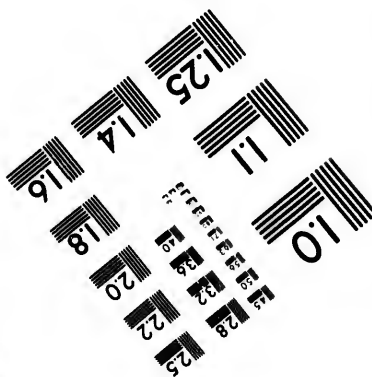
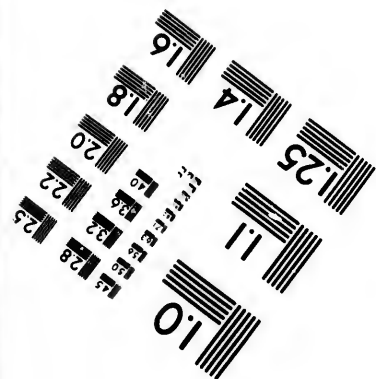
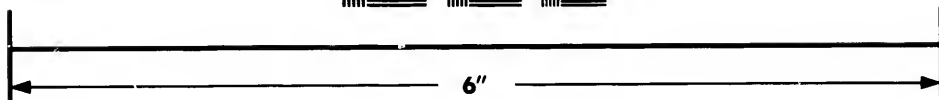
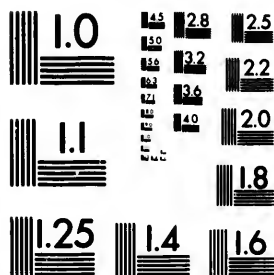


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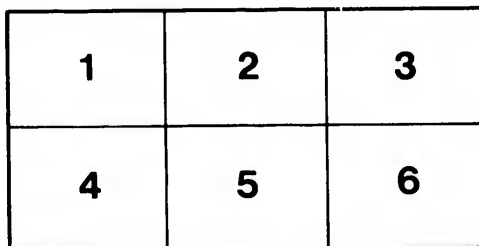
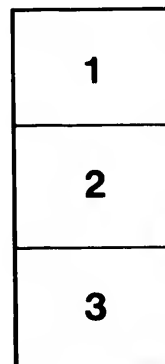
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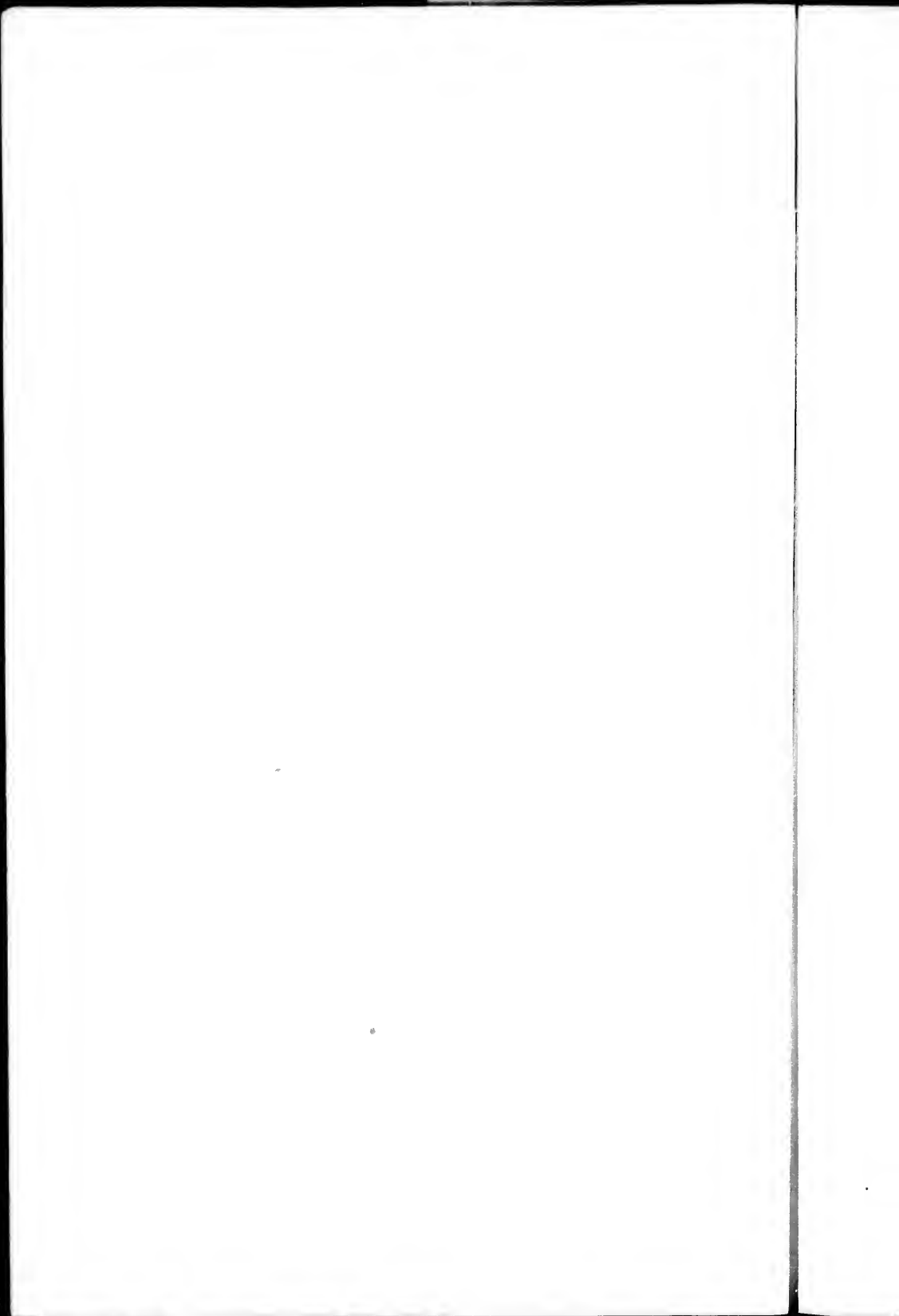
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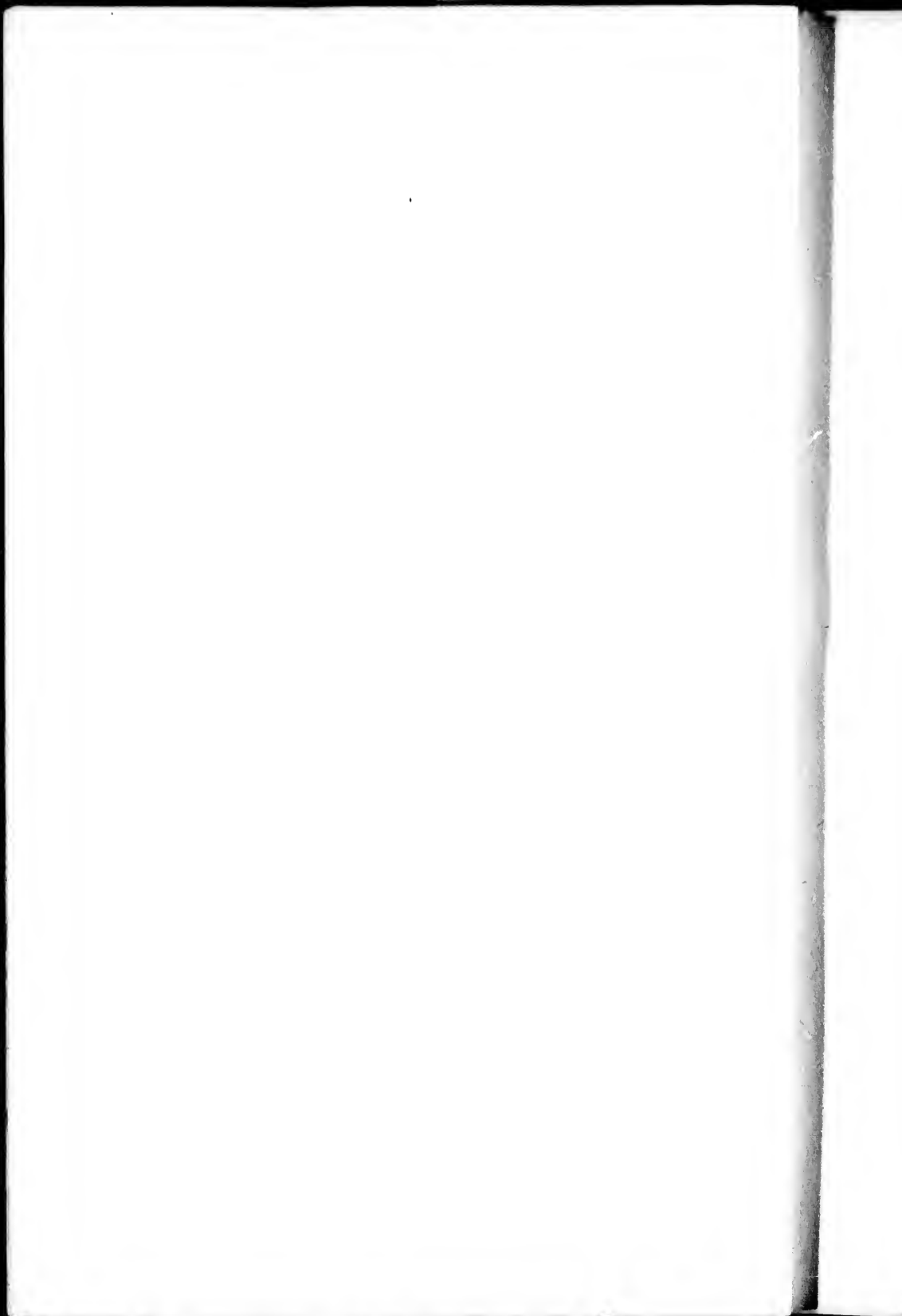
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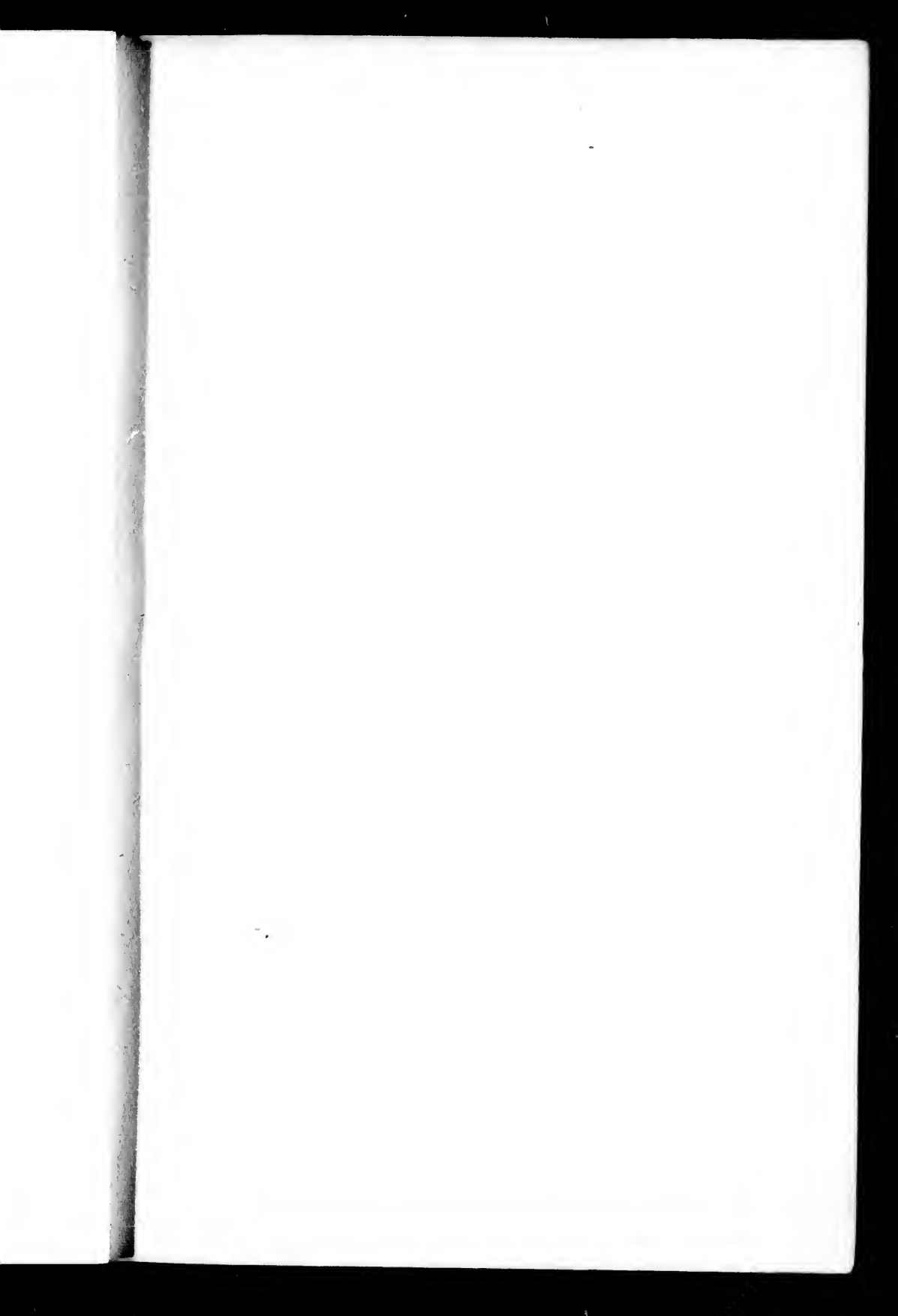


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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF LOUISIANA.







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men mentioned in this work...

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Frontenac  
1673

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1721.

Le Page 1719.

De Vergennes

Mir  
5. Dec. 1731.

Alexandre O'Reilly  
1763.

III

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS  
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EMBRACING TRANSLATIONS OF  
MANY RARE AND VALUABLE DOCUMENTS  
RELATING TO THE  
NATURAL, CIVIL AND POLITICAL  
HISTORY OF THAT STATE.

COMPILED WITH  
HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES,  
AND AN  
INTRODUCTION,

BY  
B. F. FRENCH,

*Member of the Louisiana Historical Society; of the American Association for the  
Advancement of Science; Honorary Member of the Historical Society of  
Pennsylvania; Corresponding Member of the Academy of  
Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; of the Historical  
Society of New-York; &c., &c.*

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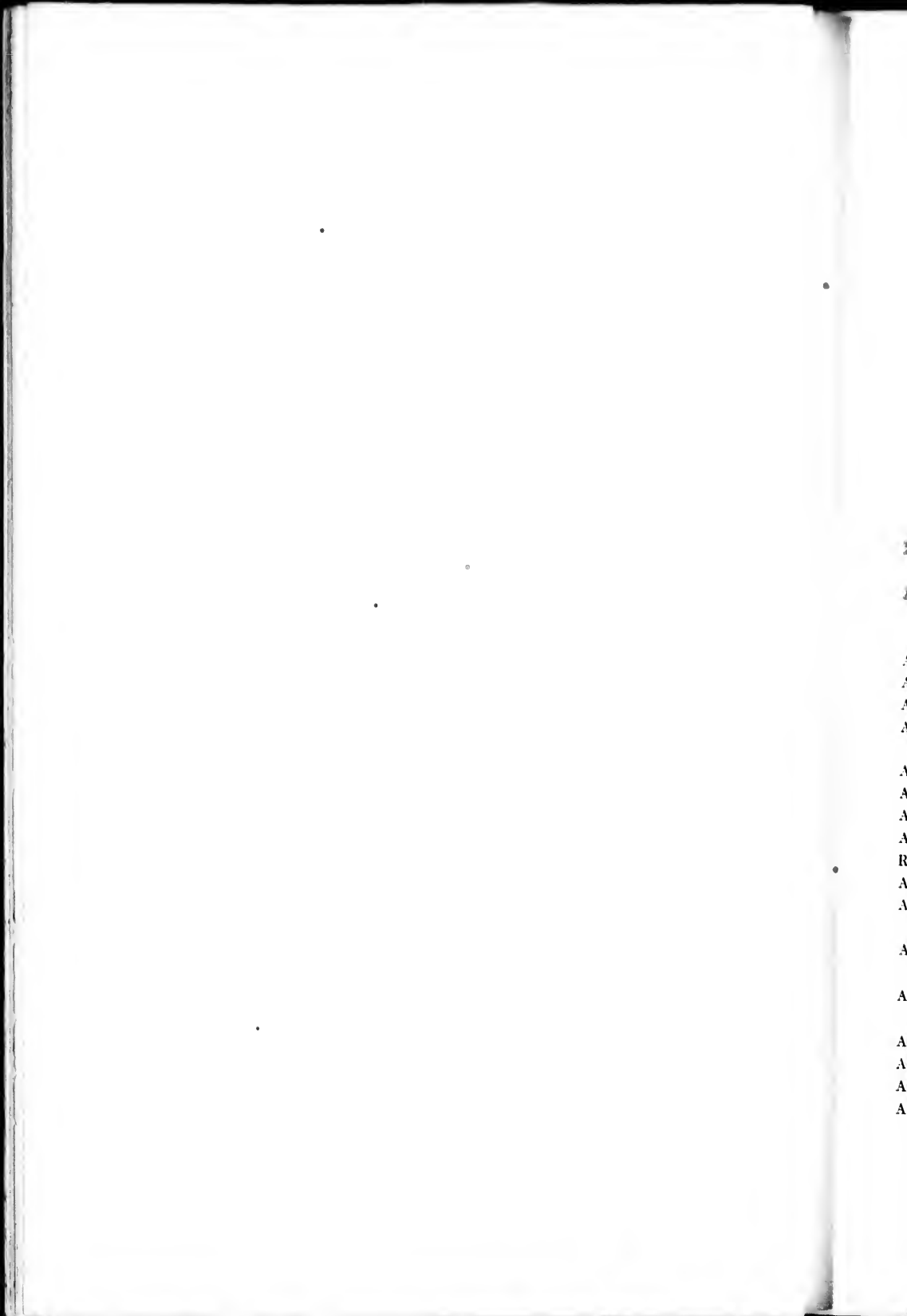
TO  
THE MEMBERS  
OF THE  
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

THIS VOLUME

is respectfully dedicated,

BY

BENJAMIN F. FRENCH



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MEMOIR  
OF  
HON. HENRY A. BULLARD, LL. D.,  
PRESIDENT OF THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND LATE JUDGE  
OF THE SUPREME COURT OF LOUISIANA.



MASSACHUSETTS and Virginia have been, from early times, distinguished as the nursing-mothers of eminent lawyers, judges, and statesmen. Among these an Otis and a Henry, a Story and a Marshall, a Parsons and a Wythe, a Webster and a Lee, an Adams and a Jefferson, a Hancock and a Madison, a Bullard and a Barbour, do honor not only to the judicial bench, but to the states that gave them birth. When the second part of this work made its appearance last year, the subject of this memoir was then living, and I should be doing injustice to the memory of a friend, so distinguished in the annals of Jurisprudence, were I to close this volume without taking some notice of his recent death and public life.

The Hon. HENRY A. BULLARD, LL. D., late Judge of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, was born in Groton, Massachusetts, on the 9th September, 1788. At an early age he was sent to Harvard University, Cambridge, where he graduated at the age of nineteen. In the following year he commenced the study of the law, and at the same time, several of the modern languages, particularly the French, Spanish, and German, which he spoke and read with great fluency. From Boston he proceeded to Philadelphia, and entered the law office of Peter A. Browne, Esq., LL. D., then one of the most eminent lawyers of that city, but who has since retired from the bar, to devote himself to philosophical and scientific investigations, which do honor to his highly cultivated and gifted mind, and has given him a high rank among the *savans* of Europe.



In this city, he became acquainted with Tilghman, Duponceau, Dallas, Binney, and the Ingersolls, whose writings and forensic eloquence, are still the theme of every pen.

From Philadelphia young Bullard followed the onward march of empire to the West, and joined in an expedition to republicanize a part of Mexico. After several hair-breadth escapes, he finally returned to Natchitoches, where he opened a law office.

At that time a practising lawyer in the western district of Louisiana was compelled to ride a circuit embracing Opelousas, Avoyelles, Alexandria, Natchitoches, Ouachita, and Concordia, a distance probably of three hundred miles. The practice was lucrative, and the bar of Louisiana numbered then more men of talent and learning than has appeared at any subsequent period.

The names of Livingston, Porter, Wilson, Johnson, Brent, Bowen, Bronson, Lewis, Mathews, Mazureau, Thomas, and Bullard, would have done honor to any country; and of these only Thomas and Bronson still survive. In 1830, Judge Bullard was elected to Congress, and in 1832 he was appointed District Judge. In 1834, he was elevated to the Supreme Bench, taking the place of Judge Porter, who was elected to the Senate of the United States. While in Congress, he spoke on several occasions, and was listened to with the most marked attention. His most elaborate speech was on the Tariff bill, in 1832. He remained on the Supreme Bench from 1834 to 1846, with the exception of a few months in 1839, when he filled the office of Secretary of State, and resumed the practice of his profession. He kept up to the last his habit of reading the classics and the best writers on French jurisprudence, the Roman and civil law. His conversation was that of a full man without the slightest approach to pedantry. It may well be said of him, that

“He was a scholar, and a wise and good one;  
Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading.”

As a speaker, he had the advantage of a face of great beauty, which the ravages of the gout could not destroy; a musical voice, and a brilliant eye. When excited, he spoke with great feeling, force, and eloquence. His last public speech, in New Orleans, was at the bar-meeting, called together by the death of the Hon. S. S. Prentiss, on which occasion he pronounced one of the most beautiful eulogies that we have on record. His opinions while on the bench, are models of judicial rhetoric, brief, perspicuous, and pointed. As a writer he had few equals; he wrote without effort, yet with a critical accuracy that defied correction.

Besides his reported decisions, while on the bench, he delivered many lectures and addresses, which might well be compared with similar productions in any language. In 1847, he was appointed Professor of the Civil Law, in the University of Louisiana, where he delivered two courses of lectures to a large class. In 1850, he was elected to fill a vacancy in Congress, occasioned by the appointment of the Hon. C. M. Conrad, to the post of Secretary of War. He did not speak much during this session, (though we know he had prepared himself do so on the California bills,) being prevented by ill health. His thorough knowledge of the Spanish laws, and their system of land-titles, would have enabled him to give Congress much valuable information which is now lost. During the session he argued several important cases before the Supreme Court, and was listened to with eager attention. His health gradually declined, until he reached New Orleans, in April, 1851, where, after a lingering illness of three weeks, he died from gout in the stomach.

At an adjourned meeting of the members of the bar, at which the Hon. C. Roselius presided, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted and ordered to be published :

The Committee appointed by the Members of the Bar at New Orleans, to present to an adjourned meeting, resolutions expressive of our feelings on the melancholy occasion of the death of the Hon. Henry A. Bullard, respectfully beg leave to report the following :

Whereas the Bar of Louisiana has sustained great loss in the death of a distinguished member of its body, whose brilliant talents, varied attainments, public services, and private worth, deserve a permanent record of the respect and esteem of his compeers ;

Whereas a manifestation of the regard and admiration entertained by the living for departed worth, is at once a partial discharge of a debt of gratitude to the illustrious dead, and an incentive to the honorable ambition of the survivors ; therefore it is

1. *Resolved*, That we deeply deplore this afflictive dispensation of Providence, which has removed from us, in the midst of his usefulness, and in the fulness of his fame, our distinguished brother, Henry Adams Bullard.

2. *Resolved*, That as a jurist he was learned and profound without pedantry, and as a scholar, accomplished and refined without ostentation ; and has left on record imperishable memorials of a superior mind.

3. *Resolved*, That with his intercourse with his brethren of the Bar he was courteous, urbane, and strictly honorable ; and

4. *Resolved*, That towards the younger members of the profession he was, from the generous impulses of his nature, kind, considerate, and encouraging.

5. *Resolved*, That the Bar of New Orleans deeply deplore the death of Judge Bullard, who fulfilled well and wisely the duties of Judge of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, Secretary of State, and Representative in the Congress of the United States, and Professor of the Roman Law in the University of Louisiana

6. *Resolved*, That in his death we lament the loss of one of our brightest ornaments, ripest scholars, ablest lawyers, and most useful citizens.

7. *Resolved*, That in order to testify their profound sense of his public services and private virtues, the members of the Bar of New Orleans will wear crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days.

8. *Resolved*, That as a further testimonial of their respect, the Attorney General and U. S. District Attorney respectively be requested to present a copy of these resolutions to the Supreme Court, and to the U. S. District and Circuit Courts in this city, and to move that they be entered on record on their minutes.

9. *Resolved*, That the Secretary of this meeting be solicited to transmit copies of these resolutions to the family of the deceased, and to the newspapers for publication.

10. *Resolved*, That the Reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court be requested to insert the foregoing resolutions in the next number of the Louisiana Annual Reports.

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HISTORICAL JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH  
IN  
LOUISIANA.  
BY  
BENARD DE LA HARPE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

---

In order to depreciate our claim to Louisiana the Spaniards show that Ponce de Leon in 1512, Vasquez d'Ayllon in 1520, Pamfile de

\* M. de la Harpe, a French officer of distinction, came to Louisiana in 1718, to settle a colony on Red River. He reached the point of his destination at the close of the same year, and in the month of January, 1719, he built a fort near the present town of Natchitoches, from whence he went to explore the province of Texas. At the village of Natsoos, in N. lat. 33° 30', he built a fort as a sign of the jurisdiction of France. After exploring the country to the Rio Grande, he returned to New Orleans in 1721, to report himself to Bienville. In the following August he was ordered to take possession of the country on the Colorado. The force he took with him was too feeble to effect a settlement there on account of the hostility of the Indians, and he was obliged to return to New Orleans at the close of the year. In 1723 he went to France, and there wrote a Journal of the first establishment of the French in Louisiana. A copy of this valuable manuscript, from which this translation is made, is deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, with this endorsement:

“Journal Historique concernant l'établissement des Français a la Louisiane tiré des memoirs de Messieurs d'Iberville et de Bienville commandans pour le Roi au dit pays et sur les découvertes et recherches de M. Benard de la Harpe nommé au Commandement de la Baye St. Bernard.

“Par M. BENARD DE LA HARPE. Presented to the American Philosophical Society by WILLIAM DARBY.”

Narvaez in 1525, and Hernando de Soto in 1539,\* took possession of it in the name of his Catholic Majesty. It is no doubt true they paid it a hasty visit, but they neither established posts, planted colonies, nor acquired rights superior to the French, who were the first to make explorations, build forts, and plant colonies in all that part of Florida afterwards called Louisiana.

By the command of Charles the Ninth, Jean Ribaut built, in 1562, the fortress of Charlesfort, at the mouth of the river Cahoutas, or Saint Esprit, to the east of St. Joseph's Bay, and settled a colony there. René Laudoniere afterwards built another in Pensacola Bay, which he called Fort Carolin, and took possession of the country in the name of his King. M. de La Salle arrived in Canada in 1678, and subsequently explored the Mississippi river to its mouth † He afterwards returned to France and fitted out an expedition, by order of the King, to make further discoveries by the Gulf of Mexico, and plant a colony there. He embarked accordingly in 1681 for the Mississippi river, but by sailing too far to the west, he missed its mouth, and landed in a bay which he called St. Louis, where he built a fort and established a colony on the banks of the Guadalupe river, in the month of February, 1685. From thence he went in search of the Mississippi river by land a second time, and while engaged in this undertaking, he was inhumanly murdered by one of his companions. The colony left by him were in part killed by the Indians, and the remainder carried off by a detachment of Spaniards from the new kingdom of Leon, under the command of Don Gregorio Salinas Baronas.

On the 21th September, 1698, two frigates, *Le Badine*, of thirty guns and two hundred men, commanded by M. d'Iberville; ‡ and *Le Marin*, of thirty guns, commanded by M. le Comte de Surgère, with two store-ships, were fitted out by order of the King, and sailed from Rochefort to plant a colony on the Mississippi. On the 4th December, they arrived at Cape Francois, St. Domingo, where they found M. le Marquis de Chateamorant, who commanded the frigate

\* An account of this expedition, translated from the Portuguese, is published in the second volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana.

† The first exploration of this river was made in 1673 by Father Marquette and the Sieur Joliet. A translation of Father Marquette's interesting journal will be found printed in the second volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana, published in Philadelphia, 1850.

‡ Sieur Lemoyne d'Iberville, a distinguished naval commander, was the first Royal Governor of Louisiana. He was the third of the eleven sons of Charles Lemoyne, Baron Longueil, of Canada, all of whom held commissions in the service of his majesty, viz. :—

*Le Français*, of fifty guns, to whom M. d'Iberville delivered instructions for him to join in the expedition to the Mississippi river. At this port they took on board M. de Grave, a famous buccaner

1. *Sieur Charles Lemoyne*, Baron de Longueuil, served in Canada as Captain of Marine and was wounded in the attack of the English on Quebec in 1690. He was created by letters patent "Baron Longueuil."

2. *Sieur Jacques Lemoyne de Saint Helene*, a Captain of Marine, was killed in an attack on the English in Carolina.

3. *Sieur Lemoyne d'Iberville*, the most illustrious of the brothers, and Governor of Louisiana.

4. *Sieur Paul Lemoyne de Maricour*, Captain of Marine, who was killed in an expedition against the Iroquois.

5. *Sieur Lemoyne de Saligny* served under his brother d'Iberville, at New Orleans, and died Governor of Rochester, 1731.

6. *Sieur Lemoyne Bienville*, an officer of Marine, was killed by the Iroquois, who surrounded and burnt the house in which he and others were stationed.

7. *Sieur Lemoyne de Chateauguë*, was an officer of Marine, and died Governor of Cayenne.

8. *Sieur Lemoyne D'Assigny*, an officer in the Marine, and died in St. Domingo, where his brother d'Iberville left him on account of sickness in 1701.

9. *Adrien Lemoyne Stavelé*, Governor of Louisiana, and died at Biloxi, 1700.

10. *Sieur Lemoyne Bienville*, the second Royal French Governor of Louisiana, served his country upwards of forty years, and died in Paris March 7, 1767.

11. *Sieur Jean Baptiste Lemoyne de Chateauguë*, captain of a company of Infantry, and was killed in Louisiana.

There appears to have been two brothers who took the name of Bienville, and two of the name of Chateauguë. There were also two sisters, one of whom married the Sieur de Noyan, and the other the Sieur de la Chassagne, both distinguished officers, and rendered eminent services to their country in the settlement of Louisiana. The only known representative of this illustrious family, is the Baron Grant, of Longueuil, in Lower Canada, who through the female line inherited the barony.

From the time of La Salle's departure from France in 1684, with his colony for the Mississippi, the jealousy of England was awakened against the extension of the French dominion in North America. They commenced first to excite the Iroquois against the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, and then to make open demonstrations against them by sea in Hudson's Bay and Acadie.

In 1686 M. d'Iberville was sent by M. Denonville, Governor of Canada, together with his brother, St. Helene on an expedition to Hudson's Bay under the command of M. de Troyes. In 1687, he was appointed Governor of Hudson's Bay, and in the following year he captured some English ships. In 1691, he captured Fort Bourbon, where he lost his brother Lemoyne Chateauguë. He afterwards distinguished himself in several naval engagements with the English, and in 1697 sailed for France. The King of France up to this period had done nothing to colonize Louisiana. His attention was now, however, turned to this subject, and he appointed M. d'Iberville, who had been lately made a Knight of the Order of St. Louis for his gallant conduct in Hudson's Bay, to conduct a colony to Louisiana.

*Stueford*

*+ Puylen  
"Bromillet"*

who had some years before surprised and pillaged the town of Vera Cruz. On the 22d they left the Cape to rendezvous at *Loggane*, where they arrived on the 25th. On the 1st of Jan., 1699, the fleet set sail again,

On the 21th September, he set sail from Rochelle, with two frigates and two hundred colonists, accompanied by his brothers Sauvolle and Bienville, to take possession of Louisiana and establish a colony on the banks of the Mississippi.

In the beginning of January, 1699 he reached the Chandeleur Isles, explored the channel between Ship and Cat Islands and on the 27th February, he set out from Ship Island where he had landed the colonists, to explore the mouth of the Mississippi river in two barges, the one commanded by himself, and the other by Bienville. Three days brought them to the Balize, which they entered on the second of March, 1699. They proceeded up the river, and after some days spent in exploring the country and holding intercourse with the Indian tribes near the mouth of the Red River, d'Iberville returned with his party through pass Manchac and lakes Manrepas and Pontchartrain to Ship Island. He afterwards built a fort of four bastions upon the northeast shore of Biloxi, where he established a colony, and gave the command of it to his brother Sauvolle. During the following summer the colony suffered severely from the yellow fever, which carried off its commander, leaving the youthful Bienville sole commander and superintendent of the Province. Early in December d'Iberville returned with a large fleet and additional settlers. The two brothers met in deep mourning, and after mutual embraces, the brave d'Iberville sought the tomb of his brother Sauvolle, where he knelt for hours in silent grief. On the 17th January, 1700, he set out from the bay of St. Louis, to select a suitable site for a fort. After looking about for some time, he selected a spot on Poverty Point, about thirty-eight miles below the present City of New Orleans, where he built a fort and located a small colony.

In the month of February, the Veteran Chevalier de Tonty arrived on the lower Mississippi, with a party of Canadian French from the Illinois. He found d'Iberville at his newly erected fort, making arrangements to settle colonies on the lower Mississippi. The appearance of de Tonty, his knowledge of the Indian languages and customs, and his acquaintance with the Indian tribes on the Mississippi rendered him a valuable acquisition to the new colony. With his aid, therefore, he ascended the river and explored the country as far up as the Natchez, and formed a friendly alliance with this tribe. He selected the bluff on which the City of Natchez is now built, as the site of the future capital of the province, and ordered a fort (Rosalie) to be built, whose frowning bastions are still to be seen by the passing traveller, throwing their dim shadows over the father of waters at the hour of twilight.

D'Iberville and de Tonty again returned to Biloxi, while Bienville set out with M. St. Denys and a few Canadians and Indians, and ascended Red River as far as the Yatasee villages, about thirty miles above the present town of Natchitoches, from whence he afterwards returned to Biloxi, and found that d'Iberville had sailed for France for additional supplies. In 1702 war was declared by England against France and Spain. The King of France ordered the headquarters of the Governor to be removed to Mobile. Dauphin Island was used as a convenient station for the fleet, and for many years it was an

1698  
to

and on the 25th arrived at the Island of St. Rosa. Here they found the Spaniards had established themselves for more than a month previously, and fearing a surprise from the French, the Spanish Commandant of this port, Don Andre de la Riöle, notified M. d'Iberville that he could not permit him to enter the port, in consequence of which, he was compelled to continue his voyage to Dauphin Island, where he arrived on the 31st. M. de Bienville, then a lieutenant, found here a large quantity of bones of savages, who had been killed by their enemies, from which circumstance it took the name of Massacre Island.

On the 6th of February, M. d'Iberville anchored off the pass, between Horn and Ship Island, which he named; and finding it difficult to enter this channel, he sailed four leagues further to the west, where he discovered the Chaudesleaux Islands. He anchored

at an important port. The whole colony as yet did not number much above thirty families, besides soldiers. The climate had cut off many of the first emigrants, and famine and Indian hostility now threatened the remainder. But d'Iberville was indefatigable in his exertions to protect and provide for the colony. He had by his detachments partially explored the remotest regions; the channels and passes of the Mississippi; the outlets and bayous of the Atchafalaya, the Plaquemines, La Fourche, and Manchac. Aided by the Jesuits and the Canadian French, the great tributaries of the Mississippi had been explored, and missionary stations had been established among the Indian tribes of the valley of the Mississippi, while the Washita, Yazoo, and Arkansas rivers had been partly explored. Sickmess, in the meantime, had been busy with the colonists, and Sauvot, the brother of d'Iberville, had fallen a victim to the yellow fever. The war which had broken out between England, France, and Spain, left for awhile the colony unprotected; but Louisiana, weak as she was, gave early proofs of that generous spirit which has ever since animated her, and the towns of Pensacola and St. Augustine, then in the hands of Spain, being threatened by the English, she sent both men and ammunition to their assistance.

The year 1703 rolled slowly away, and d'Iberville was not permitted to return. He sent, however, his brother Chateauguë with supplies at the imminent risk of being captured by the English, who at that time occupied most of the avenues to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1704, he was about to sail for the fourth time to carry supplies to the colonists, when he was taken seriously ill at Rochelle, and was detained in France. Finally, in 1706, he sailed again for Louisiana with a large fleet, with which he meditated an attack on Charleston, in South Carolina. He reached St. Domingo in safety, and took on board a reinforcement of men from the garrison there. But as he was about to set sail for Charleston, he was attacked with the yellow fever, which put an end to his life on the 9th of July, 1706. Thus perished the bold and persevering founder of the province of Louisiana, a martyr to the glory of France, as Cavalier de la Salle had been a few years before. He left a widow, "Dame Bethune," and four children to mourn his loss.



abreast of them and Ship Island, and ordered the channel between Ship and Cat Islands to be sounded. M. de Chateaurant only remained here a short time, and afterwards returned to Cape Francois with M. de Grave, without taking any further part in the expedition. On the 11th M. d'Iberville sent a felucca to the mainland, north of Ship Island, where they discovered a bay and a party of Indians in canoes, who instantly fled. On the 12th they captured a woman, who, flattered by their kind treatment, persuaded her nation to approach them. They were the Biloxis, after whom the bay was called. On the 13th M. d'Iberville took four on board his ship, and left his brother Bienville a hostage until their return. On the same day eighty Bayagoula Indians, who were going on an expedition to fight the Mobileans, arrived at the bay. They informed us that they lived on the banks of a great river (the Mississippi) to the west.

On the 27th M. d'Iberville and Bienville embarked in two feluccas, with Father Anatase and thirty men each, to explore the mouths of the Mississippi river. On the 2d of March they entered a large river, which Father Anastase, who had accompanied M. de la Salle, recognized as the Mississippi from the appearance of its turbid waters. On the 7th, having advanced forty leagues up the river, they perceived at some distance three canoes filled with Indians, who all fled except one man, to whom they gave some presents, and learned from him that they belonged to the Bayagoula nation. They met several canoes of Indians belonging to the Ouacha nation, living near the fork of the Mississippi, who told them that they did not live far from the Chitimachas nation. On the 14th they arrived at the Bayagoula and Mongoulacha nations, numbering about eight hundred warriors. They found here several cloth cloaks, which had been given them by M. de la Salle. These nations received them very kindly, and gave them some chickens to eat, which they said had come from a ship that had been wrecked upon the coast about four years before. M. d'Iberville was still uncertain whether it was the Mississippi, having met with no Indians which had been described by M. de la Salle, until it was told him that the Tangipaos had been destroyed by the Quinipissas, and that they had taken the name of the Mongoulachas. It was here, while looking for Father Anatase's breviary, they found several prayer books in an Indian basket, in which were written the names of several Canadians who had accompanied the late M. de la Salle down the river; together with a letter addressed to him by Chevalier de Tonty, informing him "that having learned of his departure from France to form a settlement on this river, he had descended it as far as the sea with twenty Canadians and thirty

(Chaoumans," from the neighborhood of the Ouabache. This discovery now relieved them from all doubts of the river they were in, and they ascertained the mouth of the Mississippi to be in about twenty-nine degrees north latitude. A coat of mail was also found here, which the Indians said had once belonged to Ferdinand de Soto. M. d'Iberville made these Indians some presents, and then took a guide to conduct him to the Houmas. On the 18th he passed Baton-Rouge, not far from a stream which marked the boundary of the hunting ground between the Houmas and Bayagoulas. As he advanced up the river, he came to a point about twelve leagues round, where he ordered the trees to be felled, and crossed over to the other side with his perogue. The Mississippi afterwards made a passage through this place, and ever since it has gone by the name of *Point Coupé*. On the 28th he arrived at a bend of the river called "Detour a la Croix," where the Houmas have a portage. The Houmas conducted him to their village, about two and a half leagues inland, where he was well received and smoked the calumet with them. This village numbered about three hundred and fifty warriors. On the 22d M. d'Iberville took leave of the Houmas, after making the chiefs some presents. On the 24th he arrived at a very narrow and shallow stream which led to the lakes. Here he ordered M. de Bienville to descend the river with the Biscayans to Ship Island, while he passed through the lakes to the Gulf. On the 25th M. de Bienville repaired to the villages of the Bayagoulas and Mongoulachas to procure provisions, after which he proceeded on his voyage. On the 29th he left the river, and on the 31st he arrived at Ship Island, where he found M. d'Iberville, who had passed through the lakes, to which he gave the names of Maurepas and Pontchartrain. On the 12th April M. d'Iberville set out to visit a bay about nine leagues from Ship Island, to which he gave the name of St. Louis. On finding the water very shallow there, he concluded to fix his settlement at Biloxi. Here he built a fort with four bastions, which he mounted with twelve cannons, and gave the command of it to his brothers Sauvolle and Bienville; and having manned it with a force of thirty-five men, he set sail for France on the 4th May. On the 20th M. de Bienville embarked in a felucca with a Bayagoula chief and twelve Canadians, to visit the Colapissa nation, who lived on the right bank of lake Pontchartrain, about eight leagues inland.

On the 22d he arrived at their landing; and on the 23d he repaired to the Colapissa village, which he found to contain upwards of three hundred warriors, all armed and waiting to attack him. He kept at a distance, and sent the Bayagoula chief to hold a parley with

them, and to ascertain their object. He learned from them that two days before, two Englishmen, with two hundred Chicasas, had surprised their village, and carried off a great number of their men, and they had supposed them to be of the same nation. The Bayagoula chief having undeceived them, advised them to form an alliance. They accordingly laid down their arms and received M. de Bienville peaceably: after which he returned to Biloxi, where he arrived on the 29th. On the 9th June, M. de Bienville set out with a felucca and canoe to visit Pasengoula river, four leagues east of Biloxi. At its entrance he found a bar with six feet of water. At eight leagues up the river he discovered the villages of the Pasengoula, Biloxi, and Mocktoboy. From whence he went to Mobile, and by land to Pensacola; and on the 27th he returned to Biloxi.

On the 1st of July, two bark canoes from the Illinois arrived at Biloxi, bringing M.M. de Martigny and Davion, Missionaries, who had learned from the Houmas that there were some French settlements on the sea-shore. On the 11th these missionaries departed from Biloxi to take possession of the mission house of the Tonicas, on the Yazoo river. On the 8th August upwards of seven hundred Mobile and Tonica Indians arrived at the fort. On the 21th M. de Bienville set out in two bark canoes and five men, with provisions for three weeks to make discoveries. He passed through lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, and on the 27th arrived at the portage of Manchac. On the 3d September he reached the Bayagoula nation. On the 8th he set out with a guide to conduct him to the Ouacha nation, on the La Fourche. On the 9th he arrived at their village, twelve leagues down the La Fourche, and one quarter of a league inland. He found them ferocious and difficult of access, and he was obliged to retreat to his canoes, which prevented him from descending the La Fourche to the sea. He accordingly returned to the Mississippi on the 12th. On the 16th he discovered in one of the bends of the Mississippi, twenty-eight leagues from the sea, an English ship of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Barr, whose purpose was to examine the river and afterwards return to Carolina, to fit out an expedition to establish a settlement here.

On board of this vessel was M. Secon, a French engineer, who gave secretly to M. Bienville a petition addressed to the King, proposing to his majesty that if he would grant religious liberty to the colony, he would settle more than four hundred families on the Mississippi. This petition was forwarded to the minister M. de Pontchartrain, who replied that the King would not suffer heretics to go

from his kingdom for the purpose of forming a republic. M. de Bienville informed Captain Barr that this was not the Mississippi river, but a dependence of Canada, which he had taken possession of in the name of his King; that it was farther to the west; whereupon the English captain set sail in search of it. After the departure of the English vessel, M. de Bienville descended to the mouth and found eleven feet of water on the bar. He then reascended it to the Bayagoula and Mongoulacha villages, where he arrived on the 1st October. On the 10th he left these villages, and arrived at the portage of the Tangipahos, and on the next day he crossed the lakes and returned to Fort Biloxi. On the 17th December, a salute was fired at the Fort, announcing the arrival of MM. d'Iberville and Le Surgere, in the ships *Renommé* of fifty, and the *Gironde* of forty eight guns, with many officers and passengers, among whom were MM. Dugué, Jasnourdy, Hautmaison, Boisbriant, Saint Denis, and sixty Canadians. M. le Sueur also came passenger in the *Gironde*. He had acquired celebrity by his travels in Canada; and was now sent on the part of M. L'Huillier, Farmer General, to make a settlement on the Mississippi, and to work some mines there which he had discovered some years before. √

M. d'Iberville was informed of the attempt of the English to find the Mississippi, and he resolved to make a settlement on its banks. He accordingly set sail in two shallops, with fifty men, and arrived in the river on the 15th January, 1700. He had previously sent M. de Bienville to the Bayagoulas to procure guides, and to select a place above inundation. They conducted him to a ridge of high land, at a distance of about eighteen leagues from the sea. Four days after, M. d'Iberville arrived there and commenced building a fort. On the 16th February, M. de Tonty descended the Mississippi from Canada in a pirogue, to discover whether any settlement had been made. On the 19th MM. d'Iberville and Bienville, with M. Dugué and ten marines, arrived at the village of the Bayagoulas. On the same day, M. le Sueur, who had set out on his journey to the Séioux nations, also arrived there. √ On the 26th MM. d'Iberville and Bienville returned to the Bayagoulas, and on the 1st March they set out for the Houmas, for the purpose of restoring peace between these two nations. On the 5th March they reached the Houmas, and concluded a peace. On the 8th they set out for the Natchez, and reached there on the 11th, where they found M. de St. Come, a missionary, who had lately arrived there from Canada.

The Great Chief, or Sun, marched before the French, and was followed by six hundred men. They found him polite, but possessing despotic power over his nation. When any of the Suns died, several of the natives gave themselves up to death, for the purpose of serving him in the other world. According to their account the nation numbered nineteen hundred Suns, and upwards of two hundred thousand people. They kept up a constant fire in their temple, which was attended by a priest, who offered in it the first fruits of the chase. After death they believed the souls of their warriors went to reside in the land of the buffalo, and those who had not taken any scalps, went to reside in the country of the lakes, where lived only alligators and fish. On the 12th M. M. d'Iberville and Bienville set out from the Natchez, and arrived at the village of the Tensas. This nation was composed of about two hundred and fifty men. Their belief and ceremonies were like those of the Natchez. On the 16th their temple was struck by lightning and consumed. During the conflagration, the women threw in their children to appease the Great Spirit, who they said was angry with them.

On the 23d M. de Bienville set out with M. de Saint Denys\* and twenty Canadians and Indians, to visit the Yatase nation, on Red River, and watch the Spaniards, and on the same day, M. d'Iberville set out for the fleet. On the 27th he was informed that Don Andre de la Riola, Governor of Pensacola, had entered the harbor of Ship Island, with a ship of twenty-four guns, one tender, and a shallop, with the design of breaking up the French colony. He was met by some of the King's vessels and compelled to retreat; not however without first making a protest, and sending it to M. de Surgere, declaring that Louisiana was a part of Mexico, and belonged to his Catholic Majesty.

On the 15th April, M. d'Iberville reached his ship, and was informed that the Spanish Governor, on leaving Ship Island, lost his ship on one of the Chandeleur Islands, where a part of his crew saved themselves, and were taken to Pensacola. On the 18th M. de Bienville arrived at Biloxi. On the 28th he set out for the Ouachita village, situated on the river of that name which empties into Red

\* This distinguished officer came to Louisiana in company with M. le Sueur, the geologist who had been sent to examine some mines on the Mississippi and St. Peter's rivers, which had been described by Dugay and Hennepin in 1680. In 1711 M. St. Denys was dispatched up Red River to explore the country, and observe the movements of the Spaniards. He found they had crossed the Rio Grande, and established a fort called the *Presidio* of St. John the Baptist; and they now for the first time claimed jurisdiction over the country, from the

River, several leagues from its mouth. He was informed by this nation, that six leagues to the north-east there was a Courois village, consisting of about one hundred men. On the 30th he crossed Red River, and continued his journey on foot. On the same day he met with six Natchitoches Indians, who were taking salt to the Courois. On the 7th May, he arrived at the Ouachita village, where he procured some provisions, and a guide to conduct him to the Yataste nation. On the 15th he passed two small nations called the Nadassa and Nacassé; and on the 20th he arrived at the Yataste nation, which consisted of about two hundred men. Here he obtained some information respecting the distance to the Nadaco and Cadadoquiou villages. As the time given him by M. d'Iberville had now expired, he embarked on the 23d in four pirogues and descended Red River. On the 25th he visited one of the villages of the Adayes. On the 28th he stopped at the villages of the Dalehanois, about three leagues from Natchitoches, where he purchased some corn. A few days after he entered the Mississippi, and arrived at the Bayagoula nation, where he learned that they had entirely destroyed their neighbors, the Mongoulachas. He then proceeded into the sea to meet his brother d'Iberville, to whom he gave an account of his expedition. On the 25th May, M. d'Iberville set sail for France, and on the same day M. de Bienville took command of the fort on the Mississippi. On the 29th he dispatched M. de Saint Denis to explore the country in the Red River, and to watch the Spaniards. On the 30th May, the *Enflammée* of twenty-six guns, commanded by M. de la Ronde, arrived at Ship Island. Among the passengers was M. Sagan, a traveller from Canada, who had presented a memoir to the minister, M. de Pontchartrain, assuring him that he had travelled all over the Mississippi, and had found mines of gold on its banks; and that the Indians had worked them. The minister, putting faith in his statements, granted to M. Sagan some privileges,

Rio Grande to Red River. But the French, more effectually to hold the country, established a post on the Sabine, and another about thirty miles west of the present town of Nacogdoches, which was kept up for many years. During the first thirty years after the settlement of Louisiana, the French Governors kept a watchful look upon the Spaniards, and sent several detachments to drive them out of Texas.

In 1715 he was sent as an envoy to negotiate a commercial treaty with Mexico; and again in 1718, as the agent of M. Crozat with articles of merchandise to exchange with the Mexicans for such articles as would be useful in Louisiana. But the Viceroy being now dead, he was seized as a smuggler and spy, and sent in chains to Mexico, from whence he afterwards made his escape, and returned to Mobile in April, 1719.

and ordered M. de Sauvolle to supply him with twenty-four pirogues and one hundred Canadians, to accompany him to the Missouri.

On the 22d August, M. de Sauvolle died at Biloxi, and M. de Bienville was left sole commander of the colony.\*

On the 16th September, a party of Chaetas arrived at Biloxi to demand of the French some troops to assist them to fight the Chicachas. The Chaetas nation contained forty villages, and over five thousand warriors. On the 25th October, twenty Mobileans arrived at Fort Biloxi. This nation was situated about one hundred and forty leagues up that river, and contained about four hundred men. On the 18th December, a shallop arrived from Pensacola with the news that MM. d'Iberville and Serigny had arrived there with the King's ships, the *Renommée* of fifty guns, and the *Palmier* of forty-four guns. This news spread joy in the garrison, as it had then been living on corn for more than three months. It had lost by sickness up-

\* M. de Bienville succeeded to the command of the colony at the age of twenty. He was of one of the illustrious sons of Charles Lenogne Bienville, who settled in Canada in 1640; all of whom died in the service of their country.

The early administration of M. de Bienville was marked by petty jealousies and oppositions, common to almost all new settlements. The miserable faction, of La Salle, the Commissary of the Crown, and the Curate de la Vente, pushed their intrigues with so much success, that they finally caused him to be removed from office in 1707. M. de la Muys was appointed in his stead, but died of yellow fever before he reached Louisiana. M. de Bienville was now continued in office. He embraced every opportunity to conciliate the native tribes as he explored the bays and rivers upon the coast, and to attach them to the French interest. The Spanish Governor of Pensacola, failing to expel the French by force, continued to remonstrate against their settlements in Louisiana. The English expedition to Louisiana, commanded by Captain Barr, (sent out by Dr. Coxe, in virtue of a grant from the English government, of the province of Carolina,) having departed, left the country once more free from the apprehension of any annoyance except from the Spaniards.

