vaucouleurs. Her uncle and a rustic friend bought her a spotlessly white plough horse and Baudricourt handed her an ancient sword, telling her: "Go and come what may." As she passed through the gates of Vaucouleurs, transfigured by faith and joy that she had at last begun her mission, the peasants thronged around her to cheer her;

to their expressed pity she replied, "Do not pity me, I was born for this," and she went where the voices bade, her heart torn by separation from her family, disdainful of earthly love, her motto from then to the end: "God wills it."

The escort tendered by Baudricourt consisted of six armed men, and with them this girl of seventeen, in full winter, led the way through snow and a devastated country, passing unharmed and unnoticed, like an invisible wraith, through regions occupied by English soldiers, until she arrived at Chinon, in Touraine, where Charles VII held his court.

Martin, in his *Hist. Populaire de France*, says that the dowager queen Yolande advised her son-in-law, Charles VII, to send for Joan; that the favorites George de la Tremoille and Regnault de Chartres, bishop of Rheims, who ruled the King and hoped to continue to reign, under his name, over the southern provinces, only remaining shreds of Charles' kingdom, could not brook the idea of any one coming between them and Charles to disturb their calculations and dissuaded him. They called her a lunatic and a witch and the discussions and quarrels lasted four days before Charles VII consented to grant her an audience.

Joan was ushered into the great reception hall of the chateau at Chinon. Fifty torches shed their flickering light over three hundred magnificently attired courtiers, the ladies with flowing veils had their trains held up by pages; the Count of Bourbon occupied the throne and the King, plainly dressed, was lost in the crowd. Without hesitating Joan went up to Charles and on her knees greeted him: "God give you long life, my prince." Charles indicated Bourbon, on the throne, as king. "In the name of God," she said, "you and no other are the King. Put me to work and our country will soon be saved. I am sent by God to succor you and your kingdom and put the English out of France. Why do you not believe me, I tell you God has taken pity on your kingdom and your people." She then asked to speak to him privately and proved the genuineness of her mission by the revelation of a question which had long harrassed his soul, and to which she brought the God given answer. The King sent her to an ecclesiastical tribunal at Poitiers, where, in a body, were the members of parliament and those of the University of Paris who had not gone over to the King of England. These learned doctors were not disposed to believe that it was given to a child to accomplish what had been denied to many great and wise men. All efforts to disconcert her failed and her answers were grand in their truth and simplicity. "Do you believe in God?" asked one of the

Doctors." "Better than you do," she promptly answered, and as he declared that no faith could be put in her words unless she showed a miracle, "Lead me to Orleans," she replied, "and I will show you the miracles for which I am sent. "Give me soldiers, as few as you choose, and, in God's name, I will raise the siege of Orleans and will bring the Dauphin to Rheims to be anointed and crowned; I will return Paris to him after his coronation and will obtain restitution of his kingdom. There is no use for so many words; it is no longer time to talk but to act."—H. Martin, *Hist. Populaire de France*.

As the Doctors searched the scriptures before deciding, she exclaimed; "There is more in God's books than in yours." After long deliberation this tribunal of Poitiers, appointed by civil and ecclesiastical authority, approved and accepted her mission. The finding of this tribunal was not brought forward to refute the iniquitous sentence of the tribunal of Rouen bound to satisfy the vengeance of the English.

Charles, on the strength of this decision, presented her with a white armor, and offered her a sword, but Joan protested that she would have no sword but that of St. Catherine de Fierbois, marked with five small crosses. It was found where the voices indicated and she carried it to victory.

She herself devised her banner and it was made at Tours: "On one side Christ seated on a cloud, in his left hand a globe, symbol of universal royalty; his right hand extended blessing the lily, (symbol of France.), presented by kneeling angels; below, the words Jesus, Marie. On the reverse figured the shield of France with its three fleurs de lis, carried by angels."—(Abbe Courbe.)

Before beginning operations against the enemy Joan despatched a courier to the besieging forces with the following summons:

"King of England, and you, Duke of Bedford, who call yourself Regent of the Kingdom of France, and you William, Count of Suffolk, return to Joan, who is here sent by God, King of Heaven, the keys of all the good towns you have taken in France.

"She is ready to make peace if you will consider reason and leave France. And you, Archers and Companions in war, who are before Orleans, go away, return to your country, by the will of God, and if you do not, await news of Joan who will soon visit you to your great damage.

"King of England, if you do not comply with this request, as chief of this war, in whatsoever spot I find your retainers on the soil of France, I shall force them to leave it whether they will or not. I am sent by God to put you out of the whole of France. If you

refuse to believe this from God and Joan, when we come to blows, we we will see who is right. Answer if you desire peace in the city of Orleans, if you do not there will ensue great damages which you will remember."

Joan soon put her threats into effect. Under her heavy armor she held herself as if she had always worn it, and grandly rode at the head of her troops, under her own banner. She ordered her troops to attack the strongest position of the English and the captains, uncertain of her ability, led their forces where the enemy was weakest." "You thought," said Joan, "to deceive me and you have deceived yourselves, the counsels of God are surer than yours." To carry out her plan they had to cross the river Loire, she declared that the wind would veer; it did and the boats passed safely under the English cannons. That night she entered Orleans, mounted on her white horse, her banner in hand, amidst the wildest acclamations. Martin, in his "Hist. de France," says that these bold soldiers of England, so used to conquer that they would not have feared the most renowned warriors, were afraid of this child and believed themselves bewitched by her. Whilst Joan took a moment's rest, the French attacked one of the English bastions and were repulsed. Joan started from her sleep crying "the blood of France flows," and mounting her horse led the troops from defeat to victory. The English fell back and fortified themselves in the fort of Tournelles which the French captains advised her not to attack without re-enforcements; Joan, heedless of their advice, led the army against them, planted a ladder against the bulwark and went up first, Wounded by an arrow she halted long enough to have her wound attended to, and galloped back in time to enter as Tournelles was carried by the French. The demoralized English troops evacuated this region on the following day. Joan protected the fugitives from her soldiers, saying that she was satisfied to see them depart and asked nothing else. The enemy abandoned their sick and wounded, their artillery and baggage and retreated beyond the Loire to the country they had previously occupied. This army was to have finished the conquest of France, and Joan routed it in two campaigns of a week each. In the town which Joan liberated she is still commemorated yearly on the 8th of May.

She again urged the French King to come to Rheims to be anointed and crowned, repeating: "I shall not last much longer than a year, employ me well." In the month following these exploits she took Meung and Beaugencie and made the Count of Suffolk prisoner. The King hesitated and did not wish to follow Joan to Rheims.

According to ancient chronicles Charles had three vices; he was unstable, suspicious and envious, and historians of the time record that the great love of the people for Joan excited his jealousy. He refused to go to Rheims but the clamoring of the troops rose to a menace and forced him to accede to her request. There was a large extent of country to cover and conquer before reaching Rheims, but Joan, full of faith and confidence, led her troops on. When they reached Troyes they were without money, provisions or artillery, and, after a siege of five days, Charles convoked his council secretly, but Joan during the deliberation knocked loudly at the door and told the King to order the attack on Troyes, that the following day he would be master of the city. The place resisted until Joan's banner floated over the ramparts and then capitulated. Here she met some of the villagers of Demromi who had come to see her pass in glory; she treated them with the same frank affection she had been wont to show them in former days; they expressed astonishment at her boldness and asked her if she feared not death and she answered that she feared nothing but treason.

When they arrived at Rheims the inhabitants expelled their Burgundian governor and sent the keys of the city to Charles. On the morning of the coronation Queen Yolande arrived with her son, René d'Anjou, whom she had wedded to the daughter of the duke of Lorraine, and thereby brought Lorraine back to Charles' side. Whilst the archbishop anointed Charles and crowned him King of France, Joan stood at his side near the altar, holding her banner, and after the coronation threw herself at the King's feet telling him that her mission was accomplished; but Charles in his triumph had for the moment forgotten his jealousy and ordered her to remain near him. Joan had urged the Duke of Burgundy to be present at the coronation; instead of answering her call he had renewed his alliance with the English, and he and Bedford went to Paris to change the magistrates of whose sympathies they were not certain; they assembled the parliament, the university of Paris and the principal inhabitants of the city, exposed their plans and thus thought to hold Paris, and Charles, with his usual procrastination gave them ample time to fortify it and make it almost impregnable. Joan attacked Paris but was repulsed and wounded owing to the manoeuvres of the favorites who handicapped every effort she made. After her victory at St. Pierre le Moutier she was sent to Laon and her failure at this place gave the favorites the pretext, so eagerly sought for, to prevent other undertakings.

Joan determined to relieve Compiègne which the Duke of Burgundy had besieged. A few months previous she had been through this city and Agnes Sorel beautifully describes her passage, the crowd eager to see her, the children sending kisses, the aged weeping, and young girls strewing her path with flowers. This time she came to meet her doom, for jealousy, intrigues and revenge had culminated into treason. Régnauld de Chartres was then in the city and Flavy, governor of Compiègne was related to him and protected by George de la Trémoille. They have gone down to posterity strongly suspected and Martin avers that if Flavy did not betray her beforehand he did nothing to save her. Frenchmen pulled her banner to the ground, and she was taken and brought to Margui. The English celebrated this victory over an overpowered woman as grandly as they had celebrated the victory of Agincourt. Régnauld de Chartres rejoiced, and the English clergy looked on this prisoner with the glee of the tiger at the sight of blood. The infamous Cauchon was the intermediary between Bedford and the vassal of Burgundy who had taken her, and, with his own hand, paid the price set on her. She was transferred from one prison to another until she was finally brought to Rouen and put in an iron cage, and afterwards chained by her neck, hands and feet to a post in the centre of her dungeon. The University pleaded with Bedford to have her tried in Paris, but England was not too sure of Paris. The archiepiscopal see of Rouen was then vacant, but, under menace of Bedford, the Bishop of Beauvols was allowed to proceed against Joan in a diocese which was not his. The inquisition had long been a dead letter in France and was revived by Cauchon only to serve his purpose. He convened a tribunal to try her in the chapel of Rouen. In it were more than forty assessors, most of them taken from the University of Paris, the rest from Normandy. The tribunal of Poitiers was convened to judge her, that of Rouen to condemn her. The text is still extant of a letter from the University of Paris calling Cauchon to account for his procrastination in bringing his victim to trial: "If your Paternity (Paternité) had shown more diligence this woman would now be before her judges." (Ayrolles). On the same date the University congratulated the King of England on his having in his possession the "woman called the Maid," and pressed him to have her judged and punished by an ecclesiastical tribunal. Joan of Arc claimed her right to an ecclesiastical prison and to female attendants, but Cauchon was deaf to entreaties and protests, and she remained exposed to the railery and insults of five barbarous soldiers, three within her prison and the other two at the door, and was only saved from greater indignities

by the indignation and protection of the Duchess of Bedford; but she was powerless to obtain justice for her and save her from death. After five months of torture, physically weak, but strong of spirit, she was brought before her judges and underwent interrogatories which generally lasted five hours. She seemed, says Martin, "to judge her judges." Cauchon presided over this so called ecclesiastical court," belonging to the church," says Ayrrolles, "as much as the wolf under the shepherd's cloak belongs to the fold." Joan reiterated her demand for a court authorized to judge her, for doctors and priests of her party and Cauchon insolently answered that the King of England had ordered him to try her and that he would obey. Two of the Normans protested against the proceedings; one was imprisoned and the other returned to Normandy. Cauchon himself, amazed by her simple eloquence, uttered the words which were afterwards judicially transcribed: "She speaks admirably of her revelations." (Trial Doc.)

Exposed to the reviling crowd on the pillory of St. Ouen, she retained her dignified bearing notwithstanding the mitre of shame which crowned her girlish head. To overcome Joan's firmness in truth, which they classed as obstinacy, it was suggested to submit her to torture, though there was a law forbidding to inflict it on women, children, or weak persons. Of thirteen judges two voted for this abomination: Courcelles one of the instigators of the schism, and Loysel, unworthy priest and spy, whom Cauchon had taken from the University of Paris. Quicherat describes the University of Paris as it was then: "an ecclesiastical body, almost secular in its attributes, independent by its privileges, dominating the Gallician church to which it imparted its spirit." It was wholly under the control of the Duke of Burgundy and of England and Joan was doomed. That her fate had been decided before she faced her judges is proven by Bedford's reproach to Cauchon when he thought that some justice would be shown her. After the pretended retraction he accused him of having let her escape: "Be quiet," replied Cauchon, "we will get her again."

A month before her execution, Joan was very ill and physicians were called in, not to relieve her, but to save her from a natural death, for declared Warwick, the King had paid a high price for her and intended that she should be burned at the stake by decree of court. (Proces. Doc.)

"Be careful," said Joan to the Bishop of Beauvais, "to judge wisely, for, in truth, I am sent by God. Whether you send me to

death or not the English will none the less be put out of France, excepting those who remain as corpses."

Among the seventy articles of accusation was one denouncing the veneration of the crowds for the young virgin; he stated that there were images of her in the basilicas, medals representing her, and that the people considered her more as an angel than a woman. Cauchon afterwards reduced these seventy articles to twelve, eliminating all brutal insults, leaving only what would justify her condemnation.

When they asked her if she submitted to the church, (they should have specified the church as represented by Cauchon), Joan answered that she had been sent by the triumphant church and that she submitted all she had done to that church, that she preferred death to denial of her mission. Then, feeling that she had sealed her fate, she asked for a woman's garment to go to death. She was not tortured but the University of Paris advised the King to hand her over to secular justice, as soon as possible, to pay the penalty of her crimes and praised that beast of prey, Cauchon, "for having stopped the spread of the venom with which a perfidious woman had infected the western cradle of Christianity." When the decision of the University was transmitted to Joan she protested that she would affirm all that she had said even in the flames, unto death. She received her sentence in the cemetery of St. Ouen and here again defended her ungrateful King.

Worn out by ill treatment, the strain of her trial and bodily weakness, at the sight of the fatal cart and the executioner her courage faltered for a moment and she murmured: "I will obey the church." When Cauchon produced the formula which was read to her and which she signed it was simply a submission to the church. "I prefer," she said, "to sign than to burn." She was but nineteen, when life is at its best; she had no dreams of a possible future, gilded by love, which would help her to drift peacefully and happily to the age when all dreams are but memories, for her whole being had merged into intense faith in her mission, but youth was in her heart and soul, it was hard to give up the joy of living, the sun, the air, the breath of the flowers, and above all the satisfaction of success before its complete achievement. Still she did not lose faith in her voices. She declared that they had promised her deliverance and had kept that promise by delivering her from sin and hatred to give her heaven. They gave her the long robe she had requested, they placed on her head the mitre of shame and she ascended the cart of doom; then a man, harried by remorse, from out of the crowd, reached her side,

and in halting, sobbing accents, with gestures of despair, implored her forgiveness for his share in her death. With angelic mercy Joan granted this pardon, but to posterity the name of Loyseleur will ever remain one of infamy. All the English troops were on foot and 800 men formed her escort to the funeral pyre; these forces were necessary, for Martin tells us that, if it had been possible, the grief of the populace would have turned into insurrection.

The English had ordered her ashes to be thrown into the Seine and when the executioner came to carry out this order he found that her heart had escaped immolation, but not desecration, since it was thrown into the river with her ashes. It had survived the holocaust just as her great love for France and France's love for her have survived through five centuries and still brings inspiration to her people.

Dunand in "Jeanne D'Arc d'apres les documents" comparing the Joan of Arc of the Fifteenth century, of the University of Paris, and the Joan of loyal Frenchmen of today, says that two very different pictures were presented by the personages who tried and condemned her and by those who had daily witnessed her life and her sincerity and testified at the revision of the trial of Rouen.

The bishop of Beauvais in falsifying testimony and forging incriminating documents to besmirch her memory, in trying to attach to it the stain of imposture and perjury sought to cover his own perfidy.

Mr. Achille Luchaire of the University of Paris does not mince his words. "I shall never," declared he, "cover with my guarantee the strange posthumous document added to the trial, which bears no signature, and which a recorder (greffier) has formally refused to validate. I admire the blind confidence of scientists who answer for the historical value of the requisitory of 70 articles and for that of the 12 submitted to the University of Paris." Speaking of the scene in the cemetery of St. Ouen, where Joan is said to have signed a retraction, the learned Doctor affirms that no one will vouch that the short cedula read to her and signed by her was the same one transcribed by Cauchon in Latin and in French in the minutes of the trial. He writes that a certificate of loyalty and sincerity should be awarded to the bishop of Beauvais, whom Anatole France calls a scoundrel (*un scélérat*), or that all the witnesses who testified at the revision of the trial of Rouen should be classed as perjurers.

The English did not evacuate Rouen before 1449 and in 1450 the King of France ordered Bouille to go over the documents of Joan of Arc's trial of 1430. On request of her relatives, the revision was ordered by the Pope and strongly seconded by the tardy gratitude of

Charles VII. Her mother had the satisfaction of seeing her rehabilitation two years before her death, and the people of France from that day honored her as their saint. Not the people were ungrateful nor forgetful but the weak, indolent King who left her linger in prison without protest, and finally allowed her to be burnt at the stake without claiming his right to ransom her, and without questioning the right of the infamous Cauchon and the anti-papal University of Paris to sit in judgment on their victim.

Through five centuries the efforts made to belittle Joan of Arc have not succeeded, and from one of the most eager to achieve this task comes her best defense, for he has combined in one work the documents of the trial of Rouen and those of the revision and rehabilitation.

Michelet, cited by Ayrolles as one of those who tried to explain Joan's "hallucination," analyses her character: "The originality of the maid was not mostly in her valiance nor in her visions but in her *good sense*. Without knowing it, she created, it may be said, and realized her own ideas; from the treasures of her own virginal life she communicated to them an omnipotent existence before which paled the miserable realities of this world."—(Michelet, Hist. de France.) Does this carry persuasion, does it explain satisfactorily the knowledge which came to her of things she did not see nor hear of? Of fifteen predictions simply given by her as messages from above, eleven were realized during her lifetime and the others were verified after her death.

Now, let us cite another wiseacre, Quicherat, who has studied and judged this world and the one beyond it: "The idea I form of the little girl of Domremi is that of a serious and religious child, gifted to the highest degree with that intelligence apart which we meet only in superior men of primitive societies. Generally alone in church or in the fields, she was absorbed in profound communion of thought with the saints whose images she contemplated in the heavens where her eyes seemed often to be fixed. To that fountain, those trees, those woods, sanctified by superstition as old as the world, she communicated her sublime anxiety, and in their murmur she tried to discern the accents of her heart—moved by the sufferings of men, by the spectacle of war, confirmed in the faith that a just cause should be defended at the price of any sacrifice; she saw her duty."—(Nouveaux aperçus de Jeanne d'Arc.) Fine words, but sophisms!

He too, is a dreamer trying to deny reality because it appears to him strange and improbable. Ayrolles declares that the peasants of Domremi testified that Joan was not a dreamy child, that she tended

the flocks but rarely, followed her father to his labor, helped him to cultivate the ground and in her home performed a woman's occupations sewing, spinning and even seeing to the cattle. Days so full of work did not allow her much leisure to "remain with her eyes fixed on the skies."

Joan of Arc is held in veneration by all nations. Queen Victoria of England ordered a painting of the Maid of Orleans for her private apartments, and among the prelates chosen to pass judgment on her life there was one from England.

"Joan of Arc," writes Dunand, "is more than an individuality in the history of the civilized world. She is the personification of the French soul, full of faith and chivalry, and that soul may be oppressed but never suppressed." For all minds fine enough to understand her, she will always remain a radiant incarnation of purity, faithfulness, courage and patriotism, and the embodiment of all the characteristics which made France the cradle of chivalry, and in our day, gains her recognition as a peer among nations.

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT.



THE FRENCH CONSUL'S ADDRESS

Address Delivered by Mr. E. F. Genoyer de Bournety, Consul of France, at the Joan of Arc Celebration Held at the Cabildo Under the Auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society, May 1st, 1918.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, Gentlemen:

I am to be congratulated on having been invited as a representative of my government to take part in this night's imposing ceremony, and in being able to join you in the pious homage paid to the great French Maid.

It does not behoove me to enter into lengthy details. Others have told of the ideal and unique glory surrounding her chaste forehead with the purest and most luminous halo, before your dazzled eyes has suddenly risen the exalted vision of the sweet child of Domremy, whose countenance, at first indistinct, is suddenly illumined when she becomes conscious of the liberating mission devolved on her. With melancholy and almost severe gravity the young girl, erect and proudly mounted on her mighty steed, rises in history as the symbol of calm confidence in civic virtues, of unalterable faith in imminent justice, and, above all, as the symbol of victorious patriotism.

However, I would wish to invoke that mysterious influence, generator of sublime self-sacrifice, which in the wind of battles ripples the folds of Joan's banner, hovering during five centuries over our race, giving to its children in tragic hours the calm strength of defenders of the right, immovable rock against which are ever unfurled the impotent waves of despotism and barbarism.

Never has our national heroine abandoned us. Today as yesterday and tomorrow the palladium of her memory protects us. It floats as a fiery breath over there, over the trenches, where, with courage probably unconscious of its origin, and scant realization of the infinite power of the chaste talisman he holds the glorious poilu of the Marne, of the Somme leaps forward to the conquest of happiness for future generations, in his heart the same abnegation, the same spirit of whole souled devotedness and self-sacrifice, the same faith in his mission and the same certainty of victory, and moreover, with the joy of knowing that if he falls before the final triumph, at

least by his fall, he opens the way to those back of him who will bring to the world a new era of justice and liberty.

But Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot selfishly claim solely for my countrymen the inspiration of Joan's example and her protection. Like us you have pledged her the most fervent cult; she belongs to you by the rights which worshippers acquire to the revered object. I shall say more, she belongs to all nations of the universe worthy of her, being one of those immortal figures that dominate time and space, and before whom national frontiers crumble.

Certainly she is yours by justice and right, yours by solid ties, perhaps as much as ours, for you have followed the path outlined by her virtue creating enthusiasm, and your act has repeated five centuries later her act of liberation.

Young America rising to claim the honor of defending what is just and right is another Joan of Arc, dashing forward for the deliverance of the world. Before your legions in greenish khaki, on the distant battle fields, over there, across the Atlantic, I see a virgin sword, scintillating and invincible leading us to entire victory.



THE STATUETTE OF JOAN OF ARC; ITS PRESENTATION AND ACCEPTANCE

As stated elsewhere in this issue of THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, the statuette of Joan of Arc presented by the New York Museum of French Art, through its Vice-President, Honorable J. Sanford Saltus, to the Louisiana Historical Society on May, 1 1918, was accepted on behalf of the Society by Hon. Andre Lafargue, and in the following terms.

*Mr. Consul, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,
My Fellow American Citizens:*

"I am deeply grateful to my colleagues of the Louisiana Historical Society for the great honor which they have conferred upon me by selecting me as their spokesman, to acknowledge and accept on their behalf the beautiful, artistic and most ornate statue presented to our Society, but a minute ago, with such feeling eloquence and in such an impressive manner, by Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, Vice-President of the Museum of French Art, the generous donor.

"We are thankful to the Museum of French Art, and to Mr. Saltus, its representative, not only for the gift itself, which we prize very highly and to which we have given a place of honor in our precious collection of historic relics and valued donations, but likewise for the thoughtfulness and happy inspiration that prompted its presentation at so opportune a time.

"I am sure that had the donor consulted us and had we given mature deliberation to the matter, we should have chosen unhesitatingly just such a gift and would have asked that it be made at just such a time. In fact, it might be proper to state here that the delegation which France would have sent to New Orleans to attend the Bi-Centennial festivities which it had been contemplated would be held this year, and which we have had to postpone on account of the exigencies of the present war situation, intended to present our beloved city with a bronze replica of the equestrian statue of Joan of Arc as it stands today on the Place du Martroi, at Orleans, the elder sister city, on the banks of the River Loire, in France.

"The Museum of French Art has therefore made to our Society, and through it to the people of New Orleans, a most timely gift, and one which we shall ever associate with the two hundredth anni-

versary of the founding of our great metropolis by Bienville and his doughty companions.

"At all times we of Orleans—a city whose name is almost similar to that of the old French city, which Joan of Arc rescued some five hundred years ago and restored to its rightful owners—have held in deep reverence and profound admiration the memory of the gentle shepherdess of Lorraine, whose wonderful career and supernatural achievements, whose purity of life and intense patriotism, whose angelic piety and steadfastness of purpose, and whose indomitable will and heroic martyrdom, we have always contended, constitute the most beautiful and soul-inspiring example that Christian civilization has ever recorded. And in this, our time of need and sore trial, when we are called upon to exercise and display so many of the qualities of mind and heart which the Maid of Orleans was supernaturally endowed with, we look to her for comfort and renewed inspiration.

"In spirit she must have hovered over the gallant soldiers who saved the day for civilization on the banks of the Marne, who stemmed the hordes of barbarism on the Yser, and who later on at Verdun faced the enemy proudly and said in thunderous tones, 'On ne passe pas'—'You will not pass,' and as of yore, when she led her countrymen to victory and to undying fame, clad in her coat of mail and holding in her right hand her fluttering pennant, she must have appeared to the soldiers of France, or her martial image must have filled their minds, whenever the poilus had to contend with a foe vastly superior to them in number and equipment. Invisibly, but none the less surely and effectively, the wonderful example of Joan of Arc has endowed her countrymen of today with a spiritual and moral force that has made them absolutely invincible.

