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A HISTORY OF
LOUISIANA

VOLUME I



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A HISTORY OF LOUISIANA

BY
ALCÉE FORTIER, Litt. D.

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN TULANE UNIVERSITY
OF LOUISIANA, PRESIDENT OF THE LOUISIANA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

✠
IN FOUR VOLUMES
✠

VOLUME I
EARLY EXPLORERS AND THE
DOMINATION OF THE FRENCH
1512-1768



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THE DEVINNE PRESS

TO MY FRIEND

HENRY VIGNAUD

DIPLOMAT AND HISTORIAN

THE DISTINGUISHED LOUISIANIAN WHO HAS BEEN AN
HONOR TO HIS NATIVE STATE AND HAS ALWAYS
LOVED HER AND HIS COUNTRYMEN

THIS HISTORY OF LOUISIANA

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED



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PREFACE

A native of Louisiana and a member of a family which established itself in New Orleans shortly after the foundation of that city in 1718, the author of this book may be permitted to say that he has written it con amore—avec amour, as he prefers to say in the language of his venerated ancestors. It was indeed a labor of love to relate the history of Louisiana, from the discovery of the great Mississippi by the knightly De Soto to our own times. How pleasant it was to accompany La Salle down the mighty river to the Gulf of Mexico, to witness the heroic efforts of Iberville and Bienville to colonize Louisiana, to see the growth of New Orleans and be introduced to the brave men and gentle women who dwelt, in the eighteenth century, in the little town which they already considered delightful and which they compared with pride to the Paris of Louis XV! How ennobling the Revolution of 1768, when a handful of men rose against the oppression of a powerful foreign government and thought of establishing a republic on the banks of the Mississippi! How interesting the campaigns of Bernardo de Galvez against the British, which have given the Louisianians of to-day the right of belonging to the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution!

The colonial history of French and of Spanish Louisi-

ana is highly instructive and interesting, but no less so is the history of American Louisiana. On December 20, 1803, Laussat transferred the province to the United States, and the Louisianians became, from that time, true Americans. Under the leadership of Jackson, they helped to repel the British from American soil, and from 1815 to 1861, aided by worthy citizens from other parts of the Union, they strove earnestly to develop the wonderful resources of their State. When the Civil War broke out the men of Louisiana fought bravely for rights which they held sacred, and the women displayed a patriotism, a courage, fully equal to that of the men. More apparent still was that fortitude during the terrible years which followed the war, until the people regained, in 1877, the right of self-government, and made use of it to enjoy prosperity, liberty, and happiness.

It is natural that the author of this book should take pride in relating the history of the events which took place on the soil of Louisiana for the last two hundred years. In nearly all of these events men of his name or of his blood took part. In spite of this personal interest in the history of Louisiana, the author has striven earnestly and honestly to be impartial and just in his narrative of facts and in his judgment of men. However, he has not refrained from expressing indignation at unworthy deeds and praise for noble actions. In his opinion, impartiality does not preclude interest in events and warmth in relating them. History is not a mere chronicle of facts. It deals with the inner life of men, with their customs and manners, as well as with their political and warlike deeds. An

attempt has therefore been made in this work to depict both the inner and the outward life of the people of Louisiana, and for that purpose they have often been allowed to express their feelings in their own words. The author has endeavored to revive the men and women of the past, to show them with their hearts throbbing with warm blood, with all the impulses of humanity. He knows very well that he has not succeeded in this arduous task, but he asserts again that he has striven to do full justice to all the persons whose names he has mentioned. There is malice against none, if there is sometimes severity.

It is impossible to write the *History of Louisiana* without consulting the works of François Xavier Martin and Charles Gayarré, and grateful acknowledgment is made of the help derived from these distinguished historians. It was the privilege of the author to have enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Gayarré and to have been encouraged by him in his work. The histories of Martin and of Gayarré were very useful guides, but they did not serve as a foundation for this book. The author used as a basis for it a large number of books by contemporaries, newspapers from the year 1794, and manuscript documents. The latter are principally to be found in the archives of the Louisiana Historical Society. They are, for the French Domination: Magne's "*Notes et Documents*," a large volume of 1106 pages, bought in May, 1845, from the compiler by the State of Louisiana; Pierre Margry's "*Documents sur la Louisiane*," a compilation made by Margry at the request and at the expense of Mr. John Perkins, who presented it to the Louisiana Historical So-

ciety: the three volumes or parts bear the dates respectively of May, September, and December, 1849. There are also a volume of French manuscripts (Mississippi Valley), one of official French orders, etc., and many boxes containing legal papers—petitions, marriage contracts, etc., from 1719 to 1803. For the Spanish Domination the principal documents are four volumes of Spanish manuscripts, compiled from the archives in Spain by the distinguished writer Pascual de Gayangos, in 1847, for the State of Louisiana, through the efforts of Mr. Gayarré. Besides the above, the author had the very valuable Memoir of Francisco Boulogny, which gives such a clear account of the condition of Louisiana in 1776, and which was kindly placed at his disposal by his cousin, Mrs. Albert Baldwin, a descendant of Francisco Boulogny.

Many hours were spent among the archives at the Ministry of the Colonies in Paris and at the City Hall in New Orleans, and at the Louisiana State Library and the Howard Memorial Library. Much useful and hitherto unpublished information was gathered in those places.

At the end of each volume notes have been placed, where full acknowledgment has been made of the sources of this work. Literary honesty should be as complete as business honesty, and it is just as wrong to rob a man of his literary work as of his financial work.

The author wishes to express his sincere thanks to the kind friends who so generously placed at his disposal their valuable collections of books and pamphlets relating to Louisiana history: Messrs. Gaspar Cusachs, Thomas P.

PREFACE

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Thompson, J. W. Cruzat, William Beer, and Dr. Joseph Bauer.

The history of Louisiana is intimately connected with the history of France, of Spain, and of the United States. On its pages one sees the names of Louis XIV, the laborious and stately monarch; of Louis XV, his despicable successor; of the able Charles III and the weak Charles IV of Spain; of Bonaparte, the wonderful captain and statesman; of Lafayette, the friend of Washington; of Thomas Jefferson, the wise President; of Andrew Jackson, the victorious general; of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Southern Confederacy; of William McKinley, the gracious and patriotic President.

Our history is also gloriously connected with that of England. It is a noble and interesting history; it is that of a people who bore misfortune with courage and knew how to recover from it; of a people with an artistic temperament; of a people not perfect because human, but whose faults one may excuse on account of their generosity, exalted patriotism, and chivalric sentiments.

The author hopes that the pages of his work will bear out the truth of what he has stated in this preface. He does not hope that his readers will be as well pleased with the text as with the beautiful artistic setting given to it by the publishers. Let him at least be given the credit of having labored faithfully to present a true picture of his beloved Louisiana, once French, once Spanish, but now American forever.

Alcée Fortier.

New Orleans, September 16, 1903.

A HISTORY OF
LOUISIANA

VOLUME I

CHAPTER I

THE SPANISH EXPLORERS

PONCE DE LEON—HERNANDO DE SOTO

The Spanish explorers not successful within the limits of the present United States—Ponce de Leon discovers Florida—Pineda is said to have discovered the Mississippi—Vasquez de Ayllon in Florida—Pamphilo de Narvaez—Cabeza and the Mississippi—De Soto's equipment—Spirit of his followers—Landing of De Soto—His treatment of the natives—The massacre of Vitachuco's warriors—Search for gold—The female cacique—Tusealuza—Disaster at Mauvila—In the country of the Chickasaws—Discovery of the Mississippi—Death of De Soto—Luis de Moscoso.



AFTER Columbus had discovered the New World for the Crown of Castile, the Spaniards undertook expeditions across the Atlantic Ocean and reaped a rich harvest in Peru and Mexico, where the boldness of Pizarro and of Cortez won for Spain immense provinces and countless treasures. The Spanish explorers, however, were not successful within the limits of the country that is now the United States, meeting only with defeat and disaster.

In 1512 Juan Ponce de Leon, a companion of Columbus in his second expedition, sailed from Porto Rico to search the island of Bimini, where he thought he should

find the Fountain of Youth. He landed on March 27, Easter Sunday (*Pascua Florida*, in Spanish), and gave to the country he had discovered the pretty name of Florida.¹ He explored the coast and was received with hostility by the Indians. In 1521 he endeavored to conquer Florida, and was mortally wounded by the natives.

In 1519 Alvarez de Pineda, who was sent on an exploring expedition by Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaica, is said to have discovered the Mississippi River, and named it the Rio del Espiritu Santo. This fact has been accepted by several modern historians, but Mr. W. B. Scaife,² in 1892, and Mr. Peter J. Hamilton,³ in 1898, appear to have proved that the Espiritu Santo was not the Mississippi, but the Mobile River.

In 1520 Vasquez de Ayllon landed on the coast of Florida, now South Carolina, a country called Chicora by the Indians. De Ayllon treacherously carried away several Indians, to work in the gold-mines and on the plantations of the Spaniards. In 1525 he made another expedition; but the Indians lured him into a feeling of safety and then massacred nearly all the invaders. The perfidious De Ayllon himself was probably among the slain.

The misfortunes of Ponce de Leon and of Vasquez de Ayllon did not deter Pamphilo de Narvaez from endeavoring to conquer Florida in 1528. The story of his expedition also is one of disaster. Narvaez perished, and only five of his followers escaped from the fatal land discovered by Ponce de Leon. They succeeded in reaching Mexico after ten years of wandering, and one of the number, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, returned to Spain.

In spite of his sufferings in Florida, Alvar Nuñez gave a glowing description of the wealth of that country. In his wanderings he must have crossed the Mississippi River, but he does not mention that fact.

On hearing the narrative of Alvar Nuñez, Hernando de Soto conceived the project of conquering Florida and its riches.⁴ He had been a follower of Pizarro and one of the bravest and most chivalric of the *conquistadores* of Peru. He obtained from Charles V the permission to conquer Florida, and received the title of Governor and Captain-General of Cuba and Florida, and in the latter country he was also to be *adelantado*, that is to say, he was to have absolute authority in military and civil matters.

Many of the noblest and most warlike men in Spain, soldiers of fortune, and Portuguese cavaliers, were eager to join De Soto's expedition. The commander chose six hundred men (some say nine hundred and fifty) from those who applied to him, and left Spain, on April 6, 1538, with a fleet of nine vessels. On his arrival in Cuba, De Soto spent a year in organizing his expedition, and when he sailed for Florida, on May 18, 1539, nothing was lacking in his equipment. He had artisans, miners, and chemists to work the gold-mines, chains and fetters and bloodhounds for the captives, and live stock for his men. He was himself bold, energetic, and enthusiastic; his followers were intrepid, and they were all confident of success; but they carried with them the doom of the enterprise in the instruments for working the mines and torturing the captives. Greed for gold, and unrelenting cruelty,

were too often traits of the Spanish conquerors, and their failures are to be attributed to their vices. We cannot but admire their fortitude and bravery, but we must condemn their insatiable cupidity and their treatment of the natives. The cruelty of De Soto's predecessors in Florida, and his own implacable spirit, were to be the greatest hindrance to his conquest.

The Spanish fleet reached the bay of Espiritu Santo (Tampa Bay) on May 30, 1539, and in a few days the troops were debarked. The men were clad in glittering armor; most of them were armed with crossbows, swords, and lances, while eighteen had harquebuses, and there was one piece of ordnance. The Indians were hostile from the outset, but were terrified by the firearms and especially by the war-horses, covered with steel, like the men who rode them. The first village they met was that of Hirigue, six miles from the sea, and De Soto tried to conciliate the Indian chief. The latter, however, remained hostile, and so did Acuera, farther in the interior. The Indians remembered the cruel deeds of De Ayllon and of Narvaez, and De Soto's conduct was not such as to pacify them. He captured and put in chains several savages, to serve as guides, and, on one occasion, he had some of these guides torn to pieces by bloodhounds, as he suspected them of treachery.

The Spaniards continued their march toward the north, and, after a toilsome journey, reached the country of Vitachuco, a cacique who was hostile at first but afterward appeared to be friendly. Here happened a terrible event. Vitachuco, wishing to show his warriors to the invaders,

assembled them all, on a certain day, as if for review. De Soto also said that he would display his soldiers, and he made them march fully armed before the Indians. All at once the Spaniards attacked Vitachuco's warriors and killed five hundred of them and captured nine hundred. The latter, soon afterward, revolted against their tyrants and were all put to death in cold blood. De Soto's excuse for this dreadful deed was, that if he had not attacked the Indians they would have massacred his men, and he had merely anticipated them.

After this the natives were more hostile than ever, and the Spaniards lost many men in crossing the swamp called the Great Morass on their way to the Appalachee country. Here they hoped to find gold, and they established their winter quarters at the town of Anhayca, from which the inhabitants had fled. No gold, however, was to be found, and De Soto sent detachments to explore the country. One of his lieutenants came to the sea and discovered a favorable harbor near the village of Aute. The ships were ordered to go to that place; but as a better harbor was discovered in the bay of Achusi (now Pensacola), De Soto ordered his ships to bring supplies from Havana and to await him in Achusi Bay in the autumn of 1540. He was desirous of going to the province of Cofachiqui, where, it was said, gold was in abundance, and he passed through what is now the State of Georgia. The Indians were friendly, and supplied the Spaniards with food.

Cofachiqui was ruled by a beautiful female cacique, who received the strangers with kindness. The latter, disappointed at not finding gold, plundered the sacred

relics of the Indians and took all the jewels they contained. The troops were now anxious to form a settlement, but the governor resolved to continue his march, and he arrived, about the first of August, at the village of Coosa in the present State of Alabama. He then reached the country of Tuscaluza, a powerful chief, tall, handsome, and ferocious-looking. The cacique was hospitable to the strangers, but De Soto, as was his custom, got possession of the Indian chief under pretense of honoring him. He gave him a scarlet robe, mounted him on a horse, and took him on his expedition. The cacique saw that he was a prisoner, and when he arrived with the Spaniards at the town of Mauvila, on the Alabama River, he determined to free himself from his supposed guard of honor. He had secretly ordered all his warriors to meet at Mauvila, and there the Spaniards suffered a terrible disaster.

De Soto entered the town with two hundred infantry and half his cavalry, the main body of the army having been left behind under Luis de Moscoso. Shortly after the arrival of the vanguard in the town, the war-whoop of the Indians was heard, and the Spaniards were attacked by countless numbers. The battle raged furiously within the town, and then outside. The Indians fought with wonderful courage, but were not able to resist the attacks of the Spaniards after Moscoso had joined his chief. Mauvila was burned, thousands of Indians, men, women, and children, perished, and the Spaniards lost eighty-two men and forty-two horses. After this disaster De Soto resolved not to continue his march to

Achusi Bay, as he discovered that his men would probably abandon the expedition if they came to the ships. He decided to return northward in search of the promised land of gold.

He soon arrived at what is now the State of Mississippi, and in the country of the Chickasaws the Spaniards met with a disaster even greater than that at Mauvila. Their treatment of the Indians had been, as usual, harsh and even cruel, and the latter attacked them one night in large numbers. The town where they dwelt was burned, and they lost forty men, nearly all their herd of swine, fifty horses, and their baggage. They remained nearly without clothing and without weapons, and in a desperate situation. Their chief, however, inspired them with his courage and fortitude. They re-tempered their swords, made new lances and shields, and manufactured a fabric for clothing.

After leaving the Chickasaw country, the Spaniards reached, in April, 1541, the banks of a great river. De Soto had discovered the mighty Mississippi. It was not far from the mouth of the Arkansas River, at about the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, that the Spanish chieftain first beheld the Mississippi, which he called the *Rio Grande*.

The Spaniards crossed the Mississippi, and proceeded to the White River country in Arkansas. After they had marched northward for some time, the winter became very severe, and the invaders suffered intensely from the cold. They were also harassed by the natives, and De Soto resolved to return to the Mississippi, and to

descend to its mouth in boats. He reached the village of Guachoya, about twenty miles below the mouth of the Arkansas, and there the intrepid captain expired, May 21, 1542. He was buried in the great river he had discovered. He had named Luis de Moscoso his successor, and the latter, with about three hundred men, succeeded, after incredible sufferings, in sailing down the Mississippi and reaching the coast of Mexico.

The expedition of Hernando de Soto was bold and romantic, and is important on account of the discovery of the Mississippi, but it required the wonderful energy and courage of Robert Cavelier de La Salle to enable the Europeans to colonize the country traversed by De Soto, and to take advantage of the great river that passes through Louisiana in its rapid course toward the Gulf of Mexico.

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH EXPLORERS

MARQUETTE AND JOILET—HENNEPIN—LA SALLE

Spirit of the French explorers—The St. Lawrence—Acadia—Quebec—The missionaries—Montreal—La Salle—Discovery of the Ohio—Marquette—Joliet—The Mississippi—Return of the explorers—Death of Marquette—La Salle's plans—Frontenac—Tonty—Hennepin—The *Griffin*—Fort Crève-cœur—Hennepin's expedition—Description of the Mississippi—Du Lhut—"Louis," Indian name for "sun," according to Hennepin—First mention of the name "Louisiane"—Gilmary Shea's opinion of Hennepin—La Salle at Fort Frontenac—The Iroquois and the Illinois—La Salle enters the Mississippi—The mouth of the Mississippi—Official account of taking possession—Father Membré's description of the Mississippi—Fort St. Louis of the Illinois—La Salle authorized to form a settlement—Fort St. Louis of Texas—Murder of La Salle—Destruction of La Salle's settlement.



MORE than a century elapsed, after the discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto, before the mighty river was visited again by white men, and the explorers were no longer soldiers clad in armor and adventurers cruel and eager for gold, but peaceable men, whose only thought was their King and their God. Joliet and Marquette were very different from De Soto and Moscoso, and the humble trader and the saintly priest were as heroic as the warlike Spanish knights.

From the expedition of Ponce de Leon to that of De

Soto, the Spaniards had failed in their undertakings to conquer Florida and the country bordering on the Mississippi. The French were more successful in the north. The Bretons, the Normans, and the Basques are said to have discovered the coast of North America before John Cabot, and in 1524 Verrazano was sent by Francis I to explore the Atlantic coast of our present United States. In 1534 Cartier entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and in 1535 he saw the future sites of Quebec and Montreal. He and Roberval attempted to establish a colony on the St. Lawrence River, but were not successful, and it was only in 1605 that a permanent settlement was effected at Port Royal by De Monts and Poutrincourt. This was the beginning of Acadia, which was to be celebrated in history and in romance.

On the great St. Lawrence River Samuel Champlain laid the foundation of Quebec in 1608 and was the pioneer of New France. By the side of the French colonist and of the soldier stood the Catholic priest—at first the Recollet friar, then the Jesuit father. The savage native must be taught the word of Christ, he must be civilized and become a faithful and peaceful subject of the King of France. Such was the task of the Jesuit missionary, and we follow him with wonder and admiration among the Indians, where his courage never falters, where his religious zeal is never abated, and where he gladly suffers martyrdom for the cause of his God and his country. The missionary of the seventeenth century may have been somewhat of a fanatic, but his defects were those of his age. His virtues were unflinching courage, unswerv-

ing devotion to duty, and sincere piety. The names of Lejeune, Brébeuf, Garnier, Lallemand, Bressani, Jogues, Dablon, Allouez, Marquette, and of many other humble heroes, deserve to be inscribed in American history. Their missions often failed, and most of them fell victims to the rage of the barbarous savages, but, as Parkman observes, their labors were not in vain. The Indians were civilized by them, to some extent, and in the wars of the eighteenth century, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, we do not see the horrible deeds so frequent in the seventeenth century. The Iroquois fiends tortured the priests and destroyed their missions; but the fortitude and Christian spirit of the martyrs exerted unconsciously an influence over the demons of the Five Nations and of other tribes.

The second city founded in Canada was Villemarie de Montréal, in 1642, and it owed its birth to religious enthusiasm. "It was to be," says Parkman, "a sacred town, reared to the honor and under the patronage of Christ, St. Joseph, and the Virgin." The types of the founders are represented by the saintly Mademoiselle Mance and the brave and pious Maisonneuve. The town resisted the fury of the Indians and served as a refuge to the few missionaries who were not tortured by the Iroquois, at the time of the destruction of the Hurons, of the Neutrals, and of the Andastes by the fierce warriors of the Five Nations. Montreal plays an important part in the history of the French explorers, who were to be the successors of the missionaries in the virgin forests and among the Indians.

Although, in the first half of the seventeenth century, France possessed Quebec and Montreal, on the mighty St. Lawrence, the ambition of the officers of the King was to extend the dominion of their monarch beyond the Great Lakes, and to explore the country watered by the rivers flowing toward the west and the south. The man who was to accomplish this purpose was Robert Cavelier de La Salle. Robert Cavelier, known as La Salle, from the name of an estate near Rouen, was born, in 1643, of a wealthy burgher family, and was connected in his youth with the Jesuits, but he parted from the order on good terms and went in 1666 to Montreal, where he had a brother, Jean Cavelier, a Sulpitian priest. The Sulpitians at that time were the feudal lords of Montreal, and from them La Salle obtained the gratuitous grant of a tract of land at the place now called La Chine, eight or nine miles from Montreal. He soon began to effect a settlement, but as his mind was fired with the desire of exploring the great river so often mentioned by the Indians, he sold his seigniory to procure the means for an expedition. He obtained the consent of the governor, Courcelles, and of the intendant, Talon, and set out on his first voyage of discovery, on July 6, 1669. Two Sulpitian priests, Dollier de Casson and Gallinée, who were about to undertake an exploring expedition, were requested by Governor Courcelles to act in concert with La Salle. The latter parted from his companions in September at a place called Otinawatawa, on Lake Ontario. Here he met Joliet, the future discoverer of the Mississippi. The Sulpitians went toward the upper lakes, and



La Salle proceeded on his journey to discover the great rivers flowing south. There is some uncertainty about his explorations at that time, but there is no doubt that he discovered the Ohio River in 1671, and probably the Illinois also. To other explorers, however, belongs the honor of having been the first white men to rediscover the Mississippi, after Hernando de Soto.

The Jesuits had established missions on the upper lakes, among which were those at Saut Saint-Marie, at St. Esprit, at Michilimackinac, and at Manatoulin Island. One of their most zealous and most courageous missionaries was Jacques Marquette, and he was chosen to accompany the fur-trader Louis Joliet on an expedition organized by Talon, the intendant, and approved by Count Frontenac, after the intendant's departure from the colony.

Louis Joliet was born at Quebec in 1645. He was educated by the Jesuits and received the minor orders of that religious company, but he finally became a fur-trader. He was sent by the intendant Talon to explore the copper-mines of Lake Superior, and it was on his return that he met La Salle on Lake Ontario. He did not succeed in this expedition, but Talon, who appears to have had a high opinion of his intelligence and boldness, selected him to rediscover the Mississippi. Joliet's associate, Father Jacques Marquette, was born at Laon in 1637. He was renowned for his energy, his gentleness, and his piety. His journal of the expedition is very interesting.

The travelers set out from Michilimackinac on May

17, 1673, in two birch canoes, with five men. They soon entered the Wisconsin River, and reached the Mississippi on June 17, 1673.¹ "Behold us then," says Marquette, "upon this celebrated river, whose singularities I have attentively studied. The Mississippi takes its rise in several lakes in the north. Its channel is very narrow at the mouth of the Wisconsin, and runs south until it is affected by very high hills. Its current is slow, because of its depth. In sounding we found nineteen fathoms of water. A little farther on it widens nearly three quarters of a league, and the width continues to be more equal. We slowly followed its course to the south and southeast to the 42° north latitude. Here we perceived the country change its appearance. There were scarcely any more woods or mountains. The islands were covered with fine trees, but we could not see any more roebucks, buffaloes, bustards, and swans. We met from time to time monstrous fish, which struck so violently against our canoes, that first we took them to be large trees, which threatened to upset us. As we were descending the river we saw high rocks with hideous monsters painted on them, upon which the bravest Indians dare not look. As we fell down the river, and while we were discoursing upon these monsters, we heard a great rushing and bubbling of waters, and small islands of floating trees coming from the mouth of the Pekitanoui (the Missouri), with such rapidity that we could not trust ourselves to go near it. The water of this river is so muddy that we could not drink it. It so discolours the Mississippi as to make the navigation of it dangerous. The river comes from the northwest, and

flows into the Mississippi, and on its banks are Indian villages. We judged by the compass that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico. It would, however, have been more agreeable if it had discharged itself into the South Sea or the Gulf of California."

The explorers descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas River, and, having established the fact that the Mississippi flows into the Gulf of Mexico, they set out on their return journey on July 17, 1673, and reached Green Bay at the end of September. Joliet went to Quebec, where the news of his discovery was received with great joy, and Marquette remained at the mission. The last words of the latter's journal testify to his sincere piety: "If my perilous journey had been attended with no other advantage than the salvation of one soul, I would think my perils sufficiently rewarded. I preached the Gospel to the Illinois of Perouacca for three days together. My instructions made such an impression upon these poor people that when we were about to depart they brought to me a dying child to baptize, which I did, about half an hour before he died, and which, by a special providence, God was pleased to save." In 1674 Father Marquette undertook to found a mission among the Illinois, and he died on May 19, 1675. Like his predecessors, Brébeuf, Lallemand, and Jogues, he was a martyr to his faith.

The discoveries of Marquette and Joliet are important, but they led to no practical results. La Salle's explorations are much more valuable. He intended to hold the whole country for the French King, from the Great

Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, establishing colonies and keeping the Indians in check by posts in the interior, and the Spaniards and the English by a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi. Fortunately, in Count Frontenac he found a zealous and powerful protector. The latter left Quebec, and with a small force of soldiers and volunteers struck boldly into the country of the Iroquois. He overawed the Indians and built a fort, which La Salle called Fort Frontenac, and of which he obtained the grant from the King, when he made a voyage to France in 1674. He obtained also letters patent of nobility. His seignioriness prospered, but he cared not for riches. He was anxious to explore the western and southern parts of New France, and when he went to France in 1677 he obtained from the King in 1678 a patent that authorized him to explore the country, to build forts, and to find a way to Mexico, provided his enterprise be accomplished within five years. He also obtained the monopoly of trade in buffalo hides. La Salle met in France Henri de Tonty, who sailed with him for Canada and became his ablest and most faithful lieutenant. Tonty was an Italian, had lost a hand in the Sicilian wars, and had replaced it by an iron one. He is one of the most sympathetic characters to be found in early American history.

On arriving at Quebec, La Salle found awaiting him Father Louis Hennepin, who was to play an important part in the proposed expedition. Hennepin was a Recollet friar, born in Hainault, and had settled at Fort Frontenac in 1675. He was inured to fatigue and was bold, but was conceited and apparently mendacious. His

first work, "Description de la Louisiane" (Paris, 1683), is important and interesting and tolerably accurate; but after La Salle's death huge falsehoods appeared in the friar's books. He and Lamothe preceded La Salle to the Niagara River, where, two leagues above the Falls, La Salle decided to build a ship. The explorer himself set out on foot for Fort Frontenac, a distance of two hundred and fifteen miles, and left Tonty to finish the vessel. This was done, and the ship was named the *Griffin*. She was ready for the expedition, but several months passed before La Salle returned. He reported that his creditors had seized his property in Canada. This, however, did not deter him. He sailed on the *Griffin* into Lake Erie, then into the Strait of Detroit, and then passed from Lake St. Clair into the wide Lake Huron. He reached the Jesuit mission of Michilimackinac, entered Lake Michigan, and, at the entrance of Green Bay, found some of his men with a large quantity of furs. These furs he resolved, unfortunately, to send to Niagara on board of the *Griffin*, and he never again heard of his vessel or his furs. He continued his expedition in canoes, and entered the St. Joseph River among the Miamis. Then, shouldering their canoes, the men reached the Illinois River. In the country of the Illinois, La Salle built Fort Crève-cœur, and, as several of his men had deserted him, and he was in great need of succor, he set out on foot for Fort Frontenac, giving orders to build a new vessel in his absence. Before leaving, he sent Father Hennepin to explore the Illinois River to its mouth.

In the winter of 1680 Hennepin set out on his expedi-

tion. He was accompanied by Accau and Du Gay. In his "Description of Louisiana" ² he says that he came to the mouth of the river Seignelay (Illinois) on March 7, 1680, then he adds: "The river Colbert (Mississippi) runs south-southwest, and comes from the north and northwest; it runs between two chains of mountains, very small here, which wind with the river, and in some places are pretty far from the banks, so that between the mountains and the river there are large prairies, where you often see herds of wild cattle browsing. In other places these eminences leave semi-circular spots covered with grass or wood. Beyond these mountains you discover vast plains, but the more we approach the northern side ascending, the earth did not appear to us so fertile, nor the woods so beautiful as in the Illinois country.

"This great river is almost everywhere a short league in width, and in some places two leagues; it is divided by a number of islands covered with trees, interlaced with so many vines as to be almost impassable. It receives no considerable river on the western side except that of the Otontenta, and another, which comes from the west-northwest, seven or eight leagues from the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua."

Hennepin says that on April 11, 1680, he and his companions were captured by a band of one hundred and twenty Sioux. After many adventures they were found, on July 25, 1680, not far from the Falls of St. Anthony, by a celebrated *coureur de bois*, Greysolon du Lhut, accompanied by four Frenchmen. On Du Lhut's promising to come back with goods, Hennepin was allowed to return with him by way of the Wisconsin River.

Hennepin's "Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte au Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle France" was dedicated to Louis XIV. The author says: "We have given the name of Louisiane [Louisiana] to this great Discovery, being persuaded that your Majesty would not disapprove that a part of the earth watered by a river more than eight hundred leagues in length, and much greater than Europe, which we may call the Delight of America, and which is capable of forming a great Empire, should henceforth be known under the august name of Louis, that it may thereby have some show of right to aspire to the honor of your protection, and hope for the advantage of belonging to you." The author adds that the Indians call the sun "Louis" in their language, and that God had destined the King to be the master of the new country. About this assertion Parkman says: "The Yankton band of this people (the Sioux), however, call the sun *ouuee*, which, it is evident, represents the French pronunciation of Louis, omitting the initial letter."

With regard to the name *Louisiane* mentioned by Hennepin, we find it for the first time in Margry's "Origines françaises des Pays d'Outre Mer," page 21, Vol. II, in a grant of an island to François Daupin, signed by La Salle, June 10, 1679: "in a year from the day of our return from the voyage which we are going to make for the discovery of Louisiane (*pour la découverte de la Louisiane*)."

As we have already said, Hennepin's "Description" is important, but in 1697 another work was published, dedicated to King William III of England, in which

Hennepin declared that he had discovered the mouth of the Mississippi before La Salle. The title of the book is: "Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique" (Utrecht). In a third work, "Nouveau Voyage d'un pays plus grand que l'Europe" (Utrecht, 1698), the claim made in the second work is repeated. This is evidently a falsehood, but in justice to Hennepin it must be said that it is maintained by Gilmary Shea, in his scholarly edition of "Description of Louisiana," that the Recollet monk should be exonerated from intentional plagiarism and falsehood. According to Shea, the Dutch publishers of Hennepin's work interpolated in the book, without his knowledge, the account of La Salle's journey in 1682 to the mouth of the Mississippi, to be found in Le Clercq's "Établissement de la Foi," an account written by Zénobe Membré and Anastase Douay, two of La Salle's companions.

We left La Salle on his journey from Fort Crèvecœur to Fort Frontenac. It required sixty-five days of hardship to reach his destination, and on arriving at Fort Frontenac he received a letter from Tonty announcing the mutiny and desertion of most of the men at Fort Crèvecœur. La Salle succeeded in intercepting and punishing some of the deserters, and then set out to meet Tonty.

During La Salle's absence the Iroquois invaded the country of the Illinois, and nearly destroyed that tribe. Tonty tried to protect the Illinois, and came near being killed by the Iroquois. One of his companions, old Father Ribourde, was murdered, and Tonty, with Father

Zénobe Membré, Boisrondet, and two men, managed to escape, after many adventures. La Salle made an alliance with the Miamis and other tribes, met Tonty at Michilimackinac, and returned with him to Fort Frontenac to obtain the means to undertake, for the third time, to descend the Mississippi to its mouth.

La Salle's party consisted of twenty-three Frenchmen, eighteen Indians, ten squaws, and three Indian children. They dragged their canoes from the Chicago to the Illinois River, and after reaching Lake Peoria they floated down the Illinois, and on February 6, 1682, they entered the Mississippi. On February 24 they encamped near the Third Chickasaw Bluffs, and there Pierre Prudhomme, having gone out hunting, was lost for ten days. La Salle gave to the fort he built at that place the name of the unlucky hunter. On March 14 he took possession, in the King's name, of the country of the Arkansas, with the "consent" of the Indians.

The explorers continued their journey without further mishap, making friends of the Indians who lived on the banks of the river and who belonged to the tribes of the Arkansas, the Tensas, the Natchez, the Coroaes, the Ou-mas, and the Quinipissas. At length, on April 6, 1682, La Salle reached three channels, into which the river divided itself, and, following the western channel, he sent some of his men by the other two. They soon arrived at the Gulf of Mexico, and there, on April 9, La Salle took possession of the country, which he had already called Louisiana, in the name of Louis XIV. The following official account was drawn up by the notary of Fort Fron-

tenac, a member of the expedition, Jacques de la Métairie:³

At about the twenty-seventh degree of elevation from the pole, a column and a cross were prepared, and on the column were painted the arms of France with this inscription: "Louis le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre, règne le 9^e Avril, 1682." All being under arms, they chanted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, and the *Domine, salvum fac Regem*; then, after volleys of musketry and shouts of "Vive le Roy," M. de La Salle planted the column, and, standing near it, said in a loud voice in French:

"In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, I, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken and do now take, in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers, within the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, otherwise called the Ohio, Olighinsipou or Chukagoua, and this with the consent of the Chaouesnons, Chicachas, and other peoples residing there with which we have made alliance, as also along the river Colbert, or Mississippi, and the rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, from its source beyond the country of the Nadouessioux, and this with their consent and of the Ototantas, Islinois, Matsigames, Akansas, Natchez, Koroas, who are the most considerable nations that reside there, with which we have made alliance by ourselves or through persons in our name, as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms, upon the assurance we have had from the natives of these countries, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the

said river Colbert; hereby protesting against all who may hereafter undertake to invade any or all of these aforesaid countries, peoples, or lands, to the prejudice of the rights of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations dwelling herein. Of which, and of all else that is needful, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the notary here present." A cross was planted, and a leaden plate was buried near it, bearing the arms of France on one side and a Latin inscription: *Ludovicus Magnus regnat nono Aprilis 1682*; and on the other: *Robertus Cavalier, cum domino de Tonty, legato, R. P. Zenobio Membre, Recollecto, et Viginti Gallis, primus hoc flumen inde ab Ilineorum pago enavigavit, ejusque ostium fecit pervium nono Aprilis anni 1682*. The *Vexilla* and the *Domine, salvum fac Regem* were sung in front of the cross, and the ceremony ended with shouts of "Vive le Roy!" The signers of the act were: De La Salle, F. Zenobe, Recollect missionary, Henry de Tonty, François de Boisrondet, Jean Bourdon, sieur d'Autray, Jacques Cavelhois, Gilles Meneret, Jean Michel, chirurgien, Jean Mas, Jean du Lignon, Nicolas de La Salle, La Metairie, notaire.

Father Zénobe Membré, in a letter from the river Mississippi, June 3, 1682, says: "The great river Mississippi is very beautiful in all places, without any fall or rapid from the Arkansas to the sea. It is full of crocodiles; its inundations in the spring spoil all its banks. The blessings of the earth come there so happily that at the end of April the Indian wheat was in bloom at the Coroas, and the blossoms as high as poles. It is here the country of canes, laurels, and palms; there is an infinity of mulberry trees, of which we eat the fruit every day from the beginning of May. In fifty days the wheat ripens."

The great explorer had succeeded in his efforts and had descended the mighty Mississippi to its mouth. He now

wished to colonize Louisiana, named for the stately monarch at Versailles. In order to strengthen his position in the north, after his return from the mouth of the Mississippi, he established among the Illinois a colony of Indians, which he called Fort St. Louis. He was very successful in this enterprise, but his patron, Count Frontenac, was recalled to France, and his successor, Le Febvre de la Barre, was not friendly to La Salle and dispossessed him of Fort St. Louis. La Salle, therefore, went to France to obtain justice from the King, and to present his plan for establishing a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi and for conquering the province of New Biscay in Mexico.

The explorer had an interview with Louis XIV himself, and his plans were favorably received both by the King and by his minister Seignelay, the distinguished son of Colbert. La Salle was authorized to form a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, and La Barre was ordered to surrender all that belonged to the explorer. Four vessels were given to him, and he took with him soldiers, mechanics, laborers, volunteers, several families, and a number of girls. He had also his brother Cavelier, who was a Sulpitian priest, two other priests of that order, three Recollet friars, Zénobe Membré his former companion, Anastase Douay, Joutel, and Maxime Le Clercq. Unfortunately, the command of the expedition was divided: Beaujeu was to direct the vessels, and La Salle to direct the route and command the men on land. As is usually the case, the two commanders did not agree.

The ships sailed from La Rochelle on July 24, 1684,

and reached Santo Domingo after a voyage of two months. On the island La Salle was very ill, and when he resumed his journey he appeared to have become irritable and to distrust Beaujeu. The ships entered the Gulf of Mexico, but passed by the mouth of the Mississippi and went to the coast of what is now Texas. La Salle mistook the entrance of Matagorda Bay for one of the mouths of the Mississippi, and resolved to establish his colony there. One of his vessels, the *Aimable*, was wrecked, laden with the stores of the colony, and Beaujeu returned to France on the *Joly*. Shortly after the departure of the *Joly*, La Salle discovered that he was not at the mouth of the Mississippi. He did not lose courage, however, but built a fort, which he called St. Louis, and set out on an expedition to find the "fatal river." In his absence he gave the command of the fort to Joutel, the historian of the expedition and his most trusty follower. La Salle was absent several months, and was unsuccessful in his search. Shortly after his return his only remaining vessel, the *Belle*, was wrecked. There was now no way of reaching the Mississippi by sea, and La Salle formed the bold plan of going to Canada to get help for his colony. He departed with sixteen followers, among whom were his faithful Joutel, his brother Cavelier, their nephews Moranget and young Cavelier, the friar Anastase Douay, Duhaut, the surgeon Liotot, the German Hiens, the pilot Teissier, Duhaut's servant, and Nika, La Salle's Indian hunter.

It appears that the great explorer was a stern commander, not knowing how to make himself popular with

men who could not understand his indomitable energy and courage. Moranget, his nephew, was violent and rash and offended Duhaut. The latter made a plot with Hiens, Teissier, and Larchevêque, and when they were sent to get some food they murdered in their sleep Moranget, Nika the hunter, and Saget, La Salle's servant. The commander, not seeing Moranget return, went with Father Anastase Douay and an Indian to look for his nephew. He met Duhaut, who spoke to him with insolence, and as La Salle advanced to chastise him a shot was fired and La Salle was killed. Thus died, on March 18, 1687, one of the most remarkable men that history presents to us, one whose labors, though apparently unsuccessful, rendered possible the settlement of Louisiana.

Nearly all the murderers of La Salle were killed in their turn, some by their accomplices, others by the Indians. Cavelier and his young nephew, Joutel, and Anastase Douay succeeded in reaching Fort St. Louis of the Illinois. Tonty, the chivalric and devoted companion of La Salle, had descended, in 1685, to the mouth of the Mississippi to meet his chief, and, not finding him, left a letter for him and returned to the Illinois. We shall see him again in Louisiana with Iberville, when that gallant Canadian has succeeded, in 1699, in effecting a settlement in the country explored and named by La Salle. As to the latter's colony at Fort St. Louis of Texas, it was destroyed by the Indians. Tonty tried to rescue the colonists, but could not reach the fort, and the Spaniards from Mexico, having made an expedition to dislodge the French, found at La Salle's Fort St. Louis



MER DE CANADA

MER DE L'ATLANTIQUE

GOLFE DE MEXIQUE

La Louisiane

FLORIDE

Mer du Nord

Mer du Sud

Mer de l'Est

Mer de l'Ouest

Mer de l'Nord

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no human beings. A few of the unfortunates were discovered among the Indians, and were rescued by the Spaniards. Iberville and Bienville are the founders of Louisiana, but we should always remember in our history the name of the heroic explorer, Robert Cavelier de La Salle.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA

IBERVILLE, SAUVOLE, AND BIENVILLE

The condition of France from 1687 to the treaty of Ryswick—Maurepas chooses Iberville for the Louisiana expedition—The sons of Charles Le Moyne—Names of Le Moyne's children—Joutel's "Relation"—Father Anastase Douay—Iberville arrives at Ship Island in February, 1699—Reception of Iberville by the Indians—The first fort at Biloxi—Iberville finds the mouth of the Mississippi—Exploration of the river—Origin of name Bâton Rouge—Pointe Coupée—Tonty's letter—Iberville starts to return to his ships—Iberville River, Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, Bay St. Louis—Success of Iberville's expedition—Sauvole the first commandant or governor of Louisiana—Visit of Bayagoula chiefs and their squaws—The "English Turn"—Return of Iberville—Fort on the Mississippi—Fort Rosalie—Le Sueur's "blue and green earth"—Bienville's journey to the northwest—Death of Sauvole—Bienville in command—Iberville's last voyage to Louisiana—War of the Spanish Succession—The seat of the colony removed from Biloxi—Fort Louis de la Mobile—Commissary de La Salle—Curate de la Vente—Death of Iberville.



FROM La Salle's death in 1687, several years elapsed before another attempt was made to explore and colonize Louisiana, and the only white men to be seen in the vast country watered by the Mississippi were bold adventurers, *coureurs de bois*, who traded with the Indians and led their wild life, and devoted missionaries ever ready to endure all hardships in order to convert the Indians to the religion of Christ. The condition of France, shortly after the failure of

La Salle's colony, was not favorable for another colonial expedition. In 1688 James II of England was overthrown, and Louis XIV received him in a regal manner. The French monarch assigned to the dethroned Stuart as his residence St. Germain-en-Laye, the beautiful castle of Francis I, and gave him an army, that he might reconquer his kingdom. James was defeated at the Boyne, and William of Orange, the implacable enemy of Louis, organized a coalition in Europe against France. The great admiral Tourville was vanquished at La Hogue; but on the Continent Luxembourg and Catinat were victorious, as formerly Condé and Turenne. Louis XIV, although victorious, signed in 1697 the treaty of Ryswick, by which he recognized William III as King of England. He consented to this peace, humiliating to his pride, because he saw that Charles II of Spain was dying, and he wished to be prepared to take possession of the immense succession of the last Spanish monarch of the house of Austria.

Colbert and his son Seignelay were both dead, and in 1697 the minister of marine was Louis de Phélypeaux, Count de Pontchartrain, with whom was associated his son Jérôme, Count de Maurepas, who became minister of marine in 1699. In 1694 Henri de Tonty, the faithful companion of La Salle, offered his services to continue the undertaking of the latter in order to forestall the English. The Sieur de Rémonville, in 1697, proposed the formation of a company to colonize Louisiana. Jérôme Pontchartrain (Maurepas), however, says Margry,¹ "thought that land officers could not fulfil properly a

mission for which maritime knowledge was necessary." He chose, therefore, in 1698, for the Louisiana expedition, a brilliant marine officer, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, a Canadian by birth, of whom one of the directors of the Hudson Bay Company had said that "he was as military as his sword." Iberville had lately distinguished himself in Hudson Bay, where, with one vessel, he fought against three English ships, sinking one, capturing the second, and putting the third to flight. Jérôme Pontchartrain summoned him to the court at Versailles and intrusted him with the task of re-discovering the Mississippi.

Iberville was the third son of Charles Le Moyne, a native of Dieppe, who had emigrated to Canada at the age of fourteen, and in 1676 had become *Sieur de Longueuil*. His wife was Catherine Primot. Charles Le Moyne's family may be compared with that of the Norman nobleman of the eleventh century, Tancred de Hauteville. They each had sons who were intrepid warriors and wise men. Those of the *Sieur de Hauteville* were not more heroic than the sons of the *Sieur de Longueuil*. The former founded principalities and kingdoms in Italy and in the Orient, and we see in history and in romance the names of Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemond of Tarentum, of Roger of Sicily, and of Tasso's perfect knight, Tancred, who won the love of the fair and heroic Clorinda and then slew her in combat without knowing her. The Canadian brothers, of whom nine were distinguished, were of Norman blood, and, like William who defeated Harold the Saxon and

conquered England, they were both warriors and statesmen. Three of them were killed fighting for their King, and two were to be the founders of Louisiana. No names are more important in our history than those of Iberville and Bienville, sons of Charles Le Moyne.