It was believed in France that Louisiana presented a rich field for enterprise and speculation, and a grant, with exclusive privileges, was obtained by M. Crozat for fifteen years. He expected to derive great profit from mining operations and the fur trade, as well as from traffic with the Spanish settlements in Mexico and the West Indies.

In 1712 he appointed M. la Mothe Cadillac, Governor; and M. de Bienville, Lieutenant Governor. In 1711 he sent M. de St. Denys to form a settlement at Natchitoches, to explore the country to the Rio Grande, and observe whether the Spaniards had advanced across that river into Louisiana. In the following year M. St. Denys negotiated a commercial treaty with the Viceroy of Mexico, and established friendly relations between the French of Louisiana and the Spanish settlements on the Rio Grande. M. la Mothe, the partner of M. Crozat, having died, M. de Bienville assumed once more the reins of government.

wards of sixty men, leaving only one hundred and fifty persons in the colony.

M. de Bienville received orders by the shallop to evacuate Biloxi, and remove to Mobile river. On the 5th January, 1701, M. de

In 1716 he conducted an expedition against the Natchez Indians, and after bringing them to terms, he finished the fort ("Rosario,") which had been commenced by his brother d'Iberville, sixteen years before. In 1717, three ships belonging to M. Crozat arrived, with three companies of infantry and fifty colonists, and M. de l'Épinière, the new Governor. He brought M. de Bienville the decoration of the Cross of St. Louis and a royal patent, conceding to him by means of a cession in socage, Horn Island, on the coast of Louisiana, which he demanded of M. l'Épinière in vain, to be erected in his favor into a noble fief. In the meantime, M. Crozat failing to realize the great profits he had relied upon in his trade with the Indians and the Spaniards, and the colony having brought him into debt upwards of 125,000 livres, he determined to abandon the whole scheme, and accordingly petitioned the King to revoke his charter, or to permit him to surrender it to the Crown. The King complied with his request, and accepted the surrender of his charter in August, 1717.

No sooner had he surrendered his charter, however, than another company was formed under the name of the Western Company, connected with Law's Bank of France, and sharing its privileges. The charter conferred upon this company had much more extensive powers and privileges than were granted to M. Crozat. In 1718, three of the company's ships arrived in the port of Mobile, with three companies of infantry and sixty-nine colonists, bringing to M. de Bienville the commission of Governor of the province. He now resolved to remove the head-quarters from the sterile regions of Biloxi, Mobile, and St. Louis bay, to the more fertile country of the Mississippi river. In view of this object, he selected a site for a town, which is now occupied by the first municipality of the present city of New Orleans. In the mean time, the Spaniards had quietly advanced from Mexico to the east side of the Rio Grande. M. de Bienville watched with a jealous eye their encroachments; but such was the feebleness of his force, that it was not until the winter of 1719-20 he was enabled to check their advance into the country by dispatching M. de la Harpe to build a fort at Natchitoches.

Daily experiments had shown to M. de Bienville that the fertile soil of the Mississippi, as well as the climate, were well adapted to the cultivation of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and rice; but it was soon discovered that European constitutions were not adapted to the burning suns of Louisiana, for they sickened and died. The first plantations of any extent were therefore commenced with negroes, imported into Louisiana from Guinea, and for several years the importation of negroes was one of the most profitable monopolies of the "Western Company."

In 1719, the province became involved in hostilities with the Spaniards, in consequence of the war between France and Spain. The settlement of Louisiana presented a continual scene of military display and hostile preparation. Gov. de Bienville twice reduced the town of Pensacola, and sent detachments to prevent the Spaniards from making incursions into upper Louisiana, and the



Bienville took up his march for Mobile river, leaving but twenty men under the command of M. de Boisbriant to man the fort. At Dauphin Island, M. de Bienville had an interview with MM. de

country bordering on the Rio Grande. Peace being restored at last, emigrants began to arrive in great numbers from France and Germany.

In 1722, M. de Bienville removed his head-quarters to New Orleans. About the same time a spirit of jealous dissatisfaction had appeared among the Indians east of the Mississippi, which soon ripened into hostilities against the colonists, and they were threatened with extermination. The forts of St. Peter on the Yazoo, and Rosalie, on the Mississippi, were attacked, and so complete was the massacre, that but few of the colonists reached New Orleans to bear the melancholy news to the Governor.

In the autumn of 1726 the Government of Louisiana passed out of the hands of M. Bienville. He was superseded by M. Perier, as Commandant-General of the Province, and M. Bienville retired to France to recruit his health. The preparation for prosecuting the Natchez war engaged a large share of M. Perier's attention for several years, until this wily nation was entirely subdued. But it so involved the "Western Company" in an enormous debt, and following so closely upon the failure of Law's financial schemes, that they petitioned the King to surrender their charter to the Crown, which was accepted in 1732.

In 1731 the King reappointed M. Bienville Governor and Commandant-General of Louisiana. Early in autumn he arrived at New Orleans, and entered upon the duties of his office. He still felt a thirst for military fame, and coveted the honor of humbling the Chickasaw Indians, who had afforded the Natchez an asylum from the vengeance of the French.

He immediately organized an army to march against the Chickasaw nation. In the spring of 1736 he arrived in their country and attacked their strong-holds. He was repulsed with considerable loss; and, finding himself surrounded by a brave and powerful people, and without any hopes of being able to subdue them, he returned to New Orleans on the 31st of May, mortified with the result of his campaign. In the beginning of the year 1737 M. Bienville proposed to lead another expedition against the Chickasaws, by way of the Chickasaw Bluffs, which received the sanction of the French Minister. The spring of 1739 was fixed on for the contemplated invasion. All things being ready, the main party left New Orleans in a fleet of boats, and slowly moved up the strong current of the Mississippi until the last of June, when they reached Fort St. Francis.

He crossed over to Fort Assumption, which was built near the mouth of Wolf River, and remained there until the following March, when he marched into the Chickasaw country. The Indians immediately sued for peace, and taking advantage of their alarm, M. Bienville entered into a treaty with them, and returned to New Orleans. This campaign closed his military career in Louisiana. He returned to France, under a cloud of censure from his Government, after having faithfully served his country for more than forty years, during which time the wealth and population of the province had continued to flourish and increase under his paternal government. He died in Paris on the 7th March, 1767, and was buried with military honors in the cemetery of Montmartre.

Serigny and Chateaugu , \* who had arrived there with a detachment of sailors and workmen, to build a magazine for the reception of the goods and provisions which had been brought from France. On the 16th M. de Bienville commenced a settlement on the Mobile river, about eighteen leagues from the sea. On the 10th M. le Sueur returned from his expedition to the Scioux, with two hundred thousand pounds weight of copper ore.

The following is an extract taken from his Journal:—

“ Having arrived in the colony in December, 1699, with thirty workmen, he set out for the Tamarois in June, 1700. He stopped at the mouth of the Missouri river, and from thence proceeded to the Illinois river, where he was joined by three Canadian travellers, who brought him a letter from Father Marest, a Jesuit from the mission house of ‘L’Immacul e Conception de la Sainte Vierge aux Illinois.’

“ At twenty-two leagues above the Illinois, he passed a small river, which he named the Buffalo; and on going nine leagues further he met a party of Canadians descending the Mississippi, returning to the Illinois. On the 30th July, he met seventeen Scioux in seven canoes, going to avenge the death of three Scioux by the Illinois, one of whom had been burnt, and the other two killed at Tamarois, a few days before his arrival at this village. He promised the Chief of the Illinois to pacify the Scioux if they should come to make war on him. He presented to the Chief of the party some merchandise to induce him to return to his nation. He told him that the King of France did not wish them to make war, and if he would desist he should be supplied with every thing necessary. The Chief accepted the presents, and promised to obey the King.

“ From the 30th July to the 25th August, M. le Sueur travelled fifty-two leagues to a stream, which he called Mine River; to the mouth of which, seven leagues inland, is a lead mine. This river is only navigable for boats from January to June. From the 25th to the 27th, he passed several small streams, and noticed several lead mines. From the 27th to the 30th, he travelled eleven leagues, and met five Canadians, one of whom was dangerously wounded in the head. They were almost naked, and without any ammunition. They said that they came from the Scioux, and were going to Tamarois; and at forty leagues above they were met by a party of Puans, Saquis, Ontagamis, and Poutaonamis, who were going to make war

\* The Brothers of MM. de Bienville and d’Iberville, who afterwards died in Louisiana.

on the Scioux, who had cruelly beat and robbed them. They afterwards resolved to join our party.

"On the 1st September, he passed the Ouiseconsin river,\* which is about half a league wide at its mouth. On ascending this river about forty-five leagues, he found a portage of more than a mile in length, consisting in part of marshy ground, from which a little stream took its rise and flowed into the Puan bay, inhabited by a great number of Indian tribes, who trade in furs to Canada. From the 1st to the 5th September, he travelled fourteen leagues, and passed a river which came from the northeast, called the Quincapous, after a tribe of Indians who had once lived on its banks. From the 5th to the 9th, he made ten leagues and a half, and passed the Cachee river. On the same day he observed some canoes filled with Indians descending the river. The five Canadians recognized them to be those who had robbed them. He placed sentinels in the woods to guard against a surprise, and when they got within speaking distance, he told them that if they advanced any farther he would fire upon them.

"A little while after four of the Chiefs advanced in a canoe, and asked if they had forgotten that they were brothers, and why they were alarmed.

"M. le Sueur replied that after what they had done to the five Frenchmen who were present, they had a right to distrust them. Nevertheless, for the sake of trade, he wished to be at peace with all nations, and would not punish them for the injuries they had done. That the King, his master, wished all his subjects to navigate the river without being insulted. They replied that they had been attacked by the Scioux and lost all their baggage; and to take pity on them by giving them some powder, so that they might be able to return to their village.

"M. de Sueur ordered some powder to be given them. On the same day he travelled three leagues, and passed a little river from the West and another from the East, which the Indians called Red River, and which is always navigable.

"From the 10th to the 14th, M. de Sueur travelled seventeen leagues and a half, passed the river Raisin, and also on the same

\* It was by this river that M. le Sueur for the first time entered the Mississippi river in 1683, to visit the nations of the Scioux, among whom he resided for upwards of seven years. It was also by this river that Father Marquette and the Sieur Joliet entered the Mississippi (from the Bay of Puanus) to explore it to its mouth, in 1673.

day a great river coming from the North called the Bon-Secours, on account of the great number of buffalo, deer, bears and roebucks found there. Three leagues from the banks of this river is a lead mine, and at seven leagues above, on the same side, he passed another river, in the neighborhood of which he discovered a copper mine, from which he took sixty pounds of ore in a former voyage: but to make it of any value, a peace must first be made between the Scioux and the Ontagamis. At a league and a-half further to the North-West is a lake, six leagues long and more than a league in width, called Lake Pepin. It is bounded on the West by a chain of mountains, on the East by a prairie, on the North-West by a second prairie, not far from which is a chain of mountains, two hundred feet high, and more than a half league in length, in which are several caves, where the bears retire in winter. Some of them are forty feet deep and about four or five feet high, the entrance to which is very narrow, and filled with salt petre. It is dangerous, however, to enter them, on account of the rattle-snakes, whose bite is very poisonous.

\* At the distance of seven and a-half leagues, M. le Sueur passed another river, called Hambouxtate-Onontaba, which signifies Roehes-Plates River. On the 15th he passed a small river, and saw several canoes descending, filled with Indians. He heard them make a noise similar to that just before they are going to fall upon their enemy; and, having placed his men behind some trees, he ordered them not to fire until the word of command was given. The chief of the party, after making some observations, advanced with the calumet, (which is a sign of peace among the Indians,) and said that, not having seen before any Frenchmen navigating the Mississippi in boats like theirs, they took them to be English, and raised the war-cry.

\* M. le Sueur told them that the King of France, of whom they had heard so much in Canada, had sent him to settle in the country, and he wished all the nations who inhabited it, as well as those under his protection, to live in peace.

\* On the 16th he passed a large river to the East, which was named St. Croix, after a Frenchman who was shipwrecked there. It comes from the North North-West. Ascending it four leagues he came to a small lake, at the entrance of which there is a large mass of copper, imbedded in sand.\*

\* From the 16th to the 19th he advanced thirteen and three quarters

\* The mineral region of Lake Superior was faithfully explored and described by eminent French engineers more than a century and a-half ago.

of a league. Having now travelled from the Tamarois,\* two hundred and seven leagues, he left the Mississippi to enter St. Peter's River, where he remained till the 1st October. He then entered Blue River, (Minnesota,) so called from some mines of blue earth which he found on its banks. At this place he met nine Scioux, who told him that this river came from the country of the Scioux of the West. He built a post here, but finding that his establishment did not please the Scioux of the East as well as the neighboring tribes, he had to tell them that his intentions were only to trade in beaver skins, although his real purpose was to explore the mines in this country, which he had discovered some years before.

"He then presented them with some powder, balls, knives and tobacco, and invited them to come to his fort, as soon as it was constructed, and he would tell them the intentions of the King his master. The Scioux of the West have, according to the accounts of those of the East, more than a thousand huts.

"They do not use canoes or cultivate the land, but wander in the prairies between the upper Mississippi and the Missouri, and live by hunting.

"All the Scioux say they have three souls, and that after death the good one goes to a warm country, the bad one to a cold country, and the third watches the body. They are very expert with their bows. Polygamy is very common among them. They are extremely jealous, and sometimes fight duels for their wives. They make their huts out of buffalo skins, sewed together, and carry them with them. Two or three families generally live together. They are great smokers. They swallow the smoke, but some time after they force it up from their stomach through their nose.

"On the 3d of October he received several Scioux at the fort, among whom was *Ouacantapi*, a chief of a village. Shortly after two Canadians arrived, who had been on a hunting expedition, and were robbed by the Scioux of the East of their guns.

"On the 14th, M. le Sueur finished the fort which he named Fort L'Huiller.

"On the 22d, he sent two Canadians to invite the Ayavois and the Ocotatas to settle near the fort, because they were good farmers, and he wished to employ them in cultivating the land and working the mines.

\* The present town of Cahokia is built upon the site of this once important Indian village. The Cahokia and Tamarois villages joined each other; the Jesuits had a Missionary establishment there, and the French a Post.

" On the 24th, the two Canadians returned without being able to find the road which led to those tribes.

" On the 26th, M. le Sueur repaired to a mountain, and filled three canoes with green and blue earth, some of which he had sent to Paris in 1696 to be assayed. He also brought away with him some mineral specimens.

" On the 9th November, eight Mantantous Scioux, who had been sent by their Chiefs, came to the fort to inform him that the Mendonacantons had gone to the lake east of the Mississippi, and they wished to know what satisfaction he wished of them. M. le Sueur replied that he only desired to have a talk with them.

" On the 1st December, they invited M. le Sueur to a great feast which they had prepared for him. They made a speech, and presented him with a slave and a sack of oats.

" On the 12th, three Mendoncaton Chiefs, with a great many followers, arrived at the fort to render some satisfaction for the injuries they had committed on a party of French. They brought four hundred pounds of beaver skins, and promised to return next summer after they had harvested their oats, to come and establish themselves near the fort. On the same day they departed for their village to the east of the Mississippi. On the 15th, two Scioux Mantantous came expressly to warn M. le Sueur that all the Scioux of the East, and some from the West, had met for the purpose of coming to the fort, as they had been informed that the Christianaux and Assinipoils had determined to make war upon them. These two nations lived in a country more than eighty leagues to the east of the fort, on the upper Mississippi. The Assinipoils speak the language of the Scioux, and were originally a part of that nation; but they had not for some years lived on terms of friendship with this nation. The Christianaux are accustomed to guns, with which they are furnished by the Hudson Bay Company, and they go to war with the Assinipoils, who are their near neighbors. On the 16th, the two Scioux returned and reported that the Ayavois and Ocotatas had established themselves on the Missouri, in the neighborhood of the Mahas.

" On the 26th, the Mantantous and Onjalespiois arrived at the fort, and pitched their huts under the trees."\*

On the 18th March, 1702, M. d'Iberville arrived at Dauphin Island, in the frigate "Palmier," which he brought into port without any difficulty, there being twenty-one feet or more of water at the

\* The Intendant commissary of the colony, who was afterwards succeeded by Diron D'Artaguette.

pass. On the 19th, M. de la Salle\* arrived with his family at Fort Mobile, which had just been finished, and the head-quarters of the colony about to be removed there from Dauphin (Massacre) Island.† On the 25th, M. de Tonty, who had been sent by M. d' Iberville on a mission to the Chactas and Chicachas, arrived at Mobile, bringing with him some of the principal Chiefs of those nations, to make a treaty of peace. By presents and entreaties M. d' Iberville made them agree to live in peace together. On the 27th, M. d' Iberville returned to Dauphin Island, and from thence he went to Pensacola. On the 13th April, M. Dugue arrived with a transport laden with provisions. On the 31st, M. d' Iberville and de Serigny departed for France. On the 12th May, eight Alibamon Chiefs arrived at Mobile to consult with M. de Bienville whether they should continue to war with the Chicachas, Tomes, and Mobilians. He advised them to make a peace, and gave them some presents for this purpose. On the 24th June, a Spanish shallop arrived from Pensacola, on board of which was Don José de Roblas, Captain of Infantry, and a son of the nurse of Count de Montezuma, bringing a letter from Francisco Martin, Governor of Pensacola, asking to be supplied with some provisions, which M. de Bienville granted.

On the 10th August, M. de Bienville was informed that M. St. Denis and some Canadians had invaded the territory of our allies to capture slaves, which he ordered to be restored.

On the 1st October, M. Davion, missionary, and Father Limoge, a Jesuit, arrived from the Mississippi, to give notice that one of their brethren and three Frenchmen had been murdered on the Yasous river, by two young Courois, who had acted as their guides.

On the 11th November, Don Francisco Martin arrived from Pensacola, with the news that France and Spain were at war with England, and asked for a supply of arms and powder, which was given him.

On the 28th, two shallops, with two Spanish officers, arrived at the fort from St. Augustine, Florida, and brought a letter from Don Joseph de Souniga y Serda, Governor of that place, informing M. de Bienville that it was besieged by fourteen English vessels and two thousand Indians. He further requested that a small vessel might be sent to the Viceroy of Mexico, informing him of what had happened. M. de Bienville sent him one hundred muskets and five hundred pounds of powder.

\* The journal of M. le Sueur ends here. He returned to France in April, 1702.

† The name of this island was changed in compliment to the eldest born of the King of France, presumptive heir to the Crown.

On the 27th December, M. de Beaucourt sailed for Vera Cruz, with letters from the Governor of Florida to the Viceroy of Mexico.

On the 2d January, 1703, M. de Bienville learned by letters from Pensacola, that the Fort of St. Augustine sustained itself against the united efforts of the Indians and English.

On the 8th February, a pirogue arrived from the Ouabache, and brought the news that M. de Juchereau, Lieutenant General of Montreal, had arrived there with thirty-four Canadians to form a settlement at its mouth, and to collect buffalo skins.

On the 14th, an officer arrived from Pensacola, with a letter from the Governor, informing M. de Bienville that the fort of St. Augustine had received assistance from Havana; and the English soon after raised the siege with the loss of one of their largest ships on the coast.

On the 22d, M. de Beaucourt arrived from Vera Cruz with provisions. He reported that M. d'Albuquerque, Viceroy of Mexico, had received orders from the King of Spain, to permit the French of Louisiana to enter his ports to buy provisions. On the 3d of March, the men who had been left at Fort L'Huillier by M. le Sueur, returned to Mobile on account of the bad treatment which they had received from the Indians. On the 3d of May, the English living among the Indians in Carolina, induced the Alibamons to declare war against the French, and to use a stratagem to get them in their power. They sent two Chiefs to Mobile to notify the French and the neighboring Indians of the Cabouitas tribe, that the English had left their villages, and they could obtain a quantity of corn for themselves and their garrison. M. Labrie and four Canadians were accordingly sent to purchase a supply.

On the 5th, a Spanish shallop arrived at the fort, with Don Hyacinthe Roque Perés, an officer at Apalaches. He was sent by the Governor of Florida to ask succor for the province of the Apalaches, who were attacked by three thousand Indians, composed of the Cheraqui, Cahouita, Talapouche, Abicas, Alibamons, at the head of which were five Englishmen and two negroes. He reported that at the approach of these nations, the Apalaches had demanded of the Spaniards arms to defend themselves with, which they refused. This refusal had obliged more than two thousand of the Apalaches to join their enemies, and to settle in Carolina. Two villages of the Apalaches, who were Catholics, joined the Spaniards, and retired to the fort, where they made advantageous sallies. He further added that those nations had made great devastation in the province. He requested a detachment of Canadians and some ammunition to be sent, but only a few guns and some powder were granted him.



On the 21st, M. de Becancourt sailed for Vera Cruz to procure provisions. On the 24th, Charles, the Canadian who was sent on the 3d of this month with M. Labri to purchase corn of the Alibamons, returned with his arm broken. He said that about two days' journey from the fort, twelve Indians had met them with the calumet of peace, and in the night assassinated his companions. He had barely time to make his escape by throwing himself into the river. On the 25th, three Spaniards came from Pensacola with letters from Don André de la Riote, Governor of that place, who gave notice of the arrival of three ships from Vera Cruz with provisions; and that hearing the garrison at Mobile was in want of some, he offered to furnish it. This news gave great pleasure, as it had been obliged to seek their provisions from the Indians, or else to live off oysters and fish. M. de Boisbriant was dispatched to Pensacola to purchase a supply. On the 23d July, 1703, M. de Becancourt arrived from Vera Cruz, bringing a letter from M. le due d'Albuquerque, thanking M. de Bienville for the assistance he had given Fort St. Augustine, Florida.

In the month of August, the Chevalier de Perrot arrived at Mobile in the shallop "La Loire," commanded by M. Dugué, laden with provisions and other articles for the garrison. He brought with him seventeen passengers, among whom was M. Paillon, sergeant of a company raised by M. de Chateaugué, brother of M. de Bienville, who was soon to arrive in this country by the first opportunity, with a commission of second lieutenant in the navy. M. de Paillon had formerly been an officer in France, and was once aid-major of the colony. On the same day four Chicachas brought the news that five Frenchmen had been killed by the Tongarois, a nation living upon the river Casquinimbo, which empties into the Onabache. On the 16th October, M. Dugué set sail from Dauphin Island for the Havana, where he hoped to find freight for France. On the 22d December, M. de Bienville set out from Fort St. Louis, Mobile, with forty soldiers and Canadians in seven perogues, to punish the Alibamons, a nation of four hundred warriors, for the murder of the four Frenchmen.

On the 3d January, 1704, he discovered the fires of the enemy, and soon after ten perogues filled with men. He held a council with M. de Tonty and M. de St Denis, who, (contrary to his opinion,) thought they should wait till night to attack them. The Alibamons were encamped on a bluff difficult of access. The night was very dark. They took a road almost impracticable to travel, and where the enemy was posted. They fired and killed two Frenchmen, and

wounded another, and afterwards retreated. M. de Bienville sunk their pirogues ladened with corn, and on the 11th of the same month returned to the fort at Mobile. On the 14th, a party of twenty Chickachas brought five scalps of the Alibamons, for each of which they received five pounds of balls, and as much powder agreeably to a treaty made with them. On the 6th April, M. José de Roble arrived from Pensacola, to get M. de Bienville to send a vessel to Vera Cruz to inform the King of the extreme suffering of the garrison which was reduced to three hundred men.

On the 20th, letters were received from Pensacola, bringing an account of Don André de la Riolle from Havana, with provisions. M. de Boisbriant was sent to obtain some wheat from them. On the 22d, two Indians from Pensacola brought a letter from Don Guzman, informing M. de Bienville that the Indian allies of the English had returned to the Apalaches, and killed twenty-eight of his men, and begging that he would render him some assistance. On the 24th, M. Ducoudray-Guimont arrived at Dauphin Island with the "Pelican," of fifty guns, from France, bringing provisions and other articles for the colony.

He also brought sixty-five soldiers, being part of the two companies raised by MM. de Vaulguard and Chateaugue, the latter of whom arrived in company with M. de la Vente, a missionary, and four other priests, sent by the Archbishop of Quebec, under his orders. There also arrived, in the same ship, two grey nuns, twenty-three poor girls, and four families of artisans. The girls were married in the same month to different Canadians.

In the month of September (1704), a great deal of sickness prevailed in the colony. M. Ducoudrey Guimont lost the half of his crew, and was obliged to take twenty men from the Garrison to sail his vessel back to France. MM. de Tonty,\* et le Vasseur, Father

\* M. de Tonty, a distinguished and brave French officer, came to Canada with M. de Salle in 1678, and was his faithful and confidential friend throughout his glorious career. He accompanied him in his exploration of the Mississippi river in 1682. In 1683 M. de la Salle appointed him to the command of Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois river, where, in the following year, he was attacked by more than two hundred Iroquois, whom he repulsed, with great loss on their side. In 1686 he went with forty men in canoes, at his own expense, to the Gulf of Mexico, to seek for M. de la Salle, who had previously sailed from Rochelle with an expedition to plant a colony on the Mississippi river. Unable to find him, he returned to Montreal and put himself under the command of M. Denonville, to engage in the war with the Iroquois. The campaign being over, he returned to Fort St. Louis, in 1689, to go in search of the remains of M. de la Salle's colony in Texas, which he was unable to reach, after

Dongy, a Jesuit, and thirty soldiers of the new troops who had just arrived at the fort died during this month.

On the 20th October twenty Chicachas came to report that the English at Charleston, Carolina, had made them a present of twelve slaves, taken from the Taensas nation, to retain them in their interest.

On the 27th, three Spaniards brought the news that the fort at Pensacola was entirely destroyed by fire, together with the barraeks, houses and goods, and begged that a vessel might be sent to Vera Cruz to report the disaster.

On the 11th December a French brig arrived from Havana, and reported that an armament of several vessels were fitting out at Carolina, to take possession of Mobile and the Mississippi.

On the 21st, the chiefs of the Tonica nation came to the fort to solicit the return of M. Davion, the missionary, to their village, which he had abandoned since the death of M. Foucault, the priest who had been killed there by the Curois, instigated by the English, and in concert with the Yasous. M. de Bienville told them that he would not agree to it until the blood of the murdered Frenchmen were avenged. That if they wished to have him, they must strike a blow upon the Curois and Yasous, and bring him all the English that might be found among them. That to facilitate this enterprise he would send a detachment of his troops to assist them. The chiefs were delighted with the proposition, and promised to engage their allies in this undertaking. M. de Bienville agreed to send M. de Saint Denis, with twelve Canadians, to join M. de Lambert, Captain of the Canada Company, and brother of M. de Mandeville, *officier bleu*, who was descending the Mississippi river with forty Canadians from the Onabache, where he had been commanding since the death of M. de Guhercau.

many months of privation and suffering, through the treachery and desertion of his men. He subsequently joined MM. de Iberville and Bienville, on their arrival in the Gulf, and was employed by them in various active services up to the time of his death. All that is known of his personal history and adventures—for he has not been so fortunate as to have had a biographer to write them—is recorded in a report of his services to the French Government, and published in the first volume of the Historical collections of Louisiana. They reflect the highest honor upon him as a brave and generous officer. His achievements in the exploration of the Mississippi Valley must always rank him next to La Salle: and probably he contributed more to the successful extension of the French possessions in North America than any one man. Whatever doubt the failure of the first expedition of De la Salle to the Gulf of Mexico may have produced in France, was afterwards removed by the information which he obtained of this country in his courageous efforts to save his countrymen in Texas.

The Tonica chiefs, after having received some presents, set out for the Mississippi, and agreed to meet M. Saint Denis at the Natchez. They built pirogues, and after every preparation had been made for the war, M. de Saint Denis changed his mind and refused to go.

On the 21st January, 1705, M. de Chateaugué set out for Vera Cruz with letters from the Government of Pensacola. On the 28th, M. de Lambert arrived at Mobile from the Ouabache with the Canadians he commanded, on account of the war among the Indians there, leaving behind thirteen thousand buffalo skins belonging to M. de Guchereau. On the 1st February M. de Bienville was informed that the Chicachas had sold to the English many of the Chaetas families who had come to visit them; and that this treachery had caused a rupture between the two nations. There were at this time about seventy Chicachas at Mobile, and they were afraid to return to their nation. They begged M. de Bienville to send an escort with them, which he granted, and M. de Boisbriant was ordered, with twenty-five Canadians, to take command of this expedition. He set out on the 9th, and arrived at a village of the Chaetas at the end of the month. The chiefs of this nation assured them that they would not oppose the return of the Chicachas, but it was right to reproach them for their treachery in presence of the French. The great chief of the Chaetas stood in the middle of the place, with a feather and a calumet in his hand. He invited the Chicachas to sit around him and listen to his speech, which they did with their guns cocked in their hands. The Chaetas chief then ordered more than three thousand of his warriors to sit in a circle behind the Chicachas. He then commenced reproaching them for their perfidy. He said the French could not know their treachery, and it was best for them to die. He then lowered the feather of his calumet, which he had been holding up till then, and which was his signal to strike. Several Chicachas were killed, and M. de Boisbriant was wounded by accident as he was retiring. He was carried by the Chaetas on a litter to Mobile, where he arrived on the 10th March, accompanied by more than three hundred of this nation. On the 20th March M. de Chateaugué returned from Vera Cruz with provision for the colony.

On the 10th April, ten Chicachas arrived from the Tonicas by the Mississippi, to beg M. de Bienville to reconcile them to the Chaetas. On the 16th August, M. de Bienville was informed a French corsair was *en relache* at Pensacola. On the 6th September, he was advised by letter from Don Guzman, Governor of Pensacola,

that the *Le Rosaire*, of forty-six guns, commanded by M. Landeche, had been wrecked in port by a sudden gale of wind, which threw her over. Her equipage was afterwards sent in a vessel commanded by M. de Chateauguë, to Vera Cruz. On the 18th, M. de Chateauguë returned from Pensacola to Mobile Point, where he found a small brigantine from Martinique, a bucaneer, dismasted and unable to go to sea. He compelled her to anchor, and sent all the crew on shore, with the exception of a few persons who remained on board. This vessel had on board \$72,000, which M. de Chateauguë sent to Mobile Fort, under the charge of the captain. She was afterwards sunk in a gale of wind.

On the 11th October, M. de Chateauguë sailed for Pensacola, where he repaired his vessel; and on the 16th returned with M. Landeche and some officers. On the 16th November, two canoes with *voyagers*, arrived from the Illinois. One of them was M. Laurain, who had been to the Missouri river. He gave an account of the nations who inhabited that country, as well as of some Spanish settlements on the frontier of Mexico. On the 9th December, 1705, six Chicachas Chiefs came to solicit M. de Bienville to make peace between them and the Chaetas. He accordingly sent a deputation of three Canadians to the Chaetas nation. On the 18th, M. de Bienville reconciled the Mobileans with the Thomes, who were on the point of delaring war. On the 29th, M. de Chateauguë arrived in a felucca, which had been sent on a voyage of discovery.

On the 7th January, 1706, M. Lambert brought the news that the Chaetas had been attacked by four thousand Indians, led on by the English, who had carried off upwards of three hundred of their women and children. On the 16th, Father Gracio, a Jesuit, returned from the Illinois severely wounded. He had much trouble in making his escape, as that nation had declared war against the French. On the 21st, several Chaetas Chiefs arrived, whom M. Lambert had left behind. They came at the request of M. de Bienville, to smoke the calumet of peace with the Chicachas Chiefs, who had previously arrived at the fort. On the 21st February, M. de Boisbriant, who went on an expedition against the Alibamons, returned to the fort with several prisoners. On the 27th, a shallop arrived from Pensacola, with the Commissary Don Pedro Gareia, to adjust the accounts between the Spanish and the French commandants.

On the 5th March, two Chaetas came to the fort to inform M. de Bienville, that notwithstanding the promise of peace, the Chicachas had carried off from one of their villages upwards of one hundred and fifty persons, and asked for assistance and some ammunition.

On the 4th April, M. de Chateaugué sailed for Havana with the crew of the brigantine lost on the coast. On the 28th May, the Governor of Pensacola sent the French garrison, which was reduced to the last extremity, forty quintals of corn. On the 13th June, M. de Chateaugué returned from Havana, in company with the Eagle, of thirty-six guns, commanded by M. de Noyau, brother-in-law of M. de Bienville. On the 14th August, the frigate Eagle, and a brigantine commanded by M. de Chateaugué, sailed for Havana. On the 25th August, M. de Bienville was informed that the Taensas were forced to abandon their villages by the Yasous and Chicachas, and to retire among the Bayagoulas; and that not long afterwards the Taensas attacked the Bayagoulas, and had nearly exterminated them; a punishment they deserved for having destroyed their allies, the Mongoulachas. The Taensas fearing the vengeance of the Colapissas, Houmas, and other nations, the allies and friends of the Bayagoulas, they did not dare to return to their ancient villages; but invited the Chitimaches and Yaguénéchitons living on the lakes, to come and eat corn with them, by which they avoided a surprise. On the 1st October, M. de Bienville was informed that a party of Huron Indians, who had gone to make war on the Arkansas Indians, were surprised and burned alive.

On the 19th M. de Chateaugué arrived from Havana, and reported that M. de Iberville had fitted out a fleet to seize upon Jamaica, and had taken on board at Martinique about two thousand buccaneers, but hearing that the English had been informed of his intentions, and taken measures to prevent their negroes from revolting, he sailed for the islands of St. Christophers and Neuvitias, on which he laid a forced contribution. He then sailed for Havana, and took on board one thousand Spaniards to invade Carolina. The fever broke out among his troops, of which he died, and eight hundred men and several officers besides. On the 20th an English trader, who had been captured by the Tonicas, took revenge on them by assembling together the Chicachas and Alibamons, and declaring war. The Tonicas, not finding themselves strong enough to fight them, abandoned their villages and joined the Houmas; and whilst there enjoying their confidence, the Tonicas rose upon them and killed more than one half of the tribe; the remainder fled to the banks of the Bayou St. John, which empties into Lake Pontchartrain, at a short distance only from the spot where New Orleans has since been built, and established themselves.

On the 1st January, 1707, M. Berquier, grand vicar of Quebec, arrived from the Illinois, and reported that M. Saint Cosme, mis-

*a Bayou*

sionary at the Natchez, who was descending to the sea, had been killed by the Chitimaches. M. de Bienville sent presents to several of the Indian tribes, and requested that they should immediately declare war against them. In March the Pascagoulas declared war against the Ouachas; and shortly after the Indian tribes assembled to make war upon the Chitimaches. They were composed of the Biloxis, Bayagoulas and Natchez. They nearly destroyed the Chitimaches, and levelled their cabins to the ground. On the 20th April letters were received from M. de Chateaugué that M. de Noyan,\* commander of the frigate Eagle, died at Vera Cruz. On the 16th July M. de Chateaugué brought from Pensacola a large quantity of bacon, presented to the colony by the Vice Roy of Mexico. On the 25th August M. de Bienville received news that two hundred Indians, allies of the English, had invested Pensacola, burned the houses outside of the fort, killed ten Spaniards, and taken twelve slaves from the Apalache and Chaetas nations.

On the 16th November some Ouachas arrived at the Mobile fort with four scalps and a young slave, taken from the Abika nation. They informed M. de Bienville that the Alibamons and Abikas awaited the arrival of some English to go and attack Pensacola. On the 20th about two hundred Chaetas arrived with four slaves and thirty scalps taken from the Cahouitas and Altamaha nations. On the 24th M. de Bienville was informed that Pensacola was invested by the Indians and English. He took with him one hundred Canadians and arrived there on the 8th December, and found the siege raised and the Indians and English retreated. M. de Bienville returned to Mobile on the 19th.

On the 9th January, 1708, a French vessel arrived at Dauphin island, and brought letters from M. Touché, of the island of Cuba, informing M. de Bienville that M. Ducasse had arrived at St. Domingo with a large fleet to convey several galleons to Spain. He also announced the birth of a prince of Asturias on the 27th August, 1707. On the 24th the Governor of Pensacola sent word that a vessel had arrived there, bringing news that she had met the *Renommée*, a French frigate, upon which M. le Comte de Choisenl, the new Governor of St. Domingo, with several families for the Isle à Vaches, had embarked; and that the *Renommée* had brought stores for the colony. On the 10th February the *Renommée*, commanded by M. Chilez, arrived at Dauphin Island, with provisions for the colony. He brought the news of the death of M. de Muys, who had been appointed by the King Governor-General of Louisiana. In

\* The brother-in-law of M. de Bienville.

this vessel came M. Diron d' Artaguette and one of his brothers, the former to fill the office of Intendent Commissary, and to report on the past conduct of all the officers of the colony: to examine the port, and decide on the propriety of keeping it there or removing it, according to the new plans approved of by the King. This vessel also brought thirty new recruits for the two companies of infantry serving in Louisiana, with order from the King to discharge all the Canadians who had faithfully served his majesty.

In April, 1708, the *Renommée* sailed for France. During the remainder of this year and the whole of the next nothing particular occurred except the arrival of some vessels bringing provisions from Rochelle and the Islands of St. Domingo and Martinique.

In the beginning of 1710 M. de la Salle, Intendant Commissary of the colony, died a short time after his second wife.

In the month of September of the same year, an English Corsair made a descent upon Dauphin Island, and destroyed fifty thousand livres of property. In March, 1711, the settlement of Mobile was inundated, and M. d' Artaguette proposed to M. de Bienville to remove their quarters eight leagues above, at the entrance of the river, which was accordingly done. In the month of May, the Chickachas declared war against the Chaetas. At the time there were thirty Chickachas at Mobile, who were afraid to return to their villages, and M. de Chateaugué, with thirty soldiers, was ordered to escort them. In September, the *Renommée*, of fifty-six guns, arrived at Dauphin Island, with provisions, on board of which was M. de Saint Helene, midshipman, who came to serve as *aide-de-camp* to his uncle. In November, M. d' Artaguette returned to France in this vessel, carrying with him the regrets of the colony. He was an accomplished gentleman, and soon made himself acquainted with what was necessary to make the colony flourish.

In January, 1712, M. de Saint Helene was sent to Vera Cruz for provisions. His vessel foundered in the harbor, and the Duke de Linares, Viceroy, who had succeeded the Duke d'Albuquerque, furnished him with another in which he returned to the colony. In March, a frigate of Saint Malo, commanded by M. de la Vigne-Voisin, arrived at Dauphin Island, after having attempted to trade at Taspan. He had letters from M. Ducaze to the Viceroy; but he only agreed with the merchants as to prices they were to pay for goods at Dauphin Island. A Spanish vessel afterwards arrived with the money to pay for their goods; but the frigate was not there, and the vessel returned to Vera Cruz. At the end of the month, M. de



Bienville reconciled the Alibamous, Abikas, and other nations of Carolina with his Indian allies.

In the month of May, 1713, the frigate *Baron de la Fosse*, of forty guns, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere, arrived with provisions from France, and brought the news of peace concluded at Rastadt. Among the passengers who came were M. de la Mothe Cadillac, the new Governor General of Louisiana; M. Duclou, Intendant Commissary; M. de Richebourg; MM. Le Bas, comptroller, and Dirigouin, La Laire des Ursins, agents and directors appointed by M. Crozat,\* to whom the King had granted a charter of Louisiana, for ten years by letters patent, dated 14th September.†

\* M. Crozat, Marquis du Chatel, was one of those great financiers who flourished in the reign of Louis XIVth, when he obtained the Royal Charter granting him so many commercial privileges. The military force in Louisiana at that time, did not exceed two companies of infantry, of fifty men each, seventy-five Canadians, and about three hundred persons of every description which was scattered over a boundless territory. He died on the 7th June, 1738.

† LETTERS PATENT GRANTED BY THE KING OF FRANCE TO M. CROZAT.

LOUIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre: To all who shall see these present Letters, Greeting. The care we have always had to procure the welfare and advantage of our subjects having induced us, notwithstanding the almost continual wars which we have been obliged to support from the beginning of our reign, to seek for all possible opportunities of enlarging and extending the trade of our American Colonies, we did in the year 1683 give our orders to undertake a discovery of the countries and lands which are situated in the Northern part of America, between New France and New Mexico: and the Sieur de la Sale, to whom we committed that enterprise, having had success enough to confirm a belief that a communication might be settled from New France to the Gulf of Mexico by means of large rivers; this obliged us immediately after the peace of Ryswick to give orders for the establishing a Colony there, and maintaining a garrison which has kept and preserved the possession, we had taken in the very year 1683 of the Lands, Coasts and Islands which are situated in the Gulf of Mexico, between Carolina on the East, and Old and New Mexico on the West. But a new war having broke out in Europe shortly after, there was no possibility, till now, of reaping from that new Colony the advantages that might have been expected from thence, because the private men, who are concerned in the sea trade, were all under engagements with other Colonies, which they have been obliged to follow: and whereas upon information we have received concerning the disposition and situation of the said countries known at present by the name of the Province of Louisiana, we are of opinion that there may be established therein a considerable commerce, so much the more advantageous to our kingdom in that there has hitherto been a necessity of fetching from foreigners the greatest part of the commodities which may be brought from thence, and because in exchange thereof we need carry thither nothing but commodities of the growth and manufacture of our own kingdom; we have resolved to grant the commerce of the country of Louisiana to the Sieur Anthony Crozat our Councillor, Secretary of the Household, Crown

At the time of the transfer there was in the colony four hundred persons, including twenty negroes and three hundred head of cattle. The object of M. Crozat was to open a trade with the Spaniards in

and Revenue, to whom we entrust the execution of this project. We are the more readily inclined herunto, because his zeal and the singular knowledge he has acquired in maritime commerce, encourage us to hope for as good success as he has hitherto had in the divers and sundry enterprises he has gone upon, and which have procured to our kingdom great quantities of gold and silver in such conjunctures as have rendered them very acceptable to us.

For these reasons being desirous to show our favor to him, and to regulate the conditions upon which we mean to grant him the said commerce, after having deliberated this affair in our Council, of our certain knowledge, full power and royal authority, we by these presents, signed by our hand, have appointed and do appoint the said Sieur Crozat solely to carry on a trade in all the lands possessed by us, and bounded by New Mexico, and by the lands of the English of Carolina, all the establishment, ports, havens, rivers, and principally the port and haven of the Isle Dauphine, heretofore called Massacre; the river of St. Lewis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois; together with the River of St. Philip, heretofore called the Missouri, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Onabache, with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the river of St. Lewis.

*The Articles.*

I. Our pleasure is, that all the aforesaid Lands, Countries, Streams, Rivers and Islands be and remain under the Government of Louisiana, which shall be dependent upon the General Government of New France, to which it is subordinate; and further, that all the lands which we possess from the Illinois be united, so far as occasion requires, to the General Government of New France, and become part thereof, reserving however to ourselves the liberty of enlarging, as we shall think fit, the extent of the government of the Country of Louisiana. x

II. We grant to the said Sieur Crozat for fifteen successive years, to be reckoned from the day of enrolling these presents, a right and power to transport all sorts of goods and merchandise from France into the said Country of Louisiana, and to traffic thither as he shall think fit. We forbid all and every person and persons, company and companies, of what quality and condition soever, and under any pretence whatever, to trade thither, under penalty of confiscation of goods, ships, and other more severe punishments, as occasion shall require; and for this purpose we order our Governors and other officers commanding our troops in the said country forcibly to abet, aid and assist the directors and agents of the said Sieur Crozat.

III. We permit him to search for, open and dig all sorts of mines, veins and minerals throughout the whole extent of the said country of Louisiana, and to transport the profits thereof into any port of France during the fifteen years; and we grant in perpetuity to him, his heirs and others claiming under him or them, the property of, in and to the mines, veins and minerals which he shall bring to bear, paying us, in lieu of all claim, the fifth part of the gold and silver which the said Sieur Crozat shall cause to be transported to France at his own charges into what port he pleases, (of which fifth we shall run the risks of the

Mexico, and to establish a commercial depot at the Dauphin Island, with brigantines to convey merchandise to Pensacola, Tampico, Vera Cruz, Tuspan, and the coast of Campeachy, in which he would have

sea and of war.) and the tenth part of what effects he shall draw from the other mines, veins and minerals, which tenth he shall transfer and convey to our magazines in the said country of Louisiana.

We likewise permit him to search for precious stones and pearls, paying us the fifth part in the same manner as is mentioned for the gold and silver.

We will that the said Sieur Crozat, his heirs, or those claiming under him the perpetual right, shall forfeit the propriety of the said mines, veins and minerals, if they discontinue the work during three years, and that in such case the said mines, veins and minerals shall be fully reunited to our domain, by virtue of this present article, without the formality of any process of law, but only an ordinance of re-union from the subdelegate of the intendant of New France, who shall be in the said country, nor do we mean that the said penalty of forfeiture in default of not working for three years, be reputed a comminatory penalty.

IV. The said Sieur Crozat may vend all such merchandise, goods, wares, commodities, arms and ammunition as he shall have caused to be transported into the said country and Government of Louisiana, as well to the French, as savages who are or shall be there settled; nor shall any person or persons under any pretence whatsoever be capable of doing the like without his leave expressed in writing.

V. He may purchase in the said country, all sorts of furs, skins, leather, wool, and other commodities and effects of the said country, and transport them to France during the said fifteen years; and as our intention is to favor, as much as we can, our inhabitants of New France, and to hinder the lessening of their trade, we forbid him trafficking for castor in the said country under any pretence whatsoever; nor to convey any from thence into our kingdom or foreign countries.

VI. We grant to the Sieur Crozat, or those claiming under him or them, the property of, in and to all settlements which he shall erect or set up in the said country for silk, indigo, wool, leather, mines, veins and minerals, as likewise the property of, in and to the lands which he shall cause to be cultivated, with the mansions, mills, and structures which he shall cause to be built thereon, taking grants thereof from us, which grants he shall obtain upon the verbal process and opinion of our Governor and of the subdelegate of the intendant of New France in the said country, to be by him reported unto us.

We will that the said Sieur Crozat, his heirs, or those claiming under him or them, shall keep in repair the said settlements, manufactories, lands and mills; and in default thereof during the three years, he and they shall forfeit the same, and the said settlements, manufactories, lands and mills shall be reunited to our domain fully and amply, and in the same manner as is mentioned above in the third article concerning mines, veins and minerals.

VII. Our edicts, ordinances and customs, and the usages of the mayoralty and shroevalty of Paris, shall be observed for laws and customs in the said country of Louisiana.

VIII. The said Sieur Crozat shall be obliged to send to the said country of

succeeded if the Spaniards had not refused since the peace to open their ports to the French, in order to gratify the English, with whom they had made a commercial treaty.

Louisiana two ships every year, which he shall cause to set out in the proper season, in each of which ships he shall cause to be embarked, without paying any freight, twenty-five tuns of victuals, effects and necessary ammunition, for the maintenance of the garrison and forts of the Louisiana; and in case we should cause to be laden above the said twenty-five tuns in each ship, we consent to pay the freight to the said Sieur Crozat, at the common mercantile rates.

He shall be obliged to convey our officers of Louisiana in the ships which he shall send thither, and to furnish them with subsistence and a captain's table for thirty sols per day, which he will cause to be paid for each.

He shall likewise give passage in the said ships, to the soldiers, which we shall please to send to the said country; and we will cause the necessary provisions for their subsistence to be furnished to him, or will pay him for them at the same price as is paid to the Purveyor-General of our Marine.

He shall be furthermore obliged to send on board each ship, which he shall cause to set out for the said country, ten young men or women, at his own election.

IX. We will cause to be delivered out of our magazines to the said Sieur Crozat, ten thousand weight of gunpowder every year, which he shall pay us for at the price that it shall cost us, and this for so long time as the present privilege shall last.

X. The wares and merchandise which the said Sieur Crozat shall consign to the said country of Louisiana shall be exempt from all duties of exportation, laid or to be laid, on condition that his directors, deputies or clerks shall engage to give, within the space of a year, to be reckoned from the date thereof, a certificate of their unloading in the said country of Louisiana; under penalty, in case of contravention, to pay the quadruple of the duties, reserving to ourselves the power of giving him a longer respite in such cases and occurrences as we shall think proper.

XI. And as for the goods and merchandise which the Sieur Crozat shall cause to be brought from the said country of Louisiana, and upon his account, into the ports of our kingdom, and shall afterwards cause to be transported into foreign countries, they shall pay no duties either of importation or exportation, and shall be deposited in the custom house, warehouses of ports where they shall arrive, until they be taken away; and when the deputies and clerks of the said Sieur Crozat shall be minded to cause them to be transported in foreign countries, either by sea or land, they shall be obliged to give security to bring, within a certain time, a certificate from the last office, containing what they exported there, and another certificate of their unloading in foreign countries.

XII. In case the said Sieur Crozat be obliged, for the furtherance of his commerce to fetch from foreign countries some goods and merchandise of foreign manufactures, in order to transport them into the said country of Louisiana. He shall make us acquainted therewith, and lay before us states thereof; upon which we, if we think fit, will grant him our particular permission with

The arrival of M. de la Mothe Cadillac could not but have produced a good effect in Louisiana, if he had only acted in concert with M. de Bienville; but being jealous of the popularity of M. de Bienville, it gave rise to repeated altercations between them, out of which grew two parties in the colony, and which exist to this day.\*

exemptions from duties of importation and exportation, provided the said goods and merchandise be deposited afterwards in our custom-house warehouses until they be laden in the ships of the said *Sieur Crozat*, who shall be obliged to bring in one year, to be reckoned from the day of the date hereof, a certificate of their unloading in the said country of Louisiana, under penalty, in case of contravention, to pay quadruple the duties; reserving to ourselves, in like manner, the liberty of granting to the said *Sieur Crozat*, a longer respite, if it be necessary.

XIII. The feluccas, canoes, and other vessels belonging to us, and which are in the said country of Louisiana, shall serve for loading, unloading and transporting the effects of the said *Sieur Crozat*, who shall be bound to keep them in good condition, and after the expiration of the said fifteen years shall restore them, or a like number of equal bulk and goodness, to our Governor in the said country.

XIV. If for the cultures and plantations which the said *Sieur Crozat* is minded to make, he finds it proper to have blacks in the said country of the Louisiana, he may send a ship every year to trade for them directly upon the coast of Guinea, taking permission from the Guinea Company so to do; he may sell these blacks to the inhabitants of the colony of Louisiana, and we forbid all other companies and persons whatsoever, under any pretence whatsoever, to introduce blacks or traffic for them in the said country, nor shall the said *Sieur Crozat* carry any blacks elsewhere.

XV. He shall not send any ships into the said country of Louisiana but directly from France, and he shall cause the said ships to return thither again; the whole under pain of confiscation and forfeiture of the present privilege.

XVI. The said *Sieur Crozat* shall be obliged, after the expiration of the first nine years of this grant, to pay the officers and the garrison which shall be in said country during the six last years of the continuance of this present privilege; the said *Sieur Crozat* may in that time propose and nominate the officers, as vacancies shall fall, and such officer, shall be confirmed by us, if we approve of them.

Given at Fontainebleau, the fourteenth day of September, in the year of Grace, 1712, and of our reign the 70th. (Signed) LOUIS

By the King PHELIPPEAUX, &c.

Registered at Paris in the Parliament, the 21th of September, 1712.

\* On one side, says "Gayarré, the Historian of Louisiana," was the Governor, the Agamemnon of his party, backed by Marigny de Mandeville, Bagot, Blondel, Latour, Villiers, and Terrine, scions of noble houses, and all of them young and brilliant officers; and the fanatic Curate de la Vente, who stimulated them to the contest. On the other side was de Bienville, the Hector of the opposition, Duclos, Boisbriant, Chateaugué, Richebourg, du Tisne, Serigny, and others of note and influence, who were at least fully a match for their antagonist.

In the month of August, Baron de la Fosse sailed for France. In December, the frigate *Louisiana*, of twenty guns, commanded by M. Beranger, stopped at Dauphin Island. She belonged to M. Crozat, and was laden with provisions for the colony. On the 10th, a great number of Chiefs of the Chaetas and neighboring tribes came to chaunt the calumet of peace before M.M. de la Mothe Cadillac and D'Artaguette. The kind reception they received induced them to reject the offers of the English in Carolina. In the month of April, twelve Englishmen, at the head of two thousand Alibamons, Albikas, Talapoosas, and Chicachas Indians, came to the Chaetas nation, and were well received by them.