"She is the faithful guardian angel of her beloved France and through her shining example, one that has fired her countrymen of today to deeds of valor and heroism unheard of before, she fights for her native land as she did five hundred years ago, at a time when there was but little left of the Kingdom of France and when an invading foe, aided by the Burgundians themselves, was about to establish his supremacy over the fair land of Clovis, of Charles Martel and of St. Louis.

"Nearly five hundred years have elapsed since the Maid of Orleans was burned at the stake in the old Market Square at Rouen, but time has not effaced from the memory of her countrymen the wonderful and well-nigh miraculous image of the young shepherdess of Domremy, of the humble peasant girl, who single-handed and though beset by difficulties and confronted with obstacles that would

have appeared hopelessly insurmountable to one possessed of less strength of character and of less devotion to her native land, accomplished that which the then uncrowned and vacillating King of France and his foremost generals had failed to bring about, namely, the restoration of the Kingdom of France to the legitimate royal house and the raising of the sieges of all the important places which the English and the Burgundians had established south of Paris.

"Joan of Arc's achievements shine today with an incomparable lustre which years can never bedim or efface. The little village of Domremy, standing today, as of yore, in all of its simplicity and rustic grace, on the banks of the River Meuse, along which the Maid of Orleans was wont to lead her flock of gentle sheep to their pasture lands near Vaucouleurs, is visited yearly by thousands of Frenchmen and people from all over the world who go there to pay homage due to the memory of the Maid of Orleans. How well do I remember the place, with its narrow and tortuous main street, on each side of which old-time low-roofed stone structures stand. The village is situated right close to the Meuse, which an old-time stone bridge spans almost in front of the house where Joan of Arc was born. Standing in the middle of the bridge one has a wonderful view of the stream as it meanders in the distance. The house where the Maid of Orleans was born is built of stone and is topped by a long slanting roof, one end of which nearly touches the ground. It is a very simple and modest-looking habitation, one which the peasants of the time of the better class used as a dwelling. It has not been altered in any way and doubtless would the gentle Joan of Arc ever come back to life she would recognize it unhesitatingly as the one in which she spent the greater part of her brief but none the illustrious career.

"From earliest infancy to the day on which she breathed her last words, 'O France, O my beloved King,' while the great flames that arose from the funeral pyre curled about her virginal form, she set an example of self-sacrifice and of heroic devotion to her native country, which we may well follow in the troublesome times that we are going through.

"Never has history at any time recorded greater love of country than that which Joan of Arc showed. She had truly made the supreme sacrifice from the day that her heavenly visitations impelled her to the unshakable belief that her mission in this world was to save the Kingdom of France.

From that time unto the hour of her death her sole and uppermost thought, her only purpose in life, whatever the cost, whatever the sacrifice, were to rescue France from the hands of the enemy and

to see that the rightful ruler of that country came back into his own. She cared nothing for worldly honors nor was she deterred in her heaven-appointed mission by the petty jealousies and dark intrigues which her military successes gave rise to. After she had had the young King crowned and anointed in solemn pomp in the great basilica at Rheims—which the sacrilegious and barbarous Teutons of today have demolished—she might well have considered that her task was at an end. On the day that she stood near the main altar of the Cathedral of Rheims, like an angel of light and celestial beauty, wearing shining coat of mail and grasping firmly the white standard emblazoned with the name of God and of her country, while Charles VII was being proclaimed to his attendants in martial array, King of France, she had reached the crowning point of her career.

"She was the well-beloved of her countrymen, they all hailed her, and rightfully so, as the savior of the Kingdom of France; she was the idol of the populace, and had she so desired she could have spent the balance of her life in ease, in luxury, and loaded with honors. She was greater than the King himself, for she had done that which the King without her assistance could have never accomplished. She had truly saved France. But Joan of Arc, in her great love for her country, felt that her mission was not ended. The foe was still in France. Paris was still in the hands of the enemy. There was further need for her soul-inspiring example. She knew that her presence and her leadership were an incentive to noble and heroic deeds. And so, while well aware of the many plots that were being hatched for her ultimate downfall by those who were jealous of what she had accomplished and while conscious of the fact that the King himself was showing but little gratitude for what she had done she remained with the French Army and kept up the fight against the enemy until betrayed and forsaken by those for whom she had made such heroic sacrifices, she fell into the hands of the Burgundians at Compeigne, after being seriously wounded. She was subsequently sold and turned over to the English, who had her tried by a mixed ecclesiastical and laical tribunal that condemned her to be burned alive on the old Market Place at Rouen.

"Has history furnished at any time a nobler or more soul-inspiring example of self-sacrifice than the one set by the Maid of Orleans? I think not. Joan was but a frail and youthful peasant girl, who might well have shrunk from the great and crushing task which she knew Providence had assigned to her. She was but a plain and uneducated young woman, who knew little of the world and who might well have felt that her life should not be spent amid the clash of

arms and in the company of rude and untutored soldiers. She must have time and again pleaded with her heavenly visitors to spare her the ordeals and bitter trials that she knew would come to her while discharging her mission. But from the day that the full consciousness grew upon her that her country was being sorely tried and that her intervention might save it, like the true French heroine that she was she answered the call fearlessly, though this meant that she had to part once and forever from her dear ones, her beloved native village and from all the alluring and appealing scenes of her girlhood. Her patriotism, her love of country, were such as to transfigure her completely. In the eyes of her countrymen she no longer appeared as a frail and youthful peasant girl.

"When she rode at their head astride her white charger, leading them to the fray and setting an example of bravery and valor such as they had never seen before on the part of a woman, she must have looked to them as an angel of Heaven, descended from the clouds, to point the way to victory and undying fame. From that time her image has ever been present to the mind of the soldiers of France whenever they have charged the enemy. It is not surprising, therefore that they should have seen Joan of Arc descend from Heaven in a cloud of glory to lead them to victory on the banks of the Marne. The 'Miracle of the Marne' is thus explained. Her heavenly sponsors, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Marguerite and St. Catherine, had once more given her the opportunity of saving France, and thereby the world at large.

"Well may we look therefore to her for sustenance and inspiration in this hour of peril and national ordeal. Well may we follow her wonderful example of unbounded patriotism and of all that it calls for in the way of sacrifice and stoicism. The time has come indeed when our country demands of us the full measure of our love and devotion. Shall we be found wanting? Shall it be said that we are not worthy of the sacred patrimony of liberty handed down to us by our illustrious forefathers? Or shall we, like the Maid of Orleans, respond to our country's call, clad in the shining armor of justice and grasping in our hands the flaming sword of American righteousness of civilization, so that through the supreme sacrifice made by our boys on the altar of the country and through our own sufferings we may spare future generations the horrors and the toll of war?

"Joan of Arc, thou pure and gentle maid; thou, whose love of country knew no bounds; who willingly and cheerfully gave up thy life for the sake of thy native land, teach us how to be stout of

heart, strong of mind and brave of soul, at this, the great crisis of our nation. 'Lead thou us on.'

"Maid of Orleans, thou gallant and immortal spirit, give us the ardor and the courage, the fortitude and the indomitable will to win on the battle-field and to practice at home the civic virtues which alone can bring us full and final victory. 'Lead thou us on.'

"As thou didst, some five hundred years ago, when thou didst lead the French armed hosts, show our lads in France the way to victory and to immortality. 'Lead thou them on.'

"All hail to thee, thou heavenly martial spirit. New Orleans and its inhabitants are proud to have been made the custodians of thy beautiful and soul-inspiring image. We gladly place ourselves under thy protection and spiritual leadership. 'Lead thou us on.' "



**PRESENTATION OF THE STATUETTE OF JOAN OF ARC
TO THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
MAY 1 1918.**

A sketch of the life of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, brings into view that capital town in France to which our capital city of New Orleans traces its name, and brings it to mind the fact that the Roman Emperor Aurelian in A. D. 271 defeated the Germans therabouts and it was called Aurelianensis, or Aurelian's City, and from his name came the name of the province also and through gradual changes it became Orleans, a word of three syllables, accented on the second, and in English pronounced Orleanz. That momentous affairs have attached thereto is evidenced by the fact that an insurrection developed there B. C. 52 against the victorious Caesar and that Attila was successfully resisted there in A. D. 451 and in 1429 the Maid of Domremy, known afterwards as the Maid of Orleans, began her short career.

In the Bi-centennial celebration ceremonies in Paris of the founding of New Orleans on October 24th, 1917, a full account of which is given in Volume 1, No. 3, the Bicentennial Committee of New Orleans visited Orleans with the purpose of requesting the Bishop of Orleans to come to New Orleans for the purpose of joining in such celebration here as might occur. The inability of the Bishop to comply with this request at the time and later the increasing seriousness of the war situation in Europe, led to the postponement for the time being at least, of this later celebration.

Later on, and incidental to the activities of the Louisiana Historical Society, Mr. John Sanford Saltus of New York, Vice-President of the New York Museum of French art, then a visitor in New Orleans and appreciating as he did the efforts we were making in New Orleans to develop a proper pride in our own progress and history, conceived the idea of presenting to the Society a bronze equestrian statue of Joan of Arc, the "Maid of Orleans." From the Duke of Orleans we get the name of our own great city, in this new world. There was something quite apropos in the whole matter. The French ancestry of many of our people, the great war now going on with more than a million of our men in France, joining there our French, English and Italian Allies, now conquering the Germans, as did the Emperor Aurelian two thousand years ago, we seize gladly the poetical belief

in the Maid of Orleans, and accepted from the New York Society of French Art the beautiful equestrian statuette of Joan of Arc, proceeding to battle for the wonderful victories she won.

The historic Cabildo, over which have waved four different flags, representing the successive changes of governments in Louisiana, witnessed May 1st, 1918, a mingling of all the flags, which with our own, are now engaged in the great struggle for civilization and democracy against barbarism.

The occasion then was the presentation to the Society of the statue which is a replica in reduced size of the one on Riverside Drive, New York City, the gift of the Museum of French Art, represented by Mr. John Sanford Saltus. The statue measures 52½ inches from its base to the point of the sword. The pedestal is 38 inches high, 40 inches, long and 22 inches wide. On its face it bears the shield with the lillies and crown of France. The stone is one of those purchased by the Joan of Arc statue committee of New York through the efforts of Mr. Kunz of New York, and of Mr. Beaurepaire of Rouen, France. It was one of the 229 blocks of limestone which came from the "small staircase turret of the chateau of Rouen," where Joan of Arc awaited her death five hundred years ago.

Hon. W. O. Hart was selected as master of ceremonies, an elaborate programme was prepared and carried out in all its details with a degree of excellence that was a surprise to the large number of members and others present at the Society's special meeting to accept Mr. Saltus' beautiful gift. We precede this article with a fine half-tone cut of the statue now in position on Riverside Drive, New York City.

After the invocation by Abbe Marcel Souris, there was appropriate music, then followed the entrance of the color bearers, who were introduced one by one by Judge Henry Renshaw in very terse but telling terms, and the colors were bestowed on them by Mrs. W. C. C. Claiborne as follows: The French tri-color to Miss Elvidge Gondon; the colors of Orleans to Miss Clarisse Claiborne; the Maid's colors to Miss Leola Stanton; Old Glory to Miss Nellie S. Hart; the flag of Louisiana to Miss Louise Hyman; the flag of New Orleans to Miss Edna Rhodes and the pennant of Joan of Arc to Miss Nathalie Settoon.

With more appropriate music from skilled artists, then there came the main event of the evening, the presentation through Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, Vice-President of the Museum of French Art and Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, on behalf of the Museum, of the statue of Joan of Arc. After appropriate music the statue was then

unveiled by General W. J. Behan, one of the delegates sent to France by the New Orleans Bi-Centennial Committee. In this General Behan was assisted by Hon. A. G. Ricks, acting mayor of New Orleans, and by Hon. Gaspar Cusachs, President of the Louisiana Historical Society.

This done, Hon. Andre Lafargue, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and chairman of the Bi-Centennial Commission to the Paris Celebration in October, 1917, accepted the gift on behalf of the Society. This was done with a degree of appreciation, of earnestness and of eloquence that was very impressive.

Mr. Lafargue then presented to the Society a medal from the town of Domremy, the birth place of Joan of Arc and the same was accepted by the president, Hon. Gaspar Cusachs. Exquisite and appropriate music then followed, after which Miss Ethel May Gutman, read her original poem, *A Tribute to Joan of Arc*. Mr. Saltus then presented Miss Gutman with the Joan of Arc book and medal.

The gifts of flowers for the occasion were profuse and were beautiful and were from the following persons:

From Museum of French Art, Joan of Arc Statue Committee, French Branch Y. M. C. A., Jeanne D'Arc Home, (French Nuns), Joan of Arc Public School No. 93, Mr. and Mrs. Robert James Campbell, Mons. and Mme. Jules Antoine Guillaune, The American Numismatic Society, The Salmagundi Club, The Fencer's Club, and Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, all of New York, the New Orleans Carnival; Mrs. Sanford Bissell, of Washington; Mons. and Mme. Frank Edwin Scott, of Paris; Major Susthene Behn, United States Army, "Somewhere in France"; Mons. Hernand Behn, of Havana; Mme. Lucchetti and Mlle. Madeleine Luchetti, of San Juan, Porto Rico, and Captain and Mrs. Wyndham, of Langford, England, and Mrs. Charles Dreux Andre.

The next number on the programme was an excellent address by Hon. W. J. Waguestock on the history and conception of the flag of New Orleans. Mr. Couret followed, presenting a symbolic picture of the evolution of the flag, which was accepted by President Cusachs. The Flag Committee of the Bienville Bi-Centennial Committee then presented the gold medals to the designer's of the New Orleans city flag, Mr. Bernard Barry and Mr. H. Gustave Couret. This was followed by a short address by the French Consul in New Orleans, Hon. G. F. Genoyer.

Before closing the Star Spangled Banner was sung and the benediction was pronounced by Rev. Father Carra and the ceremonies were over. The Committee on Arrangements included Hon. John

Dymond, chariman, Hon. Gaspar Cusachs, Judge Henry Renshaw, Hon. W. O. Hart, Mrs. W. C. C. Claiborne, Colonel Hughes, J. de la Vergne, Andre Lafargue, Hon. Martin Behrman, Bussiere Eouen, W. J. Waguestack, General W. J. Behan, Mrs. Benjamin Ory, Robert Glenk, Mrs. Christian Schertz, and John F. C. Waldo. William Kernal Dart was chairman of the Reception Committee. The music, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Helen Pitkin Schertz, was exceptionally appropriate and beautiful and elicited the admiration of all the hearers, and the beauty of the color bearers, chosen by Mrs. Benjamin Ory, was very marked. This Joan of Arc celebration of the Louisiana Historical Society will go down in its annals as one of the most successful ever held.



A PLEASING INCIDENT OF THE JOAN OF ARC STATUETTE PRESENTATION

If we may combine the present with the past the following exchange of pleasant words between Secretary Bussiere Rouen of our Historical Society and Mr. T. Sanford Saltus, of the New York Society of French Art, ought to accomplish it.

The messages were as follows: Mr. T. Sanford Saltus, Hotel Seville, New York: My dear Mr. Saltus: I have the honor and the great pleasure of informing you that on its meeting May 21st, the Louisiana Historical Society has, by a unanimous vote, conferred upon you the title of "Honorary Member." We are still under the charm of the ceremonies brought about by your great kindness to the Society, and by the generous gift of the beautiful statuette of Joan of Arc, which is admired by all those who appreciate true art. With renewed assurance of our sincerest gratitude, I remain, my dear Mr. Saltus, very sincerely yours, Bussiere Rouen, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

These lines brought from Mr. Saltus the following response: "Your letter of May 22nd is received. I cannot tell you how touched I am by the great and unexpected honor you have conferred upon me by making me an honorary member of the Louisiana Historical Society. All I can do is to return you all my heartfelt thanks," and signed T. Sanford Saltus, Hotel Seville, New York.

OLD ORLEANS GREETS NEW ORLEANS

JULY 4, 1918

The great war now going on brings about some pleasant scenes as well as many sad ones, and of the former, a very notable one occurred in the old city of Orleans, on the Loire in France, on July 4, 1918. Miss Rosina Wolfson, who has been serving in an American Red Cross hospital in France, in a recent letter to her uncle in New Orleans, Mr. Max Dinkelspiel, describes the celebration as inspiring in the highest degree, it being joined in by young and old, by the American soldiery and by the French. It brings to mind the days of George Washington, of Lafayette and Rochambeau, and of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown and of Pershing's recent memorable utterance at the tomb of Lafayette in France: "Lafayette, we are here."

Miss Wolfson's letter gives an excellent, sympathetic and appreciative account of the whole affair which we take from the columns of the *Times-Picayune*. She says:

"It seems to me only right and fitting that the people of New Orleans should know how our national holiday of Independence Day was celebrated here in Old Orleans on this 4th of July, 1918 and war times.

"I can only tell the story very badly and very hastily, but in some way New Orleans should hear how the citizens of the ancient town of Orleans were moved to do all in their power to welcome our soldiers and express their feelings for our great republic.

"Although there has not been a fete in Orleans since the beginning of the war, this city, in common with the rest of France, decided to celebrate the Fourth of July as though it were its own national holiday.

"The mayor and municipal council decreed the day a legal holiday and invited all the citizens to decorate their houses with the American flag.

"On the morning of the Fourth, we awoke to find the old city absolutely transformed. Every street was gay with bunting and the Star-Spangled Banner and the tricolor predominated in the mass of color which was displayed. All the flags of the Allies were hung out, but the French and American emblems were the favorites.

"The beautiful old red brick sixteenth century Hotel de Ville was magnificently decorated and over the principal square of the

town, the Place du Martroi, a huge American flag was hung, and the Stars and Stripes were also massed around the fine equestrian statue of Joan of Arc, the patron saint of Orleans, which dominates the square.

"Very early the people began to line the streets and at 9 o'clock, when the American soldiers began their march through the city, they were greeted by a dense crowd which showered flowers upon them, and whose cheers of welcome resounded on every side.

"Our khaki-clad men were momentarily halted outside the oldest church in Orleans, St. Enverte, by another great crowd which pressed around them as they made their way into the hoary church where mass was celebrated in their honor. The bishop of Orleans in a splendid address spoke of the welcome, the admiration, the gratitude of France for the Americans. Although our men could not understand his words, the great bishop's kindly smile, his gestures and the efforts he made to pronounce the names our countrymen cherish—Washington, Lincoln, Patrick Henry, Bunker Hill and Belleau Wood—translated to them his effort to express the fact that our heritage of the past and our triumphs and sacrifices of the present are equally sacred to the French people, who are making a place for our history in their hearts beside the glorious story of their own race just as they are giving equal honor to our new soldiers beside their own heroes of the Marne, the Yser, Artois, Champagne, the Somme and the Oise.

"'Lafayette and Rochambeau,' said the bishop, 'with their men and the money lent by the almost bankrupt government of Louis XVI sowed gratitude and obligation on the soil of the thirteen struggling American colonies in 1776, and today in the greatest hour of trial the French nation is reaping a million-fold harvest from the forty-eight proud American states who are sending their sons, their gold, and their provisions to fight for the triumph of the cause of liberty and right in France.'

"In the afternoon, after the soldiers had been given a gala luncheon, it was the time of the secular authorities to receive them.

"The prefect of the department, the mayor of Orleans, the French general commanding the Fifth Region and representatives of the government, the courts, the professions and industries of the city were seated on the stage of a great hall. The American officers stationed in Orleans and the delegate of the American Red Cross and the visiting American officers were invited to sit on the stage beside their French hosts. The great hall was packed. Our men in khaki were surrounded by the blue-clad soldiers of France.

Special places were reserved for the wounded and the mutilated. The rest of the hall was filled with the citizens of Orleans. Mr. Fernand Rabier, the deputy and mayor of Orleans, presided and in a fine speech told our men how very welcome they were in this city, which to receive them had given itself up to rejoicing for the first time since the war began in 1914. He then read them the telegram which he had sent in the name of the people of Orleans 'to the President of the United States, and to the mayor of that sister city of our own in your land, on the banks of the Mississippi, which we are proud to feel shares our name, New Orleans.' Mr. Rabier also announced that two streets in the city of Orleans were to be renamed that day; one to be known in the future as the 'Rue President Wilson,' and the other as the 'Rue Nouvelle Orleans.'

"Next, Mr. Henri Roy, the other deputy from Orleans, spoke and told how France shared in the pride of the Americans that this anniversary of the Independence of the United States was being celebrated by all the Allied nations as the dawn of the independence of the world. 'Heavy night clouds still obscure the sky, but the first rays of the sun have pierced through, giving sure promise of the light to come,' he said.

"To the men in front of him, French and Americans, he felt there was no need of reopening the justice of the cause. Many of them had already fought, suffered and bled for it and bore the scars of battles on their bodies and souls. In today's emotions, the memory of comrades who have fallen in the fight was in every heart. The Americans now would have to bear the ordeals and many of them meet the death that their French and British brothers believed to be a price well paid for liberty. The huge audience stood when at the close of Mr. Roy's moving speech, the orchestra played 'The Star-Spangled Banner' and 'The Marseillaise.'

"Then Major Maddock, in command of the American soldiers, spoke in English to his own men, explaining to them what the French orators had been saying in 'a soldier's language.' 'The French,' he told them, 'cannot say enough to you to thank you for coming over here to fight and help them, but we know that this is our war, that we are here to fight for our liberty and our country as well as theirs and we are proud to take our places beside the men who have already fought so long and to share the cost. The whole-hearted cheers of the American men translated to the French the soldiers' approval of their officers words.'

"A cinematograph performance and a patriotic program in which artists from the Paris opera, the Odeon and the Comedie Francaise

appeared, followed the formal speeches and the young school girls of Orleans sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" in French.

"At 5:30 an immense crowd was gathered on the Mail, the principal boulevard of Orleans, to listen to the American band, which played the popular and patriotic music of our country. The crowd and the American soldiers fraternized in the happiest way. The French, removing the barrier of the strange language, chattered away to our men, smiled upon them, 'got it over' to them that they were indeed in a friendly land.

"So was the Fourth of July celebrated in Old Orleans and in many other French and British cities there were similar scenes.

"Here in old Orleans, strangers meet as brothers; every American in the city was made to feel that the ceremonies of the day were but a pale reflection of the sincerity of the French people, but in very truth a bond was being forged of love and understanding that would stand the test of time."



THE NATURE OF HALLUCINATIONS

For thousands of years, hallucinations have played a very important part in the history of mankind, and the hallucinations of Mahomet and Joan of Arc, for instance, may be said to have changed the fate of nations. Yet it was not until the rise of the science of psychology—which even now depends on comparatively few and imperfectly observed facts—that any attempt to enquire into their cause and the laws that govern their being has been made. Nor can it be said that in this matter psychologists are in every way agreed. While those of them who prefer to rely upon ascertained fact still keep to the opinion that no thoughts enter the brain save through the avenue of the senses—or, in other words, that man's only relations with the universe are governed by the conditions of his material body—others, greatly daring, have started the theory of "telepathic" impressions. According to this, an impression can reach the brain from a distance by some unknown road which is certainly not the normal channel of sensation. Into the evidence for and against this telepathic theory I cannot here enter, although I may point out that it is, like many other ideas announced as novel, little else than the survival of notions nearly as old as mankind itself. From the earliest ages, man seems to have looked upon the hallucinations produced

by drugs, fasting, or other causes of temporary mental aberration as the birthright of a few individuals generally supposed to be especially favored by the denizens of the spirit world.

Subject, then, to the caution that all psychologists do not agree as to the nature of hallucinations, it may be said that they are best defined as deceits of the senses. The only difference that has yet been discovered between true sense-perception or the normal exercise of the senses and hallucinations is that in the first case the object seen, heard, or felt actually exists; while, in the other, it does not. So, to put a fairly familiar case, the sufferer from alcoholic delirium sees rats, dogs, and snakes all round him, although there is nothing there. Yet we know that in this case there can be no effect immediately produced on the retina, and that the brain must therefore be influenced in some other way than in the normal manner through the optic nerve. It should be noted also that exactly the same thing takes place in dreams. How this can be is really the problem that we have to solve.

In order to do so, we may look first at some statistics lately collected by the Society for Psychical Research. According to the report presented by them to their subscribers, they issued a "questionnaire" (no English word so exactly expresses the meaning, to a great many people asking whether the questioned had ever when completely awake had "a vivid impression of seeing or being touched by a living being or inanimate object or of hearing a voice, which impression was not due to any external physical cause.") To this inquiry they received some twenty-four thousand answers saying that the questioned never had such a vivid impression and only three thousand from people who admitted that they had. Of the three thousand cases thus reported—I am taking as round figures as possible—by far the greater number were visual or deceits of the sense of seeing, these being more than twice as numerous as the auditory hallucinations which came next, while these last again were more than double the number of the tactile hallucinations or deceits of the sense of touch. It follows, therefore, that while only about eleven per cent. of the questioned confessed to hallucinations of any kind, more than one-half of the hallucinated saw, or thought that they saw, things which were not actually there. Of these visual hallucinations, about one-third concerned themselves with apparitions of living persons known to the hallucinated, about half that number with visions of dead acquaintances, and only a very small proportion—something like twelve in a thousand—with apparitions of a religious

kind. After making every allowance for the unwillingness of persons to speak of the illusory visions they have experienced, it seems that the subject of an hallucination is more often than not the apparition of a person well known to the observer.