Charles Le Moyne and Catherine Primot had fourteen children,² as follows: Charles, *Sieur de Longueil*; Jacques, *Sieur de Sainte-Hélène*; Pierre, *Sieur d'Iberville*; Paul, *Sieur de Maricourt*; François, *Sieur de Bienville I*; Joseph, *Sieur de Sérigny*; Louis, *Sieur de Châteauguay I*; Jean-Baptiste, *Sieur de Bienville II*; Antoine, *Sieur de Châteauguay II*; François-Marie, *Sieur de Sauvole*; Catherine-Jeanne; Marie-Anne; Gabriel, and a child who died on the day of his birth.

Pierre Le Moyne, *Sieur d'Iberville*, was born at Villemarie (Montreal) on July 16, 1661. The biographers of his family call him "the greatest warrior that Canada has produced." He died on July 9, 1706, and left a son and a daughter. His widow married in France M. de Béthune, lieutenant-general in the armies of the King. Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, *Sieur de Bienville II*, was born at Villemarie (Montreal) on February 23, 1680, and died in Paris on March 7, 1768. Jacques, *Sieur de Sainte-Hélène*, was killed at the siege of Quebec in 1690. François, *Sieur de Bienville I*, was killed at Repentigny in 1691. Sauvole was killed by the savages in 1687.³ Paul, *Sieur de Maricourt*, distinguished himself with Iberville in Hudson Bay; he was employed several times upon important missions to the Iroquois, and was known among them under the symbolic name of Taouistaouisse,⁴

or "little bird that is always in motion." Joseph, Sieur de Sérigny, became a captain in the royal navy and distinguished himself in Louisiana. He died Governor of Rochefort in 1723. Louis, Sieur de Châteauguay (or Chateaugué) I, was killed in 1694, fighting by the side of Iberville. Antoine, Sieur de Châteauguay II, aided Bienville in the colonization of Louisiana. He served afterward at Martinique, was Governor of Cayenne from 1737 to 1744, Governor of Ile Royale in 1745, and died at Rochefort in 1747. Catherine Jeanne married Pierre Payen, Seigneur de Noyan. Marie-Anne married the Sieur de la Chassaigne. Several of the nephews of Bienville served in Louisiana: Sainte-Hélène, who was killed by the savages, the Baron de Longueil, and several Noyans, among whom was one of the "martyrs" of the Revolution of 1768.

Pontchartrain was desirous that Joutel, who was then living at Rouen, should accompany Iberville on his voyage; but the historian of La Salle's last expedition did not wish to run the risk of another exploration. His "Relation," however, was sent to Iberville by Pontchartrain, and Father Anastase Douay was induced to join the expedition. He had been a companion of La Salle in his journey to the mouth of the Mississippi, and in the ill-fated expedition of 1684. He had been more fortunate than Father Zénobe Membré, who perished at Fort St. Louis of Texas.

Iberville's fleet sailed from Brest on October 24, 1698; it consisted of two small frigates—the *Badine*, commanded by Iberville himself, and the *Marin*, commanded

by the Chevalier de Surgères—and two store-ships. At Santo Domingo the Marquis de Châteaumorant, commander of the war-ship *François*, a nephew of the great Tourville, joined the expedition and accompanied it to its destination. Iberville took as pilot Lawrence de Graaf, a celebrated buccaneer, and on January 25, 1699, anchored before the island of St. Rosa. On the mainland the Spaniards had formed a settlement at Pensacola, and the commander did not allow the French to enter the harbor. They sailed, therefore, to Mobile Bay, and explored an island on which they found a heap of human bones, which they called Massacre Island. The ships proceeded to the Chandeleur Island; then a pass was found between Cat Island and Ship Island, and there they cast anchor. On February 13, 1699,⁵ Iberville and his brother Bienville went to the mainland, where, an old man and a squaw having been well treated by the French, the Indians were persuaded to meet them. The savages, who were Biloxis, were delighted with the treatment they received from the white men. “Iberville took to his ship four of these savages, and left his brother on land as a hostage. The same evening eighty Bayagoulas arrived at that coast, going to make war against the Mobilians. All that could be learned from this nation was that they were established on the banks of a large river, which they showed toward the west.”⁶

Pénicaut, the carpenter, who has left us an interesting narrative of the events that took place in Louisiana during his stay there, says that, after a fort had been built at Biloxi, several chiefs came to see Iberville and honored

him greatly. They presented the calumet for him to smoke, then they rubbed his face with white earth. For three days they danced and sang three times a day. On the third day they planted a post before the fort, and went to get Iberville. One of the Indians took him on his back, while another held up his feet, and they carried him to the post to the sound of their *chichicois*. These were gourds filled with pebbles, with which a strange noise was produced. The commander was placed on a deerskin, and a chief put his hands on his shoulders from behind and rocked him as if he were a baby going to sleep. Then the savages struck the post one after another with a wooden hatchet, relating each time their heroic deeds,—and “even more,” adds Pénicaut. Presents were given to them, and they were much astonished at the noise made by the firing of the guns.

The first fort built by Iberville was on the northeast side of the bay of Biloxi,⁷ a little to the rear of what is now Ocean Springs. The place is less exposed to storms than the land fronting on the Sound. Although the French arrived at Biloxi on February 13,⁸ they must have been delighted with the appearance of the place. On landing from their boats they stepped on sand as white as silver, over which rolled gently the blue waves of the Gulf; before them were spread as a curtain the tall pine-trees, among which were seen majestic live-oaks and splendid magnolias, while birds of all colors chirped and sang incessantly amid the boughs. Not far from the coast they saw Deer Island, and in their boats they passed between the island and the shore, and on turning the

point they soon reached the beautiful bay of Biloxi. The site chosen by Iberville for his fort was certainly charming, but he made a mistake in trying to establish his colony on a land distant from any large river, and which proved to be sterile.

The Marquis de Châteaumorant took leave of Iberville on February 21, 1699, and on February 27 the latter set out with two rowboats and two birch canoes in search of the large and fatal river, the Palissada of the Spaniards, the Malbanchya of the Indians on the Gulf coast. Iberville was accompanied by the Sieur de Sauvole, his brother Bienville, Father Anastase Douay, and forty-eight men, with provisions for twenty days. They sailed until March 2, and on that day the mouth of the great Mississippi was re-discovered. He endeavored to double a point of rocks, "but," says Iberville,⁹ "night coming, and bad weather continuing, so that it was impossible to resist without going to the coast or perishing at sea, I bore on the rocks, to reach the coast in the daytime, in order to be able to save my people and my boats. On approaching these rocks to seek a shelter, I perceived there was a river. I passed between two of these rocks, there being twelve feet of water, with a very heavy sea, where, on approaching the rocks, I found sweet water with a very strong current. These rocks are of wood petrified with mud, and have become black rocks, which resist the sea. They are innumerable, out of water, some large, some small, at a distance from one another of twenty steps, one hundred, three hundred, five hundred, more or less, running to the southwest, which has made me know that it was the Palis-

sada River, which seemed to me well named, for, being at its mouth, which is a league and a half from these rocks, it appeared all barred by rocks. At its entrance there are only twelve to fifteen feet of water, by which I passed, which seemed to me one of the best passes, where the sea broke the least. Between the two points of the river I found ten fathoms, the river being three hundred and fifty fathoms wide, the current one league and a third an hour, the water all muddy and very white. Lying on these reeds we felt, sheltered from the bad weather, the pleasure of seeing ourselves protected from an evident peril."

The "muddy and very white water" seemed to indicate that it was the long-sought Mississippi, and the French began to go up the river on March 3, Shrove Tuesday; for which reason Iberville named a point twelve leagues from the mouth of the stream "Mardi Gras." The first Indians they met belonged to the tribes of the Bayagoulas and Mongoulachas, and the chief of the latter wore a cloak of blue serge, which he said was presented to him by Tonty. On his way up the river, Iberville pitched his camp on the site of the present city of New Orleans, at a place where the Indians told him that, at a short distance from the river, a bayou (rivulet) ran into a lake. On arriving at the village of the Bayagoulas, Iberville thought he should find a fork which would lead him from the river to the Gulf, but the natives told him they knew of no other communication on the left bank but a small stream called Ascantia, now Bayou Iberville or Manchac. This they saw a little farther; it sepa-

rated the hunting-grounds of the Bayagoulas from those of the Oumas. "There are on the bank," says Iberville, "many cabins covered with palmetto leaves, and a May-pole without branches, reddened with several heads of fish and of bears attached as a sacrifice." This red pole (*bâton rouge*) is said to have given its name to the present capital of Louisiana, but Pénicaut, in his "Relation,"¹⁰ gives a different account: "From there we went up five leagues, where we found very high banks, which are called in that country bluffs (*Écores*), and in the language of the savages *Istrouma*, which signifies *Bâton Rouge*, because there is at that place a post painted red, which the savages had planted to mark the separation of the lands of two nations—the Bayagoulas, whence we had come, and another thirty leagues above *Bâton Rouge*, called the Oumas. These two nations were so jealous of their hunting-grounds that they shot at those of their neighbors whom they found hunting beyond the limits marked by this red post."

The French next came to a bend, where Iberville noticed a small outlet obstructed with trees. These were cleared, and the barges soon reached the river again, eighteen miles above the point where the outlet had been seen. The Mississippi gradually adopted this outlet as its bed, and later the place was called *Pointe Coupée*. The explorers reached soon afterward a large bend, supposed to be the one now opposite the mouth of Red River, and arrived at the village of the Oumas, where they were most hospitably received. There Iberville learned from the Bayagoulas that Tonty had left a letter with the chief

of the Mongoulachas, which tribe was called formerly the Quinipissas. The French commander proceeded only a little farther. He ordered Sauvole and Bienville to descend the Mississippi to its mouth, and to obtain Tonty's letter from the Mongoulachas. This was done. The letter was dated from the village of the Quinipissas, April 20, 1685, and was written by Tonty to his beloved chief when the heroic Italian descended the river to meet La Salle, on hearing of his departure from France on his last expedition. In his "Journal" Iberville gives the following interesting extract from Tonty's letter to La Salle:

SIR: Having found the post, where you had raised the arms of the King, thrown down by the driftwood, I had another one planted above, at about seven leagues from the sea, and I left a letter in a tree near by, in a hole on the other side, with a sign above. The Quinipissas having danced the calumet for me, I left this letter with them to assure you of my very humble respects, and to let you know that at the news which I received at the fort, that you had lost a ship, and that savages having pillaged your goods, you were fighting against them, I came down with twenty-five Frenchmen, five Chaouanons, and five Illinois. All the natives have danced the calumet. They are people who fear us extremely since you have defeated this village. I end by telling you that it is a great sorrow for me that we should return with the misfortune of not having found you, after two canoes have coasted along Mexico thirty leagues, and along the cape of Florida twenty-five, which have been obliged to give up for lack of water. Although we have had no news from you or seen marks of you, I do not despair that God will give good success to your affairs and your enterprise. I wish it with all my heart, since you have no servant more faithful than I, who would sacrifice everything to look for you.¹¹

On March 23 Iberville set out to return to his ships. The Bayagoulas and the Oumas bade him farewell, and the chief of the latter and one of his principal warriors conducted Iberville to his boat, holding him under the arms, to help him to walk, from fear any accident might happen to him on their land. The chief of the Bayagoulas embarked with him, three volleys of musketry were fired, and the savages answered with cries of joy the "Vive le Roi!" of the French.

On March 24 Iberville entered the Ascantia, named later Iberville, "a river," says he, "which goes to Biloxi and to the bay where are the ships." He had two bark canoes, four of his men, and a Mongoulacha Indian. The stream was very narrow and was obstructed with fallen trees, and in two leagues there were ten portages. On the second day there were fifty portages, and the French reached a beautiful country—level ground, fine trees, and no wild cane. There were many turkeys in the woods, and fish and alligators in the rivulet. The Mongoulacha abandoned Iberville; but the latter, although he had no guide, continued his journey instead of returning to the Mississippi. It was a rather bold undertaking, but not one that could embarrass the brave Canadian sailor. He said he wished to show the savages that he could go wherever he pleased without a guide, and he added, with characteristic energy: "Whatever may happen, I shall always reach the ships, were I to go by land and abandon my canoes and make others." He finally arrived at two lakes, which he named respectively Maurepas and Pontchartrain. He returned to Ship Island a little before Bien-

ville and Sauvole. On April 12 he visited a bay, which he named St. Louis; but, having found little water there, he resolved to place definitely the principal establishment of the colony at the eastern extremity of the bay of Biloxi. On May 1 he completed a fort with four bastions, armed with twelve cannon, and gave the command of it to Sauvole. He appointed his brother Bienville lieutenant (second in command), and Levasseur Russouelle major, and left at Biloxi seventy men and six sailor boys, and provisions for four months. On May 4, 1699, he sailed for France on board the *Badine*, with the Count de Sur-gères, who commanded the *Marin*.

Iberville had succeeded in his undertaking: he had re-discovered the Mississippi River, and had sown the seed from which was to grow our Louisiana. He was again to revisit his infant colony, but he died too soon to see it prosper. Had he lived only a few years longer, Bienville would not have had such a hard struggle to keep alive the colony planted on the shore of Biloxi. Iberville's influence at court would have helped Bienville, and the two courageous brothers would have worked with zeal and harmony to build on a solid foundation the settlement established after so many years of hardship.

After Iberville's departure, Sauvole remained in command of the infant colony, and in his "Journal" he gives a clear and concise account of what he did. He begins by saying that he had great difficulty in maintaining discipline among his men, and that he had mass celebrated every day. The chaplain was Father Bordeneau; the

former companion of La Salle, Father Anastase Douay, had returned to France with Iberville.

On May 17, 1699, Sauvole received the visit of the chief of the Bayagoulas and three other Indians. He ordered the soldiers to present arms, and he gave presents to the savages. The next morning the latter said their wives were not far distant and would like to see the fort. When the squaws appeared, the chief claimed for his wife the same honors as for himself. This gallantry astonished the French commander, and although he complied with the request, he took care to let his guest know that he and his men feared nobody.

Sauvole sent Bienville on excursions among the Colapissas, the Mobilians, and other neighboring tribes, and also to explore again the Mississippi. Bienville left Biloxi on August 24, 1699, and with five men in two bark canoes went up the great river as far as the Ouachas. On his return journey he met, on September 16, twenty-eight leagues from the mouth of the river, an English frigate, the captain of which said he intended to form a settlement on the coast of the Mississippi. Bienville, according to the "Journal Historique," "assured him that the river which he was seeking was more to the west, and that the river, where he was, was a dependency of Canada, of which possession had been taken in the name of His Most Christian Majesty." The captain turned back and departed, and the place on the river where this happened is still called the "English Turn."

Pénieaut relates the story differently and says: "M. de Bienville went to him and asked him what he was com-

ing to seek at the Mississippi, and whether he did not know that the French were established in the country. The Englishman, very much astonished, answered him that he knew nothing about it, and departed a moment later to return to the sea, grumbling very much against the French and M. de Bienville. This is what has caused this turn to be called the 'English Turn,' which name it bears to-day."

Sauvole, in his "Journal," says: "On going down the river, twenty-five leagues from its mouth M. de Bienville met an English frigate of twelve cannon, which he opposed, according to the order which I had given him. The captain, named Bar, acknowledged to him ingenuously that he had explored this river only to make there an establishment for a company; but seeing that we had taken possession of it before them, and believing that we were established farther up, he decided to return, assuring our men that he would be seen again next year." The above three versions are given,¹² as the story has been much discussed. The English were claiming Louisiana as forming part of the Carolinas. On board the English vessel was a French engineer, M. Secon,¹³ a Protestant, who gave secretly to Bienville a petition addressed to the King, by which he assured the latter that four hundred Protestant families would come to Louisiana from the Carolinas if the King would grant them liberty of conscience. The petition was sent to Pontchartrain, who refused the request.

Sauvole speaks of the intense heat in the summer of

1699, of the numberless alligators and snakes around the fort, and of the barrenness of the land. He adds that, unless a gold-mine is discovered, the King will not be compensated for his expenses. As for the natives, they were all very poor. The winter was exceedingly cold, and the colonists suffered considerably. They were delighted at the arrival of Iberville, on December 8, 1699, with supplies and reinforcements. He was accompanied by Boisbriant, who was to be major at Biloxi, two officers, and Saint-Denis and De Malton. Having been told of the expedition of the English corvette met by Bienville in the Mississippi, Iberville determined to ascend that river once more. He ordered a fort to be built,¹⁴ fifty-four miles from the mouth of the river, and he went up the Mississippi as far as the Natchez. He was well pleased with the country of the latter, and laid the plan of a fort to be called Fort Rosalie for the Countess de Pontchartrain. On his journey Iberville had the pleasure to meet Tonty, who had come to offer his services to the French. On his second voyage to Biloxi, Iberville commanded the frigate *Renommée*, and Surgères the frigate *Gironde*. The King had confirmed Iberville's appointment of Sauvole as commander at Biloxi, and of Bienville as lieutenant, second in command.

At this time took place the expedition, in quest of mineral wealth, of the geologist Le Sueur, to the Sioux country, which the carpenter Pénicaut has related in his usual simple and charming manner. A quantity of blue and green earth was brought back by Le Sueur from what

was thought to be a copper-mine, and the precious freight was carried to France; "but," says Pénicaut, "we never had any news of it since."

From the Tensas village, where Iberville set out to return to his fort on the Mississippi, Bienville began his journey to the northwest. He went to the country of the Yatassés, of the Ouachitas, and of the Natchitoches, and he heard of no Spanish settlement. He was accompanied by St. Denis, who became later thoroughly acquainted with the Spaniards in Mexico.

Iberville left Bienville in command of the fort on the Mississippi, and returned to France on May 28, 1700. Both Sauvole and Bienville had great difficulty in maintaining their settlements, in spite of occasional help from the mother country. On August 22, 1701, Sauvole, the first Governor of Louisiana, died of fever.¹⁵ He was a man of honor, of courage, and of judgment. Bienville succeeded him in the command of the colony. Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne was only twenty-two years of age, but had been for several years a constant companion of his brother Iberville in the latter's glorious expeditions. Bienville already had experience and judgment, and from the death of Sauvole he was for many years the most important personage in the history of French Louisiana.

The founder of Louisiana returned to his colony for the last time on December 18, 1701. He brought the news of the accession of Philip, Duke of Anjou, to the throne of Spain. Charles II, the last Spanish monarch of the house of Austria, died in 1700, and, not wishing

to see his monarchy dismembered, he named as his heir the second son of the Dauphin. The kingdom that Ferdinand and Isabella had founded, to which Columbus had given a new world, and Cortez and Pizarro the countless treasures of Mexico and Peru, the country in the capital of which Francis I had been a prisoner for a year, where Charles V and Philip II had reigned, had been weakened by the wars of Charles and the intolerance and despotism of Philip, and the third and the fourth Philip had done nothing to arrest the decay of their monarchy. Louis XIV had married the oldest daughter of Philip IV, and in 1700 he allowed his grandson to accept the Spanish succession. This elevation of a Bourbon to the Spanish throne caused a coalition of nearly all Europe against France and Spain, and the disasters of the war reacted on Louisiana.

On his last voyage Iberville commanded again the *Renommée*, and his brother Sérigny commanded the *Palmier*. The valiant sailor was in bad health, but he displayed his usual energy. He gave orders to Bienville to remove the seat of the colony from Biloxi, and to form an establishment on Mobile River. When Iberville arrived on his third voyage he found only one hundred and fifty persons in the colony. More than sixty men had died at Biloxi, and for three months the garrison had subsisted on a little corn.

On January 6, 1702, Bienville set out with his garrison to found the new settlement. He left twenty soldiers at Biloxi, under the command of Boisbriant, and met on Massacre (called later Dauphine) Island his brothers

Sérigny and Chateaugué and Nicolas de La Salle, the new intendant or commissary, who were building a storehouse there. On January 16, 1702,¹⁶ Bienville and Sérigny went up Mobile River, and at a point eighteen leagues from the sea began the construction of a fort and of a storehouse. Iberville, who reached the new establishment on March 3, was delighted with the country, which he declared to be "perfectly beautiful."

The intendant, Nicolas de La Salle, had been one of Robert Cavelier de La Salle's companions on his journey down the Mississippi in 1682, and he is mentioned by Iberville as being the first man that took his wife and his children to the colony. He arrived with his family on March 19, 1702, at the settlement on Mobile River, which was called Fort Louis de la Mobile. Nicolas de La Salle and the curate de la Vente were to be a little later bitter enemies of Bienville, while Father Gravier and the commissary Diron d'Artaguet, successor to La Salle, were to be his friends and defenders.

Bienville's lot was hard, on account of the feuds in the colony, and the difficulty of providing the people under his charge with the means of existence. Iberville saw the necessity of tilling the ground, and asked the French minister to send farmers to Louisiana, and not adventurers. He remained but a short time in the colony on his third voyage, and sailed for France on April 27, 1702. He never returned to his settlement, but as long as he lived he attended to the needs of the infant colony, and he succeeded, in spite of the war in Europe, in having supplies sent to Louisiana. He died of yellow fever in 1706,



at Havana, where he had gone to obtain reinforcements from the Spaniards for an attack on the Carolinas. Iberville was a worthy successor of La Salle; he was as able and as courageous: but, more fortunate than the great Norman explorer and discoverer, the Canadian sailor succeeded in colonizing the land to which La Salle had given the name of "Louisiane."

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE—THE FOUNDING OF NEW ORLEANS

Hardships of the colonists—Dealings with the Indians—Death of Tonty—Census of 1704—Census of 1706—De Muys—Diron d'Artagnette—D'Artagnette and Bienville advocate an establishment on the Mississippi—Pénicaut's life with the Indians—Slow progress of Louisiana—Grant to Crozat—Governor Lamothe Cadillac—Letters patent to Crozat—Administration of Lamothe Cadillac—Customs of the Natchez Indians—Bienville's punishment of the Natchez chiefs—Governor de l'Épinay—Intendant Hubert—Early settlements—Fort Condé of Mobile—Dubrenil—Yonng D'Artagnette—The Western Company—John Law—Abstract of the charter of the Western Company—Foundation of New Orleans in February, 1718—New Biloxi—The Superior Council in 1719—War with Spain—Capture of Pensacola—Expeditions of Dutisné and of La Harpe—The German Coast—Panger's report about the mouth of the Mississippi—New Orleans becomes the capital—La Tour's report—The hurricane of 1723—Commandants of posts—Names of districts—Father Charlevoix's letter—Description of Louisiana by Le Page du Pratz—Le Page's arrival in the colony—His concession near New Orleans—The calumet dance—Departure for the Natchez country—Settlement near Fort Rosalie—Limits of Louisiana according to Le Page—Climate—The river St. Louis—Le Page goes to New Biloxi—Explorations in the interior—Tribute to St. Denis—Boats of the natives—List of the Indian tribes—Le Page meets Father Charlevoix—His departure in 1734.



THE "Journal Historique," already referred to, which is our chief guide for the early events in our history, gives but meager and uninteresting details about the hardships of the colonists for several years. In June, 1702, the Spaniards at Pensacola

begged for provisions, which Bienville sent to them; and in June, 1703, they came, in their turn, to the help of the French colony threatened with famine. On July 24, 1704, the *Pélican* arrived with supplies and seventy-five soldiers, together with the curate de la Vente, four families of artisans, and two Gray sisters who had in charge twenty-three young girls sent as wives for the colonists. The girls, the minister wrote, "were reared in virtue and piety, and know how to work." They did not remain long unmarried.

Bienville and his men had to contend not only against famine but also against disease, fever especially, and against the Indians. Several expeditions had to be fitted out against various tribes, and great tact had to be used in dealing with the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. The former were generally friendly to the French, but the latter became their mortal enemies. The Mongoulachas were destroyed by their former friends, the Bayagoulas, and the latter were nearly all massacred by the Tensas, to whom they had given hospitality. In September, 1704, an epidemic, supposed to be yellow fever, broke out, and thirty-five persons died, among whom was the gallant Tonty, La Salle's devoted friend, the most chivalric of the explorers of America.

According to a report ¹ dated August 31, 1704, from Fort Louis of Mobile, the situation of the colony was as follows: "180 men bearing arms; 27 French families, which have only 3 little girls and 7 young boys from 1 to 10 years; 6 young savage boys, slaves, from 12 to 18 years; 5 young savage girls, slaves, from 15 to 20 years;

4 ecclesiastics (1 Jesuit and 3 priests); 190 arpents of ground, which form the inclosure of the town; 80 wooden houses of one story, covered with palmetto leaves or straw, built on streets drawn with a tow-line; 9 oxen, of which 5 belong to the King; 14 cows; 4 bulls, of which 1 belongs to the King; 5 calves, 100 hogs, 3 goats, 400 chickens, which the commissary has preserved carefully for breeding."

The following census was copied by the writer at the Ministry of the Colonies in 1900, and is very interesting, as it gives the names of the inhabitants at that time:

Year 1706.

LOUISIANA.—Enumeration of the families and inhabitants who are in Louisiana according to the census which has been made of them on August 1, 1706.

	Number of persons.
M. de La Salle, his wife and 4 children	6
Guillaume Broutin and his wife	2
Jean Roy, his wife and 2 children	4
Jean La Loire, his wife and 1 child	3
Jean Le Camp has the first male child born in Louisiana ² . .	2
François May, his wife and 2 children	4
Nicolas Lafreniere, bachelor	1
François Trudeau, his wife and 1 child	3
Etienne Bruille, his wife and 1 child	3
Mlle. Le Sueur, widow, came from Canada with 3 daughters and 1 boy	5
Mlle. Boissenaud, unmarried	1
Gabrielle Bonnot, crazy, her husband has deserted	1
Michel Risbé	1
Laurent Clostiny and 1 child	2

	Number of persons.
The Sieur Barran and his wife	2
André Renaud, his wife and a child	3
Gilbert Dardenne, his wife and a child	3
Pierre Brossard, his wife and 1 child	3
Pierre Allin, his wife and 1 child	3
Jean Bonobonnoire, his wife and 1 child	3
Antoine Rinarre, his wife and 1 child	3
Claude Trepanié, his wife and 1 child	3
Jean Coulomb, his wife and 2 children	4
Joseph Penigaud, his wife	2
Jean Sossié, a wife and 2 children	4
Marie Mercier, unmarried	1
Marie Crisot, midwife	1
Jean Louis Minuity, his wife and 2 children	4
Anne Perro, widow, with 4 children	5

Total, 82

Cattle.—35 cows, including 12 heifers; 5 bulls; 6 oxen, of which 4 belong to the King; total, 46.

Done at fort Louis of Louisiana, August 1, 1706.

BIENVILLE.

DE LA SALLE.

The struggle for existence continued from 1704 to 1708, and in that year Bienville's enemies appeared to be successful in their attacks against him. In February, 1708, the news reached the colony that a new governor, De Muys, had been sent to supersede Bienville, but had died at Havana. Diron d'Artaguet, the new intendant (*commissaire ordonnateur*), arrived at Dauphine Island on February 10, 1708. He had received orders to investigate the conduct of the officials, and the minister had even prejudged the case by sending an order for the

arrest of Bienville, adding, however, that this was not to be done if he was found innocent. Bienville complained that he was not informed of the charges against him, and wished to return to France by the *Renommée*. The commander of that vessel refused to take him on board because, De Muys having died, Bienville was still governor. D'Artaguette sent later a communication to the French minister, by which he completely exonerated Bienville of all charges against him. He saw that the young Canadian had done the best he could with the means at his disposal, and that he was popular with the colonists and with the Indians. Bienville knew perfectly the customs of the latter, and spoke several Indian languages.

D'Artaguette remained in Louisiana until 1711; he was a man of sound judgment, and advocated with Bienville an establishment on the Mississippi to replace the fort that had been abandoned in 1705. D'Artaguette suggested a place, which is probably now the Gentilly Ridge. During the intendant's stay in the colony, the distress of the inhabitants was very great, and in 1710 Bienville allowed some of his men to go to live among the savages, as he was not able to provide for them. This seems strange, if we believe Commissary La Salle's report,³ made on August 12, 1708, in which he gives the population as composed of a garrison of 122 persons,—including priests, workmen, and boys,—157 inhabitants,—men, women and children,—besides 60 wandering Canadians and 80 Indian slaves, and reports 1400 hogs, 2000 chickens, and about 100 heads of cattle.

Let us now return to our friend Pénicaut, the literary carpenter. He calls attention to the moss on the trees, and says that the French called it "Spanish beard" (*barbe à l'Espagnole*), and the Spaniards "French wig" (*perruque à la Française*). In 1704 Pénieaut had spent some time among the Natchez, of whom he gives an interesting description. In 1710 he resolved to go among the Colapissas and the Natchitoches on the banks of Lake Pontchartrain. Twelve young men set out in two canoes, carrying with them a kettle and provisions for three days. They killed a quantity of game on the way, and in eight days arrived at the villages of their savage friends. They were cordially received, their game was cooked for them, and at night the Indians began to dance in honor of their guests. What was the surprise of the young warriors and squaws when they heard one of the Frenchmen, named Picard, play the violin. Carried away by their enthusiasm, the Indians jumped about wildly, until two of the white men danced a minuet which delighted their hosts. Picard, the fiddler, resided with the chief of the Colapissas, while Pénicaut enjoyed the hospitality of the Natchitoches chief, who had two beautiful daughters, Oulehgonime, the "Good Girl" in their language, and Oulehil, the "Beautiful Weaver." The French spent the winter with the Indians, hunting and fishing with them, and teaching the young damsels the stately dances of Louis XIV's court. Pénicaut says that on his return from the hunt in winter, he used to sit by the fire and teach the two daughters of his host to speak French. "They nearly made me

die with laughter," says he, "with their savage pronunciation, which comes only from the throat, while French is spoken simply with the tongue, without being guttural." The young carpenter must be reckoned the earliest teacher of French in Louisiana. It is a pity that he did not stay long enough among the Colapissas and Natchitoches to complete the course in physiological phonetics begun so auspiciously. A little later the Natchitoches were taken back to their former lands on Red River, and Pénicaut was fortunate enough to protect from the wrath of the Colapissas the father of his charming pupils.

In 1712 the colony of Louisiana—or Mississippi, as it was often called—was ceded by Louis XIV to a wealthy merchant named Antoine Crozat. The population was composed of four hundred persons, including twenty negroes. The progress of Louisiana had been very slow, and the following extract from Judge Martin's history⁴ admirably explains the slow growth:

The coast of the sea abounded with fish; the lagoons near Mobile River were covered with water-fowl; the forests teemed with deer, the prairies with buffalo, and the air with wild turkeys. By cutting down the lofty pine trees around the fort, the colonists would have uncovered a soil abundantly producing corn and pease. By abandoning the posts on the Mississippi, on Ship and Dauphine Islands and at the Biloxi, the necessary military duties would have left a considerable number of individuals to the labors of tillage, especially if prudence had spared frequent divisions of them to travel thousands of miles in quest of ochres and minerals or in the discovery of distant land, while that which was occupied was suffered to remain unproductive. Thus, in the

concerns of communities as in those of individuals, immediate, real and secure advantages are foregone for distant, dubious and often visionary ones.

As we have already said, Louisiana was granted to Crozat,⁵ on September 14, 1712, for fifteen years, with exclusive right of trade. The exhausted condition of France, brought about by the War of the Spanish Succession, was the only excuse for the surrender of a whole province to one man. Crozat, however, seems to have done all in his power to make the colony prosper. It was naturally to his interest to do so. In May, 1713, the *Baron de Lafosse* arrived with supplies for the colonists and merchandise for Crozat. Among the passengers was Lamothe Cadillac, who had been appointed governor of the colony. Bienville was named "commandant of the Mississippi and its tributaries," and was second in command.

In the French manuscripts of the Mississippi Valley, the letters patent to Crozat are given in full, but Judge Martin, in his "History of Louisiana," has given such a clear abstract of the grant that we shall reproduce it here:

Crozat's charter bears date the twenty-sixth⁶ of September, 1712. Its preamble states that the attention the King has always given to the interests and commerce of his subjects, induced him, notwithstanding the almost continual wars he was obliged to sustain since the beginning of his reign, to seek every opportunity of increasing and extending the trade of his colonies in America; that, accordingly, he had in 1683 given orders for exploring the territory on the northern continent, between New France and New

Mexico; and La Salle had succeeded so far as to leave no doubt as to the facility of opening a communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico, through the large rivers that flow in the intermediate space; which had induced the King, immediately after the peace of Ryswick, to send thither a colony and maintain a garrison, to keep up the possession, taken in 1683, of the territory on the Gulf, between Carolina on the east and Old and New Mexico on the west. But, war having broken out soon afterward in Europe, he had not been able to draw from this colony the advantages he had anticipated, because the merchants of the kingdom engaged in maritime commerce had relations and concerns in the other French colonies, which they could not relinquish.

The King declares that, on the report made to him of the situation of the territory now known as the province of Louisiana, he has determined to establish there a commerce, which will be very beneficial to France, it being now necessary to seek in foreign countries many articles of commerce which may be obtained there, for merchandise of the growth or manufacture of the kingdom.

He accordingly grants to Crozat the exclusive commerce of all the territory possessed by the Crown, between Old and New Mexico, and Carolina, and all the settlements, ports, roads, and rivers therein—principally the port and road of Dauphine Island, before called Massacre Island, the river St. Louis (previously called the Mississippi), from the sea to the Illinois, the river St. Philip (before called the Missouri), the river St. Jerome (before called the Wabash), with all the land, lakes, and rivers mediately or immediately flowing into any part of the river St. Louis or Mississippi.

The territory thus described is to be and remain included under the style of government of Louisiana, and to be a dependence of the government of New France, to which it is to be subordinate. The King's territory, beyond the Illinois, is to be and continues part of the government of New France, to which it is annexed; and he reserves to himself the faculty of enlarging that of Louisiana.

The right is given to the grantee to export from France into Louisiana all kinds of goods, wares, and merchandise during fifteen years, and to carry on there such a commerce as he may think fit. All persons, natural or corporate, are inhibited from trading there, under the pain of confiscation of their goods, wares, merchandise and vessels; and the officers of the King are commanded to assist the grantee, his agents and factors, in seizing them.

Permission is given to open and work mines, and to export the ore to France during fifteen years. The property of all the mines he may discover and work is given to him; yielding to the King the fourth part of the gold and silver, to be delivered in France, at the cost of the grantee, but at the risk of the King, and the tenth part of all other metals. He may search for precious stones and pearls, yielding to the King one-fifth of them, in the same manner as gold and silver. Provision is made for the re-union to the King's domain of such mines as may cease during three years to be worked.

Liberty is given to the grantee to sell to the French and Indians of Louisiana such goods, wares and merchandise as he may import, to the exclusion of all others without his express and written order. He is allowed to purchase and export to France hides, skins and peltries. But, to favor the trade of Canada, he is forbidden to purchase beaver skins or to export them to France or elsewhere.

The absolute property, in fee simple, is vested in him of all the establishments and manufactures he may make in silk, indigo, wool and leather, and all the land he may cultivate, with all buildings, etc.; he taking from the Governor and Intendant grants, which are to become void on the land ceasing to be improved.

The laws, edicts and ordinances of the realm, and the custom of Paris, are extended to Louisiana.

The obligation is imposed on the grantee to send yearly two vessels from France to Louisiana, in each of which he is to transport two boys or girls, and the King may ship free from freight twenty-five tons of provisions, ammunition, etc., for the use of

the colony,—and more, paying freight; and passage is to be afforded to the King's officers and soldiers for a fixed compensation.

One hundred quintals of powder are to be furnished annually to the grantee, out of the King's stores, at cost.

An exemption from duties on the grantee's goods, wares and merchandise, imported to or exported from Louisiana, is allowed.

The King promises to permit, if he thinks it proper, the importation of foreign goods to Louisiana, on the application of the grantee, and the production of his invoices, etc.

The use is given to him of the boats, pirogues and canoes belonging to the King, for loading and unloading; he keeping and returning them in good order at the expiration of his grant.

The faculty is allowed him to send annually a vessel to Guinea, for negroes, whom he may sell in Louisiana, to the exclusion of all others.

After the expiration of nine years the grantee is to pay the field officers and garrison kept in Louisiana, and on the occurrence of vacancies commissions are to be granted to officers presented by the grantee, if approved.

The expenses of the King for the salaries of his officers in Louisiana were fixed at the annual sum of ten thousand dollars. It was to be paid to Crozat in France, and the drafts of the commissary ordonnateur were to be paid in Crozat's stores, in cash or in goods, with an advance of fifty per cent. Sales in all other cases were to be made, in these stores, at an advance of one hundred per cent.

Lamothe Cadillac was the founder of Detroit, and had been a favorite of Frontenac. He was a man of courage and ability, and had been a successful pioneer, but his career in Louisiana was a failure. His intendant, Duclos, became a friend of Bienville, and there was discord, as at the time of Nicolas de La Salle. The governor sent gloomy reports about everything in the settlement, and

had visions of mineral wealth continually before his eyes. Nothing of great importance occurred during his administration, except the first Natchez war in 1716. We may mention, however, the expeditions of St. Denis to Mexico in 1714 and 1716, during which he founded Natchitoches in 1715. Pénicaud has related the romance of the marriage of St. Denis with a noble Mexican lady; but as our friend, the carpenter, heard the story from Jalot, St. Denis's valet, and wrote it several years later, we may believe that the events were colored by his imagination. The adventures of Juchereau de St. Denis⁷ were wonderful; but that officer was, nevertheless, a brave and capable man, who rendered great services to the colony.

Le Page du Pratz and Pénicaud have given descriptions of the Natchez, and the latter and Richebourg wrote an account of the first trouble with them. We shall follow here Pénicaud's relation. The village of the Natchez was the finest in Louisiana, and their country was delightful. The Indians of that tribe, both men and women, were well made and very cleanly. Their chief was called the Great Sun, and inheritance of that title was in the female line. They had a temple in which a fire was burning continually to represent the sun, which they adored. Whenever a Great Sun died, or a female Sun, or any of the inferior Suns, the wife or the husband was strangled, together with the nearest relatives of the deceased. Sometimes little children were sacrificed by their parents.

The Natchez murdered five Frenchmen, and Bienville

was sent to punish them. When he arrived among the Tunicas, near the Natchez country, he built a fort and sent a lieutenant and twenty men to tell the Natchez chiefs that he wished to see them. Twenty-eight warriors came to see Bienville, and when they offered him the calumet he refused, saying that he wanted the head of the chief of the White Earth. He then made the chiefs prisoners. The Great Sun sent the head of a man, but it was not the one Bienville wanted. The commander was informed that among his prisoners were four of the men who had murdered the Frenchmen, and Bienville had their heads broken with sticks. Among them was a wicked chief called "the Bearded." Peace was afterward made with the Natchez, and Fort Rosalie was built in their country.

Cadillac was much shocked at what he called Bienville's treachery and cruelty, and we must agree with him to a certain extent. Bienville's only excuse was that he was asked to do a thing that was impossible—to attack the Natchez, twelve hundred strong, with a force of one hundred men. The Indians were so treacherous that Bienville thought he might treat them as they often treated the French when they had the opportunity. This is, however, not a good excuse, and Bienville should rather have risked his life and that of his men than have used deceit in his dealings with his savage foes.

Crozat did not approve of Lamothe Cadillac's administration, and he was removed from office in the autumn of 1716. Bienville was to be in command until the arrival of De l'Épinay, Cadillac's successor. The new governor

arrived in the colony on March 9, 1717, accompanied by Hubert as intendant or *commissaire ordonnateur*. Strange to say, De l'Épinay and his intendant agreed perfectly well, but discord reigned, nevertheless, in the colony. Bienville had received the cross of St. Louis, but he was disappointed at not being appointed governor, and he and his friends formed a party in opposition to De l'Épinay and Hubert.

The colony, at that time, contained "seven hundred souls, of all ages, sexes, and colors." "The settlements," says Monette,⁸ "increased slowly, and were confined chiefly to the river and bay of Mobile, and other parts of the coast westward from Biloxi. Two small settlements had been commenced on Red River, near Natchitoches, and at Alexandria." . . . "Several small forts had been erected. Among them was the one on the Coosa River, called Fort Toulouse, and the other, at Natchez, known as Fort Rosalie." Fort Louis of Mobile, established in January, 1702, on the river Mobile, fifty-four miles from the sea, had been abandoned in March, 1710, on account of an inundation, and the fort, called Fort Louis at first and Condé afterward,⁹ was removed to the present site of the city of Mobile.

In March, 1717, three companies of infantry arrived in the colony, and fifty settlers, among whom was Dubrenil, who, a little later, became the richest planter in Louisiana. D'Artaguet, a son of the former intendant, arrived also at that time.

In August, 1717, Crozat surrendered his charter to the Regent of France, who accepted it and made a grant

of the colony to the Mississippi or Western Company, directed then by the celebrated Scotchman, John Law. Louis XIV had died in 1715, and had been succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV, under the regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, nephew of the late King. Law's financial plan was good and inaugurated the system of credit resting on the emission of notes and bonds. Unfortunately, there was not sufficient security to represent the value of the notes, and although the plan was apparently successful at first, it soon failed. Speculation ran high for a time in the Rue Quincampoix; but the notes became valueless, and great changes in fortunes took place in France. John Law was born in Edinburgh in 1671; his father was a wealthy goldsmith, and his family was descended from the celebrated house of Argyle. He devoted himself at an early age to games of chance and financial questions. At the age of twenty-four he was condemned to death for a duel occasioned by a love affair, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. He succeeded in escaping, left England, and wandered over Europe for several years, gambling and everywhere proposing a new system of credit. In 1716 the Regent of France, Philip of Orleans, accepted Law's system by authorizing the creation of a bank, to which was added in 1717 a great colonizing scheme. The Regent had been at first only the protector of the bank, but in December, 1718, the institution was declared a royal or state institution. There were soon extravagant emissions of bank-notes, and they became valueless as well as the bonds or stocks. The bank was closed, but the



Company of the West, or of the Mississippi, survived under the name of the Company of the Indies. Law left France in December, 1720.¹⁰ "He had loyally thrown his personal fortune into the system; he entered France rich; he left it ruined. He died poor in Venice in 1729. He had had, in his ideas, a mixture of new truths and of dangerous errors; but he had wished sincerely the public good. He had introduced, in the different branches of the administration, excellent reforms, of which a part survived." Law's system is sometimes called the "Mississippi Bubble."

The following is an abstract of the charter of the Western Company, given by Judge Martin in his "History of Louisiana":

The charter of the new corporation was registered in the Parliament of Paris on the sixth¹¹ of September, 1717. It is to be distinguished by the style of the Western Company, and all the King's subjects, as well as corporate bodies and aliens, are allowed to take shares in it.

The exclusive commerce of Louisiana is granted to it for twenty-five years; with the right, also exclusive, of purchasing beaver skins from the inhabitants of Canada, from the first of January, 1718, until the last day of the year 1742; and the monarch reserves to himself the faculty of settling, on information to be obtained from Canada, the number of skins the Company shall be bound to receive annually from the inhabitants, and the price to be paid therefor.

All the other subjects of the King are prohibited from trading to Louisiana, under penalty of the confiscation of their merchandise and vessels; but this is not intended to prevent the inhabitants from trading among themselves or with the Indians. It is like-

wise prohibited to any but the Company to purchase, during the same period, beaver skins in Canada for exportation, under penalty of the forfeiture of the skins, and of the vessels in which they may be shipped, but the trade in these skins is to continue as heretofore in the interior.

The land, coasts, harbors and islands in Louisiana are granted to the Company, as they were to Crozat, it doing faith and homage to the King, and furnishing a crown of gold of the weight of thirty marks at each mutation of the sovereignty.

It is authorized to make treaties with the Indians, and to declare and prosecute war against them in case of insult.

The property of all mines it may open and work is granted to it, without the payment of any duty whatsoever.