On the 23d August, M. de Saint Denis set out with thirty Canadians, to make a reconnoissance of the Spanish missions, in the province of Lastikas, near Red River. At the end of the year 1714, M. Duliné, *ensigne de Compagnie*, of Canada, arrived at Mobile to enter the service of M. Crozat. He brought two specimens of minerals from mines in the neighborhood of Cascaskias, which had been given to him by some Canadians. M. de la Mothe Cadillac discovered that they contained a great deal of silver, and concluded to visit them privately. He accordingly set out for the Illinois in the beginning of 1715. On his arrival there he inquired of the Canadians who had given them to M. Duliné, where the mine was to be found. They told him that the specimens came from Mexico, and that it was in jest they had stated to M. Duliné they came from Cascaskias. Soon after, M. de la Mothe Cadillac set out to explore the lead mines fourteen leagues in the interior, to the west of the river. After the departure of M. de la Mothe Cadillac, M. de Bienville was informed that the English continued to keep up their establishments among the Chaetas, Natchez, Yasons, and other tribes of the Mississippi; and believing that it was necessary to take prompt measures to prevent the trade of the colony from falling into their hands he sent for the Chiefs of the Chaetas, who would only come to him upon the assurance that M. de la Mothe was not at head-quarters.

M. de Bienville reproached them for deceiving him by telling him that they only purchased their goods of him, and were all the while buying them of the English. The Chiefs made him a promise that in future they would drive away the English, whom they afterwards pillaged of their goods, and brought three of them prisoners to Mobile. About this period M. Youx, an English officer, passed through all the Indian villages in which were any English, and went by land to Natchez. From thence he proceeded down the river to make an alliance with the Houmas, Bayagoulas, Ouachas,

and Colapissas, and to sound the mouths of the Mississippi. M. de la Loire des Ursins, Commissary of M. Crozat, immediately sent a pirogue and ten Canndians to capture him, they overtook him in the neighborhood of Manchac, and carried him to Mobile. From thence he was sent to Pensacola; but wishing to return by land to Carolina, he was killed on the road by a Thomé Indian, who was hunting.

In the month of July, 1715, a pirogue with Alibamons arrived at the fort with a Canadian and an Englishman; they reported that several of the Indian tribes in Carolina had fallen upon the English in their towns and had massacred them, including those of Port Royal. This revolt cost the English about eight hundred lives. M. de Saint Helene was standing in a cabin of one of the Chicachas at the time, with several Englishmen, who witnessed the massacre. As one of the Chiefs was about to tell him to stand aside and not to be alarmed, two young Indians who had slipped into the cabin, saw him, and believing him to be an Englishman, shot him dead. He was greatly regretted by the colony. After this massacre M. de Bienville sent deputies to the Alibamons, Albikas, Tulaposas, and Cahouitas, to renew his alliance with them. Two villages of Conchaques, who had always been faithful to the French and resided near Mobile fort, had been driven out of their country, because they would not receive the English among them. M. de Bienville sent several Chiefs to inform the Chaetas that he would not receive or trade with them, unless they reincorporated these two villages, and sent him the head of Ouatachiton, the brother of their principal Chief, for having fomented a civil war. The Chiefs on their arrival delivered this message, which caused a great murmur among them. Nevertheless, they concluded to obey it, and sent the head of the brother of their Chief to M. de Bienville, and likewise permitted the two villages to join them.

On the 15th August, the brig of war "La Dauphine," Captain Beranger, arrived at Mobile, with two companies of Infantry, commanded by MM. de Mandeville\* and Bajot, which increased the expenses of the colony to 32,000 livres per annum. M. Rogeon, came a passenger, to relieve M. Dirigouin, one of the directory of M. Crozat. At the same time a frigate from Rochelle, and a brigantine from Martinique, came to ask the privilege to traffic in goods, which was refused, as M. Crozat had the sole trade of the

\* M. Marigny de Mandeville published a memoir on Louisiana at Paris, in 1765.

country. In October, M. de la Mothe Cadillac returned from Illinois with his daughter to Mobile. He brought with him several mineral specimens of little value, and in the following month he sailed for France in the "Dauphine." In January, 1716, some of the Cheraquis Indians who lived north-east of Mobile, killed MM. de Ramsay and de Longueil. Some time after, the father of the latter gentleman, the King's Lieutenant in Canada, engaged the Iroquois to surprise this tribe. They sacked two of their villages and obliged the rest to retreat towards New England. On the 10th February, M. de Chateaugu  was despatched to Cape St. Francois for provisions, at the same time M. de Boisbriant embarked for France. The flute, *la Dauphine*, brought M. de Bienville the appointment of King's Commandant. He was ordered to take two companies of Infantry, to place one at Natchez, and the other on the Ouabach , and to remove his head-quarters to Natchez.

But M. de la Mothe Cadillac would not give him but thirty-five men; although he knew that M. de la Loire des Ursins had brought the news that five Frenchmen had been killed by the Natchez, and he had barely escaped by the advice of a chief, who had given him the means to save his life. M. de Bienville set out accordingly, and arrived at the fort on the Mississippi, where he found MM. de Paillou and de Richebourg with the pirogues which had been sent from Mobile, laden with provisions and utensils to form the settlements at Natchez and on the Ouabache. He ordered them to proceed and join him at the Tonicas, a post which had been established a short time before on the Mississippi, about two leagues above the mouth of the Red River, on the borders of a lake. He rejoined them on the 12th March, and was there informed that the Natchez, had since the departure of M. de la Loire, killed two Frenchmen and pillaged six Canadians, who were descending the river. He was also told that the Natchez had joined the Tonicas. M. de Bienville sent an interpreter to the Natchez to solicit some provisions and to bring the calumet of peace. The Great Chief sent him nineteen persons, five of whom were chiefs of the sun, and seven the chiefs of villages, to make a reconciliation.

He also sent him the six Canadians whom they had pillaged. On being presented to M. de Bienville they offered him the calumet of peace, which he refused to receive until satisfaction was rendered for the Frenchmen they had killed. They were confounded at this reply. The great chief of the Temple lowered his calumet, raised his eyes and arms towards the sun, and invoked the mercy of



M. de Bienville. He then presented his calumet, which was again refused.

M. de Bienville repeated to him that no reconciliation could take place until he delivered up the white chief and his accomplices who had committed the murder. At this proposition the chiefs said that he was, like themselves, a chief of the sun, a man of valor, and could not be given up. M. de Bienville now ordered them to be put in irons and imprisoned.

On the 17th the chiefs proposed to M. de Bienville to send two of their chiefs to the great chief at Natchez for the heads of the murderers, which was granted. They soon brought him the head of a chief, but, suspecting their fraud, he rejected it. They also brought him another, and this he refused. Finally, to put an end to these conferences, M. de Bienville told his prisoners that they could not doubt that the brother of the great chief called "The Arrow" was one of the murderers. He had received the English into his village, and had been a great disturber of the public peace. The chiefs at last agreed to give up his head. The death of this chief restored peace; and it was now stipulated that the Natchez should furnish posts and lumber to build a fort in this country for the safety of the French. This work was commenced in June, under the direction of M. de Paillou, who was appointed commandant.\*

On the 12th June, the "La Paix," of 12 guns, commanded by M. Chapy, arrived at Dauphin Island with twenty passengers; and at the end of July she sailed for France. On the 25th August, M. de Saint Denis returned to Mobile from his voyage of discoveries. On the 15th November (1714) he had repaired to the Assinays, west of Natchitoches, and not finding any Spaniards there he returned to the Natchez, where he reinforced himself with five Canadians. He then re-ascended Red River to Natchitoches, and marched to the Assinays, where he took twenty Indians and some horses to conduct him to the missionary establishment of St. John the Baptist, two leagues west of the Rio Bravo. Captain Raimond, the commandant of this post, informed the Duke de Ligneres, Viceroy of Mexico, of the arrival of M. de Saint Denis, and of his approaching marriage with his niece. The Viceroy sent orders for M. de Saint Denis to repair immediately to Mexico, where he arrived on the 25th June, 1715. He agreed with M. de Saint Denis to accompany nine missionaries who were going to

\* See the *Mémoire de M. de Richbourg sur la première guerre des Natchez*, at the end of this volume, for the details of this war.

establish themselves among the Adays, Nachodoches, Youays, Assinays, Natchitoches and Nadacos, in the province of Lastekas. On the 26th October, he left Mexico on this expedition, and visited Saint Louis de Potosi, Saint Louis de la Paz, Chareas, Saltillo, Boca de Leon, and Saint John the Baptist, on the Rio del Norte (Bravo), where he was married. On the 4th June, 1716, he returned to the Assinays, and on the 25th August, he arrived at Mobile.

In October, MM. de Saint Denis, Graveline, de le Roy, La Freniere, Beaulieu, Freres, Derbanne, (all Canadians.) formed a commercial co-partnership. They purchased from the stores of M. Crozat sixty thousand livres of merchandise, to sell to the Spaniards in the kingdom of New Leon; and on the 10th October they set out from Mobile to go to Mexico. In the month of January, 1717, M. de la Mothe Cadillac sent a sergeant and six soldiers to take possession of the post at Natchitoches, on Red River, which the Spaniards were about to seize. On the 9th March, two of the King's ships, *Le Duolos* and *Le Paon*, both of thirty guns, commanded by MM. de Godeville and Dusant-Sentille, anchored off Dauphin Island. They brought M. de L'Épinay a commission to succeed M. de la Mothe Cadillac as Governor of the colony, and M. Hubert to succeed M. Duolos as Commissaire Ordonnateur, which every one regretted; also three companies of Infantry, commanded by MM. Aruthis de Bonil, de Loze and Gouris, and fifty other persons, among whom were MM. Artagnette, Dubreuil, Guenot, Trefontaine, and Mossy, all of whom came to establish colonies in Louisiana.

M. de L'Épinay brought M. de Bieville the cross of Saint Louis. It is very remarkable that the commander of the "Paon," who had lately entered the port of Dauphin Island by a channel of twenty-one feet of water, discovered in two days after that it had changed, and he was compelled to unload and go out by the Grand Gosier Channel, which had only a depth of ten feet. But what was still more remarkable, that this channel, which had closed up so suddenly, had always maintained the same depth of water from its discovery by M. d'Iberville in 1699 to the present time. In the month of June, the ships "Le Duolos," "Le Paon," and "Le Paix," sailed for France.

The arrival of M. de L'Épinay created great dissatisfaction, as he caused some regulations to be enforced, contrary to the wishes of M. de Bienville. This dissension between the high officers of the colony was extremely prejudicial to its prosperity.

On the 25th, October MM. Graveline, Derbanne, La Freniere, and Beaulieu arrived from the Rio (Bravo) del Norte. They had set out with M. de Saint Denis in the month of October, 1716, with the

intention of trading with the natives of New Leon. They arrived at Natchitoches on the 25th November, where they purchased some horses, and on the 25th December they reached one of the villages of the Adayes. From the 29th December to the 4th January, 1717, they travelled eighteen leagues through a country abounding in game. On the 6th, they crossed the river Adayes and slept in the village of the Ayiches, where they found a Spanish mission-house established, consisting of two priests, three soldiers, and a female. The country was interspersed with beautiful prairies, and watered by several streams. From the 12th to the 13th, they travelled nineteen leagues and slept at the mission-station of Nachodoches, where they found four priests, two soldiers, and a Spanish woman. From the 18th to the 21st, they travelled nine leagues to the Assinays or Cenis, where they found two priests, one soldier, and a Spanish woman.

At *Le Presilio*, which was seventeen leagues farther on, they met a captain, ensign and twenty-five soldiers. On the 22d, they crossed two rivers, and at a distance of ten leagues farther, they passed the last mission-station of the Assinays or Cenis, which consisted of two priests and several soldiers, who furnished them with a relay of horses. From the 23d to the 24th, they travelled eighteen leagues to Trinity River, where they rested. From the 26th to the 28th, they advanced twenty-four leagues to the *rivière des Irrupiens*, where they saw a great herd of wild Buffaloes. On the next day they crossed the river, which has two branches, and slept at night in a village of the same name. From the 20th to the 8th April, they travelled thirty-six leagues, and crossed a desert to the river Colorado. Here they were attacked by sixty Indians on horseback, who were covered with Buffalo skins, and armed with bows and lances. The conflict was soon ended; but in their retreat the Indians threw themselves upon their rear guard, and carried off twenty-three mules, one of which was loaded with all their wearing apparel.

On the 11th, they made nine leagues and forded the river Saint Marks. On the next day they crossed two branches of the river Guadaloupe. From the 13th to the 14th, they travelled thirteen leagues, and forded the rivers St. Anthony and Madeline. From the 15th to the 19th, they travelled twenty-seven leagues to the *rivière aux Noix*. From the 20th to the 21st, they travelled to the river *Del-Norte* (Rio Grande); and two leagues to the west of which they arrived at the *Presilio*, where they found a captain, lieutenant, and thirty Spanish soldiers. In this place was established the missions of Saint Bernard and Saint John the Baptist. Their houses were built around a square, which formed their fortress.

These missionary stations are situated about two hundred and fourteen leagues from Natchitoches, in latitude  $29^{\circ} 10'$ . Here MM. Graveline and Derbanne learned that the merchandise brought by M. de Saint Denis had been seized by M. Raimond, Commandant of the Post, and that he had gone to Mexico to have them restored to him.

This news compelled them to intrust the goods they had brought with them to the Franciscan fathers, who sold them by degrees to the merchants of *Boca de Leon*. On the 1st September, they heard of the imprisonment of M. de Saint Denis, which obliged them soon after to set out for Mobile, where they arrived on the 25th October, 1717. They visited on their route a Spanish mission on the Adayes, *St. Michel-Archange de Lignarès*, which was founded on the 29th January, 1717, by the Reverend Father Augustin, Patron de Guzman of the order of Franciscans.

In the month of August, 1717, a company was formed in France under the title of the "Western Company."\* At this period the re

\* LETTERS PATENT GRANTED TO THE WESTERN COMPANY.

Louis, by the grace of God, of France and Navarre King, to all to whom these our present letters shall come, GREETING :

From the time of our accession to the crown, we have been successfully engaged in establishing good order in our finances, and in reforming the abuses which long-protracted wars had caused in them; nor have we paid less attention to the restoration of the trade of our subjects which contributes to their prosperity as much as the good administration of our finances. But having taken cognisance of the state of our colonies situated in the northern parts of America, we have remained satisfied that they were so much the more in need of our protection. M. Anthony Crozat, to whom the late King, our most honored lord and great grandfather, had, by letters patent of the month of September, 1712, granted the privilege of exclusive trade in our government of Louisiana, having humbly prayed that we might allow him to resign it, which we did allow him by the order of our council of the 23d of the present month of August, and the contract made with Messrs. Aubert, Neret and Gayot, on the 10th of May, 1706, for the trade in beaver of Canada, expiring at the end of the present year; We have thought fit, for the good of our service and the advantage of both colonies, to establish a company capable of upholding their trade and of undertaking the different species of husbandry and plantations that may be established there: Wherefore, and for other reasons us thereto inducing, by and with the advice of our dearly-beloved uncle, the Duke of Orleans Regent, *Petit fils de France*, of our dearly-beloved cousin the Duke of Bourbon, of our dearly-beloved cousin the Prince of Conti, princes of our blood, of our dearly-beloved uncle the Duke of Maine, of our dearly-beloved uncle the Count of Toulouse, legitimated princes, and other peers of France, grandees and notable persons of our kingdom, and by our certain knowledge and royal authority we have said, determined and ordained, do say, determine and ordain, it is our will and pleasure,

were in the colony seven hundred persons, and four hundred head of cattle. They had entirely neglected to cultivate the land. The garrison and inhabitants continued to trade with the Indians and

I. That there be formed, by virtue of these present letters, a trading company by the style of *Western Company*, in which it shall be allowed to all our subjects, of whatever rank and quality they may be, as well as to all other companies formed or to be formed, and to all bodies and corporations, to take an interest for such sum or sums as they may think fit, and they shall not, on account of the said engagements, be considered as having degraded their titles, quality or nobility; our intention being that they may enjoy the benefit expressed in our proclamations of the months of May and August, 1664, August, 1669, and December, 1701, which shall be executed according to their form and tenor.

II. We grant to the said company, for the space of twenty-five years, beginning from the day of the registration of these present letters, the exclusive right of trading in our province and government of Louisiana, and also the privilege of receiving, to the exclusion of all other persons, in our colony of Canada, from the 1st of January, 1718, until and including the last day of December, 1742, all the beaver, fat and dry, which the inhabitants of the said colony shall have traded for, whilst we shall regulate, according to the accounts which shall be sent over to us from the said country, the quantities of the different sorts of beaver, that the company shall be bound to receive each year from the said inhabitants of Canada, and the prices they shall be bound to pay for them.

III. We forbid all our other subjects any sort of trade, within the limits of the government of Louisiana, as long as the charter of the *Western Company* shall last, upon pain of forfeiture of goods and vessels; not intending, however, by the present prohibition, to put any restraint upon their trading within the said colony, either among themselves or with the savages.

IV. We forbid likewise all our subjects to buy any beaver within the limits of the government of Canada, with a view to import in our kingdom, upon pain of forfeiture of the said beaver to the company, as also the vessels on board of which it shall be laden. The beaver trade shall nevertheless remain free in the interior of the colony between the merchants and the inhabitants, who may continue to sell and buy beaver as they have done heretofore.

V. With a view to give the said *Western Company* the means of forming a firm establishment, and enable her to execute all the speculations she may undertake, we have given, granted and conceded, do give, grant and concede to her, by these present letters and for ever, all the lands, coasts, ports, havens and islands, which compose our province of Louisiana, in the same way and extent as we have granted them to *M. Crozat*, by our letters patent of 14th September, 1712, to enjoy the same in full property, seignior and jurisdiction, keeping to ourselves no other rights or duties than the fealty and liege homage the said company shall be bound to pay us and to the kings our successors at every new reign, with a golden crown of the weight of thirty marks.

VI. The said company shall be free, in the said granted lands, to negotiate and make alliance in our name, with all the nations of the land, except those which are dependent on the other powers of Europe: she may agree with them

the Spaniards at Pensacola, which produced a revenue of about \$12,000 per annum. This trade being considered very prejudicial to the prosperity of the colony, it was proposed to form plantations

on such conditions as she may think fit, to settle among them, and trade freely with them, and in case they insult her, she may declare war against them, attack them or defend herself by means of arms, and negotiate with them for peace or for a truce.

VII. The property of all mines the said company may open during the time her charter lasts, shall belong to her by length of possession, and she shall not be bound to pay us during the said time, for the said mines, and right of sovereignty, whereof we have made and do make her a free gift, by these present letters.

VIII. The said company shall be free to sell and give away the lands granted to her for whatever quit or ground rent she may think fit, and even to grant them in freehold, without jurisdiction or seignior; she shall not, however, be at liberty to dispossess such of our subjects as are already settled in the lands granted to her, of such lands as have been granted to them, or which without special grant they may have begun to clear and cultivate. It is our will that such among them as have no grants or letters of us, be bound to take grants of the company, so as to insure to them the property of the land they enjoy, which grants shall be delivered to them free of all expenses.

IX. The said company shall be at liberty to construct all such forts, castles and strongholds as she may find necessary for the defence of the lands we have granted to her, garrison them and raise soldiers in our kingdom, after having taken our commission in the usual and accustomed form.

X. The said company shall be at liberty to establish such governors, officers, majors and others as they may think fit, to command the troops, and the said governors and major-officers shall be presented to us by the directors of the company, in order that we may deliver to them our commissions; and the said company shall be at liberty to dismiss them as often as they shall think fit and put others in their place, to whom we shall likewise deliver our commissions without any difficulty; and in the mean while, the said officers may command, for the space of six months or a year at most, under the commissions of the directors; and the governors and major-officers shall be bound to take the oath of allegiance to us.

XI. We allow all our military officers who are at present in our government of Louisiana and who may wish to remain there, as also those who may wish to go there and serve as captains and subalterns, to serve under the company's commissions, without losing on that account the rank or degree they actually enjoy, either in our fleet or in our army, and it is our will that in consequence of the permission thereto that we shall deliver to them, they may be considered and accounted as still in our service, and we shall take into consideration their service under the said company as if it had been rendered to ourselves.

XII. The said company shall likewise be free to fit out and arm for war as many ships as she may think fit, for the increase and security of her trade, and to place in them as many guns as she pleases, and to hoist the flag on the hind-castle and the bowsprit, but on no other mast; she shall also be at liberty to cast cannons and mark them with our arms, under which she shall put those we shall grant her hereafter.

on the banks of the Mississippi to cultivate tobacco, rice, silk, and indigo, as well as to furnish masts, pitch, and tar to France and the West India Islands. The affairs of the colony were in this situation

XIII. The said company being lord of the manor in the lands granted to her, shall be at liberty to establish justices and officers wherever she may think fit, to depose and dismiss them as often as she pleases; the said justices to take cognisance of all suits of police and trade, civil and criminal; and also to establish wherever need may be sovereign councils, the members of which shall be named and presented to us by the directors general of the said company, and after the said nominations we shall deliver to them their commissions.

XIV. The judges of the admiralty which shall be established in the said province of Louisiana, shall perform the same functions, administer justice in the same form and take cognisance of the same suits as those who are established in our kingdom and other parts of our dominions, and they shall receive their commissions from us, after being named by the lord high Admiral of France.

XV. The judges established in all the said places shall be bound to administer justice according to the laws and statutes of the kingdom, and more particularly according to the common law of the provosty and viscounty of Paris, which shall be followed in all the contracts the inhabitants shall pass, and no other law shall be allowed to be introduced, to avoid variety.

XVI. All law suits that may spring up in France between the company and the private people on account of transactions concerning her, shall be decided and determined by the judges of trade in Paris, the decrees of whom shall be executed without appeal for any sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty livres, and for higher sums they shall be executed provisionally with right of appeal to our court of parliament in Paris. And regarding criminal suits in which the company shall be a party, either as plaintiff or as defendant, they shall be determined by the ordinary judges, without allowing any encroachment of the criminal over the civil suit, which shall be determined as above.

XVII. We shall grant no letter or respite, *sursedeas* or *certiorari*, to any persons who shall buy goods of the company, and they shall be compelled to pay their debt by the means and in the way they have engaged to do it.

XVIII. We promise to protect and defend the said company, and to employ the force of our arms, if it be necessary, in order to maintain her in the full freedom of her trade and navigation; as likewise to see that justice be done to her for all the injury or ill treatment she may suffer from any nation whatever.

XIX. In case any director, sea captain, officer, clerk or agent, while transacting business for the company, should be taken prisoner by the subjects of the princes or states with whom we may be at war, we promise to get them released or exchanged.

XX. It shall not be allowed to the said company to make use, for her trade, of any other vessels but those belonging to her or to our subjects, fitted out in the ports of our kingdom, manned with French crews, and they shall be bound to return to our ports; neither shall it be allowed her to send the said vessels direct from the lands granted her, to the coast of Guinea, upon pain of forfeiture of the present privilege, and confiscation of the vessels and the goods laden therein.

on the 9th February, 1718, when three ships of the "Western Company," "Dauphine," "Vigilant," and "Neptune," commanded by MM. Dupuis, Arnaudin, and Beranger, arrived at Dauphin Island.

XXI. We allow all vessels belonging to the said company, and those of our subjects, who shall have received permission of her or her directors, to chase and capture the vessels of our subjects who shall presume to trade in the lands granted to her, contrary to the tenor of the present letters; and the prizes shall be awarded according to the regulations we shall make in that respect.

XXII. All goods, merchandise, provisions and ammunition, laden on the company's vessels shall be considered as belonging to her, unless it appear by bills of lading, in due form, that they have been taken on board for freight, by the orders of the company, her directors or agents.

XXIII. It is our pleasure that such of our subjects as shall go over to the lands granted to the said company, enjoy the same liberties and immunities as if they had remained living in our kingdom, and that those who shall be born there of French inhabitants of the said lands, and even of foreign Europeans, professing the Roman Catholic religion, who may come to settle there, be considered and reputed as inhabitants of our kingdom, and as such capable of inheriting and receiving gifts, legacies and other advantages without being bound to take letters of free denization.

XXIV. And in order to favor such of our subjects as shall settle within the said lands, we have declared and declare them, as long as the charter of the company lasts, free of all duties, subsidies and taxes whatever, as well on their persons and those of their slaves as on their merchandise.

XXV. The goods and merchandise which the said company shall have shipped for the lands granted to her, and those of which she may stand in need for building, outfitting and victualling her vessels, shall be free of all duties, as well towards us as towards our towns, levied at present or that may be levied in the future, on importation or on exportation, and although they should go out of one of our farmed revenues to enter into another, or from one of our ports to be transferred to another where the outfitting takes place, provided, however the clerks and agents of the company do sign an engagement to bring back, within eighteen months, a certificate of delivery in the country to which they were bound, upon pain, in case they fail so to do, of paying four times the duty, reserving to ourselves the right of allowing them a longer term in such cases and circumstances as we shall think fit.

XXVI. We declare likewise the said company free of the duties of toll, crossing, passage and other taxes levied to our profit on the rivers Seine and Loire, on empty casks, rafts and other wood, vessels and other goods, belonging to the said company, provided they send back by the wagoners and barge-men certificates signed by two directors.

XXVII. In case the said company should be obliged for the advantage of her trade to draw from foreign countries goods to be imported in the lands granted to her, the said goods shall be free of all importation or exportation duties, provided they be deposited in our custom-house, warehouses, or in those of the said company, of which the clerks of the general farmers of our revenues and those of the said company, of which the clerks of the general farmers of our revenues and those of the said company shall each have a key, until



They brought over M. de Boisbrilliant, the King's Lieutenant of the province. M. de L'Épinay was recalled, and M. de Bienville was appointed Governor General, with a salary of 6,000 livres per annum.

such time as the said goods shall be laden in the company's vessels; the said company being bound to sign an engagement to deliver within the space of eighteen months, from the date of the engagement, certificates of the unloading of the said goods in the lands granted to her; in default whereof she shall be bound to pay four times the value of the duty, reserving to ourselves the right, whenever the company shall be in need of drawing from the said foreign countries, goods of which the importation might be prohibited, to grant her special leave of importation, if we think fit, for any such goods contained in the list to be submitted to our approbation.

XXVIII. The goods imported by the said company for her account, from the lands granted to her in the ports of our kingdom, shall pay, during the first ten years of her charter, the half only of the duty which such goods coming from the French islands and colonies in America, must pay, according to our regulation of the month of April last past; and if the said company should import from the said lands granted to her, other sorts of goods than those that come from the French islands and colonies in America and are contained in our said regulations, they shall pay the half only of the duty that goods of the same sort and quality, coming from foreign countries must pay, whether the said duty belongs to us or has been by us made over to private persons; and as for lead, copper and other metals, we have granted and do grant, to the said company, entire freedom of all duties laid or to be laid upon them. But if the said company takes goods upon freight in her vessels, she shall be bound to let the same be declared, by her captains, at the offices of our farms, in the usual form and the said goods shall pay the full duty. In regard to such goods as the company shall import in those ports of our kingdom, named in the 15th article of the regulations of the month of April last past, and likewise in those of Nantz, Brest, Morlais and St. Malo, for her account, as well from the lands granted to her as from the French islands in America, proceeding from the sale of goods, the produce of Louisiana, and intended for re-exportation to foreign countries, they shall be deposited in the custom house, warehouses of the ports at which they arrive, or in those of the company, in the form hereabove prescribed, until they be taken away; and when the clerks of the said company shall wish to send them abroad, by sea or land, as transit goods, which can only take place through the offices named in our regulation of last month, they shall be bound to take a pass (*acquit à caution*) containing an engagement to bring back, within a certain time, a certificate of the last frontier office they pass, and another of their unloading in a foreign country.

XXIX. If the company construct vessels in the lands granted to her, we consent to pay to her, as a bounty, out of our royal treasury, the first time the said vessels enter into the ports of our kingdom, a sum of six livres per tun, for all vessels not below two hundred tuns burthen, and of nine livres also, per tun, for those not below two hundred and fifty tuns, which shall be paid on delivery of certificates of the directors of the company in the said lands, showing that the said vessels have been built there.

XXX. We give the said company leave to deliver special licenses to vessels

M. Hubert, Director-General, with a salary of 5,000 livres per annum. Agreeably to the instructions of the Western Company, M. de Bienville sent a detachment of fifty soldiers, under the com-

of our subjects to trade in the lands granted to her under such conditions as she may think fit; and it is our pleasure that the said vessels, bearing licenses of the said company, enjoy the same rights, privileges and immunities, as those of the company, as well on the stores, merchandise and goods, that shall be laden in them, as on the merchandise and goods they shall bring back.

XXXI. We shall deliver to the said company, out of our magazines, every year during the time of her charter, forty thousand pounds of gunpowder, for which we shall charge her no more than the prime cost.

XXXII. Our intention being that the greatest number possible of our subjects participate in the trade of this company and in the advantages we grant her, and that all sorts of persons may take an interest according to their fortunes; it is our pleasure that the stock of this company be divided in shares of five hundred livres each, the value of which shall be paid in exchequer bills, and the interest be due from the first of January of the present year; and when the directors of the said company shall have declared that a sufficient number of shares have been delivered, we shall close the books of the company.

XXXIII. The certificates of the said shares shall be made payable to the bearer, signed by the treasurer of the company, and approved by one of the directors. Two sorts of certificates shall be delivered, viz: certificates of single shares and certificates of ten shares.

XXXIV. Persons who may wish to send the certificates of the said shares to the country or abroad, may for greater security endorse them, but the said endorsement shall not be considered as warranting the share.

XXXV. All foreigners may take as many shares as they may think fit, though they should not reside in our kingdom; and we have declared and do declare that the shares belonging to the said foreigners shall not be subject to the right of *aubaine*, nor to any confiscation for cause of war or otherwise, it being our pleasure that they enjoy the said shares as fully as our subjects.

XXXVI. And whereas the profits and losses in trading companies are uncertain, and the shares of the said company can be considered in no other light than as merchandise, we permit all our subjects and all foreigners, in company or for their private account, to buy, sell and trade in them as they shall think fit.

XXXVII. Every shareholder, bearer of fifty shares, shall have a vote in the court of proprietors, and if he is bearer of one hundred shares he shall have two votes, and so forth, augmenting the number of votes by one for every fifty shares.

XXXVIII. The exchequer bills received in payment for the shares shall be converted in a stock, bearing four per cent. interest, the said interest to begin from the first of January of the present year; and as security for the payment of the said interest, we have pledged and assigned, do pledge and assign our revenues of the comptrol of notaries' deeds, of the small seal and of lay registration, in consequence whereof the commissioners of our council, that we shall name to that end, shall make in our name and in favor of the said company, bonds for a perpetual and inheritable annuity of forty thousand livres, each

mand of M. de Chateaugué, to take possession of St. Joseph's Bay, and to construct a fort, which he left in the command of M. de Gousy, Captain of Infantry. Twenty-five of his men deserted soon after with a Spaniard to St. Augustino, Florida.

bond representing the interest of a capital of one million, at four per cent., against the finance receipts that shall be delivered by the treasurer of our royal treasury, in office this present year, who shall receive from the said company one million of exchequer bills at each payment, until the moneys deposited for shares in the said company shall be exhausted.

XXXIX. The interest of said annuities shall be paid, viz. the interest of the present year, in the four last months of the year, and the interest of the following years in four instalments, quarterly, by our farmer of the control of notaries' deeds, small seals and lay registrations, in the hands of the treasurer of the said company, who shall deliver receipts thereof, approved by three directors, and, for the first time only, a collated copy of these letters and of their nominations.

XL. The directors shall make use, for the trade of the company, of the interest of the present year on the bonds delivered in favor of the company; but we very expressly forbid them to make use of any part of the interest of the following years, or mortgage them in any way whatever; it being our pleasure that the proprietors do receive regularly the interest of their shares at the rate of four per cent. a year, beginning with the month of January next year, and the first payment of interest to take place, for six months, on the first of July following, and so forth every six months.

XLI. Whereas, it is necessary that immediately after the registration of these present letters, there be persons who take charge of all that may be required for the opening of the books and other particulars incident on the beginning of the said company, which will bear no delay, we shall name, for this time only, the directors we shall choose to that effect, who shall be empowered to regulate and administer the affairs of the said company, the proprietors of which may, after two years have elapsed, in a general court, nominate three new directors, or continue them for three years, if they think fit, and so forth every three years, the said directors to be chosen only among Frenchmen and inhabitants of the kingdom.

XLII. Every year, at the end of the month of December, the directors shall close the general balance of the affairs of the company, after which they shall call, by bills publicly stuck up, a general court of proprietors of the said company, in which court the dividends accruing from the profits of the said company, shall be fixed and settled.

XLIII. Considering the great number of shares that will be delivered by the said company, we find necessary to establish, for the ease of our subjects, a regular order for the payment of the interest and dividend, so that every shareholder may know what day he may appear at the office to receive, without any delay, the sums due to him. In consequence, it is our pleasure that the interest of the said shares, as likewise the dividend accruing to them out of the profits of the trade, be paid according to the number of the said shares, beginning by number one and so forth; the company not being at liberty to make any alteration in the said order, and every week the directors shall cause bills

In February, 1718, M. de Bienville set out to select a place on the banks of the Mississippi for his head quarters, which now bears the name of New Orleans, about thirty leagues from the sea,

to be stuck up at the door of the office of the said company, and advertisements inserted in the public newspapers, containing the numbers that are to be paid in the following week.

XLIV. Neither the shares of the company, nor her effects, nor the salaries of the directors, officers or agents of the said company, shall be subject to distress by any person or under any pretence whatever, not even for our own moneys and affairs, excepting only that the creditors of the shareholders shall be at liberty to attach in the hands of the treasurer and book-keeper of the said company the moneys due to the said shareholders, according to the accounts closed by the company, to which the said creditors shall be bound to submit, without obliging the said directors to show them the state of the company's effects or render them any account, neither shall the said creditors establish any commissaries or sequestrées of the said effects, and all acts contrary to the present edict shall be void.

XLV. It is our pleasure that the exchequer bills, delivered in hands of the treasurer of our royal treasury for the said Western Company, he brought by him to the town hall of our good city of Paris, where, in the presence of M. Bignon, councillor of state in ordinary, late *Prevot du marchands* (mayor), M. Trudaine, councillor of state, present *Prevot du marchands*, Messrs. de Sorre, le Vertroys, Harlon and Boneot, who signed the exchequer bills with them, and of the municipal officers of the said town hall who shall or may wish to be there, the said exchequer bills be publicly burned, immediately after the delivery of each bond, and after the draft of a verbal process mentioning the registers, numbers and sums, the inscription and discharge thereof on the said registers, which verbal process shall be signed by the said Messrs. *Prevots du marchands* and other persons named in the present article.

XLVI. The directors, or a majority of them, shall nominate all the agents of the company, captains and officers serving on her vessels, military and judicial officers, and all others employed in the lands granted to her, and they shall be at liberty to dismiss them whenever they think fit; and the said nominations and dismissions shall be signed by no less than three directors.

XLVII. The said directors shall not be troubled or constrained in their persons or effects for the affairs of the company.

XLVIII. They shall settle the accounts of the clerks and agents, as well in France as in the granted lands of the company, and those of the correspondents, and the said accounts must be signed by no less than three of the said directors.

XLIX. True and exact books shall be kept for the cash, invoices, sale accounts, expeditions and ledger, by double entry, as well at the general direction at Paris as by the clerks and commissioners of the company in the country and lands granted to her; the said books shall be endorsed and signed by the directors, and they may serve as evidence before our courts of justice.

L. We bestow in gift to the said company the forts, warehouses, houses, cannons, arms, gunpowder, brigantines, boats, canoes, and all other effects and

and which communicates with lake Pontchartrain, by the bayou Saint John. He left fifty persons there to clear the land and build some houses. In March, the ships Dauphine, Neptune, and Vigilant re-

utensils we possess at present in Louisiana, all of which shall be delivered over to her on our orders, which shall be dispatched by our navy council.

LI. We bestow likewise in gift to the said company, the vessels, goods and effects which M. Crozat delivered over to us, as explained in the decree of our council of the 23d day of the present month, of whatever nature they may be, and whatever may be their amount, provided that in the course of her charter she carry over to the lands granted to her, no less than six thousand white persons, and three thousand negroes.

LII. If, after the twenty-five years of the charter we grant hereby to the said company shall have expired, we should not think fit to grant her a prolongation thereof, all the islands and lands she shall have inhabited or peopled, as likewise the manorial rights, quit and other rents, due by the inhabitants, shall remain her property forever, with liberty to dispose of them as she shall think fit and we will never seek to recover the said lands or islands for any cause, occasion or pretence whatever, having given them up from this present moment, on condition that the said company shall not sell the said lands to any other persons than our subjects; and as to the forts, arms and ammunitions, they shall be delivered up to us by the said company, to whom we shall repay the value of the same according to an equitable valuation.

LIII. Whereas, in the settlement of the lands granted to the said company by these present letters, we have chiefly in view the glory of God, by procuring the salvation of the Indian savage and negro inhabitants whom we wish to be instructed in the true religion, the said company shall be bound to build churches at her expense in the places of her settlements, as likewise to maintain there as many approved clergymen as may be necessary, either as vicars, or under any other suitable title, to preach the holy gospel, celebrate Divine service, and administer the sacraments under the authority of the bishop of Quebec, the said colony remaining as heretofore in his diocese, the livings of the vicars and other clergymen, maintained by the company, being in his gift and advowson.

LIV. The said company shall be at liberty to take for her coat of arms an escutcheon vert, waved at the base argent, lying thereon a river god proper, leaning on a cornucopia or; in chief azure service of fleur de lys or, bearing upon a closet or; supporters two savages; crest a trefoiled crown; and we grant her the said arms that she may make use of them on her seals, and place them on her buildings, vessels, guns and wherever she may think fit.

LV. We give the said company leave to draw up and enact the necessary statutes and regulations for the government and direction of her affairs and trade, as well in Europe as in the lands granted to her, and the said statutes and regulations shall be confirmed by our letters patent, in order that the shareholders of the said company be bound to execute them according to their form and tenor.

LVI. Whereas it is not our intention that the special protection we grant to the said company be in any respect prejudicial to our other colonies whom we wish also to favor, we forbid the said company to take or receive under any

turned to France. On the 28th April, the ship *Le Paix* arrived with sixty men for the concession of M. Paris Duverney, at the village of the Bayagoulas, which had been destroyed.\* In May, the

pretence whatever, any inhabitant established in our colonies, and transfer them to Louisiana, unless they have obtained the necessary permission in writing of the governors general of our said colonies, authenticated by the *Intendants* or chiefs of the commissariat.

Wherefore, we do order our trusty and beloved councillors, holding our court of parliament audit office, and court of aids in Paris, to let the present letters be read, published and registered, and their contents holden, obeyed and executed, according to their form and tenor, notwithstanding any proclamation, declaration, regulation judgment or any thing else contrary to their contents, all of which we have made and do make void by these present letters, in the copies of which, authenticated by one of our trusty and beloved councillor secretaries, faith shall be had as in the original: For such is our pleasure. And in order that this may endure forever, we have attached our seal to these present letters. Given in Paris in the month of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, and of our reign the second.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

And lower, for the King. Le duc d'ORLEANS, Regent, present. PHELYPEAUX vildit DAGESEAU. Seen at the council Villeroy, and sealed with the great seal of green wax.

\* The Indian tribes inhabiting the vast country explored by the French, were formerly much more numerous than they are at present. Many of these powerful tribes have either become extinct or so merged in other tribes as to have lost their names.

The *Mobilians*, a numerous tribe, who lived near the mouth of the Mobile river, have long since become incorporated with the Creeks, and no traces of them left but their names. The *Natchez*, who occupied a large territory on the Mississippi, embracing the city which bears their name, who worshipped the sun, and were the most civilized of all the southern Indians, were nearly exterminated by the French, upwards of a century ago. The survivors fled to the Chicachas for refuge, and subsequently to the Creeks, with whom they have been incorporated. The *Bayagoulas* and *Mongoulachas*, two very considerable nations, who lived on the west bank of the Mississippi, about two hundred miles above its mouth, are entirely extinct. The *Houmas*, a powerful and warlike tribe, who lived upon the banks of Red River, near its mouth, are reduced to a few huts only. The *Coroas*, situated a few miles above the Houmas, are entirely destroyed. The *Tuensas*, a powerful nation, situated a few miles higher up the Mississippi, are reduced to a few cabins. The *Tonicas*, once a large tribe, but now reduced, live with the Avoyelles, on a stream that falls into Red River. The *Pascagoulas*, *Tchachagoulas*, *Onachas*, *Bloasis*, *Tangipouas*, *Tchoupiloulas*, *Colapissas*, *Chalimaches*, and *Quinnipissas*, who once occupied a large district of country bordering on the lakes and bayous falling into the Gulf of Mexico, are either merged into other tribes or have become extinct. The *Yasous*, *Chachoumas*, *Talusas*, *Corois*, *Thioux* and *Samboukas*, have all been destroyed, except, perhaps, a few huts of the Yasous, which are still to be seen upon the banks of the picturesque river which bears their name. The *Natsoos*,

fort at St. Joseph's Bay was abandoned, and soon after the Spaniards took possession of it, and established themselves there. On the 10th August, the ship *la Paix* sailed for France. On the 26th,

*Natchitochs*, and *Naudacos*, on the Arkansas, are all either destroyed or merged in what is called the Arkansas. The *Caddos*, or *Caddoquiouis*, *Nassouis*, and *Taioux*, (a nation that gave their name to Texas,) the *Adajes* and *Yatassees*, are reduced to a few huts, confined to the banks of Red River. The *Chauctos* live on Bayou Bocuf, and the *Opelousas* or *Loupelousas*, and the *Attacapas*, in the parishes of Louisiana which bear their names.

Jontel, in his Journal of La Salle's last expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, (a translation of which is printed in the first volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana,) gives the names of more than thirty tribes of Indians which he passed through (in what is now called Texas) on his way to Canada, that have become entirely extinct; while the Apaches and Camanches, both powerful and warlike tribes, still rove sovereigns of the country, whitened by the bones of those they have destroyed. The *Cappas*, *Tongingas*, and *Torimans*, who lived, at the time of De Soto's visit to this country, on the banks and near the mouth of the Arkansas, have either been killed off or incorporated with other tribes. The *Chaetas* and *Chicachas*, great and powerful nations, who anciently occupied all that territory from the Gulf of Mexico to the Cumberland river, bounded on the east by the Cheraquis and Muskhocees or Creeks, and on the west by the Mississippi river; although numbering in the time of De Soto, more than twenty thousand warriors, are now more than half reduced, and have been transferred to the Indian territory west of the Arkansas.

The *Cheraquis* or *Chelakees*, the Albanians of the south, who occupied all the country lying north of the Creeks, on the Cheraquis or Tennessee and Hiwasse rivers, and along the mountain gorges of the Apalachian chain, numbering more than thirty thousand warriors when the French first landed on the barren shores of Biloxi, became reduced to less than one half of that number before they were transferred to Arkansas. The *Chananous* or *Shawancee*, who occupied the basin of the Cumberland, and connected the south-eastern Algonquins with the western Indians, like most of the other great tribes, became by sanguinary wars sadly reduced previous to their removal to their present hunting grounds, west of the Arkansas. This tribe was known to the French missionaries as early as 1672, they were nearly allied to the Sauks and Foxes.

The *Muskhocees* or *Creeks*, including, of course, the *Seminoles*, *Chattauaches* and *Apalaches* occupied an immense territory at the time De Soto passed through their country, bounded on the west by the Alibamons, south by the Gulf of Mexico, north by the Cherokees, and on the east by the Savannah river. They were, without doubt, the most warlike and powerful confederacy in all this country, and constantly at war with other tribes. Subsequently to their removal to the Indian territory west of the Arkansas, this nation could only muster about twenty-five thousand souls. The Creeks, Cherokees Choctaws have good schools and churches established among them, and live under a form of government of their own. The *Alibamons* and *Coosadas*, two small tribes that formerly lived on the banks of the Talapoosa and Coosa rivers, are either become extinct or incorporated with the Muskho-

the ships *la Duchesse*, *la Victoire*, and *la Marie*, commanded by MM. de Roussel, de la Salle, et de Chapy, arrived at Dauphin Island. They brought MM. de Richebourg, a knight of Saint Louis;

gees. The Abikas and Conchas, speaking a dialect of the Chicachas, and who lived north of the Alibamons, are all destroyed.

The *Miamies* or *Twightees*, a warlike nation, occupied the country from the Scioto and Wabash to the shores of lake Michigan; and the *Illinois*, a kindred nation composed of the Tamarois, Peorias, Cahokias, Kaskaskias and Metchigamis, occupied all the country lying between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and on both sides of the Illinois. The Metchigamis came from the west side of the Mississippi. They were reduced by wars with the Chicachas, Sanks and Foxes and the Five Nations, and begged to be incorporated with the Illinois. The Miamies were a numerous nation when first visited by the French in 1669, and continued for a long time in alliance with them. They have always taken an active part in all the wars against the United States and were finally reduced to less than one thousand souls. The *Peorias* and *Kaskaskias*, the last remnant of the great Illinois nation, now reside on the Indian reservation west of the Mississippi. The *Piankshawes* occupied a portion of territory bordering on the Ohio river. They were nearly allied to the Miamies, and although a numerous tribe, they were greatly reduced by wars previous to their removal to the Indian territory. The *Kickapows* occupied all the country between the Illinois rivers. The remnant of this powerful tribe now reside west of the Mississippi river.

The *Eries*, *Erigas* or *Cat Nations*, were seated on the southern shore of the lake which still bears their name. They were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1655. The *Andastes*, a more formidable nation, were seated below the Eries, and extending to the Ohio. After many years of disastrous wars they were finally destroyed in 1672.

The *Wigandots* or *Yendots* were well known to the French, who gave them the nickname of Hurons. The Jesuits who established posts among them as early as 1644, found them not only more warlike than the northern Algonquins, but more civilized. They occupied the peninsula between lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario. In 1619 the Iroquois invaded their countries, and massacred nearly all of the nation, except a part that fled to the Ottawas, and sought an asylum in Canada, where they were pursued by their implacable enemies, even under the walls of Quebec. The immediate dominion of the Iroquois, where the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas were first visited by the Jesuits, or the war parties of the French, stretched from the borders of lake Champlain to Ontario, along the head-waters of the Ohio, Susquehanna, and Delaware. In the beginning of the seventeenth century they amounted to forty thousand, and, from their geographical position and their superior intelligence, it made them empires in the contest of the French for dominion in the west. Their destruction has been almost exclusively the result of wars among themselves, or against other Indian nations.

The *Winchagoes*, once a powerful and warlike people, held all the country from the mouth of Green Bay (Baye des Puants) to the head of Lake Superior, and are now a most miserable and impoverished nation scarcely numbering four thousand souls. The Menomonies, Ottawas, and Pontouatinies, like the



Grandpré, major of Mobile; de Noyan and de Meléque, lieutenants; de L'Isle-Dumesnil and de la Patte, ensigns; and Dauril, major of New Orleans. M le Gac, a sub-director; seventy persons for the concession of M. de la Houssaye, and sixty persons for the concession of M. de la Harpe, besides twelve or fifteen men each for some smaller grants. The total number of persons brought over by these vessels at this time exceeded eight hundred persons.

Winnebagoes, are the remnants of powerful tribes, whose territory once extended around the northern, eastern and western shores of lake Michigan, and among whom the French missionaries labored for sixty years or more to convert them to Christianity.

Southwest of the Menomonies the restless *Sauks* and *Foxes*, ever dreaded by the French, held the passes from Green Bay and Fox river to the Mississippi. The largest portion of their territory lay on the west side of the Mississippi. They in part subjugated the Ioways, and admitted them into alliance with them. They were always particularly hostile to the French, and frequently attacked their posts. Sustained by the Chicachas and some of the Scioux tribes, they turned their arms against the Illinois, intercepted the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and finally compelled the Illinois to abandon their villages on the river of that name.

The *Missouris*, a numerous nation, but now greatly reduced, occupied originally the country at the junction of the river of that name with the Mississippi. They were driven away by the Illinois in 1824, and have since joined the Ottoes. The *Ottoes* and *Omahaws*, after several changes now occupy the country on the west side of the Missouri, above and below the river Platte.

The *Panis* or *Pawnees* consist of numerous villages on the river Platte, west of the Ottoes and Omahaws. They are a warlike people, and hunt southerly as far as the Arkansas. They were visited by French travellers as early as 1624, and now, although much reduced in numbers, they still occupy the same country that they did then.

Northwest of the Sacs (*Sauks*) and Foxes (*Renards*), and west of the Chippeways, lived the *Scioux* or *Dahcotas* on both sides of the Mississippi. The French discovered their wigwams in 1659, and gave them the name of Dahcota. The eastern Dahcotas are composed of four tribes, and the western of three, viz.: the Yanktons, Yanktoanans, and Tetons. These tribes still inhabit the country west of the Mississippi, between that and St. Peter's rivers. They carry on a constant predatory warfare against all the tribes living on the Missouri or its tributary streams, from the Mandans to the Osages; while the eastern Scioux or Dahcotas are continually at war with the Chippeways.

The *Minetarees* consist of three tribes, who cultivate the soil and live in villages situated on the Missouri. They are kept in a continual state of alarm by the predatory excursions of the Assiniboins and Aricarees. The southern Scioux, consisting of eight tribes, originally occupied a territory extending along the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas. Three of their tribes, the Quappas or Arkansas, the Osages, and the Kansas, who inhabit the country south of the Missouri, were the first seen by the French in 1673 and always remained in alliance with them. It is probable that the Quappas are the Pacahas described by De Soto in his wanderings on that side of the Mississippi, and the Kappas so often described by the first French explorers.

Y In the beginning of October, M. de Boisbrillant set out to take command in the Illinois; and at the same time M. de la Harpe embarked with fifty men for his concession at Cadodaquioa, on Red River, with orders to establish a post there, and to ascertain the number of Indian tribes in that country. X On the 31st October, the ships, *la Victoire*, *la Duchesse*, and *la Marie*, sailed for France. On the 17th March, 1719, *le Comte de Toulouse* arrived with one hundred passengers, among whom was M. de Larchebault, director-general, with a salary of five thousand livres per annum.

On the 24th March, M. de Saint Denis arrived from Mexico. It has been previously related that he set out from the *Presidio du Nord* on the 15th April, 1717, for the purpose of recovering his goods which had been seized by Captain Raimond. He arrived in Mexico on the 3d May. The Marquis of Vallero, Viceroy of New Spain, who had succeeded the Duke de Lignarès, received him courteously, and promised they should be restored to him. Soon after, however, Don Martin d'Alacorne, Captain General of the province of d'Altekas, was informed at Saltillo that M. de Saint Denis had passed through the province without reporting himself, and he wrote to the Viceroy that he was a suspicious person, and the goods were not owned by him, upon which information the Viceroy had him arrested on the 25th October. He remained in prison until November, when a royal decree was granted to release him on condition that he should remain in the City of Mexico. He obtained a release of his goods by another decree, which he afterwards sold for a great price. But the friend with whom he had deposited the proceeds, squandered the whole of them. M. de Saint Denis was ordered to be arrested soon after for having spoken indiscreetly of the Spanish Government; but some of his wife's relations hearing of it assisted him to escape from the City of Mexico on the 25th September, 1718; and on the 24th March, 1719, he arrived at Dauphin Island.

On the 19th April, the *Maréchal de Villars* and *le Phillipe*, commanded by MM. Meehin, arrived at Dauphin Island with one hundred and thirty passengers, among whom were M. de Serigny, knight of Saint Louis, with a commission from the King to explore and sound the coast of Louisiana, in company with his brother M. de Bienville; he was the bearer of the news of the war with Spain, which had been declared by France on the 9th January, 1719, on the refusal of his Catholic Majesty to sign the treaty of the triple alliance. His first care was to call a council of war, composed of M. de Bienville, Hubert, Larchebault, and le Gac. It was agreed that they should attack Pensacola. M. de Bienville repaired to Mobile,

where he assembled four hundred Indians and some Canadians, with whom he marched by land to Pensacola, while M. de Serigny embarked on board the *Maréchal de Villars*, and with two other vessels he arrived before Pensacola on the 14th May. As soon as the Spaniards saw themselves invested the Governor surrendered the town without making any resistance, on the conditions that the garrison should be sent to Havana, and the fort be exempt from pillage, which was granted. The prisoners were embarked on board the *Comte de Toulouse* and *le Maréchal de Villars*, which sailed for Havana a few days after.