This seems to me an extremely significant fact, when we consider what it is that takes place in our consciousness when we, as we say, recognize any one. The act is, in the great majority of cases, but of memory. The first time that we meet again a person whom we have met but once before, but who has made no very deep impression upon us, most of us go through a more or less prolonged period of hesitation until some hitherto unnoticed feature or some trick of gesture gives us the clue to the identification we are seeking. But the process is in any ordinary case unconscious, because we have not on the first occasion of meeting the stranger expected to come across him again, and have therefore not closely noted his peculiarities of form or manner. On the other hand, when it is in the daily practice of the observer to note the way by which the observed may be recognized in the second interview, it is astonishing how quickly and unerringly the act of recognition is made. There are hallporters in London clubs who are said to have never made a mistake in the identity of a member, and the same gift is generally acquired by the sergeant-major of a regiment, to the great disgust of re-enlisting recruits. And, although the comparison may seem to fall below the exuberant loyalty of the hour, the same faculty is said to be generally possessed by kings. That unconscious memory plays the greatest part in the production of hallucinations seems, therefore, antecedently probable, and this coincides well enough with what we otherwise know about the nature of memory itself. As I have before said in these columns, memory is an attribute which the cells which make up the body of man share with inanimate nature, and the nerves and brain retain for a greater or less length of time the impress of all objects with which they have been brought into connection. When anything happens to arouse the memory thus stored up within the apparatus of thought, the machinery is again set going as a tuning fork vibrates to a particular note. But of all the organs of the body, the eye is that which receives most incessantly the greatest number of varying impressions and transmits them to the brain, and it is not perhaps unnatural to conclude that it is the visual apparatus which is most likely under abnormal circumstances to give forth the impressions which it has received irregularly or in the wrong order. We may even suppose without any great violation of probability that it is the neurons especially concerned with sight which are at once the reci-

pients and storehouses of the impressions received by the retina, and that under the influence of some abnormal activity or derangement, they themselves reproduce these impressions as if in response to an external stimulus. Without making any dogmatic assertion on a subject which is hardly likely to be for some time submitted to the test of direct experiment, it may be thought that in like manner can be explained the cause of all hallucinations or deceits of the senses of hearing and touch.

Those who thus think will certainly find many confirmations of this proposition in the history of the hallucinations of the hysterical and neurotic. During the Middle Ages, when stories of heaven and hell, of miracles, witchcraft, and devils formed the mental stimulus of all but a fraction of the population, the hallucinations recorded all fall into line with a regularity which is simply astonishing. In the witch-trials that form the records of what was perhaps the most terrible superstition which has ever darkened the earth, confession follows confession with such monotony as to lead to the theory—for which there is otherwise no evidence—that they must have always been dictated by the judges. At the present day it is, as most people unfortunate enough to be thrown into contact with the insane know well, the telephone and the electric machine which have replaced in the visions of diseased minds the place once occupied by the Sabbat and the *grimoire*. In all these cases, it is plain that the hallucination is the reproduction of some pictorial or verbal description stored up within the brain and brought out again without any conscious effort. Never, perhaps, does the mind of man show more thoroughly its material nature and dependence than when it fancies it has emancipated itself from the thraldom of matter.

F. Legge.

The London Academy.



THE FETE OF JOAN OF ARC, MAY 16

All France joins in the celebration of the fete of Joan of Arc today, a mid-May festival which has assumed great importance since the beginning of the war. Formerly confined to Catholics, the observance has for the past three years been participated in by many protestants, and all have joined in paying homage to the memory of the peasant girl who saved France from destruction when the nation was at the lowest ebb in its history. Paris, a city of monu-

ments, has more than a dozen memorials to the brave maid, and shrines and monuments are to be found in other cities and in the rural districts throughout France.

Hundreds of histories of Joan of Arc have been written, but the real history of her life will never be told, since it is impossible for the greatest historians to judge where myth begins and reality leaves off.

During her lifetime she was usually referred to as Jeanne La Pucelle, or The Maid. She came of a very poor peasant family, and her parents, it is believed, were names Jacques and Isabelle Darc. In her girlhood she was subject to trances and visions, and at the age of eighteen she declared that a voice had informed her that she was to go from her home in Lorraine to France and to conduct the Dauphin Charles to Rheims, where he was to be crowned. At that time France was torn by internal dissensions, a prey to the ambition of petty princes, and its crown had been surrendered to the English king. After many disappointments Joan was given an audience with the Dauphin, and so impressed him that he became convinced of the authenticity of her visions. A prophecy was current that the throne which had been lost by a woman would be recovered by a virgin, and Joan was generally accepted as the chosen agent of Providence. Wearing male dress and a suit of white armor, she mounted a black charger, bearing a banner of her own device, and at the head of six thousand men advanced to aid Dunois in the relief of Orleans. Her arrival inspired the French troops with renewed enthusiasm, and the English were compelled to raise the siege and retreat. As a result of her aid Charles VII was crowned King of France at Rheims, in the great cathedral which has so ruthlessly been bombarded by the Germans. Later, when the maid was captured by the Burgundians and by them sold to the English, the ungrateful monarch made no effort to secure her release. Instead, the vicar-general of the Inquisition of France demanded that she be handed over to him to be tried on the charge of sorcery. This request was refused, but the maid was handed over to the spiritual tribunal of Pierre Cauchon. After a trial which was a farce, the brave girl was condemned as a witch and heretic and was burned at the stake May, 1431.



GENERAL BEAUREGARD BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Address Delivered by Colonel H. J. de la Vergne in the Convention Hall, Hotel Grunewald, on the Evening of May 28, 1918, Centennial of Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard.

The Beauregard family is one of the oldest and most illustrious of Louisiana. In Europe its records go back to the 13th Century when Tider, surnamed the "Young" at the age of eighteen headed a party of Welsh in revolt against Edward the First, then King of England.

Jacques Toutant de Beauregard was the first to come to Louisiana under Louis the XIV as commander of a flotilla. After having assisted the colony in many ways he returned to France carrying with him a cargo of timber for naval constructions. The Cross of St. Louis was his reward. He finally settled in Louisiana and married Miss Madeleine Cartier. One of their sons, Louis, espoused Miss Victorine Ducros. They had one daughter and three sons, the youngest of whom, Jacques Toutant de Beauregard, a very rich and influential planter, married in 1808 Miss Helen Judith de Reggio, a descendant of the Italian Dukes of Reggio and Medona, of the illustrious house of Este. Several children were born to them, the third being Pierre Gustave Toutant de Beauregard, the great Southerner and Confederate General. It was on the plantation of his father in the parish of St. Bernard, Louisiana, that Pierre Gustave Toutant de Beauregard saw the light of day on the 28th of May, 1818.

At the age of eight he was sent to a primary school kept by Mr. V. de Bouchell near New Orleans. His dominant trait even at that early age was a marked passion for everything pertaining to military life, a forecast of his future career.

At eleven he went to New York City, where he spent four years under the instructions of Messieurs Peugnot, retired officers of the French Army who both had seen service under Napoleon.

In 1834, at the age of sixteen, he entered as a cadet the United States Military Academy at West Point. On July 1st, 1838 he graduated second out of a class of forty-five. He joined the army as a second Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of Artillery, but was soon attached to the corps of engineers and was promoted Lieutenant in June, 1839. He helped in the building of Fort Adams, New Port

Harbor, R. I., and also in the defenses of Pensacola, Fla. The Bay of Barataria was surveyed by him. He supervised the repair of Fort Jackson. He was the chief engineer at the construction of Tower Dupre, of the repairs of the defense to New Orleans, and of Fort McHenry, Md.

In 1841, September 18th, he married Laure Marie de Villere, grand-daughter of Major General Jacques Philippe Villere, a hero of the battle of New Orleans and second American Governor of Louisiana. Two sons and one daughter were born; Judge Rene T. Beauregard, Henry T. Beauregard and Laure, who was the wife of Col. C. A. Larendon. With the greatest distinction he went through the Mexican War from 1846 to 1848, and won considerable renown as a strategist and engineer at Tampico and Vera Cruz. He was commissioned Captain for gallant and meritorious conduct in the Battles of Contreras and Churubusco; at Chapultepec he was twice wounded and at the taking of the City of Mexico he was wounded a third time. He covered himself with distinction and glory.

After the Mexican War he was engaged as Captain of the Corps of Engineers and was entrusted with the construction of the Custom House and the Mint in New Orleans, buildings which are monuments to his genius and talent.

He also supervised the repairs of various forts and defenses. When the Southern States of the United States seceded from those of the North and organized themselves into a confederation under Jefferson Davis, Beauregard resigned his commission of Superintendent of the Military Academy of West Point in February, 1861, and stood with the South. He was named Brigadier General by Mr. Davis and sent to Charleston, S. C. His defense of that city and harbor was the most scientific, complete and perfect of all the defenses devised during the War. It was by his order that the first shot of the mighty Civil War was fired at 4:30 A. M. April 12, 1861.

He was destined to throw a luster on his name that was never to vanish, and as an inheritance to his posterity, the honor and glory achieved on the battle field.

GENERAL BEAUREGARD AND GENERAL BLANCHARD IN THE MEXICAN WAR

Address of Hon. Milo B. Williams at the Beauregard Centennial, New Orleans, May 28, 1918.

Hades is paved with good intentions. That, distinguished speakers, ladies and gentlemen, is the taunt hurled at us, at our President, at our country by the Germans. In how far is this statement correct? Is it really true? Or, is it but another slander born of a maniac's brain? Are we after all but a nation of boasters and bluffers? After you have heard my few remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I leave the answer to your own good judgment. I doubt not what it will be, for you are Louisianians, and therefore, true Americans.

You know that our nation is an indivisible union of States. You know that this union works in splendid coordination. You know that Louisiana is one of this union. But, do you know how well Louisiana has borne her part? Do you know what glorious niches her sons have carved for themselves in the Hall of Fame? Of course you do! Yet, you will grant me leave to remind you, I know, of the noble deeds of some of our brave Louisianains. I could select almost any chapter in the history of our country and the tale would be the same. However, my own ancestry and the object of these ceremonies limit me to but one chapter, the Mexican War.

We are all familiar with the dramatic beginnings of that war for the freedom of Texas. But, how few of us know the important role played by Louisiana! How few of us know that artillery from New Orleans was the first volunteer unit on the firing line! How few of us know that that same artillery enabled General Zachary Taylor to hold his own at Corpus Christi! At the outset of the war, the call for volunteers met a hearty response in Louisiana. The men of the Pelican State came forward in such vast numbers that there was not room enough in the ranks for all! But, the rejected ones soon had their chance. On April 26, 1846, Gen. Taylor called upon Louisiana for 5,000 more troops. The fervor of the first response had not abated. The men came forward as eagerly as before, to offer their lives for the Stars and Stripes. The rapidity of the

enrollment was so great that, within one week from the call to arms, the Washington Regiment embarked from New Orleans. Such promptitude was unparalleled in history! Louisiana had backed up her intentions by deeds. Within a short time, five more regiments were on their way to the front, and all were consolidated in the Louisiana battalion, commanded by General Persifer F. Smith.

With this little army from Louisiana were two of her sons, destined to become shining lights in her military history, Gen. Albert Gallatin Blanchard and Gen. Pierre Gustave T. Beauregard. Gen. Blanchard was then a captain of the 2nd Regiment, commanded by Col. J. H. Dakin, and Gen. Beauregard was a lieutenant of the Engineer Corps. Both of these young men had laid firmly and well the foundations of their chosen careers.

Gen. Blanchard was born at Charleston, Mass., on September 6, 1810. He entered West Point at an early age, and graduated in 1829, a youth of nineteen, and the youngest graduate in the history of that institution. While at the Academy, he was a class-mate of Robt. E. Lee and Jos. E. Johnston. He served on the frontier as 1st Lieutenant of the 7th Infantry Regiment from 1829 to 1840, when he retired to private life. At the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico, he again entered the service as captain of Col. Dakin's Regiment of Louisiana Volunteers. Then followed a period of distinguished service.

In August of 1846, all Louisiana volunteer companies were mustered out of the service. The Washington Regiment resumed its artillery organization and became the "Washington Artillery." All returned home save Capt. Blanchard, who remained with a few picked men and formed the famous Phoenix Company. This brave band was all that remained of the Louisiana militia.

Capt. Blanchard and his two lieutenants, the brothers of ex-Gov. Nicholls of Louisiana, led their men with a dash and vigor. At the storming of Monterey, all of the officers and many of the privates were especially mentioned for bravery. At Vera Cruz, Capt. Blanchard was the first to rush into the fortress. At Cerro Gordo, the Phoenix Company charged undauntedly up the mountain spur in the face of a galling fire from 15,000 Mexicans. At Contreras, Churubusco and Molino del Rey they fought like furies. And, at Chapultepec, they were the first to gain the summit of the hill. It would take page upon page to recount the exploits of Capt. Blanchard and his intrepid little band. Let it suffice for me to say, that the brave captain was brevetted a major, and a grateful people voted him a

sword for his gallant service. Louisiana had again backed up her intentions by noble deeds.

And then, there was Gen. Beauregard. His life history is well known to every Louisianian. Yet, it might be well to recount his acts during the Mexican War.

At Tampico, it was he who constructed the defenses. At Vera Cruz, it was his engineering genius that brought the siege to a successful close. He was brevetted a captain for his conduct at Contreras and Churubusco. At the battle of Chapultepec, he was wounded in action. Again, at the storming of the "Causeway Battery," he distinguished himself, only to fall wounded once more. His wound deprived him of immediate honor, but his people have not forgotten him. We are assembled here tonight to honor his memory. We are assembled here to commemorate the birth of a brave Louisianian, of a Louisianian, of an American who executed his good intentions by prompt, forceful, and unerring actions. Of such firm character are the sons of Louisiana.

Do we today appreciate the hardships suffered by those sturdy soldiers of yesterday? Do the boys and men of today realize how heroically their fathers fought for the Stars and Stripes? A tale more graphic than Ben. Blanchard's now historic Mexican War diary cannot be found. Tears cannot be restrained as one reads of the tramp, tramp, tramp of that undaunted army. With battle flags shrieking in the wind, drenched to the skin, caked with mud, wallowing in slush, still they pushed on. Up the steep mountain passes, with their packs and rifles slung on their backs, slashing their feet on the jagged, cruel rocks they climbed unafeared. Across burning deserts, with parched and aching throats, in the face of a relentless sun, on and on they marched. Hungry, thirsty, foot-sore and weary they tramped on and ever on.

Down from the mountain heights swoops the Mexican horde. Does our little army turn back? No! Straight into that vast host they fly. Leaping eagerly to the fray, they fire volley upon volley into that oncoming flood. They meet the shock with fixed bayonets and flashing swords; they fight like true Americans. Above the scream and drone of shot, above the clamor of mighty conflict, above the shrieks and groans of the dying rises the stentorian shout: "Remember the Alamo!" With that battle-cry ringing on the air, no army can withstand them. Soon the Mexican retreat becomes a frantic flight. Surging up the mountain slopes like an angry flood, our army beats the enemy back, steadily back. The tide cannot be stemmed. The Stars and Stripes carry all before them.

Louisianians, Capt. Blanchard's Phoenix Company, were with that army. Do we appreciate them? If we do not, why do we erect monuments to those dead heroes? Why are we now exerting our every effort to preserve the historic home of the famous "Washington Artillery?" Why are we now assembled here tonight to celebrate the natal day of our greatest military engineer? It is because we do appreciate those brave Louisianians of yesterday who backed up their good intentions by noble deeds, even as we Louisianians of today back up our good intentions by noble deeds.

With such examples as these before our eyes, how can we Louisianians be anything but true Americans? Gen. Blanchard, the model of the brave, modest, honest, and God-fearing old warrior. Gen. Beauregard, the model of the dashing, courageous, chivalrous and magnificent soldier.

But, in this Union of ours, Louisiana is no exception. Everyone of the forty-eight States has its own heroes, its own Gen. Blanchard, its own Gen. Beauregard. Those states honor and strive to emulate their heroes, even as we honor and strive to emulate ours. Their heroes have fought and died, even as ours have fought and died. Their sons will fight and die, even as our sons will fight and die. All this for our country. For we are Americans.

Hades and Germany may be paved with good intentions, but, our glorious republic rests upon firmer foundations. Her good intentions are supported by the deeds of her loyal, and patriotic citizens. Columbia, the queen of democracy, is crowned with a golden band of Union. And among the forty-eight gems that bedeck that brilliant crown, not one shines forth with greater splendor than that of the "Pelican State," Louisiana.



**GENERAL COLLOT'S RECONNOITERING TRIP DOWN THE
MISSISSIPPI AND HIS ARREST IN NEW ORLEANS IN
1796, BY ORDER OF THE BARON DE CARONDELET,
GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA**

So much has been written about Louisiana that it is difficult to find, even by close sifting, any incident which has escaped our past and contemporary historians. Imagination surrounds the past with a halo brighter from its remoteness, and there is an attraction in musty records and time worn parchments which the most practical amongst us cannot resist. Out of their dust and from their faded leaves,

*"Old faces look upon us,
Old forms go trooping past;"*

we seem to be another world, surrounded by a grander race of men, and we follow through their career until the "dead alone seem living."

It is this feeling that makes each memory of by-gone days strike a responsive chord, and emboldens those who have access to old documents to supplement the oft told chronicles by any minor details which may come to their notice.

All complete histories of Louisiana tell of General George Victor Collot's arrest in New Orleans in 1796, by order of Governor Carondelet, under suspicion of being a secret agitator and a spy. This arrest was considered by some to be groundless and insulting to the French Republic; by others to have been fully justified.

A few documents which have since been discovered and the correspondence carried on between the French General and the Spanish Governor cast more light on this episode of our Spanish Colonial history.

Collot was a soldier of fortune. He rose to rank in those titanic days of the French army when a new system was created, and young generals came to the front because talent, youth, energy and enlightened methods were sought for instead of the prestige of experience and an honored name. Every military commander must necessarily have been talented at a time when generals were tried and condemned for gaining a half victory¹, sent to the scaffold for excess of pru-

¹Houchard. (*Samartine's Hist. des Groundins*).

dence¹, and when age, instead of inspiring respect, became a crime in the armies of the republic. The convention ordered victory and "the representatives of the people," says Thiers, "who fanned to flame the revolutionary passions in the camps expected impossibilities." These exactions strengthened genius, brought it to light, almost created it.

Carnot, "the creator of the armies, the organizer of victory" favored young generals,² and it was in his day that Collot came to the lands "watered by the Mississippi." He was in his 45th year, an accomplished scholar, a brave soldier, a strategist of the first order and capable of much endurance. Of his judgment and discretion Napoleon expressed a poor opinion, but his having been destined by him to fill high positions, and intrusted with a difficult mission by the French government, proves that he was a man of more than ordinary ability, fully able to cover his tracks and conceal his real motive even from such an antagonist as the wily Carondelet.

He had traveled through the United States in the spring of 1796 and descended the Mississippi with the intention of reconnoitering the countries traversed by that stream, by the Ohio, the Missouri and their affluents. Before leaving Philadelphia he secured passports and letters from the French and Spanish ministers, which did not prevent the latter from advising the Governor of Louisiana to have him detained. In St. Louis he was informed of this fact, at the same time he was warned through letters from Philadelphia that the Secretary of the United States³ had given like orders, and that the English had sent Indians from Canada to assassinate him.⁴ To continue his researches and prolong his stay in the Spanish portion of Illinois was beyond possibility. It would not have been tolerated by the commander of that province, Mr. Zenon Trudeau, whom he had already compromised; to return by the north would have thrown him into the hands of the English, and the Americans and the Spaniards looked on him with suspicion. To all these reasons add that potent factor in human events, the fear of ridicule, and you will understand why General Collot, in the face of all these threats, continued his journey down the Mississippi. He says in his memoirs that he wished to escape the contempt which generally falls on those who make much ado about nothing and bring back naught but excuses after much trouble and expense; that he feared, more than any, the inexorable judges who sit at a man's

¹Chancel.

²Sloan's Life of Napoleon.

³Secretary Pickering.

⁴Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.

own fireside, and who, without investigating circumstances, kill him slowly by perfidious insinuations and turn the tide of public opinion against him.⁶ He probably hoped to escape detection as he exchanged his more comfortable barge for a pirogue and retained but six men in his service. For these changes he alleged the facilities which a lighter bark afforded him for exploring the various rivers, and he attributed the smaller number of his attendants to the fact that he could not accommodate more. In Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage's "dernières années de la Louisiane" may be found a facsimile of the embarkation used on the Mississippi in Collot's time, a large flat boat with covered top, then called voiture. With this small force and his adjutant, General Joseph Warin, he left St. Louis in the middle of September, 1796, without acquainting its commander of his intention of penetrating into lower Louisiana.

In continuing his journey down the Mississippi the French General took every possible precaution to insure his safety. He wrote another journal in which he was careful to praise Carondelet's administration, with the intention of leaving it at the easy convenience of those inclined to curiosity, and he afterwards felt sure that this subterfuge had saved him from long detention in Havana. In this journal he affirms that Zénon Trudeau, Governor of St. Louis, knew nothing of his plans, which were formed during his stay in the American territory of Illinois. This did not prevent Carondelet from calling to account the governor of St. Louis and of threatening him with destitution. Collot declares that he gave Trudeau information relative to armaments in course of preparation in Canada against Upper Louisiana and friendly advice as to the defense of St. Louis. He classed St. Louis "the finest country in the world" but deplores that in it were "neither warriors, merchants nor agriculturists; that it held naught but uncultivated lands, and emaciated bodies often clothed in rags hardly fit to protect them against the wind." On his arrival at Kaskaskia he was apprized that his mail had been intercepted by the federal government, and that a certain Judge St. Clair of that country was specially insulting in the opinions he formulated against him and against the French Republic. This St. Clair met Collot on the Ohio, and outstripping him, denounced him and had him stopped at Fort Massaic. According to Collot⁶ St. Clair was an Englishman implicated in the conspiracy of Governor "Blound" the aim of which was to turn Louisiana over to the English. The English in Canada were preparing an expedition of two thousand regulars, fifteen hundred militiamen and several savage tribes to

⁶*Voyage de l'Amérique Septentrionale par le General Collot.*

attack Upper Louisiana; rumors were rife that English agents in Kentucky and Tennessee were organizing another against Lower Louisiana; the judge and Collot both had reason to suspect each other. The French General accompanied by a justice of the peace and his adjutant, General Warin, called on Judge St. Clair and obtained from him a written repudiation of the charges made against him; this document read thus:

Cahokia, August 29, 1796.

"Sir: I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment at your reproaching me yesterday as the author of your arrest at Fort Massiac; here, Sir, is the exact truth. I announced to Captain Pike, commander of the Fort, that I met you descending the Ohio, but that I did not believe that you would arrive soon as you were busy measuring the distances. I can assure you that I made no other observation, much less did I make any charge against you; I shall never believe that Captain Pike could have added anything to what I said.

I accede, Sir, with pleasure to the request you made yesterday that I should give you this declaration in writing, which I believe is sufficient.

I have the honor, etc.,

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR.

Treason seemed to threaten all the countries of North America at that time and Collot declared that he had received from an inhabitant of Tennessee the written report which follows:

1. "That Chisholm, English agent in Tennessee, has enlisted 1,000 inhabitants of this province to attack the posts of Baton Rouge, Nogales and the Ecores-a-Margot, belonging to Spain.
2. That Chisholm has reconnoitered Louisiana and the Floridas and determined the Creeks and Cherokees to turn their arms against the Spanish possessions;
3. That Chisholm has obtained a list of 1,500 Tories or English Royalists from Natchez (which list he carries) of those engaged to take up arms in favor of the English, as soon as they appear to attack lower Louisiana and to march after this conquest on Santa Fe, ascending the Ouachita river.
4. That an assemblage is now being formed in upper Canada of 1,500 English troops of line, 700 Canadians (salaried militia), and of 2,000 savages from the lakes who are to be commanded by Brent, the Indian chief.

5. That this body is to descend the Illinois river, attack St. Louis and afterwards march on Santa Fe, following the St. Francis and Arkansas rivers.
6. That Chisholm has secured six campaign cannons which he has placed on the Tennessee river, in care of one of his agents, and that these are the same cannons destined to the Genet expedition.
7. That the place of meeting for the Americans is set at Knoxville, in Tennessee for the 1st of May.
8. That, in consequence, Chisholm has made all these arrangements and that after having made his report to minister Liston at Philadelphia he left on March 28th for London, on the brig Fanny, in order to inform his government of this project and demand ships and money for its execution.
9. That to prove what he advanced Mr. — remitted to us an original letter signed by Chisholm in which he enjoins him to find himself at Knoxville to act according to the fixed plan."

Chisholm's letter:

"Messrs. M— & Cr.—

You will observe that it is necessary for you to be in the State of Tennessee during the first days of next May, in order to put into execution what we have agreed upon; you may rely on all attention on my side and that all things agreed between us will be faithfully fulfilled according to the existing plan. I remain, gentlemen,

Your very humble servant,

Signed: JOHN CHISHOLM.