The faculty is given to grant land, even allodially, to erect forts, and levy troops and recruits even in the kingdom, procuring the King's commission for this purpose.

It is authorized to nominate governors and the officers commanding the troops, who are to be presented by the directors and commissioned by the King, and removable by the Company. Provisional commissions may, in case of necessity, be granted, to be valid during six months, or until the royal commission arrive.

The directors and all officers are to take an oath of fidelity to the King.

All civil suits to which the Company may be a party are to be determined by the consular jurisdiction of the city of Paris, the sentences of which under a fixed sum are to be in the last resort; those above are to be provisorily executed notwithstanding, but without prejudice of the appeal, which is to be brought before the Parliament of Paris. Criminal jurisdiction is not to draw with it that of the civil matter.

The King promises not to grant any letter of dispensation or respite to any debtor of the Company; and he assures it of the protection of his name, against any foreign nation injuring the Company.

French vessels and crews alone are to be employed by it, and

it is to bring the produce of Louisiana into the ports of the kingdom. All goods in its vessels are to be presumed its property, unless it be shown they were shipped with its license.

Subjects of the King removing to Louisiana are to preserve their national character, and their children (and those of European parents professing the Roman Catholic religion) born there are to be considered as natural-born subjects.

During the continuance of the charter, the inhabitants of Louisiana are exempted from any tax or imposition, and the Company's goods from duty.

With the view of encouraging it to build vessels in Louisiana, a gratification is to be paid on the arrival of each of them in France.

Four hundred quintals of powder are to be delivered annually to the Company, out of the royal magazines, at cost.

The stock is divided into shares of five hundred livres each (about one hundred dollars). Their number is not limited; but the Company is authorized to close the subscription at discretion. The shares of aliens are exempted from the "droit d'aubaine" and confiscation in case of war.

Holders are to have a vote for every fifty shares. The affairs of the Company, during the first years, are to be managed by directors appointed by the King, and afterward by others, appointed triennially by the stockholders.

The King gives to the Company all the forts, magazines, guns, ammunitions, vessels, boats, provisions, etc., in Louisiana, with all the merchandise surrendered by Crozat.

It is to build churches and provide clergymen; Louisiana is to remain part of the diocese of Quebec. It engages to bring in, during its privilege, six thousand white persons and three thousand negroes; but it is stipulated it shall not bring any person from another colony without the license of the Governor.

By an edict in May, 1719,¹² the Companies of the East Indies and of China were united to the Western Com-

pany, and by Article 12 it was stipulated that the name henceforth would be the Company of the Indies.

On February 9, 1718, three ships arrived at Dauphine Island with troops, settlers, and provisions, and with Bienville's appointment as commandant-general or governor, and Hubert's as director-general. As soon as Bienville was again at the head of the colony, he determined to effect a permanent settlement on the Mississippi River. In February, 1718,¹³ he chose a site thirty leagues from the sea, on account of communication with Lake Pontchartrain by Bayou St. John, and left there fifty persons to clear the ground and construct some houses. The future town was named New Orleans,¹⁴ in honor of Philip of Orleans, Regent of France. It was destined to become, after many vicissitudes, the metropolis of the Southern States of the American Union.

Bienville was in favor of transferring the seat of the colony to the new establishment; but the majority of the members of the Superior Council were of opinion that the sea-coast should not be abandoned, and an establishment was made in December, 1719, on the west shore of the bay of Biloxi, at the entrance of the bay, on the point opposite Deer Island. This was called Fort Louis, or New Biloxi, to distinguish it from Iberville's original settlement, Old Biloxi, which was accidentally burned to the ground in 1719. The Superior Council,¹⁵ in 1719, was, in reality, a court of justice, and the members were: Bienville, governor; Hubert, intendant; Boisbriant and Chateaugué, lieutenants of the King; and Villardo, L'Archambault, and Legac. The attorney-general was

Cartier de Baume, and Couture was secretary of the Council.

On April 19, 1719, Sérigny, Bienville's brother, arrived in Louisiana, with orders to inspect the coast and make soundings, and assist Bienville. He brought the news of a declaration of war between France and Spain. This is a curious historical fact, when we consider the immense sacrifices made by Louis XIV to place his grandson on the throne of Spain, and his supposed saying: "My son, there are no longer any Pyrencees." The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to the War of the Spanish Succession, was signed in 1713, and only* six years later Philip V, or rather Alberoni, his minister, was waging war against Philip's nephew, Louis XV. In that war Sérigny distinguished himself, and among the ship captains that took part in the conflict we see the name of De Grioux, who commanded the *Comte de Toulouse*.

There were expeditions against Pensacola and against Dauphine Island, which have been related in a most interesting manner by Le Page du Pratz and by Bénard de La Harpe, both of whom had arrived in Louisiana in 1718. Pensacola was captured by the French, recaptured by the Spaniards, taken a second time by the French, and returned to Spain in 1723.

In December, 1719, Bienville received from the Kaskaskias an interesting letter from Dutisné, relating a journey to the west as far as the lands of the Osages and of the Panionassas. On January 26, 1720, Bénard de La Harpe arrived from a long and eventful journey, after establishing a post in the country of the Cadodaguious on

the Red River, "who were," says he, "established two leagues below the Nassonités, and the Natsoos and the Natchitoches three leagues above, to the right of the river." The colony was at last progressing, for, in spite of the war with Spain, the Company of the Indies sent a large number of settlers and supplies; however, the inhabitants were granted no freedom of trade, and little individual freedom, as they could not leave the colony without the consent of the officers of the Company. On January 1, 1721,¹⁶ the population of the colony was about six thousand persons, including about six hundred negroes.

The settlement sustained a heavy blow in 1720, when Law's bank and his financial scheme collapsed. About two hundred and fifty Germans who had been sent to Law's concession in Arkansas were reduced to great distress, and in 1723 received grants of land on the coast of the Mississippi and founded the German Coast, now St. Charles and St. John Parishes. Their commandant was the Chevalier d'Arensbourg, a Swedish officer.

In a despatch dated April 20, 1722, Bienville called attention to the disadvantages of the establishment at Biloxi. The ships coming from France had to be unloaded at Ship Island, and the freight taken to Biloxi at great expense, while the ships might enter the Mississippi and be unloaded within two days. On January 25, 1723, the engineer Pauger¹⁷ made an important report¹⁸ about the mouth of the river, in which he said that, "On his first visit, he found that ships drawing fourteen, fifteen feet of water, and even more, could easily pass." "He

regretted that, in spite of Bienville's representations, the Company persisted in sending its ships to Biloxi." He added that "it was extremely painful and costly for the inhabitants on the river, whose number must increase every day, considering the fertility of the lands, to go to Biloxi to get their negroes and all that they may need." He recommended, in order to deepen the channel, a system of jetties very similar to that of Captain James B. Eads, which was successfully operated a century and a half later.

Bienville, sustained by Pauger, succeeded in having the stores of the Company transferred from Biloxi to New Orleans in 1722, and the latter town became the capital of the colony. On July 1, 1722, the ship *Aventurier*, with Blondel de la Tour, chief engineer and lieutenant-general, and Pauger, had passed over the bar of the Mississippi, and this had proved that New Orleans could be made a seaport. Bienville established his residence there in August, 1722. La Tour's report of his expedition, dated New Orleans, August 30, 1722, is an important and interesting document.¹⁹ He says he found at least fourteen feet of water in the channel, and adds: "In going up the river, I examined the best places to establish New Orleans. I did not find a better situation than the place where it is; not only is the land higher, but it is near a bayou, which is a little river, which falls into Lake Pontchartrain, through which one can at all times communicate with the New Biloxi, Mobile, and other ports, more easily than by the mouth of the river." La Tour says also that he found the country beautiful, and

that everything that grows in the islands would grow on the banks of the Mississippi, except the sugar-cane, on account of the frosts. French wheat could also be cultivated as soon as the land was sufficiently cleared. We see that La Tour was not a good prophet with regard to sugar-cane and wheat. Cane, which he said could not grow, has enriched Louisiana, and wheat never has been grown there to advantage.

On September 11, 1723, a hurricane began, which lasted until the 16th. It did great harm to the crops of rice, peas, and corn, and destroyed the greater part of the houses at New Orleans. The store-house built by the engineer Pauger was spared, but the one at Fort Louis was destroyed, with a great quantity of goods, "to the great content of the storekeepers," says the "*Journal Historique*," "as this accident released them from the obligation of rendering their accounts." The commandant of the post of New Orleans, before the seat of government was transferred to that place, was De Richebourg, who has left us a narrative of events at that time. The other commandants of posts were Marigny de Mandeville, De la Harpe, De Loubois, De Saint Denis, De la Marque, Marchand, and De Bournion. Boisbriant and Chateaugué were lieutenants of the King—that is to say, second and third in command. The province was divided into nine districts or quarters: New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, Alibamons, Natchez, Yazoux or Yazoos, Natchitoches, Arkansas, and Illinois. The earliest concessions established were those of Le Blanc at Yazoux, Coly at Natchez, Law at Arkansas, D'Artaguet at

Bâton Rouge, Paris Duverney at Pointe Coupée, Villemont at Black River, Cleracs at Natchez, and Chaumont at Paseagoulas.

The following letter, written by Father Charlevoix ²⁰ to the Duchesse de Lesdiguières, is very interesting. It is dated from New Orleans, January 10, 1722.

I am at length arrived in that famous city, which has been called la Nouvelle Orléans. Those who gave it that name believed that Orléans is of the feminine gender; but what does it matter? the custom is established, and it is above the rules of grammar. This city is the first that one of the greatest rivers in the world has seen raised on its banks. If the eight hundred fine houses, and the five parishes which the "Mercure" gave it two years ago, are reduced to-day to about one hundred huts, placed without much order; to a large store, built of wood; to two or three houses which would not adorn a village in France; and to half of a poor store, which was kindly lent to the lord, and of which he had hardly taken possession when they wished to make him leave it, to lodge him under a tent, what pleasure on another side to see increasing insensibly this future capital of a beautiful and vast country, and to be able to say, not sighing, like Virgil's hero while speaking of his dear country consumed by the flames, "and the fields where was the city of Troy," but full of the best grounded hope, this wild and desert place, which the reeds and trees still cover almost entirely, will be one day, and perhaps that day is not distant, an opulent city and the metropolis of a great and rich colony.

You will ask me, Madam, on what I base this hope? I base it on the situation of this town thirty-three leagues from the sea, and on the bank of a navigable river, which one can ascend to this place in twenty-four hours; on the fertility of its soil; on the mildness and goodness of its climate, at a latitude of thirty degrees north; on the industry of its inhabitants; on the proximity of Mexico, where one can go in two weeks by sea; on that of

Havana, which is still closer, of the most beautiful islands of America, and of the English colonies. Is anything more needed to render a city flourishing? Rome and Paris did not have such important beginnings, were not built under such favorable auspices, and their founders did not meet on the Seine and on the Tiber the advantages which we have met on the Mississippi, compared with which these two rivers are only brooks.

Father Charlevoix seems to have enjoyed the gift of prophecy when, in 1722, he predicted such a brilliant future for New Orleans.

It may be interesting to add to what has been said thus far of the colony and of New Orleans in their infancy the description of Louisiana as seen by Le Page du Pratz. The "History of Louisiana" of Le Page du Pratz is very interesting and important. It was published in Paris, in three volumes, in 1758. The author remained in the colony from 1718 to 1734, and he relates in a charming manner what he saw and what he heard during his stay.

Le Page tells us that he arrived at Massacre Island (since called Dauphine) on August 25, 1718. The Company of the West had agreed to transport him, at their own expense, to the place of his concession, which was near the town of New Orleans. Bienville, the commandant-general of the colony, was absent when Le Page arrived at Dauphine Island, having gone to mark the site of the new town. On his return he complimented Le Page on the concession which he had chosen, saying that a farm in the vicinity of a town was better than a lordly estate in the woods.

The new colonist was anxious to go to his concession, and Bienville sent him there by way of Lake Pontchartrain. He gives an interesting description of the islands, bays, and lakes that he saw, and says that by following Bayou Tchoupie from Lake Pontchartrain he arrived at the place where had been the village of the Indians, called by the French Cola Pissas, but whose real name was Aquilou Pissas, which means "nation of the men who see and who hear."

The village of the Indians had been bought by a Canadian, who received Le Page and his men very hospitably. The newcomer bought an Indian girl to be his cook, and located his concession on Bayou St. John, half a league from the future capital of the colony, which consisted then of only one cabin covered with palmetto leaves. He was pleased at first with his plantation, as the land was very fertile; but the place was not healthful, on account of inundations, and he resolved to go to the Natchez country. He remained in New Orleans two months before leaving for his new establishment, and saw the presentation of the calumet of peace to Bienville by the Tehitimachas²¹ (Chetimachas). There were twelve men, preceded by the "word-bearer," all splendidly adorned. Each man carried a *chichicois* and agitated it in cadence while singing the song of the calumet, which the "word-bearer" carried moving also in cadence. It took them half an hour to go over a distance of a hundred steps from their pirogues to Bienville's cabin. The "word-bearer" told the governor: "Here you are, and I with you." Bienville simply answered,

"Yes." Then all the Indians sat on the ground and bent their faces on their hands, as if to meditate. After a moment, the "word-bearer" rose with two men; one man filled the calumet with tobacco, the other brought some fire, and the first man lighted the pipe. The "word-bearer" smoked the calumet, wiped it, and presented it to Bienville, who smoked also. All the persons present did the same; the two savages sat down by the present which they had brought,—deerskins,—and the "word-bearer" was the only one standing. He was dressed in beaver-skins. He delivered an address, after which Bienville replied to him in the language of the savages. He gave them something to eat, put his hand in that of the "word-bearer" as a sign of friendship, and sent them all away contented.

Le Page bought in New Orleans two slaves, a young negro and his wife, for whom he paid 1320 livres, and he departed for the Natchez country in a pirogue in which were his negro slaves and his Indian slave. His food on the journey consisted of the wild ducks and geese that he killed. His slaves added to their diet tails of alligators, which were plentiful in the river. At the Tonicas Father Davion celebrated mass for the travelers. It was he who had given his name to the bluff called Roche à Davion, where, later, Fort Adams was established.

At a distance of eighty leagues from New Orleans was Fort Rosalie, on a bluff, or *écure*, two hundred feet high. At a thousand steps from the fort Le Page bought from one of the Natchez Indians a cabin and a piece of

cleared ground. His men built a cabin near his, and they were lodged, says he, like the wood-cutters in France when they are working in the forests. He was soon on very good terms with the Indians, and was cured of sciatica by a *jongleur*—a medicine-man.

The limits of Louisiana as given by Le Page, are important. They have often been quoted in boundary discussions. "Louisiana," says he, "situate in the northern part of America, is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by Carolina, English colony, and by part of Canada, on the west by New Mexico, on the north in part by Canada: the rest has no boundaries, and extends as far as the unknown lands bordering on Hudson Bay. It is given a breadth of about two hundred leagues, between the Spanish and the English settlements, its length is indeterminate, since it is unknown: however, the source of the river St. Louis will give us some information on that subject."

The climate of Louisiana, according to Le Page, is different from that of other countries in the same latitude, the southern part not as hot as in Africa, and the northern colder than in Europe. At New Orleans the temperature is about the same as in the province of Languedoc in France. Life is long and agreeable for people who do not give themselves up to debauchery, and men live longer in Louisiana than in France. "The river St. Louis divides this colony from north to south into two parts almost equal. The first who discovered it from Canada, named it the Colbert, to do honor to that great minister who was then in office; it is named by some

savages of the north Meact-Chassipi, which signifies literally Old Father of Rivers, out of which the French, who wish always to Frenchify foreign words, have made Mississippi; other natives, especially on the lower part of the river, name it Balbancha; finally the French have named it River St. Louis." The journey from New Orleans to Canada is made by going up the river St. Louis as far as the Ouabache River, called by some Ohio; up the latter to the Miami River, where there is a portage of two leagues; then a little river which falls into Lake Erie, where the pirogue is changed for a bark canoe to go down the St. Lawrence to Quebec.

The waters which come out of the St. Louis or Mississippi River never go back to the river, as the banks are raised by the trees and mud that the river carries, and the land slopes toward the woods. The coast of Louisiana is bounded on the west by the bay of St. Bernard, where La Salle landed, and on the east by the Rio Perdido. Lower Louisiana is alluvial land, and one century is sufficient to extend Louisiana two leagues toward the sea.

In 1721 Le Page went to New Biloxi, and he says he never could guess why they had chosen that place for the principal establishment of the colony, and why they had thought of building the capital there. The land is sterile, and it is exceedingly difficult to unload anything from the ships, as the water is so shallow near the coast. While at Biloxi Le Page saw the people sent by Law to establish his concession at the Arkansas. It was to be four leagues square, and was erected into a duchy. There were equipments for a company of dragoons, and

goods worth more than a million livres, and the concession was to be settled by fifteen hundred persons. But Law failed, and the Company of the Indies took possession of all his effects.

Le Page gives a long narrative of his explorations in the interior of Louisiana, and becomes poetic when he speaks of the delightful song of the little birds, which vie with one another at sunset to render thanks to the Almighty, who has procured their food during the day and has protected them from the talons of the birds of prey.

In his description of Louisiana, Le Page speaks of the post at Natchitoches and pays a beautiful tribute to the commandant, St. Denis. He says the latter deserved to be governor of the whole colony, since he was as prudent an administrator as he was a brave officer. The savages were devoted to him, and at a sign from him thirty thousand warriors would have assembled to serve under him. That attachment was surprising, if we consider that most of the Indians devoted to St. Denis lived in the country of the Spaniards, who had erected a fort distant only seven leagues from the French post.

The boats used by the natives were the cajeu, the pirogue, and the canoe. The cajeux were made of cane tied together, then crossed double; they were used to cross rivers, as they could be made in a very short time. The pirogues were made in one block, from the trunks of trees; and the canoes were made from the bark of the birch tree. In colonial times all these boats were called water-carriages.

The list of the Indian tribes in Louisiana given by Le Page is interesting and important. In the vicinity of Mobile was a branch of the great tribe of the Apalaches; north of them were the Alibamons; east of the Alibamons, the Caouitas, to whose chief Bienville had given the title of Emperor, which was not recognized by the neighboring tribes. North of the Alibamons were the Abéikas or Conchacs, whose neighbors on the east were the Chéraquis (Cherokees). All these nations and a few smaller ones had formed an alliance against the Iroquois. The tribes on the Mobile River were the Chatôts, near Fort Louis of Mobile; the Thomez; the Taensas, who are a branch of the Natchez and who preserve a perpetual fire guarded by men; and the Mobilians, near the mouth of the river. West of Mobile were the Pachca-Ogoulas, "nation of bread," called by the French Pascagoulas. North of the latter were the Chat-kas (Choctaws), called by the French Chactas, or "flatheads." They were very numerous, but not very warlike. Different from the Chat-kas were the warlike Tchicachas (Chickasaws). Near Lake Pontchartrain, called St. Louis by Le Page, were the Colapissas. On the east bank of the Mississippi, twenty leagues from New Orleans, were the Oumas; opposite Red River were the Tunicas, whose chief was so friendly to the French that the King had given him the title of Brigadier of the Red Armies, and had sent him a cane with a gold head, and a blue ribbon with a medal representing on one side the marriage of the King, and on the other the city of Paris. The great tribe of the Natchez came next. The tradition was that they





had been the most powerful nation in North America, but in 1720, together with the Grigras and the Thioux who dwelt among them, they could raise only twelve hundred warriors. On the Yazoo River were the Yazoux²² (Yazoos), the Chaatchi-Oumas (the "Red Crawfish"), the Tapoussas, the Coroas; and near the Yazoo, the Oufé-Ogoulas. These five little tribes joined the nation of the Chickasaws after the Natchez massacre. North of the Ouabache River (Ohio) were the Illinois, comprising the tribes of the Tamaroas, the Caskasquias, the Caoukias, the Pimitéouis, and a few others. The Illinois were always faithful allies of the French. To the north were the Renards (Foxes) and the Sioux, who were known only by reports of the travelers. The tribes west of the Mississippi were the Ouachas, the Tchitimachas (Chetimachas), the Atac-Apas (Attakapas)—*men-eaters*, the Bayoux-Ogoulas (Bayagoulas), the Oqué-Loussas, the Avoycls, the Natchitoches, the Cadodaquioux, the Ouachitas, the Arkansas, the Kappas, the Mitchigamias. Near the Missouri River were the Osages, the Missouris, the Canchez, the Othouez, the White Panis, the Black Panis, the Panimabas, the Aïaouez, and the Padoucas, who were the most numerous. The Sioux were said to reside on both sides of the Mississippi.

While Le Page was at New Biloxi in 1721 he met Father Charlevoix, and they went to New Orleans together. The description that our author gives, at a later period, of the new town is about the same as that in Dumont's Memoirs. In 1726 Le Page accepted the place of manager or overseer of the plantation of the Company of the

Indies, which after a few years became the plantation of the King. It was near New Orleans. In 1734 the government got rid of the plantation, which was said to cost ten thousand livres a year. Le Page pretends that the plantation was an economy to the King of fifty thousand livres a year. He returned to France in 1734. His book, although written with some prolixity and containing some extraordinary stories, is one of the most interesting concerning the early history of Louisiana.

CHAPTER V

ABSTRACTS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ROYAL ORDERS, REGULATIONS, AND EDICTS CONCERNING LOUISIANA, FROM 1719 TO 1729

Forbids governors, etc., to possess plantations—Forbids vagabonds and criminals to be sent to Louisiana—About foreign commerce—About carrying swords—About firing cannon in harbors of colonies—About redemptioners—About sailors deserting—About games of chance—Edict concerning negro slaves, known as the "Black Code"—About killing of cattle—About opening letters—About landing slaves—About the punishment of deserters—About military crimes and offenses—About exclusion of foreign commerce—Regulations for hospitals.

November 7, 1719.



FORBIDS governors, lieutenant-generals, and intendants in the colony to possess plantations. They are allowed to have vegetable-gardens.

May 9, 1720. The King being informed that the Company of the Indies is in a condition to attend to the cultivation of the lands of Louisiana, by means of negroes that it furnishes to the colonists; that, besides, a number of families, French and foreign, offer to settle in the concessions granted to different individuals; that the grantees of the concessions refuse to take charge of the vagabonds and criminals who

have been condemned to serve in the colony, because they are lazy people and of bad morals, less fit to work than to corrupt the other colonists, and even the natives, who are a nation gentle, docile, industrious, laborious, and friendly to the French; and that the vagabonds and criminals may be more usefully employed in the other colonies, on account of the larger number of Frenchmen who inhabit there,—it is ordered that no more vagabonds, forgers, and criminals be sent to Louisiana, and the judges are forbidden to condemn any such people to be sent to Louisiana.

July 23, 1720. The King, being informed that foreign commerce continues in some of his colonies, in spite of his prohibition, orders all commanders of his vessels to pursue and capture any vessel, whether French or foreign, attending to foreign commerce in his colonies of America, and to take the vessel to the nearest island. All subjects of His Majesty are permitted to do the same.

July 23, 1720. Forbids all persons who are not officers to carry a sword when they reside in the towns of the colonies. The prohibition does not apply to officers of merchant vessels.

April 8, 1721. His Majesty, having been informed that the captains of merchant vessels fire cannon very often in the harbors of the colonies, especially of Fort Royal, and St. Peter of Martinique, when they have festivals among themselves or when they wish to salute some persons who go on board their ships, which causes useless expense to the ship-owners, and occasions often

the capture of these vessels, because they do not have enough powder left to defend themselves against corsairs; being informed also that these salutes, from want of precaution, cause accidents to the cannoneers; and that, besides these inconveniences, the volleys fired during the night serve only to cause alarm in the colonies,—it is expressly forbidden to fire a single cannon, under any pretext, in the harbors of the French colonies, unless as a signal of distress or other necessity, without the express permission of the officer of the King commanding in the places where the ships will be anchored, under penalty of a fine of one hundred livres for the first offense and of double that amount if the offense is repeated.

May 20, 1721. An ordinance of November 16, 1716, relating to redemptioners is re-affirmed. “Vessels, leaving the kingdom for any of the King’s American colonies, were directed to carry thither, if under sixty tons, four, and if above, six redemptioners, whose period of service was fixed at three years. They were required to be able-bodied, between the ages of seventeen and forty, and in size not under four feet. It was provided that the redemptioners, whom the captain might not sell, should be given by the governor to some of the planters who had not any, and who were to pay their passage.” The ordinance of 1721 allows merchants of the ports that have permission to trade with the colonies to pay sixty livres for each redemptioner whom they had to furnish, if individuals for that purpose were not furnished them by the government.

December 23, 1721. Orders that sailors who shall be found in the colonies after the departure of their ships be imprisoned until they can be sent back to France in ships that do not have enough sailors.

December 15, 1722. His Majesty having been informed that, in spite of his ordinances concerning games of chance, several inhabitants and other individuals of the French islands and colonies of America, even merchants from France, and their agents, play games of chance, of which the unjust inequality excites frequent quarrels among the players, gives rise to odious usury, and causes the ruin of several families, by leading young men into debauchery,—with the advice of the Duke of Orleans, Regent, His Majesty expressly forbids all persons, of whatever condition, to play or to allow to be played in their houses, games of bassette, pharaon, lansquenet, lioca, quinquenove, beriby, dice, and other games of chance; also forbids innkeepers and others to allow gambling in their houses. The penalty was a fine of five hundred livres for the first offense, and more if repeated. One fourth of the fine was to be paid to the informer, or, in his default, to public works; one fourth to the nearest hospital, and the other half to public works. An ordinance issued by Philip of Orleans against gamblers is a curious thing. It is also curious to see the names of the games of chance in 1722.

In March, 1724, the King issued at Versailles an "Edict concerning the negro slaves in Louisiana." This is generally known as the "Black Code," which remained in force in colonial times, and of which some

of the provisions were incorporated into the code of American Louisiana. The edict,¹ according to the official certificate of Rossard, clerk of the Superior Council, was read, recorded, and published in New Orleans on September 10, 1724. The preamble to this edict is given here in full, to show the forms of such documents.

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to all present and to come, greeting. The Directors of the Company of the Indies having represented to us that the Province and colony of Louisiana is considerably established, by a large number of our subjects, who use slaves for the cultivation of the lands, We have judged that it behooves our authority and our justice, for the preservation of this colony, to establish there a law, and certain rules, to maintain there the discipline of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church, and to order about what concerns the state and condition of the slaves in the said Islands,² and desiring to provide for this, and to make known to our subjects who inhabit there and who shall settle there in the future, that although they inhabit climes infinitely remote, We are always present, by the extent of our power and by our application to succor them. Actuated by these causes and others, by the advice of our Council, and by our certain knowledge, full power and Royal authority, We have said, decreed, and ordered, We say, decree, and order, wish and it pleases us, the following.

ARTICLE I orders that the edict of 1615 be applied to Louisiana, and that all Jews who may have established their religion there be expelled within three months, under penalty of confiscation of body and property.

ARTICLE II orders that all slaves in the province be instructed and baptized in the Catholic religion.

ARTICLE III forbids the exercise of any other religion than the Catholic.

ARTICLE IV forbids the employment of any overseer who shall not be a Catholic, under penalty of confiscation of the negroes and punishment of the overseer.

ARTICLE V orders Sundays and holidays to be regularly observed, and forbids all work by masters or slaves, under penalty of confiscation of slaves and punishment of masters. The slaves, however, may be sent marketing.

ARTICLE VI forbids marriage of whites with slaves, and concubinage of whites and manumitted or free-born blacks with slaves, and imposes penalties.

ARTICLE VII orders to be observed, for marriages of free persons as well as of slaves, the solemnities of the ordinance of Blois and of the edict of 1639. The consent of the parents of the slave is not necessary, but only that of the master.

ARTICLE VIII forbids curates to celebrate marriages of slaves without consent of the masters, and forbids masters to force their slaves to marry against their will.

ARTICLE IX enacts that children born from the marriages of slaves shall belong to the master of the mother.

ARTICLE X enacts that if the husband be a slave and the wife a free woman, the children shall be free like their mother. If the husband be free and the wife a slave, the children shall be slaves.

ARTICLE XI orders that masters shall have baptized slaves buried in consecrated ground; those who die without being baptized to be buried at night in a neighboring field.

ARTICLE XII forbids slaves to carry offensive weapons or heavy sticks, under penalty of the whip and confiscation of the weapons in favor of the person seizing them. Slaves that are sent hunting by their masters, and carry notes or known marks, are excepted.

ARTICLE XIII forbids slaves belonging to different masters to assemble in crowds, by day or by night, under pretext of weddings or other causes, either at one of their masters or elsewhere, and still less on the highways or secluded places, under penalty of corporal punishment, which shall not be less than the whip and the fleur-de-lys; and in case of repetition of the offense and other aggravating circumstances, capital punishment may be applied, at the discretion of the judges. It also commands all subjects of the King, whether officers or not, to seize and arrest the offenders and conduct them to prison, although there be no judgment against them.

ARTICLE XIV condemns to damages and a fine of thirty livres for the first time, and double that amount for repetition of the offense, masters who shall be convicted of having permitted or tolerated such assemblies.

ARTICLE XV forbids slaves to sell commodities, provisions, or produce of any kind, without express written permission from their masters, or known marks. The purchasers shall pay a fine of six livres for fruit, vegetables, timber, fodder, and seeds, and fifteen hundred livres for merchandise and clothes. They shall lose the price of the articles, and shall be prosecuted as receivers of stolen goods.

ARTICLE XVI provides for examination in each mar-

ket of goods brought by the slaves and of the written permissions and marks of their masters.

ARTICLE XVII orders seizure of goods that are offered for sale by slaves without permission or mark.

ARTICLE XVIII orders officers of the Superior Council to give their advice about the provisions and the food to be furnished the slaves. It also forbids masters to give any kind of brandy in lieu of food and clothing.

ARTICLE XIX forbids masters to abstain from feeding and clothing their slaves, by permitting them to work for their own account on a certain day of the week.

ARTICLE XX authorizes slaves to give information against their masters, if not properly fed or clad, or if treated inhumanly.

ARTICLE XXI orders slaves disabled from working, by old age, sickness, or otherwise, to be provided for by their masters, otherwise they shall be sent to the nearest hospital, to which the masters shall pay eight cents a day for each slave, and the hospital shall have a lien on the plantations of the masters.

ARTICLE XXII declares that slaves can have nothing that does not belong to their masters, in whatever way acquired.

ARTICLE XXIII orders that masters be held responsible for what their slaves have done by their command.

ARTICLE XXIV forbids slaves from exercising public functions, from serving as arbitrators or experts, from giving testimony except in default of white people, and from ever serving as witnesses for or against their masters.

ARTICLE XXV forbids slaves from being parties to civil suits or complainants in criminal cases. Their masters shall act for them in civil cases and demand reparation or punishment for outrages and excesses committed against them.

ARTICLE XXVI orders prosecution of slaves in criminal cases in the same manner as for free persons, with exceptions hereafter mentioned.

ARTICLE XXVII. Any slave who shall have struck his master, his mistress, or the husband of his mistress, or their children, so as to produce a bruise or shedding of blood in the face, shall be put to death.

ARTICLE XXVIII. Outrages or acts of violence against free persons committed by slaves shall be punished with severity, and even with death if the case require it.

ARTICLE XXIX. Important thefts, even the stealing of horses, mares, mules, oxen, or cows, committed by slaves or manumitted persons, shall make the offender liable to corporal punishment, and even to capital punishment, according to the circumstances.

ARTICLE XXX. Thefts of sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, grain, fodder, peas, beans, or other vegetables and provisions, committed by slaves, shall be punished according to the kind of theft, and the judges may sentence them to be whipped by the public executioner and branded with the fleur-de-lys.

ARTICLE XXXI. Masters shall be bound, besides the corporal punishment inflicted on their slaves, to repair the harm done, unless they prefer to abandon the slaves

to the sufferer, and they shall make this choice within three days after the conviction of the slaves.

ARTICLE XXXII. Any runaway slave who shall continue to be so for one month from the day his master shall have denounced him, shall have his ears cut and be branded with a fleur-de-lys on one shoulder. For a second offense he shall be hamstrung and branded on the other shoulder. For a third offense he shall suffer death.

ARTICLE XXXIII refers to trials and appeals to the Superior Council.

ARTICLE XXXIV. Freed or free-born negroes who shall have given refuge to fugitive slaves shall pay thirty livres for each day of retention, to the masters of the slaves, and other free persons ten livres a day. If the freed or free-born negroes are not able to pay the fine, they shall be reduced to the condition of slaves and sold as such.

ARTICLE XXXV gives permission to make searches for fugitive slaves.

ARTICLE XXXVI. Any slave condemned to death on the denunciation of his master, who is not accomplice to the crime, shall be appraised by two of the principal inhabitants specially appointed by the judge, and the amount shall be paid to the master. To raise this sum, a tax shall be laid on every slave.

ARTICLE XXXVII. All officers of justice are forbidden to receive fees in criminal suits against slaves.

ARTICLE XXXVIII forbids the application of the rack to slaves, under any pretext, on private authority, or mutilation of a limb, under penalty of confiscation of the slaves and of criminal prosecution of the masters.

The latter are allowed only, when they believe that their slaves have deserved it, to put them in irons and to have them whipped with rods or ropes.

ARTICLE XXXIX commands officers of justice to prosecute masters and overseers who shall have killed or mutilated slaves, and to punish the murder according to the atrocity of the circumstances. In case the offense shall be pardonable, the officers are permitted to pardon the masters and overseers without being obliged to obtain letters patent of pardon.

ARTICLE XL. Slaves are considered movables, exempt from seizure under mortgage, to be equally divided among co-heirs.

ARTICLES XLI and XLII refer to judicial forms and proceedings.

ARTICLE XLIII. Husbands and wives, and their children under the age of puberty, shall not be seized and sold separately when belonging to the same master.

ARTICLE XLIV refers to seizure of slaves for debt.

ARTICLES XLV to XLIX refer to certain judicial proceedings.

ARTICLE L. Masters aged twenty-five years shall have the power to manumit their slaves. As, however, there may be mercenary masters to set a price on the liberation of their slaves, which leads the slaves to commit thefts or deeds of plunder, no person shall be permitted to free his slaves without obtaining from the Superior Council a permission to that effect.

ARTICLE LI. Slaves appointed by their masters tutors to their children shall be held as having been set free.

ARTICLE LII. All manumitted slaves and all free-

born negroes are prohibited from receiving gifts from whites.

ARTICLE LIII. Manumitted slaves are commanded to show great respect to their former masters, their widows and their children, and any injury done them shall be punished more severely than if it had been done to any other person. They are exempt, however, from all duties and services, taxes and fees, which their former masters might claim from them.

ARTICLE LIV. Manumitted slaves shall enjoy the same rights, privileges, and immunities that are enjoyed by free-born persons. "It is our pleasure that their merit in having acquired their freedom shall produce in their favor, not only with regard to their persons, but also to their property, the same effects that our other subjects derive from the happy circumstances of their having been born free."

ARTICLE LV. Fines and confiscations that have no particular destination are to be paid to the Company of the Indies, except one third to the nearest hospital.

The edict ends with these words: "For such is our will."

May 20, 1724. Declares that as, in spite of the decree of the Superior Council of Louisiana, dated April 29, 1723, forbidding the killing or wounding of cattle, under penalty of a fine of fifteen hundred livres, it happens daily that soldiers and vagabonds kill and destroy the cattle of the planters, and as it is of very great importance to prevent the destruction of cattle in a colony that is not entirely established, and to provide, at the same

time, the means of multiplying the species,—all persons, whatever be their rank or condition, are forbidden to kill or wound cattle belonging to other persons, under penalty of death. It is also forbidden to any inhabitant to kill any cows, ewes, and females of domestic animals necessary to the planters, under a fine of three hundred livres for the first offense, and six hundred livres and three months imprisonment if the offense is repeated.

May 20, 1724. Forbids intercepting and opening letters and packages, and imposes a penalty.

July 25, 1724. Forbids captains of slave-ships to sell or buy any negro before health inspection is made and permission to land the negro given, under penalty of a fine of one thousand livres to be paid the informer.

September 24, 1724. Extends for one year permission granted to the French merchants trading with the French colonies of America to import from foreign countries lard, butter, tallow, candles, and salted salmon, without paying duties.

January 26, 1727. Orders that deserters from the troops of the Company of the Indies be punished in the same manner as deserters from the troops of the King. The punishments were as follows: When two deserters shall be arrested together, or two taken to a place on the same day, they shall be put to death without remission; but if there be more than two, in order to avoid the effusion of blood, His Majesty wishes that, after they have been condemned to death, they shall draw lots, three by three, to decide which one shall be put to death, and the two others shall be condemned to the galleys for life.

Those soldiers, however, who are convicted of desertion while on guard duty shall be put to death, whatever be their number. All horsemen, dragoons, or soldiers deserting into foreign countries shall be hanged, whatever be their number.

July 1, 1727. In the ordinance concerning military crimes and offenses, the punishment prescribed for almost every offense is death by shooting, hanging, or breaking on the wheel; for blasphemy, the tongue is to be pierced with a hot iron; the death penalty or galleys for life for stealing in the barracks clothes or bread. This extraordinary severity was not confined to France alone, but was general in Europe at that time.

The edict of October, 1727, and the declaration of the King of November 10, 1727, rigidly excluded foreign commerce from the French colonies. The only exception was salt meat from Ireland, which was allowed to be introduced into the colonies.

January 1, 1729. Some of the articles of a regulation for the hospitals of the King's troops appear very curious to us. The physician shall visit the patients every day. He shall be accompanied by an assistant to the surgeon, who shall write down the bleedings ordered and the regimen. An apothecary and nurses shall accompany the physician, to report to him the effects of the drugs and anything that may have happened to the patients. The physician, as well as the surgeon, shall taste the soup and the wine, shall see the meat and the bread, and shall forbid that any fruit be given the patients or any food unfit for them. The physician shall visit the

pharmacy from time to time, to examine the quality and quantity of the drugs. The surgeon shall oblige all his aides to sleep in the hospital, and if he lodges there he shall visit their room to see if they are there. If there is an assistant surgeon, he shall attend to this. No soldier shall be permitted to make a will in favor of the officers of the hospital where he shall be, not even in favor of the chaplain or of the latter's convent under pretext of pious legacy. All the officers of the hospital shall see to it that none of the patients or attendants shall blaspheme, curse, or use improper words.

CHAPTER VI

COLONIZATION

New Orleans in its beginning—War with the Natchez—Bienville's recall to France—His services—Early censuses—Notice of Dubreuil—Governor Périer—The Ursulines—New Orleans as seen by Sister Madeleine Hachard—The first residence of the Ursulines—The convent—The ecclesiastical jurisdictions—The Capuchins and the Jesuits—The currency—Progress of the colony—The early population of Louisiana—Massacre by the Natchez—The Yazoos join the Natchez—The Choctaws remain faithful to the French—Loubois attacks the Natchez—The Natchez routed by St. Denis—The Tunicas—Plot of the negroes—Governor Périer attacks the Natchez—The last stand of the Natchez—Ruin of the Natchez.



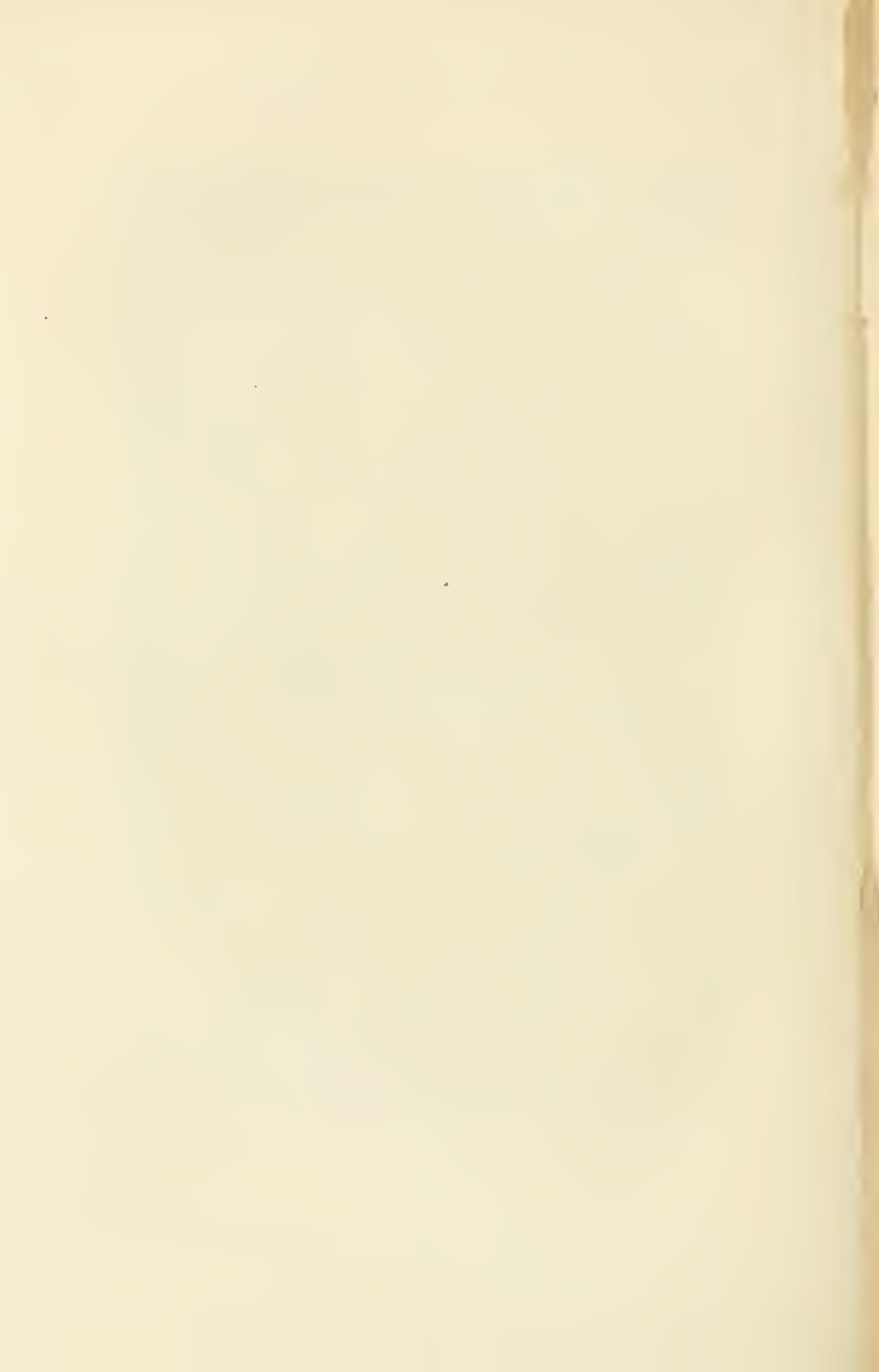
DUMONT, who was twenty-two years in Louisiana, has given such an interesting account of New Orleans in its beginning that we shall quote freely from his Memoirs. He says: ¹ “The Sieur de la Tour had no sooner arrived at this place—which then consisted only of a few unimportant houses, scattered here and there, and which had been formed by some travelers who had come down from the Illinois—than he caused to be cleared along the river quite a large space, in order that he might put in execution the plan he had projected; then, with the help of some *piqueurs*, he traced on the ground the streets and the quarters that

were to compose the new town, and announced that all who wished to have building-lots should present their petitions to the Council. They gave to each settler who appeared ten toises² front by twenty deep, and as each quarter was fifty toises square, it is understood that there must have been in each twelve inhabitants, of whom the two in the middle had ten toises front by twenty-five deep. It was ordered that those who should obtain some of these lots should be obliged to inclose them with palisades, and to leave all round a vacant space at least three feet wide, at the foot of which a ditch should be dug to serve as a drain to the waters of the river in the season of inundation. Not only did the Sieur de la Tour believe that he was obliged to order those canals, which communicate from quarter to quarter, but also, to protect the city from inundation, he caused to be erected in front, and near a slight elevation that leads to the river, a dike or levee of earth, at the foot of which he dug a similar drain. The parish church of New Orleans is built facing the Place d'Armes, and is served by the Reverend Capuchin Fathers; one of them is vicar-general of the Bishop of Quebec. At some distance from the city is a very fine house, where reside the Reverend Jesuit Fathers. It belonged formerly to M. de Bienville, commandant-general in the country, who sold it to them. There is in this city a Council, which meets generally on Tuesdays and Saturdays. It is composed of six councilors, an attorney-general, and an intendant who is at the same time *commissaire ordonnateur*; also a clerk and a secretary of the Council. Lawsuits are settled there without

attorneys or counselors, and consequently without expense, on the pleadings of the parties. Finally, this place, which in the beginning was hardly a good-sized village, may now justly be called a city. On the levee, to the left, a little above the intendant's, is the market, and opposite the place, near the storehouses, is the anchorage for vessels, which almost touch the shore. There is also a prison in front of the square, and beside it is the guard-house. The powder-magazine is at a distance from the city, not to be exposed to fire. In a word, it may be said that nothing is lacking to this capital except fortifications, which have not yet been begun. Besides, there are very fine brick houses, and a very large number of houses four and five stories high." Two statements in Dumont's *Memoirs* are noticeable: first, that when the author resided in New Orleans it was the golden age of the city, when lawsuits were settled without lawyers and without expense; second, Dumont says there were at that time buildings four and five stories high. If this is true, the tradition is incorrect which says that the first four-story house built in New Orleans is the one now standing at the corner of Royal and St. Peter streets, erected during the Spanish domination.