On the 6th June, *le grand duc de Maine*, and *l'Aurore*, arrived from the coast of Guinea, with five hundred negroes. On the 28th, the ships *le Saint Louis* and *la Dauphine*, arrived at Pensacola with merchandise and about thirty new recruits. On the 5th August, a small Spanish fleet composed of the ships *Comte de Toulouse* and *Maréchal de Villars*, with several brigs, appeared before Pensacola, commanded by Don Alphonse, brother-in-law of Calderon, the Governor of Havana, who had seized the two French ships in which the Spanish troops had been sent to Havana. MM de Chateaugué, commander of the fort, had put it in a state of defence; but most of the soldiers being deserters, they listened to the councils of some Spanish deserters who had been left in the fort, and together with the panic and insubordination among his troops, the commander was compelled to surrender the fort on the 6th. The ship *la Dauphine*, which was in the port, was burned; MM. de Chateaugué, de Richebourg, de la Marque, and de Larchebault, were taken prisoners to Havana; and Matamoro was re-instated Governor of Pensacola. As soon as M de Serigny received the news of the Spaniards having invested Pensacola, he marched to its succor; but being informed before he arrived of the surrender of the fort, he counter-marched, believing that the enemy would not confine their operations to that place. He had no sooner reached Dauphin Island than the Spanish fleet was discovered to be approaching.

The commander of the fleet sent a boat on board the *Phillippe*, a ship belonging to the company, commanded by M. Diourse, with the following letter:

On board the Notre Dame de Vigogne,  
13th August, 1719, 10 o'clock, A. M.

SIR:

I send you my boat with an officer to summon you to surrender. If you do any damage to your ship I will treat you as an incendiary, and neither give you nor M. de Chateaugué and his garrison, who are in my power, any quarter. It

is the order of my King, Phillip the Fifth, to treat all those with rigor who are found with arms in their hands, and with mercy those who surrender.

With assurances of my respect,

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

ANTONIE DE MANDITA.

M. Diourse sent the Spanish officer ashore to M. de Serigny, who was much offended at the contents of this letter, and who informed the officer that he disregarded his threats. At this moment more than two hundred men assembled around M. de Serigny, well armed, together with several Indian Chiefs in their war dress, who only waited the command of their officer to fight. In the meantime fifty men were sent on board to man the "Phillippe." After the departure of the Spanish officer M. de Serigny made preparations to resist the attack. Towards evening a vessel was seen to enter Mobile bay, and during the night she captured a shallop laden with flour and bacon. She afterwards proceeded to plunder "*Miragoëne*," about two leagues from Dauphin Island, from which she took upwards of twenty thousand livres worth of goods, belonging to several individuals, who had sent them there for safe keeping. She then attempted to make a second descent upon the place, but M. de Bienville arrived in time with a small force to keep her off, in which nine were killed, seven drowned, and eighteen *French* deserters taken prisoners, seventeen of whom M. de Bienville ordered to be shot. As it was not in our power to prevent the enemy, they continued to hover about Mobile river. On the 16th, we discovered two ships coming from Pensacola, which we knew to be the *Martchal de Villars* and the *Santo Christo*, which they took from us on the coast of Cuba. They took their station off Dauphin Island, and commenced to fire on the "*Phillippe*," which was returned by her and the batteries from the land, until they were compelled to haul off. On the 20th, the Spaniards made another attempt to land, and were beaten off by the troops under M. Serigny. On the same day sixty Indians arrived from Mobile, which increased their number to two hundred and five. There were besides on the island sixty Canadians, one hundred and fourteen soldiers, nine officers, and seventy sappers and miners. On the 24th, the enemy raised the siege and sailed for Pensacola.

On the 1st September, the King's squadron, commanded by M. de Champmeslin, consisting of *l'Hercule*, sixty guns; *le Mars*, fifty-six guns; *le Triton*, fifty-four guns; and two of the company's ships, *l'Union*, forty-eight guns, with one hundred and ninety passengers;

and *la Marie*, a storeship, arrived at Dauphin Island. MM. de Villardo, director-general, with a salary of 5000 livres, came a passenger in the *l'Union*. On the 2d. MM. de Serigny, de Villardo, and le Gac, repaired on board the Admiral's ship, and after several conferences, it was agreed that they should immediately attack Pensacola before the arrival of a squadron from Vera Cruz. Consequently, the Admiral ordered that the ships *l'Union* and *le Philippe* should join him, with a reinforcement of two hundred troops. On the 15th, the squadron set sail for Pensacola, and on the same day M. de Bienville set out in a shallop for Perdido river, where four hundred Indians awaited his arrival. On the 16th, he arrived before Pensacola and invested the fort. M. de Champmeslin seeing his signal, entered the port. The small forts and ships kept up a constant fire for about two hours, and then surrendered. He gave them up to the pillage of the Indians. M. de Champmeslin gave the command of the largest fort to M. de L'Isle. The commander of the Spanish squadron presented his sword to M. de Champmeslin, who afterwards returned it to him; but the Spanish Governor, Matamora, was not so courteously treated. He was disarmed by a sailor, and M. de Champmeslin reproached him for his want of courage.

The French commander found about fifteen days' provisions in the place. He immediately dispatched a vessel to Havana with three hundred and sixty prisoners, so as to economize the provisions. On the 18th, a Spanish brigantine, laden with provisions, entered the port from Havana, and was immediately seized. She brought the report that the whole of Louisiana was in the possession of the Spaniards.

On the 4th October, the company's ship *La Duchesse de Noailles*, commanded by M. de Malvan, entered Pensacola laden with provisions for the squadron. On the 14th a vessel arrived from St. Joseph's Bay, and reported that a Spanish frigate of 26 guns was lost in the bay of Apalache, but the crew was saved. On the 26th M. de Champmeslin ordered his squadron to get ready to sail the next day. On the same day a vessel arrived from Vera Cruz and reported that a Spanish fleet was daily expected. On the 21st the squadron, consisting of twelve ships, after having fired a salute, put to sea, and M. Terrise was left with a few troops to command the forts. On the 23d the fleet anchored off Dauphin Island, and on the 25th they set sail for France, followed by the *Maréchal de Villars* and *Comte de Toulouse*.

On the 29th December M. de Bienville received a letter from M. Dutisne, dated Kaskaskias, November 22, 1719, with an account of

his travels to the village of the Missouris by the river, and to the villages of the Osages and the Panis by land. He observed that the water of the Missouri had a strong current, was muddy and filled with floating timber. The country was beautiful and well wooded. That two rivers, from the west, the Osage, and Blue River, emptied into the Missouri. At a distance eighty leagues from the mouth of the Osage are situated the villages of that nation, in the neighborhood of which are a great number of lead mines. In travelling west he crossed very high mountains, and many streams falling into the Missouri and Mississippi. That from Kaskaskias to the Osages is one hundred and twenty leagues. This nation is not stationary like the Missouris, but spend the winter in hunting buffalo. They are stout and well-made, and great warriors. The chiefs are absolute in their villages. Lead mines are abundant in their country, but they are unacquainted with the uses of it. From the Osages to the Panis villages is forty leagues in a northwest direction, and he passed over prairies and plains filled with buffalo. They are not civilized, but are accessible by making them a few presents. In fifteen days he reached the Padoucahs, who are a very brave and warlike nation. Here M. Dutisne erected the arms of the King, 27th September, 1719. ✕

By the arrival of *Les deux Freres* at Dauphin Island, M. de Cha-teaugu  received a commission of Lieutenant from the King, M. D'Artaguette, of Inspector-General, and M. Paillou, Major-General. They also received the news that the Eastern and Western Company was united in one by an edict dated 12th May, 1719. M. D'Artaguette was ordered by the administration of the colony, to remove the colony from Dauphin Island to Biloxi and the Mississippi, as it was impossible for the colonists to improve the sterile lands of the coast, and it was the wish of the King to have the lands on the river cultivated for the support of the colony. By this vessel the colonists received the ordinances fixing the price of all merchandise sold in Louisiana, viz.: five per cent. advance on the cost price at New Orleans; ten per cent. at Natchez; twenty-five per cent. at Natchitoches; thirty per cent. at Yazoo; and in Missouri and Illinois fifty per cent. Articles of merchandise not enumerated in the tariff to be sold at a profit of fifty per cent. on the cost.

γ M. Benard de la Harpe returned to Mobile from Red River on the 26th January, 1720, after having established a post at the village of the Cadodaquious.

It has been previously stated that he arrived in Louisiana in the month of August, 1718, and set out for Red River with fifty men.

He returned to New Orleans in the following October, and on the 10th December he set out again for Red River with a detachment of troops, to establish a fort among the Cadodaquious. When he arrived at Natchitoches (where a fort is built), he found M. Blondel in command, and father Manuel, at the mission of the Adayes, about nine leagues distant. ✓

At Natchitoches he was informed that Don Martin de Alarconne, commandant of the province of Lastekas, had arrived from the Rio (Bravo) del Norte, where he had established several missions, and a post at Espiritu Santo Bay, in the vicinity of the rivers Gaudaloupe and St. Mark. He then went to the country of the Assinays to establish a post among the Cadodaquious. On the 6th February, 1719, M. de la Harpe proceeded to the Assinays to prevent the Spaniards from making an establishment there. After a circuitous and very difficult navigation, he arrived at the Nassonites on the 21st April, 1719, having travelled one hundred and fifty leagues in a northwest direction from Natchitoches. The Indians of this country, viz.: the Nassonites, Natsoos, Natchitoches, Yatassees and Cadodaquious, having been informed of his arrival, prepared a great feast for him and his officers, consisting of buffalo meat and smoked fish. During the feast, as is the custom of the Indians, they kept a profound silence, and after it was over M. de la Harpe informed the chiefs that the great French King heard of the wars of the Chicachas with them, and had sent him with warriors to live among them and to protect them from their enemies. Upon which a venerable old Cadodaquious chief rose and replied it was true that most of their nation had been killed or made slaves of; that they were now but few in number; that their friends the Canouches (a name which they gave to the French,) had come to protect them, for which they returned their thanks to the Great Spirit. They knew the Nadouches and other wandering nations had been at peace with them since the arrival of M. de la Salle, which was many years ago. After he sat down, M. de la Harpe inquired of them the way to the nearest of the Spanish settlements. They told him that he could find them at a distance of fifty leagues off, among the nations of the Nadaeo and Amediehes, but that he could not go there on account of the low water. That at sixty leagues on the right of Red River, ascending, there were many nations at war with the Panis, where the Spaniards had established themselves; and that at ninety leagues to the north of their villages there were powerful nations on the Rio Grande, of which they knew but little. On the 27th April M. de la Harpe went to visit some land, ten leagues from the Nassonites, on the bor-

ders of a river, where the Natsos formerly lived. He found the situation beautiful, the land rich, the prairies fertile, and he would have built a fort there but for the desertion of the Indians who agreed to furnish him with provisions. The Cadodaquious lived, at this time, ten leagues above the Nasonites, and the Natsos and Natchitoches three leagues above them, on the right of the river. These tribes are scattered over the plains, and not living in villages, which has been the cause of their destruction. Ten years before they numbered about four hundred persons, which comprised some families of the Yatasse nation, who had come to live among them. The Yatassees formerly lived about fifty-six leagues above the Natchitoches, on Red River, but this nation has been almost destroyed by the Chicachas, excepting those who sought refuge among the Natchitoches and Nasonites.

The land of this country is generally flat, with some hills and extensive prairies. On the bank of the river it is fit for the cultivation of Indian corn, tobacco, indigo and cotton. They sow oats in March and harvest in June. Corn is sown in April and gathered in July.

The common trees of the country are the cypress, pine, catalpa, ash, willow, red and white laurel, walnut, plum, mulberry and pecan. The prairies are filled with strawberries, mushrooms, wild onions and purslain. Buffaloes, bears, stags, deer, roebucks, hares, rabbits, turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, partridges, lapwings, ring-doves, starlings, birds of prey and cardinals, the plumage of which is very gorgeous and much prized in Europe, are every where to be seen.

M. de la Harpe fixed his establishment upon the land of the Nasonites, in latitude  $33^{\circ} 55'$ , distant eighteen leagues in a straight line from Natchitoches.

On the 16th December, 1718, he received a letter from M. de Bienville, New Orleans, for Don Martin D'Alarconne, which he sent to the Assinays village by Saint Francois, a corporal of the garrison, who spoke several Indian languages, and at the same time he addressed to Don Martin the following letter:—

MONSIEUR,

I am charged with a letter from M. de Bienville, Commanding General of the Province of Louisiana, which I have the honor of sending you. In confiding to me the post of the Nasonites, he has requested me to render all the services in my power to the Spanish nation.

I can assure you, Sir, nothing can give me more pleasure than to execute his orders on every occasion in which they may be needed.

I have the honor to be, Monsieur,

Yours, &c.,

DE LA HARPE.



M. de la Harpe having been instructed by the Western Company to open a trade with the Spaniards of these provinces, he deemed it advisable to address the following letter to Father Marcillo, superior of the missions of Lastikus :

REVEREND FATHER,

The information which has been given me of your reverence, and the profound respect I have for your position, induces me to write to you and offer my services in these districts, which I command by the orders of the King, my master. Our proximity increases my desire to have an interview with you, and it will depend upon you whether I go to the Assinays to see you, or open a correspondence which may be equally advantageous to both of us.

The conversion of the heathen should occupy the attention of all good Christians. I know that some aid is indispensable to the success of the gospel among them. Your zeal is very great, but you must at times need help. Touched by these considerations, I now offer you the means of obtaining it. Inform your friends of New Mexico and Boca de Leon, that they can procure at the Nassonites or Natchitoches, all the goods they may need at a moderate price, upon which I will allow you a commission of two or three per cent, on all sales that may be made, and thus you may have it in your power to establish your missions upon a solid basis.

Receive, Reverend Father, the offers of a heart truly devoted to you, in which charity has more a part than any other consideration.

I am, &c., &c.,

DE LA HARPE.

On the 12th May, 1719, a Nassonite Chief assured M. de la Harpe that metallic ores were to be found in the mountains, about forty leagues to the north, and that he would conduct him thither. As the road was then infested with hostile Indians, he took with him nine soldiers and set out for the mountains. For the first three days the guides behaved well, but on arriving in the prairies in sight of the mountains, they perceived a smoke, and nothing could persuade them to go any farther. They returned the same night, and if it had not been for the strict watch we kept, we should have been surprised by a party of Osages. On the 20th, M. de la Harpe sent a detachment to make salt from a spring about ten leagues in a north-east direction from camp. On the 4th June, he dispatched MM. Mustel and Durivage, with six soldiers and some Indians, with presents, to make discoveries, and with instructions how to behave if they saw any Spaniards. On the 6th June, the corporal which M. de la Harpe had sent to the Assinays, arrived with some Chiefs of the Nadaeo nation, bringing with him a letter from Don Martin D'Allarconne, and one from Father Marcillo.

*Don Martin D'Allarconne to M. de la Harpe.*

TRINITY RIVER, MAY 20, 1719.

MONSIEUR,

I am very sensible of the politeness that M. de Bienville and yourself have had the goodness to show me. The orders I have received from the King, my master, are to maintain a good understanding with the French of Louisiana; my own inclinations lead me equally to offer them all the services in my power; but I am compelled to say that your arrival at the Nassonite village surprises me very much. Your Governor could not be ignorant that the post you now occupy belongs to my government, and that all the lands west of the Nassonites are dependencies of New Mexico.

I counsel you to give advice of this to M. de Bienville, or you will force me to oblige you to abandon lands that the French have no right to occupy.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.,

D'ALLARCONNE.

*Father Marcillo to M. de la Harpe:*

ASSINAYS, MAY 24, 1719.

MONSIEUR,

I am advised of your arrival among the Nassonites, and from the information I have received from our brothers at the Adayes, I desire to make your acquaintance.

The correspondence which you propose to open with me on the basis of charity and friendship, meets with my warm approbation, and I shall write to my friends of your wishes. But as it is not proper for a Priest to engage in commerce, I propose that our correspondence shall be kept secret, especially as I am on terms of friendship with Don Martin D'Allarconne, who will not, I believe, remain long in this province, as many complaints have been made against him for not executing the orders of the Viceroy.

Accept, Monsieur, the assurances of my respect and esteem,

MARCILLO.

On the 8th July, the Chiefs of the Nadaeo nation, after having sung the calumet of peace, returned to their village with the following letter from M. de la Harpe to Don Martin D'Allarconne:

*M. de la Harpe to Don Martin D'Allarconne:*

NASSONITE, JULY 8, 1719.

MONSIEUR,

The orders from his Catholic Majesty to maintain a good understanding with the French of Louisiana, and the kind intentions you have yourself expressed towards them, accord but little with your proceedings. Permit me to inform you that M. de Bienville is perfectly informed of the limits of his government and is very certain that the post of Nassonite is not a dependency of his Catholic Majesty. He knows also, that the province of Lastikas, of which you say you are Governor, is a part of Louisiana. M. de la Salle took possession

of it in 1685, in the name of his most Christian Majesty; and since the above epoch possession has been renewed from time to time.

Respecting the post of Nassonite, I cannot comprehend by what right you pretend that it forms a part of New Mexico. I beg leave to represent to you that Don Antoine du Miroir, who discovered New Mexico in 1683, never penetrated east of that province or the Rio Bravo. It was the French who first made alliances with the savage tribes in this region; and it is natural to conclude that a river that flows into the Mississippi, and the lands it waters, belong to the King my master.

If you will do me the pleasure to come into this quarter, I will convince you that I hold a post I know how to defend.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DE LA HARPE.

On the 13th July, the Chief of the Canicouans arrived with six Indians. Their village is on the banks of the Arkansas. The Nassonites evinced much pleasure at this arrival. They sang the calumet and exchanged presents with M. de la Harpe.

On the 24th, a Dulehinois Indian came from Natchitoches to inform the Nassonites that the French were at war with the Spaniards, and that his Chief had sent him to persuade them to declare war against the French; they replied, that they would not interfere in their matters. So the messenger returned.

On the 29th, MM. Mustel and Durivage returned from their discoveries with two Indians of the Quidchaio nation. They reported that at a distance of sixty leagues west-north-west from Red River they met with a party of Nabodiches, Quidahos, Huanches and Tancaros, who had just been on an expedition against the Kansas, and had destroyed eleven of their villages, near the sources of Red River, where the Spaniards had been working some mines. These tribes have no fixed abode, although they number about two thousand men dispersed through the country. They build their cabins of buffalo hides sewed together. The Tancaros are the most warlike and the most savage of these nations. They eat one another, and in war they neither spare women nor children. They are continually at war with the Kansas.

The Spaniards trade with the Kansas and give them sabres for horses, but never any firearms. It would have been well if the English and French had followed this rule with other nations. On the 1st August, the corporal who had been sent to the Assinays returned with the chiefs of that nation to assure M. de la Harpe of their neutrality in the war with the Spaniards. They brought the news that M. Blondel, commander at Natchitoches, had driven away and pillaged the Franciscan fathers at the Adayes. The corporal remained at the Trinity until the Spaniards departed.

M. de la Harpe having now nothing to fear from the Spaniards, he believed it to be the interest of the company to explore the country which had been pointed out to him in the northwest, and by this means to effect an entrance, by treating with the Indians, into New Mexico.

For this purpose he took with him an escort of two officers, three soldiers, two negroes, and several Indians who spoke the language of the country, and set out on the 11th August. On the 21st he travelled forty-nine leagues through a fine country, with sloping hills and prairies abounding in game. He met a party of Natsoo Indians who had been on a hunting expedition, and had killed forty-six buffaloes and cows. On the 22d he passed several prairies, and a little river which emptied into Red River. He then entered into an extensive prairie, surrounded by mountains. On the 26th he had gone eighteen leagues further, when he met with a party of Osage Indians, who seemed disposed to attack him, but yet suffered him to pass on. On the 27th he travelled six leagues further, over a beautiful prairie country filled with deer and buffalo, and entered the mountains, where he found a number of Indian huts. Travelling six leagues further he met with a party of Kansas, who were encamped on the banks of the Ouachita with forty warriors, and going in pursuit of the Tancaros. On the 28th he passed a beautiful prairie, interspersed with hills, and a large herd of buffaloes followed by a pack of wolves as large as those of France. On the 29th he travelled three leagues further, to a branch of the Ouachita river, which had about two feet of water in it. On its banks he met a party of Nacodoches, who were occupied in smoking meat.

On the 31st he travelled six leagues further, to a river which is a branch of the Arkansas. On the 2d September he advanced fifteen leagues through prairies and over hills, when he came to several lead mines. Six leagues further on he met six chiefs of nations who had come to meet him near a village called Imaham, lat.  $37^{\circ} 45'$ , and to assure him of their friendship. M. de la Harpe told them that the great chief of his nation had sent him to assure them of his protection against their enemies, and his desire was that they should be at peace with each other. These chiefs had brought Indian bread and smoked beef, with which they regaled the party. The chiefs made M. de la Harpe dismount from his horse one hundred steps from the tent of the Tancaro chief, when two of the chiefs took him to a spot and seated him on a buffalo robe. The principal chiefs then surrounded him, and gave him their hands as a sign of their friendship. These chiefs belong to the Tancaros, Azayes, Ouachi-

tas, Ositas, Asinays and Tayas. They number about four thousand people, who live in tents, and are the allies of the Panis, a nation living about forty leagues to the north. The Panis are at peace with the Osages, a nation who are continually at war with the Kansas, the Padoucas, the Aricaras, and other tribes. The old chiefs told M. de la Harpe that a white people (the Spaniards of New Mexico,) traded for metals with the Padoucas, fifteen days' journey off, in a west-north-west direction, where the mountains furnish rock-salt. On the 4th September more than five thousand Indians assembled to chant the calumet of peace. The old chiefs of the Arkansas and Tayas performed this ceremony and made speeches. Late at night M. de la Harpe retired to sleep, and in the morning the chiefs came to wake him up. They washed his head and feet, painted his face blue and red, and placed a cap of eagle's feathers upon his head. They also threw buffalo robes and other presents at his feet, and presented him with a Kansas slave, of about eight years of age, who had escaped out of seventeen prisoners, which they had eaten at a public feast. M. de la Harpe thanked them for their favors, and regretted it had not been in his power to have saved these unfortunate victims of their vengeance.

M. de la Harpe concluded to leave three of his men in this country, until the Governor of Louisiana decided whether it was expedient or not to establish a post here. But he afterwards changed his mind, as he was informed that the Indians abandoned their villages in the autumn to hunt buffalo, and in the following spring they returned to sow Indian corn, beans, and other seed, to supply them with food during the summer. The soil of this country is black, light, and very fertile. It is adapted to the cultivation of wheat, rye, and all kinds of grain. Also tobacco, which the Indians put up in twists, and afterwards flatten between two large stones.

The rivers furnish a variety of fish, and the prairies an abundance of deer, buffalo, turkeys, ducks, and geese. The Indians build their huts dome-fashion out of clay and reeds, and paint their coats of arms on a hide of leather, which they throw over the door. The Tancaros are the most respected of all the tribes, and the chiefs have the privilege of choosing their wives out of any of the villages. In general they are more intelligent and much better formed than those on the Mississippi river, but the fertility of their country makes them idle and dissipated. The women have regular features, and devote themselves to pleasure. During our stay among them, they brought us dishes of meat and corn every day, and even disputed among themselves which should give us the most.

On the 18th, M. de la Harpe was invited by the chief of the Canicons to feast at his village, about two leagues from the Tancaros, when he met a great many chiefs, who professed a great deal of friendship for him. The Canicons consist of a few families who live in a very fertile country. They venerate the serpent, and worship the Great Spirit under different forms. On the 10th M. de la Harpe erected a cross there, and planted a post near it, on which he carved the arms of the King. On the 13th, he set out to return to the Nassonis; and on the 17th, he arrived at the Ouachita river, where he waited to procure guides to conduct him to the mountains. On the 1st October, he was surprised by a party of Kansas Indians, and had only time to make his escape, by leaving his baggage behind. His guide ran off, and he was obliged to make his way back, over mountains, without any compass, to the village of the Nadacos, where he arrived, after much suffering, on the 13th October. On the 27th, he set out to return to New Orleans by the river; and on the 21st November he reached the portage of the Natchitoches, where he fell sick. He sent several Frenchmen from this place to the Adayes for provisions, as his had nearly given out, and remained here until the 4th December to recruit his health. The Indian doctors bled him freely, and in two days after he embarked in a pirogue to cross the lake; and on the 10th he reached Natchitoches, where he recovered his health. On the 3d January, 1720, he departed for New Orleans, where he arrived on the 26th.

In the beginning of the year, the Chicaehas massacred several Frenchmen, and (at the instigation of the English) declared war against the French. On the 28th February, the King's squadron, commanded by M. de Saujou, arrived at Dauphin Island. It consisted of the *l'Achille*, sixty guns, commanded by M. de Saujon; *le Content*, sixty guns, by M. le Roehambeau; *le Mercure*, fifty-six guns, by M. de Gabaret, on which was embarked two hundred and eight passengers, among whom were a number of young women taken from the public hospitals of Paris. On the 29th, M. de Bienville received letters from M. de Boisbriant, informing him that he had established a post on the Mississippi river, eight leagues below Kaskaskias. On the 25th April, the Council removed from office MM. d'Avril, a major, and Val de Terre, a captain of infantry; and on the same day appointed M. de Noyan, commander of the troops at New Orleans.

On the 4th May, the King's squadron, commanded by M. de Saujon, sailed for France, on board of which, M. de Villardo, one of the Directory, embarked to render an account of the condition of the

colony; and on the 4th June, MM. de Val de Terre and de Bourmont embarked on board the *Duc de Noailles*, to return to France.

On the 8th, the King's ships *l'Amazonne*, forty guns, and *la Victoire*, thirty guns, commanded by the MM. de Villiers and la Iaille, arrived at Dauphin Island, with orders to cruise on the coast of Cuba. These ships brought the news of the treaty made with Spain. The Council of Louisiana requested the King's officers to furnish them with provisions for the colony, which they granted, and soon afterwards they set sail for France.

On the 1st July, the King's ships *le Comte de Toulouse*, sixty-four guns, commanded by M. de Vatel; and *le Saint Henri*, seventy guns, commanded by M. Douce, arrived at Dauphin Island to aid the company. They brought with them from the Island of St. Domingo a contagious fever, which carried off a great number of persons every day. In the beginning of this month, the ship *l'Hercule*, sixteen guns, arrived at Dauphin Island from Guinea, with a cargo of negroes for the colony; and the *Comte de Toulouse*, twenty guns, sailed for France, with a part of the deserters from the regiment of La Motte. On the 16th, a brig arrived from Havana, on board of which was MM. le Blanc, Longueval, and de Chateaugué, with the troops that had been surrendered at Pensacola. She also brought the news of peace between France and Spain, and an account of the force of the Spanish squadron at Havana. One of the French officers informed M. de Bienville that the ship *Marechal d'Estres*, thirty-six guns, commanded by M. de la Godelle, had sailed from France in 1718, with troops and convicts for the colony, and had never been heard of. It appears that the captain had mistaken the mouth of the Mississippi, and entered a large bay in N. lat. 29°, where she anchored, and an epidemic broke out among the convicts, which produced dreadful havoc. That MM. Billeisle, Legendre, Duolos, Allard, and Corbet, thought it would be less dangerous for them to land, well provided with arms and eight days' provisions, than to remain on board in a contagious atmosphere. Their hope was to meet with some friendly Indians, who would take them to the French settlements, which they conjectured could not be far off. In the mean time the ship sailed away and was never more heard of.

On the 16th the ships *le Duc d'Orleans* and *Le Rubis* arrived at Ship Island with supplies for the colony. Towards the end of this month M. de Paillou set out to prevail upon the Natchez and the Yasous to declare war against the Chicachas. On the 3d August *le Comte de Toulouse* and *le Henri* set sail for France, after having distributed among the colonists a great number of supplies; and

likewise, on the same day, the *l'Hercule* and *la Driade* departed for France, on board of which MM. la Harpe, d'Avril, and de Longueval embarked.

*Copy of a Certificate given by M. de Bienville to M. de la Harpe.*

Biloxi, July 1, 1720.

"I, John Baptist de Bienville, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, and Commanding General in the Province of Louisiana,

"Certify, that the M. Benard de la Harpe, commander of the troops sent to the Cadadoquians, Natsoos, Natchitoches and Nassonites, Indian nations on Red River, and on the confines of the Province of Lastekas, has, during a residence of eighteen months among them, conducted himself with great prudence and wisdom. That he has discovered other tribes of Indians on the Red and Arkansas rivers, adjoining nations to the Spaniards in New Mexico, and made alliances with them in the name of the King. In faith of which I have signed this certificate, and affixed the King's seal.

*M. de Bienville to M. Law.*

Biloxi, August 1, 1720.

Sir:—

Knowing the interest you have always taken in the welfare and prosperity of this colony, I have taken the liberty of commending to your notice the Sieur Benard de la Harpe, who is about to return to France for the benefit of his health, which has been very much impaired by exposure in this climate, while exploring the country, and performing the arduous duties imposed upon him.

He is a brave and excellent officer, intelligent, and competent to conduct any enterprise among the Spaniards that the company may desire. He speaks their language, and is acquainted with most of the officers and merchants who reside in Mexico. I hope, Sir, that this recommendation will prompt you to honor him with some good appointment, so that this colony may reap the benefit of his services.

I have the honor to be, &c.

On the 20th, the frigates *le Tilleul* and *le Subtile*, commanded by MM. Canot and Valedon, arrived at Ship Island, on board of which were MM. Macarty and de la Maisonneuve, officers of infantry, who died a short time after from dissipation.

On the 24th August *le Saint André*, 24 guns, commanded by M. de Pradaillon, arrived with two hundred and sixty persons for the concession of St. Catherine, under the charge of M. Favion Dumanoir. By this ship the company repeated their orders to make the settlement at St. Bernard's Bay, which had been heretofore neglected because it did not suit the views of the Council of Louisiana.



to do so. M. Berranger was dispatched accordingly, on the 23d August, to examine the bay, for the purpose of founding a settlement.

On the 16th September the ship *le Profond*, commanded by M. Guermer, with a transport, arrived at Ship Island with two hundred and forty passengers, under the charge of MM. Elias and Le Bouteaux, for M. Law's concession. These ships also brought over supplies for the concession of M. Diron d'Artaguette.\*

On the 22d the ships *le Portfaix*, commanded by M. Bigot, *l'Adventurier*, by M. Le Blanc, and *l'Alexandre*, by M. de la Salle, arrived at Ship Island with M. de l'Orme, Director General, MM. Freboul and Marlet, and several other persons and employés for the colony.

On the 9th November *la Marie*, commanded by M. de Ponto, and *la Loire*, by M. de Ponteshant, arrived at Ship Island. On the 1st sixty persons embarked for the concession of de Guiche, and the company of Montmort, in all one hundred and eighty-six persons, including M. Levens, a director of M. Law's concession, MM. Montmort, Roubell and Thierry, officers of infantry.

On the *la Loire* was embarked a number of persons for the concession of Sainte Reine, under the direction of MM. Sicard and Tibain.

On the 20th, M. Beranger, who had been sent to examine the bay of St. Bernard, arrived at Ship Island. He reported that he had sailed about one hundred and thirty leagues to the west of the Mississippi, and in lat. 25° 45' he found a bay, at the entrance of which there was a bar with nine feet of water on it at low tide. He also found in the neighborhood several Indian nations, who re-

\* In order to encourage the emigration of industrious and useful citizens to Louisiana, for the purpose of establishing regular agricultural settlements upon the fertile lands of the Mississippi and its tributaries, the Government of France made large grants or concessions of land to influential and enterprising persons. Among these was one to John Law, the great French financier, of twelve miles square, about thirty miles above the mouth of the Arkansas, where he established a military post. One on the Yazoo, to M. Le Blanc and others; one at Natchez, to MM. de Colly and Hubert; one on Red River, above the Natchitoches, to M. Benard de la Harpe; one at Point Coupée, to M. de Mense; one at the Tunicas, to M. de St. Reine; one at Baton Rouge, to M. Diron d'Artaguette; one at Bayou Manchac, on the west side of the river, at the Bayagoulas, to M. Paris Duvernay; one at the Tchoupitonlas, to M. de Muys; one at Camesebrulé, to the Marquis d'Artagnac; one on Back River, to M. de Villenont; one on the Pascagoula River, to Madame de Cheaumont; one at the Bay of St. Louis and Old Blouxi, to Madame de Mézières; one on the Ouachita, to M. de Houssaye; and one at the Houmas, to the Marquis d'Ancenis.

ceived him kindly. As he believed this to be St. Bernard's Bay, he left there a man by the name of Silvestre, a sergeant, and three other persons, among a tribe of Indians, who, to all appearance, were Anthropophagi or cannibals.

On the 24th, the brig *le Chancau*, commanded by M. Fouquet, arrived at Ship Island, on which was embarked sixty laborers, M. de Pauger, Chevalier de Saint Louis, Engineer, who was to serve under the orders of M. de la Tour, who was daily expected.

On the 14th December, the ships *l'Elephant* and *le Dromedaire*, commanded by MM. Amelot and Saint Maré, arrived at Ship Island with two hundred and fifty passengers for the concession of M. Le Blanc, Minister of War, together with MM. Dillon, Fabry, Duplessis, Leviller, La Suze and La Combe, officers for the concession, and M. de la Tour, Chevalier de Saint Louis, and Chief Engineer of the colony, with a salary of 8000 livres, and MM. Boispinel and Chaville, Assistant Engineers, with salaries of 5000 livres each. M. de Bizard, Captain of Infantry, and M. Marchand, Secretary of the Board of Engineers.

On the 20th, M. de Bienville held a council, at which all the directors and engineers assisted. They decided to abandon Old Biloxi, and to establish themselves at New Biloxi. This proved to be an unfortunate move, as it was the cause of the ruin of the concessions, which might have been avoided by removing the capital to the banks of the Mississippi, where the ships could find a secure harbor. It was the opinion of M. de Bienville, as well as of M. d'Artaguette, the director-general, who had always the welfare of the colony at heart, that it would be better to fix it somewhere on the river. Accordingly M. de Bienville proposed to send the *Dromedaire* there, which M. le Gac opposed, because M. Berranger had given a certificate that this vessel could not enter it. M. de Bienville, however, took upon himself the responsibility of sending her there. On the 26th, M. Beranger departed for Havana with the remainder of the prisoners which had been taken at Pensacola. On the 3d January, 1721, the ships *la Gironde* and *la Volage* arrived at Biloxi with about three hundred persons for the concessions of MM. de Meziers and Cheaumont. On the 5th, *la Baleine*, commanded by M. de Keralo, arrived with eighty-one young women from the Salpêtrière, of Paris, under the care of Sisters Gertrude, Saint Louis, and Marie.\*

\* TRAITÉ FAIT AVEC RELIGIEUSES URSLINES PAR LA COMPAGNIE DES INDES.

La Compagnie ayant considéré que les fondemens les plus solides de la colonie de la Louisiane sont les établissements qui tendent à l'avancement de la gloire de

On the 7th, the *Seine*, commanded by M. le Blanc, arrived with sixty persons, under the care of M. de l'Épinas, for the concession of the Marquis d'Ancenis, at the Houmas. On the 26th, the *Marie*,

dieu et a l'edification des peuples tels que sont ceux qu'elle y a faite des R. P. Capucines et des R. P. Jesuites dont le zele et la charité assurent les secours spirituelles aux habitants et donnent une grande esperance de la conversion des sauvages, et *wolant* encore par un nouvel etablissement aussi pieux soulager les pauvres malades et pouvoir au meme temps a l'education des Jeunes filles, elle a agrée et accepté tes offres qui lui ont été faites par les soeurs Marie Tranchepain, St. Augustin, et Marie le Boullanger Angelique des Urselines de Rouen. Assistées de soeur Catherine de Bruseoly de St. Amand, premiere Superieure des Urselines de France, de se charger du soin de l'hospital de la Nouvelle Orleans, aux conditions suivantes :

I. La Compagnie entretiendra au dit hospital six Religieuses y compris la superieure et leur accordera a chacune cinq cents livres de gratification une fois payée pour leur faciliter les moyens de faire leur voyage. Elles auront leur passage *gratuit* et celui de quatre servantes sur les vaisseaux de la Compagnie.

II. Lorsquelles seront arrivées a la Louisianne elles seront mis en possession de l'hospital en l'état qu'il est savoir : la Maison et ses dependences ; le tout paraissant consister en une salle qui peut contenir 60 a 80 malades en un corps de logie ou sont établir l'economie, les infirmiers et les cuisines et un salle que l'on projetait de construire pour les convalescens et qui doit être faite a présent et en un lieu séparé pour traiter les maladies secretes.

III. Ces six Religieuses s'arrangerent dans ce logement du mieux qu'il leur sera possible, en attendant que la Compagnie leur salle construire les batimens convenables a leur etablissement ce qui s'excutera peu a peu suivant que le fonds de l'hospital et ceux destinée aux fortifications et constructions de batimens de la colonie pourront le permettre.

IV. Il sera au dit hospital un emplacement allez grand joignant la maison, tant pour y construire les nouveaux batimens dont en pourra avoir besoin que pour y faire une basse cour et un jardin pour les Religieuses.

V. Les negres et negresses, bestiaux, meubler, lits linges et utensiles destines pour l'usage du dit hospital et tout ce dont il faudra le pouvoir encore pour le service des malades seront remis par Inventaire aux dites Religieuses qui seront tenues d'en compter a la Compagnie.

VI. La superieure destinera une Religieuses pour economie, la quelle, en cette qualité, sera chargée de tous les effets de l'hospital et de tout ce qui y sera fournir pour la subsistance des malades. Elle destinera deux autres Religieuses pour être continuellement occupé au service des malades ; une autre pour tenir l'ecole des jeunes filles, et la sixieme servira d'aide a celles qui se trouveront trop surcharges dans leurs fonctions et sera toujours prête a remplacer celle de ses soeurs, qui par indisposition serait hors d'état d'agir.

VII. Les dites Religieuses ne pourront disposer d'aucune fonds ni effets appartenant a l'hospital sans le contentement des administrateurs porté par declaration prise en leur conseil qui si tiendra pour cet effet toutes fois et quand ét sera jugé a propre et qui sera compose, savoir :—

Du Commandant General de la Colonie.

Du Premier Conseilles du Conseil Superieure, qui pourra se substituer un autre Conseilles.

*le Profond, l'Alexandre, and l'Aventurier*, sailed for France. On the 3d Feb., 1721, the frigate *la Mutine*, commanded by M. de Martonne, arrived at Ship Island with one hundred and forty-seven

Du Procureur General du dit Conseil.

Du Curé de la Nouvelle Orleans.

Du Superieure des Missions des Jesuites.

De deux notables habitans qui y seront élus par le Conseil Superieure en appellant les administrateurs a l'Election et qui seront changer tous les deux ans ensorti qu'il en reste un des deux.

Et du Medecin entretenu par le Roi auquel, Conseil la Superieure de l'hospital aura entrée lorsqu'elle aura quelque chose a proposer, sans j'avoit pourtant voix deliberative.

VIII. Il sera tenu par les soins des dits administrateurs un compte exacto des biens du dit hospital et l'emploi en sera fait par leurs ordres, ainsi qui de tout ce qui pourra le revenir par lege, donation, et amendes, les quels ne pourront jamais etre appliquer aux Religieuses.

IX. La compagnie concedera, en propriété au dit hospital un terrain, de huit arpens de fronte sur la profondeur ordinaire, le long de fleuve, le plus pres qu'il se ponra de *la Nouvelle Orleans*, a fin d'y former un habitation qui puisse, pourvoir dans la suite á l'entretien des Urselines, a cause du dit hospital.

X. Il serait accordé par le Compagnie trois cents livres par an; a ce lui qui prendra soin a la dite habitation pendant les cinq premieres annees seulement.

XI. Tant que la dite habitation ne sera point en etat de pourvoir a l'entretien et a la subsistance des-dites Religieuses, la compagnie leur accordera a chaenne *sic cents livres* par an, pour toutes choses; qui commenceront á courir du jour de leur arrivee au port de l'embarquement; mais sitot que la dite habitation produira suffisamment pour fournir a leurs depenses, cette pension cessera de leur etre payée et les dites, Religieuses disposeront de tous les revenus de l'habitation, comme de chose uniquement affectée a leur entretien et a leur subsistance.

XII. Il sera fourni par la compagnie pendant chacun des cinq premieres annees de l'establissement de la dite habitation huit negres pieces d'Inde, qui seront par les dites Ursuline payés dans les memes termes et aux memes conditions regles pour les habitans au moyen de quoi la compagnie cessera di leur payer la Pension annuelle de 600 livres a chaeppe lors de l'expiration des dites cinq annees qui commenceront a courir du jour de la livraison des huit premieres negres.

XIII. Si par quel qu'evenement les Urselines cessaient de prendre soin de l'hospital, elles seraient obligées de remettre á ceux au colles qui les remplaceraient, l'hospital, l'habitation, et tout ce qu'elles auraient reçu par inventoire. Quant á ce qui est de leurs hardes des meubles, bestiaux, negres, &c., qu'elles auraient acquis elles en disposeraient comme de chose á elle appartenant et seraient remboursées des batimens qu'elles auraient fait construire a leurs de pour, soit sur le terrain de l'hospital soit sur l'habitation, pourvu que les dites constructions eussent été faites du contentement de Conseil Superieure. Elles seraient aussi remboursée de la depense des defriches faite sur le terrain de

Swiss, commanded by Sieur de Morveilleaux. By this vessel M. de Bienville received a letter from the Western Company, dated 31st October, 1720, in which they wrote to him, that it was with pain

l'habitation ; le tout suivant l'estimation qui en serait faite, ne pouvant les dites Religieuses, être obligées de remettre à leurs Successeurs que ce qu'elles auraient reçu de la Compagnie et de l'hospital.

XIV. La Compagnie fera fournir aux dites Religieuses tous ce qui sera nécessaire pour la subsistance des malades de l'hospital et l'economie s'en chargera en recette sur un registre paraphé par les Administrateurs, en ouvrant un compte à chaque nature de vivres ; dans le quel registre elle portera toutes les consommations, jour par jour ; pour être les dits comptes, arrêtés par les Administrateurs à la fin de chaque mois.

XV. Mais, comme il convient que les Religieuses ayant la liberté de vivre à leur maniere, elles auront pour elles, en particulier, une depositaire de l'hospital et qui sera comptable à sa Supérieure, pour pourvoir aux besoins des sceurs sur leurs fonds comme pensions et revenue de l'habitation, et elles se gouverneront pour l'interior de la Maison, selon leurs regles et l'esprit de leur Institutions, sans que le service de l'hospital en souffre le moins du monde.

XVI. La Supérieure fera tenir un Journal exacte des maladies qui entreront au dit hospital et de ceux qui en sortiront par décès ou autrement.

XVII. Tous malades de maladies ordinaires et non incurables seront recus à l'hospital, sur un médecin et, en son absence, du chirurgien major et, s'ils sont pauvres ils feront traités gratis, en rapportant un certificate de leur cure, visé du Procureur-General comme ils n'ont pas le moyen de payer.

XVIII. Les habitans qui ne se trouveront pas dans le même cas qui se feront porter à l'hospital seront obligés de payer par la somme qui sera réglée par les Administrateurs de l'hospital et ces derniers seront remis à l'Economie pour en compter.

XIX. Tous gens au service de la Compagnie qui seront malades seront recus par préférence à l'hospital et les rations dont ils jouissent appartiendront au dit hospital auquel il en sera tenu compte par la Compagnie pour le temps qu'ils y auront séjourné.

XX. Il sera pareillement tenir compte audit hospital du prêt des soldats malades pendant le séjour qu'ils y feront.

XXI. Les Administrateurs auront attention d'établir audit hospital un lieu séparé et distingué où les officiers et employés de la Compagnie qui seront malades puissent se faire porter pour y être traités et les Administrateurs régleront ce qui sera retenu pour chaque journée sur les appointemens des dits officiers et employés au profit de l'hospital.

XXII. Les Religieuses qui auront soin de malades permettront point qu'aucun d'eux, même des coura le secur, prennent d'autres aliments que ceux qui seront fournis de la maison.

XXIII. Pour donner audit hospital les moyens de pourvoir à une partie de ses dépenses, il lui sera concédé par la Compagnie, le plus près qu'il se pourra de la maison du dit hospital, un terrain de huit arpens de front sur sa profondeur ordinaire pour y former, une habitation sur laquelle il sera cultivé des vivres et élevé des Bestiaux pour la consommation de la maison, et les revenus de cette habitation en quelque chose qu'ils puissent consister, appartiendront audit

they were informed of the disagreement between him and the directors of the company, which had caused so much confusion in its affairs; that the effect it had produced throughout France was very unfavorable to its prosperity; that his royal highness had been informed of these disorders, and believed him to be the author of them. But, notwithstanding these reports, they now create him a brigadier-general of the troops, and knight of the military order of Saint Louis. That it was in contemplation to appoint a director-general for the colony, in order to prevent any further difficulties from arising hereafter.

This letter made a deep impression upon M. de Bienville, notwithstanding the approbation of his prince, and the further honors

hopital. Mais il sera ouvert un compte partienlier à la dite habitation dans lequel elle sera débitée de tout ce qui lui sera fourni par la Compagnie, créditée de ses produits, afin que, quand le dit hopital sera en état de se passer des charites de la Compagnie, il soit tenu de payer à la dite compagnie les sommes dont il lui sera redevable pour la dite habitation.

XXIV. Lorsque les Religieuses le pourront faire commodement, elles prendront, si elles le jugent à propos, des filles pensionnaires, sur le piéd que la Supérieure l'aura, réglé, et le payment des pensions sera remis entre les mains de la Depositaires des Religieuses, mais aucunes de celles qui seront détournées ni appliquées au soin et à l'education des pensionnaires.

XXV. Aussitot que les revenu l'habitation seront assez forts pour l'entretien et la subsistance des dites six religieuses, elles pourront augmenté leur nombre, Si elles le jugent à proper, à proportion des dits revenu et le passage seulement sera accordé gratis à celles qu'elles seront venir de France; mais elles ne pourront point recevoir Religieuse aucune fille née dans le pays, sans la permission et l'agrement du Conseil.

XXVI. Si quelque Religieuse, ne pouvant s'accomoder du pays, on pour quelque autre raison particuliere, était obligée de repasser en France, elle aura son passage gratis pour elle et une servante et la pension cessara du jour de l'embarquement.

XXVII. Si quelque Religieuse devenait, par infirmité, hors d'état d'agir, elle ne fera plus partie du nombre des six qui doivent être entretenues et cependant elle sera également traitée pendant sa vie aux dépen de l'hopital, au cas que les religieuses ne fussent pas encorer en état de se passer de ce secours.

XXVIII. Le present Traité sera adressé au Conseil Supérieur, de la Louisiane pour y être enregistre et, en cas de contestation sur les articles qu'il contient, elles seront décidées par le dit Conseil au Jugement du quel les parties se sont soumises.

Fait à Paris, en l'hotel de la Compagnie de Indes, le 19th Septembre, 1726. Signé, l'Abbé Ragnet, J. Morin, Dartagnet Diron, Castanier, P. Saintard, Deshayet, Fromaget et Langeois. Sœur Catherine de Bruseoly de St. Armand, Première Supérieure des Ursulines de France, Sœur Marie Tranchepain, St. Augustin, Supérieure, et Sœur Marie Anne de Boullenger, Angélique Depositaires des Ursulines de Rouen.

conferred upon him. M. le Blanc, the minister of war, wrote him a letter at the same time, and couched in similar language, which so mortified him that he decided at once to write a letter to M. le due d'Orleans, informing him that he was sensible of the honors conferred upon him, but that they could not make up for the loss of the displeasure of his prince. That the condition of the colony should not be attributed to any neglect of his, but to the want of the receipt of the necessary supplies, and to the extravagant powers granted to the board of directors.

The Western Company recommended them to have a good understanding with M. de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, in regard to the wars with the Indians; ordered that the post established by M. de Boisbriant, nine leagues above the village of the Kaskaskias, should be called Fort Chartres; that at Biloxi, Fort Louis; that at Mobile, Fort Condé.\* On the 21st, M. de Pauger set out from Biloxi, to

\* Louisiana, in 1723, was divided into nine civil and military districts, as follows, viz: 1st, the district of the Alibamons; 2d, of Mobile; 3d, of Biloxi; 4th, of Natchez; 5th, of New Orleans; 6th, of Yazoo; 7th, of Illinois; 8th, of Arkansas; and 9th, of Natchitoches. Each was protected by a fort, and under the jurisdiction of a commandant and judge, who administered the military and civil concerns of each.

FORT CHARTRES was the head-quarters of the commandant of Upper Louisiana, and was deemed one of the strongest French posts in North America. It was erected in the vicinity of Prairie du Rocher, (in 1720,) about one mile and a half from the river bank, about twenty-five miles below Kaskaskias. Its form was quadrilateral, with four bastions, built of stone, and well cemented with lime. Each side was three hundred and forty feet in length, the walls were three feet thick and fifteen feet high. Within the walls were spacious stone barracks, a spacious magazine, well, &c. The cornices and casements, port-holes or loops, were of solid blocks of stone. In 1770, the river broke through its banks, and in two years afterwards, two of its bastions fell into the river. It was then suffered to fall into decay, and it is now one of the most beautiful and picturesque ruins in the valley of the Mississippi.

FORT ROSALIE, at the Natchez, stood on the summit of a hill about six hundred and seventy yards from the shore of the river, and about one hundred and eighty feet above the surface of the water, overlooking a beautiful champaign country, and the river for many miles both up and down. It was an irregular pentagon, without bastions, and built of thick plank. The buildings within consisted of a stone house, magazine, houses for the officers and barracks for soldiers. The ditch surrounding it was partly natural and partly artificial, and in most places nineteen feet from the bottom to the top of the rampart. M. de Bienville named it Rosalie in honor of Madame la duchesse de Pontchartrain. By the sliding and caving in of the banks of the river, its huge bastions became nearly all destroyed, still it is one of the most interesting and picturesque spots that the traveller can visit in the delta of the Mississippi. The fort at POINT COUFFÉ was a quadrangle with four bastions, built with stockades on the west bank of the Mississippi river.

make a plan of Mobile and a reconnaissance of Mobile river to the white bluffs, situated six leagues from the Chicachas river, and thirty from Mobile. These bluffs are similar to those of Saint Luke at

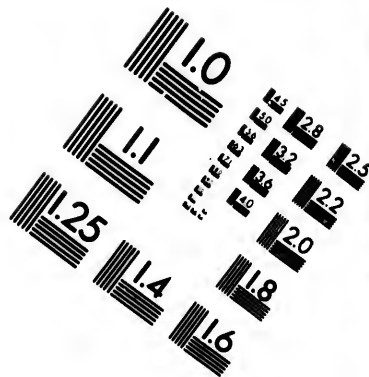
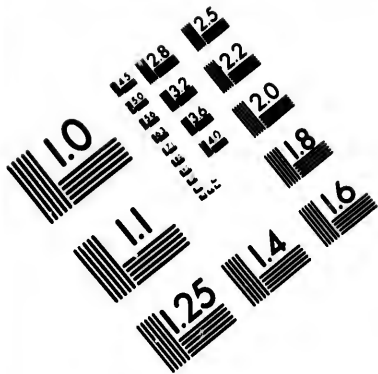
FORT ARKANSAS WAS erected in 1685, about three leagues from the mouth of that river, and about two hundred yards from the water side. It was built of stockades, and the interior sides of the polygon measured about one hundred and eighty feet long, mounted with cannon. The Arkansas or Quapas Indians lived about three leagues above it, where the celebrated John Law had his concession, which he settled with Germans. After the failure of his great financial schemes, the Germans deserted the settlement and located themselves on the Mississippi, about thirty miles above New Orleans, on small plantations, which has ever since bore the name of the German coast.