It is not astonishing that with all this supposed information the French General should have thought that he was rendering a friendly service to the different commanders at the Spanish posts in warning and advising them. At the same time, surrounded by treason, by enemies and unwilling subjects, it was natural for Cordondelet to be suspicious and to have the movements of any stranger carefully watched.

Whilst in St. Louis Collot had been offered Mr. Chouteau's escort on a visit to the Osage tribe but so many obstacles were put in his way that he would not accept the trader's offers. When he reached the Arkansas river he was invited by the chiefs of the great Arkansas village to pay them a visit. He provided himself with a guide and the customary presents for them, and when he arrived at the point where he was to cross the river the guide was much aston-

ished to find a deserted shore, but Collot, having observed the character and the usages of the Savages, understood that they would not stoop to what they considered a servile act. He was, however, surprised to find no conveyance for the crossing, but on closer inspection a light bark and a long pole were perceived, and he writes that it seemed that he heard them say: "Here is a canoe, here are oars, if you are not old women use your arms." They each took an oar and traversed the river amidst applause and to the great delight of the Indians who awaited them on the opposite shore. They were received with the usual ceremonies, and the General describes a savage marriage feast in which their hearts were stirred by the slow, sad and tender melody of the love songs.

When they reached White river it was decided that Warin would ascend the river to the canal connecting it with the Arkansas and would there wait for Collot who was to descend the river to its mouth. On the following day General Collot reached the place where he was to meet his adjutant and not finding him pitched camp to await Warin who arrived the next day, lying in his pirogue, apparently helpless and in a great pain. He had reached the junction of the Arkansas and White rivers when two Chickasaw Indians who had followed them from Illinois attempted to assassinate him, striking with a hatchet a blow aimed at his head which he warded off and received in his chest. The General was persuaded that his unfortunate companion had been mistaken for him, being of the same height and similarly dressed. These Indians, judging from their paint and feathers, were on the war path.

Notwithstanding this misfortune, Collot, with indomitable energy continued his route. He describes the Arkansas river with its bed of sand, its tinge of red which it took from the red earth through which it flowed, its rocks of salt imparting a taste to its waters; in the distance mountains whose summits were lost in the clouds, fertile plains studded with hills. At its source, near the Osage, he noted herds of cows, bears, deer, elks and panthers making this part of the country dangerous to travelers. The Indians hunted in this region only at certain seasons when they were a thousand or more warriors.

From here the party proceeded to the Yazoo passing the isle of Snags, and the isle of the Dead Man's Head. At the isle of Snags the driftage, piled to the height of 60 feet, narrowed the channel. The Yazoo separated upper from lower Louisiana. They found it at a distance from its mouth, divided into two branches: the Cold Water and the East Yazoo and many creeks emptied into it. He describes

the land as fertile descending the river; from the Cold Water branch to its source the country was salubrious, but the other side of the Cold Water to the delta of the Yazoo was continually overflowed and made the country extremely unhealthy. The Yazoo country and the Natchez district were then considered the finest portion of North America. The commerce of skins which had once flourished in that section was reduced at that time to 50,000 deer skins, and seven or eight thousand pounds (weight) of beaver skins. After leaving the Yazoo, Collot proceeded to Nogales which was then ironically called the Gibraltar of Louisiana; he found this portion hilly, gradually slanting to level land. Here he saw a fort which he criticizes; it was built on a low hill with a blockhouse on an adjacent one, commanding the battery, and on a third hill, (separated from the fort by a ravine), another blockhouse, the whole surrounded by a ditch and a small palisade. This fort was called the Fort of the Sugar Loaf. In this section there were two other blockhouses; the one on the west of Fort Vigie, called Fort Gayoso, the one on the right called Fort St. Ignatius. These miniature forts and blockhouses held a captain and 80 men; the general thought they would have required at least a thousand men to defend them, and that unless a chain of forts were built on these heights, they were useless as a barrier against the Americans who could master them in the rear by descending the Mississippi. He here speaks of quantities of turtle eggs buried in the sand on the bank of the Mississippi when the water receded. An old Spanish resident of Nogales told the Frenchmen how intelligently the sluggish turtle deposited her eggs, coming out of the water at daybreak with much precaution, looking all around to see if observed, then with her front paws digging a hole in which she deposited her eggs and flattened the ground over them with her body, returning in the opposite direction from which she came. The Canadians recognized these nests by the polish the turtle gave them. These turtles were rare on the Mississippi; they were more numerous in the Arkansas, and in the western branches emptying into the Mississippi; they were of larger size as one nears the gulf. From Nogales the party entered Big Black river, parallel with the Yazoo, forking off into many branches, its course interrupted by rapids and waterfalls, and at times difficult of navigation.

They next explored Stoney river, (Bayou Pierre), so called from the large rocks in its bed during the twenty odd miles of its course. In this river he notes the Stoney Creek Islands remarkable for their forming three channels only one of which is navigable during a period; Collot cites that when he went through the left one was the pass of

moment, but that "before spring it would probably be obstructed" and another would become navigable.

Descending twenty-eight miles lower they reached the Natchez which begins at the Yazoo and ends at the Tonicas. He describes its situation on the left bank of the river on an elevation which he calls the "fourth Spur." This territory was cut by numerous ravines and the fort was situated on the principal hill. Collot gives a lengthy description of this fort and mentions the means to be resorted to to remedy its defects. He states that Mr. Gayoso de Lemos, who was then governor, had it surrounded by palisades and was to build a road of which the ditch was already outlined. The adjoining battery had neither ditch nor palisade but was to have a 4-inch cannon. It was called Gayoso's battery. The fort was hexagonal in shape and contained sixteen cannons, eight 18-pounders and eight 12-pounders, barracks for 200 men, a well which measured not less than 80 feet depth, and a powder magazine, all in a pitiable condition. The buildings he described as "crumbling," the platforms and supports so rotten that if the fort were to use its 18-pound cannon it would infallibly have tumbled down. There were 50 men garrisoned at this fort which the General thought the best situated for defense against the Americans who could reach it only by a long circuitous route. He declared that all the fortifications on the left bank of the Mississippi, however manned or consolidated, without the alliance of the western States, were useless for the defense of Louisiana. The town of Natchez, facing the river, he described as containing 100 wooden houses painted in different colors and many fine farms and orchards which seemed to denote industry, comfort and means. The population at that time amounted to 10,000 inhabitants, among them 2,000 militiamen and 200 well mounted volunteer dragoons. This population consisted of English emigrants, Tories or Royalists, who during the American revolution sided with King George, and the malcontents of the United States who took refuge there. They had but one feeling in common, their hatred of the federal government. The only route for Natchez trade was the Mississippi and its only market New Orleans; there was however a trail which led to Pointe Coupee where began the grand route to New Orleans, and by this road came, on horseback, the gallant Mississippi volunteers who in 1815 participated in the battle of New Orleans. Here again Collot imparted to the governor, Gayoso de Lemos, the information which he had given to Governor Trudeau about Canadian armaments, and also revealed to him a plot⁶ hatched by the English in Canada

⁶*Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.*

and so well worked by their agents in Tennessee, in Florida, among the Tories of Natchez, the Creeks and Cherokees, that everything was ready and the early part of May set for their attack on Baton Rouge and other forts and their invasion of Louisiana. Whether this was a boast of Collot or did he really possess the said information we can only conjecture. That there was a plot and that the English had been stirring the Creeks for some time previous is beyond dispute, and Carondelet was aware of it, for in a letter to one of his officers, dated April, 1794,¹ he says that Seagrove² is trying to excite the Creeks against the Spaniards, he advises him to have some Choctaws with him, and authorizes him to offer them a reward which will be awarded to them on their arrival at the confederation. "Seagrove," he writes, "has left for Philadelphia with fifteen Creek chiefs." He proposes gaining over the Choctaws and their neighbors and fortifying themselves before his (Seagrove's) return; he fixes the sum to be spent in provisions, brandy, munitions, etc., and bids them beware of "tafias," he asks the officer to repeat the above details to Lavillebeuvre, to give full instructions as to the means of avoiding a surprise and orders as to what he must do, in case of attack, to the sergeant to be left at "Tombecbe" with fifteen men. He informs him that all is "quiet above" but that they might be attacked by the Belize; he instructs him to reconnoitre the river with care and to establish communication between the confederation and the Yazoo. This letter of Carondelet proves that Collot's revelations had been anticipated and that the gratitude which he expected from the governor of lower Louisiana for this "signal service" was not called for.

From Natchez the party descended to Baton Rouge, 120 miles lower. On the way they passed the Roche D'Avion, named after the Missionary martyr and the canal of the Tonicas, an arm of the Mississippi; the Tchafalaya on the right, emptying into St. Bernard's bay, Pointe Coupee and then Baton Rouge, beginning at False river, which has since been filled. Collot traces the etymology of Baton Rouge to the habit the former savage inhabitants had of marking the boundaries of their respective lands by a long pole or cane painted red. He speaks of the cypress wood back of the town under ten or twelve feet of water during the inundations and in the dry season an impassable marsh; the sandy soil of the town proper at the time of the flood, was always under water. The Baton Rouge fort, immortalized by the memory of Grandpré and his companions,

¹The original held by one of Major Guilmard's heirs.
²English agent.

was in the shape of a star, surrounded by a ditch with a covered road. When Collot saw it only the Commander's house remained of all the out houses and a small barracks containing forty men. He considered Baton Rouge a very important position and went into minute details of the work necessary to render it secure if not impregnable. Speaking of that outlet of the Mississippi called the Iberville river he wrote that the different appellations of Massiac, Manchaque, Ascantia, had been so often misapplied that it was confusing to a stranger. The canal connecting Lake Ponchartrain and Lake Maurepas was the Massiac canal; the two passages formed by Grand Isle were the little and big canals. We must bear in mind that Grand Isle was at that time called Massiac Island. The stream which flows to the junction of Iberville and Amite rivers was called Amite; that portion from Amite river to the Mississippi was the Iberville canal. To call it river would be incorrect as it was born of the Mississippi in the high water season. During the war of 1812 Jackson ordered the filling of the Manchac canal as a necessary precaution against the invaders.

Another waterway cited by the French General was that small stream between Lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, the Tanchipas which emptied into Lake Ponchartrain, and at its source met the Nitabani which flowed into Lake Maurepas. Between Lake Maurepas and Amite river the country he found intersected by a great number of small tributary streams which subjected this section to frequent inundations. The Amite was then navigable only with oars there being too much depth to use a pole, and the banks so thickly fringed with trees that sails were of no avail. "But these inconveniences are momentary," wrote Collot, "it is easy to conceive that they will disappear as the land is cleared and populated." In the same section a little river was specially noticeable from the abundance of fish in its waters, the name itself attesting to this fact, for Antomoha means fishy. Below Iberville river they entered the passage called Plaquemines, which like the Iberville is dry in certain seasons; and a little lower they came upon the Big Fork of the Chetimacha which carries the surplus waters of the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico. Since Bienville's partial exploration of these bayous the French and Spanish governments, with unpardonable neglect, never studied these outlets with the advantages they might offer to commerce. The French General admired the surpassing beauty of the settlements and fine plantations in this part of the country, where Sugar cane had replaced indigo and cotton and after de Boré's experiments and success in the granulation of

sugar, Louisiana's wealth was assured. The sixty miles intervening between the Chetimacha and New Orleans he noted for the beauty of the planters' homes on both sides of the river. The General, who had been in the West Indies was deeply interested in the cultivation of sugar, and he determined to accept Etienne de Bore's invitation and to study the new methods which had brought the planter success and wealth, but his expectations were doomed to a speedy collapse for he had no sooner reached de Bore's residence than he was arrested, according to his own account on the 27th of October at daybreak, by the major of the garrison¹, just as his adjutant was about to start for the governor's residence² to present his passports and letters and to announce that General Collot would call on him the following day; Mr. Guilmard, officer of the regiment of Louisiana, arrived in the Governor's shallop and requested an interview. The General assured him that on the morrow he would present his respects to the governor, but the major insisted that he should accompany him immediately, alleging that he held these instructions from the governor himself. Collot was obliged to comply without even the privilege of changing his costume, and Gen. Warin, who intended to remain to guard his baggage, was told that he was included in the order; they were hurried into the boat and the baggage remained at the mercy of the oarsmen. Half an hour later a troop of horsemen going towards de Boré's plantation received a sign from Major Guilmard to return, which sign they seemed to expect. To Collot's inquiries the Major replied that it was the ordinary patrol. Further on, at a sign from an officer of the garrison, Guilmard simulated much surprise and exclaimed: "How strange, I am ordered to the fort!" General Collot then demanded if such was the lodging destined to the officers of the French republic even before they were honored by an introduction to the Governor.² Through a stupefied, curious crowd, but not a hostile one, the French officers were ushered into Fort St. Charles which stood on the river bank in the space now comprised between Esplanade and Barracks streets. Two officers were placed on guard in their prison, at the door two grenadiers with naked swords, one at the window, outside the door two more grenadiers with bayonets, and another on guard on the parapet which commanded a view of the window on that side; during the night the garrison and the patrols on horse and foot were doubled. Fort St. Charles was one of the five forts erected by Carondelet. Collot says that this fort and Fort St. Louis commanded the road

¹Guilmard.²Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.

and the river. The other forts situated at the salient angles of the square of the town were Fort St. Ferdinand and Fort Burgundy and between the two Fort St. Joseph. He called them "miniature forts" and thought that Governor Carondelet was more intent on keeping his turbulent subjects in check than to defend New Orleans against invasion. In 1805 the city passed resolutions requesting the evacuation and destruction of these forts and the filling of the ditches surrounding them as unsanitary from the stagnant water they contained. Gov. Claiborne approved the enforcement of this resolution but excepted from demolition Forts St. Charles and St. Louis which were then garrisoned by United States troops; the ditches were, however, drained by his orders. Fort St. Charles, where the French Generals were incarcerated, was the last to be demolished, towards 1826, the same year Collot's book describing his voyage in Louisiana appeared.¹

After these voluminous precautions Adjutant-General Warin was brought before the governor who made him undergo an interrogatory in the presence of the Auditor of War, the interpreter and the secretary of the government. He was afterwards, by the governor's order, escorted to an inn where he spent the night under guard of two fusileers and a corporal, though he was then very ill, having never recovered from the wound in his chest inflicted by the savages who tried to assassinate him. Meanwhile General Collot who had remained in the fort demanded a copy of the order of his arrest which Major Guilmard and his adjutant² refused. The governor denied having issued any other than a verbal order. Why the written one was not destroyed, since he had reasons to deny its existence, cannot be explained. It still exists in New Orleans, written in full and signed by Carondelet's own hand, and the following is its wording:³

"New Orleans, the 25th of October, 1796.

"For reasons of state and in the King's name, I send the major of the garrison, Mr. Guilmard, to arrest General Collot with the officer who accompanies him, as also his equipage and all his papers, in consequence of which, sir, in case of necessity, you will lend a hand to the said major for the success of his commission. God have you in his holy keeping.

The Baron of Carondelet."

"To Mr. de Boré or any other inhabitant who will be requisitioned by Mr. Guilmard."

¹Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale; Gayarre's Hist. of Louisiana, Vol. IV, American domination.

²Mr. Metzingue.

³The original held by one of Major Guilmard's heirs.

This order bears the date of October 25th, but according to Collot's statement was carried out on the 27th.

Collot's baggage had been brought to the fort only towards evening on the day of his arrest, the trunks open, the boxes broken, and the seals, notwithstanding his protest were affixed without any previous inventory, nor any of the customary formalities. Strict orders were issued that neither pen, pencil nor ink should reach him and that everything entering the guard house should be thoroughly inspected. His keys were demanded but he refused to surrender them as he was only the depositary of effects and papers belonging to the French republic. For these indignities and those undergone by Warin, Carondelet threw the odium on Mr. Metzingue.¹ Collot declined to answer any questions before having a private interview with the governor.

The General insisted on the private interview which he had demanded; the Governor acquiesced to this request, and after a short conference during which Carondelet had taken cognizance of the General's letters, he recalled the auditor, telling Collot that he was compelled to question him, but would do so only for the form. After making him undergo an interrogatory which was a mere formality, the Governor offered the General a house in town which he was to occupy on parole, with an orderly; on his acceptance he had him conveyed hither in his own official carriage. Collot was obliged to acknowledge that the Spanish Governor seemed anxious to make amends for previous unpleasantness. He waived the inspection of the General's papers on condition that he would await in Havana the decision of their respective courts, but detention in Havana had in those days an unsavory reputation of indefinite promises and ever renewed delays, and as the French General had still "important business" to transact in Philadelphia² he consented to submit his papers to the Governor's inspection after a written promise from him of inviolable secrecy and of their speedy return to him. At Carondelet's request he made a gift of some to the Spanish Government³ and received a written receipt for them.⁴ Notwithstanding all these fair promises some were abstracted⁴ and others copied by Mr. Guilmard.⁵

Gen. Collot remained in New Orleans, according to his statement, fifteen days² under arrest, and during that time he was called upon to follow to the grave the remains of his friend, his companion

¹Major Guilmard's adjutant.

²Voyage de l'Amérique Septentrionale par le General Collot.

³Papers concerning the Mississippi.

⁴Letter from Collot to Carondelet, dated December, 1796.

⁵By order of the Governor of Louisiana.

and sharer of his labor and hardships. They were both of a regenerated nation who had inscribed on the abode of their dead: "Death is eternal sleep," and sleep is rest, surcease of sorrow, but "eternal sleep!" put between them a gulf which neither life nor death could span, the abyss of nothingness. There are moments even in a strong man's life when the teachings and beliefs of childhood, like restless ghosts come back and assert themselves: Warin accepted the church ministrations from "Pere Antoine" of revered memory, and Collot, the stern republican, bowed before the cross planted on that lonely grave on a foreign soil. Warin's bones have bleached and crumbled and mingled with our soil, and the then spacious cemetery where he was laid is now a crowded labyrinth of tombs. The city then counted 10,000 souls and it is not probable that these inhabitants, most of them of French extraction, were in any way dismayed at the French General's presence, but it is easily supposed that the Spanish Governor was made very uneasy by it, and this explains his proposition that Collot should await at the Belize a transport to Philadelphia. He suggested that he should assume a false name¹ to avoid the loss of his papers which his identity might endanger. To this Collot indignantly replied that his mission was too honorable to lower it by such artifices.²

Carondelet issued the passport under his own name as he desired, personally ordered the construction of a chair with secret compartments to conceal his papers, and finally returned what he chose of the confiscated papers, drawings and maps.

Notwithstanding his sudden friendship, his high regard for Collot,³ his exquisite politeness, he never relaxed his vigilance until the General was safely on board the *Iphegenia* and out of his province.

The French General left for the Belize on the 1st of November, accompanied by a captain of the regiment of Louisiana who was not to lose sight of him. He was to reside in the house of the chief pilot, Juan Ronquillo, who had been at this post since the cession of Louisiana to the Spaniards.⁴ There were twenty-four pilots under him, and in this rough company, in this dismal spot; he spent seven weeks the hardship and loneliness of which it is not difficult to imagine when we call to mind what the Belize then was. As far as the eye could reach nothing struck the view but a vast swamp whose undulating surface of dingy, yellowish grasses and swaying reeds spoke

¹Letter from Carondelet to General Collot.

²Letter from Collot to Carondelet.

³Letter from Carondelet to Collot.

⁴Voyages de Perrin du Lac.

Secularly

but too plainly of unfathomable depths below; beyond the river's outstretched hand of quaggy soil, the immensity of the open sea, and, over it all, that hush which is the stillness of desolation. Nothing broke the monotony of the marsh but the pilot's home. Could it be called home? Was it a house, this dwelling perched on stakes in the midst of floating lands, to which there was no means of exit or entrance save by a canoe, moved by pole or oar, each stroke of which sent up the fetid breath of the miasmatic, slimy water? In those bleak November days a pall seemed to hang over it even in the blaze of the noonday sun, and when the shades of evening deepened and gloom, and then darkness, fell upon the trembling prairie, the moaning of the wind in the reeds and the swish of the sluggish waters must have sounded like the wailing of unhappy spirits. Collot delineates it in one line when he speaks of "liquid mud filled with insects of all kinds, and the place productive of every incommodey and all the horrors which such a sojourn may suggest." On the 22nd of September he embarked on the brig *Iphegenia* for Philadelphia where he awaited Carondelet's answer to his demand for the abstracted papers. He threatened to lay the case before their respective ministers and the Governor, to all outward appearances gave in, but the papers, which he pretended to have forwarded, never reached the General. They were apparently confided to Juan Cortes who left New Orleans in May, 1797; he was to remit them to the French General in person, but was authorized to "throw them into the sea" if there was any risk of their falling into the hands of the enemy. On the 20th of the same month the *Betsy* was captured by the English schooner *Ranger* and Cortes, according to his instructions, tied a weight to the said package and threw it into the sea. This fact he attested to before Thomas Stoughton, Spanish Consul, as soon as he reached New York, and two days later before the minister plenipotentiary of Spain in the United States, then residing in Philadelphia.¹

Collot wrote that Carondelet showed less anxiety about the consequences of his hasty action than about the means to be employed to creep out of it;² that it was not to be supposed that two officers would venture into a strange country without being provided with all the necessary passports; that he should at least have ascertained that it was not so before ordering their arrest.

Governor Carondelet finding it expedient to justify his proceedings towards the French General, wrote to Mr. Adet, that the French

¹Attested before notary as exact copies of originals.

²Voyage de l'Amerique Septentrionale par le General Collot.

Minister should have advised him of Collot's visit, that he had been informed that he was intrusted with a secret mission hostile to the Spanish Government; that he was reconnoitering the country and that rumors in the American newspapers had caused his presence to create a stir and commotion throughout Louisiana.¹

To form an impartial opinion it will be necessary to review the condition of the colony previous to this event. There is no doubt that the revolutionary ideas which pervaded France had found sympathizers in a colony whose love for the mother-country had never been wholly eradicated. "A nation may," says Guizot, "for a moment and under the impulse of a violent crisis, deny its past, even curse it, but they will never forget it nor detach themselves from it for any length of time, nor absolutely." Louisiana had been France's brightest jewel, and Bienville's useless pleading and the execution of the Franco-Louisianians, who sealed with their blood their fidelity to France, had not stifled their patriotism. The wild and fiery eloquence of the French patriots, apostles of unbridled liberty, sank deep in the hearts of a population who had passed under the yoke of Spain without being warned of the change nor consulted as to their pleasure; the city reechoed with Jacobin refrains, the Marseillaise was called for at the theatre and the people with frenzy would applaud and recall the actors until actors and audience became so excited that a spark would have started the threatened explosion. Carondelet was aware that danger in the colony was as imminent as what could be feared from a foreign enemy.

The Jacobins of the United States published revolutionary pamphlets advising the Louisianians to avenge their wrongs, to shake off the Spanish yoke and strike for liberty. It was rumored that Genet had organized an expedition of Frenchmen and Americans, for the invasion of Louisiana, of which he was to be commander in chief, and de la Chaise leader of the invading forces which he had recruited in Kentucky. Genet had secured the Creeks and Cherokees as allies and his recall at the request of the United States did not quell the seditious movement he had aroused. His agents were scattered over the country and seized every favorable opportunity to renew their efforts. De la Chaise, too proud to bear defeat, when he saw his plans frustrated took service in the French army. This turbulent spirit's departure must have drawn from Carondelet a sigh of relief, but he knew that he was not near the end of his troubles and he took every possible precaution against menaces from without and within.

¹Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale par General Victor Collot; Official correspondence.

Syndicates were appointed within nine miles of each other with orders to report weekly to superior officers; citizens were compelled to report seditious expressions; assemblages of more than eight persons were forbidden, travelers without passports incurred arrest; and the city was frequently patrolled.

A number of royalists had sought refuge from the horrors of the revolution among their former brethren. Carondelet had favored their coming, he had even made large grants of land to Maison Rouge, de Lassus de St. Vrain and Bastrop and allowed and encouraged their bringing into the country from the United States¹ large numbers of their countrymen who had fled from France. This increase of the French population, despite the favors granted by the Spanish Government and the conciliatory measures adopted by the Spaniards, made the danger of feuds and uprisings imminent. Barbé-Marbois tells us that aversion for Spain was effaced but affection never replaced it," and that nothing but indifference could be expected from a colony so amalgamated. Carondelet held the reins of government with a steady hand and kept the restive element in check but it was never daunted.

These facts added to the growth and success of republicanism, and the ill disguised feelings of the French population, made Collot's visit following these events, under the circumstances already demonstrated an intrusion and a menace. It is not, therefore, astonishing² that the Spanish Governor should have taken every measure to guard against the stirring up of his colonists.

Of the different actors in this episode there is little else to say. Gov. Carondelet vented his displeasure on the Lieutenant Governor of Illinois whom he threatened to deprive ~~of~~ of his gubernatorial commission, accusing him of having allowed Collot to penetrate into lower Louisiana. Collot denied this and stoutly defended Trudeau, but he was an interested party, and more reliance may be placed on the statement of the intendent Ventura Morales who says that the French General came in by the Ohio.² and this exculpates the venerable governor of Illinois. During the year which followed Collot's arrest Carondelet was appointed President of the Royal Audience of Quito and at his departure left many warm friends in Louisiana and fewer enemies than might have been expected considering his rigid discipline, his quick and unwavering justice.

¹Martin's History of Louisiana.

²Official despatch to Spain.