From Dumont and Le Page du Pratz we obtain the best account of the war with the Natchez in 1723. When this tribe of Indians again committed depredations and murdered some Frenchmen, Bienville marched against them with seven hundred soldiers. He attacked the White Apple village and two other villages, obtained from chief Stung Serpent the head of the chief of the





White Apple village, and that of a free negro residing among the Natchez, and a second time restored quiet to the country. His administration, so far, had been successful, and he had shown great firmness in his dealings with the Indians. We are, therefore, astonished to see him recalled to France in 1724. Boisbriant became governor *ad interim*.

Bienville's enemies succeeded in bringing about his downfall. His services, from 1698 to 1724, had been great. Among them were the foundation of New Orleans and the transfer of the seat of government to that town in 1722, and his efforts to provide education for the people. It was he who invited the Ursuline nuns to New Orleans, and who established the first girls' school and the first hospital. Shortly before the end of his last administration he asked of the French government the establishment of a Jesuits' college for boys in New Orleans, but did not succeed in his efforts.

The following statistics are copied from the archives at the Ministry of the Colonies in Paris:

Census of New Orleans, November 24, 1721. Recapitulation: Men, 446; women, 140; children, 96; negro slaves, 523; Indian slaves, 51; cattle, 233; horses, 33.

Census of New Orleans in 1723. Recapitulation: Men bearing arms, 229; women or girls, 169; children, 183; orphans, 45; slaves, 267; horses, 14; cattle, 267; guns, 313; pistols, 25.

General census of the colony of Louisiana on January 1, 1726. Recapitulation: Masters, 1952; hired men and servants, 276; negro slaves, 1540; Indian slaves, 229.

General census of the department of New Orleans on July 1, 1727. Recapitulation:

	Masters	Hired	Negroes	Savages	Cattle	Horses	Hogs
New Orleans	729..	65..	127..	17..	231..	10..	—
The Bayou and Chan-							
tilly	42..	5..	73..	5..	214..	27..	75
Inhabitants up the							
river on the right..	243..	26..	883..	45..	993..	107..	403
Idem on the left....	306..	35..	456..	5..	356..	37..	36
On the shore of Lake							
Pontchartrain	7..	2..	14..	—..	—..	—..	—
On Bayou Tauchpao.	2..	5..	8..	1..	—..	—..	—

Totals.....1329..138..1561..73..1794..181..514

The following notice of Joseph Dubreuil, dated 1724, is interesting:

Claude Joseph Dubreuil, aged 30 years, native of Dijon, came in *Comte de Toulouse* in 1719. He is one of the most laborious and most intelligent of all the inhabitants. He understands mechanics, and is of all trades. His lot is the largest, the finest, and the best cleared in the colony. He has been the first to make levees and deep ditches for the drainage of the waters in the swamps, to keep his lands dry. He gave the idea and made himself seven to eight thousand toises of canals, besides four or five thousand toises of ditches. He has a large house with two wings which serve as a store, which he is completing at present. He has the best lodging in the colony. He has a very fine view.

As a confirmation of the statement that Dubreuil was the first that made levees and drainage canals in Louisi-

ana, we may mention a letter written by him in 1740. He speaks of the canal that he is digging at his own expense near New Orleans, and he asks the protection of the King on account of the services he has rendered the colony since his arrival there in 1719. He says: "The establishment of New Orleans in the beginning was awful, the river when it was high spreading over the whole ground, and in all the houses there were two feet of water, which caused general and mortal diseases. As I was known to be enterprising and not capable of refusing a service, the Directors begged me to make the levee, and I made two thirds of it without any compensation, and New Orleans was out of inundation and as dry as if it had been built on a high land." The canal that Dubreuil was digging was necessary for bringing lumber to ship to France, and for building vessels, which he intended to do.

Dubreuil, called also Villars Dubreuil, sold on most liberal terms a house for the residence of the governor, and he was a very useful citizen. It is pitiful to see that in 1778 his widow, owing to his disinterestedness, was reduced to absolute poverty in France, and his six children in Louisiana were living in the woods with the savages.

Bienville's successor, Périer, arrived in New Orleans in October, 1726. He was "a brave marine officer, to whose praise it can be said that he caused himself to be loved by the troops as well as by the inhabitants, for his equity and his benevolent generosity."³ Bienville's relatives, his brother Chateaugué and his nephew De

Noyan, were recalled to France, as well as his cousin Boisbriant a little later. De la Chaise, the commissary, had been the chief cause of Boisbriant's fall, and when Périer reached Louisiana he met with no opposition from the partisans of Bienville.

We have seen that he took great interest in education, and that it was he who invited the Ursuline nuns to come to Louisiana. He had at first endeavored to obtain some Gray sisters from Canada, and had not succeeded. Then Father de Beaubois, a Jesuit, had suggested the Ursulines. A contract was finally signed with them on September 13, 1726, and approved by the King on September 18, by which it was agreed that six nuns were to open a girls' school in New Orleans, and to attend to the hospital. The sisters met at Hennebon and recognized as superior Mother Marie Tranchepain de Saint-Augustin.⁴ They sailed from Lorient on February 23, 1727, and arrived at New Orleans on August 6, after a very long and perilous voyage. This voyage has been described by Sister Madeleine Hachard, whose impressions of New Orleans are of great historic interest. Her letters to her father are witty, instructive, and charming. She relates how they escaped from pirate ships before reaching Santo Domingo, which they left on May 19. They were nearly shipwrecked, and finally arrived at the Balize, at the mouth of the Mississippi, on July 23. They were well received by De Verges, the commandant, and went up the river in canoes. They suffered greatly during the journey; but, as the gentle sister says, "one is well rewarded afterward by the pleasure one finds in relating

one's little adventures, and one is surprised when one considers the strength and the courage which God gives in these troubles, which proves well that he is never lacking to any one, and that he does not permit that we should be tempted beyond our strength, giving us graces proportionate to the trials that happen to us. It is true that the ardent desire which we had to arrive at that promised land made us endure everything with joy." The nuns received as a residence Bienville's former house and dwelt there until 1734, when they took possession of the convent house built for them on Condé Street, now Chartres. This building, the oldest in New Orleans, was for a time the State House of Louisiana and the archbishop's palace.

Sister Madeleine Hachard says a song was publicly sung in New Orleans, in which it was said that the city had as much "appearance" as Paris, and she adds: "Indeed, it is very beautiful, but besides that I have not enough eloquence to be able to persuade you of the beauty which the song mentions, I find a difference between this city and that of Paris. It might persuade people who had never seen the capital of France, but I have seen it, and the song will not persuade me of the contrary of what I believe. It is true that it is increasing every day, and later may become as beautiful and as large as the principal towns of France, if there still come workmen, and it becomes peopled according to its size." She speaks of the magnificent dresses of the ladies, and is grateful for the kind treatment of the governor and his wife and of the principal inhabitants. She mentions the mosquitoes and other insects, which she knows only by

sight, but which fly around her and, she says, would like to assassinate her.

Sister Hachard gives the following description of Bienville's house, which was given the nuns on their arrival in New Orleans:

Our residence since our arrival here is in the finest house in the city; it is a two-story building, with an attic. We have all the rooms necessary, six doors to enter the rooms on the lower floor. There are everywhere large windows. However, there are no panes of glass, but the framework is covered with a thin and transparent material, which gives as much light as glass. It is situated at one end of the town. We have a poultry yard and a garden, which join and are met at both ends by large wild trees, of prodigious height and size.

In her letter dated April 24, 1728, Sister Hachard says there are at the convent twenty girls, boarding students, three ladies, three orphan girls, seven slaves, boarders to be prepared for baptism and first communion, and a large number of day scholars and negresses and Indian women who come two hours every day to receive instruction (probably religious). She says it is the custom for girls to marry at the age of twelve and fourteen, and that, before the arrival of the nuns, many girls had been married without any religious instruction. Now, however, none are married without having received instruction from the sisters. An important part of the latter's work is the care of the sick.

Sister Hachard mentions several times in her letters, and with great praise, the Jesuit Father de Beaubois. It was he, as we have seen, who had suggested the Ur-

sulines to Bienville, when the latter was looking for teachers for the girls in Louisiana. The province had been divided, by an ordinance dated May 16, 1722, into three spiritual jurisdictions.⁵ The first, comprising all the country from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Wabash, and west of the Mississippi, was allotted to the Capuchins, whose superior was to be grand vicar of the Bishop of Quebec in that department and was to reside in New Orleans. The second extended north from the Wabash, and belonged to the Jesuits, whose superior, residing in the Illinois country, was to be also grand vicar of the Bishop of Quebec in that department. The third comprised all the country east of the Mississippi, from the sea to the Wabash, and was given to the Carmelites, whose superior was also grand vicar and resided usually at Mobile.

The Capuchins took possession of their district in 1722; the Jesuits had been in theirs a long time. The jurisdiction of the Carmelites was added to that of the Capuchins on December 19, 1722, and the former returned to France. In December, 1723, the jurisdiction of the Capuchins was restricted to the country from Natchez south to the sea, on both sides of the river, as the Capuchins were not very numerous. It was, however, decreed in 1725 that no monks or priests could attend to churches or missions within the jurisdiction of the Capuchins, without the consent of the latter. It was found a little later that the Capuchins could not attend properly to missions, on account of their small number and their inaptitude for such work.⁶ The spiritual care of all the savages

in the province was therefore given to the Jesuits, and their superior was permitted to reside in New Orleans, provided he performed no ecclesiastical functions without the consent of the Capuchins. Several Jesuits arrived in New Orleans with the Ursuline nuns, and Father de Beaubois soon became their superior. He pretended to have obtained from the Bishop of Quebec the authority of grand vicar even for New Orleans, and acted as such, in spite of the remonstrances of the Capuchin superior, Father Raphael. Father de Beaubois was recalled, and was succeeded by Father Petit, who was of a "very moderate and circumspect disposition." At the time of the arrival of the Ursulines in New Orleans, the Capuchin Father Cécile is mentioned as a schoolmaster. He probably had a school for boys.

Dumont, in his "*Mémoires Historiques*," gives an interesting account of the currency in Louisiana. He says that when the Western Company took charge of the colony hardly any money was seen there, except Spanish coin and French silver, with which a few things were bought. The goods sold by the Company were not paid for in money. "When goods were needed, a list was made and presented to one of the directors of the Company, who, after deducting what he thought proper, wrote on it an order for the storekeeper. The applicant then went to the store to receive what was on his statement, and that amount was deducted from the total he was entitled to receive. In a word, the notes of officers, clerks, and employés were then current in the community, and passed for money." There was afterward card money,

from five sous to fifty livres, and “for the advantage of those who could not read, it was made so that by mere inspection one knew what was the value of the card by the way it was cut. The value was also marked, and the cards bore two signatures, which, however, were often forged. Hardly had the card money been invented when a small copper coin began to arrive. Vessels were forbidden to refuse card money, but they lost nothing, since, on paying into the Company’s treasury the amount received in notes, they received bills of exchange on France.” Private individuals who wished to return to France were compelled to exchange their card money for Spanish dollars, and lost a good deal. The management of the currency, throughout the whole French domination, was unwise and vexatious.

Nevertheless, the colony was prospering under the rule of the Company of the Indies: New Orleans was protected by a levee in 1729; the crops of rice, tobacco, and indigo were satisfactory; the fig-tree from Provence and the orange-tree from Santo Domingo had thriven; negroes had been imported to cultivate the land; and in 1728 a ship had arrived with young girls who were to be married to the colonists. Each girl had received a small casket containing some articles of clothing, and they were known afterward as *les filles à la cassette*. They were of good character, and were placed under the charge of the Ursuline nuns until their marriage.

It has been said that the Louisianians of French origin are descended not only from the “casket girls,” but also from girls taken from the prisons of Paris and trans-

ported by force to the colony. That this is incorrect is proved by an extract from a letter of an Englishman long a resident of Louisiana, dated December 10, 1751: ⁷

You have seen, Sir, by this detail that we have had, and have still to-day, in the colony a number of persons of distinction. If I had mentioned the other posts and only all those who have occupied or who still occupy positions with the commission of the King, without mentioning several other persons very much esteemed, you will see that the greater number were and are still married. Several have taken with them their wives and children from France. Their children have greatly multiplied, so much so that one may surely say that there is no colony, considering its population, more filled with honest people. A remarkable thing is, that out of forty-four girls who were sent by force from France in 1722 by the *Mutine* (the only ones of that kind who have set foot in the colony) there is only one who has left any posterity, although all were married and had several children. Of several convicts who were sent in the beginning of the colony, I do not know of a single one who was established there. It seems that this country has something which distinguishes it, as with certain countries where no vile creature can leave its kind; and one may say that all persons are of such honest extraction that it would be difficult to marry into families with dishonor, in spite of the reviling made of this colony in the beginning of its establishment. They wisely prohibited, in the beginning, all marriages of whites with the savages, the negroes or mulattoes, which has always been exactly observed since, so that one may say that the blood in that respect is here as pure as in any kingdom in Europe, and very different from several other countries and colonies, particularly of the Spaniards, where one sees a horrible mixture of all races.

The prosperity of the colony was rudely interrupted in 1729 by the massacre of the French at Fort Rosalie, and by the war that followed against the Natchez and the

Chickasaws. Very full details of these events are given by Dumont, who was a lieutenant at Fort Rosalie shortly before the massacre; by Le Page du Pratz, who was in Louisiana at that time; and by Governor Périer and other officers of the colony, in their official despatches. The Chickasaws never had been very friendly to the French, and the Natchez seemed restless. Bienville had asked for more troops, and Périer repeated the demand when he became governor, but without success. The Indians were led to attack the French by the greed and injustice of Chopart, the commandant at Fort Rosalie. He ordered the Natchez to abandon one of their finest villages in order that he might establish a plantation there. The chief succeeded in obtaining, or rather in buying, from him a delay, but the Natchez thought that henceforth their safety lay only in destroying the French at Fort Rosalie. They formed a plot for that purpose, and although Chopart had received warning, he did nothing to protect the French. On November 28, 1729, the savages surprised the fort, massacred the commandant and two hundred and fifty men, and took prisoners a number of women, children, and negro slaves. Only one soldier of the garrison escaped, and four or five inhabitants, of whom one or two succeeded in reaching New Orleans. All the women were employed as slaves, and the fort and all the other buildings of the French were burned. Two men only were spared,—one a tailor, and the other a cart-driver who was employed to transport to the villages of the Indians the booty captured at the fort.

The Natchez murdered afterward four men who were in a canoc on the river, and killed the child of one of

the captive Frenchwomen, in order that he might accompany to the land of spirits the dead child of one of the Indians. They also persuaded the Yazooos to massacre the French who had settled in their country at Fort St. Claude. This was done in the beginning of the year 1730. The Natchez had not succeeded as well with the Choctaws as with the Yazooos. They had expected that the Choctaws would massacre the French in New Orleans on the same day when the Natchez massacred them in their own country; but the plot failed, if it ever existed, and Dumont says the Choctaws forbade the Natchez to put to death any of the captive women and children.

The news of the massacre reached New Orleans in the beginning of December, 1729, and Governor Périer sent to the Choctaws the *Sieur de Lery*, an officer well versed in the languages of the savages. The Choctaws promised to give the French all the aid in their power, and Périer sent against the Natchez the *Chevalier de Loubois*,^s the King's lieutenant, who went to the country of the Tunicas and built a fort there to await the coming of the Choctaws. After a short time, Loubois called for men of good will to reconnoiter in the country of the Natchez. Five men presented themselves, but they acted imprudently and were caught by the savages, after one of them, Navarre, had been killed fighting and taunting his enemies. One of the captives was sent with a message to Loubois, two were immediately murdered, and the fifth man, Mesplet, was tortured most horribly. In February, 1730, sixteen hundred Choctaws arrived in the Natchez country, but after freeing a few women they stayed a month at some distance from the fort of the Natchez

without attacking the latter. Finally, Loubois appeared before the fort in March and laid siege to it. In spite of a brisk firing, the French were, for a considerable time, unsuccessful in their attacks, and the siege seemed only to be an occasion for individual acts of heroism, when very unexpectedly the Natchez sent a Frenchwoman to the commander to sue for peace. The captive women and children were delivered to the Choctaws, allies of the French, and Loubois was on the point of renewing his attack, in spite of the capitulation, when it was found that the savages had escaped from the fort in the night, not trusting their enemies any more than the latter trusted them. Loubois built a new fort in the Natchez country, and returned to New Orleans with the unfortunate captives, who had been freed from the Choctaws with great trouble.

The Natchez retired toward Black River and continued their attacks against the French. They murdered a detachment of twenty men in the neighborhood of the fort at Natchez, tried to surprise the garrison of the fort, and attacked the fort at Natchitoches. There, however, they had to deal with the valiant St. Denis, who, with a reinforcement of forty Natchitoches Indians, completely routed the savages and killed sixty of them without losing a single man.

At that time the great chief of the Tunicas was killed by the Natchez. He had become a Christian, as well as his son, and had received a medal from the King of France in recompense for his attachment to the French. A little before the death of their chief the Tunicas had taken a Natchez woman to New Orleans, and had ob-

tained from P rier permission to burn and torture her publicly. The French governor was not a cruel man, but we must deplore the fact that through policy he allowed and even ordered several cruel deeds to be committed in the wars against the savages.

These were troublous times indeed, for not only were the French threatened with destruction by the hostile Indians, but the negroes formed a plot in New Orleans to murder the whites. The plot was discovered, the leaders were executed, and in order to render the savages forever hostile to the negroes P rier caused the latter to put to death seven or eight Chouachas Indians and to destroy their village. The chief aim of the governor, however, was to prosecute the war against the Natchez. He received, in August, 1730, some reinforcements from France, under his brother, P rier de Salvert, and on November 15, 1730, he departed with six hundred and fifty soldiers, including the militia, and three hundred and fifty Indian auxiliaries for the Black River. In this expedition he succeeded in bringing back to New Orleans, on February 5, 1731, four hundred and twenty-seven captives, including Great Sun and several chiefs. These were sent to Santo Domingo by P rier and sold as slaves. He had previously, he said, "burned four men and two women here."

The place where the Natchez made their last stand against P rier has been definitely ascertained by Claiborne, who gives the following interesting statement of Dr. Henry F. Peck, A.B., in his "History of Mississippi":⁹

BATTLE-GROUND PLANTATION, SICILY ISLAND,
CATAHOULA PARISH, LA., March 6, 1878.

The last stand of the Natchez was made here, on the southwest end of a small lake, which makes part of the eastern boundary of Sicily Island. The bluff, at this point, is some thirty feet above the level of the lake, with a deep ravine on the south and west. They threw up an intrenchment, which could be traced as late as 1825. The position is just forty miles from Natchez, across the swamp. It is to identify this point as the last great battle-ground of the Natchez to which you have directed your inquiries. The war material found here is conclusive as to its having been the scene of a great conflict, in which European soldiers took part. Fragments of shells, indicating a diameter of four to six inches, were profusely scattered over the field; the outer plates of gunlocks, almost destroyed by oxidation; fragments of pistol-barrels; great numbers of gun-flints of very fine silex; a chain-shot that still weighs three pounds eleven ounces; and musket-balls so numerous that our early hunters obtained their lead on the premises. These balls were so encrusted with oxide that when melted each one left a white shell like an egg-shell. Many irons resembling mill-irons, fragments of crockery and pottery, ordinary Indian arrow-heads.

The Natchez, now greatly reduced in number, were routed by St. Denis at Natchitoches, in the summer of 1731, as we have already related. What remained of the tribe was adopted by the Chickasaws, and the name of the Natchez as a nation was lost. Such was the fate of these Indians, who have been celebrated in history and in romance, and whose name has been given to a beautiful town on the broad river where used to glide swiftly the pirogues and bark canoes of the dreaded and brave warriors of Great Sun.

CHAPTER VII

BIENVILLE'S WARS WITH THE CHICKASAWS— VAUDREUIL, THE GRAND MARQUIS—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Character of Governor Périer—List of officers from 1725 to 1730—Surrender of the charter of the Company of the Indies—Return of Bienville—War with the Chickasaws—Bienville's retreat—Death of young D'Artaquette—Names of the principal officers—Bienville's narrative—Second expedition against the Chickasaws—Failure of the expedition—Céloron attacks the Indians—Bienville asks to be relieved—Foundation of the hospital—Hurricanes in 1740—Request for the establishment of a college of the Jesuits—Brothers of the Christian schools—Bienville's departure from the colony—The Marquis de Vaudreuil—Hostilities with the Indians—Ordinances of Vaudreuil and Salmon—Vaudreuil's activity—His police regulations—Vaudreuil becomes Governor of Canada—Introduction of the sugar-cane—The last girls sent at the King's expense—Washington at Great Meadows and at Fort Necessity—Bossu's account of the Creoles—Bossu's description of New Orleans—Governor Kerlérec—The tragedy at Cat Island—Sad fate of Beaudreau—Unwise administration of France and of Louisiana—Marigny de Mandeville—Adventures of Belle-Isle—Defeat of the French in America.



IN his last expedition against the Natchez, Governor Périer appears to have acted with duplicity, and to have captured the chiefs by an unworthy stratagem. He does not appear, however, in his despatches to his government, to believe that he has done wrong, and it is but just to quote here what Le Page du Pratz says of him:¹ "M. de Salvart left Lou-

isiana with the laurels he had gathered there, and returned to France to receive the applause of the court. M. Périer, our Governor, was also recalled some time later; he received the reward due his services, the firmness and the equity with which he had governed; qualities which caused him to be regretted by all the honest people in the colony."

The following list of the officers in Louisiana ² from 1725 to 1730 is interesting: Le Chevalier de Loubois, *lieutenant de roi*, New Orleans; Le Baron de Crenay, *lieutenant de roi*, Mobile; D'Artaguet, major, New Orleans; Beauchamp, major, Mobile; Bessan, aide-major, New Orleans; St. Denis, commandant, Natchitoches; St. Ange père, *lieutenant réformé*, commandant at the Illinois; De Vincennes, commandant at Ouabache.

The captains were: Gauvrit, at the Balize; Pradel, at Natchez; Marchand de Courcelles, at Mobile; Renaud d'Hauterive, at Mobile; Lusser, at Mobile; Chevalier de Noyan, at New Orleans; Chevalier de St. Julien, at New Orleans.

The lieutenants were: Montmarquet, at the Alibamons; Bassé, at Mobile; Petit de Levilliers, at New Orleans; Benoist, at Mobile; Maillard, at the Illinois; Gautren, at the Natchitoches.

The *sous-lieutenants* were: Terisse de Tressan, at the Illinois; Simare de Belle-Isle, at New Orleans; Régis du Roulet, at the Choctaws; Maren de Latour, at New Orleans; Marin Dupuy, at New Orleans; Duterpuy Verchier, at Mobile.

The *enseignes* were: Ste. Thérèse de Langloiserie, at

New Orleans; St. Ange fils, at the Illinois; Dutisné, at the Illinois; Chambellan Graton, at the Choctaws; Benille, at Mobile; Grandpré, at New Orleans; Chevalier d'Herneville, at the Natchez.

The *Officiers réformés* (retired) were: D'Arensbourg, captain, at the village of the Germans; Mondrelois, lieutenant, at New Orleans; Juzan, lieutenant, at the Tunicas; De Labuissonnière, at the Natchez.

The officers without commission were: Coulanges, at the Arkansas; Isel, at the Natchez.

In the "Historical Collections of Louisiana," by B. F. French, Part III, page 179, is a list of the first inhabitants of New Orleans.

The expense occasioned by the Natchez war had been so great that the Company of the Indies begged to be allowed to surrender its charter,³ and in 1731 Louisiana became again a royal province. The colony had prospered considerably since 1717, and the population had increased from about six hundred whites and twenty negroes to five thousand whites and two thousand negroes. Agriculture was also in a flourishing condition. The chief crops were indigo and tobacco; cotton also was cultivated, but on a small scale. Commerce was languishing and had to be encouraged in 1732 by a decree that exempted from duties all goods sent from France to Louisiana and from Louisiana to France. In the same year (1732) the Superior Council of the colony was reorganized as follows: Périer, governor; Salmon, *commissaire ordonnateur*; Loubois and D'Artaguette, King's lieutenants; Bénac, major of New Orleans; Fa-

zende, Brulé, Bru, Lafrénière, Prat, and Raguet, councilors; Fleuriau, attorney-general; Rossart, secretary.

A little later Bienville was again appointed governor, and he arrived in New Orleans in the beginning of 1733. The colonists received him with joy; but this distinguished man met with great disasters in his last wars with the Indians. Périer does not appear to have shown sufficient tact in his dealings with the savages, and he treated them, as we have seen, with unnecessary harshness. His successor, Bienville, found the important tribe of the Chickasaws dissatisfied with the French, and war could hardly be avoided. Our chief authorities for these events are Dumont's "*Mémoires Historiques*" and Bienville's despatches.

After the defeat of the Natchez at Natchitoches by St. Denis, the greater part of the remnant of that tribe was adopted by the Chickasaws. In 1734 Bienville asked for the surrender of the fugitives, but the Chickasaws replied that the Natchez formed part of their tribe and they could not abandon them. The governor resolved, therefore, to compel the Chickasaws to give up the Natchez, and he prepared actively for war. He sent to the Illinois country five boats commanded by Le Blanc. One of the boats was loaded with powder, and the others with merchandise, and Le Blanc succeeded in reaching the Arkansas in safety. He unwisely left the powder there, and on his arrival at the Illinois country, he sent a boat to get the powder. On the way back the boat was captured by the Indians, all the men in it were killed except two, and the powder was lost. Le Blanc transmitted

to D'Artaguettes, the commandant at Fort Chartres, Bienville's orders, which were that D'Artaguettes should collect as large an army as possible and go to the Chickasaw country,⁴ where Bienville would meet him by May 10, 1736. D'Artaguettes was the younger brother of Diron, the commissary, who was then on bad terms with the governor.

Bienville went to Fort Condé at Mobile and met the great chief of the Choctaws, whom he induced, by presents, to promise the aid of his tribe against the Chickasaws. He returned afterward to New Orleans, collected his troops, and went back to Mobile, from which place the expedition was to set out. On April 1, 1736, the army left Mobile and went up the Mobile River in a small fleet of thirty pirogues and thirty flatboats. On April 20, Bienville arrived at a place called Tombecbé, and was joined there by the Choctaw auxiliaries. He was detained by rains at Tombecbé until May 4, and on May 25 reached a place called Tibia, seven leagues from the Chickasaw village. The army advanced in good order, "the soldiers," says Dumont, "like those of Gideon, gathering, as they passed by on that prairie, bunches of strawberries, which our common mother offered without cultivation and in abundance to those who would present themselves to gather them."

The Indians were found in a strongly fortified post, over which an English banner floated, and four or five Englishmen were seen in the Indian village. The troops attacked the fort, but were repelled with heavy loss, as they had no material for a siege. On May 27 Bienville



ordered the army to retreat, and returned to New Orleans, where he heard of the sad fate of D'Artaquette.⁵ The commandant of Fort Chartres had obeyed his chief's orders and had marched into the country of the Chickasaws. He arrived there on May 9, and, not being supported by the main army of the French, was defeated by the Indians and forced to surrender. D'Artaquette, Vincennes, Father Senac, a Jesuit missionary, and sixteen other men were burned at the stake. The unhappy fate of D'Artaquette struck the imagination of the colonists, and his name has become connected with a proverb in Louisiana. In speaking of something very old, one says: "As old as the time of D'Artaquette—*vieux comme du temps D'Artaquette*." Bienville's army, in the unfortunate expedition against the Chickasaws, was composed of five hundred and forty-four white men, forty-five negroes commanded by free negroes, and a large number of Choctaws.

"Among the principal officers," says Bienville, "were Messieurs Deléry, D'Hauterive, De Lusser, De Courtillas, Petit, Berthel, De Bombelles, Bénac, Le Blanc, De Membrède, De Macarty, De St. Pierre, De Velles, De Bouillé, Des Marets, De Contre-Cœur, Populus de St. Protais, Pontalba, Vanderek, Montbrun, Noyan. At the head of the Swiss were Du Parc and Volant. Montmolin was the standard-bearer. The detachment of the planters was commanded by Lesueur and St. Martin."

We quote here extracts from Bienville's account of the expedition, dated June 28, 1736.⁶

Finally, on May 22, 1736, we were all at the new portage, where we landed at a distance of nine leagues from the Chickasaw villages. On the 23rd, at day-break, I caused a number of pickets to be cut and a small fort to be traced, which was erected immediately for the defense of our carriages. I drew from the companies a garrison of twenty men, to remain there under the command of the Sieur de Vanderek, with the keeper of the provisions, the owners of the boats and a few sick men. I had the time to notice, on seeing all the Choctaws together, that they had not come in such large number as they had promised, and that they were hardly more than six hundred men. I had a great deal of trouble to find a certain number who were willing to carry, by paying them, sacks of powder and of balls, which the negroes could not carry, having already taken other things. On the 24th, after taking provisions for twelve days, I left the fort in the afternoon, and camped in the evening two leagues from that place. The rains, which had troubled me so much on the river, did not leave me on land. Hardly were we camped when a violent storm broke out, which raged several times during the night and made us all fear for our provisions and ammunition. We succeeded, however, in preserving them. On the 25th we had to pass, in the space of five short leagues, across three deep ravines, where we had water up to the waist. As the banks were covered with very thick cane, I had sent scouts ahead.

Bienville wished to attack first the village of the Natchez, which was a little farther; but the Choctaws insisted upon attacking the Chickasaws.

The prairie, continues Bienville, in which these villages were situated, was about two leagues in extent. There were three little villages established in a triangle on the crest of a hill, at the bottom of which flowed a brook almost dry. The Choctaws came to tell me that I would not find any water further, and I ordered to defile along the little wood that terminated the prairie, to reach an elevation where I ordered a halt to eat. It was then after twelve

o'clock. However, the Choctaws, who wished, at all hazards, to attack these first villages, began a skirmish, as soon as we had entered the prairie, to draw upon us the attack of the enemy. This succeeded; so that most of the officers joined the Choctaws to ask that those villages be attacked where they did think we would find a great resistance. I consented then, and I ordered an attack, at two o'clock in the afternoon, by the company of grenadiers, a picket of fifteen men from each of the eight French companies, sixty Swiss and forty-five men from the volunteers and militia, under the command of M. de Noyan.

From the place where we had stopped, at a carbine shot from the villages, we perceived Englishmen, who were actively engaged in preparing the Chickasaws for our attack. In spite of the irregularity of this conduct, as on our arrival they had raised in one of the three villages an English flag, to be known, I recommended M. de Noyan to forbid that they should be insulted, if they wished to retire, and, to give them the time, I ordered him to attack at first the village opposite the one with the flag.

However, the detachment began to march and reached the hill, protected by mantelets, which, in truth, were not long of use, because the negroes who were to carry them as far as a certain place, having had one of their number killed and one wounded, threw down the mantelets and fled. On entering the village called Ackia, the head of the column and the grenadiers, being in the open field, suffered severely. The Chevalier de Contre-Cœur was killed, and several soldiers were killed or wounded. Yet we took the first three strong cabins and several small ones that protected them, but when it was necessary to cross from these to others, the Chevalier de Noyan perceived that he had with him only the officers of the vanguard, a few grenadiers and a dozen volunteers. The death of M. de Lusser, who was killed while crossing, as well as that of the sergeant of the grenadiers and of part of his men, had already frightened the troops. The soldiers crowded behind the captured cabins, without the rear officers being able to dislodge them from that place, so that the officers of the van were almost all disabled.

In one moment, the Chevalier de Noyan, M. d'Hauterive, captain of the grenadiers, and the Sieurs de Velles, Grondel and Montbrun were wounded. It was in vain that the Chevalier de Noyan, wishing to hold his ground, sent the Sieur de Juzan, his aide-major, to try to bring back the soldiers. That officer was killed near them, and his death only increased their fright. Finally, the wound of M. de Noyan having compelled him to retire behind a cabin, he sent me his secretary, who had followed him, ordering him to report to me the critical situation in which he was, and advising me that, if I did not order the retreat, or did not send reinforcements, the remainder of the officers would soon share the fate of the first; that, as for him, he did not wish to have himself carried away, from fear that the few men remaining would take occasion to flee; that, besides, at least sixty or seventy men were killed or wounded. At this report, and because I saw the French troops as well as the Swiss falling back, and also because we had just been threatened with an attack from the side of the large prairie where were most of the villages of the nation, and because we were all under arms, I sent M. de Beauchamp with eighty men to conduct the retreat and to carry off the dead and wounded. This was not done without losing more men. The Sieur Favrot was wounded there. When M. de Beauchamp arrived at the place of the attack he found there almost no soldiers. The officers, assembled together and abandoned, were holding their ground. That is to say, they were at the cabin nearest the fort. M. de Beauchamp caused them to retire, and returned to the camp in good order, the enemy not having dared to come out to charge him. It is true that the Choctaws, who thus far had remained protected on the hill-side, waiting for the event, rose then and fired several times. They had on this occasion twenty-two men killed or wounded. This in the end contributed not a little to disgust them.

Bienville says he had to retire because he had neither cannon nor mortars. He lost eight or nine officers and one hundred and twenty French soldiers.

Bienville was very anxious to avenge D'Artaguettes and to regain his military renown. But he did not believe that he had sufficient troops to conquer the Chickasaws, and he applied to France for reinforcements. The Chevalier de Beauharnais, Governor of Canada, was ordered to send troops to assist Bienville, and a body of marines arrived from France, commanded by the Chevalier Louis d'Aymé de Noailles. The army was conveyed by the Mississippi River, called at that time St. Louis, to Fort St. Francis on the St. Francis River, and thence to the river Margot, now Wolf River. A work called Fort Assumption was built near the present city of Memphis, and large reinforcements were received under the Sieur de la Buissonnière, successor to the unfortunate D'Artaguettes at Fort Chartres, and under Captain de Céloron and Lieutenant de St. Laurent, "followed," says Dumont, "by thirty cadets sent by the Governor of Canada, with a great number of Indians from Canada."

The army of Bienville, according to Judge Martin, numbered about twelve hundred white troops, and double that number of Indians and black troops. For some unaccountable reason, the troops remained at Fort Assumption, at some distance from the Indians, from August, 1739, to March, 1740, without attacking the enemy. In a despatch to the minister,⁷ Bienville says he could find, for some time, no suitable road to march against the Chickasaws, and, his provisions having failed, he called a council of war, composed of his principal officers, which decided that, as it was impossible to bring forward

the artillery necessary to the success of the expedition, "it was not advisable to risk the glory of the arms of the King on the chance of a doubtful success."

Dumont says that not only the provisions failed, but sickness broke out in the camp, especially among the soldiers recently arrived from France, and Bienville resolved, instead of conquering the Chickasaws, to grant them peace if they asked for it. He accordingly sent Céloron with his Canadian cadets and his Indian allies to advance against the Chickasaws.⁸ The latter, believing that the whole army of Bienville was marching to attack them, begged for peace, and presented the calumet to Céloron. This commander promised peace, and Bienville ratified the treaty in April, 1740. He gave presents to his Indian allies and dismissed them. The army now returned to New Orleans, after destroying Forts Assumption and St. Francis. The Chickasaws were never vanquished, and they and the Natchez fugitives continued to commit depredations at times. There was, however, no open war with them after Bienville's unsuccessful expedition. Gayarré attributes Bienville's last failure to a feeling of jealousy toward the Chevalier d'Aymé de Noailles, who had been sent from France to coöperate with him against the savages. But this opinion does not do justice to Bienville's well-known patriotism. He was so mortified and grieved at his failure that he expressed the desire of returning to France as soon as his duties would permit.

The following letter of Bienville to the French minister, dated June 18, 1740,⁹ is pathetic and interesting:

The labors, the anxiety and the trouble of mind which I have had to bear for the last eight years, during which it has pleased your Highness to maintain me in this government, have weakened my health to such an extent that I should not have hesitated to supplicate for leave of absence to go to France by the first vessel of the King, if the interest of the colony and that of my reputation did not require that I should put the finishing touches to the treaty of peace which I have begun with the Chickasaws and of which I do not believe that we should hasten the conclusion, in order to leave to the Choctaws the time of avenging upon the Chickasaws and their protectors the insult which they have received from them. That remnant of war can only weaken the Chickasaws the more, and disgust the English with the commerce with our tribes. This is the aim which I propose to myself, and which I hope to reach. After I have thus reëstablished peace and tranquillity in the colony, I desire to be allowed to make a journey to France to restore my exhausted health. I beg, then, your Highness to be so kind as to ask the permission of the King for me. I do not expect to be able to take advantage of it before the return of the vessel of 1742, and in case France does not take part in the war that has broken out in Europe.

In the same letter Bienville announces that the Sieur de Noyan, his nephew, is leaving for France at his own expense and with the help of his friends, as his expenses in his last campaigns have been far in excess of his pay.

During Bienville's last administration he and Salmon wrote to the minister on May 20, 1737, that a former sailor of the Company of the Indies, named Jean Louis, who died in 1736, being unmarried and without children, had left by a holographic will, to found a hospital, all his property, which, all debts paid, consisted of ten thou-

sand livres cash. In accord with the curate and the testamentary executor, Bienville and Salmon bought the house of Mme. de Kolly, at the extremity of the city, occupied formerly by the nuns. Then they bought beds and other things needed for a hospital. After this expenditure there remained five thousand livres, which, with the help of the inhabitants, were to be employed in building a large brick hall. The hospital was a great relief to the King's hospital for the soldiers, where often poor persons were received who otherwise would have died in misery. In 1737 there were five patients at the hospital. Jean Louis's humble but noble institution was the beginning of the present splendid Charity Hospital. In 1738 Dr. Prat, physician of the King's hospital, asked for means to establish a garden of medicinal plants and a house for his residence.¹⁰ He requested that he have a salary of two thousand livres, because the inhabitants were accustomed to be treated for nothing by the physician, and the latter had no resource but the favor of the King. The expenses for the military hospital in 1741 were 18,270 livres, and for the church 17,104 livres.

On September 11 and 18, 1740, there were two terrific hurricanes, which spared New Orleans but did great damage at the Balize, at Biloxi, and at Mobile, and caused almost a famine by the destruction of provisions and of crops. Bienville attended with great care to the needs of the colony in the last months of his administration, and he and Salmon made on June 15, 1742, the following request, which was not granted:

For a long time the inhabitants of Louisiana have been making representations on the necessity of establishing there a college for the education of their children. Touched, on their side, by the advantages of such an establishment, they proposed to the Jesuits to provide it; but these religious excused themselves for want of lodging and teachers. It should, however, be essential that there be one for the humanities only, geometry, geography, pilotage, etc. The children would learn, besides, their religion, which is the basis of morals. The parents see but too well how young men brought up in luxury and idleness are of little use, and how much it costs those of the inhabitants who are in a condition to send their children to be educated. We may even fear that most of the latter young men, not caring any more for their country, will return there only to take possession of the estates that their parents have left them. Another motive that engages them to make representations is, that several of the most important persons of Vera Cruz would like to be able to send their children to Louisiana to learn the French language and manners. There are some who have written on that subject to the Jesuit Fathers, and two children had been sent to them, without waiting for their reply. Several others would have come if there had been lodgings and teachers for them. The Jesuits would have determined not to receive any at all if they had not considered that the bonds of commerce which that might bring about with Vera Cruz and other cities of Mexico would contribute considerably to the advantage of the country. These religious have written to their superiors to receive the orders of Monseigneur [the minister] on that subject.

On April 30, and June 16, 1742, Salmon proposed also to send into the colony two brothers of the Christian schools for the instruction of the children, and he said that a brother named Malo, who had been here for some years, had assured him that there would be found brothers who would not ask anything better than to accept, if they

were given three hundred livres salary for each one. The brother has written to the order on that subject, and he has also promised to share with those who might be sent the little property that he has in the colony, which may amount to three thousand livres. Salmon adds that this establishment is so much the more necessary as there are only soldiers who know nothing to give the first lessons to children. Those teachers, who will be an expense of only six hundred livres a year, will be lodged without its costing the King anything, on a lot that has been conceded to a merchant who engages to build the necessary house for the school. On the other hand, supposing that the establishment of the college should take place, one should not dispense with the other one proposed. In fact, not only must the children have some instruction in reading before going to the college of the Jesuits, but the house of the latter is too far from the city for the little children. Besides, each one, according to his circumstances, gives more or less education to his children. Finally, with regard to the college, the expense will not be great, and Salmon believes that the Jesuits would be satisfied with an increase of board for two teachers whom they would take to Louisiana, and with some tons of freight to bring from France the provisions that they might need for the boarders.

In May, 1743, Bienville left Louisiana forever; he had devoted many years to the establishment of the colony. We shall see him once more in Paris, endeavoring in vain, in his old age, to prevent the transfer of his cherished Louisiana to the rule of Spain. His successor

was the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who arrived in Louisiana on May 10, 1743. He is known in the history of Louisiana as the Grand Marquis, on account of his elegant manners and magnificent entertainments.

Vaudreuil refused to make peace with the Chickasaws unless the Choctaws were included in the treaty, and he endeavored to keep up the enmity that existed between the two great Indian tribes. Red Shoe (Soulie Rouge), a Choctaw chief, gave the governor great trouble by his restlessness and duplicity. He was one day with the English, the next day with the French, and was ever ready to receive money or provisions from either party. He was the cause of a civil war among the Choctaws, and finally was killed by the party friendly to the French. The different Indian tribes harassed the colonies considerably during Vaudreuil's administration, and among the persons killed by the savages in 1748 was the unfortunate dancing-master Baby. He was going along on a poor horse, and armed only with a hunting-knife, when he met the savages. He defended himself bravely and took refuge in a neighboring house, where he was shot to death. The fate of poor Baby must have caused great sorrow to the ladies of New Orleans. Where did they find another master to teach them the minuet and the stately bows with which they were to salute the governor and his wife? The manners in Louisiana were as courtly as at Versailles, and the art of dancing was indispensable in polite society in the eighteenth century.

On October 18, 1743, an ordinance was issued by Vaudreuil and Salmon which compelled the planters to build

their levees before January 1, 1744, under penalty of confiscation of their lands. The governor and his commissary gave also much attention to the question of the currency in the colony; but the vexed question of card or paper money and of notes was not settled then or at any other time during the French domination in Louisiana. Vaudreuil was a wise administrator, but he certainly made a mistake when he granted to the Sieur Déruisseau the exclusive privilege of trading on the Missouri and its tributaries.

In 1741 the great War of the Austrian Succession broke out in Europe, and Maria Theresa, aided by England, had to resist the attacks of France and Prussia. Vaudreuil, on hearing of the declaration of war, prepared to resist any invasion of the British and displayed great activity and prudence. Unfortunately, like nearly all his predecessors, he quarreled with his intendant or *commissaire ordonnateur*, Lenormant, who was soon replaced by Michel de la Rouvillière. The latter and the governor issued interesting police regulations with regard to the negroes, and to coffee-houses, of which six were allowed in New Orleans. It was forbidden to give drink to any soldier or to negroes and savages, and to any one on feast days and on Sundays during divine service.