FORT CHEVECHER, afterwards called St. Louis, was built by De la Salle, in the country of the Illinois, on his first visit to that country. It was sited on the top of a steep bluff, about two hundred feet high, with a spacious esplanade, and the river washing its base. M. de la Salle likewise built a stockade fort at St. Bernard's Bay, Texas, in 1685, claiming possession and jurisdiction over all the country from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Rio Grande or Rio Bravo del Norte, of Mexico.

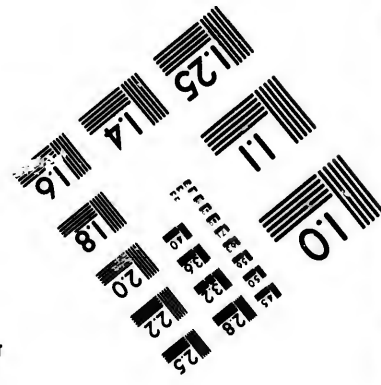
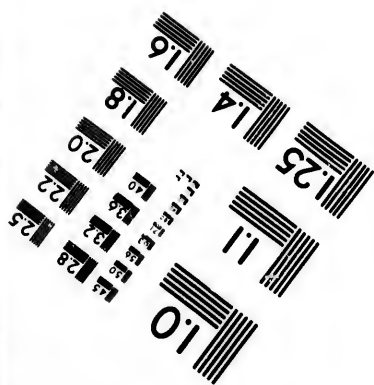
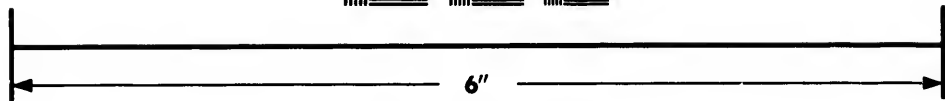
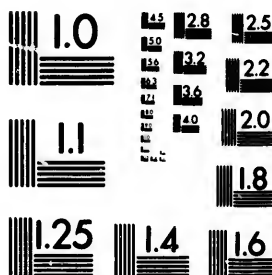
FORT St. Louis DE CARLOUETTE was built in 1719 by the orders of M. de Bienville, on the right bank of Red River, in N. lat.  $33^{\circ} 55'$ , as a sign of the jurisdiction of France in that part of Louisiana, since called Texas. The first Old Fort Biloxi has been placed by Major Stoddard, in his work on Louisiana, on Perdido bay, the ancient boundary line of the French and Spaniards, about twelve miles west of Pensacola bay, where he says M. d'Iberville erected a fort with four bastions on which he mounted twelve cannons, and where it is said some remains of it may still be seen. But be this true or not, M. d'Iberville, before he sailed for France in 1699, built a fort upon the northeast shore of the bay of Biloxi about fifteen miles north of Ship Island, of four bastions, and mounted with twelve cannons, (the remains of which are still to be seen,) which was the sign of the jurisdiction of France, from the Rio Perdido to the Rio Bravo del Norte, and appointed M. de Sanvolle its commander, who kept a journal or history of the colony up to the day of his death, and which is now printed for the first time in this work. The Balize fort, at the mouth of the Mississippi river, was built about the same time on an island, and mounted with cannon to protect the French ships that anchored there, and to drive off the Spaniards. *Fort Louis de Mobile or Condé* was built upon the river Mobile, and below the town, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues from the fort on Dauphin Island. It was constructed of bricks with four bastions, mounted with cannon, after the manner of Vauban, with half-moons, deep ditches, covered ways and glacis; with houses for the officers and barracks for the soldiers. The foundations of this fort are still to be seen occupying a considerable space in the city of Mobile. Although this was the head-quarters of the French Governor for many years, they were afterwards removed to New Orleans, on the banks of the Mississippi, which the French, and afterwards the Spaniards, fortified, after the manner of Vauban. A ditch was extended round the city, of about eighteen feet in width, with ramparts of earth, and palisades nearly six feet high along the interior or inner side of them. Five large bas-







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Paris. They are about two hundred feet high, and are the continuation of the chain of mountains which run through the country from northeast to southwest. On the 22d, M. de Bienville was informed of the death of M. Blondel, commander of a post at Natchitoches, The council dismissed M. de Saint Marc, captain of the *Dromedaire*, at the request of M. de la Tour, who made a complaint against the captain for having acted badly during the voyage of the vessel.

On the 1st March, the *Deux Freres*, commanded by M. Chenot, and *le Foudroyant*, by M. Fontaine, arrived with forty Germans for the concession of M. Law, on the Arkansas.

On the 14th, the frigates *la Mutine* and *le Chameau*, sailed for France, having on board M. le Gac, director of the company, whose departure was but little regretted.

On the 17th, the frigate *l'Africain* arrived with one hundred and eighty negroes, being the remains of two hundred and eighty which had embarked on board in Africa. On the 23d, *le Duc du Maine*, thirty-six guns, arrived with three hundred and ninety-four negroes, being the remains of four hundred and fifty-three who had sailed from Africa about the same time.

On the 4th April, M. Berranger was sent to Cape Français to purchase corn for the negroes, who were dying with hunger at Biloxi (Fort Louis). On the 5th April, M. Semiers de Bellisle\* arrived at Fort Louis. He was one of the five officers who had landed from the *le Marechal d'Estres*, west of the Mississippi, and was left there. It was reported that she was lost on the coast. He related that they were left upon the shore, and after more than two months' wandering were reduced to the greatest extremity for food.

tions were erected at proper distances, and likewise five intervening redoubts. The bastions were regularly constructed, each of them was furnished with a banquette, rampart, parapet, ditch, covered way, and glacis. The curtains were wholly formed with palisades at a small distance from each other, and were musket proof; they had a banquette within and ditch and glacis without. A small redoubt or ravelin was placed in the centre of each bastion, and all the latter were of sufficient size to admit of sixteen embrasures, four in each face, three in each flank, and two in the gorge facing the city. The whole of which was mounted with heavy cannon; the southwest bastion with a countergard and traverses, and a small redoubt on the bank of the river. The two forts (St. Charles and Condé) at the angles facing the river, likewise mounted with heavy Spanish ordnance, constituted the defence of the city, when Louisiana was ceded to the United States.

\* M. Semiers de Bellisle, knight of the military order of St. Louis, was one of the bravest and most accomplished officers that ever came to Louisiana. He served the colony in a military and civil capacity for upwards of forty-five years, and then retired to France, where he died in 1763.

That his companions, MM. Corbet, Allard, Duclou and Legendre died from hunger. He afterwards fell in with three Indians upon an island at the entrance of a bay, who stripped him and took him to their nation, with whom he lived eighteen months. They took from him his papers, which he kept in a tin box, and which afterwards fell into the hands of the Assinays, who sent them to M. de Saint Denis, the commandant at Natchitoches, who rescued him soon after.

On the 17th, M. de Pauger was ordered to proceed to the mouth of the Mississippi to sound the passes. He found a bar of soft mud nine hundred toises wide, formed by the meeting of the tide of the sea and the current of the river, which is here very sluggish. It appeared to him that some of the passes might be closed up by sinking some vessels, which would increase the velocity of the current, and deepen the bar, on which only about twelve feet water could be found. He proposed to establish a fort on the island at the Balize, where ships drawing sixteen to eighteen feet might anchor in safety.

On the 20th, the frigate *la Nereide*, commanded by M. de Chaboiseau, arrived with two hundred and ninety-four negroes, being the remains of three hundred and fifty which had been put on board. He reported that the frigate *le Charles*, with a cargo of negroes, had been burnt at sea within sixty miles of the coast. On the 24th, M. de Boisbriant wrote to M. de Bienville from the Illinois that three hundred Spaniards had left Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, for the purpose of conquering the colony; but only seventy had put their threat in execution, who had arrived at the Kansas river, where they encountered the Oetotata and Panis Indians, who massacred all except a priest, who made his escape on horseback.

On the 15th, *l'Elephant, la Gironde, la Baleine, le Duc de Maine, les Deux Freres et l'Africain*, ships of the company, sailed for France. On the 26th, the *Dromedaire*, drawing thirteen feet of water, arrived with supplies for the concessions of M. Law. On the 4th June, the ship *le Portefaix*, commanded by M. Dufour, arrived with three hundred and thirty German passengers, and M. Marigny de Mandeville (*Chevalier de Saint Louis*), the commander of Fort Condé, Mobile, M. Daransbourg (captain), and thirty Swedish officers. She also brought the news of M. Law's departure from France.\*

\* John Law, a Scotchman by birth, was the comptroller-general of the finances of France when he fled from that country. He was a shrewd financier, and remarkable for his elegance of person and engaging convivial powers, which soon gained him admission into the first circles of fashion in Europe. He travelled extensively on the continent, and while there examined with an inquisitive eye the operations of the principal banking-houses, and especially, through

About this time M. de Pauger sent in his report on the mouth of the Mississippi to M. de Bienville, and begged him to use his influence for abandoning the fort at Biloxi, and fixing his head-quar-

the assistance of a friend, he became acquainted with the mode of doing business in the great bank of Amsterdam. In 1705, on his return to England, he proposed to Parliament the establishment of a paper currency, which was rejected on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would be prejudicial to the landed interests of the Kingdom. On the death of Louis XIV., he retired to France, where he was patronized by the Duke of Orleans, Regent, during the minority of Louis XV. By Law's advice, and under his direction, some improvements were made in the finances of the kingdom, and measures adopted for establishing upon a firmer basis the sinking credit of the country. In connection with his brother, he set up a private bank under the form of the "General Bank of Law & Co.," and it proved to be so productive to the proprietors, that, about the close of the year 1718, the Duke of Orleans resolved to patronize it. It was, perhaps, this circumstance that led to the speedy development of that *stupendous scheme*, which had long occupied the mind of Law, generally known as the *Mississippi System*. The object of the scheme was, to invest the whole of the national trade, with certain revenues arising from different sources, in the hands of one great company, who might thus be enabled to extend their commercial projects to an indefinite extent, and to extricate the French government from the enormous debt which Louis XIV. had bequeathed it. By the suggestion of Law, such a company was actually instituted, under the name of the "Western or Mississippi Company," and to this company was granted the whole province of Louisiana, of which he was appointed director-general. Nothing was for a while talked of but this company, in which every body desired to hold shares. Honors were heaped upon him, and he was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences. The system of Law continued for a while to gain credit and fame, because it gave a sudden rise to the value of property of every kind. Thinking men, however, soon perceived that the necessary consequences of such a state of things would be the *destruction of all government, the stagnation of trade, and the dissolution of all morals*. The Company speculated to a most enormous extent, and gave out their paper without any regard to its soundness; hence the cool and reflecting portion of the country drew from the bank enormous sums of gold and silver, which finally left it without a dollar, and two thousand six hundred millions of paper dollars in the hands of individuals unredeemed. All credit, both public and private, was soon prostrated. Law was stigmatized and calumniated; the people became infuriated, and he was obliged to leave the country. He passed through Brussels and Venice, and safely reached London, where he lived sumptuously until he heard of the confiscation of his property in France, when he became embarrassed, and, failing in the attempt to recover it, he bade adieu to England, and fixed his residence at Venice, where he died in comparative indigence on the 21st March, 1729, in the 58th year of his age. The following epitaph appeared soon after:

Ci git cet Ecossois célèbre,  
Ce calculateur sans égal,  
Qui, par les règles de l'algèbre,  
▲ mis la France à l'hôpital.

ters and principal settlement at New Orleans. Consequently, he afterwards wrote to the company on this subject.

On the 10th, the frigate *la Fortune*, thirty-six guns, arrived from Africa with a cargo of three hundred and three negroes.\* On the

The failure of Law's financial schemes fell heavily upon Louisiana. The rapid expansion of the circulating medium throughout the province during the first three years of his operations, and the consequent sudden prostration of all business, at the time, involved the interests of the company, and embarrassed their operations for advancing the population and prosperity of the province. But who would have believed that in less than one hundred and fifteen years from that time (1835), the Valley of the Mississippi would have been the theatre of delusions almost as great, under a new system of credit held out by banking institutions and chartered monopolies as rotten and as baseless as Law's Bank of France?

\* It was soon found by experiment that the European constitution could not stand the labors of the field, but sickened and died under the burning suns of Louisiana, and the chilling dews and fogs of night. The Western Company was therefore compelled to introduce African negroes to cultivate the plantations scattered on the bayous and rivers of the delta of the Mississippi, and for several years it furnished the agricultural interests of the colony with several hundred annually, which was the origin of African slavery in Louisiana. And as France and Spain, for the next half century, thus furnished their American colonies with negroes for their plantations. Great Britain, true to her system of monopolies, encouraged by British legislation, and fostered by royal favor, supplied not only her own colonies with slave labor, but contended for the monopoly of supplying both France and Spain. In 1724, M. de Bienville drew up a code, containing all the legislation applicable to slaves in Louisiana, which remained in force until 1803. Its first and third articles seem to be strangely irrelevant to the matter of regulating slaves, yet its intolerant spirit seems still to govern the policy of one of the most enlightened nations (Great Britain) on the face of the globe, in regard to the exclusion of Jews and Catholics both from church and state.

#### BLACK CODE OF LOUISIANA.

- I. Decrees the expulsion of Jews from the colony.
- II. Makes it imperative on masters to impart religious instruction to their slaves.
- III. Permits the exercise of the Roman Catholic creed only. Every other mode of worship is prohibited.
- IV. Negroes placed under the direction or supervision of any other person than a Catholic, are liable to confiscation.
- V. Sundays and holidays are to be strictly observed. All negroes found at work on these days are to be confiscated.
- VI. We forbid our white subjects, of both sexes, to marry with the blacks, under the penalty of being fined and subjected to some other arbitrary punishment. We forbid all curates, priests, or missionaries of our secular or regular clergy, and even our chaplains in our navy to sanction such marriages. We also forbid all our white subjects, and even the manumitted or free-born blacks,

15th July, the frigate *la Venus*, commanded by M. Dumoulin, arrived at Ship Island with M. Duvergier, Director-General; M. de la Harpe, Commander at St. Bernard's Bay; M. de la Grave, Director

to live in a state of concubinage with blacks. Should there be any issue from this kind of intercourse, it is our will that the person so offending, and the master of the slave, should pay each a fine of three hundred livres. Should said issue be the result of the concubinage of the master with his slave, said master shall not only pay the fine, but be deprived of the slave and of the children, who shall be adjudged to the hospital of the locality, and said slaves shall be forever incapable of being set free. But should this illicit intercourse have existed between a free black and his slave, when said free black had no legitimate wife, and should said black marry said slave according to the forms prescribed by the church, said slave shall be thereby set free, and the children shall also become free and legitimate; and in such a case, there shall be no application of the penalties mentioned in the present article.

VII. The ceremonies and forms prescribed by the ordinance of Blois, and by the edict of 1633, for marriages, shall be observed both with regard to free persons and to slaves. But the consent of the father and mother of the slave is not necessary; that of the master shall be the only one required.

VIII. We forbid all curates to proceed to effect marriages between slaves without proof of the consent of their masters; and we also forbid all masters to force their slaves into any marriage against their will.

IX. Children, issued from the marriage of slaves, shall follow the condition of their parents, and shall belong to the master of the wife and not of the husband, if the husband and wife have different masters.

X. If the husband be a slave, and the wife a free woman, it is our will that their children, of whatever sex they may be, shall share the condition of their mother, and be as free as she, notwithstanding the servitude of their father; and if the father be free and the mother a slave, the children shall all be slaves.

XI. Masters shall have their Christian slaves buried in consecrated ground.

XII. We forbid slaves to carry offensive weapons or heavy sticks, under the penalty of being whipped, and of having said weapons confiscated for the benefit of the person seizing the same. An exception is made in favor of those slaves who are sent a hunting or a shooting by their masters, and who carry with them a written permission to that effect, or are designated by some known mark or badge.

XIII. We forbid slaves belonging to different masters to gather in crowds either by day or by night, under the pretext of a wedding, or for any other cause, either at the dwelling or on the grounds of one of their masters, or elsewhere, and much less on the highways or in secluded places, under the penalty of corporal punishment, which shall not be less than the whip. In case of frequent offences of the kind, the offenders shall be branded with the mark of the flower de luce, and should there be aggravating circumstances, capital punishment may be applied, at the discretion of our judges. We command all our subjects, be they officers or not, to seize all such offenders, to arrest and conduct them to prison, although there should be no judgment against them.

XIV. Masters who shall be convicted of having permitted or tolerated such



of the Concessions of M. le Marquis de Mézieres, Demarché, and Dufréme. She brought the Cross of St. Denis for MM. de Chau-teaugué and de Boisbriant, and to MM. Blondel, Dutisné, Barnaval,

gatherings as aforesaid, composed of other slaves than their own, shall be sentenced, individually, to indemnify their neighbors for the damages occasioned by said gatherings, and to pay, for the first time, a fine of thirty livres, and double that sum on the repetition of the offence.

XV. We forbid negroes to sell any commodities, provisions, or produce of any kind, without the written permission of their masters, or without wearing their known marks or badges, and any persons purchasing any thing from negroes in violation of this article, shall be sentenced to pay a fine of 1500 livres.

XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, provide at length for the clothing of slaves and for their subsistence.

XX. Slaves who shall not be properly fed, clad, and provided for by their masters, may give information thereof to the attorney-general of the Superior Council, or to all the other officers of justice of an inferior jurisdiction, and may put the written exposition of their wrongs into their hands; upon which information, and even ex officio, should the information come from another quarter, the attorney-general shall prosecute said masters without charging any costs to the complainants. It is our will that this regulation be observed in all accusations for crimes or barbarous and inhuman treatment brought by slaves against their masters.

XXI. Slaves who are disabled from working, either by old age, disease, or otherwise, be the disease incurable or not, shall be fed and provided for by their masters; and in case they should have been abandoned by said masters, said slaves shall be adjudged to the nearest hospital, to which said masters shall be obliged to pay eight cents a day for the food and maintenance of each one of these slaves; and for the payment of this sum, said hospital shall have a lien on the plantations of the master.

XXII. We declare that slaves can have no right to any kind of property, and that all that they acquire, either by their own industry or by the liberality of others, or by any other means or title whatever, shall be the full property of their masters; and the children of said slaves, their fathers and mothers, their kindred or other relations, either free or slaves, shall have no pretensions or claims thereto, either through testamentary dispositions or donations inter vivos; which dispositions and donations we declare null and void, and also whatever promises they may have made, or whatever obligations they may have subscribed to, as having been entered into by persons incapable of disposing of any thing and of participating to any contract.

XXIII. Masters shall be responsible for what their slaves have done by their command, and also for what transactions they have permitted their slaves to do in their shops, in the particular line of commerce with which they were intrusted; and in case said slaves should have acted without the order or authorization of their masters, said masters shall be responsible only for so much as has turned to their profit; and if said masters have not profited by the doing or transaction of their slaves, the peculium which the masters have permitted the slaves to own, shall be subjected to all claims against said slaves, after deduction made by the masters of what may be due to them; and if said peculium should

and de Noyan, Captain's commissions. The arrival of M. Duvergier, caused some changes to be made in the appointment of officers, much against the wishes of M. de Bienville. M. de Chateaugué was not

consist, in whole or in part, of merchandises in which the slaves had permission to traffic, the masters shall only come in for their share in common with the other creditors.

XXIV. Slaves shall be incapable of all public functions, and of being constituted agents for any other person than their own masters, with powers to manage or conduct any kind of trade; nor can they serve as arbitrators or experts; nor shall they be called to give their testimony either in civil or in criminal cases, except when it shall be a matter of necessity, and only in default of white people; but in no case shall they be permitted to serve as witnesses either for or against their masters.

XXV. Slaves shall never be parties to civil suits, either as plaintiffs or defendants, nor shall they be allowed to appear as complainants in criminal cases, but their masters shall have the right to act for them in civil matters, and in criminal ones, to demand punishment and reparation for such outrages and excesses as their slaves may have suffered from.

XXVI. Slaves may be prosecuted criminally, without their masters being made parties to the trial, except they should be indicted as accomplices; and said slaves shall be tried, at first, by the judges of ordinary jurisdiction, if there be any, and on appeal, by the Superior Council, with the same rules, formalities, and proceedings observed for free persons, save the exceptions mentioned hereafter.

XXVII. The slave who, having struck his master, his mistress, or the husband of his mistress, or their children, shall have produced a bruise, or the shedding of blood in the face, shall suffer capital punishment.

XXVIII. With regard to outrages or acts of violence committed by slaves against free persons, it is our will that they be punished with severity, and even with death, should the case require it.

XXIX. Thefts of importance, and even the stealing of horses, mares, mules, oxen, or cows, when executed by slaves or manumitted persons, shall make the offender liable to corporal, and even to capital punishment, according to the circumstances of the case.

XXX. The stealing of sheep, goats, hogs, poultry, grain, fodder, peas, beans, or other vegetables, produce, or provisions, when committed by slaves, shall be punished according to the circumstances of the case; and the judges may sentence them, if necessary, to be whipped by the public executioner, and branded with the mark of the flower de luce.

XXXI. In cases of thefts committed or damages done by their slaves, masters, besides the corporal punishment inflicted on their slaves, shall be bound to make amends for the injuries resulting from the acts of said slaves, unless they prefer abandoning them to the sufferer. They shall be bound so to make their choice, in three days from the time of the conviction of the negroes; if not, this privilege shall be forever forfeited.

XXXII. The runaway slave, who shall continue to be so for one month from the day of his being denounced to the officers of justice, shall have his ears cut off, and shall be branded with the flower de luce on the shoulder: and

the less disappointed, for he had hoped his services would have entitled him to the command of the marine, and M. de Lorme was mortified at not being promoted to a higher office. It was reported at this

on a second offence of the same nature, persisted in during one month from the day of his being denounced, he shall be hamstrung, and be marked with the flower de luce on the other shoulder. On the third offence, he shall suffer death.

XXXIII. Slaves, who shall have made themselves liable to the penalty of the whip, the flower de luce brand, and ear cutting, shall be tried, in the last resort, by the ordinary judges of the inferior courts, and shall undergo the sentence passed upon them without there being an appeal to the Superior Council, in confirmation or reversal of judgment, notwithstanding the article 26th of the present code, which shall be applicable only to those judgments in which the slave convicted is sentenced to be hamstrung or suffer death.

XXXIV. Freed or free-born negroes, who shall have afforded refuge in their houses to fugitive slaves, shall be sentenced to pay to the masters of said slaves, the sum of thirty livres a day for every day during which they shall have concealed said fugitives; and all other free persons, guilty of the same offence, shall pay a fine of ten livres a day as aforesaid; and should the freed or free-born negroes not be able to pay the fine herein specified, they shall be reduced to the condition of slaves, and be sold as such. Should the price of the sale exceed the sum mentioned in the judgment, the surplus shall be delivered to the hospital.

XXXV. We permit our subjects in this colony, who may have slaves concealed in any place whatever, to have them sought after by such persons and in such a way as they may deem proper, or to proceed themselves to such researches, as they may think best.

XXXVI. The slave who is sentenced to suffer death on the denunciation of his master, shall, when that master is not an accomplice to his crime, be appraised before his execution by two of the principal inhabitants of the locality, who shall be especially appointed by the judge, and the amount of said appraisement shall be paid to the master. To raise this sum, a proportional tax shall be laid on every slave, and shall be collected by the persons invested with that authority.

XXXVII. We forbid all the officers of the Superior Council, and all other officers of justice in this colony, to take any fees or receive any perquisites in criminal suits against slaves, under the penalty, in so doing, of being dealt with as guilty of extortion.

XXXVIII. We also forbid all our subjects in this colony, whatever their condition or rank may be, to apply, on their own private authority, the rack to their slaves, under any pretence whatever, and to mutilate said slaves in any one of their limbs, or in any part of their bodies, under the penalty of the confiscation of said slaves; and said masters, so offending, shall be liable to a criminal prosecution. We only permit masters, when they shall think that the case requires it, to put their slaves in irons, and to have them whipped with rods or ropes.

XXXIX. We command our officers of justice in this colony to institute criminal process against masters and overseers who shall have killed or mutilated

time that the ship *Garonne*, belonging to the Western Company, was captured by a pirate near the island of St. Domingo, with upwards of three hundred Germans on board, and military supplies

their slaves, when in their power and under their supervision, and to punish said murder according to the atrocity of the circumstances; and in case the offence shall be a pardonable one, we permit them to pardon said masters and overseers without its being necessary to obtain from us letters patent of pardon.

XL. Slaves shall be held in law as movables, and as such, they shall be part of the community of acquets between husband and wife; they shall not be liable to be seized under any mortgage whatever; and they shall be equally divided among the co-heirs without admitting from any one of said heirs any claim founded on precipt or right of primogeniture, or dowry.

XLII. XLIII. Are entirely relative to judicial forms and proceedings.

XLIII. Husbands and wives shall not be seized and sold separately when belonging to the same master: and their children, when under fourteen years of age, shall not be separated from their parents, and such seizures and sales shall be null and void. The present article shall apply to voluntary sales, and in case such sales should take place in violation of the law, the seller shall be deprived of the slave he has illegally retained, and said slave shall be adjudged to the purchaser without any additional price being required.

XLIV. Slaves, fourteen years old, and from this age up to sixty, who are settled on lands and plantations, and are at present working on them, shall not be liable to seizure for debt, except for what may be due out of the purchase money agreed to be paid for them, unless said grounds or plantations should also be distressed, and any seizure and judicial sale of a real estate, without including the slaves of the aforesaid age, who are part of said estate, shall be deemed null and void.

XLV, XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX. Are relative to certain formalities to be observed in judicial proceedings.

L. Masters, when twenty-five years old, shall have the power to manumit their slaves, either by testamentary dispositions or by acts *inter vivos*. But, as there may be mercenary masters disposed to set a price on the liberation of their slaves; and whereas slaves, with a view to acquire the necessary means to purchase their freedom, may be tempted to commit theft or deeds of plunder, no person, whatever may be his rank and condition, shall be permitted to set free his slaves, without obtaining from the Superior Council a decree of permission to that effect; which permission shall be granted without costs, when the motives for the setting free of said slaves, as specified in the petition of the master, shall appear legitimate to the tribunal. All acts for the emancipation of slaves, which, for the future, shall be made without this permission shall be null; and the slaves, so freed, shall not be entitled to their freedom; they shall, on the contrary, continue to be held as slaves; but they shall be taken away from their former masters, and confiscated for the benefit of the India Company.

LI. However, should slaves be appointed by their masters tutors to their children, said slaves shall be held and regarded as being thereby set free to all intents and purposes.

LII. We declare that the acts for the enfranchisement of slaves, passed according to the forms above described, shall be equivalent to an act of natural-

and clothing destined for the colony. On the 26th, the ship *le Portefaix* returned to France; and towards the end of the month M. de Bienville appointed M. de la Harpe to the command of the bay of St. Bernard; and M. de Noyan to the command of a company of Infantry.

On the 15th October, the frigate *le Marechal d'Estrées*, commanded by M. Prudhomme, arrived with one hundred and ninety-six negroes; and on the same day the *le Mouche, l'Abelle, and l'Hiron-delle*, arrived with supplies for the colony.

The orders of the company having been re-issued for the immediate settlement of St. Bernard's Bay, the Council could not now, under any pretext whatever, refuse to execute them. M. de la Harpe accordingly demanded the means of carrying them into execution; but all that he could obtain was a small vessel commanded by M. Beranger, with fifteen quarters of flour, fifteen of meat, and some French brandy, for the support of his detachment of twenty soldiers, and the crew.

*Copy of the order of Instructions.*

"It is hereby decreed that M. de la Harpe, commandant of the bay of St. Bernard, shall embark in the packet *Subtile*, commanded by M. Beranger, with

ization, when said slaves are not born in our colony of Louisiana, and they shall enjoy all the rights and privileges inherent to our subjects born in our kingdom or in any land or country under our dominion. We declare, therefore, that all manumitted slaves, and all free-born negroes, are incapable of receiving donations, either by testamentary dispositions, or by acts inter vivos from the whites. Said donations shall be null and void, and the objects so donated shall be applied to the benefit of the nearest hospital.

LIII. We command all manumitted slaves to show the profoundest respect to their former masters, to their widows and children, and any injury or insult offered by said manumitted slaves to their former masters, their widows or children shall be punished with more severity than if it had been offered to any other person. We, however, declare them exempt from the discharge of all duties or services, and from the payment of all taxes or fees, or any thing else which their former masters might, in their quality of patrons, claim either in relation to their persons, or to their personal or real estate, either during the life or after the death of said manumitted slaves.

LIV. We grant to manumitted slaves the same rights, privileges, and immunities which 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 which our other subjects derive from the happy circumstance of their having been born free.

In the name of the King,

BIENVILLE,  
DE LA CHAISE.

Fazende, Bruslé, Perry, March, 1724.

a detachment of twenty soldiers under the command of M. de Belle-Isle, and proceed forthwith to the bay of St. Bernard, in the province of Louisiana, and take possession of it in the name of the King and the Western Company; and shall plant there the arms of the King in the ground; and build a fort upon whatever spot appears most advantageous to him for the defence of the place.

"If the Spaniards or any other nation has already taken possession of it, M. de la Harpe will inform them that they have no right to this country, as it was taken possession of by M. de la Salle in the name of the King of France. And in case they make any opposition M. de la Harpe will take possession of it by force in conformity with the orders of the King, dated 16th November, 1718.

"He shall notify all strangers to retire who may afterwards arrive, make alliances with the Indian nations, and distribute presents among them as he may deem necessary and indispensable—keep separate accounts with each nation—and a journal of all that takes place during his command.

"If from any unforeseen cause these orders can not be executed, he will then act as his best judgment and prudence may dictate."

BIENVILLE.

*Fort Saint Louis, Aug. 18, 1721.*

On the 16th August, M. de la Harpe set out accordingly in the packet *la Subtile*, to form an establishment at St. Bernard's Bay, On the 9th September, M. de Bienville left Old Biloxi, to go to Fort Louis (New Biloxi), where the engineers had prepared accommodations for him in an old warehouse. On the 14th, the provisions having failed, the troops were sent to Pearl River, and to the Pascagoulas to live among the Indians. On the 19th, M. Paqué arrived from the Alibamons with some prisoners. He reported that the garrison there to the number of twenty-four soldiers, had deserted on account of the scarcity of provisions. On the 20th, the brig *le Saint André*, commanded by M. de Knguenal, arrived at Ship Island with merchandise and provisions. He brought the news that his Royal Highness had placed the company of the Indies *en regie*, and had appointed MM. Dodun, Ferrand, Fagon, and Machant, commissioners. MM. Duvergier and de Lorme represented to M. de Bienville that this change in the administration would lessen their credit and authority, and they wished to resign their appointments, but he would not listen to them, as he could not understand the motives of the company for making this change. The commissioners returned thanks to M. Hubert for the services he had rendered the company, and requested him to appear before M. de Bienville and the Directors, to explain why he had not registered the rules and orders of the company. He became very much embarrassed at this charge, and threw the blame upon MM. Duvergier, Bienville and de Lorme.

On the 3d October, M. de la Harpe returned from his expedition to the bay of St. Bernard, and reported that he sailed along

the coast west of the Mississippi for one hundred leagues or more, and on the 27th August entered a fine bay which he believed to be St. Bernard's, situated in  $29^{\circ} 15'$  N. lat. At the entrance was a bar on which he found eleven and a half feet of water at half tide. Having passed the bar he discovered an island, and sailed to the west, where he found from fifteen to thirty feet of water.

On the 29th, he sent M. de Belle-Isle in a sloop to explore the country. He returned on the same day, after having met with some of the natives who wished to approach him in their pirogues, which he kept off for fear of being surprised. They continued to follow him, and he afterwards received them on board of the *Subtile*. After showing them the effects of the cannon and small arms, he landed them upon the island. On the next day M. de la Harpe sent word to them by M. de Belle-Isle, that his intention was to make an establishment in this bay, to live in peace with them, and to protect them against their enemies, to which they replied that they would consult their companions. On the 2d September, the *Subtile* sailed farther up the bay, and on the same day, M. de la Harpe embarked in a canoe with M. de Belle-Isle and a detachment of six soldiers, to examine the country, and to fix on a suitable place for an establishment. He coasted along the bay from island to island, until he came to a river which flowed through a prairie, the lands of which were very rich. At a distance of three leagues farther, he arrived opposite the huts of some Indians in the evening, where he remained all night. In the morning he landed with MM. de Belle-Isle and Devin, but the Indians received him coldly, and the women set up a howling, which they considered a bad omen. They asked him if he had brought them any presents, to which M. de Belle-Isle replied they had not, as they only came to seek their friendship. The Indians looked disappointed, and said that when they came among strangers they should not come empty-handed. During this interview the ship's boat anchored within pistol shot of the shore, with orders to be upon their guard for fear of being surprised. M. de la Harpe again informed them of his desire to form an establishment on the bay, which they opposed under the pretext that they were afraid of the whites, and requested him to leave their country. The number of Indians of both sexes assembled at this place was about two hundred and fifty. After this interview was ended M. de la Harpe returned to the ship's boat, and crossed over to the south side of the bay. At the bottom of this bay the country is beautiful, and interspersed with forest trees and little hills and prairies as far as the eye can see. The river which flows into the bay here comes from a fine

country, and is about fifteen toises wide at its mouth; and still further to the west is another river, which appears to come from the north-west. On the other side of the bay is a large river, navigable for sloops, which flows through a high country, where quarries of stone are found, and prairies as far as the eye can see, filled with buffaloes and roebuck. M. de la Harpe was disappointed at not being able to make a reconnaissance of this country, which from appearances afforded every facility for establishing a post, and the cultivation of the soil, besides being favorable to the carrying on a trade with the Spaniards in Mexico.

On the 5th October, M. de la Harpe returned on board of his vessel, and shortly after he saw six pirogues filled with unarmed Indians, and as they approached him, he asked them the reason why they had opposed his making an establishment among them, and they replied that it was because it was quite impossible for them to live together in peace. M. de la Harpe seeing then that it was quite useless to attempt with his small force and without provisions, to establish a post among them, he concluded to return to Fort Louis de Mobile, being satisfied that the bay he had been in was no other than St. Bernard's. At the same time he resolved to capture some of the Indians, in hopes that by good treatment he might induce them to permit him to settle in their country, and to carry on his plans; he therefore landed again and pretended that he wanted more water for his voyage, and seized a dozen or more who informed him that they had been some time at war with the Assinays and Bidayes, whose country was between them and the Assinays. They were the most ferocious and cruel of all the Indians, and frequently eat each other. They told M. de la Harpe that the Spaniards had sailed up this bay but they had had no communications with them. On the 3d October, M. de la Harpe again set sail with the Indians he had captured, and after having suffered severely from bad weather and the want of provisions, he arrived at Mobile in about two weeks after. Among the Indians he brought to Mobile was the Chief of the nation, and eight young men, handsome, well made, and with agreeable features, which was something very rare to be seen among the people of this nation. M. de la Harpe reported to M. de Bienville that in times past the Spaniards had been at this bay, which was, without doubt, St. Bernard's bay. That notwithstanding his attempt to establish a post had failed, yet his discoveries might hereafter be made serviceable to the company. That the bay had at its entrance a depth of eight feet or more of water; and the country was well watered, very fertile, and at some future day the Council of Louisiana might, with a proper force, take



possession of it and settle a colony there with advantage. The Indians which he had brought with him, and who had suffered so much from the want of provisions, set out some days after to go to their own country, which, although a very difficult undertaking, they were permitted to do.

On the 4th, the *Durance*, commanded by M. Gautier, arrived with supplies for the concessions of St. Catharine and St. Rene. M. de Bienville received by this ship a letter from the company, informing him that his salary was raised to twelve thousand livres per annum; and that MM. Duché, le Chevalier Baillon, and Moreau, had received appointments from the company. On the 16th, M. de Bienville received a letter from M. Renard at Natchitoches, informing him that the Marquis Aguayo, Governor of the province of Lasterkas, had arrived at the Adayes on the 15th August, with four hundred horsemen and 30,000 dollars in gold, and materials to build a fort there.

On the 13th November, the ship *la Doure*, commanded by M. de Marsay, arrived, having on board M. Desfontaines (director of the concession of M. de Blanc) and his wife. On the same day M. de Lorme left Old Biloxi to occupy Fort Louis, which the Council of Louisiana had previously agreed upon.

The commissioners continued the establishment of M. Law, on the Arkansas, by appointing M. Dufresne director, with a salary of two thousand livres, and with orders to make arrangements with all persons who were desirous to cultivate the land. On the 23d, the commissioners ordered an hospital to be built of cypress boards, seventy long by twenty-one feet in width. On the 24th, the commissioners ordered an officer to be sent to the Arkansas river to find out whether it was navigable to the Indian nations which M. de la Harpe had discovered in 1719. M. de Bienville appointed M. de la Harpe to take command of this expedition, and to establish a post there for the purpose of supplying the colony with cattle, as well as to protect all the new settlements of that country.

#### *Orders and Instructions to M. de la Harpe.*

We John Baptist de Bienville, Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, and Commanding-General of the Province of Louisiana, give orders to M. de la Harpe, Commandant of the bay of St. Bernard, to set out with a detachment of sixteen soldiers to the Arkansas, and there remain a sufficient time to collect provisions; and further to take with him M. de Franchome, to act as second in command. That the said M. de la Harpe will ascend the head-waters of the Arkansas, to examine the quality of the land, and ascertain what Indian tribes

live there with whom he can make treaties of alliance, as well as to do all other things which he may judge necessary to be done: keep an exact journal of his route, mark the courses of the streams, their currents, and their islands, and ascertain what mines are in the country; and if by chance the Spaniards wish to make any settlements there, to inform them that all the countries lying on these rivers are dependencies of France. That when the said Sieur de la Harpe shall have performed all of these duties in a manner that requires nothing further to be done, he will return to head-quarters, leaving M. de Franchome at his post.

In faith whereof we sign these orders and affix the seal of our arms, at the Fort Louis, this 10th December, 1721.

BIENVILLE.

On the 16th December, M. de la Harpe set out on his voyage of discovery. The directors furnished him with some merchandise, for the purpose of buying corn and beans of the Indians for his sustenance. On the 7th January, 1722, the ship *Saint Andre* sailed for France with forty passengers, among whom was M. de Richebourg, who had been appointed commandant of New Orleans, but who refused to serve under M. de Paillou, major-general of the province. On the 13th, MM. de la Tour and de Boispinel went to Ship Island to select a site for a fort. On the 31st, Father Charlevoix, a Jesuit, arrived from Canada by the river Mississippi, with orders from the King to examine the state of the colony. He was cordially received by every one. He stated that the council of Maine had desired him to discover the western sea by the lakes of Canada, which he attempted without success, and was compelled to take the route to New Orleans. Many persons believed that he wished to impose upon them, as he could, if he had wished, have found the sea to the west of Canada. During his stay at New Orleans he effected a reconciliation between MM. de Bienville and Hubert. On the 1st March, M. Duvergier returned to France in the ship *la Soane*. He took with him charges against MM. de Bienville, de la Tour, de Boisbriant, and Chateaugu , besides other officers who had not had the good fortune to please him. About the last of March, the ship *l'Alour* sailed for France with Father Charlevoix, MM. Hubert, Fabrey, Devens, Navarre, Chirurgier, le Comte, and many others, as passengers. On the 5th April, the ship *le Profond* arrived with provisions for the colony, of which they were in great need. On the 9th, the ship *la Bellone*, commanded by M. de Beauchamp, and the brig *l'Espideuil*, Captain Bataille, arrived with M. Loubois, chevalier of the military order of St. Louis, who was appointed to the command of Fort Louis. M. de la Tour received by this ship the commission of

Lieutenant-General of the province, which so mortified MM. de Bienville and his brother de Chateaugué, that they felt themselves disgraced by his promotion, nor did M. de Boisbriant feel less so. The following rules and regulations, dated 20th September, 1721, were sent by the Commissioners for the government of the colony, viz. :—

I. Les nègres seront vendus aux habitans à six cent soixante livres d'Indie pièce, conformément à ce qui a été réglé par la compagnie, pour le paiement desquelles ils feront leurs billets payables dans trois ans, par parties égales du jour de la délivrance, en tabac ou en riz, suivant ce qui sera réglé par les directeurs par rapport à la qualité des terres des habitans.

Si après la seconde année échue l'habitant qui aura reçu des nègres se trouve débiteur de ses billets en entier, sans avoir fait le paiement la première année, les nègres seront vendus au profit de la compagnie, après un seul commandement de payer, et sera la vente des nègres affichée, indiquée et publiée dans toutes les habitations du quartier, un mois d'avance; si le produit de la vente desdits nègres ne suffit pas pour le paiement de la compagnie, le débiteur sera contraint au paiement de surplus, et sera conduit en prison dans le chef-lieu ou la résidence du commandant du quartier, pour y demeurer jusqu'à parfait paiement.

II. Le tabac bon en feuilles ou manques sera payé aux habitans à vingt-cinq livres le cent, poids de marc, et sera seulement pris deux pour cent de bon poids; il sera libre aux habitans de le fournir en futailles ou en caisses suivant leur commodité.

Les habitans qui voudront le mettre en caisses s'assujétiront à les faire de la grandeur convenable pour contenir deux cents livres de tabac bien pressé, et afin qu'il n'y ait pas de difficulté sur la tare des caisses, il sera libre aux habitans d'en faire vider quatre caisses sur cent, le poids desquelles servira de règle pour la tare des autres.

III. Le tabac et le riz seront livrés par les habitans au comptoir du Nouveau-Biloxi de la Nouvelle-Orléans, de la Mobile et non ailleurs; le tabac sera reçu également dans trois comptoirs au prix de vingt-cinq livres le quintal.

IV. Le riz sera payé à douze livres le quintal poids de marc, deux pour cent de bon poids, et la même chose sera observée tant pour la tare des barils, que pour celle des casses de tabac; il sera libre aux habitans de les livrer en balles de toile, auquel cas la tare d'une balle de deux cents livres sera de deux livres.

Si les habitans trouvent moyen de le livrer dans quelque espèce de jonc, ou autre de la fabrique du pays pour épargner la toile, la tare en sera vérifiée sur le poids que pèseront quatre de ces emballages sur cent.

V. Nous exhortons les habitans à ne point négliger la fabrique de la soie, et à replanter des mûriers sur leurs habitations, pour qu'ils se multiplient, en attendant qu'il y ait assez de monde pour travailler à la soie, qu'ils doivent regarder comme un objet considérable.

VI. Le surplus des autres marchandises du crû et culture de la colonie, et celle de la traite comme peaux de chevreuils, castors et autres seront vendus dans les trois comptoirs cidessus, au prix ordinaire porté par le tarif de la compagnie des Indes.

VII. Les marchandises de France seront vendues aux habitans sur le pied ci-après ;

Savoir :

Au Biloxi, à la Mobile et à la Nouvelle-Orléans à cinq pour cent de bénéfice sur la facture de France ; aux Natchés et aux Yasons à soixante-dix pour cent de bénéfice ; aux Natchitoches et aux Arkansas à quatre-vingts pour cent ; aux Illinois à cent pour cent : aux Alibamons à cinquante pour cent.

VIII. Le vin sera vendu cent vingt livres la barrique, et le quart d'eau-de-vie à cent vingt livres, les demi-quarts et ancre à proportion.

Sur ce que nous avons été informés que les commis de la compagnie ont ci-devant détourné les marchandises les plus recherchées pour les revendre aux habitans à des prix bien plus forts et à leur profit, que ceux réglés par la compagnie, nous leur avons défendu de faire aucun commerce, même indirectement pendant le temps qu'ils seront employés au service de la compagnie ; et au cas que quelques-un d'entre eux contreviennent à nos défenses, nous ordonnons aux habitans de les dénoncer aux directeurs, qui leur adjugeront la confiscation des marchandises, et de nous en donner avis en même temps.

IX. Afin que les habitans soient informés des marchandises que seront dans les magasins de la compagnie, nous avons donné nos ordres pour que tous les premiers jours de chaque mois il en soit affiché une liste à la porte de la compagnie du Nouveau-Biloxi, de la Nouvelle-Orléans et de la Mobile, et attendu qu'il pourrait y avoir au Nouveau-Biloxi des marchandises qui ne se trouveraient pas à la Nouvelle-Orléans ni à la Mobile, la liste de celles du Nouveau-Biloxi sera envoyée à la Mobile et à la Nouvelle-Orléans par les premières occasions qui se trouveront dans le commencement de chaque mois.

X. Il sera envoyé des espèces de cuivre pour payer la solde des troupes et les dépenses journalières de la compagnie, lesquelles auront un cours invariable, savoir celles de vingt au marc dix-huit deniers, celles de quarante au marc neuf deniers, et celles de quatre-vingts au marc quatre deniers et demi.

Les habitans ne doivent faire aucune difficulté de recevoir lesdites espèces des troupes et autres en paiement des marchandises qu'ils leur vendront, parce que ces mêmes espèces seront reçues dans les comptoirs de la compagnie en paiement de toutes sortes de marchandises pour la même valeur sans aucune distinction d'espèces d'or et d'argent.

XI. Nous envoyons des ordres pour diviser la colonie en neuf quartiers, qui seront la Nouvelle-Orléans, le Biloxi, la Mobile, les Alibamons, les Natchés, les Yasons, les Natchitoches, les Arkansas, et les Illinois.

Les habitans seront informés par le conseil de la Louisiane de quels quartiers ils seront.

Il y aura dans le chef-lieu de chaque quartier un commandant et un juge, du jugement desquels les appellations seront portées au conseil supérieur établi au Biloxi.

Cet ordre est établi pour que les habitans soient à portée de demander au commandant de leur quartier la protection dont ils auront besoin, et ne soient point éloignés de leurs habitations pour faire juger les affaires qui pourraient naître entre eux, et nous les exhortons d'éviter les procédures, autant qu'il leur sera possible, de vivre tous en bonne union et concorde, et se secourir mutuellement.

XII. Nous les exhortons pareillement à être plus réguliers à remplir les devoirs de chrétiens qu'ils ne l'ont été jusqu'à présent. Pour les mettre en état

d'y satisfaire, nous donnons l'ordre qu'il soit établi des chapelles et églises en nombre suffisant, afin que les habitans soient à portée d'aller au service divin et de recevoir les sacremens.

Fait à Paris, le 27 Septembre 1721.

Signé,

DODUN, FERRAND ET DE MAHAUT.

*État des dépenses arrêtés par messieurs les commissaires du roi, pour la colonie de la Louisiane.*

*État-Major..*

	liv.
M. de Bienville, commandant-general, . . . . .	12,000
M. de Boisbrillant, premier lieutenant de roi . . . . .	5,000
M. de Châteaugne, second lieutenant de roi . . . . .	4,000
M. de Paillou, major-general . . . . .	2,000
M. Diron, inspecteur-général . . . . .	3,000
	<hr/> 26,000

*Commandans des Postes..*

	liv.
M. de Richebourg, commandant de la Nouvelle-Orléans, par gratification de la compagnie . . . . .	720
M. de Mandeville, capitaine-commandant au fort Condé de la Mobile sans gratification	
M. de la Harpe, commandant destiné pour la baie Saint-Bernard, à 1,300 livres sans compagnie, réformé à . . . . .	1,080
M. de Loubois, commandant au Fort Louis, du Biloxi, par gratification, outre sa compagnie . . . . .	720
M. de Saint-Denis, commandant de poste, sans compagnie, pour ses appointemens . . . . .	1,080
M. de la Marque destiné pour l'île aux Vaisseaux, par gratification, outre sa compagnie . . . . .	720
M. Marchand, commandant des Alibamons, pour ses appointemens . . . . .	1,080
M. de Bournion, commandant du Missouri . . . . .	1,800
	<hr/> 7,200

*Appointemens des Ingénieurs.*

	liv.
M. de la Tour, lieutenant-général de la Louisiane et ingénieur en chef	8,000
M. de Boispinel, chevalier de Saint Louis . . . . .	5,000
M. de Panger, <i>id</i> . . . . .	5,000
M. de Franquet-Chaville . . . . .	2,500
Dessinateurs et piqueurs . . . . .	3,300
	<hr/> 23,800
	47,600

*Appointemens des Directeurs et Commis.*

	liv.
M. de Lorme, directeur-général . . . . .	12,000
M. Guillet, directeur des comptes . . . . .	6,000
M. Bion, sous-directeur des comptes . . . . .	3,000
M. Bouges, secrétaire du colonel . . . . .	1,500
M. Dalecourt, trésorier . . . . .	2 240
M. Bombeau, garde-magasin général, nommé par le colonel . . . . .	2 240
M. des Ursins de la loire, commis principal aux Illinois . . . . .	2 000
Pour autres commis et employés, ci . . . . .	28,020
	67,000

*Appointemens des Majors de Postes.*

	liv.
M. de Banes, de la Nouvelle-Orléans . . . . .	900
M. de Beauchamp, de la Mobile . . . . .	900
Ile aux Vaisseaux, vacant . . . . .	900
M. de Terpny, aide-major du Biloxi . . . . .	900
	3,600

	liv.
Pour l'entretien et appointemens de la marine de la Louisiane, ci . . . . .	26 800
Pour les aumôniers et chirurgiens à 800 livres chacun, ci . . . . .	1,600
Pour les gages, nourriture d'ouvriers et dépenses des travaux des fortifications . . . . .	74,000
Pour les présens des sauvages . . . . .	12 000
Pour seize compagnies d'infanterie . . . . .	130,104

Il est bon de faire observer que toutes ces dépenses se montent à 375,204 livres prix de France, non compris la compagnie d'ouvriers suisses, qui forte de deux cent dix hommes, doit coûter 52 000 livres, ni l'entretien des hôpitaux, des gens de force, les dépenses casuelles, et les frais des armemens de vaisseaux, pour apporter les fonds à la colonie, sur lesquels il y a les cinquante pour cent d'augmentation pour marchandises et vivres, prix qu'elles se vendent à la colonie, faisant la somme de 187,752 livres, qui peuvent en partie suppléer à l'augmentation des dépenses. On reçut aussi un règlement par lequel les capucins devaient avoir juridiction depuis l'entrée du Mississippi jusqu'au Onabache; les carmes déchaussés, depuis Rio Perdido le long de la côte jusqu'à l'entrée du fleuve, y compris la rivière de la Mobile et des Alibamons; les jesuites et prêtres de la congrégation, de la mission, le Missouri, les Illinois et les nations du nord.

Messieurs les commissaires donnèrent ordre d'établir un conseil aux Illinois pour juger en dernier ressort, et cependant rendre compte au conseil supérieur, qu'on devait établir à la Nouvelle-Orléans, et d'y former le comptoir principal, enjoignant d'abandonner le fort Louis, et de n'y laisser qu'une simple garnison. et sur toutes choses de faire entrer à l'avenir les vaisseaux dans le Mississippi.

The Commissioners announced the news of the establishment of the King's health, and his marriage with the Infanta of Spain, and that of the Prince of Asturias with Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

On the 12th April, a *te deum* was performed in the garrison, on account of the King's restoration to health. M. de Bienville ordered the troops to recognize M. de la Tour as lieutenant-general of the colony, and M. du Loubois commandant of Fort Louis. At night there was public rejoicing. At five o'clock the fleet which was anchored in the harbor fired a salute, and in the evening the troops a feu de joie. On the 18th, three Canadian pirogues arrived from the Illinois. They reported that twentydays before one of their pirogues had been attacked by the Chicachas, opposite Fort Prudhomme, who killed two of their men. On the same day M. de Montigny, the commander at Pensacola, arrested eighteen deserters. On the 18th May, M. Diron, inspector-general of the troops, arrived from Natchitoches, where it was reported he had been killed by an Indian. On the 19th, M. Bienville was informed that M. de la Boulay, who commanded at the Arkansas, had retired with his troops to White river, a tributary of the Arkansas, to be more convenient to the concession of M. Law, from whence he could more easily receive succor, and that the Arkansas Indians had abandoned their villages on account of the war with the Chicachas.

On the 21th, the brig *l'Adventurier*, commanded by M. Fouquet, arrived with an emission of copper money to circulate in the French colonies of America, in conformity with an edict of the King, dated June 7, 1721.