Major Guilmard, who arrested the General, continued to serve under the subsequent governors until Laussat received the colony from Spain and receded it to the United States. He then was sent as Lieutenant Colonel to Pensacola by His Catholic Majesty. He was a nephew of the venerated Pere Dagobert de Longwy, a Frenchman by birth, though his talents brought him honor and emolument under the Spanish domination. His remains were deposited in the old St. Louis cemetery. As to General Collot, he remained some time in Philadelphia, and on his return to France, was destined to learn at his expense that past services are swiftly forgotten by those in authority and do not insure against disgrace and imprisonment. In 1801 he was again free and in command of a number of exiled Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen bound for the United States. This armament subsequently left for Hispaniola, and was to proceed later to Louisiana. Collot was designed to be governor of Louisiana after the retrocession to France, but fell into disfavor a second time, and the last historical mention I have found of his is in January, 1803, when Livingston wrote from Paris that Bernadotte was to command in the colony, Collot to be second in command, that Adet was appointed Prefect, and that the armament destined for Louisiana would not reach there till June. In the meanwhile Bonaparte determined to sell what he could not hold, and, on the 30th of April, 1803, Louisiana was sold to the United States. Once more Collot had seen the fruit of his ambition, honor and power within his reach, but ruthless fate had again stepped between them and wrested it from his grasp. He died in Paris, July, 1805.

Etienne de Boré, in whose home Collot suffered arrest, barely escaped imprisonment, owing his safety to his popularity and to the fear of exasperating the French sympathizers in the colony. In later years he became so far reconciled to the Spaniards as to accept one of the most prominent as his son-in-law. He was appointed Mayor of New Orleans by Laussat¹ and, after this transient honor, he was requested by Governor Claiborne in 1804 to become a member of the legislature. Finding the acceptance of this place inconsistent with his former views³¹ he retired to private life but not to obscurity nor oblivion for his name will be honored by future generations as long as the sugar industry thrives in Louisiana.

HELOISE HULSE CRUZAT.

Thanks are due to Mr. Gaspar Cusachs for the loan of a valuable book written by General Collot: "Voyage dans l'Amérique Spétritionale."

¹November 30th 1803; see Gayarre's History of Louisiana, Vol. III, p. 605.

TRANSLATION OF SOME DOCUMENTS BEARING ON GENERAL COLLOT'S ARREST

Letter from the Governor to General Collot:

New Orleans, October 28, 1796.

"General: I deeply regret not having been able to treat you with the sincerity and frankness which my friendship for you suggested; you must have noticed by the questions put yesterday that I did not betray your confidence in me. It was natural to ask you to produce the important despatches you remitted to the Lieutenant Governor of Illinois for me; I could also have shown letters from the envoys of France and Spain which you handed me that the principal one had been sent to me by a vessel which probably threw them into the sea, since they contained no allusion to the real object of your voyage; they did not authorize you to reconnoitre the province, nor entitle you to the condescension which the commanders of the different posts showed you in allowing you to go over them. Perhaps you have been mistaken about their contents, and that is why I send you Mr. Adet's letter, and I shall afterwards interpret that of Don Jose Jaudenes which is in the same sense.

I could not allow you to carry out the object of your mission without exposing myself to disagreeable consequences from my Court. I believe you would do well to await at the Belize a vessel leaving in ten days for Philadelphia, under the Spanish flag, with which you will come to terms as to price of your passage. You will reside in the home of the head pilot, a man in easy circumstances, who will treat you well; according to the orders I have given, you will be perfectly free.

As I am incapable of abusing of your confidence all your papers will be returned to you, even those particularly concerning Louisiana, but for their safety at sea, you will do well to spread the rumor, as I shall on my side, if you judge proper, that I have retained them in my power. Your departure for the Belize will set to rest the minds of the inhabitants whom your arrival had generally alarmed.

If you prefer to go via Havana you will likewise have a boat shortly and from there you could reach your destination. To end it, General, I shall no longer conceal from you that I was warned from Philadelphia that you were intrusted with a secret mission against

which I was told to be on my guard; I was not however informed from whom you held this mission.

I had sent orders higher up the river to observe your movements closely and not to leave you diverge from your route, but they came too late.

Advices from Messrs. Jaudenes and Adet jointly would have spared us many inconveniences and would have given me the opportunity to show you the high consideration with which I have the honor, etc.

Signed: BARON de CARONDELET."

General Collot's answer to preceding letter:

New Orleans, October 28, 1796,

"*Mr. Governor:* I am infinitely thankful for your personal interest in me.

If the advice you received from Philadelphia comes from your minister you are fulfilling a sacred duty towards your Sovereign; in the contrary case, you are compromised and mistaken.

For the dignity of my country I cannot remain any longer in the territory of His Catholic Majesty; I then, sir, accept your proposition. I cannot agree with you on the pretended alarm my presence caused among the inhabitants. The reception tendered to me by them and the different commanders would contradict this assertion. This will be proved by the accompanying letters remitted to me on my route from St. Louis down to New Orleans; you will oblige me by taking cognizance of them.

The word "condescension" in your letter is not admissible, the republic receives it from no one, I exhort you to change it.

As honest as yourself, Mr. Governor, equally anxious for the glory of our Sovereigns, (you of your King, I of the republic). I regret infinitely that too much hastiness, and perhaps a little prejudice on your side, should have deprived us of communicating to each other the ideas which might have been of use to the interest of both nations, threatened on all sides by the common enemy of this part of the globe. I have the honor to remain, etc.

Signed: VICTOR COLLOT."

Governor Carondelet to General Victor Collot:

October 30, 1796.

Sir: You will have the chair in question tomorrow; it will be made in the morning or at the latest at noon.

You must have heard of the answer Mr. Clark gave when I suggested to put in at the harbor of Charleston, but it does not appear to be an unsurmountable difficulty. If you return my letter I shall make the change you desire; I am now working on my answer to Mr. Adet's letter, handed to me by you.

This morning I received Mr. Gayoso's letter which was delayed eight days between Baton Rouge and New Orleans; it was dated the 15th, eve of your departure.

Be assured of the sincerity of the feelings, General, of your very humble, etc.

Signed: BARON de CARONDELET."

Governor Carondelet to General Collot.

"I return, General, the accompanying letter and during the day you will receive the remainder with the exception of the order of arrest which was only verbal; but I will tell it to you officially which will be equivalent. The clause you desire inserted in your passport would expose you to the loss of your papers in case of an undesirable meeting at sea, since it would reveal their existence, but you could take a supposed name instead of that of General Collot. Receive the assurance of my sincere attachment.

Signed: BARON de CARONDELET."

General Collot to the Governor of Louisiana:

October 31, 1796.

"Mr. Governor: My mission is too honorable to be denatured by a supposed name. An officer of the French republic prefers at any time to expose himself to suffering and even to loss of life, rather than save his life by an action unworthy of a great nation.

Therefore, Mr. Governor, I insist on the passport being under my own name and I shall accept no other.

Signed: VICTOR COLLOT."

Governor Carondelet to General Collot:

New Orleans, La., October 31st, 1796.

"General: I have only a moment to say that after having weighed the reasons for and against concerning your baggage, I am of opinion that you go by sea as more certain and speedier; I shall give you a passport as you desire it. The chair will be brought to you tonight and all your papers will be remitted to you tomorrow, so that you may leave early day after tomorrow, if nothing prevents, but we will speak tonight on this subject. In the meanwhile I am entirely at your service.

Signed: BARON de CARONDELET."

General Collot to Governor Carondelet at the moment of his departure:

The Balize, December 4, 1796.

"*Mr. Governor:* I received your letter and the different papers sent with it. It pained me to see that after my confidence in you and the verbal promise you made that all would be returned, you however, thought fit to retain some of them, principally the plan of St. Louis, the map of all the American portion of Illinois, the memorial of the Grand Osage and Arkansas rivers.

That you should have kept the plan of St. Louis is plain since it was intended for you, as also the correspondence of General Gayoso; that of Mr. Zenon would have proven it; and thereby you deprived me of the pleasure of remitting them to you in person. But Mr. Governor, the map of the American portion of Illinois, containing 60 miles of country was not subject to confiscation; it is property belonging to the French Republic, and which, allow me to say, you can have no excuse for retaining. The pretext which you allege that the Spanish is on it is not admissible, for you well know that there is but the line showing the width of the river and the points of St. Genevieve and St. Louis, simply to indicate their latitude, and in this case the accessories would be more weighty than the principal.

At most you would have had the right to detach the part adjoining Spanish territory, supposing that a line drawn from Hutchin's map may be of consequence in the hands of the Republic. This map is too essential a part of the collection of which I am but the depositary for me to forego it lightly.

I shall then await your answer by the first boats bound for Philadelphia or New York before laying this affair before our respec-

tive ministers, confident that it will be treated reasonably and with the respect due to an allied power.

I have the honor to remain, etc.

Signed: VICTOR COLLOT."

"I, the undersigned, Jean Cortes, inhabitant of New Orleans, declare that having left the said port the eighth day of last May, in the American schooner named Betsy, under orders of Captain Peter Davis, bound for Baltimore, a package addressed to General Collot, residing in Philadelphia, was intrusted to me by the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General of the Province, with instruction to guard it carefully, to remit it to him personally, and authorizing me to throw it into the sea if there survened any risk of its falling into the enemy's hands. That the 20th day of the same month, we were accosted by an English schooner, named the "Ranger," Captain Schearman, who after having examined our papers declared us a prize and ordered us to follow the route to New Providence, in virtue of which I profited of a favorable moment to tie a piece of lead to the said package and threw it into the sea, without the English perceiving it; all of which I declared on my arrival in this country before Don Thomas Stoughton, Consul of His Catholic Majesty, actually ratifying and signing the present declaration in New York, October 5th, 1797.

Signed: JEAN CORTES."

Don Thomas Stoughton, Consul of His Catholic Majesty for the State of New York.

"Certify that appeared in this consulate Mr. Jean Cortes, and that the preceding declaration was signed in my presence, that the said declaration may serve if need be, I granted the present certificate, signed by my hand, with seal of the consulate in New York, this 5th day of October, 1797.

Signed: THOMAS STOUGHTON."

"I declare that what precedes is a translation of the subjoined declaration in Spanish. Philadelphia, October 7th, 1797.

YRUJO."

I certify that the signature of Thomas Stoughton which appears in the subjoined document is that of His Catholic Majesty's Consul

of the State of New York, and that the seal is that of the said consulate in which faith must be put.

Signed: CARLOS MARTINEZ de YRUJO."
Philadelphia, October 7th, 1797.

Don Carlos Martinez de Yrujo was minister plenipotentiary and extraordinary from Spain to the United States of America.

These translations taken from "Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale," from Mr. Gaspar Cusach's library.



TRANSLATION OF GENERAL COLLOT'S DESCRIPTION OF DE BORE'S SUGAR HOUSE AND COMPARI- SON WITH THE WEST INDIA CANE

"In the latter part of October the occasion presented itself of seeing Mr. de Bore's plantation. They were then cutting the cane which had been planted since February according to the custom in San Domingo; it however seemed to me that they were less distant at Mr. de Bore's than in the Antilles. I found them still green, the knots very close together and the tubes very slender. Notwithstanding this imperfect state they were grinding, that is, in the manufacturer's language, they were putting the canes into the mill. This mill as those of San Domingo was worked by four mules. The juice (vesoul) was of a greenish color and contained a great deal of acid. It was evaporated in six kettles of different sizes, the only ones Mr. de Bore was able to procure in the colony.

"The syrup, of a lighter color than that of the Antilles, was sweet and good; the pale color noticeable in the San Domingo syrup is alternately attributed to drought or to great humidity during the growth of the cane. In Louisiana it proceeds principally from the fact that the cane planted in winter can remain but nine months in the ground, whilst in the Antilles it is continually exposed to a more ardent sun; the planters consider it ripe only after thirteen, fourteen and fifteen months. In Louisiana sugar loses more by evaporation and crystallizes with more difficulty than in the Antilles, on account of the great quantity of acid and aqueous parts contained in its juice.

"Brown sugar at Mr. de Bore's is good, well crystallized and has a rich grain, but it still contains fat and aqueous matter, such as the juice, which evaporation has not wholly purified.

"As to the clarified sugar, it is of the finest quality, so considered even by the inhabitants of Guadeloupe to whom I showed some samples; a great many persons were persuaded that it had been refined. This perfection shows great fertility of the soil and all the necessary requisites for the nourishment of this plant. The only question is to find the species which will in the shortest time attain maturity.

"Before the revolution trials had been made in San Domingo with Batavia cane; the few planters who cultivated it found it greatly superior to ordinary cane as its production was more certain and more abundant.

"These trials were interrupted by internal troubles in the colony. Therefore the experiences made in San Domingo cannot yet be depended on, and we ignore the essential and interesting point for Louisiana, which is the question if it can, in nine months vegetation, attain the right maturity; as to myself, I do not doubt it.

"In Guadeloupe, in the English colonies, and especially in Antigua, the Otaiti cane is cultivated; it has been introduced only since four years, and its advantages over ordinary cane are: 1, that it ripens in ten months instead of fourteen; 2, that in a drought when ordinary cane cannot grow the Otaiti cane is not delayed in its growth; 3, that it comes in lean ground in which the other cane could not grow; 4, that it gives more juice than ordinary cane, and that the same quantity of juice of the Otaiti gives more sugar than the other; 5, that the cane is of a finer color. The only disadvantage of this cane, in comparison with the other, is that its bark is not suitable to light fire in the ovens and kettles, and that it exhausts the ground; but these conveniences are trivial considering the fertility of the soil and the wealth of the Louisiana woods.

"The superiority of this cane was so well demonstrated in Antigua that no other is cultivated at present; it is grown in all the English colonies, especially in Jamaica; vessels entirely loaded with this plant are constantly sent from Antigua to Jamaica since two years, notwithstanding the risk and danger threatening them on account of the war. It is probable that the culture of this cane would be applicable to the soil of lower Louisiana, but time alone and different trials can teach the inhabitants which is to be preferred.

"However, the counsels of learned administrators and of the scientists of Europe might enlighten the inhabitants, who, encouraged by Mr. de Bore's success, give their energy with so much ardor to this new culture; but lower Louisiana lacks refiners. There is only one who belongs to Mr. de Bore; when his work is finished, Mr. de Bore willingly lends him to those who ask for him. One realizes how much sugar must be lost for want of this kind of labor.

"Mr. de Bore believes his success is due to his bringing the Mississippi waters into his fields, by means of trenches, which he opens and closes at will with the help of sluices. These ditches keep his ground continually damp during March, April, and May, (season of drought in Louisiana), which time Mr. de Bore has observed to be extremely detrimental to the growth of the cane. These means are practicable in almost all the plantations, the nature and situation of the lands suited to sugar cane culture being about the same all over

lower Louisiana, and the waters of the Mississippi regularly rising from March to July.

"Other informations I have been able to secure on Mr. de Boré's establishment are these: 1. The cane he cultivates, which is indigenous to the country, yields but eight or nine hundred pounds of brown sugar by arpent and the same acreage of lands in San Domingo produces up to 2500 and 3000 pounds. This difference comes, as I have said, from great evaporation.

"2. His establishment consists of a mill, drying room and shed, (the whole built of bricks and covered with tiles), including cylinders and kettles. It cost him but \$4,000. It is true that the labor was done by his own negroes, forty in all, men and women. It is also true that the bricks, tiles, lime and carpenters' wood were all prepared by his laborers, on his plantation, and the entire construction was finished by them in eighteen months. This expense will no doubt appear very moderate for so large and important an establishment. In San Domingo it would have cost 200,000 pounds to put up an establishment of this sort. 3. Mr. de Bore's crop brought him \$12,000, and once more, he employed but forty negroes, not owning a greater number, which caused a large part of his cane to remain standing and to rot for want of hands to cut it.

"A longer sojourn at Mr. de Bore's would have given me more information. There are however, several important questions which he acknowledges that he is unable to answer, being himself a novice in this culture.

"Long experience, comparison of the products during several years, observation of the influence of divers seasons on different cultures, on different species of cane, on the economy of labor, comparison of costs and profits can alone give a complete solution to these questions.

"But an incontestable and very important truth is that the soil of lower Louisiana is adapted to raise cane, that good and fine sugar may be made, and that as much as possible is made considering the hands available to its exploitation."

GENERAL VICTOR COLLOT."

In 1796 there were ten sugar houses in Louisiana.

THE WAR OF 1812---SOME FLORIDA EPISODES

Seizure of Slaves Admitted; Schedule and Value of Slaves; Grand Denial of Illegality; Claimant Persists.

Letter from Col. Edward Nicholls, commanding His British Majesty's Forces in the Floridas in 1814:

Most Excellent Sir: In answer to your letter of the 22nd instant relative to two slaves belonging lately to Mme. D'Olive, I have to acquaint you that those men have entered into His Britannic Majesty's service; that they were the property of an American Magistrate, taken out of the United States, and that my orders being to take all such men into our service they must remain so.

I am fully answerable to Your Excellency for any act which shall take place in the territory of His Catholic Majesty's, but for nothing out of it. I have also to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 24th instant which I cannot yet fully answer. All I have to say as to Innerarity's letter enclosed, is that a more infamous, false or scurrillous slander was never written against a British officer, every line of which I will make him eat as soon as Lieut. Castle comes from Perdido. I will prove to Your Excellency how falsely I am accused; wishing Your Excellency long life and health, I remain

Your faithful and obedient servant,

EDWARD NICHOLLS, Col.,
Commanding H. B. M. Forces in the Floridas.

His Excellency, Don Matheo Gonzales,
Governor of Pensacola.

Copied from original in collection of late Mr. J. W. Cruzat.

List and value of such as were appraised of the 45 negroes taken from the possession of the undersigned by the authority of Lieut.-Col. Edward Nicholls of the British mariners:

Harry, most invaluable master ship carpenter.....	\$ 2,000
Tom, most invaluable master ship carpenter.....	1,500
Abraham, a house carpenter.....	1,000
Ben, a baker; his wife, a house servant.....	1,400
Ambrose, a shoemaker, cost \$900 previous to his apprenticeship of five years.....	900

Dick and George, two prime field hands.....	1,300
Castle, \$500; his wife, \$400.....	900
Ned, a prime field hand.....	700
His wife, Rena, house servant.....	650
Sophy, a laundress and her child.....	300
Stephen, a carpenter; his wife, Cynthia.....	900
Billy, \$700; his wife Dolly, \$330.....	1,030
Their five children: Crecy, \$500; Flora, \$400; Peet, \$300; Cynthis, \$200; Nero, \$150.....	1,550
Tom, a valuable house servant.....	1,000
Paris, a prime field hand.....	650
Davy, Congo Tom and John Carpenter; Samuel, Dundas, Billy and Charles Congo; Charles, Mozambic, Sandy and Dick.	
The value of these eleven was average of \$700 a head.....	7,700

	\$25,900

Signed: JOHN INNERARITY,

Aggregate, exclusive of the rifle powder, \$25,900.

Col. Edward Nicholls, commanding the forces of His British Majesty to His Excellency, Don Matheo Gonzales, Governor of Pensacola, Fla.

October 22nd, 1814.

Sir: In answer to your letter respecting the things said to be captured illegally at Bon Secours by my orders I have to assure you that I did not authorize any illegal plunder; the greatest part of the letter is a base and infamous falsehood. I have none of the horses nor other things, nor has a British soldier a particle of them in his possession. The Indians, I am told took several horses and your townpeople I am also told bought them from them. All I shall say further on this subject is that when he wants security for his property from a British officer let him keep it out of an enemy's territory; he is thus setting at defiance the order of blockade of my sovereign, and I wish that six times as much damage had been done to his concern. As to the negroes I refer Your Excellency to my letter in answer to yours dated October 7th, 1814.

I beg to assure your Excellency of my most sincere regard and I have the honor to be

Your faithful and humble servant,

EDWARD NICHOLLS, Col.

Commanding H. B. M. Forces in the Floridas.

Letter referring to depredations committed or encouraged by Col. Nicholls, commanding the British forces against property of British subjects in the war of 1812-15.

Pensacola, November 2, 1814.

My dear Sir: The schooner by which this goes to Havana is about to get underway and I have only time to inclose you copy of my letter to Mitchell which accompanies my memorial to the Captain General relative to an unexampled aggression on our property by Col. Nicholls, who has been the scourge of this country; he now holds in the port of San Miguel ten of our negroes who were surprised at Bon Secours by a band of Indians with a few marines which he despatched overland to assist at the attack on Mobile Point. These negroes were then employed in the portage of cotton and tobacco and notwithstanding all the reiterated remonstrances of the Governor he persists in holding them and evades the restoration of a number of horses which were also plundered by the Indians. Till lately I had the most confident expectations that he would at last yield to the remonstrances and requisitions of the Governor, especially after seeing the whole town driven almost to a state of desperation by his violent proceedings and the seduction subrosa of their slaves. My memorial to the Captain General is accompanied by all the official proceedings he held here which were voluminous and of which I had hoped to be able to send you a copy by this opportunity, but Cyrille Morant, who is copying them is not quite finished with them. They will therefore miss this conveyance but there will be another in about a fortnight by which I will forward them. Their perusal will give you much pain and excite your utmost indignation against this audacious tyrant and scurrilous "Houndour."

I trust the Captain Generals's interference will be prompt, energetic and efficacious. Of this Mr. Mitchell will advise you and I shall soon await upon you with copy of all the proceedings, being at present reluctantly compelled to conclude this mournful communication in consequence of the departure of the vessel.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

JNO. FORBES.

THE ADMISSION OF LOUISIANA INTO THE UNION

An examination of a map illustrating the territorial expansion of the United States since 1789 will arouse an appreciation of adaptable statecraft potential in the American Constitution.

That document, intended originally to be the fundamental law of a portion of the North American Continent, bounded, in broad lines, on the north by Canada, on the east by the Atlantic ocean on the south by Florida and on the west by the Mississippi river, has been stretched along the proverbial pathway of empire, until its edges are staked well towards the Asiatic shores of the Pacific ocean.

The question of whether or not the Constitution has or has not attained its ultimate degree of adaptability to territorial, social or political changes is not pertinent to the subject of this paper. But a study of the successive adjustments of that instrument of government throughout our history, would seem to show that the recent *pullings* have met with less resistance than was presented to the first tests of its elastic qualities.

The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 was a preliminary pull at the territorial expansion possibilities to be read into or out of the Constitution of the United States.

Article III of the Treaty of Cession of April 3, 1803¹, however, was to present the first real test as to whether the Constitution of 1787 heralded by "We, the people of the United States," could be stretched over territory lying without the boundaries of the new nation which the "people" thereof had called into political existence.

On Saturday, March 17, 1804, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 66 to 21, passed a bill erecting the great Louisiana purchase into two territories, and providing for the temporary government thereof."²

This bill, the provisions of which became the subjects of some interesting debates in both Houses of Congress, debates which foreshadowed the differences to become manifest in the consideration of the later Statehood bill, was approved by President Jefferson on March 26, 1804.

¹MacDonald Select Documents of U. S. History, 1776-1861, p. 160.
²Annals of Congress, 8th Congress, 1st session, p. 1199.

The imperial stretch of territory purchased by Jefferson was divided, for purposes of administration into two parts, and that small portion practically co-extensive with the present State of Louisiana, was delineated.

The section of the bill, relative to our purpose, reads as follows: "That all that portion of country ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies south of the Mississippi Territory, and of an east and west line, to commence on the Mississippi river, at the thirty-third degree of north latitude, and to extend to the western boundary of the said cession, shall constitute a territory of the United States, under the name of the Territory of Orleans."¹

A study of the history of this territory from 1804 forces the conclusion that the inhabitants were but ill content with the restrictions and limitations of their form of government.

In 1809 the Territorial Legislature formulated a memorial to Congress praying for admission into the Union. This memorial, which was forwarded to the Secretary of State at Washington, on the 18th of May, 1809, by Governor Claiborne,² met with the decided opposition of the Governor, who sent with it, a letter containing a clear and positive statement of his views of the situation.

Governor Claiborne, while opposed upon principle to territorial systems of government, was convinced that "the system as it relates to this District, cannot yet be done away without hazarding the interests of the United States, and the welfare of this community." The Governor presented approximate figures for the heterogeneous population of the territory, revealing but a small proportion of 'natives of the United States.'"

The personal opinion of the Governor was fortified by his statement that the memorial had been strongly opposed during its way to passage in the territorial House of Representatives. Local influential opinion was also quoted by the Governor to give weight to his contention that the memorial was badly timed, for a people not ready for incorporation into full privileges of membership in the Federal Union.

On Monday, March 12, 1810, Senator William B. Giles of Virginia presented to the Senate of the United States the memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Orleans. The document was referred to a select committee with instructions to report thereon.³

¹Annals of Congress, 8th Congress, 1st session, Appendix 1293.

²History of Louisiana, Cayarre, Vol. IV., p. 211.

³Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, session 1, p. 596.

The committee reported on April 9, through its chairman, Senator Giles, "a bill to enable the people of the territory of Orleans to form a constitution and a State government, and for the admission of such State, into the union, on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes."

This bill was read, ordered to its second reading and on Friday, April 27, it was passed by a vote of 15 to 8.

On the even date this bill was reported to the House of Representatives, by which body it was, on April 28, given into the care of the committee of the whole. No further action was taken during this session as Congress adjourned on May first.