The good understanding between Vaudreuil and La Rouvillière did not last long, and the commissary wrote very disparaging letters about his chief. This does not seem to have injured the governor with the French government. He belonged to an influential family, and he

obtained a large increase in the number of soldiers to serve in Louisiana. He undertook an expedition against the Chickasaws in 1752, but accomplished little besides burning and devastating their country. The Marquis, however, remained in high favor at court, and was promoted in 1752 to the governorship of Canada, where he displayed great ability and courage in the French wars with the English.

In 1751, during Vaudreuil's administration, the sugar-cane was introduced in Louisiana. A vessel carrying soldiers to the colony stopped at Hispaniola, and the Jesuits on that island asked to be allowed to send to the Jesuits in Louisiana a quantity of cane, to see whether it could be cultivated on the banks of the Mississippi. The Jesuit Fathers planted the cane on their plantation, which was then just above the city, and to their spirit of enterprise and their enlightened policy we owe one of the greatest benefits ever rendered Louisiana, the introduction of the sugar-cane. Joseph Dubreuil, in 1758, established a large sugar plantation, and he erected the first sugar-mill in Louisiana. Others followed his example, but the sugar was of inferior quality, for want of a knowledge of the granulating process. Destréhan, Dubreuil, and others, before 1765, had made sugar that answered the purposes of home consumption, but in that year a ship-load was sent to France. The granulating process had been so imperfect that half of the sugar escaped from the casks before the vessel reached port.

The Jesuits were also cultivating on their land indigo and the myrtle-wax shrub, which, for a time, was con-

sidered very valuable. It produced a wax that was extensively used for making candles.

The ships that brought the sugar-cane brought also sixty poor girls who were sent at the King's expense.¹¹ They were the last that the mother country supplied, and were given in marriage to soldiers whose good conduct entitled them to a discharge. Land was allotted to each couple, with a cow and a calf, a cock and five hens, a gun, an ax, and a hoe; and during the first three years rations were issued to them, with a small quantity of powder, shot, and grain for seed.

In 1752 Macarty took command of Fort Chartres of the Illinois, which district comprised six villages: Kaskaskia, Fort Chartres, Caokias, Prairie des Rochers, St. Philip, and Ste. G  nevi  ve. In 1754 Colonel Washington surprised the French under Jumonville near the Great Meadows, and the latter was killed.¹² His brother, Louis Coulon de Villiers, was sent by Contre-C  ur, commandant at Fort Duquesne, to avenge Jumonville's death. De Villiers attacked Washington at Fort Necessity, and forced him to capitulate on July 4, 1754.

Bossu, a French officer stationed in Louisiana, wrote from New Orleans on July 1, 1751, that Governor Vaudreuil received very hospitably the troops that had come from France. He spoke of the inhabitants of Louisiana, and said: ¹³

One calls Creoles those who are born of a Frenchman and a Frenchwoman or of a European woman. The Creoles, in general, are very brave, tall and well made; they have many talents for the arts and the sciences; but as they cannot cultivate them perfectly

on account of the scarcity of good teachers, the rich and sensible fathers do not fail to send their children to France, as to the first school in the world in all things. As to the sex that has no other duty to perform but that of pleasing, it is born here with that advantage and has no need to go to seek the deceitful art in Europe.

Speaking of New Orleans, Bossu said:

That town is situated on the banks of the Mississippi, one of the largest rivers in the world, since it waters more than eight hundred leagues of known country. Its pure and delicious waters flow for forty leagues in the midst of a number of plantations which form a charming sight on its two banks, where one enjoys abundantly the pleasures of hunting, fishing, and all the other delights of life.

Bossu regrets very much the departure of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and mentions in no flattering terms the latter's successor, Kerlérec,¹⁴ who arrived in New Orleans on February 3, 1753, saying: "He has qualities of heart very different from those of his predecessor; but this new governor may give as an excuse that he did not come so far only for a change of air." Kerlérec, however, was a brave captain in the royal navy, and had distinguished himself in several engagements. He agreed admirably, strange to say, with the commissary d'Auberville. Some time after his arrival in the colony occurred a tragic event, which Bossu relates with great indignation.

Not far from Ship Island, where Iberville landed in February, 1699, is Cat Island. In 1757, says Bossu, Gov-

ernor Kerlérec appointed the Sieur Duroux as commandant on that island, and gave him a detachment of marines and of the Swiss regiment of Halwyl. Duroux acted in a most arbitrary and cruel manner: he compelled the soldiers to cultivate his garden and to do all kinds of work for him, and punished those who refused to submit to him by tying them naked to a tree, exposed to the mosquitoes. He gave the garrison bread made of flour that had been taken from the wreck of a Spanish ship, and sold for his own profit the flour sent by the government. The soldiers complained to Kerlérec, but the governor refused to listen to them. They resolved, therefore, to take justice into their own hands, and one day, when Duroux was returning from a hunting expedition, he was shot by the men on shore, as soon as he landed, and his body was thrown into the sea. The soldiers then liberated a planter named Beaudreau,¹⁵ whom Duroux had put in irons for refusing to share with him some goods that had been saved from the wreck of a Spanish ship. The revolted soldiers pillaged the stores on Ship Island, and compelled Beaudreau to show them the route leading to the Carolinas. When they arrived in the country of an Indian chief called by the French the Emperor of the Kaouytas, they dismissed Beaudreau and gave him a certificate, which proved that they had forced him to serve as guide. Part of the soldiers went to the English colonies, but those who remained with the savages were soon captured. A Swiss corporal committed suicide to avoid the horrible torture that he knew awaited him, and the other crim-



inals were taken to Mobile. In the mean time the two sons of Beaudreau arrived from New Orleans at Mobile, bearers, without their knowledge, of an order to the commandant De Velle to arrest Beaudreau, who was then on his plantation and not suspecting that he would be troubled for the involuntary part he had taken in the tragedy at Cat Island. The accused were taken to New Orleans and judged by a court martial. Beaudreau and one soldier were condemned to be broken on the wheel and their bodies thrown into the river, and a Swiss soldier was condemned to be placed in a coffin and be sawed alive through the middle of the body, according to the custom of the Swiss regiment.

We regret that such a cruel execution should have taken place in New Orleans in 1758, but we should hardly expect to find there a more humane administration of justice than in Europe, where criminals were tortured in a horrible manner, as is proved by the execution of Damiens, the would-be murderer of Louis XV. It is impossible to excuse the execution of Beaudreau, who was innocent and was highly esteemed in the colony. He had great influence with the Indians, and had been adopted by the Choetaws as a member of their tribe.

In 1756 the Seven Years' War began in Europe, but hostilities had already begun in America between the French and the English. The latter threatened Louisiana continually, and Kerlérec had great trouble in keeping the powerful tribes of the Choetaws and the Alibamons faithful to the French. The friendship of the Indians had really to be bought continually with presents

which, said Kerlérec, were cheaper than would be the expenses of war. He reported that in 1758 the Choctaws had fifty-two villages and four thousand warriors, and the Alibamons three thousand warriors. Yet, in spite of the menacing attitude of the English, the number of troops in Louisiana was greatly diminished in 1759 by order of the French government. Little attention was paid to the colonies by the wretched King Louis XV, who was disgracing France by his dissolute life and by his weak and incompetent administration. Help was even asked of Spain for Louisiana in 1761, as it was said that the province served as a barrier between the English and the Spanish colonies. Louisiana was as badly governed as France, and discord reigned during Kerlérec's administration. First there was a so-called religious war between the Capuchins and the Jesuits, represented respectively by Father Dagobert and Father Beaudoin; then there were violent dissensions between the governor and the commissary Rochemore, and the colony not only made no progress but seemed to be retrograding. The unsuccessful wars of Louis XV hardly allowed any help to be given to Louisiana, and the unwise financial policy of the government caused great distress by the instability of the currency. In June, 1761, Rochemore was replaced by Foucault, who soon began the game of duplicity that nearly cost him his life a few years later. He appeared to be on good terms with Kerlérec, and yet his reports to the French minister were very damaging to the governor.

Among the officers who sided with Rochemore against .

Kerlérec were some of the most distinguished men in Louisiana, such as Grondel, D'Hauterive, D'Herneville, Belle-Isle, and Marigny de Mandeville. The last-named, says Bossu, formed the plan of making new discoveries in the direction of Baratavia Island, and made a general map of the colony. Simarre de Belle-Isle had had a most romantic career. In 1719, while on board a vessel bound for Louisiana, he went ashore in St. Bernard Bay with four friends in a boat that had been sent to get drinking-water. Having gone hunting, Belle-Isle and his friends were abandoned by the French vessel, and after a few days Belle-Isle alone survived. He wandered about, and finally gave himself up to the Attakapas Indians, who were cannibals. He was saved by a widow who took him for her slave, and after some time he was adopted as a warrior by the tribe. He was rescued by St. Denis, commandant at Natchitoches, who had heard through some Indians of the presence of a white man among the Attakapas. Bienville, who was then governor, received Belle-Isle very kindly, and the former Indian brave soon became again a trusted French officer.

The war between the English and the French in America ended by the defeat of the latter, in spite of a heroic resistance. In 1758 Fort Duquesne was captured, and in a despatch from Macarty, commandant at Fort Chartres, Aubry, De Villiers, and De Verges were mentioned for their bravery. The garrison of Fort Duquesne went to New Orleans, and Kerlérec had barracks erected for them in the lower part of the town. Some of the inhabitants left the country invaded by the English, and set-

tled in Louisiana. In 1754 several families from Lorraine had arrived in the colony and had been sent as settlers to the German Coast, a few miles above New Orleans, on the Mississippi River.

The Seven Years' War ended disastrously for France in Europe, Canada, and India, and the French King lost all his colonies in America, and nearly all in India. Louis XV, in his selfishness, cared not for the fate of the people who had struggled valiantly to remain Frenchmen. He gave little help to Canada, and the loss of that province induced him to get rid of Louisiana, which had been a source of expense to the mother country. The corrupt monarch who reigned at Versailles did not understand the attachment of the Louisianians for France, and gave their country to Spain without consulting them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CESSION OF LOUISIANA TO SPAIN—THE REVOLUTION OF 1768

Choiscul—The treaty of Fontainebleau in 1762—The treaty of Paris in 1763—Names of officials and officers in 1763—Damaging report against Kerlérec—Expulsion of the Jesuits—West Florida—The Indians regret the French—Transfer of Mobile to the British—The Indians leave the British—Little Manehac—First arrival of the Acadians—Establishment of a printing-press—Letter of Louis XV announcing the cession to Spain—Charles III of Spain—Nyon de Villiers abandons Fort Chartres—Death of D'Abbadie—Aubry—Discontent of the colonists—Arrivals of Acadians—Sketch of the expulsion of the Acadians by the British—Names of officers at end of French domination—Don Antonio de Ulloa—Ulloa's unwise ordinance of September 6, 1766—Petition of the merchants of New Orleans—Ulloa's haughtiness and lack of tact—Intense cold in 1768—Aubry's position—The Revolution of 1768—The Council adopts Lafrénière's conclusions—Foncault's opinion—Aubry's protest—Ulloa's departure—Delegates sent to France—Letters to Praslin and to the King—Address of the Council—Investigation about "vexations" committed by Ulloa—Letter of the inhabitants to Praslin—Ulloa's council—Life and works of Ulloa—Baudry des Lozière's opinion of Lafrénière—Lafrénière's chief associates—Noble sentiments of the Louisianians—Expulsion of the Spanish frigate.



ON July 4, 1754, when Washington capitulated at Fort Necessity, the French remained sole masters of the entire Mississippi valley and of Canada; but in September, 1759, the heroic commanders Montcalm and Wolfe fell at Quebec, which was captured by the British, and on September 8, 1760,

by the capitulation at Montreal, Canada ceased to be a French province. A few months later, while the Duke de Choiseul¹ was endeavoring to bring about peace between France and England, he said to Stanley, according to Bancroft, "I wonder that your great Pitt should be so attached to the acquisition of Canada. The inferiority of its population will never suffer it to be dangerous, and, being in the hands of France, it will always be of service to you to keep your colonies in that dependence which they will not fail to shake off the moment Canada shall be ceded"; and Bancroft adds, "And he readily consented to abandon that province to England."² Choiseul was a wise minister, but he had not been able to repair the harm done by the corrupt, incompetent, and tortuous policy of Louis XV, who alone should be held responsible for the disasters of his reign. On August 15, 1761, Choiseul concluded the "Family Compact," which was designed to unite all the branches of the house of Bourbon as a counterpoise to the maritime ascendancy of England. Spain promised to declare war against England on May 1, 1762, if peace was not concluded. The great William Pitt continued the war, but, owing to the hostility of George III, he resigned his office. The success of the English continued, however, and Martinique and other West India islands, Havana, and Manila were captured. Finally, preliminaries of peace were signed on November 3, 1762, between France and Spain on the one side, and England and Portugal on the other. On the same day, by an act passed at Fontainebleau and signed by Choiseul for France and by Grimaldi for

Spain, Louis XV, "by the pure effect of the generosity of his heart, and on account of the affection and friendship" which he felt for his cousin, Charles III of Spain, made to the latter a gift of "the country known by the name of Louisiana, as well as New Orleans and the island in which that city is situated."³ The King of Spain accepted the gift on November 13, 1762. The King of France had been touched by the sacrifices made by his Catholic Majesty to bring about peace and "was desirous to give to him a proof of the great interest he took in his satisfaction and in the advantages of his crown." It is a pity that Choiseul should have signed such a disgraceful state paper. Bancroft says of him: "It was the judgment of Pitt, that he was the greatest minister France had seen since the days of Richelieu. In depth, refinement, and quick perception, he had no superior; and his freedom from prejudice opened his mind and affections to the philosophic movement of the age." It was Choiseul who acquired from Genoa, in 1768, the island of Corsica, where Napoleon Bonaparte was born on August 15, 1769. When Madame Du Barry caused the fall of Choiseul in 1770, the doom of the monarchy was sealed, and Louis XV could truly say, "After me the deluge."

The treaty of Fontainebleau was kept secret; and on February 10, 1763, the shameful treaty of Paris was signed. France ceded to Great Britain, by article seven, the river and port of Mobile and all the possessions on the left bank of the Mississippi, with the exception of the town of New Orleans and the island in which it is situ-

ated. Spain, in its turn, ceded to Great Britain the province of Florida, with the fort of St. Augustine, and all the country to the east and southeast of the Mississippi. Havana was returned to Spain, and Guadeloupe and Martinique to France.

The King of France continued to act as the possessor of Louisiana, since the treaty of Fontainebleau of November 3, 1762, was still kept secret. On January 1, 1763, Nicolas Chauvin de Lafrénière was named attorney-general; on February 10, 1763, Foucault was named controller; and on March 16 the King announced that, as he had decided to reorganize the troops serving in his province of Louisiana, and to keep at New Orleans only a counting-house, with four companies of infantry merely for protection and police duty, he had established there a director and commandant.⁴ D'Abbadie was appointed to that office and arrived in New Orleans on June 29, 1763. Aubry was named commandant of the four companies of infantry. The captains were De Mazeières, Du Plessis de la Perrière, De Vaugine; the lieutenants, De l'Hommer, Laforest de Laumont, De Belle-Isle, Cabaret de Trépis; the ensigns, La Grancourt, De Vin, Vaucourt de St. Amant, Dubralet; majors at New Orleans, De Grandmaison, Régnier; captain of the port, Faurès; surveyor, De Lalande.

During Kerlérec's administration there had been great discord in the colony, between the Capuchins and the Jesuits, and between the governor and the royal commissary, Rochemore. The latter brought charges against Kerlérec; an investigation was ordered, and the following

damaging report against the governor was made: "It follows from the papers submitted to our inspection, 1st, that Rochemore has kept himself within the limits of his office, while Kerlérec has always abused his powers. 2d, that Kerlérec has not only violated the ordinances by receiving interloping vessels, without being compelled by necessity, since at that time the colony was not in want, but that he has committed a great imprudence, knowing that those interlopers were spies; that, besides, it is probable that interest has guided him in these circumstances, his secretary and himself having relations with Jamaica, whence came most of the interlopers. Another fact is, that the interlopers, according to a law established by M. de Kerlérec, were to land at New Orleans, and nowhere else in the colony; otherwise, they were not admitted, whatever were the needs of the colony; that, besides, Kerlérec, according to the allegation of Rochemore, has received ten thousand livres from an interloper to assure himself that he would return to bring what he (Kerlérec) needed; but that, on his return, the said interloper has not been able, by order of Kerlérec, to go up the river to New Orleans, or to get back his money." ⁶

On the arrival of D'Abbadie, Kerlérec departed for France, where he was thrown into the Bastille. He was liberated some time afterward and died in 1770. He had rendered great services in the French navy before he became governor of Louisiana. In spite of the report against him, it is not now believed that he was dishonest. The probability is, that, at the time of the governor's

downfall, Rochemore was more powerful at court than Kerlérec.

M. de Vergennes, minister of Louis XVI, wrote for that King a paper on Louisiana, in which he gives a rapid description of the country and a brief history of the colony, from its settlement by Iberville to the transfer to Spain. He calls attention to the numerous faults committed in the administration of Louisiana, and to the injustice so often done to the Indians. He ends his paper by these noble and energetic words: "On the conclusion of the treaty of Versailles, one should have remembered that when Camillus was named dictator, his first act of authority was to break the treaty that was about to be concluded with the Gauls; he did not calculate the desperate state in which the republic was, but he wished to prevent its dishonor."

The Jesuits were driven from Louisiana in 1763, and their property, which was confiscated, was sold for about nine hundred thousand livres. They returned in 1835 and established flourishing schools.

The province of West Florida was erected from that part of Louisiana ceded by Spain to Great Britain, together with Pensacola, and Captain George Johnston was appointed governor. Major Loftus was appointed commandant at the Illinois, and arrived at Pensacola with Captain Johnston. The former endeavored to proceed to his post by boat from New Orleans; but his party was fired upon by the Indians, and he was obliged to return to New Orleans, whence he sailed to Pensacola. The Indians regretted very much the domination of the

French, and when the latter, as they abandoned Canada, sailed down the valley of the Mississippi, "they received on every side," says Baneroft, "the expressions of passionate attachment from the many tribes of red men."

Fort Condé, at Mobile, received the name of Fort Charlotte, for the wife of George III, and on October 20, 1763, Mobile and that part of Louisiana ceded by France to Great Britain were transferred to Robert Farmar, British commissioner, by De Velle, commandant, and Fazende, acting *commissaire ordonnateur*. On November 23, Fort Tombecbé was delivered also to the British.

Some of the Indians left the country ceded to the English, and settled among the French. D'Abbadie allowed the Tensas and the Alibamons to establish themselves on the Mississippi near Bayou Lafouche. The English, on their way up the river to Bayou Manchac and Baton Rouge, stopped a little above New Orleans, and an illegal traffic with them was overlooked on account of its great advantage to the inhabitants. "The spot," says Martin, "at which they stopped on their way up the river, under the pretense of going to Bayou Manchac and Baton Rouge, received the appellation of Little Manchac."

On April 6, 1764, D'Abbadie announced the arrival in New Orleans of four Acadian families, twenty persons. They had come from New York.

In 1764 D'Abbadie obtained for the Sieur Braud the exclusive privilege of establishing a printing-press and selling books in the colony. Braud's press was to be of

great value to the colonists in their heroic struggle in 1768 against Spanish oppression.

In October, 1764, Director-General d'Abbadie received an official communication announcing the cession to Spain and ordering the transfer of the province to the Spanish officials. The letter is of such importance that we translate it in full from the original:

AT VERSAILLES, April 21, 1764.

M. d'Abbadie, by a private act passed at Fontainebleau, on November 3, 1762, having ceded, of my free will, to my very dear and beloved cousin, the King of Spain, and to his successors and heirs, in full ownership, purely and simply, and without any exception, all the country known by the name of Louisiana, as well as New Orleans and the island in which it is situated; and by another act passed at the Eseurial, signed by the King of Spain, on November 13 of the same year, His Catholic Majesty having accepted the cession of the country of Louisiana and of the city of New Orleans, according to the copy of the said acts which you will find hereto annexed, I write you this letter to tell you that my intention is, that on receipt of the present letter and of the copies annexed, whether they reach you by the officers of His Catholic Majesty, or directly by the French vessels to which they will be entrusted, you should deliver into the hands of the governor or any officer appointed to that effect by the King of Spain, the said country and colony of Louisiana, and dependent posts, together with the city and the island of New Orleans, such as they shall be on the day of the said cession, wishing that in the future they should belong to His Catholic Majesty to be governed and administered by his governors and officers, as belonging to him in full ownership and without exception.

I order you, in consequence, as soon as the governor and troops

of that monarch shall have arrived in the said country and colony, to put them in possession, and to withdraw all the officers, soldiers, and employés at my service who shall be in garrison there, to send to France, or to my other colonies of America, those who would not wish to remain under the Spanish domination.

I desire, besides, that after the entire evacuation of the said port and city of New Orleans, you should collect all the papers relative to the finances and to the administration of the colony of Louisiana, and come to France to render an account of them.

My intention is, nevertheless, that you should deliver to the said governor, or officer appointed for that purpose, all the papers or documents that concern specially the government of this colony, either with reference to the savages or the different posts, after taking proper receipts for your discharge, and that you should give to the said governor all the information in your power, to place him in a condition to govern the said colony to the reciprocal satisfaction of the two nations.

It is my will that there be an inventory signed double between you and the commissary of His Catholic Majesty, of all the artillery, and all effects, stores, hospitals, sea vessels, etc., which belong in the said colony, in order that after you have placed the said commissary in possession of the civil buildings and edifices, there may be drawn a *procès verbal* of the valuation of the said effects which will remain in the colony, and of which the price will be reimbursed by His Catholic Majesty according to the said valuation.

I hope, at the same time, for the advantage and tranquillity of the inhabitants of the colony of Louisiana, and I flatter myself, in consequence of the friendship and affection of His Catholic Majesty, that he will be pleased to give orders to his governor or any other officer employed at his service in the said colony and city of New Orleans, that the ecclesiastics and religious houses attending to curacies and missions shall continue to perform their functions and to enjoy the rights, privileges, and exemp-

tions that have been granted to them by the titles of their establishments; that the judges of ordinary jurisdiction, as well as the Superior Council, shall continue to administer justice according to the laws, forms, and usages of the colony; that the inhabitants shall be confirmed in the ownership of their lands in accordance with the concessions made by the governors and commissaries [*commissaires ordonnateurs*] of the said colony; and that the said concessions shall be considered and held as confirmed by His Catholic Majesty, although they may not yet have been confirmed by me; hoping, moreover, that His Catholic Majesty will be pleased to give to his subjects of Louisiana the marks of protection and good will which they have received under my domination, and which only the misfortunes of war have prevented from being more effectual.

I order you to have my present letter registered at the Superior Council of New Orleans, in order that the different estates of the colony be informed of its contents, and may have recourse to it, if need be, the present letter being to no other purpose.

I pray to God, M. d'Abbadie, to have you in his holy protection. [Signed by the King and the Duke de Choiseul.] ⁶

Louisiana, therefore, was to pass from the domination of Louis XV to that of Charles III. Had it not been that they were handed over like cattle by one master to another, the Louisianians should have felt relieved to be no longer the subjects of the infamous King who had been the cause of the disasters of his country. Charles III of Spain was a far better man and an abler ruler than the Bourbon of Versailles. He was the son of Philip V, whom the armies of his grandfather, Louis XIV, had maintained on the throne of Spain. Charles was born in 1716; his mother was Elizabeth Farnese, and in 1731 he

took possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which had been guaranteed to him by treaties in case of extinction of the Farneses. During the War of the Polish Succession he took possession of Naples and of Sicily, and he was recognized as King of the Two Sicilies by the treaty of Vienna in 1738. On the death of his brother, Ferdinand VI, in 1759, he became King of Spain and ceded the Two Sicilies to one of his sons. Charles III died in 1788 and was succeeded by his son Charles IV, during whose reign Louisiana was re-ceded to France in 1800. The signature, so haughty and so conceited, "Yo el Rey," of the Spanish monarchs replaced for many years, on official documents concerning Louisiana, the simple "Louis" of the French monarchs.

On June 15, 1764, Nyon de Villiers, commandant at the Illinois, after waiting a long time for the arrival of the British, left the country ceded to the latter, and arrived in New Orleans on July 2, with six officers, sixty-three soldiers, and eighty civilians, including the women and the children. The savages were very hostile to the British, and it was not till 1765 that they took possession of Fort Chartres. "St. Ange," says Martin, "the French commandant there, crossed the Mississippi with a number of his countrymen, who were desirous to follow the white flag, and laid the foundation of the town of St. Louis,⁷ which, with that of St. Geneviève, was the first settlement of the country now known as the State of Missouri."

On February 4, 1765, D'Abbadie died, greatly regretted by every one in Louisiana, and Aubry succeeded

him as commandant or governor. His name is connected not creditably with the saddest and most glorious event in the colonial history of Louisiana. When the colonists heard, in October, 1764, of the cession to Spain, they were thrown into consternation and despair. They were greatly attached to France, and some of them had left the part of the province ceded to England, in order to remain Frenchmen. A meeting was held in New Orleans of delegates from every parish, and Lafrénière, the attorney-general, made a speech in which he suggested that a petition be sent to the King, begging him not to give away his subjects to another monarch. The colonists were not aware of the infamy of the King, and they hoped that he would be touched by their expressions of devotion and love. Jean Milhet, the richest merchant in New Orleans, was sent to France as the representative of the Louisianians. As soon as he arrived in Paris he went to see Bienville, the father of Louisiana, who was then eighty-six years old. This venerable and distinguished man called with Milhet on Choiseul, who received them very kindly, but did not allow them to see the King. Milhet failed in his efforts, and Bienville had the sorrow of seeing his beloved Louisiana become a Spanish province. He died in Paris on March 7, 1768.

On February 28, 1765,⁸ Foucault, the *commissaire ordonnateur*, wrote to the minister that a few days previously several Acadian families, to the number of one hundred and ninety-three persons, had come over from Santo Domingo. They were poor, and worthy of pity, and assistance was given to them until they could choose lands

at the Opelousas and be in a condition to help themselves. On May 4 Foucault announced the arrival of eighty more Acadians, whom he intended to send to the Attakapas; and on May 13, of forty-eight Acadian families, which he sent also to the Opelousas and the Attakapas. On November 16, 1766, Foucault announced the arrival from Halifax of two hundred and sixteen Acadians. Gayarré says lands on both sides of the Mississippi, above the German Coast, were given to them, and they settled there as far as Baton Rouge and Pointe Coupée.

On April 30, 1765,⁹ Aubry says it cost 15,500 livres to provide for the needs of the Acadian families, two hundred persons, recently arrived, and that it will cost as much for the next six months. Foucault says, according to Margry, that they were established at the Aoudoussac, sixty leagues from New Orleans.

Judge Martin, in his History of Louisiana, says the Acadians arrived in 1755 and received lands along the Mississippi coast, which later was called the Acadian Coast. Martin, however, gives no authority for his statement.

Foucault says it was on account of their religion that the Acadians left their country. The fact is, that most of those who came to Louisiana had been ruthlessly torn from their northern homes by the English in 1755.

By the treaty of Utrecht¹⁰ it had been stipulated that the Acadians might withdraw to the French possessions if they chose. There is no doubt that the English governors did all in their power to prevent the emigration to Cape Breton or to Canada. As they were not harsh,

as a rule, to the inhabitants, the latter preferred to remain in the country of their ancestors. But, for a long time, they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the English sovereign; and when a part of the men took the oath, it was with a tacit, if not expressed, understanding that they should never be compelled to bear arms against the French. That the priests in Acadia, and even the Governor of Canada, tried to keep the inhabitants faithful to the French King, in spite of their being English subjects, there is no reasonable doubt. We can hardly blame this feeling, if we consider what great rivalry there was at the time between the English and the French in America, and also the spirit of intolerance then everywhere prevalent. The priests must have considered it a duty on their part to try to harm the English heretics; and although we may not approve the act of some of them, nor the duplicity of some of the French agents, we do not find in their conduct any excuse for the cruelty of the English.

Seeing how disaffected the Acadians were with their new masters, the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1749, laid the foundations of Halifax as a protection against Louisbourg. Some of the inhabitants had escaped from the colony at the instigation of L'Abbé le Loutre, says Parkman, and had gone to the adjoining French settlements. Their lot was sad, as the French were not able to provide for them, and the English would receive them only as English subjects. It is not astonishing that they should make a kind of guerrilla war with their Indian allies against the English, and that they should excite



their countrymen against the conquerors. It must be admitted that the English were in great peril in the midst of men openly or secretly hostile to them; but no necessity of war can justify the measures taken to rid English Nova Scotia of her French Acadians.

In 1755 the Governor of Acadia, Charles Lawrence, resolved to expel the French from the posts which they still held in the colony. A force of eighteen hundred men, commanded by Colonel Monekton, sailed from New England and captured Fort Beauséjour, which the cowardly and vile commandant, Vergor, surrendered at the first attack. On the Plains of Abraham he was also to be the first to yield to Wolfe, and to cause the defeat and death of the brave Montcalm, the fall of Quebec, and the loss of Canada.

After the capture of Beauséjour, Fort Gaspereau surrendered also, and there was no longer any obstacle to prevent Lawrence from accomplishing a design which he must have been cherishing for some time. The governor determined to remove from the province all the French Acadians. He required from the inhabitants an oath of unqualified allegiance, and on their refusal he resolved to proceed to extreme measures. Parkman says that "the Acadians, though calling themselves neutrals, were an enemy encamped in the heart of the province," and adds: "These are the reasons which explain and palliate a measure too harsh and indiscriminate to be wholly justified."

It is impossible to justify the measure in any way; fear of an enemy does not justify his murder, and the ex-

pulsion of the Acadians was the cause of untold misery, both physical and moral, and of the death of a number of men, women, and children. If the harsh removal of the Acadians is justifiable, so is Bonaparte's massacre of the prisoners of Jaffa. He could not provide for them as prisoners, and if he released them they would immediately attack him again.

Governor Lawrence was the more inexcusable because the only Acadians that gave him any cause of anxiety were those of Beauséjour, and they had been defeated. The inhabitants of the Basin of Minas and of Annapolis were peaceful, prosperous, and contented, and although they might have sided with the French in an invasion of the province, they never would have thought of revolting against the English. They were an ignorant and simple people, but laborious, chaste, and religious. Their chief defect seems to have been an inordinate love for litigation, a trait which they inherited from their Norman ancestors. Lawrence took away the guns of many of the inhabitants by an unworthy stratagem, and then he ordered the ruthless work to be done. Monckton seized the men of Beauséjour, and Winslow, Handfield, and Murray did the same at Grand-Pré, at Annapolis, and at Fort Edward.

Winslow issued a proclamation calling upon all the men to meet him at the village church on Sunday. There he was at the appointed hour with his two hundred and ninety men fully armed, to meet the intended victims. Four hundred and eighteen men answered the call and assembled in the church. What was their consternation

on hearing that they were prisoners, that all their property was confiscated, and that they were to be torn from their homes with their families. No resistance was possible, as the men were unarmed. They were put for safe keeping on board four ships, and on October 8 the men, women, and children were embarked. This was "le grand dérangement" of which their descendants, says L'Abbé Casgrain, speak to this day. Winslow completed his work in December and shipped twenty-five hundred and ten persons. Murray, Monckton, and Handfield were equally successful, and more than six thousand persons were violently expelled from the colony. A few managed to escape, although they were tracked like wild beasts. In order to compel them to surrender, the dwellings and even the churches were burned and the crops were destroyed. The fugitives suffered frightfully, and many women and children died in misery. In this scene of persecution we are glad to see the brave officer Boishébert defeat a party of English who were burning a church at Peticodiac. Unhappily, no resistance could be made, and the unfortunates were huddled together like sheep on board the transports, to be scattered along the Atlantic coast among a hostile people speaking a language unknown to them, and having a creed different from their own.

The families were not always on the same ship; the father and mother, in some instances, were separated from their children; and many Evangelines never met their Gabriels. The lot of the exiles in the English colonies was generally hard. Very few remained where they had been transported. Many returned to their country

after incredible sufferings, to be again expelled in 1762; some went to France, where they formed a settlement at Belle-Isle; some went to the Antilles; and some at last found a true home in hospitable Louisiana. At the peace of 1763 some of the Acadians returned to Nova Scotia; and their descendants, together with those of the inhabitants who had escaped from the persecution, number now, according to L'Abbé Casgrain, more than 130,000 souls.

It is interesting to note the names of the officers in Louisiana at the end of the French domination. The following is a list of those to whom commissions had been given: ¹¹ De Macarty, *lieutenant de roi* at New Orleans; De la Houssaye, major at New Orleans; Du Barry, major at New Orleans; Renaud de Coudreau, lieutenant of the company of *canonniers bombardiers* in Louisiana. Captains: Aubert, Trudeau, De Lusser, De Portneuf, Chevalier Dufossat, De l'Hommer, Fleuriau, Voisin. Lieutenants: Roullin, Peschon, Le Blanc, Chevalier de Lusser, De Livaudais aîné, Charles Dessalles, Dorio-court, Chevalier de Rouville, Adam, De St. Denis aîné, De Belle-Isle, Laforest de Laumont, Chevalier de la Ronde, Dussuau, Boisseau, Ricard, Chevalier de Villiers. Ensigns: Lantagnac, Girardeau cadet, De Bachemin, Lalande Dalcourt, Baudin, Védrine, De Vin, Pellerin, D'Arensbourg aîné, Duverger aîné, De la Vau, De Latouche, Duverger Toubadon, Chevalier de Glapion, Mongin, D'Arensbourg cadet, De Velle, Énould de Livaudais, Kernion, Dutisné. Captain of the gates of the city of New Orleans, Charles Joseph Le Blanc.

The cross of St. Louis was sent in 1759 to Captain de

Pontalba, in 1764 to Captain de Favrot and to Commandant Nyon de Villiers, in 1765 to Marest de la Tour, De Bonille, D'Arensbourg, and De Lavergne.

Milliet announced to the Louisianians the failure of his mission; but the colonists had begun to hope that Spain would not take possession of Louisiana. On July 10, 1765, however, Don Antonio de Ulloa wrote from Havana to Aubry that he had been appointed governor of Louisiana by the King of Spain. He arrived in New Orleans on March 5, 1766. The Spanish King had not appeared very anxious to take possession of his new dominions. More than three years had elapsed from the date of the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, by which France had ceded Louisiana to Spain, before a Spanish official appeared in the colony, and when that official did arrive he came nearly alone and did not publicly assume authority. Aubry, nevertheless, recognized him as the representative of the King of Spain, and issued orders in the King's name. Ulloa had with him only two companies of infantry, commanded by Piernas and composed of ninety men. The French soldiers refused to enter the service of Spain, declaring that the term of their enlistment had expired. The Spanish governor, therefore, delayed taking possession officially until he should have more troops to sustain his authority. Three Spanish officers had accompanied him—Loyola, commissary of war; Navarro, intendant; and Gayarré, contador or president of the court of accounts.

The condition of affairs in the colony was very unfortunate; for Ulloa's orders, issued through Aubry, did not

appear binding on the inhabitants, and merely irritated them. Such was the case especially with an ordinance dated September 6, 1766, by which "it is ordered that all captains coming from Santo Domingo, as well as those who come from France, provided with a passport of his Excellency the Secretary of State of his Catholic Majesty (for otherwise they will not be received), present themselves to M. de Ulloa with their passports, immediately after their arrival, and with the invoice of their cargoes. It is forbidden to unload anything until they have permisison from him written at the bottom of their passports or of their invoices. And it is ordered that the brokers present themselves equally before M. de Ulloa, giving the price at which they are willing to sell their merchandise, to have it examined by just and intelligent persons of this colony, and, if the prices are excessive, they will not be allowed to sell their merchandise, and they will be obliged to go elsewhere to sell it. The merchants will be obliged to receive the current money of the country in payment of their merchandise. They will form at least one third of their cargo of lumber and other products of the colony."

On September 8 the merchants of New Orleans sent a petition to the Superior Council, asking to be heard before the ordinance was put into effect, that they might have time to prove "that the extension and freedom of commerce, far from doing harm to states and colonies, are, on the contrary, their strength and their support."

The petition was signed as follows: "Joseph Milhet, Rose, Cantrelle, D. Braud, J. Mercier, L. Ducrest, Petit,

Duforest, Toutant Beauregard, L. Boisdoré, B. Duplessy, Braquier, P. Caresse, J. Vienne, P. Segond, Voix, Durel, Blache, M. Poupet, P. Poupet, Estèbe, Rodrigue, J. Sauvestre, G. Gardelle, Ducarpe, F. Durand, J. and N. Boudet, Rivoire, Macuenara, F. Denis, J. Arnoult, A. Reynard, P. Senilh, A. Bodaille, Lauhlé, Dubourg, Durand cadet, Festas, Frigièrre, L. Ranson, Fournier and St. Pé, Détour and Villefranche, Salomon, Delasize, Blaignat, Langlois, Fortier, J. Lafitte cadet, Hénard, L. Estardy, Astier and Brunet, J. Bienvenu, Sarpy, Doraison, Cavalier frères, Papion, Gaurrège, Revoil, Guezille, Guignan, St. Anne, Moullineau, P. Héry, A. Ollivier, and Broussard." A little later the following names were added: "Dumas and Griemard, Chateau, P. Simon, E. Hugues, J. Sarrou, B. Gaillard, Raguet, J. Nicolet, Brion, Betrémieux l'ainé, Blandin Dutertre, Bijon, L. d'Haubeek, M. Duralde, Bonnemaison, Joli, Forstall, B. l'Enfant."

Ulloa was a man of merit, a distinguished savant, but lacking in tact as commander of a people opposed to a change of rulers, who should have been treated with the utmost gentleness. The governor acted with haughtiness in his dealings with the inhabitants, and certainly governed in a strange manner. He remained at the Balize for seven months to await his Peruvian bride, the Marchioness d'Abrado, not once in the mean time going to New Orleans. Aubry went to see Ulloa at the Balize, and while he was there he and Ulloa signed a paper by which the colony was transferred to Spain. No public act of possession took place, except that Aubry author-

ized Ulloa to raise the Spanish flag at the Balize. Ulloa established also posts in the Missouri country, at Iberville River, and opposite Natchez; and he caused the Spanish flag to be hoisted there. In New Orleans, however, the capital of the province, the French banner was still floating in the Place d'Armes, and no transfer of the colony from France to Spain had taken place. The colonists were justified in not acknowledging Ulloa's rule and in asking for his withdrawal from Louisiana.

On January 17 and 18, 1768, the cold was intense, and the orange trees perished, as in 1748. The river before New Orleans was frozen on both sides from thirty to forty feet. On January 20, 1768, Aubry wrote an interesting letter, of which the following are curious extracts:¹² "My position is most extraordinary. I command for the King of France and at the same time I govern the colony as if it belonged to the King of Spain. I have almost succeeded in being able to make French vivacity agree with Spanish gravity, by the trouble which I have given myself. There has happened, thanks to God! no accident—not a Spaniard killed, not even a quarrel at all serious."

Aubry was a poor prophet, for only a few months later a revolution against the Spanish domination broke out in Louisiana. Jean Milhet had returned from France at the end of 1767, and the narrative of the failure of his undertaking had caused great excitement in the colony. Meetings were held in New Orleans and elsewhere, and at the German Coast, says Martin, "perfect unanimity prevailed." A Capuchin missionary there, Father Barnabé, exerted his influence on his parishioners,

and took an active part in the opposition against Spain. Finally a meeting was held in New Orleans, which was attended by delegates from all parts of the province. Lafrénière was the chief speaker, and addresses were also made by Jean Milhet and his brother Joseph, and by Doucet, a lawyer. A petition to the Superior Council, enumerating the grievances against Ulloa, was prepared, and was signed by five hundred and sixty of the most influential inhabitants in the colony. Foucault, the *commissaire ordonnateur*, authorized the printing of the petition, which was presented to the Council on October 28, 1768. It mentioned several acts of severity of Ulloa, a stranger who had not observed any of the formalities prescribed by the act of cession. This was the petition:¹³

How shall we describe the inhumanity with which the Acadians have been treated? Those people, so long tossed about by events, determined, through a patriotic spirit, to abandon all that they might possess on the English lands, to come to live under the happy laws of their former master. They arrived, at great expense, in this colony. Hardly have they succeeded in clearing the ground needed for a poor hut when, on account of some representations which they wished to make to M. de Ulloa, he threatened to drive them from the colony and to have them sold as slaves, to pay for the rations which the King had given them, by ordering the Germans to refuse to give them a refuge. We leave it to be decided whether this conduct is not barbarous. But we believe that we can say, without exaggerating, that it is diametrically opposite to that political prudence which wishes that all the branches of the population be favored.

Those who complain (and what man borne down under the yoke can suffer such inhumanities without murmuring?)—yes, we

dare say so—those who complain are threatened with being imprisoned, exiled to the Balize, or sent to the mines.

If M. de Ulloa has been clothed with some authority, his prince has never ordered him to render it tyrannical, or to exercise it before having made known his titles and powers. Such vexations do not come from the hearts of Kings. They agree little with the humanity which controls their character and their acts.

We should never end if we undertook to mention in detail all the humiliations which the French of New Orleans have suffered. It is to be desired, for the honor of the nation, that what has transpired may be counteracted by the protection of the Superior Council, which we claim to-day. For, as a climax to so many tribulations, we predict that, after some time, the colonists of Louisiana will be reduced to the simple food of the Tortilla, while the most sober food will never cause them trouble.

However, the preservation of their life, their obligations to their creditors, their honor emanating from patriotism and from their duty, and finally their fortunes attacked by said decree, induce them to offer their property and their blood to preserve forever the sweet and inviolable title of French citizen.

All this leads them naturally to conclusions, which the zeal of the Superior Court for the public good, its firmness for the maintenance of the laws of which His Most Christian Majesty has made them depositary, assure them that it will receive most favorably.

The petitioners pay here the highest compliments to Aubry, who was soon to show that he did not deserve them, and they conclude by supplicating the court:

1st. To be assured that the privileges and exemptions, which the colony has enjoyed since the retrocession that the Company of the Indies has made to His Most Christian Majesty, will be maintained, without any innovation that shall arrest them and disturb the security of the citizens.

2d. That passports, furloughs, and permissions emanating from the governor and the commissary of His Most Christian Majesty be granted to captains of ships that sail from this colony for any port of France and of America.

3d. That any vessel from any port of France or America have free entrance of the river, whether it come directly for this colony, or call here, as has always been done.

4th. That freedom of commerce with all the nations of the continent which are under the domination of His Most Christian Majesty be granted to all citizens, in accordance with the orders of the King to the late M. d'Abbadie, registered at the record-office of this town, and in accordance also with the letter of Monseigneur the Duke de Choiseul to the same M. d'Abbadie, dated February 9, 1765.

5th. That M. de Ulloa be declared infractor and usurper, on several points, of the authority devolving on the Government and the Council; since all the laws, ordinances, and customs require that this authority be exercised by an officer only after he shall have observed all the formalities prescribed, and this M. de Ulloa has not done. He should then be declared infractor and usurper for the following reasons:

For having had the Spanish flag raised in several places in the colony without having previously shown and caused to be registered with the Council the titles and credentials with which he may have been provided, and without the citizens assembled having been informed of them.

For having, by his own private authority, required that captains of vessels be detained, and their vessels kept in port, without any cause; and for having kept under arrest French citizens on board a Spanish frigate.

The undersigned demand that, in virtue of all these grievances, and of many others of public notoriety, and also for the tranquillity of citizens who claim the protection of the Council, they be freed henceforth from the fear of a tyrannical authority and of the conditions of said decree, by the removal of M. de Ulloa,

who should be ordered to embark in the first vessel that shall depart, to go wherever he may please, out of the dependency of this province.

Finally, that all the Spanish officers who are in this city, or scattered in the posts of the colony, be ordered to depart and go likewise where they please, out of the dependency of the province; and that it please the Court to order that the decree to be issued be read, published, and posted in all the usual places of this town, and that collated copies be sent to all the ports of the colony.