On the 25th, M. de la Harpe arrived from the Arkansas river, which he had reached on the 20th December, 1721. When he departed on this expedition M. de Pailloux, who commanded at New Orleans, furnished him with eighteen men, and forty-five days of provisions. At thirty leagues from New Orleans he reached the portage of Manchac, which leads to lake Maurepas, and when he advanced twenty-five leagues more, he came to Red river, which he passed to the left. Two leagues above on the right he passed the Tonicas, and from thence he went twenty leagues to Natchez, and arrived at Fort Rosalie on the 20th January, 1722. It was commanded by M. de Barnaval, and is built upon a high bluff which admits of no defence.

On the 25th he departed from Natchez, and at the distance of forty leagues he passed the Yasous river, on the right of the Mississippi, in lat 33° 5'. He there met with two pirogues of Canadians, who were descending to New Orleans with five thousand pounds of

salt meat. On the 26th, he entered the Yasous, and proceeded up the river three leagues, to the concession of M. le Blanc, commanded by M. de Grave. About thirty arpents of this concession is cultivated, but the rest of the soil is so thin and sandy, that it can never be cultivated, besides the situation is unhealthy. The course of the Yasous from its mouth is northwest, and then it turns and runs north-northeast a half league to the stone bluffs, upon which is situated the establishment of M. le Blanc. The cabins of the Yasous, Courois, Offogoula, and Ouspie, are dispersed over the country upon mounds of earth made with their own hands, from which it is inferred that these nations are very ancient, and were formerly very numerous, although at the present time they hardly number two hundred and fifty persons. From twenty-five to thirty leagues farther to the northeast the Choulas have a village, and at a short distance above them lies the village of the Chacchoumas.

M. de la Harpe met a party from the garrison of the Arkansas going down to New Orleans for their supplies, and he made them return with him to the Yasous, because he had brought them with him. On the 5th February, he set out from Yasous and travelled fifty-four leagues to the first branch of the Arkansas river, which he entered on the 27th February, although the current was running very rapidly. On the 28th, he continued to sail up this river until he came to White river, which comes from the northwest, from the country of the Osages, and discharges itself into the Arkansas or Sotoûis, about four leagues from the Mississippi river, near the village of the Sotoûis, a part of which had been destroyed by the Chickasas.

On the 11th March, he proceeded to the village of the Sotoûis, situated on the left side of the river, which the French named Arkansas, and the Indians Nigette, which signifies *red* on account of the color of the water. This village is situated in N. lat.  $34^{\circ} 45'$ , and contains forty cabins and about three hundred and thirty Indians. The banks here are about thirty feet above low water, and when the river is high it is about eighty toises wide. M. de la Harpe found at this village M. de la Boulay, who had been here since the 27th of last September, with orders from M. de Bienville to protect the convoys ascending or descending the Mississippi river from the Illinois with provisions.

The first care of M. de la Harpe was to inform himself of the course of the river and the nations along its banks, but he was unable to draw any information from the Indians, who appeared to be dissatisfied with his coming among them. They told him that five



Frenchmen from M. Law's concession had ascended the river last August to the Indian nations, on the head waters of the river, to purchase horses, and they were killed on the route by the Osages.

On the 2d, he proceeded with MM. Dufresne and Boulay to the (concession) plantation of M. Law, situated north-northwest from the Sotonis or Arkansas villages, and on the right of the river, ascending about two leagues and a half by the river and one and a half by land. This establishment is about a quarter of a league inland, in a northerly direction, and you cross a bayou to get to it. In high water the land is overflowed to within a quarter of a league of the prairies, where it is located. He found at this concession forty-seven persons of both sexes, who had commenced to cultivate the land, which was partly sown in wheat. He took an inventory of the effects he found here, as the concession was nearly abandoned, and forwarded it to New Orleans.

On the 3d, M. de la Harpe sent one of his pirogues to the village of the Arkansas to purchase provisions and to fetch the Armorer, who had been sent there for some corn, as he was much needed to put the arms of his detachment in good order. M. Boulay ordered Saint Dominique, a soldier of the garrison who spoke several Indian languages, to accompany the expedition as interpreter.

The Arkansas nation live on the banks of the Mississippi, near an island, and is divided into three villages, viz.: the Ougapa or Kappa, Toriman, and Tonginga, about a league distant from each other, and containing together about four hundred persons. The principal Chief is an Ougapa, and the Sotonis acknowledge him for theirs. They have all sprung from one nation and speak the same language. They render a kind of worship to snakes, and invoke them in their sickness. They reverence no particular divinity, but worship those which they believe will favor them most in their war and hunting expeditions.

On the 9th, the men whom M. de la Harpe had sent to the Arkansas villages returned with an Indian pirogue. In this he placed some articles and seven men, with orders to proceed up the river, and wait for him at two days' journey on the road. On the 10th, after making some preparations for his journey, he left the settlement with his detachment, composed of twenty-two men and M. Defranchomme, ensign of the company at the post of Arkansas. As soon as the Indians discovered their pirogue was gone, they followed him by land with several warriors to recover it from him; and M. de la Harpe, not wishing to have a rupture with them, returned it to them, and remained at a cypress swamp until he could build another; afterwards

he continued his journey, and made ninety leagues in a north-west direction to a large rock, which he called *le Rocher Français*, where he arrived on the 9th April. This rock is on the right of the river ascending, and forms three steep hills of one hundred and sixty feet in height, near to which are several fine slate quarries. He ascended the western hill, from which he discovered a fine country. At the foot of this rock is a water-fall, which forms an extensive and beautiful basin.

The water of this river for a distance of thirty leagues is of a reddish color, but afterwards it becomes clear and excellent to drink. The country is elevated, and the banks in some places are seventy feet high. The river was at this time low, and the sand-bars were uncovered. It is usually from eight to ten feet in depth, and in high water the width is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred toises. The eye in every direction can see herds of buffaloes, red deer, stags, bears, and turkeys.

M. de la Harpe continued his explorations to the 17th April, when he became short of provisions by the upsetting of one of his pirogues. To this accident was added the dysentery, which attacked several of his men, and prevented him from pushing his discoveries any farther. From the appearance of the river he concluded it was navigable in high water to the settlement of the Padoucas, and the Spaniards in New Mexico. The lands that border upon it are of the finest description, and would make magnificent settlements. The river is filled with a variety of fish and turtles; and the prairies with beautiful flowers.

M. de la Harpe having ascended the Arkansas by water, one hundred and fifteen leagues to this place, although it is not above fifty or sixty by land, he laid up his pirogues to visit the mountains to the west of the river. On the 15th, he commenced his march, each one carrying his sack of corn on his back. On the 19th, having advanced two leagues, he came to high mountains, between which are valleys and prairies, presenting beautiful views. Two leagues farther he came to the borders of a river two hundred toises wide. On the 21st, he embarked on board of his pirogue to return to the settlement of M. Law, which he found had been abandoned by his people, who had gone to New Orleans.

On the 4th, M. de la Harpe left the Sotois (Arkansas) to return to Biloxi, which he reached on the 25th May, barely escaping a surprise by a Chicachas war party. On the 26th, an English ship of twelve guns, commanded by Captain Marshall, entered the harbor with a cargo of merchandise for Tampico. He reported that the

*Sainte-Andre*, which had sailed from Ship Island for France last January, was obliged to put into Havana. On the 28th, the ship *le Profond* sailed for France with M. de Noyan as a passenger. And on the same day the ship *la Sainte Rène*, belonging to the concession of MM. de Kolys, also sailed for France. On the 31st, a Spanish vessel arrived from Vera Cruz, commanded by M. Espinola, with M. Alexander Wauchopp, who brought a letter from the Marquis of Valero, Viceroy of Mexico, to M. de Bienville, on the subject of the restitution of Pensacola, with all its artillery and munitions of war, taken at the time of its surrender to the French, and in conformity with the King's orders.

On the 4th June, M. de Montmort, was sent in pursuit of deserters, and returned without taking any. He landed at St. Joseph's Bay, where he found the officers and passengers and a part of the crew of the ship *l'Adour*, which he brought back with him in two shallops. Among the passengers were Father Charlevoix and MM. Fabry and Hubert, and the Curate le Vente. This vessel had left New Orleans about the last of March, and in the night of the 14th April, she was driven by the currents upon the island of Martyrs, at the entrance of the Bahama channel, without being able to get any relief. The crew and passengers took the long boat and arrived at an island, where they rested ten days, and afterwards a part went to the Havana, and the remainder sailed for St. Joseph's Bay. On the 10th, MM. Wauchopp and Espinola took leave of M. de Bienville, and embarked in a vessel for Vera Cruz. On the same day M. de la Tour embarked in the vessel *l'Aventurier*, to go to New Orleans by the Mississippi river. On the 11th, Richard arrived at Fort Louis from the country of the Mentos, on the Arkansas, where he had been sent with a pirogue and six men the year before, by order of M. le Vens, director of the concession of M. Law, to purchase horses. He reported that he was plundered on the way by the Osages. He afterwards with difficulty reached the country discovered by M. de la Harpe in 1719, where he was well received at the Indian villages.

On the 16th, the ship *la Bellone* set sail for Cape Francois with Father Charlevoix, MM. Fabry and Arcoite, and several other officers of the colony, who were going to France. On the 17th, the Council, at the solicitation of M. de Lorme, appointed M. le Vens director of accounts, with a salary of six thousand livres per annum. An attempt was afterwards made to give him a voice in the Council, which was opposed by MM. de Bienville and de la Tour. On the 5th, information was received that the ship *l'Aventurier* had passed the bar at the mouth of the Mississippi. On the 6th, M. de Bienville

received two letters from M. de Graves, commandant at *Fort Saint Pierre des Yasous*, informing him that the Chicachas had come to the villago of the Yasous, and carried off a quantity of provisions, which had been sent there, and had attacked and wounded the sergeant in whose charge they had been placed. He was also advised that two Chachoumas had been sent by their chiefs to inform him that five parties of Chicachas had set out to make war upon the Yasous, Courois, and Offagoulas, and that these Indians had sent in their women and children to the fort. On the 12th, the Swiss Company, commanded by M. Brand, who had embarked on board the transport Elizabeth, rose against the captain and forced him to sail for Havana. M. de Bienville on hearing this news armed the transport Subtile, and ordered M. de la Harpe, Pradel, Montigny, de Belle-Isle, and Saint Estebéne, to go in pursuit of the deserters. On arriving at St. Joseph's Bay they found there the frigate *la Hollandaise*, twenty guns, commanded by Don Juan Alberto, who, with Don Joseph Primo de Ribera, the Governor, refused to let them come into port; and, not having been able to discover any traces of the deserters, they returned to Fort Louis on the 30th.

On the 5th August, M. de Bienville set out for New Orleans; and on the 11th of the same month, M. Andriot, Major of Fort Louis, died. On the 14th, two convoys with provisions, one from Natchitoches and the other from Illinois, arrived at New Orleans. On the 18th, M. Desfontaines, director of one of the concessions of M. le Blanc, embarked in a ship with M. le Blondel de la Tour, brother of the Lieutenant-General, to go to New Orleans, when twenty men, armed with guns, seized upon her and made their escape to Havana.

On the 24th, a chief of the Koanatinos, living west of the Mississippi, came to smoke the calumet of peace with M. de Bienville.

On the 27th, a pirogue arrived from the Illinois, in which was embarked M. de Noyan, Jr., a nephew of M. de Bienville and M. Dutisne. M. de Noyan brought letters from MM. de Boisbriant and Renaud, directors of the company of miners. These letters informed M. de Bienville that the Indians brought him daily pieces of very pure copper. M. Renaud wrote that he had been up the Illinois to search for a copper mine, and that he had discovered a hill from which he had obtained lead, copper and silver in small quantities, but, learning that the Indians were at war, he was compelled to return to fort Chartres. On the last of this month they burnt a negro alive at New Orleans, who had killed a Frenchman. From the 1st to the 4th September, the ships *la Loire*, *les Deux Freres*,

and *l'Alexandre* arrived, commanded by MM. Chenot, Butelaine and Amelot, laden with provisions and merchandise to the value of 900-000 livres. They also brought three Capuchins, MM. Guillet, a director, and de Bourmont, who had received the cross of St. Louis. M. Law had procured him this honor to induce him to return to the colony, for the purpose of trading with the Indian nations on the Mississippi, and especially to make a treaty with the Padoucas, who are the allies of the Spaniards in New Mexico. The commissioners ordered that no one should go to France without their permission; and announced that M. Duvergier was arrested, who had left the colony without their permission. They recommended harmony among the directors, and added that it was the intention of his royal highness to give to M. de Bienville full powers to preside in the council, and to execute its deliberations, so that he should not only be looked upon as the commanding general, but should be present at the meetings of the council, not only as commandant-general, but as first director, in order that he should share the blame or praise of the failure or prosperity of the colony. On the 9th, *la Loire* and *les Deux Freres* set sail for New Orleans, but afterwards returned to Ship Island on account of the weather. On the 11th, a violent hurricane commenced to blow in the morning from the southeast to the southwest, which damaged all the rice, corn and bean crops, and threw down a great number of houses, both at Fort Louis, Biloxi, and New Orleans. It sunk the ship *l'Epidule*, three transports, and as many pirogues, and had likewise damaged the ships *Neptane* and *Santo Christo*.

On the 14th, M. de Bienville sent a pirogue with a letter to the ship *l'Aventurier*, which was about to return to France, on board of which were twenty-seven passengers, including M. Hubert, who wrote a letter to the companies informing them that the hurricane had destroyed more than one half of the crop of rice, and demanding of them further supplies. On the 20th, they arrested the two thieves who had pillaged the store-house at M. Law's concession. On the 23d, M. de Bienville was informed that the ship *le Dromedaire* had rode out the hurricane at the mouth of the Mississippi, as well as those at Ship Island, without receiving any damage. On the 24th, several of the directors of the concessions informed the council that they had successfully cultivated Indigo\* on their plantations, and requested that a vessel might be dispatched to the Island of St. Domingo for a supply of seed, which they granted.

\* Indigo was cultivated for many years in Louisiana until cotton and sugar took its place, but it was always an uncertain crop to make.

On the 28th October, M. de Kelerion reported that a transport, laden with provisions and merchandise for the garrisons of Mobile and Alibamons, had been carried off by a part of the crew. On the 29th, M. Datisne arrived from the Natchez, and related to M. de Bienville that a sergent of the garrison there had an altercation with some Natchez Indians, and had killed a son of the chief. On the next day they attempted to capture a waggon of provisions, escorted by a strong guard, and were repulsed. Afterwards a party of eighty Indians attacked the French settlement, and were again repulsed, but not until they had killed and scalped several of its inhabitants. Two of the principal chiefs descended the river to New Orleans, to bring the news to M. de Bienville, who gave them some presents and sent them back with M. de Pailloux to Natchez. On the 3d November, MM. de Lorme and Guillet arrived at New Orleans. On the 12th, the Sieur Urit was dispatched to Cape Francais with pine planks to purchase Indigo seed. On the 13th, the ship *l'Alexandre* sailed from Ship Island to New Orleans. She crossed the bar at the mouth of the Mississippi, drawing thirteen feet of water, and arrived on the 15th at New Orleans.

About the last of November, M. de Bienville fell dangerously sick, and for a long time his life was despaired of. His illness was attributed to the chagrin he felt on account of the neglect of those whom he had served for upwards of twenty-three years, for not promoting him to a higher rank. On the 12th December, M. de Bienville received letters from Pensacola informing him that M. de Wauchoy had arrived there in the frigate *la Grande Hollandaise* from Vera Cruz. On the next day he dispatched M. de la Harpe to Pensacola to restore to his Catholic majesty the garrison and effects at that place.\* About the end of this month, M. Diron d'Artaguette

\* MEMOIRE destiné à faire connaître l'importance de la colonie de la Louisiane, et la nécessité d'en continuer l'établissement par M. Benard de la Harpe.

Pour pouvoir juger de l'utilité de la colonie de la Louisiane il faut connaître sa situation: la voici: ce qu'on appelle le pays de la Louisiane est celui de l'Amérique septentrionale qui est entre les Illinois au nord, et le golfe du Mexique au sud, ayant à l'est toutes les colonies anglaises qui tiennent la côte de cette partie de l'Amérique depuis l'Acadie jusqu'à la Carolina, peu éloigné du canal de Bahama. La partie de l'ouest de cette province conduit par terre au Nouveau-Mexique, à la province de Lastekas, et au royaume de Léon, où les Espagnols ont des mines considérables.

L'étendue de cette côte de l'ouest à l'est court depuis le port découvert le 27 août 1721 par M. de la Harpe, à la latitude de 29° 12', à 28° de longitude jusqu'à Rio Perdido situé entre Pensacole et la Mobile, à 29° de longitude, de qui donne environ cent soixante lieues marines de côte. Pour ce qui est du

set sail in a boat to return to the Illinois. He had twice made this voyage, and noted with accuracy the course of the Mississippi river. On the 9th January, 1723, M. de la Harpe returned to New

dedans des terres, la longitude de la Louisiane jusqu'à la hauteur de 39°, s'étend depuis les limites du Nouveau-Mexique, c'est-à-dire, depuis 275° jusqu'aux frontières de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, aux environs de 307° de longitude; mais cette étendue varie par-de-la les 38° de latitude, car au-dessus de cette hauteur du pôle, nous avons droit de nous étendre à l'ouest aussi loin que pourront aller nos découvertes.

La largeur de la Louisiane est plus assurée; on peut la faire courir depuis le 29° de latitude qui est celle de l'entrée du fleuve, jusqu'aux 42° 30' qui est la hauteur du détroit: cette province est située entre le quatrième climat et le huitième exclusivement, ce qui fait que la durée des jours et des nuits, où ils sont les plus courts, ne sont guère au-dessus de quatorze heures trente minutes, ni au-delà de quinze heures trente minutes, où ils sont les plus longs.

Le climat en général est tempéré; il est le même de la Perse, du Mogol et d'une grande partie de la Chine; toutes les saisons y sont assez bien marquées, et si les nouveau-venus trouvent que le pays soit plus chaud que froid, c'est qu'ils viennent la plupart des pays septentrionaux; ceux que arrivent des îles pensent différemment. Pour connaître la bonté du climat de cette province il faut remarquer de l'air que l'on y respire est sain, et que les terres sont très fertiles. On ne sait ce que c'est que les maladies épidémiques qui désolent les autres parties de l'Amérique, et s'il y a dans le pays quelques mortalités, elles n'ont été causées que par les maladies contractées à Saint-Domingue, et par la misère où les colons ont été réduits en arrivant à la côte. L'expérience a fait connaître depuis long-temps que les maladies des Européens se communiquent facilement aux Indiens, que celles de ces derniers aux Européens, ce qui vient de ce que les pores de la chair des blancs sont plus resserrés que ceux des sauvages. On remarque à la vérité que les nouveau-venus sont pour la plupart attaqués d'une fièvre lente; mais quoiqu'elle affaiblisse beaucoup, on ne voit pas de personnes en mourir. Il faut aussi convenir que les côtes de la mer dont le terrain sablonneux est moins humide sont très saines, et dès qu'on a franchi ces bas-fonds, en avançant dans les terres, on y joint d'une santé très constante; que si l'on voit peu de vieillards parmi les sauvages, c'est qu'ils se tuent les uns les autres avant d'arriver à la vieillesse, ou qu'ils détruisent la bonté de leur tempérament par des travaux qui les épuisent en peu de temps.

× Cette position de la Louisiane, bien entendue sur la carte qu'en a donnée le sieur de la Harpe, il est aisé de comprendre que le premier objet de cette découverte a été la communication du Canada avec le golfe du Nouveau-Mexique, par un pays sauvage de près de cinq cents lieues, et cependant très aisé à établir par le fleuve de Mississipi, qui court du nord au sud, pour venir se jeter dans le golfe du Mexique, et par les rivières d'Ouabache et des Illinois, qui viennent par le côté du Canada se jeter dans le Mississipi.

Il s'agit d'examiner quels avantages on peut tira de cette communication, tant pour le commerce, que pour empêcher l'accroissement des autres puissances de l'Europe, qui ont des établissemens dans l'Amérique, particulièrement les Anglais; mais avant d'entrer dans le détail du commerce, il est bon de faire quelques réflexions sur l'établissement de cette colonie par rapport aux Anglais.

Orleans from Pensacola, after having taken the troops to Mobile. He reported that the Spaniards had established themselves upon the island of Santa Rosa, and were waiting for the necessary armament

Les Anglais possèdent dans l'Amérique septentrionale l'île de Terre-Neuve, l'Acadie, la Nouvelle-Angleterre, la Pennsylvanie, York, la Virginie et la Caroline. Ils ont les îles de la Providence à la proximité de La Havane, celles de la Jamaïque, de la Barbade et plusieurs autres moins considérables. Toutes ces colonies sont très puissantes et fournissent un commerce immense à l'Angleterre.

Les Anglais ont des alliances avec un grand nombre de nations sauvages de l'Amérique, et ils les étendent journellement avec les Iroquois, les Charaquis, les Chaouanons, les Chiacas, les Cahuitas, les Alibamons, et plusieurs autres nations voisines de la Louisiane; on les avus pousser leur traite jusque sur le Mississipi, et aux portes de la Mobile, et s'ils avaient mis à exécution leur projet d'établissement sur la rivière des Ouabaches, dont la source vient environs de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, il arriverait que dans peu de temps ils déboucheraient et mettraient dans leur parti les Illinois, les Mianis, les Octotata, les Renards, les Scioux et autres nations du Haut-Canada; ce qui apporterait un grand préjudice à la Nouvelle-France de laquelle dépend l'île du cap Breton, qui est la seule où nous pouissions être en sûreté pour faire la pêche de la morue. x

La perte du Canada ne serait pas la seule qui pourrait en résulter; cela les mettrait en état de pénétrer dans le Mexique qu'ils pourraient attaquer par différents endroits: par mer, en faisant descente aux environs de la Vera-Cruz, ou du côté de Panuco et de Tampico qui ne sont point fortifiés; ou par terre, en pénétrant dans le nouveau royaume Léon, ce qui leur serait facile, en faisant un établissement au port découvert par M. de la Harpe à cent lieues à l'ouest de l'entrée du Mississipi. Ce passage serait d'autant plus important pour eux, qu'ils formeraient une barrière au Française de la Louisiane, à l'effet de les empêcher, non seulement de pénétrer chez les Espagnols, mais même de commercer par les terres avec eux, attendu que leurs comptoirs seraient bien plus à portée que les postes que nous occupons sur la rivière Rouge; joint à cela que ce serait une relâche pour leurs balandres et autres petits bâtimens interlopes qui vont aux côtes de Campêche et de la Vera-Cruz, lesquels par ce moyen ne se trouveraient pas dans la nécessité de débouques le canal de Bahama sur la moindre appréhension. Il est aisé de comprendre que cette augmentation de puissance des Anglais dans l'Amérique influerait beaucoup sur les affaires d'Europe, et qu'il est important de les prévenir; les vues qu'ils ont toujours sur l'Amérique ont paru dans toutes les occasions par le traité d'alliance qu'ils firent à La Haye avec l'empereur et les Hollandais le 7 de Septembre, 1701. Il est stipulé à l'article 6 que le roi de la Grande-Bretagne et les seigneurs états-généraux pourront conquérir à force d'armes, selon qu'ils auront concerté entre eux pour l'utilité de la navigation et du commerce de leurs sujets, les pays et les villes que les Espagnols ont dans les Indes, et que tout ce qu'ils pourront y prendre sera pour eux, et leur demeurera. Les mêmes vues se justifient encore au sujet de l'établissement qu'ils avaient projeté de faire à la côte déserte, dans le continent de l'Amérique méridionale, qui s'étend depuis la rivière de la Plata, située aux 36° de latitude jusqu'au cap des Vierges, qui orme l'entrée du détroit de Magellan aux 52°, dans lequel continent sont les



to fortify themselves at Grand Terre. That they had entirely abandoned the bay of St. Joseph's, and had taken with them all the inhabitants and troops to Pensacola, and that the Marquis Casa Fuerte had succeeded the Marquis de Valero as Viceroy of Mexico.

ports de Saint-Julien-le-Désiré et celui des Lions. et cela dans l'intention d'avoir communication par les terres avec les côtes voisines de l'île de Chiloe, et par ce moyen se mettre en état de parvenir un jour à la conquête du Chili.

Leurs mêmes desseins se proavent encore par l'attention qu'ils ont portée au mois d'août 1724 au mémoire présenté à milord duc de New-Castle. chambellan et secrétaire de sa majesté le roi George. par M. Jean-Pierre Pury, de Neuchâtel en Suisse, ci-devant employé dans la compagnie des Indes en France, par lequel il fait connaître l'importance de l'établissement de la Caroline, sa situation avantagense et les droits que les Anglais ont sur les terres de l'ouest de cette partie de l'Amérique. suivant les chartres accordées aux concessionnaires en 1664 et 1666, sous le règne de Charles II.

Pour juger de l'avantage qu'on peut tirer du commerce de cette colonie il reste à expliquer quelles sont les marchandises qu'on en pourra retirer, sans que pour cela il sorte aucune espèce d'or ou d'argent du royaume.

Il est certain qu'on y établira deux commerces. l'un avec les Espagnols, et l'autre dans le pays, pour le culture des terres qui produiront plusieurs bonnes marchandises: l'avantage du commerce avec les Espagnols est connu, et l'on peut dire que la Louisiane est le seul endroit qui reste pour l'introduire, parce que c'est une espèce de magasin dans le même continent que le Mexique. où les marchandises peuvent demeurer en dépôt en attendant les occasions de les débiter dans quelques-uns de leurs ports. ou par nos rivières de l'ouest. qui affluent dans le Mississipi. particulièrement par la rivière Rouge, qui fait la séparation de la rivière de Lastekas où les Espagnols se sont établis en 1718; laquelle joint le nouveau royaume de Léon. abondant en bestiaux et en minéraux. Cet article est d'une très grande conséquence pour la compagnie, et messieurs les directeurs ne sauraient y donner trop leur attention; ils doivent bien considérer qu'il est bien plus avantageux de l'entreprendre par la Louisiane avec le Mexique, que par mer avec le Pérou. L'exemple de l'escadre M. de Saint-Juan doit convaincre que ces sortes d'entreprises ne se peuvent faire sans risquer le tout, et sans entraîner des frais immenses; au lieu qu'en établissant un comptoir au port découvert par M. de la Harpe, dans le fond du golfe du Mexique, on pourrait avec facilité faire un commerce considérable, sans donner d'ombrage aux puissances étrangères, et sans rien risquer dans ces entreprises, parce que le commerce ne se ferait que dans de petits bâtimens, lesquels dans quatre ou cinq jours se rendraient dans les endroits convenus avec les marchands. et sur la moindre alarme, s'en retourneraient dans aussi peu de tems et attendraient une conjoncture plus favorable.

Quant à ce que la colonie de la Louisiane peut produire. en voici le détail: il y a plusieurs mines de plomb abondantes peu éloignées du fleuve, et ce plomb est facile à fondre. Si la compagnie des mineurs qu'on a envoyée aux Illinois, sous la direction de M. Renand avait pu y être transportée en arrivant à la colonie elle aurait fait certainement des envois considérables de ce métal; mais son sort été égal à celui des autres compagnies qui ont dépéri, ou le temps de leurs engagés s'est écoulé inutilement.

On the 27th August, 1722, M. de Bienville was informed that the vessel which had been carried off by a company of Swiss had arrived at Havana, and the Governor had refused to let them enter the

Il y a des mines de cuivre dans la rivière des Illinois, dans celle des Ouabaches, et dans plusieurs autres de la partie ouest du fleuve; les Canadiens et les sauvages en ont apporté plusieurs morceaux qu'ils ont ramassés dans des plaines et des ravines. à la chute des montagnes: il est certain que la nation Ouabache sait où elles sont; ainsi il ne s'agit que de connaître leur secret, ce qu'il est facile de faire par le moyen de quelques présens.

On n'a point encore de certitude qu'il y ait des mines d'or ou d'argent considérables, mais il y a grande apparence qu'on pourrait en trouver: les morceaux de vert-de-gris, Pazar et les eaux salées qu'on trouve, joint aux montagnes arides et colorées, comme celles où sont les mines des Espagnols, sont des indications certaines: aussi M. Renard, qui a fait l'épreuve de quelques pierres métalliques tirées à l'entrée de la rivière des Illinois, y a trouvé quelque argent qu'il a remis en 1722 au conseil de la compagnie des Indes.

★ On tirera de la Louisiane des peaux de bœufs sauvages, dont la laine peut servir; c'est ce qui ne souffre aucune difficulté, puisque M. de Juchereau, lieutenant-général de la juridiction de Mont-Real, qui avait établi en 1702 un poste sur Ouabache, avec trente-quatre Canadiens au nom d'une compagnie, y avait ramassé en peu de temps quinze mille peaux de bœufs, ainsi qu'il est marqué à l'article du journal historique du mois de janvier 1705.

On tirera par cette colonie des peaux de chevreuils, d'ours, de cerfs et de plus belles pelleteries que par le Canada parce que le haut de la rivière du Missisipi communique avec plusieurs nations du nord qui sont trop éloignées des lacs par lesquels on descend la rivière de Saint-Laurent, et c'est par cette même raison qu'on ne peut pas tirer par le Canada des peaux de bœufs, les Canadiens n'ayant pu porter leur commerce jusque-là; ce sont les sauvages Scionx de la partie de l'est, et les Assinipolis, qui portent aux Anglais de la baie d'Hudson, par le moyen des chrétiens, la plus grande partie des plus belles pelleteries; mais il serait facile de renouveler allians avec eux, et d'attirer leur commerce par le Missisipi, parce que, pour aller à la baie d'Hudson il faut qu'ils fassent un grand voyage dans un pays toujours glacé et sans vivres, portant leurs marchandises sur leur dos, au lieu que pour traiter avec nous ils n'auraient qu'à descendre la rivière du Missisipi dans leurs canots, jusqu'à l'entrée de la rivière Saint Pierre, où ils trouveraient un climat plus tempéré, et un pays plus abondant en toutes sortes de choses; mais il faudrait en ce cas faire des établissemens sur les bords de cette rivière, et suivre le projet de feu M. le Sneur de la manière qu'il était convenu avec M. L'Huillier, fermier général. ↘

Les mûriers sont communs à la Louisiane, les vers à soie s'y élèvent très bien, l'expérience qu'on en a faite doit donner des espérances pour la fabrique de la soie, mais on ne doit pas espérer cet avantage, jusqu'à ce que la pays soit bien peuplé, et se fournisse abondamment de toutes les choses nécessaires à la vie.

Pour la culture des terres, elle donnera indifféremment de toutes sortes de grains et de légumes: le tabac, le riz, le chanvre et l'indigo. On doit s'attendre peu-à-peu à des retours de ces marchandises, surtout de l'indigo, qui donnera trois coupes pour chaque année.

port. That some of the deserters escaped on shore and joined the troops, but the remainder had sailed to Carolina. M. de Wauchopp wrote in a few days after to M. de Bienville that he had expected

Le café, les oliviers et le coton pourraient y réussir. La compagnie devrait donner ses attentions pour y en faire passer des plantes; c'est une chose qu'on ne doit point négliger.

La Louisiane est un pays si étendu et si rempli de toutes sortes d'arbres, qu'il est aisé de comprendre qu'on y peut tirer parti des bois propres à la construction des vaisseaux et au débit des îles de l'Amérique et des brais et goudrons que nous tirons des étrangers.

On trouve dans cette colonie quantité de simples utiles à la médecine, comme l'esquine, le sassafras, la moréal, le zinzin. Il y a pareillement le baume de copaline, et plusieurs gommés, plusieurs simples et racines inconnues dont les sauvages se servent avec succès.

On y a fait récemment la découverte d'une racine que les sauvages nomment tisaougéne, qui teint en rouge. On peut juger par le récit naturel qu'on vient de faire de l'attention que mérite cette colonie, par rapport au commerce, qui peut apporter dans le royaume des marchandises que nous ne tirons des étrangers qu'avec de l'argent, et joindre à cela que cette province étant bien établie, elle occuperait un nombre considérable de vaisseaux, ce qui est d'autant plus important, que nous n'avons pas présentement beaucoup d'occasions de former des matelots, chose néanmoins bien nécessaire à l'état; à quoi il faut ajouter que les Français ont découvert plusieurs pays qui appartiennent aujourd'hui à des étrangers qui en tirent de grands avantages, et il arriverait la même chose de la Louisiane si on l'abandonnait: ce qui serait très honteux à la France, après les dépenses qu'on y a faites, et l'idée qu'on en a voulu donner aux étrangers.

Après avoir marqué le bien qui doit résulter de l'établissement de la Louisiane, il reste à faire connaître les causes qui ont empêché ses progrès, et celle de la situation où elle se trouve en 1724.

Ceux qui ne jugent des choses que par les apparences soutiennent que cette province sera toujours à charge au roi et à la compagnie, qu'on n'en peut rien tirer. Ils appuient leur sentiment sur ce qu'on y a dépensé près de huit millions, sans qu'on ait apporté aucun retour en France. Il est certain qu'une pareille dépense doit donner des idées désavantageuses; mais lorsqu'on examinera sans prévention la manière dont les fonds qu'on reproche ont été employés, on ne pourra point disconvenir que ce n'est pas la faute du pays, mais les dispositions qui ont été prises en France, par les fraudes commises sur les achats des marchandises, et par le peu d'ordre, qui a été apporté dans les envois de monde et de vivres, qui, avec la mauvaise régie des directeurs à la Louisiane, ont reculé son établissement. En effet la compagnie l'a commencé par y faire passer des forçats et gens sans avec des filles de débauche; les troupes qu'elle y a envoyées ont été composées de déserteurs et de personnes ramassées sans distinction dans les rues de Paris. On y a vu une multitude de commis sans expérience piller publiquement les magasins, et se mettre à l'abri des friponneries par des procès-verbaux faux sans nombre; elle a contracté des traités désavantageuses avec des compagnies suisses, des Allemands, des clercs et des mineurs, et elle n'a point exécuté les conventions, ce qui le a rendues inutiles; elle y a

two vessels with provisions to arrive from Vera Cruz; but as they had not yet come he wished to know whether he could furnish him thirty barrels of flour, for which he would send a vessel to New Orleans. M. de Bienville advised with the Council what he should do, and they decided that it would not be prudent to permit the Spaniards to come into the Mississippi before it was fortified, but that he could have the flour by sending for it to Mobile.

On the 16th. M. de Bienville received letters from Natchitoches, informing him that five hundred persons under the command of the Marquis de Guallo had entered the province of Lastekas. On the 29th, the ships *la Loire* and *Deux Freres* passed over the bar at the mouth of the Mississippi, on which were embarked MM. Dutisné, Lafreniere Freboul, le Vens, Dubuisson, and a number of other passengers, who were going to France. M. Dutisné returned on account of family matters, and had to resign his office, which he had faithfully filled for many years in the colony. On the 2d February, 1723, M. de la Harpe returned to New Orleans from Pensacola. His health being now greatly impaired by exposure to the climate, he was compelled to ask permission of the Council to let him return to France, which was granted. M. de Bienville gave him letters, and the Council settled his accounts by paying him three thousand livres which was due to him by the Company of the Indies. On the 12th, the ship *l'Alexandre* crossed the bar at the mouth of the Mississippi, and sailed for France, having on board MM. de la Harpe and Montigny, officers; Garnier, Haniéle, and Murteî, concessionnaires; forty sailors, and the equipage of the ships *l'Adour* and *le Dromedaire*.

créé une infinité d'emplois à charge; la plupart des directeurs qu'elle y a envoyés n'ont pensé qu'à leurs intérêts, et à contrecarrer M. de Bienville plus au fait du pays qu'eux. S'il a proposé de faire entrer les vaisseaux dans le fleuve, ils s'y sont opposés avec opiniâtreté, dans la crainte que s'éloignant de la côte, ils ne se fussent trouvés hors de situation de commercer avec les Espagnols, et de ramasser des piastres. C'est ces vues d'intérêt que toutes les dépenses sont devenues inutiles, par les consommations que se sont faites à l'île Dauphine, au Vieux et au Nouveau-Biloxi, où ils ont laissé périr, à l'injure du temps et dans les sables, une très grande quantité d'effets. Les traversiers, chaloupes, bateaux et pirogues ont tellement été négligés, que toute cette marine s'est trouvée absolument hors de service; les navires ont été si long-temps retenus à la côte que la dépense des salaires a augmenté considérablement: à quoi il faut ajouter la guerre avec l'Espagne, qui a constitué dans des frais d'armement, par rapport à Pensacole, de sorte qu'on ne doit compter l'établissement de cette colonie depuis 1722, qu'on a pris le parti de faire entrer les vaisseaux dans le fleuve, et d'établir le comptoir principal à la Nouvelle-Orléans, à trente lieues dans la rivière, où les habitans se sont fixés, et où ils travaillent avec succès à la culture des terres.

# HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF

FATHER PIERRE FRANCOIS XAVIER DE CHARLEVOIX,\*

IN LETTERS ADDRESSED

TO THE

DUTCHESS OF LESDIGUIERES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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KASKASKIAS, Nov. 8, 1721.

As I have as yet seen in Louisiana only this post,† the first of all by right of antiquity, I cannot judge of it by comparison with others. But it appears certain to me, that it has two advantages,

\* Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, a Jesuit Priest and distinguished traveller and writer, was born at St. Quentin, France, in 1682. He embarked at Rochelle in July, 1720, to visit the missions in Canada, where he arrived in September of the same year. From Quebec he proceeded up the St. Lawrence to the lakes, and from thence he descended by the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi river, touching at New Orleans, which had just been selected for the head-quarters and capital of Louisiana. In this journal Father Charlevoix has given us a most accurate and vivid description of Louisiana; of the Mississippi and its tributaries, the face of the country, the manners and customs of the Indian tribes and their villages; of the missionary establishments and colonial posts, and of persons and things as they existed at that day.

At New Orleans he embarked for the Island of St. Domingo, where he arrived in 1722, and from thence he returned to France. He afterwards travelled in Italy, and for more than twenty years performed very important trusts confided to him by the Society of Jesuits. He published a history of St. Domingo, drawn up from the memoirs and Mss. of Father Pers, who lived in that island more than twenty-five years. A history of New France, containing a very full account of all that transpired in this country for nearly a century; a history of Paraguay; and a history of Japan, drawn up from memoirs and letters forwarded by the missionary fathers to the Society of Jesuits in France.

† The Jesuits had here a flourishing mission, and the French a post. They

one of which can never be disputed, and the other renders it at present necessary to the whole province. The first arises from its situation, which is near Canada, with which it will always have a communication equally useful to the two colonies. The second is, that it may be made the granary of Louisiana, which it can supply with plenty of wheat, though it should be quite peopled down to the sea.

The land is not only fit to bear wheat, but has hitherto refused nothing that is necessary for the food of man. The climate is very mild, in thirty-eight degrees, thirty-nine minutes North latitude. It would be very easy to increase flocks here. They might also tame the wild buffaloes, from which they would obtain a great benefit in the trade of their wool and hides, and for the sustenance of the inhabitants.

The air is good here, and if we see some distempers, we may attribute them only to poverty and dissoluteness, and perhaps in some small degree to the lands newly turned up; but this last inconvenience will not continue always, and the climate will not at all affect those who hereafter shall be born here. Lastly we are assured of the Illinois, more than of any nation of savages in Canada, if we except the Abenakis. They are almost all Christians, of a mild disposition, and at all times very affectionate to the French.

I am here, Madam, one hundred and fifty leagues from the place where I began this letter: I am going to finish it here, and trust it with a traveller, who reckons to be at New Orleans much sooner than I, because he will stop nowhere, and I must make some stay at the Natchez. I had depended on two things on leaving the Illinois; the first, that as I was going down a very rapid river, and on which I was in no danger of being stopt by those falls and torrents so frequent in the rivers of Canada, I should not be long in my journey, though I had near four hundred leagues to go, because of the windings which the river makes. The second was, that my route being all the way to the South, it would be quite unnecessary to take any

divided it into two because they thought it best to form two villages of Indians, the most populous of which was on the banks of the Mississippi, near Fort Chartres and the other about four leagues farther down, and about one from the river. In the early settlement of the country, Louisiana was divided into three grand ecclesiastical districts. The first was intrusted to the *Capuchins*, and extended from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Illinois. The second to the *Carmelites*, who had jurisdiction over all that section of country which extended from the Alibamons to Mobile; and the third to the *Jesuits*, (who are always in advance of civilization,) the immense wilderness of country washed by the lakes, the Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi, and its tributaries.

precautions against the cold; but I was mistaken in both. I found myself obliged to sail still slower than I had done on the lakes, which I was obliged to cross, and I suffered a cold as piercing as any I had ever felt at Quebec.

It is true, that it was still quite another thing at the Kaskaskias, which I had left a few days before; for the river, as I heard on my route, was soon frozen in such a manner that they went upon it in carriages. It is notwithstanding a good half league wide at that place, and more rapid than the Rhone. This is the more surprising, as generally excepting, some slight frosts caused by the north and northwest winds, the winter in this country is scarcely perceivable. The river was not frozen where I was, but I was all day in an open pettiaugre, and by consequence exposed to all the injuries of the air, and as I had taken no precaution against the cold which I did not expect, I found it very severe.

If I could have made more way, I should have found every day a sensible decrease of the cold; but we must navigate the Mississippi with prudence. We do not really hazard ourselves upon it in canoes of bark, because the river always bringing down a great number of trees, which fall from its sides, or which are brought into it by the rivers it receives, many of these trees are stopped in passing by a point, or on a shoal; so that every moment one is exposed to run upon a branch or against a root hidden under the water, and there needs no more to split these *frail* conveyances; especially when to shun an enemy's party, or for any other reason, we proceed in the night, or set out before day.

Therefore one is obliged to use pettiaugres instead of canoes of bark, *that is to say*, trunks of trees made hollow, which are not subject to the same inconvenience, but which are very clumsy, and are not managed as we please. I am in one which is made of a walnut tree, so narrow that it will not bear a sail; and my conductors, accustomed to the little paddles which they use in the canoes, find it difficult to manage the oars. Add to this, if the wind is a little fresh the water comes into the pettiaugre, and this frequently happens at this season of the year.

It was the 10th of November, at sun-set, that I embarked on the little river of Kaskaskias; I had but two leagues to the Mississippi, nevertheless I was obliged to encamp at about half way, and the next day I could make but six leagues on the river. The leaves fall sooner in this country than in France, and new ones do not appear till the end of May; and yet it very seldom snows here, and I have already observed that the winters here are generally very mild.

What then can be the reason of this backwardness? I can see no other than the thickness of the forests, which hinders the earth from being so soon warmed to make the sap rise.

The 12th, after having gone two leagues, I left Cape St. Anthony on the left hand. It is here that we begin to see canes or reeds; they are much like those which grow in many places of Europe, but they are higher and stronger. It is said that they are never seen but in a good soil; but the lands where they grow must be moist, and of consequence fitter for rice than wheat. They do not take the pains to pull them up when they would clear the land where they grow; and indeed it would not be very easy to do it, their knotty roots being very long, and joined together by a great number of filaments, which extend a great way. These roots have naturally a pretty fine polish, and come near to those of the bamboos of Japan; of which they make the fine canes which the Dutch sell by the name of Rottangs.

They content themselves therefore when they could cultivate a field covered with these reeds, to cut them down at the foot; and then leave them to dry, and afterwards burn them: the ashes serve them for manure, and the fire opens the pores of the earth, which they stir lightly, and they sow what they please; rice, maize, water-melons—in a word, all sorts of grain and pulse, except wheat, which in these rich soils shoots into straw and produces no ears. This defect might be remedied by throwing sand on this soil, and by throwing maize on it for some years.

As for the high grounds, and others which are not exposed to the inundations of the river, they are very fit at present to bear wheat, and if the trials which they have made in some places have not succeeded because the grain grew smutty, it was because the country not being open enough, the air is too much confined to disperse the mists that breed the smut. The proof of this is, that among the Illinois, where there are more meadows than woods, wheat grows up and ripens as well as in France.

The 13th, after a very hot night, we went about three leagues in spite of a south wind, which was continually blowing stronger and stronger, and which became at last so violent that it obliged us to stop. A great rain made it lull in the evening, and about midnight there arose a northwest wind, which began the extreme cold I have mentioned. To complete our ill-luck, an accident stopped us all the next day, though it was not safe for us to remain where we were. It is not long since that the Cherokees killed forty Frenchmen here, at whose head was a son of M. de Ramezai, Governor of Montreal, and



one of the Baron de Longueuil's, the King's Lieutenant for the same town. Besides these savages, who are not yet reconciled to us, the Outagamis, the Sioux, and the Chiacahas, kept us in great uneasiness, as I had only three men with me.

The 15th, the wind changed to the north and the cold increased. We went four leagues to the south, then we found that the river turned four leagues to the north. Immediately after this reach, we passed on the left by the fine river Ouabache (Wabache), by which one may go quite up to the Iroquois, when the waters are high. Its entrance into the Mississippi is little less than a quarter of a league wide. There is no place in Louisiana more fit, in my opinion, for a settlement than this, nor where it is of more consequence to have one. All the country that is watered by the Ohio, and by the Ouabache which runs into it, is very fruitful. It consists of vast meadows, well watered, where the wild buffaloes feed by thousands. Furthermore, the communication with Canada is as easy as by the river of the Illinois, and the way much shorter. A fort with a good garrison would keep the savages in awe, especially the Cherokees, who are at present the most numerous nation of this continent.

Six leagues below the mouth of the Ouabache, we find on the same side a very high coast, on which they say there are iron mines. We went a great way this day, which was the 16th; but we suffered much more by the cold. It still increased the following days, though the wind was changed to south-southwest. We were also obliged to break the ice, though it was indeed but thin, to get forward. The 19th, we went four leagues, after which a south wind stopped us short. I never felt a northeast wind sharper than this from the south. It is very probable that it was still the northeast wind that blew, but which the land reflected sometimes one way, and sometimes another, as we turned with the river.

We meet on this route with a kind of wild cats, called Pijoux, which are very much like ours, but larger. I observed some that had shorter tails, and others that had much longer and bigger; they also look very wild, and they assured me that they are very carnivorous and good hunters. The forests are full of walnut trees like those of Canada, and their roots have several properties which I have not heard remarked of the others. They are very soft, and their bark dyes a black color; but their principal use is for physic. They stop the flux of the belly, and are an excellent emetic.

The 20th, it snowed all day, and we never stirred. The weather grew milder, but the next night the southwest wind cleared the sky, and the cold began again with the greatest severity. The next morn-

ing some brandy which we had left all night in the pettiagre was found thick like frozen oil; and some Spanish wine which I had for the Mass was frozen. The further we went down it, the more we found that the river winded; the wind followed all these turnings, and which way soever it came, the cold was still excessive. They had never known any thing like it in this country in the memory of man.

The same day we perceived on the right side of the river a post set up; we went near it, and we found it was a monument set up by the Illinois for an expedition they had lately made against the Chicachas. There were two figures of men without heads, and some entire. The first denoted the dead, and the second the prisoners. One of my conductors told me on this occasion, that when there are any French among either, they set their arms a-kimbo, or their hands upon their hips, to distinguish them from the savages, whom they represent with their arms hanging down. This distinction is not purely arbitrary; it proceeds from these people having observed that the French often put themselves in this posture, which is not used among them.

Garcilasso de la Vega speaks of the Chicachas in his History of the Conquest of Florida, and places them nearly in the same place where they are at present. He reckons them among the people of Florida who submitted to the Spaniards; but this pretended submission lasted no longer than the Spaniards continued in their neighborhood; and it is certain that the Spaniards bought the victory dear which they gained over them. They are still the bravest warriors of Louisiana. They were much more numerous in the time of Ferdinand de Soto than they are at present;\* but for the riches, which this historian gives them, I do not easily conceive neither from where they could get them, nor what could dry up the source from whence they derived them; for they are now neither more wealthy nor less savage than their neighbor nations.

It was our alliance with the Illinois which set us at war with the Chicachas, and the English of Carolina blew up the fire. Our settlement in Louisiana makes them very uneasy; it is a barrier, which we set between their powerful colonies of North America and Mexico, and we must expect they will employ all sorts of means to break it. The Spaniards, who are so jealous of seeing us fortify ourselves in this country, are not yet sensible of the importance of the service

\* See a translation of the narrative of De Soto's expedition, in second volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana.

we do them. A few days after I had passed by the place where we saw the post of the Illinois, the Chicachas had their revenge on two Frenchmen, who followed me in a pettiaugre. These savages lay in ambush in the reeds, by the side of the river, and when they saw the Frenchmen over against them, they moved the reeds, without discovering themselves; the Frenchmen thought it was a bear or some other beast, and they approached, thinking to kill it; but the moment they prepared to land, the Chicachas fired upon them and laid them dead in their pettiaugre. I was very fortunate in not being seen by them, for my people would lose no opportunity of going after game.

On the 23d, after a very cold night, we had a very fine day; for though the earth was covered with snow, the cold was to be borne. The next day we passed before the mouth of the river of the Chicachas, which is but narrow, but it comes a great way. Its mouth is north and south. They reckon from thence to the Kaskaskias eighty-six leagues; but the way would not be half so much by land. Nothing would be more pleasant than this navigation, if the season was milder; the country is charming, and in the forests there are a number of trees always green; the few meadows we meet with also preserve their verdure, and a considerable number of islands well wooded, some of which are pretty large, form very agreeable canals, where the largest ships may pass: for they say, that at above four hundred and fifty leagues from the sea they find in this river even to sixty fathom water.

As to what concerns the forests, which cover almost all this great country, there are perhaps none in the world that are comparable to them, if we consider either the bigness and height of the trees, or the variety and the uses that may be made of them; for excepting woods for dyeing, which require a warmer sun and which are found only between the tropics, we cannot say that there is any kind of wood wanting here. There are woods of cypress that extend eight or ten leagues. All the cypress trees here are of a bigness proportionable to their height, which exceeds that of the highest trees in France. We begin to be acquainted in Europe with that species of evergreen laurel, which we call the tulip tree from the shape of its flowers. It grows higher than our horse-chestnut trees, and has a finer leaf. The copalme is still bigger and higher, and they distil from it a balsam which perhaps is not much inferior to that of Peru. All the known species of walnuts are here very numerous, and also all the woods that are fit for building and the carpenter's use, that can be desired. But in using them, care must be taken not to fix upon those which grow on the side of the river, nor where the inun-

dation of the river reaches, because having their roots continually in the water, they will be too heavy, and will soon rot.

At length, I arrived yesterday, December the 2d, at the first village of the Arkansas or Akanseas, about ten in the morning. This village is built in a little meadow on the west side of the Mississippi. There are three others in the space of eight leagues, and each makes a nation or particular tribe; there is also one of the four which unites two tribes; but they are all comprised under the name of Arkansas. They call the savages which inhabit the village from whence I write, Ouyapas. The Western Company have a magazine here which expects some merchandises, and a clerk, who fares but poorly in the mean time, and who is heartily weary of living here.

The river of the Arkansas, which they say comes a great way, runs into the Mississippi by two channels, four leagues distant from each other. The first is eight leagues from hence. This river comes, as they say, from the country of certain savages, whom they call the Black Panis, and I think they are the same which are more commonly known by the name of Panis Ricaras. I have with me a slave of this nation. One goes up the river of the Arkansas with difficulty, because there are many falls or torrents in it, and in many places the waters are often so low that there is a necessity to tow the pettiaugres.

The separation of its two branches is made at seven leagues above the second, and the smallest of its two mouths but only at two leagues above the first. It receives a fine river that comes from the country of the Osages, and which they call La Riviere Blanche (the White River). Two leagues higher are the Torimans and the Tosingas, who make but one village. Two leagues higher are the Sothouis. The Kappas are a little further. This nation was very numerous at the time of Ferdinand de Soto, and even when M. de la Salle finished the discovery of the Mississippi.\* Over against their village we see the sad ruins of Mr. Law's grant, of which the company remain the proprietors.

It was here that the nine thousand Germans were to be sent, which were raised in the Palatinate, and 'tis a great pity they never came. There is not perhaps in all Louisiana a country more fit, after that of the Illinois, to produce all sorts of grain, and to feed cattle. But Mr. Law was ill-used, as well as the greatest part of the other grantees. It is very probable, that it will be a long time before they

\* See an account of these nations in a Memoir of the Sieur de la Tonty, in the first volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana.

will be able to make such large levies of men ; they have need of them in the kingdom, and indeed it is pretty common among us to square our measures according to the success of such enterprises, instead of observing what their miscarriage was owing to, in order to correct what was before done amiss.