On Monday, December 17, 1810, Mr. Julien Poydras presented a petition of the Legislature of the Territory of Orleans praying for the admission of the Territory as a State.

The memorialists assured the members of the national body that they appeared, "full of confidence in your justice, not to vent any complaints, but to claim their rights. They bring you not testimony of their discontent, but the expression of their wishes and of their hopes." Fealty and homage to the Constitution of the United States were protested, and claims to incorporation into the Union were based on the treaty of 1803.

Strong assertions was made of the inadequateness and inappropriateness of the ordinance of 1787 as a territorial governmental adjustment for the peculiar conditions in the memorializing District. The National Legislature was reminded of its responsibility to those who "are capable of appreciating the advantages of the government which we pray you to extend to us."¹

This petition was referred to a committee, the membership of which was as follows: N. Macon of North Carolina; M. Clay of Virginia; D. Heister of Pennsylvania; J. Nicholson of New York; W. Barry of Kentucky; A. Bigelow of Massachusetts, and R. Winn of South Carolina.²

Ten days later Mr. Macon presented an enabling bill, which was read twice and referred to a committee of the whole.

This bill proposed to admit the Territory of Orleans and the district known as West Florida into the Union as a State. Upon this question of the admission of the Territory, Congress was face to face with an important issue. To pass the bill was to create a prece-

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, session, 2 Appendix p. 2269.

²Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, p. 413.

dent, the logical outcome of which, according to Henry Adams, "could not fail to create what was in effect, a new Constitution."

There seems to have been a widespread feeling that the bill, if passed, would undermine the principles and purposes of the Constitution of the original Union. There were fears that it would shift the balance of power from the original parties to the Constitution to those upon whom this bill and its inevitable successors would confer State sovereignty.

On Wednesday, January 2, 1811, the bill was first considered by the House sitting as a committee of the whole.

A request from one representative for information on matters pertaining to the territory, brought forth a short debate, during which some radically divergent view-points were revealed. Uncertainty as to actual population was a reason for caution on the part of some of the speakers; the difficulty inherent in the West Florida situation, "yet in dispute and subject to negotiation," was a motive for advocating delay advanced by other interested representatives.

Mr. Shaffey, of Virginia, would treat the people of the territory "as brothers not as vassals," but, he "was not ready to transfer the inheritance purchased by the blood of our fathers to foreigners." He would treat them "as equals," would render unto them "justice;" but, he would keep them "under the fostering hand of the general government; would let them become accustomed to our government, before they were permitted to govern themselves who had so lately emerged from despotism."

Mr. Macon set forth the advantages of the position held by New Orleans in the commercial economy of the United States. He would not delay action because of uncertain boundary limits, since that objection "admitted in its full force would only require a modification of the bill reserving to Congress the power of changing the boundary of the territory." The people of that territory 'were a part of the nation'"; the question was not one of stock, the "true question was ought they to be a State?" The political foresight of this advocate of the bill was then expressed, "the great object is to make us one people; to make this nation one."¹

On Thursday, January 3, 1811, Mr. Bibb of Georgia gave notice that upon the next discussion of the bill he would move to strike therefrom the provision inclusive of the land which had been the subject of the proclamation of President Madison. Furthermore, he would at once submit a resolution inquiring into the expediency of

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, pp. 482-485.

annexing that disputed section to the Mississippi territory or, at least, of erecting it into a separate territorial government.¹

The bill was again tossed upon the horns of divergent opinion on January 4, during a sitting of the committee of the whole, and the debates increased in length and gave a warning note of political conservatism and of sectional bitterness.

Mr. Wheaton of Massachusetts, maintained that the bill was both unconstitutional and inexpedient. He interpreted "The United States of America," for which the Constitution had been framed, exclusively rather than inclusively. It was never intended to include the people of the Territory of Orleans, who were foreigners,—subject to a foreign government at the time of the adoption of the Constitution.

It is interesting to note that while speaking to his view of the question at issue, Mr. Wheaton took a prophetic peep into the future and saw a vision, some of the misty outlines of which have developed through the intervening years into present day realities.

This attempt to stretch the Constitutional aegis of the government of the United States over a near-by but foreign land and people was rendered doubly dangerous because of its illimitable possibilities. In fact, "that it could not have been intended that the Constitution should embrace these people and this territory may be argued from the extreme danger of carrying the principle into operation. If we may extend our limits at all, without the consent of the people, further than what is expressed in the Constitution, who can tell where may be our ultimate bounds, or what number of States we may have in the Union? Purchase and conquest are objects of ambition. The great Napoleon may have more land to sell, and Spain may possess what she cannot retain. May we not in "time have the whole of South America, some of the West India Islands and perhaps Great Britain." "Then," Mr. Wheaton added pathetically, "what will become of the old United States?" He pictured the shifting of the center of political power to the new sovereignties that would be created by the success of the pending purpose, and held that the condition would then be, that, "instead of those new States being annexed to us, we shall be annexed to them, lose our independence and become altogether subject to their control."

The incorporation into our national life of territory that formed no part of our political being when "our independence and national existence was acknowledged by the nations of the world" might, through incitement to jealousy find its test in the arena of war, not-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

withstanding the "pacific disposition of the people of the United States."

Other questions more local in their setting, such as the representation of the projected State in Congress, and the inopportuneness of the bill because of the unsettled question of West Florida were discussed by Mr. Wheaton.

Mr. Miller, of Tennessee, sympathized somewhat with those who were opposed to the bill because of the non-American character of the population of the proposed State, "for inasmuch as we know that if we send Paddy to Paris, that Paddy he will come back; the idea is certainly not unworthy of our consideration."

This speaker also objected to the bill because it included territory in dispute with Spain, and argued that if it were erected into a State that the power to negotiate that matter would be lost. Mr. Miller was further apprehensive that the proposed State would command the waterways to the Gulf of Mexico, and that the people of the Mississippi Territory and of Tennessee would be dependent upon Louisiana for communication with that body of water. He, therefore, proposed an amendment to the bill, the effect of which was to unite the territories of Orleans and Mississippi into one State, which would include all of the country belonging to the United States east of the Mississippi river and south of Tennessee. Size was the only objection which Mr. Miller could see to this proposed union of the two territories, because, "divide and subdivide this country as you will, their interests in a political point of view, will the same. Their representatives in this House will neither be increased nor diminished by a consolidation. In the Senate the plan proposed is greatly to the advantage of the old States. In that House, they will have but two Senators instead of four or six, according to the number of States that will be made."¹

Mr. Rhea, of Tennessee, denied the constitutionality of the proposed amendment and contended that it was in direct conflict with the provisions of the Treaty of Cession. He also saw no reason for the proposed territorial combination in the argument brought forward by Mr. Miller, that a white population would be thereby secured that would render ineffectual any contemplated slave insurrection. Mr. Rhea entered solumn protest against the doctrine that no territory which was not a part of the original States could not be incorporated into co-ordinate statehood, in fact, he held such doctrine to be unconstitutional. The United States had the sovereign power to purchase adjacent territory, and the objection to its incorporation,

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, pp. 495-497.

if ever valid, had become invalid because of the Treaty of 1803. The territory of Orleans was not foreign territory; the population was not French population; the bill did not have as its object the transference "to foreigners what has been obtained by the blood of the old States * * * * * whatever the bill contemplated to give, it proposes to give to citizens of the United States."

Another argument against the Miller amendment was presented by Mr. Bibb, who held that such a combination of territory was a breach of contract with Georgia, since her consent was necessary to "any addition to or division of the Territory of Mississippi."

After further discussion for and against the proposed territorial aggrandizement the "amendment was not agreed to," at least, so runs the curt statement of the Annals of Congress.

The next effort at adjustment was offered by Mr. Barry who would make the inclusion of West Florida within the confines of the new State more acceptable to those who considered it a point of strong opposition.

This objection Mr. Barry sought to meet by an amendment which would reserve to the United States the power to fix the bounds of the section in dispute and dispose of it in any manner that might be deemed proper.

Before the proposed solution of the difficulty could be tossed upon the winds of debate, it was withdrawn by its mover, in order, that Mr. Sheffey might offer a substitute for that part of the bill which named the boundaries of the proposed State of Louisiana.

This motion, agreed to by a vote of 63 ayes,—nays not recorded, was as follows: "All that territory now contained within the limits of the territory of Orleans, except that part lying east of the river Iberville to a line to be drawn along the middle of the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the ocean."¹

No sooner had the question of the eastern boundary of the State to be, been removed from the field of controversy than Mr. Miller projected a suffrage restriction upon the proposed new member of the Union, which, in the light of subsequent events, seems like an index finger pointing sternly to the future. He proposed to amend the bill so as to restrict the right of suffrage to "white males."

One argument brought forward in support of this motion was that the large proportion of "mixed population" in the territory of Orleans made it highly probable that a "person of color" might be elected to Congress. In that event, Mr. Miller would "feel no inclination to act" with the new member.

¹Annals of Congress, 3rd session, 0. 513.

Mr. Poindexter admitted that there was in the territory a goodly number of "wealthy and respectable people" of the class described by Mr. Miller.

No further debate is recorded upon this motion, which, though negatived, received an "aye" vote of 17. The Annals, however, fail to record either the number or the personnel of the negative vote.¹

It was then ordered that the bill be engrossed in preparation for a third reading.

On Monday, January 14, 1811, the statehood bill of the Territory of Orleans was again before the assembled representatives of the States of the Union, and on its trip to "final passage," it was to meet the full force of legal inquiry, of constitutional probing and of bitter sectional opposition.

Mr. Pitkin, of Connecticut, called the attention of the House of Representatives to the undetermined condition of the western boundary of the Territory of Orleans, and of the necessity of keeping the right of definitive limitation in the hands of Congress, as a reservation in the proposed enabling bill.

Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, took issue with those who held that any principle of the Constitution would be violated by the admission of the Territory as a State and scouted as "ideal" the fear of any international complication arising from disputed boundary questions. He cited instances of the adjustment of such troubles by negotiation and plead earnestly for the "claims of this Territory to State sovereignty."

Opposition to the admission of the Territory of Orleans into the Union as a State attained its climax in the speech of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts. Henry Adams says that "Quincy's protest wanted only one quality to give it force." He spoke in "the name of no party to the original compact."² The people of his own State did not second his strenuous effort to prevent what he termed a "death blow to the Constitution."

Mr. Quincy maintained that the details of the bill were of little moment, whereas the principles of the bill jeopardized the liberties and rights of the people of the United States.

Stripping the speech of much of its rhetoric, we find that Mr. Quincy hoped that the danger might be averted, although its imminence threatened, if it did not justify a revolution. He called the Constitution a "political compact" from which the original parties would be released if the "assumed principle of the bill became a law."

¹Ibid, p. 513.

²History of U. S., Henry Adams, Vol. V, p. 325.

The bill was an attack upon the fundamental intent and purpose of the Constitution. He claimed that the reliance of the advocates of the bill lay in the opening clause of Article IV, Section III of the Constitution;—"new States may be admitted by Congress into this Union." But, Mr. Quincy bounded "this Union" on the west by the Mississippi river, and on the south by the 31° of north latitude, along that line to the Apalachicola, thence to its junction with the Flint, thence to the St. Marys and along that river to the sea. The people of Louisiana lay entirely without these lines, and therefore, could not have come within the intent of "We, the people" who formed "this Union."

If this newly proposed political unit became a fact, the question would eventually be whether, "The proprietors of the good old United States" should control, "or whether they and their Constitution and their political rights shall be trampled under foot by foreigners introduced through a breach of the Constitution."

The most famous outburst of Mr. Quincy on this occasion was his belief committed to writing, that, "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of this Union; that it will free the States from their moral obligation, and, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must."

A call to order was entered by Mr. Poindexter and the Speaker decided, that the third clause of the declaration of Mr. Quincy "was contrary to the order of debate." Appeal was taken from the ruling of the chair and it was sustained by a vote of 53 ayes to 56 nays.

Mr. Quincy rejoiced at the above result, and explained his efforts against the bill as a purpose "to preserve, to guard the Constitution of my country that I denounce this attempt * * * * I intended it as a voice of warning."

After denying any Constitutional bases on which the bill might be placed, Mr. Quincy denounced its justification under the treaty—making power as a "monstrous proposition."

"That a power under the Constitution should have the ability to change and annihilate the instrument from which it derives all its power,—and if the treaty making power can introduce new partners to the political rights of the States, then there is no length, however extravagant, or inconsistent with the end to which it may be wrested."

Constitutional arguments exhausted, and moral and political consequences of the bill visualized, Mr. Quincy found rest in the confession that "the first public love of my heart is the Common-

wealth of Massachusetts" and that out of that love had grown his love for the Union. His opposition to the bill sprang not from animosity to those seeking the protection of his beloved Constitution, "but from the deep conviction that it contained a principle incompatible with the liberties and safety of my country."

In this belief this ardent defender of the "good old United States" moved an indefinite postponement of the bill.¹

When the consideration of the bill was reopened on Thursday, January 15, the above motion was still before the House.

Mr. Poindexter opened the debate, and waiving for the nonce any reply to Mr. Quincy, turned his attention to the question of the western boundary of the proposed State. Notwithstanding the possibility of war with Spain growing out of an undue national claim of territory as feared by Mr. Pilkin, Mr. Poindexter held that the matter might be safely left to negotiation, since "it belongs to the high contracting parties, to render that certain which by the deed of cession is equivocal, and whatever line they may consent to establish as the western extremity of the country *ceded under the name of Louisiana* will constitute the permanent limit of the State, whether it extends to the Rio Bravo, or the Sabine, or a meridian passing by Natchitoches." In short, the matter would be adjusted according to the "practices of governments" which differed "in circumstances and not in nature."

The Annals relate that "twice successively" Mr. Poindexter was called to order during this speech, but that both calls were withdrawn before action could be taken upon them.

One of these calls, may have followed the bit of Congressional amenity that shot its shaft into the environs of the "hub" of the old Bay State.

The gentlemen from Mississippi was seeking to prove the loyalty to the United States of the people of the Territory of Orleans, notwithstanding the charges against them of "French partiality." The existence of such a preference was admitted, but it could not be made, —the "basis on which to justify a refusal to emancipate the great body of the people from the trammels of territorial vassalage." And, now for the shaft: "Is it a good reason why the people who reside within the circle of the Essex junto should not enjoy equal rights with the rest cf their fellow citizens, that those who compose that association are avowedly the partisans of England? I presume a proposition to trench upon their rights would be viewed with the utmost abhorrence and detestation, as an act of political intolerance,

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, pp. 523-542.

unprecedented in the history of this government. And yet, sir, I venture to pronounce that these British attachments, fostered and cherished amidst the wrongs and insults which we have received from that nation, not only in this *nursery of tory principles*, but in most of the commercial cities of the United States, have already produced more mischief to this nation than the French influence existing in New Orleans could produce in half a century."¹⁰

Mr. Poindexter then considered some of the objections advanced against the bill by Mr. Quincy. The bill rested upon a sound Constitutional basis; the right of the United States to acquire property followed as an "indispensable attribute of sovereignty" from power confined by Article IV of the Constitution which gave Congress not only the right to possess territory, but to dispose of it and regulate it.

After further argument to prove that the United States was possessed of the right to obtain territory "either by war or compact," the question in logical sequence to that right,—whether such territory could be elevated into political sovereignty as a State, was considered. The Constitutional basis for such political enhancement of acquired territory was found in Article VI according to which, treaties duly made, "under the authority of the United States" became the supreme law of the land," and were as binding as an article of the Constitution itself.

In that view of the case, Article III of the treaty of Paris of April 30, 1803, empowered Congress to dispose of the territory acquired by that treaty, according to its stipulations.

Mr. Quincy had held that not by the "remotest" implication drawn from any clause of the Constitution could it be shown that the power to admit new States could be made inclusive of territory external to the original federal boundaries.

Political power, according to Mr. Quincy, was inherent in the thirteen "original partners" to the Constitution, but his opponent from Mississippi asserted that the source of political power was in the people; that it was not a "chartered privilege" or a "lethal or a purchased right."

This being the case, it followed that each State possessed power in direct proportion to its population and that, therefore, the center of power would shift as the center of population shifted.

The views of Mr. Quincy was declared to be incompatible with the "genius of a free government."

A second call to order may have been intended to intercept

¹Ibid p. 558.

some of the sharp sallies sent towards Mr. Quincy by his antagonist from the South. The threat of a dissolution of the Union, as hurled by Mr. Quincy was thus thrown back, "the people of the eastern States will never give their consent to a dissolution of the Union" since ties of nature and interest would serve as girths, and * * * * * "Surely there is patriotism enough even in the city of Boston to counteract the deteriorating principles of that gentleman."

Mr. Gold of New York, who followed Mr. Poindexter, maintained that the principle advanced by that speaker,—that the Constitution afforded no limitation to the scope of the treaty making power, "would subvert the very foundation of the Constitution"; in fact, it was a "principle of construction" against which he wished to enter "solemn protest."

Again, the admission of "external" territory to the statehood relation could never be "indifferent to the political interests of the old States, * * * * * whether this empire should be bounded by its existing limits, or by the shores of the Pacific ocean. Whether it should be a commonwealth of reasonable limits, adapted to a lax rule of a popular Constitution, or a government of acquisition and conquest, whose ambition knew no limits, and in whose extension the original States would be lost."

After further debates, a vote was taken on the motion for indefinite postponement made by Mr. Quincy, and this effort to retard the purpose of the bill was lost by a mandate of 28 to 78.

The question of the passage of the bill was then presented and by a vote of 77 ayes to 36 nays, the House of Representatives sanctioned an Enabling Act for the Territory of Orleans.

Because of the many questions,—constitutional, sectional, social,—which were posed during the long debates, it may be interesting to analyze the vote on the bill.

Reduced to geographical sections the vote was as follows:

	Ayes	Nays
New England.....	7	20
Middle States.....	32	11
South.....	30	5
West.....	8	0
	—	—
	77	36

Of the Massachusetts delegation, six cast votes in favor of the bill to admit the "foreign" State, whereas but four representatives from that State were sufficiently in sympathy with Mr. Quincy to throw their ballots with his against this back door admission of a

State, through a "breach in the Constitution," into the full political rights of the "old United States."

Vermont gave one vote in favor of the bill, but not one "aye" was registered from Rhode Island, Connecticut or New Hampshire. Thus New England on a whole section, in so far as Congressional views registered in ballots express community opinion, sanctioned the exclusive, conservative, illiberal attitude of Josiah Quincy.

Of the middle group of States,—New York gave nine votes for the passage of the bill and four against it. New Jersey cast five ballots for the bill, and none towards its defeat. Pennsylvania rolled up a fine record of thirteen ayes, with only three nays for the rejection of the bill. Maryland gave five in favor, and three against, whereas, Delaware cast her full strength,—one vote—into the effort to kill the Enabling Act.

The southern sweep of the "old thirteen" has a *broad* record. Virginia gave twelve votes in favor of the bill; North Carolina, nine; South Carolina, six; and Georgia three. Only five votes from this group were registered "nay," and of these, Virginia cast two and North Carolina three.

Out of the west came eight votes to extend to the people of the Territory of Orleans the rights of Statehood, and not one "nay" lessened the value of this effort. Of the eight votes cast, Kentucky cast four, Tennessee, three; while Ohio gave the force of her one vote.

The Enabling Act as passed by the House was presented to the Senate on Wednesday, January 16, 1811, and after the usual preliminary formalities, it was referred on January 18th to the following committee: Charles Tait of Georgia; Jas. A. Bayard of Delaware; Chauncy Goodrich of Connecticut; Henry Clay of Kentucky and Andrew Gregg of Pennsylvania.

The bill was reported from the committee on January 25th and interesting amendments were recommended.

One amendment which fixed definite boundaries to the future State, was as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the river Sabine, thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river, including all islands, to the thirty-second degree of latitude; thence due north, to the northernmost part of the thirty-third degree of north latitude; thence along the said parallel to the river Mississippi; thence down the said river to the southern boundary of the Mississippi Territory; thence along the said boundary line to the Pearl river; thence down the western bank of said river to lake Borgne; thence along the middle of said lake to the gulf of Mexico; thence

bounded by the said Gulf to the place of beginning—including all islands within three leagues of the coast.”¹

The amendments to the bill were made the order of the day for January 28th and then on a motion of William H. Cranford of Georgia, sustained by a vote of 21 to 9 that portion of the above amendment which included West Florida to the Pearl river, within the confines of the future Louisiana, was stricken out.

Another recommendation of the committee was made in the form of an addition to the bill whereby it was to be enacted, “That..... per centum of the net proceeds of the sales of the lands of the United States shall be applied, after the.....day ofto laying out and constructing public roads and levees in the said State, as the Legislature thereof may require.”

This proposal so rich in political material for oratorical brilliance seems to have met with no attention, at least, so far as any recorded consideration goes, because no further reference is made to it during subsequent discussion of the bill. But, at least, the blanks in this recommendation of the Senate Committee must have been filled, and the amendment accepted, as section five of the approved bill fixes the “per centum” at five and the date for the beginning of the enforcement of the provision at January first.

On January 29th, while the Senate was sitting as a committee of the whole, on a motion by Senator Bayard, the provision in the first amendment, which reserved to the United States the power of changing the limits of the territory “east of the river Mississippi and the island of Orleans” was stricken out.

The committee, then, by a vote of 24 to 8 amended the bill by inserting the word “white” in section two, before the words “male citizens of the United States,” and thus safe-guarded the electorate authorized to choose the members of the first constitutional convention of Louisiana.

The bill was then reported by the Committee of the Whole, and on the same day, before the Senate in regular session, met a fresh effort to block its way to immediate availability.

Senator Dana, of Connecticut, proposed an amendment which would preclude the admission of the State under the pending bill, “unless each of the original States shall consent to the same, or there shall be a Constitutional amendment empowering the Congress to admit into the Union new States formed beyond the boundaries of the United States, as known and understood at the time of establishing the Constitution for the United States.”

¹Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 3rd session, p. 104.

On the following day, on motion of Henry Clay, the amendment of Senator Dana was divided and that portion requiring the consent of each "original" State to the admission of Louisiana was negatived by a vote of ayes 10, to nays 18.

The second division of this blocking motion met defeat in a vote of yeas 8, to nays 17.

Notwithstanding a motion by Senator Bayard that the bill be postponed to the first Monday of the next December, it was carried to passage on Thursday, February 7th by a vote of 22 to 10.

On Saturday, February 9th, the amended bill was considered by the House of Representatives.

The Senate amendment according to which the western boundary of the State to be was given a definite marking, received the unanimous consent of the House, notwithstanding the opinion that "the United States might have a claim of a greater extent, and had a color of title to the Rio Bravo." In fact, it was held that in fixing the western boundary at the Sabine, great moderation had been exercised and that assent to the bill was not "to be understood as surrendering any claim the United States might have to a greater extent."

The amendment of the Senate whereby "free colored people of mixed blood" were excluded from the electorate that would choose delegates to the State Constitutional Convention, met an objection from Mr. Smilie Sonilie of Pennsylvania, who was of the opinion that this matter should be left to the people of the State; that the Convention of 1787, in meeting this question "had used only the word 'persons'".

The short consideration of this amendment developed the fact that the majority of the House were in favor of leaving this matter to the Convention and the Legislature of the Territory and that opinion prevailed by a vote against the motion of yeas 49 to nays 60.

The long suffering bill in its newly altered condition was returned to the Senate, and this body by a vote of yeas 11 to nays 19 refused to recede from its position in favor of a white initial electorate for the new State and a message was sent to the House insisting upon the acceptance of the rejected amendment.

The next day on a motion made by Mr. Barrett of Virginia, and on which the yeas and nays were demanded, the House by a vote of 69 to 45 agreed to accept the amendment of the Senate, thus confining the privilege of voting for members of the Convention to "free white males."

On Wednesday, February 20, 1811, the Enabling Act was approved by President Madison.

By proclamation, on October 27, 1810, President Madison had taken possession of West Florida to the Perdido in the name and behalf of the United States," and Governor W. C. C. Claiborne of the Orleans Territory was directed to extend over that district "the authorities and functions legally appertaining to his office.¹

But the territory authorized by the Enabling Act to take the steps precedent to Statehood, did not include by the provisions of that act, the district annexed to it by Presidential proclamation in 1810. The people of that district, therefore, could not be represented in the convention which was to be called under the provisions of the Act.

The Legislature of the Territory of Orleans promptly apportioned the members of the Constitutional Convention, and the election therefore was held on Monday, September 3, 1811.

The Convention met on November 4, 1811, and Le Breton D'Orgenois was president of the temporary and Julien Poydras, president of the permanent organization.

On January 13, 1812, the preamble to the new constitution was passed to a third reading. The boundaries of the State of Louisiana as given in this prelude to the document do not include the section known as West Florida.

An attempt had been made to include that district, "or any part thereof, as soon as the title to the same may be adjusted and it may be convenient to the government of the United States to annex it."

This motion was lost on January 13, but on the 23rd of the same month a motion was made to adopt a memorial which had been presented asking that West Florida be annexed to the State to be erected and by a vote of 25 to 12 this motion was decided in the affirmative.

The Constitutional Convention adjourned on January 28, 1812.

On Wednesday, March 4, 1812, President Madison transmitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives the proceedings of the convention.

In the House on March 5th, Mr. Dawson of Virginia moved that the Constitution of Louisiana be referred to a select committee.