This petition was read to the Council, and, at the request of the attorney-general, Lafrénière, was referred to Huchet de Kernion and Piot de Launay, titular coun-
cilers, to be examined and reported upon.

Lafrénière, in his capacity of attorney-general, addressed the Council in favor of the petition, and spoke with great courage and eloquence. The following words of his deserve to be quoted:

Liberty and competition are the foster mothers of the two estates [commerce and agriculture]. Exclusion is their tyrant and stepmother. Without liberty, there are no more virtues. From despotism come pusillanimity and the abyss of vices. Man is recognized as sinning against God, only because he preserves free will. Where is the liberty of the planters and of the merchants? The marks of protection and kindness are changed into despotism; a single authority wishes to destroy everything. The estates must no longer run the risk of being taxed with crime, of trembling, of being enslaved, and of crawling. The Superior Council, bulwark of the tranquillity of the virtuous citizens, has been maintained only by the probity and disinterestedness of the magistrates and the united confidence of the citizens in them.¹⁴

The attorney-general concluded his address by asking that M. de Ulloa be declared infractor of the laws, forms, and usages, and usurper of an illegal authority; that he be ordered to leave the colony without delay, in the frigate in which he came; that Messrs. Aubry and Foucault be requested, and even commanded, in the name of the King, to continue to govern the colony; that no vessel be allowed to sail from the colony unless with passports from M. Foucault acting as *commissaire ordonnateur*; that taking possession of the colony be not proposed or attempted by any means, without new orders from His Catholic Majesty; that Messrs. Loyola, Gayarré, and Navarro be declared responsible for the bonds issued by them, unless they show their authority from His Catholic Majesty; that the planters and merchants be authorized to choose deputies to carry their petition to the King of France; that the Superior Council address representations to the King; that the decree to be rendered be read, published, posted, and registered; that collated copies of the decree be sent to the Duke de Praslin with a letter from the Superior Council, and copies sent also to all the posts in the colony, to be published, posted, and registered.

At a meeting of the Superior Council, held on October 29, 1768, the report of the titular councilors and special commissioners, Huchet de Kernion and Piot de Launay, was read, and it was decided to adopt the conclusions of the attorney-general. A decree to that effect was therefore rendered.

Foucault expressed his opinion that none of the Span-

ish officers could be sent away from the colony by an order of the Court; that Ulloa, not having formally taken possession, should not perform any of the duties of governor with regard to the French; that navigation should take place as before Ulloa's arrival; that all the Spanish officers of administration should continue to fulfil their functions, with regard to supplying the capital and posts with provisions, to paying the French troops, and attending to necessary works.¹⁵

Foucault's opinion was not very logical; but in times of revolution we must not expect dispassionate logic from men who rise against oppression. His part in the events of October, 1768, and later, was not creditable. The inhabitants of Louisiana, in their petition to the Council, and in their memorial afterward addressed to the King, were sometimes, like Foucault, lacking in logic. They were right, however, in the main points of their complaints.

On the very day of the adoption of the decree against Ulloa, October 29,¹⁶ Aubry protested, and said he would oppose Ulloa's departure, if he did not fear to expose the latter's life and that of all the Spaniards who were in Louisiana. On October 31 the Council declared Aubry's protest null and void, and ordered the enforcement of the decree.

Ulloa had been given three days to leave the colony, and on October 31 he embarked with his family on board a French ship that he had chartered. On November 1 a band of colonists who were returning from a wedding, at daybreak, appeared on the levee, singing patriotic airs

and uttering cries of triumph. One of them, named Petit, cut the cables of the vessel on which was the Spanish governor, and the ship drifted down with the current. The foreigner was thus expelled, and a revolution had taken place.

A letter written on October 30 by Aubry to the minister, related the events of the preceding day, and said that four delegates were to leave for France. Lapeyrière was sent by him to relate the details of "this revolution"; Lesassier, by the Superior Council; De Bienville, naval officer, by the planters; Milhet, captain of militia, by the merchants. Bienville was a Creole of Louisiana, a brother of Noyan. He refused to act as delegate of the planters, on account of his being an officer of the navy, but he departed from the province with the other delegates. He had been one of the chiefs of the revolution, and would probably have shared the fate of his brother Noyan had he remained in Louisiana. Milhet, mentioned by Aubry as the delegate of the merchants, did not leave the colony, and St. Lette went to France to represent the planters and the merchants. The delegates from Louisiana carried to the Duke de Praslin, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs, all the papers relating to the revolution, including the famous memorial of the planters and merchants.

Letters were written to Praslin by the syndics of the planters and merchants, Marquis, Masan, Braquier, and Carresse, and by the Superior Council. The latter body sent also a long address to the King,¹⁷ relating the events that had taken place in the province, and justifying their

action with regard to Ulloa. They said that when they received the letter of the King concerning the cession, they proved their submission by registering it immediately, in spite of the sad situation of the people, who were always attached to the King.

The tranquillity and happiness of the inhabitants had been guaranteed by the King, who promised that the laws and customs of the colony should be observed. Two years elapsed between the receipt of the King's letter and the arrival of Ulloa, and in the mean time the inhabitants still considered themselves French subjects, and the colony prospered. Ulloa arrived at the Balize on February 22, 1766. A tragic event deprived him of eleven of his sailors; and rain, thunder, and wind introduced him to New Orleans on March 5 at noon. He was received with respect.

Ulloa visited the posts as far as Natchitoches, and promised ten years' freedom of commerce. On his return he did not present any of his titles and powers, and on September 6, 1766, he issued an illegal commercial ordinance. All the merchants united to ask the Council to declare its illegality. It was not annulled by decree, but it was promised that it would not be enforced as long as legal possession of the province had not been taken. Ulloa asked that the petition of the merchants be communicated to him, that he might choose among the signers those whom he wished to sacrifice to his wrath. Foucault refused to accede to his demand, and said that the petition would be sent to the Duke de Choiseul. Ulloa called himself king of the colony, and spoke in



the most insulting manner of the Superior Council, of Foucault, and of all Frenchmen. This spread alarm and consternation in the province.

Ulloa dared, without legal authority, to create a new Council, and committed numerous acts of despotism. He violated the Black Code by permitting a Spaniard to marry a negress, his servant, in his own house. He granted protection to negroes, without hearing their masters. "Your subjects were threatened with slavery, and their negroes acquired the degrees of free men."

The colony lost its prosperity, and all hearts were given up to despair. Ulloa was declared the implacable enemy of all Frenchmen, and all the people—planters, merchants, artisans, and workmen—united in addressing a petition to the Superior Council. The Council met on October 28, at eight o'clock in the morning, and ordered that two titular councilors be named to examine the petition and report the next day; while six notable inhabitants were named councilors assessors. The Council, composed of thirteen members, met at nine o'clock in the morning on October 29, and before a vote was taken Aubry was asked whether Ulloa had communicated to him his titles and powers. He answered that "no decisive title had been communicated to him about the mission of M. de Ulloa." The opinion or vote of each member was given in writing, and the decree was announced at a quarter to twelve. At a quarter past two it was announced to Ulloa on board the Spanish frigate. Aubry protested against the decree; his protest was declared null and void, and on November 1 four deputies of the

planters and merchants asked, at half-past two o'clock, that the decree be executed. The Council met, and at four o'clock it was announced that Ulloa had embarked on board the ship that he had chosen. He remained eleven hours in the river, without being molested. He was allowed a delay of only three days on account of the great excitement and general discontent, and because four fifths of the furniture of which he had made use belonged to the owner of the house and to different individuals.

The Superior Council said in a letter to the King:

The French, accustomed to the gentleness of a government desired by all strangers, will never be able to subject themselves to the exclusiveness and despotism practiced in all the Spanish governments. Man is born submissive to laws. He knows them as he advances in age, and remains attached to them in maturity. The recasting of the character, of the heart and of honest customs can never be done freely by men who have fulfilled half of their career; force alone can subdue them. What life! what combat for citizens, Sire, born subjects of the King Louis the Well Beloved! Deign yet, Sire, to favor the general wish of the colony, and the very humble representations of your Superior Council.

The titular councilors,¹⁸ named as already stated, were Huchet de Kernion and De Launay, on account of the sickness of De Lalande and De la Chaise; the councilors assessors were Lesassier, Fleuriau, Hardy de Boisblanc, De la Sestière Pascalis de Labarre, Bobé Descloseaux, Ducros, and Thomassin.

On November 7, 1768, the Superior Council ordered an investigation to be held concerning the "vexations" committed by Ulloa, notwithstanding their notoriety. Huchet de Kernion and Louis Piot de Launay were

named to conduct the investigation. Several witnesses were heard, among whom were Father Dagobert and Dr. Lebeau, and their testimony proves that the Spanish governor committed many acts of oppression and of despotism.¹⁹ A curious charge against him was, that he would not allow negroes to be chastised in the houses of their masters, because it inconvenienced his Peruvian wife. Captain Piernas comes in for his share of blame for the very outrageous treatment at Natchez of some Frenchmen who were going up the river in a boat.

On March 20, 1769, the inhabitants of Louisiana addressed a very touching letter to the Duke de Praslin, in which they implored his assistance in preserving to them the "precious and inestimable title of French citizens." The King and his minister, however, turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of men whose country had been cast out from the French dominions, and they were left to their unhappy fate.

The new Council that Ulloa was accused of having formed was composed of Loyola, commissary of war; Gayarré, contador; D'Acosta, commanding the Spanish frigate *Le Volant*; De Reggio, retired captain of infantry; Olivier de Vezin, surveyor; De la Chaise, honorary councilor of the Superior Council; and Dreux, captain of militia.²⁰

Antonio de Ulloa,²¹ whom the Louisianians expelled from the colony, was born in Seville in 1716, and died in 1795. He was a distinguished traveler and scientist, and established in Spain the first cabinet of natural history and the first laboratory of metallurgy. It was he, also, who had the first idea of a canal for navigation and

irrigation in Old Castile. He perfected the art of engraving, of printing, and of the manufacture of cloth, and he directed the designing of the geographical maps of Spain. He wrote several works, among which were "Historical Voyages in South America," "American Notes: Physico-historical Discourses on South America and on the East of North America," and "Observations taken at Sea of an Eclipse of the Sun." His utter failure as governor of Louisiana proves that he was better fitted to be a writer on scientific subjects than the administrator of a province in a period of transition from one domination to another.

Lafrénière was really the chief of the revolution against Spain, and the memory of this able and heroic man should be honored in Louisiana. Baudry des Lozières says of him: ²²

M. de Lafrénière was one of the handsomest men whom nature has been pleased to form. Tall, well made, with a noble air, imposing and brave, there was no one to be compared with him. His eye had a fire that penetrated everything; he knew how to deliver agreeably convincing addresses. His appearance was so remarkable that, not knowing to whom to compare him, he was commonly called Louis XIV, because he had really that majesty which one attributes to sovereigns. Of exceeding kindness, he loved his compatriots with the tenderness of a brother, and he had all the virtues that cause a husband, a father, a friend, a citizen, to be cherished. He had been educated in France, and he had brought back the charms and the good taste that he spread over all that he said and all that he wrote. He was the object of the attentions of society, and of astonishment in public assemblies. Gentle, moderate in ordinary situations of life, he was of electrical vivacity on serious occasions; nothing, so to say,

could resist the torrent of his eloquence. He had, for first and sincere friend, a man worthy of public esteem, who by his virtues, his mind, his talents, his wealth, and his credit, had obtained over him a just influence. This was Jean Milhet, of whom we have spoken, and whom we shall see pay dearly for this precious friendship.

“The chief conspirators,” says Gayarré, “were some of the most influential men in the colony, such as: Lafrénière, the King’s attorney-general; Foucault, the intendant commissary; Masan, a retired captain of infantry, a wealthy planter, and a Knight of St. Louis; Marquis, a captain in the Swiss troops enlisted in the service of France; Noyan, a retired captain of cavalry; and Bienville, a lieutenant in the navy (both nephews of Bienville, founder of the colony); Doucet, a distinguished lawyer; Jean and Joseph Milhet, Carresse, Petit, and Poupet, who were among the principal merchants; Hardy de Boisblanc, a former member of the Superior Council and a planter of note; Villeré, commander of the German Coast.”

Braud, the King’s printer, printed a long memorial of the planters and merchants of Louisiana about the event of October 29, 1768, and it is one of the most important and interesting documents in our history. The colonists did not prove their case fully against Ulloa; but we see in their memorial their bitter opposition to the rule of Spain, of the foreigner, and their noble sentiments of manhood. They resisted oppression, and their spirit was highly patriotic. They were not impelled by fear of losing their commerce, but primarily by love

for France, and then by a worthy spirit of independence. We, their descendants, admire their feelings and are proud of their heroism. The French colonists of 1768 were inspired by the same feelings that caused the American colonists of 1776 to rise against the tyranny of George III. Lafrénière and his friends, as later Washington and his associates, took up arms to resist oppression. From all the parishes in Louisiana brave and resolute men had assembled in New Orleans on the eventful 29th of October.²³ The Germans were led by Villeré, the Acadians by Noyan, and Marquis was commander-in-chief. All these valiant men rejoiced in the overthrow of Ulloa, in spite of Aubry's protest. The latter played an unenviable part in these events. He had acted as the tool of the Spanish governor, instead of declining to recognize the latter's authority until he should show his credentials. He acted with Ulloa against the colonists, and we shall soon see him play informer against his own fellow-citizens. Foucault was as despicable as Aubry, and was utterly devoid of courage and nobility of soul.

On December 14, 1768, the inhabitants of Louisiana presented another petition to the Superior Council, asking for the expulsion of the Spanish frigate *Le Volant*, which had remained in the river. The petition was presented by Marquis, De La Ronde, and Le Breton, syndics of the planters, and by Carresse and Braquier, syndics of the merchants. The frigate finally left the colony on April 20, 1769. The Louisianians had been most persistent in their opposition to everything foreign.

CHAPTER IX

MEMORIAL OF THE PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS OF LOUISIANA ON THE EVENT OF OCTOBER 29, 1768¹

Necessity of the Revolution—Love for the King of France—Promises of Louis XV in the name of the King of Spain—Arrival of Ulloa—His reception by the people—Important trades restricted by Ulloa—No outlet for products of Louisiana in Spain—Louisiana to be made a rampart to Mexico—No advantage in being allowed to go to foreign countries when there is no market for goods in Spain—Ulloa introduces the Spanish law in spite of promise of Louis XV—Interdiction of the passes of the Mississippi—Accidents to vessels through Ulloa's order of interdiction—Ulloa closes brickyards—Ulloa prohibits the introduction of negroes—Ulloa treats respectful representations as seditious—Ulloa does not show his powers—Ulloa treats New Orleans as a conquered city—Ulloa maltreats the Germans and the Acadians—Ulloa's contempt for the ecclesiastical laws—Frenchmen have often shaken off a foreign yoke without consent of the government—The Spanish possessions better protected if Louisiana remains French—The loss of Canada renders Louisiana very useful to France—Close relations with merchants of France—Obstacle to the cession is love for the King of France—The flag of Spain was not insulted—Prayer to the King to take back the colony—The Memorial a noble paper.



“**O**CULAR witnesses of the calamities that are afflicting us, the magistrates of the Superior Council of Louisiana have not been able to refuse any longer to listen to the plaintive cries of an oppressed people. The decree of the 29th of October, which has followed our very humble representations, is a local

proof of the imminence of the dangers that surrounded us, and of the weight of the yoke that was beginning to overwhelm us. Animated by the circumstances to believe that great evils called for prompt and efficacious remedies, our magistrates have not hesitated a moment about the necessary action of sending back the so-called governor of His Catholic Majesty, to render him an account of his conduct. But their diligent cares were not limited to calming the anxieties of a groaning people. They have also authorized them to carry their supplication and their desires to the foot of the throne, being well persuaded that the compassionate look of their natural sovereign would rest upon such devoted subjects, and that their respectful love for their monarch would not be rejected by his beneficent Majesty, the image on earth for his people of the preserving Being. Zealous Frenchmen whose estates and families are established on the continent, you whose pure hearts do not need that the eye of the sovereign should animate them, you whose zeal for your incomparable monarch has not suffered from the crossing and the distance of the seas, from contact with the foreigner, from the busy activity of a neighboring and rival nation, calm your anxieties about the cession of this province. Our great King, in his letter that announces it to us, seemed to foresee our alarms. He rendered himself mediator of our cause with His Catholic Majesty, he caused us to hope from him the same marks of kindness and protection that one enjoys under his cherished domination. Those august sentiments must embolden our love. Let the cries of joy, of

‘Long live the King!’ repeated so often around our pavilion on the day of the revolution and during the two days that followed it, be repeated without fear! Let our feeble voice inform the universe and posterity even that this cherished domination under which we wish to live and to die, to which we offer the remnants of our fortunes, our blood, our children, and our families, is the domination of Louis the Well-beloved.

“The colony of Louisiana was ceded to His Catholic Majesty by a private act passed at Fontainebleau on November 3, 1762, and accepted by another act passed at the Escorial on the thirteenth day following.² The King, in his letter written from Versailles, on April 21, 1764, to M. d’Abbadie, then director-general and commandant for His Majesty in Louisiana, in announcing this cession to him, says he *hopes at the same time for the advantage and tranquillity of the inhabitants of that colony, and that he promises himself, in consequence of the friendship and affection of His Catholic Majesty, that he will be pleased to give orders to his governor and to all other officers employed in his service in said colony, that the ecclesiastics and religious houses who attend to the parochial duties and to the missions should continue their functions there; that the ordinary judges should continue, as well as the Superior Council, to render justice according to the laws, forms, and usages of the colony; that the inhabitants be kept and maintained in their possessions; hoping besides that His Catholic Majesty will give to his new subjects in Louisiana the same marks of kindness and protection that were felt under the pre-*

ceding domination, and whose greater effects the misfortunes of war alone have prevented them from feeling; that he orders him, besides, to cause the present letter to be registered at the Superior Council of New Orleans, in order that the different estates of the colony be informed of its contents, and may have recourse to it if need be, the present letter being for no other end. Fortunate and consoling expectation which the promises of the most august and most respectable of monarchs caused to rise in our hearts, by what fatality have you vanished!

“ M. Ulloa arrived at the Balize on February 28, 1766, in a frigate of twenty guns, having about eighty soldiers, three Spanish Capuchins, and persons of the administration. He debarked in the city on March 5, and, accompanied by the magistrates of the Council themselves, who in spite of the rain and the storm had gone to his canoe, he passed between two rows formed by the regular troops and the militia, to the noise of cannon and public acclamation. He answered at first to such splendid testimonials with the most brilliant promises. But the results did not prove their solidity. Without entering into minute details of his private life, let us retrace the measures relative to the public cause. If he proposed to himself as his principal aim to destroy, by the force of his clandestine administration, the hopes with which we flattered ourselves, he has succeeded perfectly.

“ To render clearer the first motive of our complaints, it is proper to observe that the trade that is carried on with the savage natives is one of the principal branches

of commerce, of which the interest is so closely united here with that of the cultivator, that one is the spring of the other. This trade is a very advantageous outlet for the products of several manufactures, which will shortly spread by encouragement. It is an abundant mine, of which the opening presents riches, which promises treasures more valuable than those of Potosi, and so much the more considerable as the activity of the trade will dig deeper. From this exhaustless source arises the advantage of the public and of the individual. The merchant finds there a profitable sale for his goods; the laborer, employed in these journeys and in this trade, gets there the means of subsisting and of amassing a competency. The affection of the natives is kept up by frequent intercourse with the French, securing to them the results that necessarily follow from familiar acquaintance. Public security at last, from which this trade with the barbarous nations that surround us has arisen, is preserved by it. But this is not the only benefit that results from it for the colony in general. The ships from Europe and the islands, attracted by the hope of an advantageous exchange, bring to us the provisions we need; and as they find in our stores peltries from which they hope to derive a profit, those goods are delivered to us at a fair price, which would be excessive if they must return in ballast. Those truths, those solid advantages, have been considered by our respected ministers, every time their precise orders have encouraged the traders by recommending the liberty of that commerce. The truth of this has been well recognized and expressly de-

clared by Monseigneur the Duke de Choiseul in his letter to M. d'Abbadie, dated February 9, 1765. All north of the Mississippi and all northwest of the Missouri were offered then to our activity. Innumerable nations, rich in rare peltries, who inhabit those unknown countries, would in a short time be secured for our manufactures solely. The discoveries to be made in these beautiful countries would be reserved for our efforts, and our eyes would pierce for the first time, for the profit of the universe, that part of its globe which still remains to be known. What encouragement for us the intentions of this wise minister! We see him, with transports of gratitude, not only lend himself to the reëstablishment of our fortunes overthrown by the misfortunes of war, and the aggrandizement of our resources almost annihilated by the very conditions of peace, but also extend his views to geographical discoveries, and trace to us in the same picture the route to fortune and to glory; splendid project which M. Ulloa had deranged and which he would have overthrown without doubt! Let us not try to penetrate his motives, and let us confine ourselves to retracing the perseverance of his attempts against liberty of trade. They were manifested at first in the very place by a general prohibition. The planters and merchants of the Illinois have protested. They have exposed, in their representations to M. St. Ange, French commandant at the said place, the certainty of their ruin and the inevitable danger of being pillaged and perhaps slaughtered by the savages, who, not entering into political considerations, wish to be provided with our mer-

chandise and to have a constant trade for their peltries. In spite of the repugnance of the Sicur Rios, a Spanish captain sent by M. Ulloa to the Illinois as commandant, the traders have gone again this year into the villages, with this difference, that they have been reduced to a certain number; but it was the last effort of their expiring privileges, and M. Ulloa, at about the same time, granted to five or six individuals an exclusive trade in these countries, recommended by our ministers for general competition.

“The exploitation of the woods is another object that occupies here the merchant, whose interest we have just united so closely with that of the cultivator. In the representations made to the Superior Council of this province, it has been shown that this article was a traffic which exceeded five hundred thousand livres each year, and this truth has met with no contradiction. This traffic, which the nature of the country presents to each one with a benefit in proportion to the forces he may employ, but always certain in this degree of proportion, is the first effort of the planter who begins, and the object of the application of the one who has fortified himself. Take away in Louisiana the freedom of trade, close the outlet for the sale of its lumber, and from that moment you reduce the merchant and the colonist to idleness and want. The ordinance published on September 6, 1766, only threatened us with that danger. His Catholic Majesty, we were told, informed by M. Ulloa of all that concerned in this country supplies and traffic, wished again to favor the planters to such a point as to

permit the traffic of their woods on the ships coming from Santo Domingo and Martinique, until means had been found of carrying on this commerce in Spain! It was plunging the dagger by degrees, and the great blow has been struck by the decree. In the first article, it is said that the cargoes will be taken only in the ports of Seville, Alicante, Carthagen, Malaga, Barcelona, Corunna, etc. In the eighth, that the return cargoes will be taken in the same ports. In the third article, the ships that are sent to Louisiana will be of Spanish construction, and the captains and crews will be Spanish or naturalized. Finally, in articles fourth and fifth, voluntary stopping in any port of America, even of the Spanish domination, is prohibited, and the forced stopping is submitted to verifications and onerous charges. Was there remaining to us, for the commerce of our woods in the French colonies of Santo Domingo and Martinique, the only places where they had any value,—was there remaining to us, I say, a gleam of the faintest hope? Imprudent censors, whose hardly serious reflections might extend over our conduct in the present revolution, try, I consent to it, by your problematical combinations to recompose the interrupted harmony by making it agree with the decree; but think first of teaching us how to subsist.

“ Besides, what appearance of resource could suspend at least our just anxieties? The produce of our lands consists, and our commerce consists, in woods, indigo, peltries, tobacco, cotton, sugar, resin, and tar. Peltries have so much less value in Spain that they are little used there,

and the preparation of those which are used is done in foreign countries. Havana and Peru furnish it sugars and lumber far preferable to ours; Guatemala, an indigo superior and in larger quantity than its factories need; Peru, Havana, and Campeachy, cotton; the Isle of Pines, resin and tar; Havana and the Spanish part of Santo Domingo, tobacco. Our products, inferior to those of her vast possessions, useless besides and superabundant in its ports, are disdained there, or reduced to very little value. What feeble returns must we expect from the exports that will be made of them in the ports to which the decree directs us! On the other hand, the few manufactures established in Spain, added to the little help which the maritime cities get from the internal agriculture, compel the subjects of His Catholic Majesty who are established there to have recourse to the foreigner for their provisions of every kind. Marseilles furnishes wheat in these ports which could not supply themselves with the country itself without the excessive cost of a painful export through a mountainous region. The whole nation, besides, is tributary to all the manufacturing countries of Europe, and the most signal favor that Providence has done it is to render it mistress of Peru and of Mexico, to purchase its first needs. Rich by our own industry, can we hope that Spain will supply our needs sufficiently and at moderate cost, when she is herself obliged to procure hers at great expense? In spite of the exemption, momentary perhaps, which the decree announces to us, from all duties to be imposed on goods destined to Louisiana, these sad truths, known by

the entire universe, added to the certain discredit of our goods in the ports of Spain, have made us fear justly that our crops, although abundant, far from rewarding as formerly our application and our industry, by giving us superabundance, will cease to produce even the pure and simple necessities.

“According to these observations, although they are superficial, yet with regard to the certainties from which they are deduced, can one doubt for a moment that this colony, as to its products, will be useless to Spain, and that the political views in the treaty of cession have been restricted to the sole purpose of making of it a bulwark to Mexico? But does the poverty of the colonists add any new force to this rampart? And by what folly should we undermine our reviving fortunes by destroying the liberty of our commerce, when those same political views do not seem to require that sacrifice? Everything gives us cause to believe that His Catholic Majesty wished to be informed first, through the reports of his envoy, of the productive causes and the conservative means of our welfare. The promises of our King assured us of the good will of the new sovereign, and of the gentleness of the future domination. The officers of His Catholic Majesty announced to us, on their arrival, the continuation of our commerce at least for ten years; the source of our needs, known in Spain without our having indicated it ourselves, still remained open to our activity; but have we been able to doubt, when we saw the decree, that M. Ulloa, intrusted with this report,—as the ordinance published here on September 6, 1766, declares to us,—is the

author of these imminent calamities, and that, having planned our ruin, his hardly truthful reports have turned aside the effects of that same good will which his master wished without doubt to show us?

“It is vain to say that the last article of the decree permits us to extract from the ports of Spain the fruits and goods brought from Louisiana, to sell them in foreign countries, if there is no market for them in Spain, and that no export duty need be paid. In all that is presented to us here, where is there any true advantage? Let us not count the articles of the decree, but let us take the spirit, and let us not read any of these articles without following the links that bind them so intimately the one to the other. True, it will be permitted to us to sell in foreign countries our goods and products which cannot be sold in Spain, but on what conditions? Our merchants, naturalized Spaniards, according to article 3 of the decree, will be compelled to go to the ports of Seville and Malaga, and to pay the four per cent. according to article 12. Forced, by the want of sale for their goods, to leave those ports and go to the neighboring countries, they will have to return in ballast to the ports of Spain, according to article 1, to take their cargo of fruits and goods already introduced into Spain, which will have paid the import duties according to article 7. Do those costly proceedings dispel our sorrowful reflections upon the general famine that was threatening us? Let us add to that the cost of the ships, estimated by our chambers of commerce at three thousand livres every month for a ship of three hundred tons; that of unload-

ing in the ports of Spain and reloading for the foreign countries; the doubling of commission and insurance, the cost of storing, the increase of damages, the duties from which the neighboring countries will not excuse us on goods coming from Spain—and we shall see the decree as a great alembic rarefying our crops unto the fifth essence.

“The promises of our King, repeated in his letter of April 21, 1764, made us hope that we should always have the same laws to follow and the same judges to listen to. But what a breach was made in this article by M. Ulloa at the very beginning of his administration! He has not yet taken possession; his titles have been neither verified nor registered, nor even presented; no bond attaches us yet to his authority; nothing but a respectful deference for the character with which one sees him clothed, promises to him our obedience; and severe punishments, chastisements unknown under the French domination still existing, are inflicted already by his order for the lightest faults,—assuming that they are faults. One should not imagine that these false principles of administration and the sad novelties of an unknown domination have been the only motives of our fears and of the alarm in our families. The law of Spain may have its pleasing features and advantages which we do not know; but the antipathy against humanity and the natural disposition to do harm, recognized in the person intrusted with presenting that law to us, make us feel its hardest consequences. The Spanish policy narrows the ports as much as possible, to close them at its will against stran-

gers and to forbid them entirely to the interloper. In consequence of this law, the envoy of His Catholic Majesty has closed all the passes of the Mississippi, with the exception of one; but the one that he has chosen is the shallowest, the most difficult, and the most perilous. A law almost universal forbids establishments within a certain distance of the citadels and fortifications of frontier towns. M. Ulloa has concluded from this that establishments formed at the beginning of the colony, by concession of our prince, and under the eye of his governors, should no longer subsist, on account of the proximity of an inclosure of stakes with which for some time the city has been closed. Condemnation to mines is prescribed by the law of Spain against malefactors and dangerous men. M. Ulloa has not hesitated to pronounce it against esteemed citizens, whose crime was no other than to have been the interpreters of their compatriots and the bearers of respectful representations declaring our needs, and tending only to the encouragement of our agriculture, the increase of our commerce, the importing of things needed by us, and the general good of the country. The packets that are remitted by worthy persons deserve so much more diligence and exactitude that they may interest the common cause. But those who have taken charge of them have never held themselves responsible for major force, contrary winds, and risks and perils of the sea. To what hard and vexatious treatments M. Ulloa subjected the Sieurs Gagnard and Gachon, because their ships had not been able to remit his packets at Havana on account of contrary weather!

A decree of the Superior Council of this province had forbidden, for just and wise reasons, the introduction of domiciled negroes from Santo Domingo and other islands; but the execution of it was reduced to visiting the slave ships on their arrival and sending back as soon as possible those who were prohibited. M. Ulloa had added to it the sequestration of the property, the imprisonment of the persons, and, without any menacing ordinance, which should always precede the first punishments, he has enforced it against Cadis and Leblanc, whose sole crime was that they did not know of the existence of this decree. These facts, which are of notoriety, and of which several persons have been the victims, interest the public cause more than one can imagine. To render the consequences better understood, we shall enter into a detail of several.

“As for the interdiction of the passes of the Mississippi, it must be known that M. Ulloa, in spite of all that was told him and that he might have seen himself, or learned by unfortunate events, had persisted obstinately in opening only the pass northeast, where there is, in the highest tides, only nine to ten feet of water; forbidding that any ship should enter or go out by any other pass, of which the depth is usually from ten to twelve feet. To this prohibition, which is so troublesome and so perilous, he had added another that was still more so. This was the prohibition to the pilots to sleep on board the vessels anchored in front of the pass, which the winds and the want of water prevented them from entering. From this arose repeated inconveniences and accidents, which,

however, did not make him change his first arrangement. The first inconvenience was the delay to the ships that were going out, a delay costly and frequent at all times, but almost inevitable in winter, when the north-northeast winds are frequent, which cannot serve for the northeast pass, while they not only bring the ships out of the east pass, but set them on their journey without their having to wait after getting out of the pass. There was similar difficulty in entering: when the winds were southwest and south-southwest, one could not enter by the northeast pass; those winds were favorable to the east pass. Besides, as the Spanish officer at the Balize compelled the ships that had entered the river to anchor in front of the houses of the Balize, an anchorage exposed to all winds and of little depth, there were great risks, which might have been avoided by anchoring at Lafourche, or by continuing up the river, according to the former custom, which was not more favorable to those against whom one might have wished to close the port. Besides, in all countries, when a coast pilot has set foot on board a ship, he does not leave it before the ship has come in or gone out, and is placed in safety; the pilot navigating day and night, according to the requirements of the case and the vicissitudes of the weather. If this rule is ever to be inviolate, without doubt it should be in our regions, surrounded with low lands, and near a large river of which the bottom is of mud in one place, of sand in another, where from one hour to another the winds change and the waters increase or diminish. Therefore, when the pilots were prohibited from sleeping on board, in a sud-

den gust of wind, and at night, a captain who was not familiar with the place, knowing neither the bottom nor the passes, had no resource. Obligated to get under sail, and often to abandon his anchors and his cables, he would encounter the neighboring reefs, called the 'sheep,' or at least fall under the wind of the pass, without hope of going up for a long time. Finally, if he had the good luck to sail, he would come back, after a great deal of time and trouble, only to meet the same dangers.

"Navigation, that art so useful to states, does it deserve then that one should help nature to increase its troubles and its perils? The fortune of ship-owners and the lives of sailors, are they so little precious that the caprice of one man should subject them to dangers almost inevitable? Question the captains and the crews from Europe and the islands, who have come here for the past two years and a half; all have seen the new perils invented by M. Ulloa; several have been the objects and the victims of his bad combinations. Without mentioning the many examples, the accident to Captain Saron, at the mouth of the river, is striking. After remaining for a long time without being able to go out by the northeast pass, the winds being north and north-northeast, he entered the pass at last, the winds having changed; but the weather had lowered the depth to such an extent that he remained in the pass. He was fortunate enough to get back into the river. He went up to the city to careen his ship a second time. Note that the city is thirty leagues from the mouth of the river, that one is often obliged to pull ships up the river with ropes,

and that it happened several times that it took fifty or sixty days to reach the city. The Sieur Sarron lost his trip. It cost him a great deal, and if the east pass had not been forbidden, and it had been allowed to pilots to frequent it, he would have gone out without delay and without danger.

“But at the very time when we are writing this Memorial, the trumpet announces to us that the rigging and the artillery of the vessel *Carlota*, from Rochelle, almost buried in the sands, are being sold at auction. Captain Lacoste would not be lamenting the loss of his ship if, when he was ready to enter, he had been permitted at night to keep on board the pilot, who, not being able to put him in the passes, would have indicated to him a mud bottom from which he could have extricated himself, as it happened to several, and among others to Captain Chouriac.

“A few persons make brick, which is used and consumed here. The three principal brickyards are at the three principal gates of this city. One of the largest, where several men are employed, is the patrimony of four minors, and is rented sometimes for more than twelve thousand livres a year. This land can produce no other revenue, and the men cannot produce enough to feed them. The city, besides, feels no inconvenience from the brickyards, and as the lands from which the necessary clay is drawn are far from the highway, the public road is neither narrowed nor embarrassed. M. Ulloa attacked first the judicial tenant of this brickyard, and absolutely forbade him to continue work under

penalty of seizure of negroes, oxen, carts, and utensils. The interested parties, after many efforts, succeeded finally in obtaining from him the reason of this prohibition. He said that the holes from which the clay was taken tended to destroy the salubrity of the air. They provided themselves, to dissuade him, with reports of physicians and surgeons. M. Lebeau, doctor of medicine, in the pay of His Majesty, has even given on that subject learned observations, convincing on every point. As for the ordinary reflections, they were that the country had always been very healthful in spite of the holes of the brickyards and the cypress swamps, which are on both sides of the river, and surround the city; that, according to that system, it would be necessary also to fill the swamps, where the waters remain during the greater part of the year. M. Ulloa had doubtless not foreseen these objections, but he imagined and adopted another, which he believed to be unanswerable; it is, that the establishments should be removed from the fortifications,—giving this name to an inclosure of wooden spikes which has nothing secret, and the approach to which is without consequence. The affair, however, has dragged along without any one being able to obtain from him either a written order to cease or a verbal permission to continue; and several persons have thought, with reason, that brickmaking was coveted by one or two individuals, which agreed very well with the inclination of the Spanish envoy to reduce everything to exclusive privileges.

“This indomitable inclination was manifested still more in the prohibition that he made last year, of bring-

ing negroes into this colony, on the pretext of a competition that would have been harmful to an English merchant of Jamaica, who had sent a boat to M. Ulloa to win his favor for the enterprise of furnishing slaves. This was a blow both at commerce and at agriculture. It was taking away from the merchant a considerable object, and restricting the means of the colonist to fortify himself; for this competition, harmful to the English dealer, became advantageous to the planter, who would have given the preference to the cheapness and better constitution of the slaves. What then! Take away from new subjects the most natural means of profit, to gratify a stranger with them! Is it thus that a new administration announces itself? Has M. Ulloa received these orders from his master? Who would dare presume it? But is not one tempted to believe that vile reasons of interest entered into the order of his exclusive projects?

“Our governors and magistrates have always been regarded by us as our fathers. Every time we thought we should make to them our very humble representations on our particular needs or on the general interest, we were favorably received. If we address ourselves to the governors and commandants, far from regarding us as rebellious and mutinous (a favorite expression of M. Ulloa), they approve our action as conforming to the sentiment of the true citizen. We have a proof of this in the answer of M. Aubry, on June 28, 1765, to the Memoir of the merchants of New Orleans. He dispels our anxieties. Being the agent of the minister with re-

gard to us, he communicates to us the orders he has received from him, and gives us a copy of the letters he has written in consequence to the officers of the posts. He ends by encouraging us, and by asking from us a reciprocal zeal. If we address ourselves to the Council, our memorials are examined there; if our requests appear just, the voice of the attorney-general seconds ours, and the court deliberates afterward. The event of the 29th of October is a recent proof of this. Royal promises made us hope for the same gentleness, the same liberty, the same privileges in the new government. But, very far from assuring us of the continuation of them, M. Ulloa did not wish to allow even the appearances to subsist any longer. The ordinance published on September 6, 1766, caused the merchants to make representations which they addressed to their magistrates. M. Ulloa treated them as seditious without knowing them; and although our judges, through condescension, would have suspended their judgment, he thought he should attempt to make an example capable of frightening in advance any one who should dare to say anything about his needs or his interests. Merchants from this place, whom without doubt he believed to be the principal authors of these representations, attached to the country by their family, their credit, their commerce, and their entire fortune, saw themselves threatened with confiscation of their property and imprisonment of their persons,—a judgment which must have emanated from the sole tribunal of M. Ulloa, and the effects of which they avoided with trouble.

“But who was, then, this officer of His Catholic Maj-

esty? With what commission was he provided? With what unheard-of privilege was he clothed, to exercise such a tyrannical authority, even before he had shown his authority or his titles, which we do not yet know? A confused rumor tells us that, during the long stay which he made at the Balize with M. Aubry, our commandant, there was passed between them an act under private seal. If that is true, what has been his political principle in not rendering this act public, and in not declaring his rank, unless it be to mask his tyranny under cover of the French domination?

“The term tyranny appears strong. Let us add to it that of vexation, to correspond with the truth of the facts. With what threatening pomp, when at the same time he was receiving from us only marks of a blind submission, have we seen him present with one hand the first fruits of the new law, and the avenging sword of the other ordinance of September 6, 1766,—first decree of his will that has been published here, where the august name of His Majesty has been abusively employed. This ordinance, I say, has been promulgated in our public places, to the sound of the drum and at the head of twenty Spanish soldiers armed with rifles and bayonets. Was it to insult us, or to impose silence upon our murmurs? In the first case, what would he then have done, this Ulloa, in a conquered city captured by storm? What display would he have chosen to proclaim his ordinances there, since he has used a similar one with friends and allies? Did he take us for savages of Peru and Mexico? In the second case, the envoy from Spain was not igno-

rant of the fact that this ordinance, fruit of his erroneous relations, was diametrically opposed to our welfare, and capable at first sight of exciting our murmurs. As he is loaded with our hatred, which he has so justly deserved, his nation may reproach him again with having failed in the rules of policy, by forcing us to fear the Spanish government.

“ With indignation we have seen him negotiate with an Englishman for the liberty of four Germans for fifteen dollars a head; and when, on the day of the revolution, M. Aubry, our commandant, urged by our prayers and our entreaties, demanded them again with authority, we saw those new freedmen descend from the Spanish frigate where their new master detained them, and throw themselves on the levee at the knees of their liberators. We saw those unfortunate victims of the scourge of war, those persevering citizens, who have sacrificed their hereditary possessions to patriotic sentiment, those unfortunate Acadians who, received formerly in our ports, protected by our commandants and our judges, were beginning to be consoled for their disasters and were laboring to repair them,—we saw them frightened by the frenzied wrath of M. Ulloa, for such a slight subject as very humble representations. Trembling at his threats, they believed the liberty of their families at stake, and they thought they saw themselves sold at auction to pay for the rations of the King. Are we at Fez, or at Morocco?

“ What has he not done, finally, this singular man, in the acts even of private life? What humiliation did not

the French nation receive from him during his stay here, not only by the violation of the rights of persons, but also by scorn for the ecclesiastical laws? Besides abstaining from frequenting our churches,—through disdain, without doubt, for the French Catholics,—and having mass celebrated in his house, he has again caused his chaplain to confer the sacrament of marriage upon two persons, of whom the woman was a negro slave and the man white, without the permission of the curate, without any publication of banns, without any form or solemnity required by the church, contrary to the Council of Trent, and contrary to the precise disposition of all ordinances, civil as well as canonical.

“What would be reprehensible, then, in the decision which the conduct and the vexations of M. Ulloa have made us take? What wrong have we done in shaking off a foreign yoke, which the hand that imposed it rendered still more overwhelming? What wrong have we done, finally, in claiming back our laws, our country, our sovereign, to vow to him the perseverance of our love? Are, then, those praiseworthy attempts without an example in our history? More than one town of France, provinces even,—Quercy, Rouergue, Gascony, Cahors, Montauban,—have they not several times broken the English yoke with fury, or refused their fetters with constancy? In vain did the treaties, the cessions, the orders even renewed of our kings attempt sometimes what the fortune of English arms was nevertheless incapable of achieving; and that noble resistance to the will of the natural sovereigns, far from exciting their anger, has

awakened their tenderness, attracted their assistance, and effected a complete deliverance.

“But, furthermore, of what use to Spain would be the colony of Louisiana? Inferior in its products to the rich countries that Spain possesses, our country could only be a rampart for Mexico. Would this rampart be impenetrable to the forces of His Britannic Majesty, who, already master of the country east of the Mississippi, would share the navigation of the river with Spain, and who has establishments to which the access is not alone by the mouth of the river, but also by the immediate proximity of the other countries of the north, where his domination is established?

“The keeping of this colony by France protects better the possessions of Spain on this side than the cession made to that crown. The disadvantageous impressions of Spain already received by the savage nations, which have drawn upon M. Rios, Spanish captain, commandant at the Illinois, not only insults, but threats, would range the savages, in case of attack, with the hostile party. On the contrary, those peoples would always march with the French soldier, without asking for whom one wishes to fight. That is the true rampart.

“Since Spain can find no advantage in the acquisition of this immense province, and since, certainly, the strict limits of her commerce would reduce us almost to mere existence, why should the two sovereigns agree to render us unfortunate through the sole pleasure of doing so? It is a crime to believe it, and such sentiments do not enter the hearts of kings. The protection that ours

promises us in his letter of April 21, 1764, from the new sovereign, shows that they were conspiring for our happiness; and the respectful silence that we have kept thus far on the reality of our interests, has without doubt prevented them from attaining the true means that might make us happy. As for the utility that this colony may be to France, a little reflection renders it apparent. The loss of Canada having closed that outlet to the manufactures with which France abounds, the preservation of Louisiana may repair in a short time a loss so hurtful to the national industry. The efforts of the true Frenchmen established here, and those who come every day to establish themselves, may easily increase this trade of the Missouri, opened already with happy results, and to the aggrandizement of which are lacking the encouragement and aid which the French domination alone can procure. Even the savages from Canada come every day to trade at the Illinois for French goods, which they prefer to those that the English carry to their villages. Let one cease to forge shackles for our activity, and soon the English will cease to sell to France the peltries she consumes. Our manufacturers, in exporting them, will find an assured sale, which will bring profit; and in the peltries—to which may be added our indigo, our sugar, our cotton—they will have the raw material that feeds factories and gives work to laborers. If, then, the ability for manufactures in the kingdom is so well recognized that it has drawn to them at all times a particular protection from the sovereign, is it not in the political order that this protection be extended to preserve for them re-

sources for which it would use perhaps the power of the state, if it were a question of acquiring them?

“Join to these considerations the reimbursement—suspended since 1759—of the seven millions of royal paper that formed our currency and the basis of our commerce; join the union by reciprocal obligations of the merchants of France to us and of us to the merchants of France, who await their fate from that which it may please the lord our King to give to these finances; add to it our obligation to work for the reëstablishment of our shattered fortunes, without being able to get any aid from those old funds, shares formerly of any one in proportion to his economy, his emulation, or his patrimony,—and it will be seen that our new efforts deserve to be seconded by our King.