I found the village of the Ouyapas in the greatest tribulation. Not long since, a Frenchman passing this way was attacked with the small-pox ; the distemper was communicated presently to some savages, and soon after to the whole village. The burying-place appears like a forest of poles and posts newly set up, and on which there hangs all manner of things : there is every thing which the savages use.

I had set up my tent pretty near the village, and all the night I heard weeping ; the men do this as well as the women : they repeated without ceasing Nihahani, as the Illinois do, and in the same tone. I also saw in the evening a woman, who wept over the grave of her son, and who poured upon it a great quantity of sagamite. Another had made a fire by a neighboring tomb, in all appearance to warm the dead. The Arkansas are reckoned to be the tallest and best-shaped of all the savages on this continent, and they are called by way of distinction the fine men. It is thought, and perhaps for this reason, that they have the same origin as the Cansez of the Missouri, and the Pouteouatamis of Canada.\*

\* The Arkansas nation, next to the Natchez, was probably the most civilized of all the aborigines of our country. At the time of De Soto's visit, they lived in mud-walled towns, fortified with high circular towers. They worshipped a Great Spirit which they called *Coyocochill*, and when it thundered they said it was the Lord of Life who spoke to them. They also worshipped both the sun and moon. From the peculiar structure of their language, and the terminations of their words, it must be inferred that they were the descendants of the Aztec race. Before going to war they made a great feast, and after it was over they held a council, to which they invited their allies to assist them in their deliberations. The chiefs painted their bodies black, and fasted some days before setting out, after which they washed it off, and painted themselves red. They consulted their *Manitou* on all occasions, which was sometimes an animal, a bird, or a snake, and attributed all of their good or bad luck to it. The Natchez, Houmas, and other Mississippi tribes, worshipped the sun, and kept up a perpetual fire in their temples ; and at one period in the history of the south-western Indians, the worship of the sun was not less common among them than it was among the primitive nations of the old world, and who can then doubt for a moment that most of our southern tribes were the descendants of the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru ? for like them they built mounds and temples, and performed sacrifices. The best writers on Indian antiquities now admit that they are at least analogous to those of Mexico. The Indian mounds

AT THE NATCHEZ, DEC. 25, 1721.

I departed on the 3d of December something late from the village of the Ouyapas; nevertheless I went to encamp a little below the first mouth of the river of the Arkansas, which appeared to me to be

of Louisiana and Mississippi, of which so little is known and much less has been written, are among the most extensive and interesting of any on this continent. Many of them are from fifty to one hundred yards in length, and from ten to fifty feet high, and forming regular quadrangular terraces. No less than five extensive mounds are situated near the junction of the Washita, Catahoola and Taensas rivers, in an alluvial soil. Four of them are nearly of equal dimensions, about twenty feet high, one hundred feet broad, and three hundred feet long. The fifth seems to have been designed for a tower or turret, the base of which covers an acre of ground. It rises by two steps or stories; its circumference gradually diminishes as it is ascended, and its summit is crowned by a flattened cone. The height of the tower is about eighty feet, and seems to have been designed in part for defence and in part for the reception of the dead. The great mounds of the Natchez, and others on the coast and islands of the Gulf of Mexico and the lakes of the Delta, are not less remarkable for their extent than their height, and evince a knowledge of the science of fortifications that would do credit both to the ingenuity and science of a more civilized people. In time of war the Arkansas tribes armed themselves with a war-club, a bow and arrows, which they swung to their backs. Their baggage consisted of a bear's skin which served them for a bed, a buffalo skin to cover them, and a wild cat's skin for a pouch or bag to hold their calumet and tobacco. They each took with them a small bag of roasted corn, pounded fine, which they mixed with a little water, to eat with their bear or buffalo meat. If victorious they returned with their prisoners to their villages, where it was the privilege of the women to receive them, and if they had lost their husbands or sons, to replace them with their captives, but if they had not, they were then tortured and burned at a slow fire. For a description of the other more powerful tribes east of the Mississippi, with whom the French made treaties of alliance and had constant intercourse up to the period of the cession of Louisiana to Spain, I am indebted for the following graphic and interesting account left by an eminent American naturalist and botanist, who travelled among them at that early period. The males of the Cherokees, Chicachas, Chactas, Muscogulges or Creeks, and their confederate tribes, (says Mr. Bartram,) are tall, erect, and moderately robust; their limbs well-shaped, so as generally to form a perfect human figure; their features regular, and countenance open, dignified and placid; yet the forehead and brow so formed, as to strike you instantly with heroism and bravery; the eye though rather small, yet active and full of fire; the iris always black, and the nose commonly inclining to the aquiline.

Their countenance and actions exhibit an air of magnanimity, superiority and independence.

Their complexion is of a reddish brown or copper color; their hair long, lank, coarse, and black as a raven, and reflecting the like lustre at different exposures to the light.

at most but five hundred paces wide. The next day I passed by the second, which is very narrow, and the 5th we pushed on to La Point Coupée (the point cut off). This was a pretty high point, which ad-

The women of the Cherokees are tall, slender, erect, and of a delicate frame; their features formed with perfect symmetry, their countenance cheerful and friendly, and they move with a becoming grace and dignity.

The Muscogulge or Creek women, though remarkably short of stature, are well formed; their visage round, features regular and beautiful; the brow high and arched; the eye large, black and languishing, expressive of modesty, diffidence, and bashfulness; these charms are their defensive and offensive weapons, and they know very well how to play them off, and under cover of these alluring graces, are concealed the most subtle artifice; they are, however, loving and affectionate: they are, I believe, the smallest race of women yet known, seldom above five feet high, and I believe the greater number never arrive to that stature; their hands and feet not larger than those of Europeans of nine or ten years of age: yet the men are of gigantic stature, a full size larger than Europeans; many of them above six feet, a few under that, or five feet eight or ten inches. Their complexion much darker than any of the tribes to the north of them that I have seen. This description will, I believe, comprehend the Muscogulges, their confederates the Chactaws, and I believe the Chicasaws (though I have never seen their women), excepting however some bands of the Seminoles, Uches and Savannucas, who are rather taller and slenderer, and their complexion brighter.

The Cherokees are yet taller and more robust than the Muscogulges, and by far the largest race of men I have seen; their complexion brighter and somewhat of the olive cast, especially the adults; and some of their young women are nearly as fair and blooming as European women.

The Cherokees in their dispositions and manners are grave and steady; dignified and circumspect in their deportment; rather slow and reserved in conversation, yet frank, cheerful, and humane; tenacious of the liberties and natural rights of man; secret, deliberate and determined in their councils; honest, just and liberal, and ready always to sacrifice every pleasure and gratification, even their blood, and life itself, to defend their territory and maintain their rights.

The Muscogulges or Creeks are a proud, haughty and arrogant race of men; they are brave and valiant in war, ambitious of conquest, restless and perpetually exercising their arms, yet magnanimous and merciful to a vanquished enemy, when he submits and seeks their friendship and protection: always uniting the vanquished tribes in confederacy with them; when they immediately enjoy, unexceptionably, every right of free citizens, and are from that moment united in one common band of brotherhood. They were never known to exterminate a tribe, except the Yamasees, who would never submit on any terms, but fought it out to the last, only about forty or fifty of them escaping at the last decisive battle, who threw themselves under the protection of the Spaniards at St. Augustine.

If we consider them with respect to their private character, or in a moral point of view, they must, I think, claim our approbation, if we divest ourselves of prejudice and think freely. As moral men they certainly stand in no need of European civilization.

vanced into the river on the west side: the river has cut it off, and made it an island, but the new channel is not yet passable, but in the time of the floods. They reckon from this place to the principal

They are just, honest, liberal, and hospitable to strangers; considerate, loving and affectionate to their wives and relations; fond of their children; industrious, frugal, temperate and persevering; charitable and forbearing. I have been weeks and months amongst them and in their towns, and never observed the least sign of contention or wrangling; never saw an instance of an Indian beating his wife, or even reproving her in anger. In this case they stand as examples of reproof to the most civilized nations, as not being defective in justice, gratitude and a good understanding; for indeed their wives merit their esteem and the most gentle treatment, they being industrious, frugal, careful, loving and affectionate.

The Muscogulges are more volatile, sprightly and talkative than their northern neighbors, the Cherokees; and, though far more distant from the white settlements than any nation east of the Mississippi or Ohio, appear evidently to have made greater advances towards the refinements of true civilization, which cannot, in the least degree, be attributed to the good examples of the white people.

Their internal police and family economy at once engage the notice of European travellers, and incontrovertibly place these people in an illustrious point of view: their liberality, intimacy and friendly intercourse one with another, without any restraint of ceremonious formality, as if they were even insensible of the use or necessity of associating the passions or affections of avarice, ambition or covetousness.

The Muscogulges, with their confederates, the Chactaws, Chicasaws, and perhaps the Cherokees, eminently deserve the encomium of all nations, for their wisdom and virtue in resisting and even repelling the greatest, and even the common enemy of mankind, at least of most of the European nations, I mean spirituous liquors.

The constitution or system of their police is simply natural, and as little complicated as that which is supposed to direct or rule the approved economy of the ant and the bee; and seems to be nothing more than the simple dictates of natural reason, plain to every one, yet recommended to them by their wise and virtuous elders as divine, because necessary for securing mutual happiness; equally binding and effectual, as being proposed and assented to in the general combination: every one's conscience being a sufficient conviction (the golden rule, do as you would be done by) instantly presents to view, and produces a society of peace and love, which in effect better maintains human happiness, than the most complicated system of modern politics, or sumptuary laws, enforced by coercive means; for here the people are all on an equality, as to the possession and enjoyments of the common necessaries and conveniences of life, for luxuries and superfluities they have none.

This natural constitution is simply subordinate, and the supreme, sovereign or executive power resides in a council of elderly chiefs, warriors and others, respectable for wisdom, valor and virtue.

At the head of this venerable senate presides their mico or king, which signifies a magistrate or chief ruler; the governors of Carolina, Georgia, &c.,



branch of the river of the Arkansas twenty-two leagues, but it is not perhaps ten in a straight line, for the river winds much in the seventy leagues we make to go from the village of the Ouyapas to the river

are called micos, and the King of England is called Ant-apala-mico-clueco, that is, the great king, over or beyond the great water.

The king, although he is acknowledged to be the first and greatest man in the town or tribe, and honored with every due and rational mark of love and esteem, and when presiding in council, with a humility and homage as reverent as that paid to the most despotic monarch in Europe or the east, and when absent his seat is not filled by any other person, yet he is not dreaded; and when out of the council, he associates with the people as a common man, converses with them, and they with him, in perfect ease and familiarity.

The most active part the mico takes is in the civil government of the town or tribe: here he has the power and prerogative of calling a council, to deliberate on peace and war, or all public concerns, as inquiring into, and deciding upon complaints and differences; but he has not the least shadow of exclusive executive power. He is complimented with the first visits of strangers, giving audience to ambassadors, with presents, and he has also the disposal of the public granary.

The next man in order of dignity and power, is the great war chief: he represents and exercises the dignity of the mico, in his absence in council; his voice is of the greatest weight in military affairs; his power and authority are entirely independent of the mico, though when a mico goes on an expedition, he heads the army, and is there the war chief. There are many of these war chiefs in a town or tribe, who are captains or leaders of military parties; they are elderly men, who in their youthful days have distinguished themselves in war by valor, subtlety and intrepidity; and these veteran chiefs, in a great degree, constitute their truly dignified and venerable senates.

There is in every town or tribe a high priest, usually called by the white people jugglers or conjurers, besides several juniors or graduates. But the ancient high priest or seer presides in spiritual affairs, and is a person of consequence; he maintains and exercises great influence in the state, particularly in military affairs; the senate never determine on an expedition against their enemy without his counsel and assistance. These people generally believe that their seer has communion with powerful invisible spirits, who they suppose have a share in the rule and government of human affairs, as well as the elements; that he can predict the result of an expedition; and his influence is so great, that they have been known frequently to stop and turn back an army, when within a day's journey of their enemy, after a march of several hundred miles; and indeed their predictions have surprised many people. They foretell rain or drought, and pretend to bring rain at pleasure, cure diseases, and exercise witchcraft, invoke or expel evil spirits, and even assume the power of directing thunder and lightning.

These Indians are by no means idolaters, unless their puffing the tobacco smoke towards the sun, and rejoicing at the appearance of the new moon may be termed so. So far from idolatry are they, that they have no images amongst them, nor any religious rite or ceremony that I could perceive; but adore the Great Spirit, the giver and taker away of the breath of life, with the most pro-

of the Yasous or Yachoux, which I entered the 9th in the afternoon. It has not snowed here, as in the country of the Illinois, and at the river Ouabacho, but there has fallen a hoar frost, which has broke

found and respectful homage. They believe in a future state, where the spirit exists, which they call the world of spirits, where they enjoy different degrees of tranquillity or comfort, agreeably to their life spent here: a person who in his life has been an industrious hunter, provided well for his family, an intrepid and active warrior, just, upright, and done all the good he could, will, they say, in the world of spirits, live in a warm pleasant country, where are expansive, green, flowery savannas and high forests, watered with rivers of pure waters, replenished with deer, and every species of game; a serene, unclouded and peaceful sky; in short, where there is fulness of pleasure uninterrupted.

They have many accounts of trances and visions of their people, who have been supposed to be dead, but afterwards reviving, have related their visions, which tend to enforce the practice of virtue and the moral duties.

The youth of both sexes are fond of decorating themselves with external ornaments. The men shave their head, leaving only a narrow crest or comb, beginning at the crown of the head, where it is about two inches broad and about the same height, and stands frizzed upright; but this crest tending backwards, gradually widens, covering the hinder part of the head and back of the neck: the lank hair behind is ornamented with pendent silver quills, and then jointed or articulated silver plates; and usually the middle fascicle of hair, being by far the longest, is wrapped in a large quill of silver, or the joint of a small reed, curiously sculptured and painted, the hair continuing through it terminates in a tail or tassel.

Their ears are lacerated, separating the border or cartilaginous limb, which at first is bound round very close and tight with leather strings or thongs, and anointed with fresh bear's oil, until healed: a piece of lead being fastened to it, by its weight extends this cartilage an incredible length, which afterwards being craped, or bound round in brass or silver wire, extends semicircularly like a bow or crescent; and it is then very elastic, even so as to spring and bound about with the least motion or flexure of the body; this is decorated with soft white plumes of heron feathers.

A very curious diadem or band, about four inches broad, and ingeniously wrought or woven, and curiously decorated with stones, beads, wampum, porcupine quills, &c., encircles their temples; the front peak of it being embellished with a high waving plume of crane or heron feathers.

The clothing of their body is very simple and frugal. Sometimes a ruffled shirt of fine linen, next the skin, and a flap, which covers their lower parts: this garment somewhat resembles the ancient Roman breeches, or the kilt of the Highlanders; it usually consists of a piece of blue cloth, about eighteen inches wide; this they pass between their thighs, and both ends being taken up and drawn through a belt round their waist, the ends fall down, one before and the other behind, not quite to the knee; this flap is usually plaited and indented at the ends, and ornamented with beads, tinsel lace, &c.

The leg is furnished with cloth boots; they reach from the ankle to the calf, and are ornamented with lace, beads, silver bells, &c.

The stillepica or moccasin defends and adorns the feet; it seems to be an

all the tender trees, with which the low points and the wet lands are covered; one would think that some one had broken all their branches with a stick.

imitation of the ancient buskin or sandal, very ingeniously made of deer-skins, dressed very soft, and curiously ornamented according to fancy.

Beside this attire, they have a large mantle of the finest cloth they are able to purchase, always either of a scarlet or blue color; this mantle is fancifully decorated with rich lace or fringe round the border, and often with little round silver or brass bells. Some have a short cloak, just large enough to cover the shoulders and breast; this is most ingeniously constructed, of feathers woven or placed in a natural imbricated manner, usually of the scarlet feathers of the flamingo, or others of the gayest color.

They have large silver crescents or gorgets, which being suspended by a ribbon round the neck, lie upon the breast; and the arms are ornamented with silver bands or bracelets, and silver and gold chains, &c., a collar invests the neck.

The head, neck and breast, are painted with vermilion, and some of the warriors have the skin of the breast, and muscular parts of the body, very curiously inscribed or adorned with hieroglyphic scrolls, flowers, figures of animals, stars, crescents, and the sun in the centre of the breast. This painting of the flesh, I understand, is performed in their youth, by pricking the skin with a needle, until the blood starts, and rubbing in a bluish tinct, which is as permanent as their life. The shirt hangs loose about the waist, like a frock, or split down before, resembling a gown, and is sometimes wrapped close, and the waist encircled by a curious belt or sash.

The dress of the females is somewhat different from that of the men: their flap or petticoat is made after a different manner, is larger and longer, reaching almost to the middle of the leg, and is put on differently; they have no shirt or shift, but a little short waistcoat, usually made of calico, printed linen, or fine cloth, decorated with lace, beads, &c. They never wear boots or stockings, but their buskins reach to the middle of the leg. They never cut their hair, but plait it in wreaths, which are turned up and fastened on the crown with a silver broach, forming a wreathed top-knot, decorated with an incredible quantity of silk ribbons, of various colors, which stream down on every side almost to the ground. They never paint, except those of a particular class, when disposed to grant certain favors to the other sex.

But these decorations are only to be considered as indulgences on particular occasions, and the privilege of youth; as at weddings, festivals, dances, &c., or when the men assemble to act the war farce, on the evening immediately preceding their march on a hostile expedition; for usually they are almost naked, contenting themselves with the flap and sometimes a shirt, boots and moccasins. The mantle is seldom worn by the men, except at night in the winter season, when extremely cold; and by the women at dances, when it serves the purpose of a veil; and the females always wear the jacket, flap, and buskin, even children as soon or before they can walk; whereas the male youth go perfectly naked until they are twelve or fifteen years of age.

The junior priests or students constantly wear the mantle or robe, which is white; and they have a great owl skin eased and stuffed very ingeniously, so

The entrance of the river of the Yasous is northwest and southwest, and is about a hundred perches wide: its waters are reddish, and they say they give the bloody-flux to those who drink them; and

well executed, as almost to represent the living bird, having large sparkling glass beads or buttons fixed in the head for eyes: this ensign of wisdom and divination, they wear sometimes as a crest on the top of the head, at other times the image sits on the arm, or is borne on the hand. These bachelors are also distinguishable from the other people by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, dignified step, and singing to themselves songs and hymns in a low sweet voice, as they stroll about the towns.

These people, like all other nations, are fond of music and dancing: their music is both vocal and instrumental; but of the latter they have scarcely any thing worth the name; the tambour, rattle-gourd, and a kind of flute, made of a joint of reed or the tibia of the deer's leg; on this instrument they perform badly, and at best it is rather a hideous melancholy discord than harmony. It is only young fellows who amuse themselves on this howling instrument; but the tambour and rattle, accompanied with their sweet low voices, produce a pathetic harmony, keeping exact time together, and the countenance of the musician, at proper times, seems to express the solemn elevated state of the mind: at that time there seems not only a harmony between him and his instrument, but it instantly touches the feelings of the attentive audience, as the influence of an active and powerful spirit; there is then an united universal sensation of delight and peaceful union of souls throughout the assembly.

Their music, vocal and instrumental, united, keeps exact time with the performers or dancers.

They have an endless variety of steps, but the most common, and that which I term the most civil, and indeed the most admired and practised amongst themselves, is a slow shuffling alternate step; both feet move forward one after the other, first the right foot foremost, and next the left, moving one after the other, in opposite circles, i. e. first a circle of young men, and within a circle of young women, moving together opposite ways, the men with the course of the sun, and the females contrary to it; the men strike their arm with the open hand, and the girls clap hands, and raise their shrill sweet voices, answering an elevated shout of the men at stated times of termination of the stanzas; and the girls perform an interlude or chorus separately.

To accompany their dances they have songs of different classes, as martial, bacchanalian and amorous, which last, I must confess, are extravagantly libidinous; and they have moral songs, which seem to be the most esteemed and practised, and answer the purpose of religious lectures.

Some of their most favorite songs and dances they have from their enemies, the Chactaws; for it seems these people are very eminent for poetry and music; every town amongst them strives to excel each other in composing new songs for dances; and by a custom amongst them, they must have at least one new song for exhibition at every annual busk.

They have a variety of games for exercise and pastime: some particular to the men, some to the female sex, and others wherein both sexes are engaged.

The ball play is esteemed the most noble and manly exercise. This game is exhibited in an extensive level plain, usually contiguous to the town: the in-

besides this, the air is very unwholesome. I was obliged to go up it three leagues to get to the fort, which I found all in mourning for the death of M. Bizart, who commanded here. Every where that I

habitants of one town play against another, in consequence of a challenge, when the youth of both sexes are often engaged, and sometimes stake their whole substance. Here they perform amazing feats of strength and agility. The game principally consists in taking and carrying off the ball from the opposite party, after being hurled into the air, midway between two high pillars, which are the goals, and the party who bears off the ball to their pillar wins the game, each person has a racket or hurl which is an implement of a very curious construction, somewhat resembling a ladle or little hoop-net, with a handle near three feet in length, the hoop and handle of wood, and the netting of thongs of raw hide, or tendons of an animal.

The foot-ball is likewise a favorite, manly diversion with them. Feasting and dancing in the square at evening ends all their games.

They have besides feasts or festivals almost for every month in the year, which are chiefly dedicated to hunting and agriculture.

The busk, or feast of first-fruits, is their principal festival; this seems to end the last, and begin the new year.

It commences in August, when their new crops of corn are arrived to perfect maturity; and every town celebrates the busk separately, when their own harvest is ready.

If they have any religious rite or ceremony, this festival is its most solemn celebration.

When a town celebrates a busk, having previously provided themselves with new clothes, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn-out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which, with all the remaining grain and other old provisions, they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire. After having taken medicine, and fasted for three days, all the fire in the town is extinguished. During this fast they abstain from the gratification of every appetite and passion whatever. A general amnesty is proclaimed, all malefactors may return to their town, and they are absolved from their crimes, which are now forgotten, and they restored to favor.

On the fourth morning, the high priest, by rubbing dry wood together, produces new fire in the public square, from whence every habitation in the town is supplied with the new and pure flame.

Then the women go forth to the harvest field, and bring from thence new corn and fruits, which being prepared in the best manner, in various dishes, and drink withal, is brought with solemnity to the square, where the people are assembled, apparelled in their new clothes and decorations. The men having regaled themselves, the remainder is carried off and distributed amongst the families of the town. The women and children solace themselves in their separate families, and in the evening repair to the public square, where they dance, sing, and rejoice during the whole night, observing a proper and exemplary decorum: this continues three days, and the four following days they receive visits, and rejoice with their friends from neighboring towns, who have purified and prepared themselves.

met with any Frenchmen in Louisiana, I had heard very high eulogiums of this officer, who was born in Canada: his father was a Swiss, and a major at Montreal. At the Yasons they told me extraordinary

As to mechanic arts or manufactures, at present they have scarcely any thing worth observation, since they are supplied with necessaries, conveniences, and even superfluities by the white traders. The men perform nothing except erecting their mean habitations, forming their canoes, stone pipes, tambour, eagle's tail or standard, and some other trifling matters; for war and hunting are their principal employments. The women are more vigilant, and turn their attention to various manual employments; they make all their pottery or earthenware, moccasins, spin and weave the curious belts and diadems for men, fabricate lace, fringe, embroider and decorate their apparel, &c., &c.

As to their marriage ceremonies, they are very simple, yet differ greatly in the various nations and tribes. Amongst some of the bands in the Muscogulge confederacy, I was informed the mystery is performed after the following manner: When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a cane or reed, such as they stick down at the hills of their bean vines for their support: with this (after having obtained her parents' or nearest relations' consent) he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding guests, he sticks his reed down upright in the ground; when soon after his sweetheart comes forth with another reed, which she sticks down by the side of his, when they are married: then they exchange reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, which is celebrated with feasting, music and dancing; each one of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contribute something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in a day's time.

The greatest accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favorite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior and a cunning, industrious hunter.

They marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood.

The Muscogulges allow of polygamy in the utmost latitude; every man takes as many wives as he chooses, but the first is queen, and the others her handmaids and associates.

It is common for a great man amongst them, who has already half a dozen wives, if he sees a child of eight or nine years of age who pleases him, and he can agree with her parents or guardians, to marry her and take her into his house at that age.

Adultery is always punished with cropping, which is the only corporal punishment amongst them, and death or outlawry for murder, and infamy for less crimes, as fornication, theft, &c., which produces such repeated marks and reflections of ridicule and contempt, that it generally ends in voluntary banish-

things of his religion, his piety, and his zeal, of which he was the victim. Every body regretted him as their father, and every one agrees that in losing him this colony has had an irreparable loss.

ment; and these renegadoes and vagabonds are generally the ruffians who commit depredations and murders on the frontiers.

The Muscogulges bury their deceased in the earth. They dig a four-square deep pit under the cabin or conch which the deceased lay on in his house, lining the grave with cypress bark, where they place the corpse in a sitting posture, as if it were alive; depositing with him his gun, tomahawk, pipe, and such other matters as he had the greatest value for in his life-time. His eldest wife, or the queen dowager, has the second choice of his possessions, and the remaining effects are divided amongst his other wives and children.

The Chactaws pay their last duties and respect to the deceased in a very different manner. As soon as the person is dead, they erect a scaffold eighteen or twenty feet high, in a grove adjacent to the town, where they lay the corpse, lightly covered with a mantle; here it is suffered to remain, visited and protected by the friends and relations, until the flesh becomes putrid, so as easily to part from the bones; then undertakers, who make it their business, carefully strip the flesh from the bones, wash and cleanse them, and when dry and purified by the air, having provided a curiously wrought chest or coffin, fabricated of bones and splints, they place all the bones therein; it is then deposited in the bone-house, a building erected for that purpose in every town. And when this house is full a general solemn funeral takes place; the nearest kindred or friends of the deceased, on a day appointed, repair to the bone-house, take up the respective coffins, and following one another in order of seniority, the nearest relations and connexions taking up their respective corpse, and the multitude following after them, all as one family, with united voice of alternate *Allchajah* and lamentation, slowly proceed to the place of general interment, where they place the coffins in order, forming a pyramid; and lastly, cover all over with earth, which raises a conical hill or mount. Then they return to town in order of solemn procession, concluding the day with a festival, which is called the feast of the dead.

The Chactaws are called by the traders flats, or flat-heads, all the males having the fore and hind part of their skulls artificially flattened, or compressed; which is effected after the following manner: As soon as the child is born, the nurse provides a cradle or wooden case, hollowed and fashioned to receive the infant, lying prostrate on its back, that part of the case where the head reposes being fashioned like a brick mould. In this portable machine the little boy is fixed, a bag of sand being laid on his forehead, which by continual gentle compression gives the head somewhat the form of a brick from the temple upwards; and by these means they have high and lofty foreheads, sloping off backwards. These men are not so neat in the trim of their heads as the Muscogulges are, and they are remarkably slovenly and negligent in every part of their dress, but otherwise they are said to be ingenious, sensible and virtuous men; bold and intrepid, yet quiet and peaceable, and are acknowledged by the Creeks to be brave.

They are supposed to be most ingenious and industrious husbandmen, having large plantations or country farms, where they employ much of their time

He had chosen a bad situation for his fort, and he was preparing, when he died, to remove it a league higher in a very fine meadow, where the air is more healthy, and where there is a village of Ya-

in agricultural improvements, after the manner of the white people; by which means their territories are more generally cultivated and better inhabited than any other Indian republic that we know of. The number of their inhabitants is said greatly to exceed the whole Muscogulge confederacy, although their territories are not a fourth part as extensive. It appeared to me from observation, and what information I could get, that the Indians entertained rational notions of the soul's immortality, and of a future state of social existence; and accordingly, in order to inculcate morality, and promote human happiness, they applaud praiseworthy actions, as commendable and necessary for the support of civil society, and maintaining the dignity and strength of their nation or tribe, as securing an excellent and tranquil state and degree in the world of spirits, after their decease. And they say the Great Spirit favors all good and brave men.

The Muscogulge language is spoken throughout the confederacy, (although consisting of many nations, who have a speech peculiar to themselves,) as also by their friends and allies, the Natchez. The Chickasaw and Choctaw, the Crocks or Muscogulges say, are dialects of theirs.

This language is very agreeable to the ear, courteous, gentle and musical: the letter R is not sounded in one word of their language: the women in particular speak so fine and musical, as to represent the singing of birds; and when heard and not seen, one might imagine it to be the prattling of young children. The men's speech is indeed more strong and sonorous, but not harsh, and in no instance guttural, and I believe the letter R is not used to express any word, in any language of the confederacy.

The Cherokee tongue, on the contrary, is very loud, somewhat harsh, and very sonorous, sounding the letter R frequently, yet very agreeable and pleasant to the ear. All the Indian languages are truly rhetorical or figurative, assisting their speech by tropes; their hands, flexure of the head, the brow, in short, every member, naturally associate and give their assistance to render their harangues eloquent, persuasive and effectual.

The pyramidal hills or artificial mounds, and highways or avenues, leading from them to artificial lakes or ponds, vast tetragon terraces, chunk yards, (chunk yard, a term given by the white traders, to the oblong four square yards, adjoining the high mounds and rotundas of the modern Indians. In the centre of these stands the obelisk, and at each corner of the farther end stands a slave post or strong stake, where the captives that are burnt alive are bound), and obelisks or pillars of wood, are the only monuments of labor, ingenuity and magnificence, that I have seen worthy of notice or remark. The region lying between Savannah river and Oakmulge, east and west, and from the seacoast to the Cherokee or Apalachian mountains, north and south, is the most remarkable for these high conical hills, tetragon terraces and chunk yards. This region was possessed by the Cherokees, since the arrival of the Europeans, but they were afterwards dispossessed by the Muscogulges, and all that country was, probably many ages preceding the Cherokee invasion, inhabited by one nation or confederacy, who were ruled by the same system of laws, customs



sous, mixed with Curoas and Ofogoulas, which may have been at most two hundred men fit to bear arms. We live pretty well with them, but do not put too much confidence in them, on account

and language, but so ancient that the Cherokees, Creeks, or the nation they conquered, could render no account for what purpose these monuments were raised. The mounds and cubical yards adjoining them, seem to have been raised in part for ornament and recreation, and likewise to serve some other public purpose, since they are always so situated as to command the most extensive prospect over the town and country adjacent. The tetragon terraces seem to be the foundation of a fortress; and perhaps the great pyramidal mounds served the purpose of look-out towers and high places for sacrifice. The sunken area, called by traders the chunk yard, very likely served the same conveniency that it has been appropriated to by the more modern and even present nations of Indians, that is, the place where they burnt and otherwise tortured the unhappy captives that were condemned to die; as the area is surrounded by a bank, and sometimes two of them, one behind and above the other, as seats to accommodate the spectators at such tragical scenes, as well as the exhibition of games, shows and dances. From the river St. John's, are to be seen high pyramidal mounds, with spacious and extensive avenues, leading from them out of the town, to an artificial lake or pond of water; these are evidently designed in part for ornament or monuments of magnificence, to perpetuate the power and grandeur of the nation, and not inconsiderable neither, for they exhibit scenes of power and grandeur, and must have been public edifices.

The great mounds, highways, and artificial lakes up the St. John's, on the east shore, just at the entrance of the great Lake George, one on the opposite shore, on the bank of the Little lake, another on Dunn's Island, a little below Charlotteville, one on the large beautiful island just without the capes of Cape George, in the sight of Mount Royal, and a spacious one on the banks of the Mosquito river near New Smyrna, are the most remarkable of this sort that occurred to me; but undoubtedly many more are yet to be discovered farther south in the peninsula; however I observed more westward after I left St. John's on my journey to the little St. John's, near the bay of Apalache.

But in all the region of the Muscogulge country, southwest from the Oakmulge river quite to the Tallapoosa, down to the city of Mobile, and thence along the sea-coast to the Mississippi, I saw no signs of mounds or highways, except at Taensa, where were several inconsiderable conical mountains; and but one instance of the tetragon terraces, which was at the Apalachicola old town, on the west bank of that river; here were yet remaining conspicuous monuments, as vast four-square terraces, chunk yards, &c., almost equalling those eminent ones at the Oakmulge fields, but no high conical mounds. Those Indians have a tradition that these remains are the ruins of an ancient Indian town and fortress. It was not in the interior parts of the Chaetaw territories, and therefore I am ignorant whether there are any mounds or monuments there.

To conclude this subject concerning the monuments of the Americans, I deem it necessary to observe as my opinion, that none of them that I have seen discover the least signs of the arts, sciences, or architecture of the Europeans or other inhabitants of the old world, yet evidently betray every sign or mark of the most remote antiquity.

of the connections which the Yasous have always had with the English.

There are many caymans in this river, and I saw two, which were at least from twelve to fifteen feet long. We hear them seldom but in the night, and their cry so much resembles the bellowing of bulls, that it deceives one. Our French people nevertheless bathe in it as freely as they would in the Seine. As I declared my surprise at it, they replied that there was no cause for fear; that indeed when they were in the water, they saw themselves almost always surrounded with caymans, but they never came near them; that they seemed only to watch to seize them at the moment of their coming out of the river; and that then to drive them away, they stirred the water with a stick, which they had always the precaution to carry with them, and that this made these animals run away far enough to give them time to get out of danger.

The company has in this post a magazine of expectation, as at the Arkansas; but the fort and the land belong to a society composed of M. le Blanc, secretary of state, of M. le Comte de Belle-Isle, of M. le Marquis d'Asfeld, and M. le Blond, brigadier engineer. The last is in the colony with the title of director general of the company. I can see no reason why they chose the river of the Yasous for the place of their grant. There was certainly choice of better land, and a better situation. It is true, that it is of importance to secure this river, the source of which is not far from Carolina; but a fort with a good garrison, to keep under the Yasous, who are allies to the Chicachas, would be sufficient for that purpose. It is not the way to settle a colony on a solid foundation, to be obliged always to be on their guard against the savages who are neighbors of the English.

I departed from the Yasous the 10th: and on the 13th, had it not been for a Natché, who had asked his passage of me to return home, I would have been lost in a gulf, which none of my conductors knew, and which one does not discover till he is so far surrounded by it that it is impossible to get out. It is on the left hand, at the foot of a great cape, where they affirm there is a quarry of very good stone: this is what they are most afraid of wanting in this colony; but in place of it they can make as many brick as they please.

On the 15th we arrived at the Natchez.\* This canton, the finest,

\* The Natchez Indians (says Father le Petit, in his account of the last Natchez war,) inhabit one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in the world, and are the only ones on this continent which appear to have any regular worship. Their religion in certain points is very similar to that of the ancient Romans. They have a temple filled with idols, which are different figures of

the most fertile, and the most populous of all Louisiana, is forty leagues distant from the Yasous, and on the same hand. The landing place is over against a pretty high hill, and very steep; at the

men and animals, and for which they have the most profound veneration. Their temple in shape resembles an earthen oven, a hundred feet in circumference. They enter it by a little door about four feet high, and not more than three in breadth. No window is to be seen there. The arched roof of the edifice is covered with three rows of mats, placed one upon the other, to prevent the rain from injuring the masonry. Above, on the outside, are three figures of eagles made of wood, and painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door is a kind of shed with folding doors, where the Guardian of the Temple is lodged; all around it runs a circle of palisades, on which are seen exposed the skulls of all the heads which their warriors had brought back from the battles in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation.

In the interior of the Temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are inclosed the bones of their ancient chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims whom they had caused to be strangled, to follow their masters into the other world. Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their idols. These are figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay, the heads and the tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jaw-bones of large fish. In the year 1699, they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass, which they guarded as very precious.

In this temple they take care to keep up a perpetual fire, and they are very particular to prevent its ever blazing; they do not use any thing for it but dry wood of the walnut or oak. The old men are obliged to carry, each one in his turn, a large log of wood into the inclosure of the palisade. The number of the Guardians of the Temple is fixed, and they serve by the quarter. He who is on duty is placed like a sentinel under the shed, from whence he examines whether the fire is not in danger of going out. He feeds it with two or three large logs, which do not burn except at the extremity, and which they never place one on the other, for fear of their getting into a blaze.

Of the women, the sisters of the great chief alone have liberty to enter within the temple. The entrance is forbidden to all the others, as well as to the common people, even when they carry something there to feast to the memory of their relations, whose bones repose in the temple. They give the dishes to the guardian, who carries them to the side of the basket in which are bones of the dead; this ceremony lasts only during one moon. The dishes are afterwards placed on the palisades which surround the temple, and are abandoned to the fallow-deer.

The sun is the principal object of veneration to these people; as they cannot conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for the same reason that the great chief of this nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together, they raise a mound of artificial soil, on which they

foot of which runs a little brook, that can receive only boats and pettiaugres. From this first hill we ascend a second smaller one, at the top of which they have built a kind of redoubt, inclosed with

build his cabin, which is of the same construction as the temple. The door fronts the east, and every morning the great chief honors by his presence the rising of his elder brother, and salutes him with many howlings as soon as he appears above the horizon. Then he gives orders that they shall light his calumet; he makes him an offering of the first three pulls which he draws; afterwards raising his hands above his head, and turning from the east to the west, he shows him the direction which he must take in his course.

There are in this cabin a number of beds on the left hand at entering, but on the right is only the bed of the great chief, ornamented with different painted figures. This bed consists of nothing but a mattress of canes and reeds, very hard, with a square log of wood, which serves for a pillow. In the middle of the cabin is seen a small stone, and no one should approach the bed until he has made the circuit of this stone. Those who enter salute by a howl, and advance even to the bottom of the cabin, without looking at the right side, where is the chief. Then they give a new salute by raising their arms above the head, and howling three times. If it be any one whom the chief holds in consideration, he answers by a slight sigh and makes a sign to him to be seated. He thanks him for his politeness by a new howl. At every question which the chief puts to him, he howls once before he answers, and when he takes his leave, he prolongs a single howl until he is out of his presence.

When the great chief dies, they demolish his cabin, and then raise a new mound, on which they build the cabin of him who is to replace him in this dignity, for he never lodges in that of his predecessor. The old men prescribe the laws for the rest of the people, and one of their principles is, to have a sovereign respect for the great chief, as being the brother of the sun, and the master of the temple. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and when they leave this world they go, they say, to live in another, there to be recompensed or punished. The rewards to which they look forward, consist principally in feasting, and their chastisement in the privation of every pleasure. Thus they think that those who have been the faithful observers of their laws will be conducted into a region of pleasures, where all kinds of exquisite viands will be furnished them in abundance, that their delightful and tranquil days will flow on in the midst of festivals, dances, and women; in short, that they will revel in all imaginable pleasure. On the contrary, the violators of their laws will be cast upon lands unfruitful and entirely covered with water, where they will not have any kind of corn, but will be exposed entirely naked to the sharp bites of the mosquitoes, that all nations will make war upon them, that they will never eat meat, and have no nourishment but the flesh of crocodiles, spoiled fish, and shell-fish.

These people blindly obey the least wish of their great chief. They look upon him as absolute master, not only of their property but also of their lives; and not one of them would dare to refuse him his head, if he should demand it; for whatever labors he commands them to execute, they are forbidden to exact any wages. The French, who are often in need of hunters or of rowers for their long voyages, never apply to any one but the great chief. He fur-

a single palisade. They have given this intrenchment the name of a fort.

Several little hills rise above this hill, and when we have passed

nishes all the men they wish, and receives payment, without giving any part to those unfortunate individuals, who are not permitted even to complain. One of the principal articles of their religion, and particularly for the servants of the great chief, is that of honoring his funeral rites by dying with him, that they may go and serve him in the other world. In their blindness they willingly submit to this law, in the foolish belief, that in the train of their chief they will go to enjoy the greatest happiness.

To give an idea of this bloody ceremony, it is necessary to know that as soon as an heir presumptive has been born to the great chief, each family that has an infant at the breast is obliged to pay him homage. From all these infants they choose a certain number whom they destine for the service of the young prince, and as soon as they are of a competent age, they furnish them with employments suited to their talents. Some pass their lives in hunting, or in fishing, to furnish supplies for the table; others are employed in agriculture, while others serve to fill up his retinue. If he happens to die, all these servants sacrifice themselves with joy, to follow their dear master. They first put on all their finery, and repair to the place opposite to the temple, where all the people are assembled. After having danced and sung a sufficiently long time, they pass around their neck a cord of buffalo hair with a running knot, and immediately the ministers appointed for executions of this kind, come forward to strangle them, recommending them to go and rejoin their master, and to render to him in the other world services even more honorable than those which had occupied them in this.

The principal servants of the great chief having been strangled in this way, they strip the flesh off their bones, particularly those of their arms and thighs, and leave them to dry for two months in a kind of tomb, after which they take them out to be shut up in the baskets, which are placed in the temple by the side of the bones of their master. As for the other servants, their relatives carry them home with them, and bury them with their arms and clothes.

The same ceremony is observed in like manner on the death of the brothers and sisters of the great chief. The women are always strangled to follow the latter, except when they have infants at the breast, in which case they continue to live, for the purpose of nourishing them. And we often see many who endeavor to find nurses, or who themselves strangle their infants, so that they shall not lose the right of sacrificing themselves in the public place, according to the ordinary ceremonies, and as the law prescribes.

Their government is hereditary; it is not, however, the son of the reigning chief that succeeds his father, but the son of his sister, or the first princess of the blood. This policy is founded on the knowledge they have of the licentiousness of their females. They are not sure, they say, that the children of the chief's wife may be of the royal blood, whereas the son of the sister of the great chief must be, at least on the side of the mother.

The princesses of the blood never espouse any but men of obscure family, and they have but one husband, but they have the right of dismissing him whenever it pleases them, and of choosing another among those of the nation,

them, we see on every side great meadows, divided by little clumps of trees, which have a very fine effect. The trees most common in these woods are the walnut and the oak; and everywhere the lands are

provided he has not made any other alliance among them. If the husband has been guilty of infidelity, the princess may have his head cut off in an instant; but she is not herself subject to the same law, for she may have as many lovers as she pleases, without the husband having any power to complain. In the presence of his wife he acts with the most profound respect, never eats with her, and salutes her with howls, as is done by her servants. The only satisfaction he has is, that he is freed from the necessity of laboring, and has entire authority over those who serve the princess.

In former times the nation of the Natchez was very large. It counted sixty villages and eight hundred sons or princes; now it is reduced to six little villages and eleven sons. In each of these villages there is a temple where the fire is always kept burning as in that of the great chief, whom all the other chiefs obey.

The great chief nominates to the most important offices of the state; such are the two war chiefs, the two masters of ceremony for the worship of the temple, the two officers who preside over the other ceremonies which are observed when foreigners come to treat of peace, another who has the inspection of the public works, four others charged with the arrangement of the festivals with which they publicly entertain the nation, and such strangers as come to visit them. All these ministers who execute the will of the great chief are treated with the same respect and obedience as if he personally gave the orders.

Each year the people assemble to plant one vast field with Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons, and then again they collect in the same way to gather the harvest. A large cabin situated on a beautiful prairie is set apart to hold the fruits of this harvest. Once in the summer, towards the end of July, the people gather by order of the great chief, to be present at a grand feast which he gives them. This festival lasts for three days and three nights, and each one contributes what he can to furnish it; some bring game, others fish, &c. They have almost constant dances, while the great chief and his sister are in an elevated lodge covered with boughs, from whence they can see the joy of their subjects. The princes, the princesses, and those who by their office are of distinguished rank, are arranged very near the chief, to whom they show their respect and submission by an infinite variety of ceremonies.

The great chief and his sister make their entrance in the place of the assembly on a litter borne by eight of their greatest men: the chief holds in his hand a great sceptre ornamented with painted plumes, and all the people dance and sing about him in testimony of the public joy. The last day of this feast he causes all his subjects to approach, and makes them a long harangue, in which he exhorts them to fulfil all their duties to religion; he recommends them above all things to have a great veneration for the spirits which reside in the temple, and carefully to instruct their children. If any one has distinguished himself by some act of zeal, he is then publicly praised. Such a case happened in the year 1702. The temple having been struck with lightning and reduced to ashes, seven or eight women cast their infants into the midst of the flames to appease the wrath of Heaven. The chief called these heroines, and

excellent. The late M. d'Iberville, who was the first that entered the Mississippi by its mouth, being come as high as the Natchez, found this country so charming, and so advantageously situated, that

gave them great praises for the courage with which they had made the sacrifice of that which they held most dear; he finished his panegyric by exhorting the other women to imitate so beautiful an example in similar circumstances.

The fathers of families do not fail to carry to the temple the first of their fruits, their corn and vegetables. It is the same even with presents which are made to their nation; they are immediately offered at the gate of the temple, when the Guardian, after having displayed and presented them to the spirits, carries them to the house of the great chief, who makes a distribution of them as he judges best, without any person testifying the least discontent.

They never plant their fields without having first presented the seed in the temple with the accustomed ceremonies. As soon as these people approach the temple, they raise their arms by way of respect, and utter three howls, after which they place their hands on the earth, and raise themselves again three times with as many reiterated howls. When any one has merely to pass before the temple, he only pauses to salute it by his downcast eyes and raised arms. If a father or mother see their son fail in the performance of this ceremony, they will punish him with repeated blows of a stick.

Such are the ceremonies of the Natchez Indians with regard to their religion. Those of marriage are very simple. When a young man thinks of marrying, he has only to address himself to the father of the girl, or if she have none, to her eldest brother, and they agree on the price, which he pays in skins or merchandise. When a girl has even lived a licentious life, they make no difficulty in receiving her, if there is the least idea that she will change her conduct when she is married. Neither do they trouble themselves as to what family she belongs, provided that she pleases them. As to the relatives of the girl, their only care is to inform themselves whether he who asks her is an able hunter, a good warrior, and an excellent workman. These qualities diminish the price which they have a right to ask on the marriage.

When the parties have agreed, the future husband goes to the chase with his friends, and when he has sufficient either of game or of fish, to feast the two families who have contracted the alliance, they assemble at the house of the parents of the girl. They particularly serve the new married pair, who eat from the same dish. The repast being ended, the bridegroom smokes the calumet towards the parents of his wife, and then towards his own parents, after which all the guests retire. The new married people remain together until the next day, and then the husband conducts his wife to the residence of her father-in-law, where they live until the family has built for him a cabin of his own. While they are constructing it, he passes the whole day in the chase to furnish food, which he gives to those who are employed in this work.

The laws permit the Natchez to have as many wives as they choose, nevertheless the common people generally have but one or two. This, however, is not the case with the chiefs; their number is greater, because, having the right to oblige the people to cultivate their fields, without giving them any wages, the number of their wives is no expense to them.

The marriage of the chiefs is made with less ceremony. They content

he thought he could find no better situation for the metropolis of the new colony. He traced out the plan of it, and intended to call it Rosalie, which was the name of Madam, la Duchesse de Pont-

themselves with sending to fetch the father of the girl whom they wish to espouse, and they declare to him that they will give her the rank of their wives. They do not fail however, as soon as the marriage is consummated, to make a present to the father and mother. Although they have many wives, they keep but one or two in their own cabins; the rest remain at the houses of their parents, where they go to see them when they wish.

At certain periods of the moon these Indians never live with their wives. Jealousy has so little place in their hearts, that many find no difficulty in lending their wives to their friends. This indifference in the conjugal union results from the liberty they have of changing when it seems good to them, provided however that their wives have never borne children to them, for if any have been born of the marriage, nothing but death can separate them.

When this nation sends out a detachment to war, the chief of the party erects two kinds of poles, painted red from the top to the bottom, ornamented with red plumes, and arrows and tomahawks, also painted red. These poles are pointed to the side to which they are to carry the war. Those who wish to join the party, after having ornamented and daubed themselves with different colors, come to harangue the war chief. This harangue, which one makes after the other, and which lasts nearly half an hour, consists of a thousand protestations of service, by which they assure him that they ask nothing more than to die with him, that they are charmed to learn of so able a warrior the art of taking scalps, and that they fear neither the hunger nor fatigues to which they are going to be exposed.

When a sufficient number of braves have presented themselves to the war chief, he causes to be made at his house a beverage which they call the War Medicine. This is an emetic, which they make from a root they boil in large kettles of water. The warriors, sometimes to the number of three hundred, having seated themselves about the kettle, they serve each one with two pots of it. The ceremony is to swallow them with a single effort, and then to throw them up immediately by the mouth, with efforts so violent that they can be heard at a great distance.

After this ceremony, the war chief appoints the day of departure, that each one may prepare provisions necessary for the campaign. During this time, the braves repair evening and morning to the place before the temple, where, after having danced and related in detail the brilliant actions in which their bravery was conspicuous, they chant their death songs.

To see the extreme joy they show at their departure, we should say that they had already signalized their valor by some great victory, but a very small thing alone is necessary to disconcert their plans. They are so superstitious with respect to dreams, that a single one of evil augury can arrest the execution of their enterprise, and oblige them to return when they are on the march. We see parties, which after having gone through with all the ceremonies I have mentioned, immediately break off from their expedition, because they have heard a dog bark in an extraordinary manner: in an instant their ardor for glory is changed into a perfect panic.



chatrain. But this project is not likely to be soon executed, though our geographers have always roundly set down in their maps, the town of Rosalie at the Natchez.

When on the war-path, they march in single file: four or five men who are the best walkers lead the way, and keep in advance of the army a quarter of a league, to observe every thing, and give immediate notice. They encamp every evening an hour before sunset, and lie down about a large fire, each one with his arms near him. Before they encamp, they take the precaution to send out twenty warriors to the distance of a half league around the camp, for the purpose of avoiding all surprise. They never post sentinels during the night, but as soon as they have supped, they extinguish all the fires. At night the war chief exhorts them not to give themselves up to a profound sleep, and to keep their arms always in a state of readiness. He appoints a place where they shall rally in case they are attacked during the night and put to flight.

As the war chiefs always carry with them their idols, or what they call their Spirits, well secured in some skins, at night they suspend them from a small pole painted red, which they erect in a slanting position, so that it may be bent on the side towards the enemy. The warriors, before they go to sleep, with tomahawk in hand, pass one after the other in a dance before these pretended Spirits, at the same time uttering the fiercest threats towards the side on which are their enemies.

When the war party is considerable, as it enters the enemy's country they march in five or six columns. They have many spies, who go out on scouting expeditions. If they perceive that their march is known, they ordinarily adopt the resolution of retracing their steps, leaving a small troop of from ten to twenty men, who detach themselves, and endeavor to surprise some hundred at a distance from the villages; on their return they chant their songs with reference to the scalps they have taken. If they have taken any prisoners, they force them to sing and dance for some days before the temple, after which they present them to the relatives of those who have been killed. These relatives are dissolved in tears during this ceremony, and drying their eyes with the scalps which have been taken, they contribute among themselves to recompense the warriors who have taken these captives, whose lot is to be burned.

The Natchez, like all the other nations of Louisiana, distinguish by particular names those who have killed a greater or less number of the enemy. The old war chiefs distribute these names according to the merit of the warriors. To deserve the title of a great man-slayer, it is necessary to have taken ten slaves or to have taken off twenty scalps. When a person understands their language, the name of a warrior enables him to learn all his exploits. Those who, for the first time, have taken a scalp or made a captive, do not sleep at their return with their wives, and do not eat any meat; they ought not to partake of any thing but fish and thickened milk. This abstinence lasts for six months. If they fail to observe it, they imagine that the soul of him whom they have killed will cause them to die through soreness, that they will never again obtain any advantage over their enemies, and that the slightest wounds they may receive will prove fatal.

They take extreme care that the great chief shall not in any way expose his life when he goes to war. If, carried away by his valor, he should happen

It is certain that we must begin by a settlement nearer the sea ; but if Louisiana ever becomes a flourishing colony, as may very well happen, I am of opinion that they cannot find a better situation for

to be killed, the chiefs of the party and the other principal warriors would be put to death on their return ; but executions of this kind are almost without example, on account of the precautions they take to preserve him from this evil.