Mr. Poindexter pointed out that one provision of the Enabling Act had not been complied with. No separate instrument recognizing the Federal Constitution, as required by the Act, had been forwarded, although such recognition was embodied in the newly

¹Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Richardson, Vol. I, p. 480.

framed documents. He, therefore, moved that the select committee consider the question of repealing the section of the Enabling Act which required said separate formality.

Mr. Dawson accepted this adjustment as a part of his motion and the new Constitution was then referred to a Committee under his chairmanship.

On Monday, March 16, 1812, the "bill for the admission of the State of Louisiana into the union, and to extend the laws of the United States to the said State," was reported by the committee; it was read twice and referred to a committee of the whole.

One of the most interesting sections of the long and intricate discussions over the question of the admission of this new and "alien" State to the society of the "old United States" is to be found in the debates over the adjustment of the West Florida controversy.

As we have noted the constitution of the new State did not include West Florida, the district which had been declared to be under the possession and administrative disposal of the United States by the Presidential proclamation of 1810, and now Congress must take cognizance of the situation.

The bill for the admission of the Territory of Mississippi was pending at this period and therefore, Mr. Poindexter considered it the proper time to settle the controverted boundary question. He proposed an amendment, the substance of which was, that as soon as the consent of the Legislature of the new State could be obtained, that West Florida to the Pearl River be made a part of the State of Louisiana, to be governed by the laws thereof, "Provided nevertheless," so reads the concluding clause of the proposed amendment, "That the title of the United States to said tract of country shall be and remain subject to future negotiation."¹

Mr. Dawson was of the opinion that a separate law should provide for the annexation of the section in dispute, to the new State, but Mr. Clay, then Speaker of the House, maintained that the definite limits of the new member of the union should be incorporated in one bill,—"or would it be better to subject inquirers to the necessity of wading through two or three acts to find out the boundary of a single State."

A motion embodying the views of the Speaker was agreed to by a vote of 47 to 25.

One bit of reflex from an old annoying international question was an amendment proposed by Henry Clay, the "Harry of the West," requiring the recognition by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana,

¹*Annals of Congress*, 12th Congress, session 2, p. 1217.

of "the freedom of navigation of the Mississippi." This finale to an old source of trouble was adopted without division.

One question now posed was a logical result of the annexation amendment. Mr. Johnson agreed that the people of West Florida thus proposed to be annexed by bill to Louisiana, were without representation in the councils of the State and were, therefore, denied an opportunity to have a voice in the framing of the laws by which they were to be governed. He, therefore, moved an amendment to this much amended bill, "To divide the territory to be annexed to Louisiana into two counties to be called Feliciana and Baton Rouge, each to send one Senator and one Representative" to the Legislature of Louisiana.

The point was made by Mr. Poindexter that according to the accepted amendment the annexation of West Florida was conditional upon the consent of the Legislature of the new State, and therefore, Congress could not grant to the people of that district, representation in the law-making body of a State of which they were not a part.

On March 19, Mr. Johnson again spoke for his amendment using as an argument in its favor a memorial then in possession of the House stating the consent of the Convention of Orleans to the annexation of West Florida.

Mr. Calhoun argued that the proposed amendment presented a principle of representation which conflicted with that adopted by the convention of Orleans. Furthermore, it added another condition to the bill which had authorized the people of the territory to form a Constitution and a State government and had added it after the adjournment of the convention which had accepted the conditions of the original bill. According to the member from South Carolina, "the proposed amendment would be engraving the principle of territorial government on a State government to which it is wholly inapplicable; it was, in fact, assuming to make a constitution for a people of a State, whose inalienable right it was to form a constitution for themselves."¹

Mr. Nelson of Maryland maintained the constitutionality of the proposed amendment and held that as Louisiana was not yet a State, Congress was competent to add to the conditions under which Statehood was to be attained.

Mr. Gholson of Virginia said that according to the constitution adopted by the Convention of Orleans, the Senate of Louisiana was

¹Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, Part 2, p. 1225.

to consist of fourteen members and that the amendment proposed to add two more, "in defiance of the constitution."

Mr. Johnson's amendment was then put to the House and was lost by the close vote of 39 to 37.

As soon as this result was announced, Mr. Gholson presented another amendment, which provided,—"That the people of that portion of West Florida, hereby proposed to be made a part of the State of Louisiana, shall, before the election of Senators and a Representative to the Congress of the United States, be invested with, and enjoy equal rights of representation and equal privileges in every respect, with the people of the residue of the said State."

This amendment was offered as being a condition post-added to those enumerated in the original bill, the terms of which had been accepted by the Convention.

Mr. Clay argued in favor of the amendment and showed that the Convention itself, had attached a "proposition" to their acceptance of the bill and that was the incorporation of the West Florida district. Therefore, Congress could accept or reject that condition and might do so "with or without qualification." Congress had, in fact, given, under certain conditions, a part of the territory, and now but sought to safe-guard the rights of the people in the alienated district, leaving to the Legislature of the new State the power to decide "how those rights shall be invested."

The amendment was agreed to by the committee of the whole, which arose and reported the bill to the House.

On Friday, March 20, 1812, the House of Representatives passed the bill for the admission of Louisiana into the Union and "to extend the laws of the United States thereto." The vote was 79 to 23.

The Senate, on April 2, notified the House that the bill, with some amendments, had been passed.

The House on April 6, proceeded to consider the several amendments of the Senate and decided to accept all of them. The Senate had rejected the annexation of West Florida to the State of Louisiana and in this rejection the House concurred.

In this final condition the bill was passed by the House on April 6, 1812, and to it President Madison affixed his signature on April 8, 1812.

An interesting phase of the history of the admission of Louisiana into the Union is found in the fact, that although on Wednesday, April 1, 1812, the Senate of the United States passed the bill to admit the State minus the West Florida section, there was then pending

before that body a bill to enlarge the confines of the new State so as to include the rejected district.

The people of the territory between the Pearl river and the Mississippi, had petitioned for annexation to the new State.

Senator Bayard on March 24, 1812, moved that the petition be referred to the same committee which was to consider the bill for the admission of Louisiana. This motion prevailed and the committee was instructed "to report by bill or otherwise."

On Friday, March 27, a "bill to enlarge the limits of Louisiana" was reported, read and passed to a second reading.

The third reading of the bill was on April 1st, but no amendment was presented and on Wednesday, March 8th, the day of the signing of the Statehood bill, the act for the enlargement of Louisiana was passed by a vote of 21 to 5.

The House of Representatives received the notice of the passage of the above bill on Thursday, April 9. It was read twice on that day and ordered to a third reading. This bill was passed on April 10, and was approved by the President on April 14, 1812.

According to the terms of this bill, the annexation of West Florida, between the Pearl River and the Mississippi, to the State of Louisiana was dependent upon the consent of the Legislature of that State.

In case that consent was granted, the bill required that the Legislature provide, at its first session, for the representation of the people of the accepted district and also to secure to them all rights and privileges enjoyed by other citizens of the State. The law enacted under this requirement was to be subject to revision by Congress.¹

On the fourth day of August, 1812, the Legislature of Orleans Territory accepted the terms of the bill of admission, and the State of Louisiana, once an alien land, once a part of that greater Louisiana which had served as a royal foot-ball for Spain and France, became in full panoply of extent, a co-ordinate unit in the "*new*" United States envisaged by Henry Clay,² entered the society of the "good old United States,"—and over it stretches, still intact, the Constitution of the original Federal Union." LILLIE RICHARDSON.

¹Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, Part 2, Appendix p. 2972.

²Life and Speeches of Clay, Mallory, Vol. I, p. 209.

NEW ORLEANS

By W. O. Hart

In 1917, the Bi-centennial year of the founding of New Orleans, there was published in Paris a book entitled "The History of the Founding of New Orleans," by Baron Marc de Villiers and some statements therein contained refer to the site of New Orleans before 1717 and, whether real or imaginary, lend color to the early history of the city.

The Baron states that on March 30, 1682, La Salle, with 22 of his companions passed by the village of the Houma Indians without knowing it, for there was a fog at the time and it was too far away to be seen. Three days later they camped two miles below the village of the Tangibaho, which had recently been destroyed by the Houmas. Comparing closely the letters of several of these early voyagers, the Baron reached the conclusion that this village was situated near the spot where New Orleans was subsequently founded.

We know that La Salle left Quebec February 2nd, 1682, and explored the Mississippi its entire length, reaching the mouth of the river on April 6th, and what was popularly known as La Salle's Louisiana became later the Louisiana of Bienville, extending practically from the Alleghany Mountains to the Rockies and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

The baron further says that on March 9th, 1699, Iberville, the brother of Bienville, saw the future city of New Orleans. "The Indians I have with me," he wrote, "have shown me the spot where they make their portage from the lake to the river, and the distance was very short."

The next year Iberville took advantage of this information and reached the Mississippi through Lake Ponchartrain and the Indian portage, which he said "is half of the way full of water and woods." He also found the site of the ancient village referred to by La Salle and there planted some cane, which he had brought from Martinique. One month later Penicaut, one of his companions who was starting for an expedition in the upper Mississippi, slept on the spot marked by Iberville and under huge cypress trees which, at night, he wrote, "were crowned with guinea chickens weighing almost thirty pounds each," which were evidently wild turkeys.

The name of this portage before becoming definitely called the Portage of Bayou St. John, varied with almost every explorer and

geographer. It was called Portage of the Lost Peoples, Portage of Lake Ponchartrain, Portage of the River of Fishes, and Portage of Choupicatcha, evidently from the tribe of Indians which gave us the name of one of our streets, Tchoupitoulas, the orthography and orthoepy of which are a puzzle to all strangers.

M. de Remonville in 1697, by returning from a trip to the Illinois country, first conceived the idea of establishing a fort or frontier post somewhere on this portage, to hold the English back, but the plan was soon abandoned, though up to 1707 Remonville never gave up the idea that this portage was the proper place for a settlement and a fort. However, his enthusiasm was lost with his friends and several governors thought it foolish to try to settle such a wild and useless land, as the baron says, "full of alligators, snakes and other venomous beasts."

But still, some Frenchmen, wide awake to the future and understanding the importance of having settlements in the Mississippi Valley, at least for the purpose of making trade easier with Canada, procured the issuance of an order on the 18th of May, 1715, directing Bienville to erect a post at what is now Natchez and at other places along the river. In the same year Crozat wrote a memorial, describing three settlements by Iberville,—Biloxi, the portage to the Mississippi, and an abandoned fort on the Mississippi about the spot afterwards described as English Turn. Crozat, to whom Louis XIV, having become tired of Louisiana, had granted the province with the exclusive trade as far north as the Illinois, was a wealthy Paris Banker, and both believing there were gold mines and mines of precious stones along the river, he was to give the King a share therein. Cadillac was appointed governor by Crozat, with Bienville as Lieutenant-Governor, the idea being to open trade with Mexico. Bienville was selected, because it was believed that he was the best available man to handle the savage Indians.

For about five years Crozat struggled with the colony, losing a large part of his fortune in an endeavor to make it profitable, and in 1716, the Council of the Regency sadly admitted that if Louisiana still existed it was by a kind of miracle, rather than by the care of man, the inhabitants being forsaken for several years without any help from France.

In 1717 the Company of the West was formed to take over Louisiana, and this Company, headed by John Law, as almost its first act, decided to found a city on the Mississippi River. Bienville was reinstated and a commission as Governor issued to him on October 24th.

In September, 1717, some one wrote from Louisiana to France mentioning "a curve in the river about twenty-five leagues from its mouth, a good place to build a great port," but Bienville, after a careful study of the question, selected "the most beautiful crescent of the river as the actual site of New Orleans. Thus, from its very foundation, New Orleans was the "Crescent City," though now, by many additions to it, each arm of the crescent proceeds, disk like, up and down the river.

"High Finance" was manifest in the financing of the Company of the West. On the 18th of September, 1717, it proceeded to issue 56 millions of French livres, or francs, of bills and organized the new city by appointing numerous officers with high sounding titles and large salary, although the settlement then had no official name. De L'Epinay, who succeeded Cadallic as governor, it is said named the city "La Nouvelle Orleans," in honor of the then Regent, the Duke of Orleans, thinking that such a name from such a patron would make a better impression on the colonists than Indian names like Biloxi, or Natchitoches, or a name without any special meaning, like Mobile. Bienville doubtless joined with him in selecting the name and they were right in their surmise, for when they came to procure settlers for the new colony, though these settlers did not know when they sailed from France where their future home was to be, they went in good faith and full of hope.

The writer above quoted states that it was four years after this before the name was firmly established, many believing that the French word for "new" should have been "Nouveau" instead of "Nouvelle," but the euphony of the latter pleased the ear and as it had been used before, it finally became the settled name.

Some settlers must have reached New Orleans from France in 1717, but it is difficult, in fact impossible, to state exactly where they laid the first foundations of the city, nor is it possible to state with exact certainty where the city was exactly established. Different authors give different dates, but the best research fixes February 9, 1718, as the logical date, because on that date Bienville received his commission, though he may not have been on the actual spot until a short time thereafter. De Laharpe fixes some time in March 1718, but his estimate is no better than that of others.

Bienville on the 10th of June, 1718, wrote that the work of building was going on as fast as the scarcity of workmen would allow, but that envy, jealousy, and intrigue retarded for a long time effective progress of the work of settlement. It is stated that as late as 1727 on very few maps of America did New Orleans appear. On August

26, 1718 sixty eight colonists arrived from France and it was said that the population of the colony or city was then one hundred. Le Page du Pratz, one of the settlers sent by the Western Company, writes that he found but "one miserable hut," as he described it, which, up to that time Bienville had built on the spot where the new city was to be established. Such of the colonists as were on Lake Ponchartrain and the settlements of Biloxi, Pensacola and Mobile, did all they could to prevent the establishment of New Orleans, feeling that from its location, if it were very firmly established, their prestige and importance would begin to diminish, which, as we all know, was eventually the case.

The magnificent and massive bronze medal struck by the city of Paris last October in commemoration of the Two Hundredth anniversary of the founding of New Orleans and presented to the mayor of New Orleans with appropriate ceremonies on Saturday, February 9, 1918, contains but four names as entitled to recognition with the founding of the city of New Orleans, and one of these is Pauger, the others being LaSalle, Iberville and Bienville.

In 1719 two events occurred, one of which almost ended the settlement of the city and the other gave to it new life. The first was a disastrous flood and the other was the capture of Pensacola by the Spaniards. The Baron Marc de Villiers in his book gives great credit to the Engineer Pauger as the real locator, so to speak, of the new city, though some writers give that honor to Latour.

After three years of trial the city, due to its wonderful situation and the courageous tenacity of Bienville, really came into being and Pauger's plans for laying foundations, draining the city and for embanking it from the river met their fruition, and on the 14th of April, 1721, after the most energetic work, he was able to present a survey of the work already accomplished and what should be done to make the city one in fact as well as in name.

In these undertakings, Bienville was his friend and helper, and together the enemies and rivals of Pauger could not hold out against him, and he succeeded in his great plans. But it was difficult from the start, because the inhabitants refused to build their houses in conformity with his idea, and at times he only had four laborers at his disposal, out of about four hundred then in the colony.

The Company of the West, of course, wanted to populate the colony, and published a most enthusiastic series of prospectuses, full of exaggerations and fanciful descriptions of the wonderful Mississippi Valley and its rich capital, where already eight hundred houses were occupied, and then, as now, printed matter of that kind

had its effect, for many, fortune hunters mostly, started from France for the new city.

In 1720, the Company almost decided to choose Natchitoches for its capital and to there transfer the new colony from New Orleans, one writer in speaking of it, says "there is no place more favorable to establish the new capital." The disadvantages of New Orleans, were emphasized,—its soft ground, the danger of floods, the swamps, the difficulty of ships entering the mouth of the Mississippi, the distance from the upper valley and from Canada—, though what difference the few miles Natchitoches was above New Orleans could have as to these last two items, it is hard to say. At all events, the Company fearing perhaps that a removal would be expensive and somewhat undo the effect of the glowing stories that had been published, concluded to let things remain as Bienville had established them, and the city becoming better known, many families of settlers from other parts of the French settlements came to New Orleans, so that on the 24th of November, 1721, New Orleans had four hundred and seventy inhabitants in the city proper and twelve hundred and sixty-eight within easy reach.

The next year, Father Charlevoix, who sailed down the Mississippi river after visiting Canada, arrived in New Orleans, but was not much impressed with the site of the capital of Louisiana. The eight hundred beautiful houses which a French paper, probably at the instance of the Western Company, had described two years before, "were only in evidence to the extent of about one hundred cabins, (he using that word in the ordinary sense) placed without much order, one great warehouse built of wood, and only two or three buildings properly described as houses, and these would not be tolerated in any village in France."

When, on May 26th, 1722, an order came from the Company to transfer the general direction of the colony to New Orleans, it having officially been made the capital of New France a year before, the enemies of the new city quickly changed their minds and became its warmest supporters, trying by all means to regain the confidence of the company and helping to carry out the plans of Pauger; even Latour, who had been doing everything in his power to hinder the work of Pauger, did his best then to advance the building of the town. The non-navigability of the river and the difficulty of access through its mouth were found not to have existence when an effort was made to use the river, because its mouth was found wide and deep and its bottom not covered with dangerous stones and rocks, as was the case of Biloxi, on an arm of the sea. But laborers were still scarce,

complaining the work was too hard, and in September, only fifty-two remained at work, a condition of affairs which, Latour said, "would result in eighteen months being required before finishing the construction of buildings then under way."

But as in this life all things have their compensation, this great delay in building was advantageous, because before Fall was over a cyclone swept over the town or city, demolishing the barracks which were also used as a church and thirty-four cabins. The Bayou rose, the river rose, and most of the boats and ships in the harbor were destroyed, starvation almost came, and as a forerunner of what we are now experiencing, eggs sold as high as sixteen cents a piece.

Perhaps October 18, 1722, may be given as the date when the city first received official recognition, for on that date, two ships, the "*Loire*" and the "*Deaux-Freres*" saluted the town with a salvo of sixteen cannon shots; New Orleans was unprepared for such an honor, but met the situation as best it could with one discharge of powder.

The next two years showed improvement, and by April, 1724, a great storehouse had been built and an officers' pavillion, which, for over a year was used as a church. In this year the convent of the Capuchins was almost finished and the next year, Father Raphael founded the first college of New Orleans, very much needed, said the Bishop of Quebec, "Because the hearts of the people in New Orleans are not properly disposed to religion."

The first map of New Orleans, drawn by Latour on January 1, 1723, gave no names to the streets, but on another map, dated April 23rd, the names appeared almost as they are now. Running down the river, the first street was then called Bienville, (now Conti). The street now known as Ursuline, was then known as rue de l'Arsenal, and there was then no Iberville, (formerly Customhouse) and Bienville, as we now have them.

Commencing at the river and running back, the streets were rue de Quai, (now Decatur), Chartres, Royal, Bourbon, Vendome, (now Dauphine) and Bourgogne, (now Burgundy).

Disease was prevalent and the doctors inefficient, so that the death rate was very high. Latour died October 14th, 1723, as Pauger says, "from grief, after the mortifications and disappointments he had to endure regarding his work for the city." In 1724 Pauger became the chief engineer of the colony, but in 1776, was threatened with removal, and determined to return to France, as he wrote his brother, on the next ship, but he died on June 9th, 1726, and in his will, dated the 5th of June, he said:

"I commend my soul to all the saints in Heaven, and especially to St. Adrien (from whom he was named) my patron, and crave forgiveness of my sins, that I may enjoy eternal bliss. I give my soul to God and my body to the earth, hoping that it may be buried in the Church at New Orleans if this is possible."

He was buried in the church and a tablet to his memory should be placed there. Baron DeVilliers says New Orleans should name a street after him, and should try to locate with as much certainty as may be, his residence, which was in the middle of the block fronting the river between St. Louis and Bienville (now Conti) streets.

Again speaking of the prevalent sickness in the colony, another writer says that in 1723, eight to nine persons died every day, being one-sixtieth of the population, and Father Raphael says that in the summer of 1725 he did not know two persons who had not been ill.

In 1727 the population was 938, and the Creoles, as they then began to be called, were so proud of their city that they had a city song, the burden of which was that New Orleans had as good an appearance as Paris, that it was growing daily, and if laborers would only come so that provision could be made for the comfort of its inhabitants, the city would become as beautiful and as great as any city in the world. But in 1732, five years afterwards, the population had been reduced to 893, though from this time on the increase was rather rapid, for in 1739 there were 1748 people in the city; in 1756, 4000.

In the United States Customhouse there is a basso-relievo in marble of Bienville, which is the only monument ever erected to him in New Orleans. The street that bears his name, was so named by Latour. There is a colored public school named for him and in the northern part of the State there is a Parish of Bienville. Beyond these, New Orleans has done nothing to honor the man to whom she owes her foundation, nor has Louisiana, for the man whom for years her people called "father." Let us hope that before many years have passed a heroic statue of Bienville will be erected.

In the plan of the city, in the middle of the river front, two squares had been reserved, the front one as a parade ground or Place d'Armes (now Jackson Square), and the other for ecclesiastical purposes. The middle of this square had from the first been occupied by a church, and is at present the site of the St. Louis Cathedral. On the left and adjoining the church, a company of Capuchin priests erected in 1726 a convent. A company of Ursuline nuns, commissioned to open a school for girls and to attend to the sick, arrived in 1727 from France, and were given temporary quarters in the house on the north corner of Chartres and Bienville streets, while the foundations

of a large and commodious nunnery were laid for them in the square bounded by the river front, Chartres, rue de l'Arsenal (now Ursuline street, in honor of the nuns), and the lower limit of the city, now Hospital street. This building, which was finished in 1730, being then the largest edifice in New Orleans, was occupied by the nuns for ninety-four years, until 1824, when they removed to their new convent below the city, from which they in turn removed in 1912 to their present handsome and commodious structures on State street. While the Battle of New Orleans was raging January 8th, 1815, these pious women prayed for the success of the American Arms and to the convent after the battle Jackson went in person to thank them for their prayers and again called on them when he visited New Orleans in after years, being the only one who had been President of the United States ever so to do in honor of the great American victory. A Te Deum has been sung in the convent every Eighth of January for over one hundred years, the one hundredth anniversary there in 1915 being one of the most impressive features of the Centennial Ceremonies of the Battle of New Orleans. In 1831 the old building became the State House of Louisiana; in 1834 it was made the archepiscopal palace for the Catholic Archbishop of New Orleans, in which capacity it served for many years and it is now used for some of the offices of the church. It is the oldest building in the Mississippi Valley and is as strong and stable as when first built.

A soldiers' hospital was built near the convent, soon after its erection, in the square above, which gave to Hospital streets its name.

The Jesuits received the grant of a tract of land immediately above the city, in consideration of which they agreed to educate the youth of New Orleans. This tract was twenty arpents front, by fifty arpents in depth, and lay within the boundaries now indicated by Common and Terpsichore streets and back from the river to the bayou. A further grant of seven arpents front, adjoining the first grant, made the Jesuits' plantation cover all the land now known as the First District. The space between the plantation and the city was declared a *terre commune*, a pleasure ground not to be built on, but to be used as a public road and for the purpose of fortification. This *terre commune* marks Common street, which derives its name therefrom.

The Jesuits settled on their plantation in 1727, being furnished with a residence, a chapel, and slaves to cultivate their lands. They introduced the orange, fig, sugar cane and indigo plant to Louisiana.

In 1758, New Orleans received a considerable accession of population, on account of the absorption by the British of the French settlements on the upper Ohio, at Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, and the consequent migration of the French colonists from these points to New Orleans. This required the construction of additional barracks in the lower part of the city front, at a point afterwards known by the name of Barracks street (*rue de Quartiers.*) Expecting an attack from the British, Governor Kerlerec seized the opportunity to improve the fortifications around the town.

The Creoles of New Orleans were at this time greatly agitated over what is known in Louisiana history as the "Jesuit War," a quarrel between the Jesuits and the Capuchins as to jurisdiction. The strife was characterized by "acrimonious writings, squibs, pasquinades and satirical songs," the women in particular taking sides with lively zeal. In July, 1763, the Capuchins were left masters of the field, the Jesuits being expelled from all French and Spanish possessions on the order of the Pope. Their plantation, which was in a splendid condition and one of the best in Louisiana, was sold for \$180,000.00 a very large sum in those days.

In November, 1762, the Treaty of Fontainbleau was signed, by which France transferred Louisiana to Spain. The transaction was kept a secret, and it was not until after the lapse of two years that the people of New Orleans learned with indignation and alarm that they had been sold to Spain. But in time the people became reconciled to the change and many of the Spanish Governors became exceedingly popular.

On Good Friday, March 21, 1780, occurred the great conflagration which destroyed nearly the entire city. It began on Chartres street near St. Louis, in the private chapel of Don Vincento Jose Nunez, the military treasurer of the colony. The buildings on the immediate river front escaped, but the central portion of the town, including the entire commercial quarter, the dwellings of the leading inhabitants, the town hall, the arsenal, the jail, the parish church and the quarters of the Capuchins were completely destroyed. Nineteen squares and 856 houses were destroyed in this fire.