“As we are zealous observers of all the respect due to crowned heads, and of the mutual attentions that civilized peoples owe to each other, we should be in despair if our deeds were not to conform to them. There is nothing offensive to the Court of Madrid in the exposition of our needs and in the assurances of our love which we carry to the feet of our august sovereign. We dare hope that those marks of our zeal will serve again to prove to nations the truth of the title ‘Well-beloved’ which the entire world gives to him, and which no other monarch has enjoyed until now. Perhaps one will say at Madrid even: ‘Happy this prince our ally, who finds for obstacle to his treaty of cession the attachment of his subjects to his domination and to his glorious person!’

“We are not ignorant that the envoy from Spain took, before his departure, and is still gathering through emissaries, certificates from some individuals who reside among us; mercenary clients whom he attached to himself by brilliant promises, and who are here seeking to proselyte by persuading the simple and frightening the weak. But whatever these hardly authentic certificates may contain, they will never belie the general voice and public notoriety. The Genoese, English, and Dutch merchants, witnesses of the revolution, will testify to the truth in their country. They will certify, in a much more certain manner, that our pavilion rose, without the Spanish frigate having received the least insult to its own; that M. Ulloa embarked with all the liberty possible and without any act on our part that appeared even improper; that then and since we have redoubled our courtesies and attentions toward the other officers of His Catholic Majesty; that during the three days of the revolution (a thing unique and singular, by the avowal of the Spaniards themselves) there rose not from among more than twelve hundred men of the militia, among the women, the children, the whole people, any cry injurious to the nation, and the only cries that were heard, in which the strangers themselves took part, were: ‘Long live the King of France!’ ‘Long live Louis the Well-beloved!’

“It is to His beneficent Majesty that we, planters, merchants, and colonists of Louisiana, address our very humble prayers that he should take back the colony instantly; and as we are resolved to live and to die under

his cherished domination, determined to do all that may be required for the prosperity of his arms, the extension of his power, the glory of his reign, we beg him to be willing to preserve to us our patriotic name, our laws, and our privileges.

“ At New Orleans,

“ At Denis Braud's, Printer to the King.

“ With permission of the Ordaining Commissioner.
MDCCLXVIII.”

We have given in full the translation of the Memorial of 1768 on account of its interest and importance. It is a noble document, and it does honor to the men of that time. We can understand their indignation at being rudely torn from their country and harassed by unwise commercial ordinances issued by a man who had never publicly shown his commission as governor for Spain. We see in this Memorial hatred for the foreigner, and a spirit of independence combined with great love for France. The eulogy of the King appears fulsome to us; but we should remember that the colonists had been brought up to venerate their monarch, and they were at too great a distance from the mother country to be able to understand thoroughly the despicable character of Louis XV. The last words of the Memorial are very pathetic, and we should have sympathy for men who are praying for the preservation of their patriotic name, of their laws and their privileges.

On page 17 of the Memorial³ were words insulting to the Spanish nation: “. . . M. Ulloa, loaded with our



hatred, which he has so justly deserved. Cannot his nation reproach him with having failed in the rules of the Spanish policy, which, gentle and insinuating in the beginning, becomes tyrannical only when the yoke has been imposed?" Aubry had these words erased, and caused three hundred copies to be suppressed, which had already been printed with the permission of Foucault.

CHAPTER X

O'REILLY IN LOUISIANA—THE MARTYRS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1768

Ulloa's account of the Revolution of 1768—True motive of the opposition to Ulloa—Return of Lesassier—The republican spirit in the colony—General O'Reilly's arrival—O'Reilly takes possession—O'Reilly asks of Aubry the names of the conspirators—Aubry acts as informer—Aubry's account of Lafrénière's doings—Aubry's account of the Revolution—Aubry names the conspirators—His contemptible letter—Arrest of the chiefs of the Revolution—Death of Villeré—Bossu's account of Villeré's death—Character of Villeré—O'Reilly's proclamation—O'Reilly's address to the conspirators—The property of the prisoners confiscated—The inhabitants take the oath of allegiance—Aubry's report to the French minister—His tragic death—Testimony against Foucault—He is released—Act of accusation against the prisoners—Part taken in the conspiracy by each of the prisoners—Sentence—The execution—Burning of the "Memorial of the Planters and Merchants"—No excuse for O'Reilly's cruelty—O'Reilly went beyond his instructions—Release of Petit and other prisoners from Morro Castle—Bienville de Noyau at Santo Domingo—End of the drama.



ANTONIO DE ULLOA left New Orleans on November 1, 1768, arrived at Havana on December 3, and immediately departed for Cadiz. His account of the events leading to his expulsion from Louisiana is very interesting. He relates that the conspirators met at the house of a widow named Pradel, on a plantation adjoining New Orleans. He speaks bitterly of Lafrénière, and says the latter was the author of the celebrated Me-

morial of the inhabitants on the event of October 29, 1768. He speaks of a journey of Bienville and Masan to Pensacola to ask aid of the British governor in erecting the colony into a republic under the protection of England. He declares that Villeré and Léry, relatives of Lafrénière, had influenced the old Chevalier d'Arensbourg, commandant at the German Coast, and that the latter had determined to defend liberty and not be a subject of the King of Spain. He says also that Lafrénière and Foucault took advantage of the discontent caused by the decree about commerce to excite the merchants against the Spanish domination.

It is but natural that Ulloa should have wished to lay all the blame for the Revolution of 1768 on the people of Louisiana; but he certainly mistook their motive when he attributed their opposition to him to discontent caused by commercial decrees. All the colonists were animated by the spirit of the old D'Arensbourg: they wished to defend liberty, and would not submit to a foreign yoke. One of their delegates, St. Lette, remained in France, but the other, Lesassier, returned to Louisiana and announced, as Milhet had done previously, the failure of his mission. The deputies, however, had obtained, says Martin, "an arrest of the King's council of the 23d of March, which is believed to be the last act of the French government concerning Louisiana." It referred to the payment of the bills emitted by the colonial government.

At the very moment of Ulloa's expulsion the Spanish government seemed inclined to take possession of the colony in a more determined manner, and Urissa, who

had been appointed intendant of Louisiana, had arrived at Havana with eight hundred soldiers destined for the new Spanish colony, and was to carry there one million dollars for the King's service. Gayarré believes that the Revolution would not have taken place if Urissa had reached Louisiana with the soldiers and the million of the King of Spain. We do not share this opinion; for, as Louis had disowned his subjects in Louisiana, the die was cast. The colonists wished no longer to submit to any despot, and they formed the plan of a republic on the banks of the Mississippi. Gayarré himself has said: "There is no doubt that the colonists would have eagerly adopted this form of government, had it been possible at the time, for it must be recollected that, from the earliest existence of the colony, almost all its governors had uniformly complained of the republican spirit which they had observed in the inhabitants." Our ancestors were evidently mistaken in their noble efforts, and their plan was but a dream; for how were they to resist the power of the King of Spain, with a population of fewer than twelve thousand souls, of whom half were slaves? But they gave Louisiana the glory of having thought of establishing a republican form of government in America several years before Jefferson wrote his immortal Declaration of Independence, which gave birth to our United States.

When the news of the events of October, 1768, reached Spain, it was decided by the Council of the King that the authority of His Catholic Majesty should be maintained and troops be sent to subdue the insurgents. Don Alejandro O'Reilly was appointed governor and captain-

general of the province, and he arrived at the Balize on July 23, on a frigate accompanied by twenty-three transports, having three thousand soldiers on board.¹ O'Reilly sent Don Francisco Bouligny to announce his arrival to Aubry, and the news was received by the inhabitants with consternation. "Resistance was spoken of," says Martin, but it was finally resolved to send three delegates to O'Reilly; they were Lafrénière, Marquis, and Milhet. The attorney-general, the valiant Lafrénière, spoke to General O'Reilly with great dignity, and assured him of the submission of the colony to the orders of the Kings of France and Spain. He added: "We beg your Excellency not to consider it a country to be conquered. The orders of which you are the bearer are sufficient to put you in possession, and make more impression on hearts than the arms which you have in your hand. . . . The colony claims of your kindness privileges, and of your equity sufficient delays for those who shall desire to emigrate."² O'Reilly replied that he would do all in his power to learn the truth, and that he should be in despair if he did the least harm to any one. He said he would have gone up the river as far as the Illinois to have the banner of his King respected, and he asked the three representatives of the colonists how they, a handful of men, could have believed that they were able to resist one of the most powerful kings in Europe, and that their King could have listened to the cries of a seditious people.

At the word "seditious," Marquis interrupted the general and explained the conduct of the colonists. O'Reilly answered him with gentleness, and said he would listen

to them with pleasure when the time should come. He invited them to take dinner with him, "treated them," says Bouligny, "with all the politeness possible, and sent them away full of admiration for his talents, and with good hopes for the oblivion of their past faults."

Lafrénière, Marquis, and Milhet reported O'Reilly's words to their countrymen, and all were quieted. The men who had already taken up arms and gone to New Orleans returned home, and several persons who had intended to leave the colony decided to remain.

On August 15, 1769, Aubry went to pay his respects to O'Reilly and to take his orders with regard to the ceremony of taking possession of the province. In the night of August 17, the frigate on board of which was the general was moored at the quay of New Orleans with twenty-three other ships. On the eighteenth, at noon, Aubry caused the rally to be beat, and the French troops and the militia formed on one side of the public square, facing the vessels. At half-past five the frigate fired a salute, General O'Reilly landed, and three thousand soldiers marched in columns from the ships and formed rapidly on the other three sides of the square. Aubry placed himself at the head of his troops, in the presence of all the inhabitants, to receive the general, who came to him and asked him to read to the people the orders and powers which he had communicated to the French commandant. The latter did so, and delivered the following address:

GENTLEMEN: You have just heard the sacred orders of their Majesties—Most Christian and Catholic—with regard to the

province of Louisiana, which has been ceded irrevocably to the Crown of Spain. From this moment you are the subjects of His Catholic Majesty, and in virtue of the orders of the King, my master, I release you from the oath of fidelity which you owed to His Most Christian Majesty.

Aubry then handed to O'Reilly the keys of the gates of New Orleans, and immediately volleys were fired by the Spanish frigate and by all the troops, and cries of "Vive le roi!" were heard on all sides. The posts were all relieved, and the Spanish flag was raised at each one. "We went afterward to the church," says Aubry, "and after having attended a *Te Deum*, this memorable day and august ceremony ended with the march of all the troops, who defiled before us with a redoubtable order and pomp."

On August 19, O'Reilly went with his staff to pay his official visit to the French commandant. On the same day he wrote him a letter to ask of him an account of what had taken place in the colony in October, 1768, and Aubry had the weakness or the cowardice to act as informer against his own countrymen. It was not necessary that he should give any information to O'Reilly. As soon as the latter had taken possession of Louisiana in the name of Spain, Aubry's duties as governor ceased, and he should have tried to protect men whose sole crime was that they had made earnest efforts to remain Frenchmen. Posterity must certainly judge Aubry very severely for his conduct at the time of the Revolution of 1768, and until his departure from Louisiana in 1769. Already, on February 15, 1769, he had written to the Captain-General of Cuba: "I hope that M. d'Ulloa ren-

ders me justice, and that he will have given a good testimony of my conduct; for no one more than I venerates and loves the Spanish nation. This revolution dishonors the French people of Louisiana."

In his letter to Aubry asking for information, O'Reilly said:

It is very essential that I should know the person who wrote and printed, and with what authority were printed and spread among the public, the document bearing the title: "Decree of the Council," dated October 29, 1768, and the other bearing the title: "Memorial of the Inhabitants of Louisiana on the event of October 29, 1768," as all the clauses of the two documents require my attention. I have entire confidence in your information, and I beg you again to omit no circumstance about the men and the things concerning this conspiracy.

On August 20, 1769,³ Aubry answered O'Reilly's letter and gave him a full account of the events of October, 1768. He named as the chiefs of "this criminal enterprise": Masan, Lafrénière, Marquis, Noyan, Bienville, and Villeré, "all the wealthiest and most distinguished in the country." He said that Foucault was very guilty, and that he led the people to believe that, in the colonies, the governors from Spain were tyrants and the people slaves. Aubry said further: "The hatred generally felt against M. Ulloa, and the copy of a decree of His Catholic Majesty, which deprives this colony of the commerce of the French islands, have been in great part the cause of the revolt. The planters feared they would not be able any longer to sell their indigo or their lumber; the merchants foresaw the fall of their commerce; the

Council feared to be suppressed; all together leagued themselves to send away the governor, and to free themselves from the Spanish domination."

Aubry added that the secret of the conspiracy was so well kept that he sent for M. de Lafrénière, who told him that a request, addressed to M. Foucault, had been signed, asking him to call an extraordinary meeting of the Council, in order to send away M. d'Ulloa and the Spaniards who had accompanied him. Lafrénière added that everybody was taking up arms, and that a banner was to be raised in the public square at New Orleans. Aubry told Lafrénière that he should oppose the movement, and that much blood would be spilled. He sent Judice, commandant of the Acadians, to order the latter not to take up arms, under penalty of being treated as rebels; and he asked Foucault what he intended to do. The commissary replied with ambiguity, and Aubry told him that he would be utterly lost if he did not oppose such a rebellion. On October 27, Governor Ulloa said that, as he had not sufficient force, he would submit to the decision of the Council, in order to avoid the effusion of French and Spanish blood. Aubry sent for Lafrénière and several militia officers, and they promised that everything would be countermanded and that only deputies from each organization should appear before the Council. On October 28, "I heard," said Aubry, "that the cannon which were at the Tchoupitoulas gate had been spiked, from fear that I should fire on the planters who were to come from that side. On the same day I called M. de Lafrénière to my house; I represented to him that

he would have to reproach himself for the ruin of his country. I told him, at the same time, that chiefs of conspiracies had always had tragic ends."

In the evening of October 28, in spite of Aubry's orders, Villeré entered the city at the head of four hundred Germans, Acadians, and other militiamen; the militia below New Orleans entered also, and everything was in commotion. Aubry then advised Ulloa to retire with his wife, that same evening, on board the Spanish frigate. On October 29 nearly a thousand persons assembled in the public square, with a white banner, crying, "Vive le roi de France!" and wishing no other king. Aubry went to the meeting of the Council and protested against the order of expulsion of Ulloa. Marquis, with fifty militiamen, had decided to accompany Ulloa to the Balize, and to stay there to oppose all Spaniards who might come. Aubry ordered them to desist from their undertaking, or he would fire upon them, and he was obeyed "for the first time," says he, "since the revolt."

"A thousand mad projects," continued Aubry, "succeeded one another; there was a design of erecting this country into a republic; a petition was presented to the Council to establish a bank like those of Amsterdam and Venice, for these are the identical terms which they used. M. de Lafrénière is the author of the petition. The Sieur Doucet composed the Memorial of the planters." Aubry, then, in his letter, spoke severely of Marquis, Villeré, and Masan, and said that by most audacious writings and most rebellious talk the conspirators had resorted to every means to excite the people and give them a horror of the

Spanish government. He concluded his letter with these words: "I shall communicate to your Excellency the decrees, the memorials, and all the documents of iniquities which were fabricated in those times of confusion and disorder. I shall deliver the protests which I have made against these acts of injustice. My conduct will be laid before the judge the most equitable and the most enlightened. His approval, which I dare flatter myself I have merited, will be the greatest honor and the finest recompense that I shall ever be able to receive." It was impossible to write anything more contemptible, more cringing, more cowardly than the letter of Aubry to O'Reilly.

On August 21, 1769, O'Reilly caused to be arrested Lafrénière, Noyan, and Boisblanc, members of the Council, and Braud, the printer, while these gentlemen were attending a reception at the governor's house.⁴ Shortly afterward he arrested also Marquis, a former officer; Doucet, a lawyer; Petit and Masan, planters; Carresse, Poupet, and Jean and Joseph Milhet, all four merchants. Joseph Villeré, whom O'Reilly wished also to arrest, was on his plantation on the German Coast, and was about to go to the English possessions, when he received a letter from Aubry saying that he had nothing to fear from O'Reilly, and that he could come to New Orleans in perfect safety. Bossu, who was a contemporary of Villeré, describes the latter's death in the following manner: "M. de Villeré, confiding in this assurance, descended the river to go to New Orleans. What was his surprise when, on presenting himself at the barriers, he found himself ar-

rested! Sensitive to this outrage, he could not moderate his indignation. In a first transport, he struck the Spanish officer who commanded the post. The latter's soldiers threw themselves upon him, and pierced him with bayonets. He was carried on board a frigate that was in the port, where he died a few days afterward."

Judge Martin gives a different account of Villeré's death. He says, like Bossu, that Villeré received a letter from Aubry reassuring him and advising him to return to the city. On arriving at the gate, he was arrested and sent on board a frigate in the river. His wife approached the frigate in a boat, and was ordered away. "She made herself known, and solicited admission to her husband, but was answered that she could not see him, as the captain was on shore, and had left orders that no communication should be allowed with the prisoner. Villeré recognized his wife's voice, and insisted on being permitted to see her. On this being refused, a struggle ensued, in which he fell, pierced by the bayonets of his guards. His bloody shirt, thrown into the boat, announced to the lady that she had ceased to be a wife; and a sailor cut the rope that fastened the boat to the frigate."

Martin's narrative is very dramatic, but Bossu's account is more likely to be the true one. Champigny, also a contemporary of Villeré, gives about the same account as Bossu, and adds:⁵ "None could be braver than Villeré. Canadian by origin, he had everything: valor, fortitude, and freedom of mind; violent and fiery, but frank, loyal, and firm in his resolves. He was of good size, well made, his step firm, his look bold and martial, his devotion to his King rather a frenzy than a form of

patriotism. Had all the colonists thought as he did, had they had his firm resolve, I doubt whether a single Spaniard would ever have reached New Orleans. He had a genius for war, and was the chief elect of the Acadians and Germans in case of a rupture, and under his orders that brave body would have been invincible. I regret to leave a man of this mold; French patriots must strew laurels over his grave." The son of this heroic man became the second American governor of Louisiana.

On the day of arrest of the chiefs of the Revolution of 1768, O'Reilly issued the following proclamation: ⁶

In the name of the King.—Don Alejandro O'Reilly, Commander of Benfayan in the Order of Alcantara, Lieutenant-General and Inspector-General of the armies of His Catholic Majesty, Captain-General and Governor of the province of Louisiana.

By virtue of the orders and powers which we possess from His Majesty, we declare to all the inhabitants of the province of Louisiana that, whatever just cause the past events may have given His Catholic Majesty to make them feel his indignation, he wishes to listen to-day only to his clemency toward the public, persuaded that it has sinned only by allowing itself to be led astray by the intrigues of a few ambitious and fanatic men, of evil intent, who have rashly abused its ignorance and its too great credulity. The latter alone will answer for their crimes, and will be judged according to the laws.

An act so generous should assure His Majesty that his new subjects will endeavor to merit, by their fidelity, zeal, and obedience, the favor which he does to them and the protection which he grants them from this moment.

This proclamation was posted and published throughout the city, to the sound of drums and other instruments, accompanied by all the grenadiers. It allayed the general

fear, as it showed that the vengeance of the Spaniards would be satisfied with the punishment of the men who had been arrested.

Aubry's account of the arrest is interesting.⁷ He says that on August 21, at eight o'clock in the morning, the general communicated to him, for the first time, the orders of the King to have arrested and judged, according to the laws, the chiefs of the conspiracy. O'Reilly caused them all to assemble at his house, under different pretexts, and in Aubry's presence spoke to them as follows:

GENTLEMEN: The Spanish nation is revered and respected by the whole earth. Louisiana is then the only country where it is ignored, and where there is a lack of the regard due to it. His Catholic Majesty is greatly offended at the violence which was used and at the outrage committed against his governor, his officers, and his troops. He has been very much offended at the writings which were published, and which outrage his government and the Spanish nation. He orders me to have arrested and judged, according to the laws, the authors of all these violences.

After reading the orders referred to, O'Reilly added:

GENTLEMEN: You are accused of being the chiefs of this revolt. I arrest you in the name of the King. I trust that you will be able to prove your innocence, and that I shall soon be able to return to you the swords which I have just taken away from you. You will produce your defense before the equitable judges who are before you. It is they who will judge you.

The general said also that their property would be confiscated according to the custom in Spain; but he promised the prisoners to give to their wives and children

all the aid they might need. Lafrénière and his companions were then taken by several officers and a detachment of grenadiers to the places where they were to be kept, some to the barracks and others to the Spanish ships.

On August 26 the principal inhabitants of the city and of the country took the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain, before O'Reilly. He told them, according to Aubry, that they were free to take the oath or not, and that he would give them all the time and facilities necessary to settle their affairs and retire to their country. Such a permission, under the circumstances, was derisive, and every one must have understood the risk he would run were he to attempt to leave a Spanish province of which possession had been taken with such a display of force.

Aubry, by order of O'Reilly, arrested Foucault, and on September 1 gave to the French minister in Paris an account of what had taken place in the colony after O'Reilly's arrival. He is not ashamed to say that he gave the Spanish governor the names of the principal authors of the events of 1768, and he praises "the generosity and the kindness" of O'Reilly in having caused such a small number of men to be arrested, while there were many others whose criminal conduct should have exposed them to the same fate. He adds that the new Spanish governor "will make the happiness of the colony." Aubry was crazy, or he was the most contemptible of men. The people of Louisiana have accepted the latter opinion, and his tragic end has excited no pity. He left the colony on November 23, 1769, on board the *Père de Famille*, and perished in the wreck of that ship at the mouth of the

Gironde on February 17, 1770. According to a certificate of Cabaret de Trepis, captain of infantry in Louisiana (reproduced in facsimile by Dr. G. Devron, in "Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais," July, 1897), Aubry left the colony with two boxes filled with silver, containing each ten thousand livres at least; a bag containing also an amount of money which Trepis does not know; and a purse full of gold,—fifteen to sixteen hundred livres. Champigny accuses Aubry of having received from O'Reilly twelve thousand Spanish écus and a life pension as the price of his infamy. Whether this assertion is true or not, the name of the man who was Ulloa's sycophant and O'Reilly's informer will ever be held in contempt by all brave and loyal men.

We have seen that Foucault was arrested by Aubry as ordered by O'Reilly. The testimony of Garic, former clerk of the Superior Council, was very damaging to the commissary. Garic said that Foucault called a meeting of the Council for October 28, 1768, at which meeting the only persons present were Foucault, De Kernion, De Launay, De Laplace, Lafrénière, Garderat, assistant clerk, and Garic himself. Business of little importance was transacted, then the petition of the planters and merchants was presented and referred to a committee, composed of De Kernion and De Launay, who were to examine the petition and make report to the Council the next day. The attorney-general, Lafrénière, said that acting councilors should be named to take the place of those who were absent on account of sickness. Foucault, then, together with Lafrénière, proposed the names of

Hardy de Boisblanc, Thomassin, Fleuriau, Bobé, Dueros, and De Labarre. The Council met on October 29, and the decree against Ulloa was rendered. Garic added that Foucault invited them all to a dinner, which lasted from two o'clock till five, and that, on the instigation of Noyan and some others, the party at Foucault's house, with the exception of De Lalande d'Aprémont and De Kernion, went to the barracks, where were assembled the planters and merchants, and afterward to Aubry's house, where Foucault and Lafrénière spoke to the French commandant and asked him to take the reins of government. In spite of Aubry's accusations and of Garic's testimony, Foucault declared that he acted as an officer of the King of France and was accountable only to that monarch for his actions. He was sent to France, where he was at first thrown into the Bastille, but afterward released and received an office in the East Indies. Braud argued that, being the official printer, he was bound to print whatever Foucault, the *commissaire ordonnateur*, ordered him. He was discharged.

The accusation against the prisoners was presented by Don Felix del Rey, and related all the circumstances leading to Ulloa's expulsion. It laid stress on the outrage against the royal authority by the fact that the commissary, Loyola; the contador, Gayarré; and the treasurer, Navarro, were held as hostages to guarantee the debts contracted in the name of the court of Spain. "The prosecution," says Judge Martin, "was grounded on a statute of Alfonso the Eleventh, which is the first law of the seventh title of the first partida, and denounces the

punishment of death and confiscation of property against those who excite any insurrection against the King or state, or take up arms under pretense of extending their liberty or rights, and against those who give them any assistance."

The act of accusation gives in detail the part taken in the conspiracy by each of the prisoners.⁸ It says that Lafrénière and Foucault were the principal chiefs, and that Marquis was the military commander of the insurgents; that he had been one of the most ardent to solicit the departure of the Spanish frigate, as she represented on the river the odious Spanish domination; that he had formed the project of establishing a republic in Louisiana, which should be governed by a council of forty members and a protector, elected by the people. Noyan was accused of attending the meetings that preceded the insurrection, and of having expressed openly his desire to see Ulloa chased from the colony. It was he who had the staff for the French banner made on his plantation, and he excited the Acadians to revolt. He waited for them at the Tchoupitoulas gate, on the eve of the insurrection, and provided them with provisions and arms. Carresse drew up the petition of the inhabitants to the Council and, with Marquis and Masan, presented it to Foucault. He furnished food to the revolted Acadians; he presented himself with a band of insurgents at the door of the Council to prevent the councilors from leaving the room before having given an opinion favorable to the petition of the rebels; he went with other accomplices to the council-chamber to know what had been the decision of the

Council; he embarked in a boat, as an officer of the militia, to follow Don Antonio de Ulloa and occupy the fort at the Balize. He was one of those who formed the project of a bank to be called Mont de Piété; he furnished Doucet with materials to write the outrageous "Memorial of the Planters and Merchants"; he wrote to Lafrénière: "This day will be the most beautiful in your life; we hope to see revive in Louisiana the orator of Rome and M. de Meaupou to uphold the rights of the nation." Joseph Milhet caused the petition to the Council to be signed, and he presented himself as officer of a company of militia that had taken up arms to support the rebellion. He was one of those who went to the Chapitoulas (Tehoupitoulas) gate to receive the Acadians, and he allowed the arms of some of the insurgents to be deposited at his house. With regard to the other insurgents, it is said that Petit himself untied the rope that held to the shore the ship in which Ulloa was expelled. Doucet was the author of that "most insolent and outrageous manifesto," the "Memorial of the Planters and Merchants." Poupet was the treasurer of the rebels, and took up arms with the insurgents. Jean Milhet also took up arms. Masan was one of the promoters of the insurrection and was second to sign the petition to the Council. He was one of those who handed it to Foucault. Several seditious assemblies were held in his house; and an aggravating circumstance was, that he was one of the most highly esteemed and popular inhabitants, on account of his birth, his wealth, and the cross of St. Louis with which he was decorated. There is no doubt that his example was a powerful incentive to

animate the people and induce them to share in the crime. Hardy de Boisblanc was one of the extraordinary acting councilors named by Foucault and Lafrénière, and he carried to the Council, in his pocket, his written opinion, and maintained it vigorously. It was he who conducted the establishment of the Mont de Piété. Villeré, who was dead, was not omitted in the act of persecution. He was said to have caused the insurrection of the Germans, of whom he was the captain, and to have captured at the German Coast part of the money sent by Ulloa in payment for grain that the Germans had consumed in the service of the King of Spain, wishing in this way to prevent the Germans and Acadians, who had already risen, to return to their duty.

The prisoners denied the jurisdiction of O'Reilly's court, and argued that they had committed no act of insubordination against Spain, as Ulloa had not exhibited his credentials and had not taken possession in the name of the King of Spain. The tribunal, however, condemned Joseph Petit to imprisonment for life, Balthazar Masan and Julien Jérôme Doucet to imprisonment for ten years, and Pierre Hardy de Boisblanc, Jean Milhet, and Pierre Poupet to imprisonment for six years. They were all taken to Havana and placed in Morro Castle. Nicolas Chauvin de Lafrénière; Jean-Baptiste Noyan, his son-in-law; Pierre Carresse; Pierre Marquis; and Joseph Milhet were condemned, "as chiefs and principal promoters of the conspiracy," to the ordinary punishment of the gallows (as is required by the infamy which they have incurred, *ipso jure*, by their participation in a crime

so horrible), to be led to the gallows on asses, with the rope around their neck, to be hanged until death shall follow, and to remain hanging until I [O'Reilly] decide otherwise." ⁹

Joseph Villeré's memory was condemned as infamous; all the copies of the celebrated "Memorial of the Planters and Merchants of Louisiana on the event of October 29, 1768," and other papers relative to the conspiracy, were ordered to be burned by the hand of the public executioner; and the property of each of the accused was ordered confiscated for the benefit of the Crown. The judgment was rendered on October 24, and on October 25, 1769, the five condemned men were executed in the square of the barracks of the Lisbon regiment, which were on the upper side of the convent of the Ursulines, on Chartres Street. In the archives of the sisters mention is made of the fact that the nuns heard distinctly the firing of the rifles that put an end to the noble lives of Lafrénière, Joseph Milhet, Noyan, Marquis, and Carresse.¹⁰ These heroic men were shot by Spanish soldiers, as there was no hangman in the colony. Lafrénière and his companions died with the greatest courage, and have left names that will be honored in Louisiana to the end of time, together with those of Villeré and the unfortunate prisoners of Morro Castle.

The following is the report of the execution, certified by the clerk of the expedition: ¹¹

In the execution of what was ordered by the definitive sentence which it has pleased his Excellency Don Alejandro O'Reilly, Com-

mander of Benfayan of the Order of Alcantara, Lieutenant-General and Inspector-General of the armies of His Majesty, his Governor and Captain-General of this province of Louisiana, etc., pronounced on the 24th instant, I certify that, being at this hour, to wit, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, at the barracks of the Lisbon regiment, where were in prison for this cause Nicolas Chauvin Lafrénière, Pierre Marquis, Joseph Milhet, Jean-Baptiste Noyan, and Pierre Carresse, all of the French nation, they were taken out of the prison where they were and led under good and sure guard of officers and grenadiers, bound by the arms, to the place of execution, for the fulfilment of the above-mentioned sentence of death pronounced against them; where was a large number of troops which formed a square. And, having advanced to the place where were the culprits, I read in substance the above-mentioned sentence to make known publicly how well-founded was the justice which the King our sovereign, and in his name his Excellency, caused to be executed on these persons as principal chiefs and authors of the conspiracy which broke out in this colony, on the 29th of October of last year, 1768, against the authority and the government of the sovereign; which reading was repeated in the French language by the Sieur Henry Garderat, assisted by the clerk of court, the Sieur Jean-Baptiste Garic, named by his Excellency, and for greater solemnity by the lieutenant of artillery Don Juan Kely, one of the interpreters named by his Excellency; that, in accordance with the order of his Excellency, the sentence was published in a loud voice by the public crier of this city; that soon afterward the culprits, having been placed at the spot where they were to suffer the death penalty, were shot; that having approached immediately afterward the place above-mentioned, I recognized that the said five culprits had received different wounds in the head and in the body, that they were without movement and absolutely deprived of life.

At New Orleans, October 25, 1769, in testimony of the truth:

FRANCOIS XAVIER RODRIGUEZ, Clerk of the Expedition.

On October 26, Rodriguez certifies that, on that day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, he caused to be burned in the public square the "Memorial of the Planters and Merchants," and other papers relating to the same affair. The clerk says he remained at the place until all the papers were reduced to ashes.

The following lines from Judge Martin's History of Louisiana are very significant when we consider the judicial and impartial mind of the author:

Posterity, the judge of men in power, will doom this act to public execration. No necessity demanded, no policy justified it. Ulloa's conduct had provoked the measures to which the inhabitants had resorted. During nearly two years, he had haunted the province as a phantom of dubious authority. The efforts of the colonists to prevent the transfer of their natal soil to a foreign prince originated in their attachment to their own, and the Catholic King ought to have beheld in their conduct a pledge of their future devotion to himself. They had but lately seen their country severed and a part of it added to the dominion of Great Britain; they had bewailed their separation from their friends and kindred; and were afterward to be alienated, without their consent, and subjected to a foreign yoke. If the indiscretion of a few needed an apology, the common misfortune afforded it.

Judge Martin is right: nothing can excuse O'Reilly's cruelty. Spain was powerful enough to be generous, and Charles III would have pardoned men whose only crime was to have loved liberty and France, whence had come Philip V and Vendôme, the victor of Villaviciosa. There is surely no nobler page in any history than that which is presented to us by the "Martyrs of Louisiana."

Gayarré quotes in his History a letter of the Marquis de Grimaldi, one of the ministers of Charles III, to the Count de Fuentes, Spanish ambassador to France, by which we see that O'Reilly went beyond his instructions when he caused Lafrénière and his companions to be executed. Grimaldi says:

The instruction that was given to him [O'Reilly] was, that after taking in that port [Havana] the infantry battalions, the ammunition, and the other things which he should judge necessary, he should go to the colony, and that, after taking possession of it in the name of His Majesty, he should institute proceedings and punish, according to the laws, the chiefs of the insurrection, by sending away from the colony all the persons and families who might disturb its tranquillity. . . . It appeared proper to give M. O'Reilly such extensive instructions, on account of the distance of the country. But as the King, whose character is well known, is always inclined to gentleness and clemency, he ordered that M. O'Reilly be informed that it would be agreeable to the will of His Majesty that he should act with the greatest mildness, and be contented with expelling from the colony those who should deserve a greater punishment.¹²

Petit, Jean Milhet, Poupet, Masan, Doucet, and Hardy de Boisblanc, who had been condemned to imprisonment in Morro Castle, Havana, were liberated in 1771 by the intercession of the French government. The son of Masan went to Madrid and begged the King to pardon his father. The French ambassador joined his entreaties to those of the devoted son, and all the prisoners were released from captivity. This act of clemency proves that the King of Spain would not have consented

to the execution of five of the chiefs of the Revolution of 1768 had an appeal been made to him by O'Reilly. The latter bears the sole responsibility for this cruel deed.

The prisoners of Morro Castle never returned to Louisiana, and are said to have retired to Santo Domingo, at the Cap Français. Baudry des Lozières says that Jean Milhet, on his arrival at Santo Domingo, sent for his family, and that, on seeing his wife and three children, his joy was so great that he died a week later. The unfortunate exiles from Louisiana suffered again during the revolt of the negroes at Santo Domingo, and the wife of Jean Milhet, says Baudry des Lozières, died at Philadelphia. The widow of Lafrénière received from the King of France ten thousand livres, part of which was to be given to the widow of Noyan, Lafrénière's son-in-law.

The Chevalier Bienville de Noyan, *enseigne de vaisseau*,¹³ died in Santo Domingo in March, 1778, where he had formed a partnership with the Baron de Breteuil. As he had been one of the promoters of the Revolution of 1768, O'Reilly had confiscated his property. Villars, the French commissioner in Louisiana, says that the Duke de Duras, the Count de Vergennes, and the Baron de Breteuil, as relatives, protectors, and friends of the Chevalier de Noyan, endeavored to have the confiscation raised, but made the mistake of pleading his innocence, which could not be admitted without casting suspicion on the justice of Count O'Reilly and on that of the King who had ratified the conduct of his general. Now that Noyan is dead, Villars adds that he will make a last at-

tempt in favor of his widow and children, and Governor Galvez will second with all his might the petition to the minister of the Indies.

Thus ended the drama that began when Louis XV ceded to Spain the colony of Louisiana, where were living men of honor and of courage who refused to be transferred to a foreign sovereign. It is a sad and heroic story, and one that should never be forgotten on the soil where was shed the blood of Lafrénière, Noyan, Carresse, Marquis, Joseph Milhet, and Villeré.

CHAPTER XI

OLD PAPERS OF COLONIAL TIMES

Interest of the papers of colonial times—Papers signed by Lafrénière and Foucault—A lawsuit and a petition in 1769—Hunting cattle on the Gentilly coast—Establishment of the cabildo—The governor and the commandants—The alcaldes and the escribano—Case of the slave Bautista—Military life in 1795—Petition from a lady in 1768—Louison, the Indian, freed from slavery—Contract with the Acadians—Father Dagobert's induction into office—A petition from the inhabitants of Cabaha-nocé—Suit against the memory of a supposed self-homicide—Petition in 1769 about a "carriage" (a pirogue).



AMONG the archives of the Louisiana Historical Society are several wooden boxes containing judicial papers of colonial times. The Louisianians of the eighteenth century appear to have been truly religious and honorable, but some of their ideas were peculiar, and their language, as seen in their judicial papers, is somewhat naïve and bombastic. The bombastic style, however, in the eighteenth century, was not restricted to Louisiana. We see it but too often in the writings of French authors, especially those of the minor dramatists who had forgotten the beautiful language of the seventeenth century. They seem to speak to posterity, and they use the longest words to express what they consider to be deep philosophy. Fortunately, says M.

Petit de Julleville, the eminent French critic, the writers of the eighteenth century have kept the secret of their style and have not transmitted it to us. It is, nevertheless, interesting to make a study of that style as exemplified in the Louisiana documents, and to try to understand what was the condition of things in colonial days.

The papers contained in the box marked 1768 and 1769 are of special interest, as they bear the signature of Lafrénière as attorney-general. In October, 1768, the colonists expelled Ulloa, the Spanish governor, and it is interesting to read petitions addressed to that Superior Council which had the boldness and the patriotism to issue the decree of expulsion. A few months later O'Reilly arrived, and on October 25, 1769, Lafrénière and four of his heroic friends were executed, while others were sent to prison. The insurrection against the Spanish governor was general, as the petition sent to the Superior Council asking that Ulloa either show his credentials or depart was signed by five hundred and sixty respectable inhabitants. Foucault, the *commissaire ordonnateur*, was one of the instigators of the Revolution of 1768; but as he was an officer of the King of France, he held himself accountable only to the latter for his conduct, and he was sent back to France. He was first judge of the Council, and his name and that of Lafrénière are to be seen on almost all the French papers for several years.

Among these papers is an account of a lawsuit, which gives a good idea of judicial proceedings and of the style of petitions in April, 1769. Alexandre Reboul, mer-

chant, to "Nos Seigneurs" of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, says, in substance, that as the *Sieur Voisin* was very ill, his family thought it advisable to send him to town to be treated, and he stayed at the *Sieur Reboul's* house, where he died. The plaintiff claims compensation for expenses incurred by having at his house three persons,—that is to say, the widow and the children, besides three slaves. He says they remained more than a month during the illness of the *Sieur Voisin*, and about fifteen days after his death. Plaintiff declares that the widow *Voisin* wishes to deprive him of his rights, but that he owes it to his minor children to insist upon his privileges, and he claims seven hundred and fifty livres. The petition is dated April 22, 1769, and on April 29 *De Lalande*, probably acting in *Foucault's* absence, orders the case to be brought before the Superior Council. *Edme Tranchant Dupuy*, "huissier," certifies that he has notified all parties interested to appear before the Council. The answer of the widow *Voisin*, through her lawyer, the *Sieur Billoard Ch. Dessales*, is very curious:

To the demand little civil of the *Sieur Reboul*: Never have arguments been more painful to present than those which the defendant offers to-day for *Madame Voisin*; obliged to do so, however, he has consulted the said lady, who found herself in consternation and overwhelmed with the greatest resentment and the greatest grief. She has the misfortune to see the children of the late *Sieur Voisin* embittered against her on account of her renunciation of the marriage community, which she has done for the sole purpose of providing a piece of bread for her poor children, who are minors and of tender age. What would the children

of the late M. Voisin require,¹—or rather what should they require, they who are provided for, who have means, who enjoy the comforts of a quiet life? Did they wish that she should abandon to them her own property, to her detriment and that of her own children? Could she do so? And if she had done so, would not her conscience have been alarmed, even lacerated? On the contrary, she threw herself at the feet of the tribunal to implore its justice and be put in possession of the property she had before she married the *Sieur Voisin*, and in that way to protect her children from indigence.

Ought the *Sieur Reboul* to use this means to bring the suit, ill-mannered and most common, which he brings to-day? If it costs the widow *Voisin* tears, sighs, and sobs, she will render justice to the *Sieur Reboul*, to whom it must have cost much also to make this demand. Brought up in the house of the King, in the most distinguished and high sentiments, and to fall at once to institute such vile suits, if nature does not suffer, at least pride does. The silence he has kept thus far is the proof of this. Indeed, forgetting all discretion and forgetting himself, he asks 750 livres for the board of four persons and three servants. *Madame Voisin* is far from being unwilling to indemnify the *Sieur Reboul* for the extraordinary expenses he may have incurred. She is, however, compelled to say that she remained at the *Sieur Reboul's* only fifteen days, and her daughter *Tonton* fifteen days, and *Marie Voisin* was at her aunt's; she never had three servants at one time; she had only one negress at a time, who went back to the plantation to rest when she was tired, and the servants brought their food with them from the plantation.

The expense for twenty-three days for one person can never amount to 750 livres, especially when one has contributed to that expense? Shall this fact be proved? We are compelled to do so, not to be accused of ingratitude. In the time that the *Sieur Voisin* was ill at the house of the *Sieur Reboul*, there were brought from the plantation of the widow three sheep, ten turkeys, twenty chickens, two barrels of rice, one barrel of potatoes,



and every week four pounds of butter and a quantity of vegetables, as well as eggs, four pounds of candles, and twenty loaves of long bread. Shall we say, besides, that very often the boarders wrote tickets for bread, but the *Sieur Reboul*, through generosity, tore them up and would not allow sending to the baker's? Shall we say that money was given to buy meat, but *Madame Reboul* took it away from the servants and would not allow it? What more shall we say? We know not how to defend ourselves; that unexpected attack calls for silence, and only leaves a moment to beg the Court to consider the statement hereto attached, and to order what shall appear proper, so very indignant is *Madame Voisin* at seeing in the plaintiff such feelings, unworthy a former officer in the guards of the King, but such as usually cause lawsuits, in which fortunes are either increased or diminished.

The plea of the *procureur Dessales*, signed May 6, 1769, although somewhat bombastic, is ingenious and caustic. We shall pass to another petition.

The tradition in New Orleans is, that the name *Gentilly* is a corruption of *Chantilly*, the historical palace of the *Montmorencys* and of the *Condés*, which has been bequeathed by the *Duke d'Aumale* to the Institute of France. One of these papers appears to prove that *Gentilly* is a family name, or rather the name of a landed estate which belonged to one of the best-known and oldest Louisiana families.

To "Nos Seigneurs" of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana: The inhabitants of the coast of *Gentilly* have the honor to represent that a certain *Braziller*, living on *Bayou St. John*, has for several years taken the liberty of going on the *Gentilly* grounds to kill cattle which he pretended to believe were wild. A few years ago, by his own authority, he is said to have

left some cattle at a place above Gentilly, called Chef Menteur, which cattle he left for some time on this continent, and then he had them exported to the other side of the lake, and pretended that some have remained on the place, since he does not cease with his negroes to hunt cattle and kill any that he chances to meet and carry them across the lake. It is well to call your attention to the fact that the greater part of the cattle of the planters of the Gentilly coast are and have been at all times on this continent.

The petition declares further that Braziller has just killed two oxen, which he claims as his, and when M. Dreux's negro asked him to show him the skins and heads, to see the marks, he said he had no accounts to render, and that his negroes had eaten and burned the heads, using insulting and threatening words in reply. The planters notified him not to hunt cattle any more on their continent, but he paid no attention to them, and continued as in the past, and a great many cattle are missing, especially from M. Dreux *père*, who ought to have seven to eight hundred cattle, and finds that he has fewer than eighty. The petitioners ask if any one has ever heard of a planter or any other individual hunting the cattle of the planters and laying his hands upon them without notifying the planters of the neighborhood. They say that Braziller sells as meat of wild oxen what is really meat of French oxen; and that there is nothing more impertinent than this man, who threatens to shoot M. Dreux's cattle-keeper. The petitioners, therefore, pray that Braziller and his negroes be forbidden to hunt cattle or any other game on the Gentilly coast; and that he be condemned to pay a fine to the benefit of the Charity

Hospital. Signed, January 14, 1769, by Fazende, S. Bernoudy, Bernoudy, Dreux, Dreux *fi*ls, Dreux Gentilly, and by Lafrénière as attorney-general.