Six years later, on December 8th, 1794, some children playing in a court on Royal street, too near an adjoining hay store, set fire to it. A strong wind was blowing at the time, and in three hours 212 dwellings and stores in the heart of the town were destroyed. The cathedral lately founded on the site of the church burned in 1788, escaped; but the pecuniary loss exceeded that of the previous conflagration, which had been estimated at \$2,600,000.00. Only two

stores were left standing, and a large portion of the population was compelled to camp out in the Place d'Armes and on the Levee.

New Orleans now made rapid improvement. Don Andres Almonaster y Roxas, father of Baroness Pontalba, erected a handsome row of brick buildings on each side of the Place d'Armes, where the Pontalba buildings now stand, making the fashionable retail quarter of the town. In 1787 he built on Ursuline street a chapel of stucco brick for the nuns. The Charity Hospital, founded in 1737 by a sailor named Jean Louis, on Rampart street, between St. Louis and Toulouse, then outside of the town limits, was destroyed in 1779 by the hurricane. In 1784, Almonaster began and two years later completed, at a cost of \$114,000.00 on the same site, a brick edifice, which he called the Charity Hospital of St. Charles.

In 1792, he began the erection upon the site of the parish church, destroyed by fire in 1788, of a brick building, and in 1794, when Louisiana and Florida were erected into a bishopric separate from Havana, this church, sufficiently completed for occupation, became the St. Louis Cathedral. Later still, he filled the void made by the burning of the town hall and the jail, which, until the conflagration, had stood on the south side of the church, facing the Place d'Armes, with the hall of the Cabildo, the same that stands there at this time, long the home of the Supreme Court and now occupied by the Louisiana Historical Society and the Louisiana State Museum. The upper story, a Mansard roof, and added subsequently, does not blend with the Spanish architecture.

In 1794 Governor Carondelet began, and in the following two years finished, with the aid of a large force of slaves, the excavation of the "old basin" and the Carondelet Canal, connecting New Orleans with Bayou St. John and Lake Ponchartrain.

In 1794 Etienne de Bore, whose plantation occupied the site where the sixth District of New Orleans now stands, formerly the City of Jefferson, succeeded in producing \$12,000 worth of superior sugar, and introduced sugar culture into Louisiana.

In 1787, New Orleans was doing a very large export trade for the American possessions, on the upper Mississippi and Ohio, the goods being shipped to the city on flat boats. In August, 1788, Gen. Wilkinson received through his agent in New Orleans, via the Mississippi, a cargo of dry goods and other articles, for the Kentucky market, probably the first boatload of manufactured commodities that ever went up the river to Ohio.

In 1793 the citizens of the colony were granted the valuable concession of an open commerce with Europe and America, and a

number of merchants from Philadelphia established commercial houses in New Orleans. In October 20th, 1795, was signed at Madrid the treaty which declared the Mississippi free to the people of the United States, and New Orleans a port of deposit for three years free of any charge.

On the first of October, 1800, Louisiana was transferred by Spain to France. It was not, however, until March 26th, 1803, that the French colonial prefect Laussat landed at New Orleans, commissioned to prepare for the expected arrival of General Victor with a large force of French troops. Instead of General Victor, however, a vessel from France brought the news in July that Louisiana had been purchased by the United States. On November 3rd, with troops drawn up in line on the Place d'Armes, and with discharges of artillery, Salcedo, the Spanish governor, in the hall of the Cabildo, delivered the keys of New Orleans to Laussat. On the 20th of the next month, Laussat, with similar ceremonies, turned Louisiana over to Commissioners Claiborne and Wilkinson, and New Orleans became part of the United States. At that time, with its suburbs, it possessed a population of 10,000, the great majority of the white people being Creoles.

One of the most remarkable battles in the history of the world was fought on the plains of Chalmette, just below New Orleans, on January 8th, 1815, when Andrew Jackson, at the head of a comparatively small American force, badly equipped and poorly armed, defeated the flower of the English army, fresh from the battle fields of Europe, where it had achieved glory and recognition in the campaign of Wellington, and thus made secure for Louisiana forever the great Mississippi Valley, the major part of which was the Louisiana purchased by Jefferson from France, and out of which thirteen states have been carved and admitted into the Union. It is said by some writers that the battle was of no importance, because it was fought after peace was declared; but this is a mistake. It is true that on December 24th, in the city of Ghent the commissioners of Great Britain and of the United States had signed a treaty of peace, but that treaty was of no effect, as to the United States until approved by the President and two-thirds of the Senate, and this did not occur until February 17th, 1815, and not until that day was peace established. Many treaties have been negotiated on the part of the United States and rejected by the Senate, and some disapproved by the President and never by him sent to the Senate, and, in several cases, treaties submitted by one President to the Senate have been withdrawn by his successor, so that the mere signing of a treaty is

in no case binding on the United States. Therefore, if the English had been successful in the Battle of New Orleans, the assent of the English King to the treaty would have been withdrawn and the war would have been started all over again. A recent historical research shows that Pakenham came to New Orleans with a complete plan for the civil government of the Mississippi Valley when he conquered New Orleans.

New Orleans today has the oldest railroad in the United States that running out Elysian Fields Avenue to Milneburg, for though other railroads were built before that, they have long since disappeared, while it is still there and some of the people who are compelled to patronize it say that it is still using the rolling stock and locomotives that it operated in 1830.

New Orleans is the greatest factory city in the south, leading by millions of dollars and leading all others in manufacturing both in capital and in products. It is the largest cotton, sugar, molasses, coffee, nitrate, rice, cigar, cigarette and banana market in the United States and the largest lumber market in the South. It has the only Municipal owned belt railroad in the world and its wharves and docks, freight sheds, cotton warehouses, grain elevators, and water system represent the acme of public ownership and are the envy of all cities throughout the world. As the Panama Canal, the dream of explorers, statesmen and engineers for over four hundred years, became a reality when the United States took the matter in hand during the progressive and vigorous administration of President Roosevelt, so will New Orleans, under the guidance of Mayor Martin Behrman, soon have a Canal from the Mississippi river to Lake Ponchartrain, a plan evolved by Marigny more than one hundred years ago, he actually building such a canal, small and unimportant though it was, out Elysian Fields Avenue, then known as "Champs Elysees," which though long since abandoned and filled up, will be considered the forerunner of the one now to be built.

Mardi Gras, which became an institution of New Orleans in 1827, and which has been annually observed since, though in a very minor form in 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865 and 1875, was totally unobserved this year. No doubt the celebrations thereof will be renewed with greater interest and enthusiasm than ever when the world war is over, and we have again been restored to our normal condition of peace.

One of the great events in the history of New Orleans was the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, held from Dec., 1884, to May, 1885, in Audubon Park, then known as the Upper City

Park, which built up that part of New Orleans between Louisiana Avenue and Carrollton, and brought to the attention of the world the great natural resources and possibilities of Louisiana. Many large buildings were erected for the exposition, one of which, the Horticultural Hall, remained until a few years ago, when, after passing through several storms, it was found necessary to demolish it. The main building had an area of 1,656,000 square feet, the largest building ever erected before or since.

New Orleans has many monuments, the most noted of which are to Henry Clay, the great statesman of Kentucky; Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Albert Sidney Johnston and P. G. T. Beauregard, noted Confederate Generals; Jefferson Davis, the only President of the Confederate States; Margaret Haughery, the friend of the orphans; Audubon, the world renowned naturalist; John McDonough, who gave half his fortune to New Orleans for public schools, of which there are now thirty bearing his name; Andrew Jackson, the hero of Chalmette, and Benjamin Franklin, the Revolutionary statesman, all of these being of full length, except McDonough, which is a bust; the great monument at Chalmette, a massive shaft over one hundred feet high, and the Liberty Monument, in honor of the heroes of September 14, 1874, when began the end of reconstruction in Louisiana; and many others to private individuals in cemeteries and elsewhere, and busts of noted educators, musicians and historians in our museums, schools and libraries.

New Orleans Public schools rank with the best in the country, eighty-two in number for elementary grades, besides three magnificent High Schools, a Normal School, the graduates of which are in demand everywhere and an Industrial school for girls, a great success from its start. Its Colleges, Tulane, Newcomb and Loyola, represent in their student body practically every State in the Union and every foreign country. Soon we shall have the splendid Delgado Trade School for boys, which in endowment and equipment will be the peer of any similar institution in America.

The Charity organizations of New Orleans are almost without number, and its churches of every denomination are beautiful, many of them very fine in architecture, and all of them numbering devoted and pious adherents by the thousands and tens of thousands.

The Commission form of government established in New Orleans in 1912, New Orleans being the first large city to adopt such a system, in the hands of the capable men who were first elected thereunder to administer the government, has given so much satisfaction

to our people, that all of the incumbents, except one, who declined to again hold office, were re-elected without opposition in 1916.

Before the Civil War and for some years after, the trade of New Orleans through the Mississippi river and its tributaries was enormous, but the opposition of the railroads and poor terminal facilities have caused this trade to disappear and the greatness of New Orleans will only begin to start when this trade is again developed, for only through this, together with a canal from the great Lakes to the Mississippi river will the Panama Canal, the great artery of peaceful commerce which the United States gave to the world, be of any benefit to this City, and as the present conditions of affairs have shown that the railroads cannot accommodate the trade of the Mississippi Valley, soon will the river come into its own again, and with it our city will increase in population and wealth by leaps and bounds, to the glory of our whole country, and there is no reason why at some time in the future, the Official Flag of New Orleans, raised on the City Hall for the first time on February 9th, 1918, should not float over a city greater than any now existing in the United States.



WHEN KNIGHTHOOD WAS IN FLOWER

We need not go back to the days of Don Quixotte for examples of chivalric acts of the old regime. One hundred and ten years ago the affair recounted below was one of the incidents of those days. The original document which gives these data is owned by Hon. Gaspar Cucashs, president of the Louisiana Historical Society, and to his courtesy we owe the privilege of publishing it. The antiquity of the episode is shown in old fashioned s resembling the letter f. It reads as follows:

"PHILIP GRIMES"

"District Attorney of the United States, having refused to give me the fatiffaction due to a gentleman, after having publickly infulted me, I declare the faid Philip Grimes to be—A COWARD.

JAMES WORKMAN,
Counfeller at Law.

"New Orleans, Nov. 27, 1808."

GRIMES' ANSWER

"P. Grimes cannot stoop to make any other reply to the Honorable Judge Workman than that which his friend, Mr. P. D. Foley, has doubtless communicated to His Honour; to the publick he owes the following apology:

"At a superior court holden in the city of New Orleans, in the county of Orleans, on the twelfth day of January, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven:

"The grand jurors within and for the faid territory, on their oath, prefent that James Workman, late of the city of New Orleans, in the county and territory aforesaid, esquire, being a wicked and feditious man, and unmindful of the duty of his allegiance, and contriving and intending the peace and common tranquillity of this territory to disquiet, molest and disturb, and the government by law establised there wholly to fuvert, and overthrow, and excite the citizens of the faid territory to infurrection and rebellion and revolt, as well againtst the government of the United States of America; to-wit:

"On the fifth day of March in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, in divers days and times, as well before as after, at this city aforesaid, wickedly and feditioufly did counfel,

advise, entice and perjuade certain divers good citizens of this faid territory to aid, affist and promote him, the faid James Workman, and divers others to the jury unknown, (whom the faid James Workman declared to be his affoiates in the fame wicked, feditious and traitorous project), wholly to separate the faid territory from the government of the United States, to declare the fame independent thereof and wholly to subvert the government of this faid territory, to tranfport out of the faid territory the perfon there lawfully exercifing the powers of Governor thereof, to eftablish by violence and force of arms another government therein, wholly independent of the government of the United States of America, againft the peace of the territory and the law in such cafe provided.

"A TRUE BILL

Signed: EVAN JONES, Foreman.

"Any gentleman who may feel himfelf infulted by my obfervations in court Friday laft, and has anything like character to defend may afcertain whether I deferve the imputation of cowardice or not.

P. GRIMES."

New Orleans, Nov. 27, 1808.

To judge the individuals who have gone before us we should consider their acts in the light of the period in which they lived, appraise them by the measure of praise or blame then attached to them, and by the influence of public opinion on the minds and morals of those ancestors who had brought from Europe the polish as well as the errors and vices of their European predecessors. If there appeared in our city, at the present time, the above poster it would be considered as the emanation of unbalanced mentality or of one seeking notoriety; but in 1808 it was the usual means employed against an antagonist who refused the satisfaction demanded by the code of honor. The ten commandments were not then more respected than this code. The 26 commandments of the duelling code were compiled and written by John McDonald Taylor in 1777. He fought under Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo and afterwards drifted to New Orleans where he married into one of its most prominent families. The original of this code is owned by one of his descendants in New Orleans. Another well known code of honor is that of John Lyde Wilson, Governor of South Carolina.

The first rule of the duelling code was: Not to resent the offense at the moment it was offered, which course was considered as a want of respect to those present, unless the insult took the shape of a blow,

in which case, even after its being returned, the insulted party had a right to challenge the aggressor, but absolute silence was observed by principals and seconds during the preliminaries of the duel.

The challenge was supposed to be courteous, and if the style was in any way offensive the principal had a right to reject it; if it was of a dubious character, the second was required to endorse it as conforming to his ideas of politeness. If the party refused the challenge it became the second's duty to inquire into the cause of the refusal, and if he persisted in this refusal, the second had the right to post him, or publish a card in the newspapers. When one or the other of the principals refused to fight, the seconds were supposed to assume that duty. A near relative, such as father, son or brother was debarred from acting as second on the plea of consanguinity. Minors were not allowed to challenge adults unless the adults had made companions of them. Accommodations were always sought and when apologies were offered, gentlemanly seconds never made them humiliating to one principal unless the other was averse to arranging the matter.

If a challenge was made on unacceptable terms it was returned to the second who brought it back for redress. No gentleman was obliged to accept a challenge from a minor unless he had made him an associate, from one engaged in unlawful trade, from a man in old age or in his dotage. A challenge from a stranger was accepted after some lapse of time in order to ascertain his standing and occupation. The principals were entirely governed by the seconds in arranging details, in accepting apologies, explanations, etc., and when the principals became untractable the seconds were free to refuse to act. and cast off all responsibility. The seconds were always supposed to have a conciliatory mission. When the principals met on the field, they were entirely under control of their seconds, and once the ground was measured off and their positions marked, they were not supposed to deviate or change in any way without orders from their seconds. The seconds gave the word to fire, and each held a loaded pistol, for, in case of any treachery or of a principal falling from premature fire, the second was obliged to take his place and fight his opponent. No second allowed his principal to continue a duel after having been wounded; he did not allow him to continue against a wounded opponent, and in every case where resentment pursued a different course the seconds were in fault. After an exchange of shots in which neither principal was hit, the seconds incurred the duty of effecting a reconciliation, by obliging the principals to meet on neutral ground and shake hands; in cases where the insult had deeply wronged one

of the opponents the duel continued until blood flowed, and in that case the challenger was free to leave the duelling ground; but if the challenged party wounded the challenger, it was his duty to obtain leave through his second to leave the field. In every duel, besides the principals and the seconds, a surgeon and an assistant surgeon were required for each principal, but the assistant surgeon was often dispensed with. Duels were generally kept secret with a contingent of not more than the eight required persons, but there were cases when others were allowed to be present if they were not father, brother or son to one of the principals.

The lengths of the pistols was regulated by the duelling code, and the seconds were supposed to inform each other when about to load them for the principals. There were rules fixing the manner in which the arms should be presented to the duellists, the manner in which they were to be held in order to give the same chances to each principal, and the details to be observed throughout the encounter. In all codes of honor it was held that "words used in retort, although more violent and disrespectful than those first used," did not satisfy, "words being no satisfaction for words." When a spoken insult called forth a blow, the person receiving the blow became the challenger if he had not returned the blow.

Insults offered under the effect of intoxicants called for satisfaction or for a written apology and an acknowledgement that the party was unconscious of offering an insult and retracted it. A blow generally called for blood, but on the seconds alone depended this much discussed question.

In Louisiana the code of honor was rigorously enforced and the histories of some duels have come down to us as tragedies, for instance the duel in which Governor Claiborne's brother-in-law, Micajah Lewis, lost his life at the second fire. This duel was deeply deplored by friends and enemies of the Governor and his young secretary. He had resented the use of his dead sister's name, brought up to annoy and hurt Claiborne; the duel was arranged and Lewis was a corpse before the Governor heard of the impending meeting. In the old St. Louis cemetery his tombstone may still be seen. The duelling oaks on the Allard Plantation, now the City Park, acquired celebrity from the many rencontres under their spreading branches; they fought with pistols and swords, especially broadswords. The different fencing masters in New Orleans frequently chose each other as opponents to gratify their jealousy or to display their skill. Dauphin was killed under these oaks by Bonneval.

Mandeville de Marigny fought two duels with Grailhe, a singular coincidence of those duels being that in the first Grailhe received a wound which forced him to remain in a bending position, and that the wound inflicted in the second duel corrected this and made him painfully and ridiculously erect.

Mr. Vincent Nolte's duels have been told of by himself in his Reminiscences of "fifty years in both hemispheres." They form an amusing page in the history of territorial times and of the early days of Statehood in Louisiana, especially his version of his difficulty with Joseph Saul, Cashier of the Louisiana Bank. After vigorously chastising Nolte, Saul was obliged to meet Nott, Nolte's friend, as Nolte was unable to fight. When Nolte recovered he challenged Saul who refused the cartel on the plea that he had already rendered satisfaction to Nott for Nolte's injured feelings. Nolte was obliged to accept a challenge from Captain Allen who resented his cowardly insults to his uncle, General Hull. The last chapter of Vincent Nolte's aggressiveness was his quarrel with McQueen.

Pepe Lulla, owner of the St. Vincent cemetery, was a great duellist; it seemed to amuse him to pick a quarrel with the conceited Cuban refugees and other triflers of his day.

Even after the war of secession duels were fought and though this practice was forbidden by law, no jury was ever known to condemn this form of homicide.

H. H. C.



THE OLD PORTAGE BETWEEN BAYOU ST JOHN AND THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

It is not generally known that at the time of the founding of New Orleans two hundred years ago most of the travel between the Mississippi river and the early French settlements on the gulf including Biloxi and Mobile was by the Bayou Mancha route, then called by some Iberville river, down through Lake Maurepas past Manchac and Lake Ponchartrain, through the Rigolets and thence to the desired destinations along the Gulf Coast.

This route made that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi river an island and our title to it by the purchase of all Louisiana by Thomas Jefferson from France in 1803, is better than to what we have now of Louisiana above and east of bayou Manchac, viz: the socalled Florida parishes of East Baton Rouge, east and West Feliciana, Livingston, St. Tammany and Washington. Spain claimed and to some extent occupied these parishes. The river route to the sea had been discovered long before by LaSalle and for a time was considered dangerous and as the French settlements above Manchac were comparatively continuous all the way to the great lakes, and the travel was by canoes, small boats and barges, the Manchac route became and for a long time remained the chief route from the Gulf Coast to the river settlements.

All this time it was known, that a bayou called St. John, discharging its waters into the lake now called Ponchartrain, headed up near to the Mississippi river. The local Indians told this to the early explorers and it was found to be an old Indian portage and had been used for perhaps ages by the Indians.

This portage at once made a better or at least a quicker route from gulf to river and became a prominent feature in the development of the lower hundred and fifty miles of the river. Bayou St. John debouches into Lake Ponchartrain at Spanish Fort on the present lake front of New Orleans, is now utilized by small vessels up into the rear of the city whence a canal known as the old Canal or Canal Carondelet penetrates to within a few hundred feet of Rampart street, the locality known as the old basin.

The importance of this portage to the Indians, to the early French settlers and to the city of New Orleans at the present day, led recently to its careful tracing out and one of our members, Mr.

O. M. Milner, the well known lawyer, and formerly president of the New Orleans Automobile Association, consented to aid in the work and wrote the following report:

Report of the Special Committee on the Old Portage between Bayou St. John and the Mississippi River:

To the President and Members of the Louisiana Historical Society:

It was with much pleasure that your committee on yesterday, November 27, 1917, traversed for the first time, the streets which this day follow the portage that was so extensively used two hundred years ago between Bayou St. John and the Mississippi river.

We reversed the order and started up the banks of the Mississippi river, now occupied by one of our dock sheds, crossed the car tracks and entered Hospital or Governor Nicholls street, the river end of the portage. The street is paved with asphalt to Rampart. Crossing Rampart, we continued over a cobblestone pavement, rough, full of holes, and not often used, passing over the Claiborne Canal, to Broad street. Crossing Broad street, we followed the car tracks into Tonti street until it sharply intersects with Grand Route St. John. We turned rather shortly to the left and followed this broad thoroughfare, over its car tracks, until we reached Bayou St. John, at the point where the portage began.

In spite of our consciousness of this present day existence, the trip was so interesting we all but felt the touch of the forests on each side of us and thought we followed the path made by those strong-limbed Indians and early French and Spanish traders who carried their great burdens between the waters of Bayou St. John and the Mississippi river, over a path beaten hard and smooth by moccasined feet.

Your committee urges the proper marking of this old portage and hopes that the city can, at no distant day, have the streets which followed the portage paved so that visitors may ride over this route, thus adding to the richness of our historical interests.

RESOLUTION

**Adopted by the Louisiana Historical Society at its Regular
Monthly Meeting Held in the Cabildo, New Orleans,**

June, 18th, 1918.

Whereas, the House of Representatives of Louisiana has passed a Bill making an appropriation for the erection of a monument to the Louisiana Soldiers who served in the Vicksburg Campaign, in the War between the States, 1861 to 1865, said monument to be erected on Louisiana Circle in the Vicksburg National Military Park, and whereas it is eminently just and fitting that said monument should be erected and erected now,

Therefore, Be It Resolved, by the Louisiana Historical Society that it endorses said Bill and calls upon the members of the Senate, individually and collectively, to pass said Bill at the earliest possible moment that same may be signed by the Governor and work on the monument started at once, as an incentive to those called upon to enlist and serve during the present World War, believing that when they see that their ancestors, who served their State and Country in another War, are not forgotten, that they will enlist with more enthusiasm and satisfaction.



BIENVILLE'S SEAL

The Louisiana Historical Society tenders thanks to the National Society of Colonial Dames, resident in the State of Louisiana, for the fine copy of the Bienville seal forming the frontispiece of the Bienville number, and at the same time apologizes for the oversight which prevented this acknowledgment from appearing in the last Quarterly.

This seal was made in New York, where Mrs. Ben Lewis went for that sole purpose. Miss Angelica Church enlarged and made the plaster cast and Tiffany made the bronze replica.

NOTES ON LOUISIANA IN 1778

Charles Theodore Middleton's *System of Geography*, (two volumes, in folio), published in London, 1778, does not devote very much attention to America. It has one map of North America on a small scale and one of the Atlantic ocean, also on a small scale. Reference to Louisiana is short, but not uninteresting:

Page 493:

LOUISIANA. Louisiana, most of which was ceded to the English in 1778, and now constitutes the greater part of the government of West Florida, is bounded by the Mississippi on the west, and by East Florida, Georgia, and Carolina, on the east; and extends from the lake of the Illinois, or rather from the source of the Mississippi on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. It is a very pleasant, fruitful country, being watered by a number of rivers, the frequent overflowings of which contribute not a little to its fertility. Nothing is more delightful than the meadows, which are fit for feed of all kind. In some parts the soil yields three or four crops in the year; for the winter consists only in heavy rains, without any nipping frosts. Almost all parts of trees which Europe affords are to be found here, besides a variety of others unknown to us, and some of them of great value; such as lofty cedars, which distil à gum that is said to excel all the noblest European perfumes; and cotton-trees which are of a prodigious height. The whole country abounds with an infinite variety of game, fowl, cattle, and indeed everything that life can desire.

New Orleans, which was the only place of any note in Louisiana that was not ceded to the English by the late treaty of peace, and which the French have since yielded up to the Spaniards, is situated between the eastern shore of the Mississippi, and the Fifth river, near the lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas, and about 18 leagues from the sea. It is a pretty large handsome town, but subject to most ruinous inundations; besides, the navigation between it and the sea is so very difficult, that none but small vessels and flat-bottomed boats can get up to it, there being a shelf that lies before the mouth of the river, where there is not above ten feet of water. It is said that the channel of it is twice as large as that of the Seine, keeping the same

breadth all along; and that the stream is rapid, though it be full of windings and turnings for 900 leagues.

There is a short mention of a Devonshire colony in Florida,
Page 494:

Mr. Rolles, a public spirited gentleman, and member in the British parliament for Barnstaple in Devonshire, having had a grant of a tract of land in this country, planned a settlement upon the river St. John, to which he carried over a considerable number of adventurers.



Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of the LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, published quarterly at New Orleans, La., for April 1, 1918. State of Louisiana, Parish of Orleans. Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and Parish aforesaid, personally appeared John Dymond, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the LOUISIANA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912. Publisher, Louisiana Historical Society. Editor, Managing Editor, Business Manager, John Dymond, New Orleans, La. 2. That the owners are: The Louisiana Historical Society and issues no stock, officers are G. Cusachs, President; John Dymond, First Vice-President; William Kernan Dart, Second Vice-President; Henry Renshaw, Third Vice-President; W. O. Hart, Treasurer and Bussiere Rouen, Corresponding Secretary, all of New Orleans, La. 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. Signed John Dymond, Editor. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3rd day of April, 1918. (Seal) Andre Lafargue, Notary Public. (My commission is for life-time.)

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