The words "continent," used for the Gentilly coast, and "French oxen" are curious. The latter expression meant undoubtedly oxen belonging to some one, and not wild. The signature "Dreux Gentilly" indicates that the Gentilly coast was named for some landed estate of the Dreux family to which belonged the distinguished Creole orator and Confederate officer, Charles D. Dreux.

The Superior Council, to which were addressed the petitions just mentioned, went out of existence when O'Reilly took possession of the colony in the name of the King of Spain. A cabildo was substituted for the Council, says Judge Martin in his History of Louisiana. This was composed of six perpetual regidores, two ordinary alcaldes, an attorney-general, a syndic, and a clerk. The ordinary alcaldes were judges in New Orleans, and decided without appeal all cases where the value of the object in dispute did not exceed 90,000 maravedis, or \$330.88. Beyond this amount, an appeal lay to the cabildo; but, says Judge Martin, "this body did not itself examine the judgment appealed from, but chose two regidores, who, with the alcalde who had rendered it, reviewed the proceedings, and if he and either of the regidores approved the decision, it was affirmed."

The governor's authority was very great, and he had both executive and judicial power, and to some extent legislative power also. In his judicial capacity he had as counselor the auditor or assessor. The latter person

sometimes had the titles of assessor, auditor, and lieutenant-governor, as in the case of Nicolas Maria Vidal during Carondelet's administration. In the parishes outside of New Orleans there was a commandant who had jurisdiction in civil cases involving not more than twenty dollars. Beyond that amount, the commandant took down the testimony and sent the papers to the governor. He likewise sent to the governor a transcript of the evidence in criminal cases, and had no authority to judge the accused. He was empowered, however, to arrest and imprison him until the governor gave the decision. The commandant was a very important personage in a parish, and had a number of duties to perform.

From what precedes, we see that justice was administered in the city by the two ordinary *alcaldes* and by the governor, and in the parishes, to a limited extent, by the commandant. Two other important officials were the "*escribano publico*," or clerk of the *cabildo*, and the translator. From 1788 to the end of the Spanish domination the "*escribano*" was Pedro Pedesclaux, whose signature is attached to numerous documents.

In 1795 the governor was Don Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, whose administration was marked by internal improvements, and was judicious and wise.

The times of slavery are remote and past forever, and no one regrets them; but as slavery was for many years an institution in Louisiana, it is interesting to see what were the rights of the slave and how he was treated by the courts of justice.

Bautista, a slave of the estate of Widow Reine, de-

declares that by the will of his mistress he was valued at \$350, as she said that he should become the slave of her son Estevan, provided the latter paid to the estate the sum stipulated in the will. Bautista says he has found some one willing to give him the \$350 required, and he begs that the administrator of the estate should grant him his freedom on his paying that amount. The alcalde, Don Ignacio Josef de Lovia, summons the negro Bautista and the executor or administrator of the estate to appear before him, and Pedesclaux, the escribano, certifies to his having notified both. "Doy fee" is the expression he uses. Don Francisco Cousin, the executor, asks that the testament be produced in court, and the alcalde grants the request. This testament, like many others of the time of the Spanish domination, begins with a most fervent prayer. The assertion of the negro that his mistress wished to sell him to her son for \$350 is borne out by the will. The executor, however, denies that this is the value of the slave, and asks that appraisers be appointed to ascertain his value. Both parties are duly notified, and Bautista chooses Don Bernardo Trémoulet, and the executor Don Geronimo Lachiapella. The appraisers are sworn, and Lachiapella values the slave at \$1100, as being an excellent carpenter, and Trémoulet says that he is worth \$600, because he works only as directed by others. The appraisers not agreeing, the alcalde names Don Roberto Jones, master carpenter, as umpire. This decision is communicated to the executor of the estate and to the slave, and the umpire, being sworn, declares, like Don Bernardo Trémoulet, that Bautista

is not an excellent workman, and he values him at \$800. The court accepts the appraisement of the umpire as final, and orders that the parties concerned be informed of the decision. The executor replies that, should the said slave be unable to pay the \$800 stipulated, he (the executor) begs to be authorized to sell him for the account of the estate. The case ends with the statement of Bautista that he cannot pay \$800.

The slave is certainly to be pitied that he did not succeed in obtaining his freedom, but throughout the whole proceeding we observe the equity and impartiality of the court. The slave being a property guaranteed by law, the executor of the estate did his duty in trying to obtain as high a price for him as possible, and the court could not do otherwise than require Bautista to pay the amount of the valuation.

Don Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Order of St. John, Brigadier of the Royal Armies, Governor-General and Royal Vice-Patron of the Province of Louisiana and of West Florida, and Inspector of the Veteran Troops and of the Militia, said, in substance, that on June 3 Martin Villanueva, Captain of the Seventh Company of the First Battalion of the Regiment of Infantry, who was on guard with his colonel, informed the governor that he had taken to prison a civilian named Faré, whom he had met quarreling with a soldier of the Regiment of Mexico. He arrested the latter also, and sent him to his quarters, and took away from Faré a knife, which he brought to the governor. A soldier named Amort was witness of the facts. The gov-

ernor, therefore ordered the escribano, Pedesclaux, to ascertain the quality and dimensions of the knife, and to summon as experts the master armorer, Pedro Lambert, and the blacksmith, Marcelino Hernandez, who should testify under oath whether the knife was one of those prohibited by the royal edicts. Captain Villanueva, the soldier Amort, and the soldier of the Regiment of Mexico, were also to appear as witnesses in the case, of which the lieutenant-governor, Nicolas Maria Vidal, was to be the judge. The escribano proceeded to measure the knife, of which he gave a curious and exact drawing, and of which the dimensions were: blade, seven inches and three lines, with a point; wooden handle, four inches and three lines, and attached to the blade by three nails. The experts, Lambert and Hernandez, testified under oath—the first through the interpreter, Estevan de Quiñones, the second directly—that the knife was one of which the use was forbidden in the colony. Captain Villanueva testified that, being on duty in the evening at the house of his colonel, Don Francisco Bouligny, he heard the sentinel calling, and on going out to see what it was, he perceived a civilian holding a knife in his hand and pursuing a soldier of the Regiment of Mexico. He took the knife from the civilian, and carried it to the governor. Being asked if he knew the civilian, he said he was a baker at whose shop the soldiers often bought bread. He added that the man was very drunk (“muy borracho”), as on entering the guard-house he lay down on an old sofa that was there. Being asked if the baker and the soldier of Mexico were wounded, he replied that they

were not, but that the latter bore traces of blows on his face.

The testimony of the soldier of the Regiment of Mexico is quite curious and interesting. He relates that, as the baker was on friendly terms with the soldiers of the regiment, in which were some men called John (Juan), the latter ordered a pie from the baker, and invited him to come and celebrate their feast with them. The baker went, and on leaving the quarters of the soldiers he saw that it was raining very hard. He asked the witness to lend him a coat, and the latter borrowed that of his sergeant, who ordered him to accompany the baker to his house, so that he might bring back the coat. On arriving at the baker's house, the soldier was invited to come in, and he found at the baker's several persons. They all began to drink, and the baker, says the witness, became completely drunk ("enteramente borracho"), and when he was asked for the sergeant's coat, he and his friends beat the soldier unmercifully. The latter, to defend himself, gave a kick at the baker, who seized a knife and pursued him into the street. The knife was duly identified by all the witnesses and the testimony of every one was very damaging to the enraged and drunken "panadero." The judgment of Lieutenant-Governor Vidal is not recorded.

The Sieur Monsanto, a merchant, claiming a large sum of money from a lady, the latter says that her deceased husband compelled her, in 1763, to sign an act by which he admitted a debt of 25,000 livres in paper money of the colony, in exchange for 12,500 livres in

coin. She says that the livre in paper at that time was worth only one fourth of a livre in coin, and that as the creditor has already received 7500 livres in coin, an amount equal to 30,000 livres in paper, she now (October 1, 1768) begs the Superior Council to release her from her obligations, and adds that she has nothing but her life and her tears, weak resources which all women have. The decision of the Council is not given.

On April 30, 1770, the *Sieur Pierre Clermont* appeared before the notary of the *cabildo* and declared that he had had for a long time in his service an Indian named *Louison*, of the nation of the "Sious." The latter has served him with so much attachment and zeal that he desires to reward him, and believes that the best way to do so is to give him his freedom. As, however, he has an indispensable need of the Indian for three years longer, and he fears that he might be prevented by death from liberating him, he declares it to be his wish that in three years *Louison* be set free and enjoy all the rights of freedom. *Louison*, in his turn, declares that he thanks the *Sieur Clermont*, and promises to serve him faithfully three years. He also says that he agrees to lose all rights given to him by his master if he should prove ungrateful to him.

The fact of an Indian of the *Sioux* tribe being a slave in New Orleans in 1770 is strange, and the name of the savage, *Louison*, is stranger still. It must have been very humiliating to an Indian brave to change his own proud name to that of a woman.

In a paper dated April 4, 1765, we see a contract be-

tween Antoine Bernard Dauterive, former captain of infantry, and Joseph Broussard, *dit* Beausoleil, Alexandre Broussard, Joseph Guillebeau, Jean Duga, Olivier Thibaudau, Jean-Baptiste Broussard, Pierre Arcenaud, and Victor Broussard, chiefs of the Acadians. Captain Dauterive promises to furnish each Acadian family with five cows with their calves, and one bull, for six consecutive years, and he will take the risk of the loss of the cattle only the first year. As soon as he shall be notified of a loss he will immediately replace the animal by another one of the same kind, without holding the Acadians responsible for losses by death during the first year. He reserves the right to rescind the contract after three years, and to take back his cattle, all increase being equally divided between him and them. The Acadians may sell some of the cattle before the expiration of the contract, provided they give him half the price received. At the end of six years they must give back to M. Dauterive the same number of cattle that they received from him, and of the same age and kind as those that had been received, all increase and profits to be equally divided between M. Dauterive and the Acadians. The chiefs of the latter bind themselves and colleagues *in solido*, and mortgage all their property, and so does M. Dauterive. The contract is signed before Garic, notary, in the presence of Aubry, acting governor of the colony; Foucault, *ordonnateur*; Lafrénière, attorney-general, and Mazange and Couturier.

It is not stated where the Acadians were to go after leaving New Orleans; but some of their chiefs certainly

went to the Attakapas country, for in the church register in St. Martinville is a certificate of the birth of a daughter of Olivier Thibaudau, born on May 10, 1765, probably the first child born in Louisiana of Acadian parents. The contract proves that the Acadians were well received in the province; for in the agreement with M. Dauterive all the advantages were on their side. For the first year they were protected against loss of their cattle, and they were to receive half the profits. As to the mortgage on the property, they had far less to lose than M. Dauterive, who must have been wealthy, while they are represented as having come to Louisiana in great distress.

The contract between M. Dauterive and the chiefs of the Acadians is important in that it proves that the help given to the Acadians came from individuals as well as from the government. The latter, however, seemed to assume the responsibility of the agreement, as the paper was signed by the first officials of the government. The Acadians, doubtless, received their lands free from the government.

Father Dagobert's name is so well known in Louisiana, and is connected with so many legends and poems, that it is interesting to reproduce the official account of his taking possession of his pastoral office on October 7, 1764. Garic, royal notary of the province of Louisiana and chief clerk of the Superior Council, certifies that the Rev. Father Dagobert de Longory, former superior of the Capuchin missionaries from Champagne, has presented a commission from the Rev. Father Hilaire de G  neveaux, which gives to Father Dagobert possession,

collation, and charge, as curate, of the parochial church of St. Louis, in New Orleans, with all rights and privileges. The said commission given by the Rev. Father Hilaire de G  neveaux, as superior of the missions of Louisiana, has been ordered registered by the Superior Council and recognized; and, therefore, the clerk of the Council went to the cathedral at eight o'clock in the morning when the curate was to take possession of the church. The persons present were Lafr  ni  re, Duclos, assistant attorney-general; Cantrelle and Jacquelin, churchwardens; Dreux, Huchet de Kernion, Le Breton, Aubry, and other notable inhabitants of the province.

The clerk read Father Dagobert's commission and the decree of the Council, and then Father Eustache, former curate, put his successor in possession of his office. The ceremonies were: putting on the stole, taking holy water, prayers before the principal altar, visiting the pulpit and the baptismal fonts, ringing the bells, standing at the place where the curate is to officiate at the altar, and other formalities. Then the clerk proclaimed in a loud and intelligible voice that Father Dagobert had taken possession of his office, and, no one protesting, immediately the *Te Deum* was sung and the act drawn up by Clerk Garc   was signed by all present.

In 1796 a petition was addressed to Governor Carondelet by the inhabitants of St. James parish, district of Cabaha-noc  . It appears that the parish priest, Father de Azuquequa, having died, the court ordered the servant of the parsonage to be sold and the price paid to Father Mangan, successor to Father de Azuquequa. The in-

habitants of the parish protest against the judgment, and appeal to the governor. Their petition is interesting and is better written than most documents of that time. It is drawn up in French, in what seems to be the handwriting of Michel Cantrelle, commandant of the parish, and then admirably translated into Spanish by Juan Josef Duforest. The petitioners declare that it is well known that since their arrival in this country they have built at their own expense a church for divine service; that they have kept it in as good condition as they could; that they have always given good lodging to the priest; that they have bought, with the consent of Bishop Cirilo, of Barcelona, servants for the use of the priest and themselves. The slaves are to serve them during Lent and at other times when, the distance being too great, they are not able to return home without eating something. The servants are also to provide them with water to drink on Sundays. Why should they be deprived of that convenience, which costs nothing to any one except to them? It is said to be against the regulations of the church, but they are utterly ignorant of such regulations. They say they ask for no favor, but simply claim justice, and request that not a cent (*denier*) be taken from the estate of Father de Azuquequa before their rights are determined. "In short," they say, "in order to prove to the world that we are not looking for quarrels or quibbles, we ask no other judges but your Excellency and Monseigneur the bishop, having full confidence in your equity and impartiality. As vice-patron royal, we dare hope that you will receive our demand favorably, which has no other

aim but to end an unpleasant suit that deprives us of the tranquillity that has always reigned in this parish, and prevents us from contributing as generously as we should like to the care of the church. In order that you may be informed perfectly of our reasons, we shall name, to explain them if you judge proper, two old inhabitants of our parish, to whom will be added our commandant, Don Miguel Cantrelle, who knows better than any one what concerns our community." The petition is signed by many persons whose descendants still live in St. James parish.

The name Cabaha-nocé, which was said to mean "the ducks' sleeping place," was given by Governor Roman to his plantation, and should have been preserved in St. James parish. We should at least respect the Indian names, which remind us of the aborigines and their legends.

Bienville, the founder of New Orleans, father of the colony, asked to be relieved of his office of governor after his unfortunate war with the Chickasaws, and returned to France in 1743. His successor was the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1741. In 1753 he was appointed Governor of Canada, and left Louisiana, where he was known as the "Grand Marquis." During his administration took place an event that reveals a curious phase of the life of our ancestors in the eighteenth century. It shows that, however peculiar some of their ideas may appear to us, they were always actuated by feelings of honor and justice. On April 18, 1752, Raguet, member of the Superior Council, declares that he has made an "information," at the

request of the attorney-general, Fleuriau, plaintiff and accuser of the memory of a soldier named André Servinien, *dit* La Rochelle, accused of having destroyed himself by a gunshot in the head, said "information" being of his life and morals as well as of his suicide. Joseph Odoy, soldier of the company of Benoist, swears that he is neither a relative nor a servant of the accused, and testifies that La Rochelle, a soldier of his company and of his mess, killed himself with his gun yesterday morning, between eight and nine o'clock. Witness had gone to the river to get some water, and on returning found La Rochelle dead. One hour before this La Rochelle had taken a knife, saying that he wished to destroy himself; and every day, as soon as he had taken a drink, he became terribly angry, and in his great furies he even threatened to kill his father, and his comrades had to prevent him from killing himself. Witness was never on intimate terms with him, on account of his violence and bad temper, and it is possible that sometimes his mind wandered (*fut écarté*). Jean Louis Rabido, soldier of the same company, testifies that La Rochelle had extraordinary fits of anger and fury, taking a knife to cut his stomach, and making blood flow, cursing and abusing the name of God, acting in a way to make witness shudder, and saying he would never pardon his father. Witness believes that when La Rochelle had taken some drinks his mind wandered. Pierre Filcher and André Desjardins, soldiers, make the same statements as the preceding witnesses. They believe that La Rochelle's mind was alienated, and they say that, while at the can-

teen, he went from table to table, taking the bottles and drinking like a madman.

On April 19, 1752, the attorney-general appears before Commissioner Raguet and declares that he has just heard that the body of André Servinien, *dit La Rochelle*, against whose memory and corpse he was prosecuting this criminal suit, has been taken away from the cabin in the King's Hospital, where it had been deposited. Thereupon, M. Raguet and the attorney-general went to the hospital, questioned two students in medicine, Chastang and Dupont, and also the two Ursuline nuns in charge of the hospital, but could obtain no information concerning the soldier's body. The nuns declared that they had passed the night at their monastery, and only heard, between four and five o'clock, that the body had been taken away; it must have been done during the great thunderstorm in the night. On the same day, April 19, Raguet says that as Servinien, "homicided," has no relatives in this colony, he has named curator to his memory Pierre Cécile, who, being duly notified, has accepted the office and sworn to defend faithfully the memory of Servinien. On April 20, the witnesses, Odo, Rabido, Filcher, and Desjardins, were brought before M. Raguet, and their testimony, given on April 18, was read to them and duly approved by them. On April 20, Pierre Cécile, curator, appeared before the commissioner and was asked all kinds of questions about Servinien, *dit La Rochelle*. He related the facts already given by the witnesses, soldiers in Servinien's company; and being asked if he had anything to say in favor of the memory of Servinien, he

replied that the latter had the mind of a madman, and that there was more madness in him than despair.

On April 21, all the witnesses were again brought before the commissioner and examined by the curator, and they all gave the same testimony as before. Here ended the labors of the Commissioner Raguët, and the suit was carried for judgment before the Superior Council itself, presided over by the governor. On May 6 Curator Cécile appeared before the Council, and he again narrated the same facts, and offered the same defense as before M. Raguët. Therefore the Council rendered the following decision: Whereas, it appears that André Servinien, *dit* La Rochelle, was not in his proper senses, and his mind was alienated and attacked with fury: it is resolved that his memory be discharged of the accusation brought against it. Signed by Vaudreuil, governor; Michel, *ordonnateur*; D'Auberville, commissioner of marine; and Raguët, De Lalande, Huchet de Kernion, Le Breton, members of the Council.

In April, 1769, M. Sorel requested his friend, Dr. Lebeau, to endeavor to find and return to him a pirogue that was stolen from him. Dr. Lebeau found a pirogue that agreed with the description given to him by M. Sorel, and obtained from Foucault, *ordonnateur* and first judge of the Council, an order that experts be named to decide whether the pirogue was M. Sorel's or not. The experts, after examining carefully the pirogue, or "voiture," decided that it agreed with the description given by M. Sorel, and Dr. Lebeau thought he had obtained possession of his friend's property.

But the Sieur Saligny, from "la Côte des Allemands," intervened and claimed the pirogue as his. In his petition he speaks harshly of Dr. Lebeau, and claims not only the pirogue, but damages and two days' pay for three Germans who had come with him to identify his property. Dr. Lebeau, replying to Saligny's petition, says that the experts have examined the pirogue, have measured it, have found a hole made by a knot in the wood and closed it by a plank, and now it is said the hole was closed by a plug. "A plug is not nailed; it is a cylindrical body, whose base is about equal to the point, and the piece of wood that closes the hole is three inches in diameter and two inches in depth; therefore it is not a plug. Is the Sieur Sorel in default for not having made a geometrical plan of the object? One of my negroes testified that in M. Sorel's pirogue there were one hundred pegs to close small holes, and in the pirogue in dispute two hundred. Now, that negro cannot count further than twenty. The story of this pirogue is a strange incident, for it would require all the pirogues in the universe to find two so exactly alike as this one and M. Sorel's. Men are all under the protection of the laws, but especially honest people, whose labor is useful to society, and not people whose occupation is to the detriment of society, like these coast runners ('coureurs de côte'), who, under pretext of bringing merchandise, carry disorder and death to the plantations, by selling rum there. The police of a country should not only see that there should be no useless members of society, but also should remove the vicious members. We must therefore know who are

Saligny and his associates. Where do they come from? How are they here? Are they not amphibious—sometimes Englishmen, sometimes Frenchmen? Does their labor contribute to the welfare of humanity? The constant thefts of pirogues are the work of coast runners, deserters. If the want of complete proof always protects them, there is nothing which they will not attempt to do. Presumption of guilt should always be against persons who have an illicit commerce and who labor to foment vice.”

Dr. Lebeau's petition is energetic and fearless, and gives a good idea of the customs of the time. The word vehicle or carriage (“voiture”), used for pirogue, shows that in 1769 our fathers lived on the banks of rivers and bayous, and used their pirogues principally as means of transportation.

NOTES

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹ Bancroft says: "It was supposed to be an island, and received the name of Florida, from the day on which it was discovered, and from the aspect of the forests, which were then brilliant with a profusion of blossoms, and gay with the fresh verdure of early spring." (History of the United States, Vol. I, page 33.)

² W. B. Scaife, *America, its Geographical History*.

³ Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*.

⁴ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi. Luis Hernandez de Biedma, A Gentleman of Elvas, in collection of B. F. French.

CHAPTER II

¹ Translation of B. F. French.

² John Gilmary Shea's *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana* (New York, 1880).

³ I follow Parkman's translation, and insert the words omitted by him.

CHAPTER III

¹ Margry, *Origines françaises des Pays d'Outre-Mer*, Vol. IV, Introduction.

² Alex. Jodoin et J. L. Vincent, *Histoire de Longueuil et de la Famille de Longueuil*, page 82.

³ There is some uncertainty about the fate of Sauvole, brother of Iberville and Bienville.

⁴ Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, page 14.

⁵ *Journal de la Navigation de Le Moyne d'Iberville* (Décembre, 1698-3 Mai, 1699). Margry, Vol. IV.

⁶ *Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane.*

⁷ In Margry, Vol. V, page 312, this fort is called "Maurepas." It was generally known by the name of "Biloxi," and later "Old Biloxi."

⁸ 13th, according to Iberville's journal; 14th, according to Châteaumorant's report; and 11th, according to *Journal Historique.*

⁹ *Journal in Margry, Vol. IV.*

¹⁰ Margry, Vol. V, page 395.

¹¹ Margry, Vol. IV, page 190.

¹² Le Page du Pratz, in his *History of Louisiana*, Vol. I, page 276, gives another version. He says that when the English ship reached the bend in the river they had no wind to turn around it, and having tried to land, they were attacked by the Ouachas and Chaouchas Indians, who had been watching them. They turned back, whence the name "English Turn."

¹³ *Journal Historique*, page 19.

¹⁴ The first settlement in the present State of Louisiana; the fort is called "Maurepas" by some historians. It was abandoned in 1705.

¹⁵ He was not a brother of Iberville and Bienville, as has been often said.

¹⁶ According to the *Journal Historique.* Iberville, in his journal, says January 10 and 16 leagues.

CHAPTER IV

¹ Magne's *Notes et Documents Historiques*, Louisiana Historical Society, page 103.

² Jean Le Camp's child was "the first Creole" of the colony. With regard to this fact, Mr. Peter J. Hamilton, author of *Colonial Mobile*, says in his *Beginning of French Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, note to page 5 (*Gulf States Historical Magazine*, 1902): "His name was Jean François, and he was baptized by the curé Huvé, on the day of his birth, October 4, 1704. His father was probably named Jean Le Camp. The family name Le Camp can hardly be made out in the first church entry, but Prof. Alcée For-

tier lately found at Paris, in a census report of two years later, the name spelled Le Camp. The church entries show a Jean Le Camp in 1709. The statement of Pickett that the first Creole was the son of Jousset is incorrect. There is a curious entry in the records of 1745, at the death of Robert Tallon, cabinet-maker, that he was 'the first Creole of the colony.' This would indicate, perhaps, that Jean François Le Camp had died before that, or that Robert Tallon had been born before him, which may well be, as the colony had existed even at Fort Louis two years before the church records begin." Bienville and La Salle say in their census, "Jean Le Camp has the first male child born in Louisiana." This is conclusive.

³ Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society, page 11.

⁴ François Xavier Martin, History of Louisiana.

⁵ Crozat graciously named one of his ships *La Louisiane*, which carried provisions and goods to the colony.

⁶ The letters patent were given at Fontainebleau and are dated September 14, 1712. See French MSS., Mississippi Valley, in the custody of the Louisiana Historical Society.

⁷ In Margry, Vol. V, page 350, we see a memorial, dated February 27, 1700, and addressed to Jérôme Pontchartrain by Juchereau de Saint-Denys, asking to be allowed to form a settlement at Mississippi. On June 4, 1701, permission was granted the Sieur Juchereau, "lieutenant-general of the jurisdiction of Montreal," to establish a tannery at the Mississippi. Juchereau made his settlement at the "Ouabache" (the Ohio), and on September 6, 1704, Bienville reported that he died "last autumn." The Saint-Denys, or "St. Denis," mentioned so often by Pénicaut and other chroniclers is identified by Dr. Shea (see Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, page 25) as Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denys, who, according to Charlevoix and Pénicaut, was the uncle of Iberville's wife. It was Saint-Denys, says Pénicaut, who commanded the fort on the Mississippi and received orders to abandon it in 1705.

⁸ Monette, History of the Valley of the Mississippi.

⁹ In 1721 Fort Louis of Mobile was named Fort Condé, and the fort at New Biloxi was named Fort Louis.

¹⁰ Henri Martin, Histoire de France.

¹¹ The letters patent were issued at Paris in August, 1717. See French MSS., Louisiana Historical Society.

¹² Margry, Vol. V, page 290.

¹³ Journal Historique.

¹⁴ The intention of the Western Company had been at first to establish the town to be called "Nouvelle Orléans" at Manchac, as it would be convenient to communicate by Iberville River with Mobile. If we were to believe Pénicaud's statement (Margry, Vol. V, page 549), New Orleans was founded in 1717 and not in 1718. He says that Bienville told Governor De l'Épinay that he had noticed a very suitable place to form a settlement on the bank of the Mississippi, and that De l'Épinay sent Bienville in the beginning of the winter to build that new establishment. The Journal Historique, however, is much more reliable than Pénicaud's Relation, and its statement about the foundation of New Orleans may be accepted as correct.

¹⁵ It was in reality the Superior Council remodeled. It had been created on December 18, 1712, for a period of three years, on the plan of the Council of the other French colonies, and on September 17, 1716, it was made "perpetual and irrevocable." See French MSS., Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁶ On January 8, 1721, the *Baleine* arrived with eighty-eight girls from the hospital of La Salpêtrière in Paris. They were under the direction of Sister Gertrude, and had all been brought up from childhood in the hospital. (Pénicaud, in Margry, Vol. V, page 581.)

¹⁷ Gayarré, Histoire de la Louisiane, Vol. I, page 195.

¹⁸ In a letter dated Fort Louis (Biloxi), March 9, 1722, Engineer Pauger says his superior officer, Leblond de la Tour, ordered him to go to New Orleans to trace the plan of a regular town. On March 29, 1721, he found at New Orleans only a few huts (*barraques*) among briars and trees, and he traced all streets fronting on the river. In Dumont's Mémoires Historiques de la Louisiane there is a plan of New Orleans made by Leblond de la Tour and Pauger. It was the latter who established the post at the Balize in March, 1723. (Margry, Vol. V, page 657.)

¹⁹ Margry, Vol. V, page 553.

²⁰ Charlevoix, Journal d'un Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, Vol. VI.

²¹ One of the few Indian tribes still existing in Louisiana, at Charenton, on Bayou Tèche. They make beautiful baskets.

²² Le Page gives the narrative of Moncaht-apé, of the tribe of the Yazoos, of his journey to the east as far as the ocean, and to the west up the Missouri River as far as the mountains. The narrative of Moncaht-apé is very interesting and is accepted as authentic.

CHAPTER V

¹ The original of the edict, written on excellent parchment and signed by the King, by the minister Phelypeaux (Maurepas), by Fleuriau, Dodun, and Rossard, is to be found in the volume of French MSS., Mississippi Valley, in the custody of the Louisiana Historical Society.

² The same regulations applied to the French islands.

CHAPTER VI

¹ Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Vol. II.

² "The toise is a measure of six feet, but it must be remembered this French foot is 12.78933 English inches, and thus longer than our own." (Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, page 70.)

³ Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques*.

⁴ Mother Tranchepain died on November 11, 1733, before the nuns entered their convent. Sister Madeleine Haehard died on August 9, 1760.

⁵ Gravier, *Relation du Voyage des Ursulines*.

⁶ The treaty between the Jesuits and the Company of the Indies was signed on February 20, 1726, and approved by the King on August 17, 1726. (See French MSS., Mississippi Valley, Louisiana Historical Society.)

⁷ *Extraits des Manuscrits d'un Anglais habitant la Louisiane de 1719 à 1753*. Rev. C. M. Widman, S. J., and Dr. G. Devron, in *Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais*, 1899.

⁸ The name is written also Louboey.

⁹ J. F. H. Claiborne, Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State.

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CHAPTER VII

ff. 116-110

¹ Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. III.

² Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society, page 2.

³ The retrocession of the Province of Louisiana and of the country of the Illinois, made by the Company of the Indies, was accepted by the King on January 23, 1731. (Margry, Vol. V, page 590.)

⁴ D'Artaguet, says Gayarré, was to obtain reinforcements from the Cahokias and the Mitchigamias under Montcherval. Margry, in his *Documents sur la Louisiane*, says the name of the commander was *Mont-Chervaux* and not *Montcherval*.

⁵ Young D'Artaguet was a brother of the commissary who became commandant, or *lieutenant de roi*, at Mobile. They were sons of the old *commissaire ordonnateur*. (Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, page 108.)

⁶ Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society, page 260, and Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II, page 322.

⁷ Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. I.

⁸ The Governor of Canada had first sent the Baron de Longueil, Major of Montreal, a nephew of Bienville, as commander of the contingent sent by him; but Longueil had an attack of sciatica, and Céloron took his place. (Margry's *Documents sur la Louisiane*, Louisiana Historical Society.)

⁹ Margry's Documents, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹⁰ Margry's Documents sur la Louisiane, Louisiana Historical Society.

¹¹ Martin, *History of Louisiana*.

¹² L. Dussieux, *Le Canada sous la Domination Française*, page 123. F. X. Garneau, *Histoire du Canada*, page 202. Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages*, Vol. I, page 212, says that we must distinguish M. de Villiers, known as the Great Villiers, who went to avenge Jumonville's death, from the Chevalier de Villiers who was stationed at Fort Chartres.

¹³ Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*.

¹⁴ We give Kerlérec's name with the acute accent as he signed it himself.

¹⁵ The name is also spelled Beaudrot.

CHAPTER VIII

¹ Étienne-François, Duke de Choiseul, born 1719, died 1785. He was first known by the name of Count de Stainville. He should be distinguished from his cousin, César-Gabriel de Choiseul (1712-1785), Duke de Praslin, known as Count de Choiseul until 1762. The latter became minister of foreign affairs in 1761, and it was he who signed the treaty of Paris in 1763. He is generally known as Choiseul-Praslin, while the able minister of Louis XV is known as Choiseul-Stainville.

² George Bancroft, History of the United States, Vol. IV.

³

ORIGINAL TEXT OF TREATY

3 9^{bre} 1762.

LE ROI TRÈS CHRETIEN étant dans la ferme résolution de resserrer de plus en plus, et de perpetuer les liens de la tendre amitié qui l'unissent au Roi Catholique son Cousin, se propose d'agir en conséquence en tout tems et à tous égards avec Sa Majesté Catholique dans une parfaite uniformité de principes relativement à la Gloire commune de leur Maison, et à l'interet réciproque de leurs Monarchies.

Dans cette vue Sa Majesté très Chretienne veritablement sensible aux sacrifices que le Roi Catholique a bien voulu faire généreusement pour concourir avec Elle au retablissement de la paix, a désiré de lui donner à cette occasion une preuve du vif intérêt qu'elle prend à sa satisfaction et aux avantages de sa Couronne.

Pour cet effet le Roi très Chretien a autorisé le Duc de Choiseul son Ministre à delivrer dans la forme la plus autentique au Marquis de Grimaldi ambassadeur extraordinaire du Roi Catholique, un acte par lequel Sa Majesté Très Chretienne cede en toute propriété, purement et simplement, et sans aucune exception, à Sa Majesté Catholique et à Ses Successeurs à perpétuité, tout le Pays connu sous le nom de la Louisiane, ainsi que la Nouvelle Orleans et l'Isle dans laquelle cette ville est située.

Mais le Marquis de Grimaldi n'étant pas assez exactement informé des intentions de Sa Majesté Catholique, á cru ne devoir accepter la dite cession, que conditionnellement et *sub spe rati*, en attendant les ordres qu'il recevra du Roi son maitre, lesquels, s'ils sont conformes aux desirs de Sa Majesté Très Chretienne, comme elle l'espere, seront immédiatement suivis de l'acte formel et autentique

de la cession dont il s'agit, dans lequel seront stipulées les mesures à prendre et l'époque à fixer d'un commun accord, tant pour l'évacuation de la Louisiane et de la Nouvelle Orleans par les sujets de Sa Majesté Très Chretienne, que pour la prise de possession des dits pays et ville par les sujets de Sa Majesté Catholique.

En temoignage de quoi nous Ministres respectifs avons signé le présent acte préliminaire et y avons fait apposer le cachet de nos armes.

Fait à Fontainebleau le trois Novembre mille sept cent soixante deux.

(L. S.) Le Duc De Choiseul (L. S.) el marq^s de Grimaldi.

ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE TREATY OF ACCEPTANCE

Don Carlos, por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalem, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Cordova, de Corcega, de Murcia, de Jaen, de los Algarves, de Algecira, de Gibraltar, de las islas de Canaria, de las Indias Orientales, y Occidentales, Islas, y tierra firme del Mar Oceano; Archiduque de Austria; Duque de Borgoña, de Brabante, y de Milan; Conde de Absburg, de Flandes, del Firol, y de Barcelona; Señor de Vizcaya y de Molina, &c., Sor quanto aviendo llegado el caso de firmarse el dia tres del presente mes los Preliminares de una Paz entre la Corona de España y la de Francia de une parte, la de Inglaterra y Portugal de otra, hà tenido à bien el Rey Christianisimo mi mui caro y mui amado Primo, por puro efecto de la nobleza de su Corazon y del amor y amistad en que vivimos, disponer que el Marques de Grimaldi mi Embassador Extraordinario cerca de su R^l. persona, y el Duque de Choiseul su Ministro de Estado, firmasen en el mismo dia un acto por el qual cede desde luego la Corona de Francia à la de España el Pais conocido bajo el nombre de la Luisiana, la nueva Orleans, y la Isla en que esta Villa halla situada, y en el qual el citado mi Embassador admite la cesion tan solo *sub spe rati*, por no hallarse con ordenes mias, que deviesen determinar—le á egecutar lo absolutamente el tenor de cuyo acto es el siguiente.

(Here follows the treaty of Fontainebleau—French text.)

Por tanto, mirando yo a que efectuada esta generosa accion del Rey Christianisimo sirva para que se arraigue entre las dos Naciones Española y Francesa el espiritu de union y amistad que las conviene

à exemplo del que anima à sus actuales soberanos, me complazco de aceptar ademas los que se juzgasen necesarios para llevarla à su entero formal efecto, y autorizando para que los trate, concluya y firme al mencionado Marqués de Grimaldi. En fé de lo qual hé mandado despachar la presente firmada de mi mano, sellada con mi sello secreto, y refrendada de mi infrascrito Consexero de Estado y primer Secretario del Despacho de Estudio y Guerra. En San Lorenzo el R! a treze de Noviembre de mil setecientos sesenta y dos.

(Seal)

Yo el Rey.

RICARDO WATT.

⁴ Notes et Documents, page 467.

⁵ Gayarré, Histoire de la Louisiane, Vol. II.

⁶ Lettre du Roy a M. d'Abbadie, command^t. à la Louisiane pour qu'il fasse entre les mains du Commissaire que le Roy d'Esp^e. nommera remise du dit pays ainsi que de la Nouvelle Orleans et de l'isle dans laquelle cette Ville est située, conformément a l'acte de cession passé à fontainebleau le 3 9^{bre} 1762, et accepté par un autre acte signé par sa M. C. le 17 du meme mois dont les copies sont cy jointes.

Mons. Dabbadie par un acte particulier passé à fontainebleau le 3. 9^{bre} 1762, ayant cédé de ma pleine Volonté a Mon tres Cher et tres Amé Cousin le Roy d'Espagne et a Ses Successeurs et Heritiers, en toute propriété purement et simplement et sans aucune Exception tout le Pays connu sous le Nom de la Louisiane, ainsi que la Nouvelle Orleans et L'Isle dans laquelle cette ville est située et par un autre acte passé à l'Eseurial, Signé du Roy d'Espagne, le 13. 9^{bre} de la même année, sa Majesté Catholique ayant accepté la Cession dudit Pays de la Louisiane et de la Ville et Isle de la Nouvelle Orleans, conformément a la Copie des dits actes que vous trouverez cy joints, je Vous fais cette Lettre pour vous dire que Mon Intention est qu'a la reception de la présente et des Copies cy jointes, soit qu'elle vous parvienne par les Officiers de Sa Majesté Catholique, ou en droiture, par les batiments françois qui en seront Chargés, Vous ayiez à remettre entre les Mains du Gouverneur, ou Officier a ce préposé par le Roy d'Espagne, ledit Pays et Colonie de la Louisiane et postes en deppendants, ensemble les Ville et Isle de la Nouvelle Orleans, Telles qu'elles se trouveront au jour de ladite Cession, voulant qu'a l'avenir elles appartiennent a Sa Majesté Catholique,

pour Etre Gouvernées et administrées par Ses Gouverneur et Officiers Comme luy appartenant En toute propriété et Sans aucune Exception. je Vous ordonne En conséquence, qu'aussitôt que le Gouverneur et les Troupes de Sa Majesté Catholique Seront arrivés dans lesdits pays et Colonies, vous ayez a les mettre en possession et en retirer tous les officiers, Soldats et Employés, appartenants a mon service qui y Seroient encore en garnison, pour envoyer en France, ou dans mes autres Colonies d'Amerique ceux qui ne jugeroient pas a propos de rester sous la domination Espagnole. je desire de plus qu'après l'Entière Evacuation desdits Postes et Ville de la Nouvelle Orleans, vous ayez à rassembler tous les papiers et documents relatifs aux finances et a l'administration de la Colonie de la Louisiane, pour Venir en France en regler les Comptes, mon Intention est néanmoins que Vous remettiez audit Gouverneur, ou officier a ce préposé, tous les papiers et documents qui Concerneront Spécialement le Gouvernement de cette Colonie, soit par rapport au Territoire et a ses Limites, soit par rapport aux Sauvages et aux differents Postes, après en avoir tiré les receus convenables pour votre décharge et que vous donniez audit Gouverneur tous les renseignements qui dépendront de vous, pour le Mettre en Etat de Gouverneur ladite Colonie à la Satisfaction de Sa Majesté Catholique. et afin que lad. Cession Soit faite à la Satisfaction reciproque des deux Nations ma Volonté est qu'il soit dressé un Inventaire signé double entre Vous et le Commissaire de Sa Majesté Catholique, de toute l'Artillerie, Armes, Munitions, Effets, Magazins, Hopitaux Batiments de Mer &c Qui m'appartiennent dans lad. Colonie, afin qu'après avoir mis led. Commissaire Espagnol en possession des Batiments et Edifices Civils, il soit dressé ensuite un procès verbal d'Estimation de tous lesdits Effets qui resteront sur les Lieux et dont le prix sera remboursé par Sa Majesté Catholique sur le pied de lad. Estimation. j'espere en même tems pour l'avantage et la tranquillité des habitants de la Colonie de la Louisiane et je me promets en Consequence de l'amitié et affection de Sa Majesté Catholique qu'elle voudra bien donner des ordres à son Gouverneur et a tous autres officiers Employés à Son Service dans lad. Colonie et Ville de la Nouvelle Orleans pour que les Ecclesiastiques et Maisons religieuses qui deservent les Cures et les Missions y continuent leurs fonctions et y jou-

issent des droits, privileges et Exemptions qui leur ont été attribués par les titres de leurs Etablissements: que les Juges ordinaires continuent, ainsi que le Conseil Superieur, a rendre la justice, suivant les Loix, formes et usages de la Colonie: Que les habitants y soient gardés et maintenus dans leurs possessions: qu'ils soient Confirmés dans les propriétés de leurs biens, suivant les Concessions qui en ont été faites par les Gouverneurs et ordonnateurs de la Colonie et que les d^{tes} Concessions soient Censées et réputées Confirmées par Sa Majesté Catholique quoiqu'elles ne l'eussent pas encore Eté par Moy, Esperant au Surplus que Sa Majesté voudra bien donner a Ses Nouveaux Sujets de la Louisiane les mêmes Marques de protection et de bienveillance qu'ils ont Epruvé sous ma Domination et dont les Seuls malheurs de la Guerre les ont Empêché de ressentir de plus grands effets, je vous ordonne de faire enregistrer ma présente Lettre au Conseil Superieur de la Nouvelle Orleans afin que les différents etats de la Colonie Soient Informés de Son Contenu et qu'ils puissent y avoir recours au besoin. Et la présente N'Etant a autres fins, je prie Dieu, Mons Dabbadie qu'il vous ait en Sa Sainte Garde. Ecrit a Versailles le 21 Avril 1764. Louis.

LE DUC DE CHOISEUL.

⁷ St. Louis was really founded in 1764 by Laclede and Chouteau. See Vol. II, Chap. xii.

⁸ Notes et Documents, page 823.

⁹ Margry's Documents sur la Louisiane.

¹⁰ Fortier's Louisiana Studies, page 156.

¹¹ Notes et Documents, page 468.

¹² Colonial Archives, Paris. Copied by the writer.

¹³ Gayarré, Histoire de la Louisiane, Vol. II, page 165.

¹⁴ Colonial Archives, Paris. Copied by the writer.

¹⁵ Notes et Documents, page 701.

¹⁶ Notes et Documents, page 709.

¹⁷ Notes et Documents, page 643.

¹⁸ Notes et Documents, page 611.

¹⁹ Notes et Documents, pages 617 to 643 and 668 to 671.

²⁰ Gayarré, Histoire de la Louisiane, Vol. II, page 230.

²¹ Larousse, Grand Dictionnaire Universel.

²² Nine hundred men, according to Aubry.

CHAPTER IX

¹ Notes et Documents, Louisiana Historical Society, page 674.

² For original text of both treaties, see notes to Chapter VIII.

³ Notes et Documents, page 938.

CHAPTER X

¹ Aubry's statement in his letter of August 24, 1769. Martin, in his History of Louisiana, gives twenty-eight transports and forty-five hundred men.

² Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II.

³ Notes et Documents, page 715.

⁴ Martin says that only four of the insurgents were arrested at O'Reilly's house; but Aubry, in his letter of September 1, 1769, says that all the insurgents were arrested by the general in his own house.

⁵ French, *Historical Memoirs of Louisiana*, Series VI.

⁶ Notes et Documents, page 730.

⁷ Notes et Documents, page 724. Aubry's letter of September 1, 1769.

⁸ Notes et Documents, page 751.

⁹ Notes et Documents, page 802.

¹⁰ The following extract from the archives of the Ursuline Convent was furnished Mr. Henry Renshaw and published by him in *Publications Louisiana Historical Society*, 1901:

"The sieurs Nicolas Chauvin de Lafrénière, Jean Baptiste Noyan, Pierre Carresse, Pierre Marquis and Joseph Milhet, condemned to death by O'Reilly, as chiefs of the revolt against Spain, at the time of the cession of Louisiana, were shot, on October 25, 1769, in the yard of the barracks, lot adjoining that of the Convent of the Ursulines. It was a terrible moment of anguish for the nuns. The report of fire-arms caused the windows of the Chapel to shake, where had taken refuge the relatives of the victims, with whom the nuns prayed."

¹¹ Notes et Documents, page 805.

¹² Gayarré, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II.

¹³ Notes et Documents, page 459. Letter of Villars, French commissioner, August 20, 1778.

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