This nation, like the others, has its medicine-men ; these are generally old men, who, without study or any science undertake to cure all complaints. They do not attempt this by simples, or by drugs ; all their art consists in different juggleries ; that is to say, that they dance and sing night and day about the sick man, and smoke without ceasing, swallowing the smoke of the tobacco. These jugglers eat scarcely any thing during all the time that they are engaged in the cure of the sick, but their chants and their dances are accompanied by contortions so violent, that although they are entirely naked and should naturally suffer from cold, yet they are always foaming at the mouth. They have a little basket in which they keep what they call their Spirits, that is to say, small roots of different kinds, heads of owls, small parcels of the hair of fallow deer, some teeth of animals, some small stones or pebbles, and other similar trifles.

It appears that to restore health to the sick, they invoke without ceasing that which they have in their basket. Some of them have there a certain root, which by its smell can put serpents to sleep and render them harmless. After having rubbed their hands and body with this root, they take hold of these reptiles without fearing their bite, which is mortal. Sometimes they cut with a flint the part afflicted with the malady, and then suck out all the blood they can draw from it, and in returning it immediately into a dish, they at the same time spit out a little piece of wood, or straw, or leather, which they have concealed under the tongue. Drawing to it the attention of the relatives of the sick man, "There," say they, "is the cause of the sickness." These medicine-men are always paid in advance. If the sick man recovers, their gain is very considerable, but if he should die, they are sure to have their heads cut off by the relatives or friends of the deceased. This never fails to be done, and even the relatives of the medicine-men find nothing at all of which to complain, and do not testify any concern.

There is the same rule with some other jugglers, who undertake to procure rain or fair weather. These are commonly indolent old men, who, wishing to avoid the labor which is required in hunting, fishing, and the cultivation of the fields, exercise this dangerous trade to gain a support for their families. Towards spring, the nation taxes itself to purchase from these jugglers favorable weather for the fruits of the earth. If the harvest prove abundant, they gain a handsome reward, but if it is unfortunate, they take it from them, and cut off their heads. Thus those who engage in this profession risk every thing to gain every thing. In other respects their life is very idle ; they have no other inconvenience than that of fasting and dancing, with a pipe in their mouth full of water, and pierced like a watering-pot, which they blow into the air on the side where the clouds are thickest. In one hand they hold the *sicouct*, which is a kind of rattle, and in the other their Spirits, which they

the capital than in this place. It is not subject to the inundation of the river, the air is pure, and the country very extensive; the soil is fit for every thing, and well watered; it is not too far from the sea,

stretch out towards the clouds, uttering frightful cries to invite them to burst upon their fields.

If it is pleasant weather for which they ask, they do not use these pipes, but they mount on the roof of their cabins, and with their arms make signs to the clouds, blowing with all their strength, that it shall not stop over their lands, but pass beyond. When the clouds are dissipated according to their wish, they dance and sing about their Spirits, which they place reverently on a kind of pillow; they redouble their fasts, and when the cloud has passed, they swallow the smoke of tobacco, and hold up their pipes to the sky.

Although they never show any favor to these charlatans, when they do not obtain what they ask, yet the profit they receive is so great, when by chance they succeed, that we see a great number of these savages, who do not at all fear to run the risks. It is to be observed, that he who undertakes to furnish rain, never engages to procure pleasant weather. There is another kind of charlatans to whom this privilege belongs, and when you ask them the reason, they answer boldly that their Spirits can give but the one or the other.

When one of these Indians dies, his relatives come to mourn his death during an entire day, then they array him in his most beautiful dresses, they paint his face and his hair, and ornament him with plumes, after which they carry him to the grave prepared for him, placing by his side his arms, a kettle, and some provisions. For the space of a month, his relatives come at the dawn of day and at the beginning of the night, to weep for half an hour at his grave. Each one names his degree of relationship. If he were the father of a family, the wife cries, "My dear husband, ah! how I regret you!" The children cry, "My dear father!" The others, "My uncle! my cousin!" &c. The nearest relations continue this ceremony for three months; they cut off their hair in sign of grief, they abstain from painting the body, and are never found at any assembly for festivity.

When any foreign nation comes to treat of peace with the Natchez Indians, they send their couriers to give notice of the day and hour when they shall make their entrance. The great chief orders the masters of ceremony to prepare all things for this grand occasion. They begin by naming those who during each day should support the strangers, for the expense never falls upon the chief, but always on his subjects. Then they clear the roads, they sweep the cabins, they arrange the seats in a large hall which is on the mound of the great chief by the side of his cabin. His throne, which is on an elevation, is painted and ornamented, and the bottom is furnished with beautiful mats.

On the day that the ambassadors are to make their entrance, all the nation assembles. The masters of ceremony place the princes, the chiefs of the villages, and the old chiefs of quality near the great chief, on particular seats. When the ambassadors arrive, and are within five hundred steps of the great chief, they stop and chant the song of peace. The ambassage ordinarily consists of thirty men and six females. Six of the best made, and who have the finest voices, march in front; they are followed by the others, who chant in like manner, regulating the cadence with the *sicouet*. The six females are the last.

and nothing hinders ships from coming hither. Lastly, it is near all the places where, according as appears, there is any design to make settlements. The company have a warehouse, and keep a clerk here, who has not as yet much employment.

When the chief has directed them to approach, they advance; those who have the calumets, chant and dance with much agility, now turning around each other, and now presenting themselves in front, but always with violent movements and extraordinary contortions. When they have entered the circle, they dance about the chair on which the chief is seated, they rub him with their calumets from his feet even to his head, and after that go back to find those who belong to their snite. Then they fill one of their calumets with tobacco, and holding the fire in one hand, they advance altogether before the chief and smoke it: they direct the first puff of smoke towards the heavens, the second towards the earth, and the others around the horizon, after which they without ceremony present the pipe to the princes and to the other chiefs.

This ceremony having been finished, the ambassadors, as a token of alliance, rub their hands on the stomach of the chief, and rub themselves over the whole body: they then place their calumets before the chief on small forks, while the person among the ambassadors who is particularly charged with the orders of his nation, delivers an harangue which lasts for an entire hour. When he has finished, they make a sign to the strangers to be seated on the benches ranged near the great chief, who responds to them by a discourse of equal length. Then the master of ceremonies lights the great calumet of peace, and makes the strangers smoke, who swallow the tobacco smoke. The great chief inquires of them, whether they arrived safe, that is, whether they are well, and those who are around them go one after the other to discharge the same office of politeness. After which they conduct them to the cabin which has been prepared for them, and where they are feasted.

The same evening at sunset, the ambassadors, with the calumet in their hands, go with singing to find the great chief, and having raised him on their shoulders, they transport him to the quarter in which their cabin is situated. They spread on the ground a large skin, on which they cause him to sit down. One of them places himself behind him, and putting his hands on the chief's shoulders, he agitates all his body, while the others, seated in a circle on the ground, chant the history of their distinguished deeds. After this ceremony, which is repeated night and morning for four days, the great chief returns to his cabin. When he pays his last visit to the ambassadors, these place a stake at his feet, about which they seat themselves: the braves of the nation having arrayed themselves in all their finery, dance around, striking the stake, and in turn recounting their great exploits in war; then follows the presentation of presents to the ambassadors, which consist of kettles, hatchets, guns, powder, balls, &c.

The day following this last ceremony, it is permitted to the ambassadors to walk through the whole village, which before they were not able to do. Then every evening they give them spectacles, that is to say, the men and women in their most beautiful dresses assemble at the public place, and dance until the night is far advanced. When they are ready to return home, the masters of the ceremonies furnish them with the provisions necessary for the journey.

Among a great number of particular grants, which are already in a condition of producing something, there are two of the first magnitude; that is to say, four leagues square: one belongs to a society of St. Malo, who bought it of M. Hubert, governing commissary, and

After having thus given you a slight idea of the character and customs of the Natchez Indians, I proceed, my Reverend Father, as I have promised you, to enter on a detail of their perfidy and treason. It was on the second of December of the year 1729, that we learned they had surprised the French, and had massacred almost all of them. This sad news was first brought to us by one of the planters, who had escaped their fury. It was confirmed to us on the following day by other French fugitives, and finally, some French women whom they had made slaves, and were forced afterwards to restore, brought us all the particulars.

At the first rumor of an event so sad, the alarm and consternation was general in New Orleans. Although the massacre had taken place more than a hundred leagues from here, you would have supposed that it had happened under our own eyes; each one was mourning the loss of a relative, a friend, or some property; all were alarmed for their own lives, for there was reason to fear that the conspiracy of the Indians had been general.

This unlooked for massacre began on Monday, the 28th of November, 1729, about nine o'clock in the morning. Some cause of dissatisfaction which the Natchez thought they had with the commander, and the arrival of a number of richly loaded boats for the garrison and the colonists, determined them to hasten their enterprise, and to strike their blow sooner than they had agreed with the other confederate tribes. And it was thus that they carried their plan into execution. First they divided themselves, and sent into the fort, into the village, and into the two grants, as many Indians as there were French in each of these places; then they feigned that they were going out for a grand hunt, and undertook to trade with the French for guns, powder, and ball, offering to pay them as much, and even more than was customary, and in truth, as there was no reason to suspect their fidelity, they made at that time an exchange of their poultry and corn, for some arms and ammunition which they used advantageously against us. It is true that some expressed their distrust, but this was thought to have so little foundation, that they were treated as cowards who were frightened at their own shadows. They had been on their guard against the Tchactas, but as for the Natchez, they had never distrusted them, and they were so persuaded of their good faith, that it increased their hardihood. Having thus posted themselves in different houses, provided with the arms obtained from us, they attacked at the same time each his man, and in less than two hours they massacred more than two hundred of the French. The best known are M. de Chopart, commander of the post, M. du Colere, commander among the Yasous, M. des Ursins, Messieurs de Kolly, father and son, Messieurs de Longrays, des Noyers, Bailly, &c.

The Father du Poisson had just performed the funeral rites of his associate, the Brother Cruicy, who had died very suddenly of a sun-stroke: he was on his way to consult M. Perrier, and to adopt with him proper measures to enable the Arkansas to descend to the banks of the Mississippi, for the accommodation of the voyagers. He arrived among the Natchez on the 26th of Novem-

President of the Council of Louisiana: the other belongs to the company, who have sent hither some workmen from Cleral to make tobacco here. These two grants are so situated, that they make an exact triangle with the fort, and the distance of one angle from the

ber, that is, two days before the massacre. The next day, which was the first Sunday of Advent, he said mass in the parish, and preached in the absence of the Curé. He was to have returned in the afternoon to his mission among the Akansas, but he was detained by some sick persons, to whom it was necessary to administer the Sacraments. On Monday, he was about to say mass, and to carry the Holy Sacrament to one of those sick persons whom he had confessed the evening before, when the massacre began; a gigantic chief six feet in height, seized him, and having thrown him to the ground, cut off his head with blows of a hatchet. The Father in falling only uttered these words, "Ah, my God! ah, my God!" M. du Codere drew his sword to defend him, when he was himself killed by a musket ball from another Indian whom he did not perceive.

These barbarians spared but two of the French, a tailor and a carpenter,\* who were able to serve their wants. They did not treat badly either the negro slaves, or the Indians who were willing to give themselves up; but they ripped up the belly of every pregnant woman, and killed almost all those who were nursing their children, because they were disturbed by their cries and tears. They did not kill the other women, but made them their slaves, and treated them with every indignity during the two or three months that they were their masters. The least miserable were those who knew how to sew, because they kept them busy in making shirts, dresses, &c. The others were employed in cutting and carrying wood for cooning, and in pounding the corn of which they make their *sagamité*. But two things, above all, aggravated the grief and hardness of their slavery; it was, in the first place, to have for masters those same persons whom they had seen dipping their cruel hands in the blood of their husbands; and, in the second place, to hear them continually saying, that the French had been treated in the same manner at all the other posts, and that the country was now entirely freed from them.

During the massacre, the Sun, or the great chief of the Natchez, was seated quietly under the tobacco shed of the company. His warriors brought to his feet the head of the commander, about which they ranged those of the principal French of the post, leaving their bodies a prey to the dogs, the buzzards, and other carnivorous birds.

When they were assured that not another Frenchman remained at the post, they applied themselves to plunder the houses, the magazine of the India Company, and all the boats which were still loaded by the bank of the river. They employed the negroes to transport the merchandise, which they divided among themselves, with the exception of the munitions of war, which they placed for security in a separate cabin. While the brandy lasted, of which they found a good supply, they passed their days and nights in drinking, singing, dancing, and insulting in the most barbarous manner the dead bodies and the memory of the French. The *Tchactas*, and the other Indians being engaged in the plot

\* A. M. Perreault, who afterwards wrote a Journal of all that passed in Louisiana from 1709 to 1722, which is deposited in the Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris

other is a league. Half way between the two grants is the great village of the Natchez. I have carefully visited all these places: and here follows an account of what I found most remarkable:

with them, they felt at their ease, and did not at all fear that they would draw on themselves the vengeance which was merited by their cruelty and perfidy. One night, when they were plunged in drunkenness and sleep, Madame des Noyers wished to make use of the negroes to revenge the death of her husband and the French, but she was betrayed by the person to whom she confided her design, and came very near being burned alive.

Some of the French escaped the fury of the Indians by taking refuge in the woods, where they suffered extremely from hunger and the effects of the weather. One of them, on arriving here, relieved us of a little disquietude we felt with regard to the post we occupy among the *Yazous*, which is not more than forty or fifty leagues above the Natchez by water, and only from fifteen to twenty by land. Not being able longer to endure the extreme cold from which he suffered, he left the woods under cover of night, to go and warm himself in the house of a Frenchman. When he was near it he heard the voices of Indians, and deliberated whether he should enter. He determined, however, to do so, preferring rather to perish by the hand of these barbarians, than to die of famine and cold. He was agreeably surprised when he found these savages eager to render him a service, to heap kindnesses upon him, to commiserate him, to console him, to furnish him with provisions, clothes, and a boat to make his escape to New Orleans. These were the *Yazous*, who were returning from chanting the calumet at Oumas. The chief charged him to say to M. Perrier, that he had nothing to fear on the part of the *Yazous*, that "they would not lose their spirit," that is, that they would always remain attached to the French, and that he would be constantly on the watch with his tribe, to warn the French boats that were descending the river to be on their guard against the Natchez.

We believed for a long time that the promises of this chief were very sincere, and feared no more Indian perfidy for our post among the *Yazous*. But learn, my Reverend Father, the disposition of these Indians, and how little one is able to trust their words, even when accompanied by the greatest demonstrations of friendship. Scarcely had they returned to their own village, when, loaded with the presents they received from the Natchez, they followed their example and imitated their treachery. Uniting with the *Corroys*, they agreed together to exterminate the French. They began with Father Souel, the missionary of both tribes, who was then living in the midst of them, in their own village. The fidelity of the *Ojogoulas*, who were then absent at the chase, has never been shaken, and they now compose one village with the *Tonikas*.

On the 11th of December, Father Souel was returning in the evening from visiting the chief, and while in a ravine, received many musket-balls, and fell dead on the spot. The Indians immediately rushed to his cabin to plunder it. His negro, who composed all his family and all his defence, armed himself with a wood-cutter's knife, to prevent the pillage, and even wounded one of the savages. This zealous action cost him his life, but, happily, less than a month before he had received baptism, and was living in a most Christian manner.

The grant of the Maloins is well situated ; it wants nothing to make an improvement of the land but negroes, or hired servants. I should prefer the last : when the time of their service is expired, they

These Indians, who even to that time had seemed sensible of the affection which their missionary bore them, reproached themselves for his death as soon as they were capable of reflection ; but returning again to their natural ferocity, they adopted the resolution of putting a finishing stroke to their crime by the destruction of the whole French post. " Since the Black Chief is dead," said they, " it is the same as if all the French were dead—let us not spare any."

The next day they executed their barbarous plan. They repaired early in the morning to the fort, which was not more than a league distant, and whose occupants supposed, on their arrival, that the Indians wished to chant the calumet to the Chevalier des Roches, who commanded that post in the absence of M. de Codere. He had but seventeen men with him, who had no suspicion of any evil design, on the part of the savages, and were therefore all massacred, not one escaping their fury. They, however, granted their lives to four women and five children, whom they found there, and whom they made slaves.

One of the Yazous having stripped the missionary, clothed himself in his garments, and shortly after announced to the Natchez, that his nation had redeemed their pledge, and that the French settled among them were all massacred. In this city there was no longer any doubt on that point, as soon as they learned what came near being the fate of Father Dentreleau. This missionary had availed himself of the time when the Indians were engaged in their winter occupations, to come and see us, for the purpose of regulating some matters relating to his mission. He set out on the first day of this year, 1730, and not expecting to arrive at the residence of Father Souel, of whose fate he was ignorant in time to say mass, he determined to say it at the mouth of the little river of the Yazous, where his party had cabined.

As he was preparing for this sacred office, he saw a boat full of Indians landing. They demanded from them, of what nation they were ? " Yazous, comrades of the French," they replied, making a thousand friendly demonstrations to the voyagers who accompanied the missionary, and presenting them with provisions. While the Father was preparing his altar, a flock of bustards passed, and the voyagers fired at them the only two guns they had, without thinking of reloading, as mass had already commenced. The Indians noted this, and placed themselves behind the voyagers, as if it was their intention to hear mass, although they were not Christians.

At the time the Father was saying the *Kyrie Eleison*, the Indians made their discharge. The missionary perceiving himself wounded in his right arm, and seeing one of the voyagers killed at his feet, and the four others fled, threw himself on his knees to receive the last fatal blow, which he regarded as inevitable. In this posture he received two or three discharges. But although the Indians fired while almost touching him, yet they did not inflict on him any new wounds. Finding himself, then, as it were, miraculously escaped from so many mortal blows, he took to flight, having on still his priestly garments, and without any other defence than an entire confidence in God, whose particular protection was given him, as the event proved. He threw himself into the water, and, after advancing some steps, gained the boat in which two of the voya-



become inhabitants, and increase the number of the king's natural subjects; whereas the first are always strangers: and who can be assured, that by continually increasing in our colonies, they will not

gers were making their escape. They had supposed him to be killed by some of the many balls which they had heard fired on him. In climbing up into the boat, and turning his head to see whether any one of his pursuers was following him too closely, he received in the mouth a discharge of small shot, the greater part of which were flattened against his teeth, though some of them entered his gums, and remained there for a long time. I have myself seen two of them. Father Doutreleau, all wounded as he was, undertook the duty of steering the boat, while his two companions placed themselves at the oars. Unfortunately one of them, at setting out, had his thigh broken by a musket-ball, from the effects of which he has since remained a cripple.

You may well imagine, my Reverend Father, that the missionary and his companions had no thoughts of ascending the river. They descended the Mississippi with all the speed possible, and at last lost sight of the boat of their enemies, who had pursued them for more than an hour, keeping up a continual fire upon them, and who boasted at the village that they had killed them. The two rowers were often tempted to give themselves up, but, encouraged by the missionary, they in their turn made the enemy fear. An old gun which was not loaded, nor in a condition to be, which they pointed at them from time to time, made them often dodge in their boat, and at last obliged them to retire.

As soon as they found themselves freed from their enemies, they dressed their wounds as well as they could, and for the purpose of aiding their flight from that fatal shore, they threw into the river everything they had in their boat, preserving only some pieces of raw bacon for their nourishment.

It had been their intention to stop in passing at the Natchez, but having seen that the houses of the French were either demolished or burned, they did not think it advisable to listen to the compliments of the Indians, who from the bank of the river invited them to land. They placed a wide distance between them as soon as possible, and thus shunned the balls which were ineffectually fired at them. It was then that they began to distrust all these Indian nations, and therefore resolved not to go near the land until they reached New Orleans, and supposing that the savages might have rendered themselves masters of it, to descend even to the Balize, where they hoped to find some French vessel provided to receive the wreck of the colony.

In passing the *Tonikas*, they separated themselves as far as possible from the shore, but they were discovered, and a boat which had been dispatched to reconnoitre them, was not a long time in approaching. Their fear and distrust was renewed, and they did not decide to stop, until they perceived that the persons in that boat spoke very good French, when they overcame their fears, and in the weak state they were, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to land. There they found the little French army which had been formed, the officers compassionate and every way kind, a surgeon and refreshments. After recovering a little from the great dangers and miseries they had endured, they on the next day availed themselves of a boat which had been fitted out for New Orleans.

I cannot express to you, my Reverend Father, the great satisfaction I felt at

one day become formidable enemies? Can we depend upon slaves, who are only attached to us by fear, and for whom the very land where they are born has not the dear name of mother country?

seeing Father Doutrelean, his arm in a scarf, arrive after a voyage of more than four hundred leagues, all the clothes he had on having been borrowed, except his cassock. My surprise was increased at the recital of his adventures. I placed him immediately in the hands of Brother Parisel, who examined his wounds, and who dressed them with great care and speedy success.

The missionary was not yet entirely cured of his wounds, when he departed to go and act as chaplain to the French army, as he had promised the officers, in accordance with their request. He endured with them the fatigues of the campaign against the Natchez, and there gave new proofs of his zeal, his wisdom, and his courage.

On his return from the Natchez, he came to recruit himself here for six weeks, which he found very long, but which appeared to me very short. He was impatient to return to his dear mission, but it was necessary for me to fit him out generally with every thing proper for a missionary, and he was obliged to wait for the escort which was going to the Illinois. The risks which they ran on the river during this insurrection of the Indians, induced the commander to forbid voyagers going in separate companies. He set out, therefore, on the 16th of April, with many others, in a body sufficiently large to relieve them from all fear of their enemies. I learned in fact that they had proceeded above the Akensas without any accident.

The pleasure of seeing Father Doutrelean for the first time, and seeing him, too, after his escape from such imminent perils, was much impaired by the vivid grief I felt for the loss of two missionaries, with whose merit you were as well acquainted as myself. You know that to a most amiable disposition they united the appropriate qualifications for apostolical men, that they were very much attached to their mission, that they had already become well acquainted with the language of the Indians, that their earliest labors had produced great fruits, and they gave the promise of still greater results, since neither of them was more than thirty-five or thirty-six years of age. This deprivation, which entirely occupied my thoughts, gave me no time for thinking of the loss we had sustained of their negroes and their effects, although it very much deranged a mission which had just been commenced, and whose necessities you know better than any one else.

But nothing has happened to these two excellent missionaries for which we should mourn, or for which they were not prepared when they devoted themselves to the Indian missions in this colony. This disposition alone, independent of every thing else, has without doubt placed a great difference in the eyes of God between their death and that of the others, who have fallen martyrs to the French name. But I am well persuaded, that the fear of a similar fate will not in the least diminish the zeal of those of our Fathers who had thought of following them, neither will it deter our Superiors from responding to the holy desires they may have of sharing our labors.

Knowing, as you do, my Reverend Father, the vigilance and the oversight of our Governor, you can well imagine that he did not sleep in this sad crisis in which we now found ourselves. We may say without flattery, that he surpassed

The first night I lay in this habitation, there was a great alarm about nine at night. I inquired the cause of it, and they told me that there was in the neighborhood a beast of an unknown species,

himself by the rapid movements he made, and by the wise measures he adopted to revenge the French blood which had been shed, and to prevent the evils with which almost all the posts of the colony were threatened.

As soon as he was apprised of this unexpected attack by the Natchez Indians, he caused the news to be carried to all the posts, and even as far as the Illinois, not by the direct and ordinary route of the river, which was closed, but on one side by Natchitoches and the Akensas, and on the other by Mobile and the Tchicachas. He invited the neighbors who were our allies, and particularly the Tchactas, to avenge this perfidy. He furnished arms and ammunition to all the houses of this city and to the plantations. He caused two ships, that is, the *Duc de Bourbon* and the *Alexandre*, to ascend the river as far as the Tonikas. These ships were like two good fortresses against the insults of the Indians, and in case of attack, two certain asylums for the women and children. He caused a ditch to be dug entirely around the city (New Orleans), and placed guard-houses at the four extremities. He organized for its defence many companies of city militia, who mounted guard during the whole night. As there was more to fear in the grants and in the plantations than in the city, he fortified them with the most care. He had good forts erected at Chacitoulas, at Cannes brûles, at Allemands, at Bayagoulas, and at Pointe Compée.

At first, our Governor, listening only to the dictates of his own courage, adopted the design of placing himself at the head of the troops, but it was represented to him, that he ought not to quit New Orleans, where his presence was absolutely necessary, that there was danger of the Tchactas determining to fall upon the city, if it should be deprived of its troops; and the negroes, to free themselves from slavery, might join them, as some had done with the Natchez. Moreover he could feel perfectly easy with regard to the conduct of the troops, as the Chevalier de Loubois, with whose experience and bravery he was well acquainted, had been appointed to command them.

Whilst our little army was repairing to the Tonikas, seven hundred Tchactas mustered, and conducted by M. le Sneur, marched towards the Natchez. We were informed by a party of these people, that the Indians were not at all on their guard, but passed all their nights in dancing. The Tchactas took them therefore by surprise, and made a descent on them on the 27th of January, at the break of day. In less than three hours they had delivered fifty-nine persons, both women and children, with the tailor and carpenter, and one hundred and six negroes or negro women with their children; they made eighteen of the Natchez prisoners and took sixty scalps. They would have taken more, if they had not been intent on freeing the slaves, as they had been directed. They had but two men killed and seven or eight wounded. They encamped with their prizes at the grant of St. Catherine, in a mere park enclosed with stakes. The victory would have been complete, if they had waited the arrival of the French army, as had been agreed upon with their deputies.

The Natchez seeing themselves attacked by the formidable Tchactas, regarded their defeat as certain, and shutting themselves up in two forts, passed the following nights in dancing their death-dance. In their speeches we heard

of a monstrous size, and the cry of which resembled no animal that we knew. However, no person affirmed that he had seen it, and they only guessed at its size by its strength. It had already carried off

them reproaching the Tchaetas for their perfidy, in declaring in favor of the French, contrary to the pledge they had given, to unite with them for our destruction.

Three days before this action, the *Sieur Mesplex* landed at the Natchez with five other Frenchmen. They had volunteered to *M. de Loubois*, to carry to the Indians negotiations for peace, that they might be able under this pretext to gain information with regard to their force, and their present situation. But in descending from their boat they encountered a party, who, without giving them time to speak, killed three of their men, and made the other three prisoners. The next day they sent one of these prisoners with a letter, in which they demanded as hostages, the *Sieur Broutin*, who had formerly been commander among them, and the Chief of the Tonikas. Besides, they demanded as the ransom for the women, children, and slaves, two hundred guns, two hundred barrels of powder, two hundred barrels of balls, two thousand gun-flints, two hundred knives, two hundred hatchets, two hundred pickaxes, five hogs-heads of brandy, twenty casks of wine, twenty barrels of vermilion, two hundred shirts, twenty pieces of limbourg, twenty pieces of cloth, twenty coats with lace on the seams, twenty hats bordered with plumes, and a hundred coats of a plainer kind. Their design was to massacre the French who should bring these goods. On the very same day, with every refinement in cruelty, they burned the *Sieur Mesplex* and his companion.

On the 8th of February, the French, with the Tonikas, and some other small tribes from the lower end of the Mississippi, arrived at the Natchez, and seized their temple dedicated to the sun.

The impatience and impracticability of the Tchaetas, who like all these Indians are capable of only striking one blow, and then disperse, the small number of French soldiers who found themselves worn down by fatigues, the want of provisions which the Indians stole from the French, the failure of ammunition with which they were not able to satisfy the Tchaetas, who wasted one part of it, and placed the other in reserve to be used in hunting, the resistance of the Natchez who were well fortified, and who fought in desperation, all these things decided us to listen to the propositions which the besieged made, after the trenches had been opened for seven days. They threatened, if we persisted in the siege, to burn those of the French who remained, while on the other hand, they offered to restore them, if we would withdraw our seven pieces of cannon. These, in reality, for want of a good gunner, and under present circumstances, were scarcely in a fit state to give them any fear.

These propositions were accepted, and fulfilled on both sides. On the 25th of February the besieged faithfully restored all that they had promised, while the besiegers retired with their cannon to a small fort which they had hastily built on the *Ecors* near the river, for the purpose of always keeping the Natchez in check, and insuring a passage to the voyagers. *M. Perrier* gave the command of it to *M. D'Artaguette*, as an acknowledgment of the intrepidity with which, during the siege, he had exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and every where braved death. [The Natchez finally fled across the Missis-

some sheep and calves, and killed some cows. I said to those who told me this story, that a mad wolf might have done all this; and as to the cry, people were mistaken every day. I could bring no body to be of my opinion; they would have it that it was a monstrous beast: they had just then heard it, and they ran cut armed with the first thing they could find, but all to no purpose.

The grant of the company is still more advantageously situated than that of the Maloins. The same river waters both, and afterwards discharges itself into the Mississippi, two leagues from the grant of the Maloins, to which a magnificent cypress wood, of six leagues extent, makes a screen, that covers all the back parts. Tobacco has succeeded very well here, but the workmen of Clerae are almost all returned to France.

I saw in the garden of the *Sieur le Noir*, chief clerk, very fine cotton on the tree, and a little lower we begin to see some wild Indigo. They have not yet made a trial of it; but it is very likely that it will turn out as well as that they found in the island of *St. Domingo*, which is as much esteemed there as that which is brought from other places. And furthermore, experience teaches us that the soil which naturally produces Indigo, is very fit to bear any foreign sort that one chooses to sow in it.

The great village of the *Natchez* is at present reduced to a very few cabins. The reason which I heard for it is, that the savages, from whom the great chief has a right to take all they have, get as far from him as they can; and therefore many villages of this nation have been formed at some distance from this. The *Tioux*, their allies and ours, have also settled a village in their neighborhood.

The cabins of the great village of the *Natchez*, the only one I saw, are in the shape of a square pavilion, very low, and without windows; the top is rounded much like an oven: the greatest part are covered with the leaves and stalks of maize; some are built of clay mixed with cut straw, which seemed to me to be tolerably strong, and which were covered within and without with very thin mats. That of the great chief is very neatly plastered in the inside: it is also larger and higher than the rest, placed on a spot something elevated, and stands alone, no other building adjoining to it on any side. It fronts the north, with a large open place before it, which is not of the most

sippiand intrenched themselves near Red river; they were pursued by the French and compelled to surrender. Their children and women were reduced to slavery; some of the warriors fled to the *Chicachas*, but the *Great Sun* or Chief, with four hundred prisoners, were shipped to Cuba and sold as slaves. Thus perished the great *Natchez* nation.]

regular figure. All the furniture I found in it was a narrow couch of boards, raised about two or three feet from the ground. Probably when the great chief wants to lie down, he spreads a mat upon it, or some skin.

There was not a soul in the village: all the people were gone to a neighboring village, where there was a feast, and all the doors were open; but there was nothing to fear from thieves, for there was nothing to be seen any where but the bare walls. These cabins have no vent for the smoke, nevertheless, all those which I entered were white enough. The temple is very near the great chief's cabin, turned towards the east, and at the end of the open place. It is composed of the same materials as the cabins, but its shape is different; it is a long square, about forty feet by twenty wide, with a common roof, in shape like ours. At the two ends there is to appearance like two weather-cocks of wood, which represent very indifferently two eagles.

The door is in the midst of the length of the building, which has no other opening. On each side there are benches of stone. The inside answers perfectly this rustic outside. Three pieces of wood, which touch at the ends, and which are placed in a triangle, or rather equally distant from each other, take up almost all the midst of the temple. These pieces are on fire, and burn slowly. A savage, whom they call the keeper of the temple, is obliged to tend the fire, and prevent its going out. If it is cold, he may have his fire apart, but he is not allowed to warm himself at that which burns in honor of the Sun. This keeper was also at the feast, at least I saw him not; and his brands made such a smoke that it blinded us.

As to ornaments, I saw none, nor absolutely any thing that could make me know that I was in a temple. I saw only three or four chests placed irregularly, in which there were some dry bones, and upon the ground some wooden heads, a little better wrought than the two eagles on the roof. In short, if I had not found a fire here, I should have thought that this temple had been a long time abandoned, or that it had been plundered. Those cones wrapped up in skins, which some relations speak of; those bodies of the chiefs ranged in a circle in a round temple, terminating in a kind of dome; that altar, &c.; I saw nothing of all this. If things were thus in times past, they are very much changed since.

Perhaps also, for we ought to condemn nobody, but when there is no way to excuse them; perhaps, I say, that the neighborhood of the French made the Natchez fear that the bodies of their chiefs, and every thing that was most precious in their temple, were in some dan-

ger, if they did not convey them to another place ; and that the little attention they have at present to guard this temple, proceeds from its being deprived of what it contained most sacred in the opinion of these people. It is true, notwithstanding, that against the wall, over against the door, there was a table, the dimensions of which I did not take the pains to measure, because I did not suspect it to be an altar. I have been assured since, that it is three feet high, five long, and four wide.

I have been further informed that they make a little fire on it with the bark of oak, and that it never goes out ; which is false, for there was then no fire on it, nor any appearance of there ever having been any made. They say also, that four old men lay by turns in the temple, to keep in this fire ; that he who is on duty, must not go out for the eight days of his watch ; that they carefully take the burning ashes of the pieces that burn in the midst of the temple, to put upon the altar ; that twelve men are kept to furnish the bark ; that there are marmosets of wood, and a figure of a rattle-snake likewise of wood, which they set upon the altar, and to which they pay great honors. That when the chief dies, they bury him directly ; that when they judge his flesh is consumed, the keeper of the temple takes the bones up, washes them clean, wraps them in whatever they have most valuable, and puts them in great baskets made of canes, which shut very close ; that he covers these baskets with skins of roebucks very neatly, and places them before the altar, where they remain till the death of the reigning chief : that then he encloses these bones in the altar itself, to make room for the last dead.

I can say nothing on this last article, only that I saw some bones in one or two chests, but they made not half a human body ; that they appeared to be very old, and that they were not on the table which they say is the altar. As to the other article, first, as I was in the temple only by day, I know not what passes in it at night ; second, there was no keeper in the temple when I visited it. I very well saw, as I said before, that there were some marmosets or grotesque figures ; but I observed no figure of a serpent.

As to what I have seen in some relations, that this temple is hung with tapestry, and the floor covered with cane mats ; that they put in it whatever they have that is handsomest, and that they bring every year hither the first fruits of their harvest, we must certainly abate a great deal of all this. I never saw any thing more slovenly and dirty, nor more in disorder. The billets burnt upon the bare ground ; and I saw no mats on it, no more than the walls. M. le Noir, who was with me, only told me that every day they put a new

billet on the fire, and that at the beginning of every moon they made a provision for the whole month. But he knew this only by report; for it was the first time he had seen this temple, as well as myself.

As to what regards the nation of the Natchez in general, here follows what I could learn of it. We see nothing in their outward appearance that distinguishes them from the other savages of Canada and Louisiana. They seldom make war, not placing their glory in destroying men. What distinguishes them more particularly, is the form of their Government, entirely despotic; a great dependence, which extends even to a kind of slavery, in the subjects; more pride and grandeur in the chiefs, and their pacific spirit, which, however, they have not entirely preserved for some years past.

The Hurons believe, as well as they, that their hereditary chiefs are descended from the Sun; but there is not one that would be his servant, nor follow him into the other world for the honor of serving him there, as it often happens among the Natchez.

Garcilasso de la Vega speaks of this nation as of a powerful people, and about six years ago they reckoned among them four thousand warriors. It appears that they were more numerous in the time of M. de la Salle, and even when M. d'Iberville discovered the mouth of the Mississippi. At present the Natchez cannot raise two thousand fighting men. They attribute this decrease to some contagious diseases, which in these last years have made a great ravage among them.

The Great Chief of the Natchez bears the name of the Sun; and it is always, as among the Hurons, the son of the woman who is nearest related to him, that succeeds him. They give this woman the title of Woman Chief; and though in general she does not meddle with the Government, they pay her great honors. She has also, as well as the Great Chief, the power of life and death. As soon as any one has had the misfortune to displease either of them, they order their guards, whom they call Allouez, to kill him. "Go and rid me of that dog," say they; and they are immediately obeyed. Their subjects, and even the chiefs of the villages, never approach them, but they salute them three times, setting up a cry, which is a kind of howling. They do the same when they retire, and they retire walking backwards. When they meet them, they must stop, and range themselves on both sides of the way, and make the same cries till they are gone past. Their subjects are also obliged to carry them the best of their harvest, and of their hunting and fishing. Lastly, no person, not even their nearest relations, and those who are of noble families, when they have the honor to eat with them,

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have a right to put their hand to the same dish, or to drink out of the same vessel.

Every morning, as soon as the Sun appears, the Great Chief comes to the door of his cabin, turns himself to the east, and howls three times, bowing down to the earth. Then they bring him a calumet, which serves only for this purpose, he smokes, and blows the smoke of his tobacco towards the Sun; then he does the same thing towards the other three parts of the world. He acknowledges no superior but the Sun, from which he pretends to derive his origin. He exercises an unlimited power over his subjects, can dispose of their goods and lives, and for whatever labors he requires of them, they cannot demand any recompense.

When this Great Chief, or the Woman Chief dies, all their Allonez, or guards, are obliged to follow them into the other world; but they are not the only persons who have this honor; for so it is reckoned among them, and is greatly sought after. The death of a chief sometimes costs the lives of more than a hundred persons; and I have been assured that very few principal persons of the Natchez die, without being escorted to the country of souls by some of their relations, their friends, or their servants. It appears by the various relations which I have seen of these horrible ceremonies, that they differ greatly. I shall here describe the obsequies of a Woman Chief, as I had it from a traveller, who was a witness of them, and on whose sincerity I have good reason to depend.

The husband of this woman not being noble, that is to say, of the family of the Great Chief, his eldest son strangled him, according to custom: then they cleared the cabin of all it contained, and they erected in it a kind of triumphal car, in which the body of the deceased woman, and that of her husband, were placed. A moment after they ranged round these carcasses twelve little children, which their parents had strangled by order of the eldest daughter of the Woman Chief, and who succeeded to the dignity of her mother. This being done, they erected in the public place fourteen scaffolds, adorned with branches of trees, and cloths on which they had painted various figures. These scaffolds were designed for as many persons, who were to accompany the Woman Chief into the other world. Their relations were all round them, and esteemed as a great honor for their families the permission that they had obtained to sacrifice themselves in this manner. They apply sometimes ten years beforehand to obtain this favor; and the persons that have obtained it, must themselves make the cord with which they are to be strangled.

They appear on their scaffolds dressed in their richest habits,

holding in their right hand a great shell. Their nearest relation is on their right hand, having under their left arm the cord which is to serve for the execution, and in their right hand a fighting club. From time to time their nearest relation makes the cry of death; and at this cry the fourteen victims descend from their scaffolds, and go and dance all together in the middle of the open place that is before the temple, and before the cabin of the Woman Chief.

That day and the following ones they show them great respect; they have each five servants, and their faces are painted red. Some add, that during the eight days that precede their death, they wear a red ribbon round one of their legs; and that during this time, every body strives who shall be the first to feast them. However that may be, on the occasion I am speaking of, the fathers and mothers who had strangled their children, took them up in their hands and ranged themselves on both sides the cabin: the fourteen persons, who were also destined to die, placed themselves in the same manner, and were followed by the relations and friends of the deceased, all in mourning; that is to say, their hair cut off. They all made the air resound with such frightful cries, that one would have said that all the devils in hell were come to howl in the place. This was followed by the dances of those who were to die, and by the songs of the relations of the Woman Chief.

At last they began the procession. The fathers and mothers who carried the dead children, appeared the first, marching two and two, and came immediately before the bier on which was the body of the Woman Chief, which four men carried on their shoulders. All the others came after in the same order as the first. At every ten paces, the fathers and mothers let their children fall upon the ground: those who carried the bier, walked upon them, then turned quite round them; so that when the procession arrived at the temple, these little bodies were all in pieces.

While they buried the body of the Woman Chief in the temple, they undressed the fourteen persons who were to die. They made them sit on the ground before the door, each having two savages by him; one of whom sat on his knees, and the other held his arms behind. Then they put a cord about his neck, and covered his head with a roebuck's skin. They made him swallow three pills of tobacco, and drink a glass of water: and the relations of the Woman Chief drew the two ends of the cord, singing, till he was strangled. After which, they threw all the carcasses into the same pit, which they covered with earth.

When the Great Chief dies, if his nurse is living, she must die

also. The French not being able to hinder this barbarity, have often obtained leave to baptize the young children that were to be strangled; and who of consequence did not accompany those, in whose honor they were sacrificed, in their pretended paradise.

We know no nation on this continent, where the female sex are more irregular, than in this. They are even forced by the Great Chief and his subalterns to prostitute themselves to all comers; and a woman, for being common, is not the less esteemed. Although polygamy is permitted, and the number of women they may have is unlimited, commonly each has only one, but he may put her away when he pleases; a license which few but the chiefs make use of. The women are pretty well shaped for savages, and neat enough in their dress, and every thing they do. The daughters of the noble families can marry none but obscure persons; but they have a right to turn away their husbands when they please, and to take another, provided there is no relationship between them.

If their husbands are unfaithful to them, they can order them to be knocked on the head, but they are not subject to the same law themselves. They may also have as many gallants as they think fit, and the husband is not to take it amiss. This is a privilege belonging to the blood of the Great Chief. The husband of any one of these must stand in the presence of his wife in a respectful posture; he does not eat with her; he salutes her in the same tone as her domestics. The only privilege which such a burthensome alliance procures him, is to be exempt from labor, and to have authority over those who serve his wife.

The Natchez have two war chiefs, two masters of the ceremonies for the temple, two officers to regulate what is done in treaties of peace or war, one that has the inspection of works, and four others who are employed to order every thing in the public feasts. It is the Great Chief who appoints persons to these offices, and those who hold them are respected and obeyed as he would be himself. The harvest among the Natchez is in common. The Great Chief sets the day for it, and calls the village together. Towards the end of July he appoints another day for the beginning of a festival, which lasts three days, which are spent in sports and feasting.

Each private person contributes something of his hunting, his fishing, and his other provisions, which consist in maize, beans, and melons. The Great Chief and the Woman Chief preside at the feast, sitting in a cabin raised above the ground, and covered with boughs: they are carried to it in a litter, and the Great Chief holds in his hand a kind of sceptre, adorned with feathers of various colors. All

the nobles are round him in a respectful posture. The last day the Great Chief makes a speech to the assembly. He exhorts every body to be exact in the performance of their duties, especially to have a great veneration for the spirits which reside in the temple, and to be careful in instructing their children. If any one has distinguished himself by some action of note, he makes his elogium. Twenty years ago, the temple was reduced to ashes by lightning. Seven or eight women threw their children into the midst of the flames to appease the Genii. The Great Chief immediately sent for these heroines, gave them publicly great praises, and finished his discourse by exhorting the other women to follow their great example on a like occasion.

The fathers of families never fail to bring to the temple the first fruits of every thing they gather; and they do the same by all the presents that are made to the nation. They expose them at the door of the temple, the keeper of which, after having presented them to the spirits, carries them to the Great Chief, who distributes them to whom he pleases. The seeds are in like manner offered before the temple with great ceremony; but the offerings which are made there of bread and flour every new moon, are for the use of the keepers of the temple.

The marriages of the Natchez, are very little different from those of the savages of Canada. The principal difference we find in them consists in that here the future spouse begins by making, to the relations of the woman, such presents as have been agreed upon; and that the wedding is followed by a great feast. The reason why there are few but the chiefs who have several wives, is, that as they can get their fields cultivated by the people without any charge, their wives are no burthen to them. The chiefs marry with less ceremony still than the others. It is enough for them to give notice to the relations of the woman on whom they have cast their eyes, that they place her in the number of their wives. But they keep but one or two in their cabins; the others remain with their relations, where their husbands visit them when they please. No jealousy reigns in these marriages. The Natchez lend one another their wives without any difficulty: and it is probably from hence that proceeds the readiness with which they part with them to take others.

When a war chief wants to levy a party of soldiers, he plants, in a place marked out for that purpose, two trees adorned with feathers, arrows, and fighting-clubs, all painted red, as well as the trees, which are also pricked on that side which is towards the place whither they intend to carry the war. Those who would enlist, present themselves

to the chief, well dressed, their faces smeared with various colors, and declare to him the desire they have to learn the art of war under his orders; that they are disposed to endure all the fatigues of war, and ready to die, if needful, for their country.

When the Chief has got the number of soldiers that the expedition requires, which he intends to make, he causes a drink to be prepared at his cabin, which is called the medicine of war. This is a vomit made with a root boiled in water. They give to each man two pots of it, which they must drink all at once, and which they throw up again almost as soon as they have drank it, with most violent retchings. Afterwards they labor in making the necessary preparations; and till the day settled for their departure, the warriors meet every evening and morning in an open place, where after much dancing, and telling their great feats of war, every one sings his song of death. These people are not less superstitious about their dreams, than the savages of Canada; there needs only a bad omen to cause them to return when they are on a march.

The warriors march with a great deal of order, and take great precautions to encamp, and to rally. They often send out scouts, but they never set sentinels at night. They put out all the fires, they recommend themselves to the spirits, and they sleep in security, after the chief has exhorted every one not to snore too loud, and to keep always their arms near them in good condition. Their idols are exposed on a pole leaning towards the enemy, and all the warriors, before they lay down, pass one after another, with their fighting-clubs in their hands, before these pretended deities: then they turn towards the enemy's country, and make great threatenings, which the wind often carries another way.

It does not appear that the Natchez exercise on their prisoners, during the March, the cruelties which are used in Canada. When these wretches are arrived at the great village, they make them sing and dance several days together before the temple, after which, they are delivered to the relations of those who have been killed during the campaign. They, on receiving them, burst into tears, then after having wiped their eyes with the scalps which the warriors have brought home, they join together to reward those who have made them the present of their captives, whose fate is always to be burnt.

The warriors change their names as often as they perform new exploits. They receive them from the ancient war chief, and these names have always some relation to the action by which they have merited this distinction. Those who for the first time have made a prisoner, or taken off a scalp, must, for a month, abstain from seeing

their wives, and from eating flesh. They imagine, that if they should fail in this, the souls of those whom they have killed or burnt, would effect their death, or that the first wound they should receive would be mortal; or at least, that they should never after gain any advantage over their enemies. If the Great Chief, called the Sun, commands his subjects in person, they take great care that he should not expose himself too much; less perhaps through zeal for his preservation, than because the other war chiefs, and the heads of the party, would be put to death for their want of care in guarding him.

The jugglers or doctors of the Natchez, pretty much resemble those of Canada, and treat their patients much after the same manner. They are well paid when the patient recovers; but if he happens to die, it often costs them their lives. There is in his nation another set of jugglers, who run no less risk than these doctors. They are certain lazy old fellows, who, to maintain their families without being obliged to work, undertake to procure rain, or fine weather, according as they are wanted. About the spring time they make a collection to buy of these pretended magicians a favorable season for the fruits of the earth. If it is rain they require, they fill their mouth with water, and with a reed, the end of which is pierced with several holes, like a funnel, they blow into the air, towards the side where they perceive some clouds, whilst holding their *chichicoué* in one hand, and their *maniton* in the other, they play upon one, and hold the other up in the air, inviting, by frightful cries, the clouds to water the fields of those who have set them to work.

If the business is to obtain fine weather, they mount on the roof of their cabins, make signs to the clouds to pass away; and if the clouds pass away, and are dispersed, they dance and sing round about their idols; then they swallow the smoke of tobacco, and present their calumets to the sky. All the time these operations last, they observe a strict fast, and do nothing but dance and sing. If they obtain what they have promised, they are well rewarded; if they do not succeed, they are put to death without mercy. But they are not the same who undertake to procure rain and fine weather; the genius of one person cannot, as they say, give both.

Mourning among these savages consists in cutting off their hair, and in not painting their faces, and in absenting themselves from public assemblies; but I know not how long it lasts. I know not either, whether they celebrate the grand festival of the dead, which I have before described. It appears as if in this nation, where every body is in some sort the slave of those who command, all the honors of the dead are for those who do so, especially for the Great Chief and the Woman Chief.

Treaties of peace and alliances are made with great pomp, and the Great Chief on these occasions always supports his dignity like a true sovereign. As soon as he is informed of the day of the arrival of the ambassadors, he gives his orders to the masters of the ceremonies, for the preparations of their reception, and names those who are by turns to maintain these envoys; for it is at the cost of his subjects that he defrays the expenses of the embassy. The day of the entry of the ambassadors, every one has his place assigned him according to his rank; and when the ambassadors are come within five hundred paces of the Great Chief, they stop, and sing the song of peace.

Commonly the embassy is composed of thirty men and six women. Six of the best voices march at the head of this train and sing aloud, the rest follow, and the chieheicoué serves to regulate the time. When the Great Chief makes signs to the ambassadors to approach, they renew their march; those who carry the calumet, dance as they sing, and turn themselves on every side, with many motions, and make a great many grimaces and contortions. They renew the same tricks round about the Great Chief when they are come near him; then they rub him with their calumet from head to foot, and afterwards go and rejoin their company.

Then they fill a calumet with tobacco, and holding fire in one hand, they advance all together towards the Great Chief, and present him the calumet lighted. They smoke with him, and blow towards the sky the first whiff of their tobacco, the second towards the earth, and the third round about the horizon. When they have done this, they present their calumets to the relations of the Great Chief, and the subaltern chiefs. Then they go and rub with their hands the stomach of the Great Chief, after which they rub themselves all over the body; and lastly, they lay their calumets on forks over against the Great Chief, and the orator of the embassy begins his speech, which lasts an hour.

When he has finished, they make signs to the ambassadors, who till now were standing, to sit down on benches placed for them near the Great Chief, who answers their discourse, and speaks also a whole hour. Then a master of the ceremonies lights a great calumet of peace, and makes the ambassadors smoke in it, who swallow the first mouthful. Then the Great Chief inquires after their health, and all those who are present at the audience make them the same compliment; then they conduct them to the cabin that is appointed for them, and where they give him a great feast. The evening of the same day the Great Chief makes them a visit; but when they know

he is ready to do them this honor, they go to seek him, and carry him on their shoulders to their lodging, and make him sit on a great skin. One of them places himself behind him, leans his hands on his shoulders, and shakes him a pretty long time, whilst the rest, sitting round on the earth, sing their great actions in the wars.

These visits are renewed every morning and evening; but in the last the ceremonial varies. The ambassadors set up a post in the midst of their cabin, and sit all round it. The warriors who accompany the Great Chief, or as they call him, the Sun, dressed in their finest robes, dance, and one by one strike the post, and relate their bravest feats of arms; after which they make presents to the ambassadors. The next day they are permitted for the first time to walk about the village, and every night they make them entertainments, which consist only in dances. When they are on their departure, the master of the ceremonies supplies them with all the provisions they may want for their journey, and this is always at the expense of private persons.

The greatest part of the nations of Louisiana had formerly their temples, as well as the Natchez, and in all these temples there was a perpetual fire. It seems also probable, that the Maubileans had over all the people of this part of Florida, a kind of primacy of religion; for it was at their fire they were obliged to kindle that, which by negligence or accident had been suffered to go out. But at present the temple of the Natchez is the only one that subsists, and it is held in great veneration among all the savages which inhabit this vast continent, the decrease of which nation is as considerable, and has been still more sudden, than that of the savages of Canada, without its being possible to discover the true cause of it. Whole nations have entirely disappeared within forty years at most. Those which are still subsisting, are but the shadow of what they were when M. de la Salle discovered this country. I take my leave of you, madam, for reasons which I shall have the honor to explain to you soon.

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NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 10, 1722.

I am at length arrived in this famous city, which they have called *la Nouvelle Orleans*. Those who have given it this name, thought that Orleans was of the feminine gender; but what signifies that? Custom has established it, and that is above the rules of Grammar.



This city is the first, which 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 newspapers gave it some two years ago, are reduced at present to a hundred barracks, placed in no very great order; to a great storehouse, built of wood; to two or three houses, which would be no ornament to a village of France; and to the half of a sorry storehouse, which they agreed to lend to the lord of the place, and which he had no sooner taken possession of, but they turned him out to dwell under a tent; what pleasure, on the other side, to see insensibly increasing this future capital of a fine and vast country, and to be able to say, not with a sigh, like the hero of Virgil, speaking of his dear native place consumed by the flames, and the fields where the city of Troy had been,\* but full of a well-grounded hope, this wild and desert place, which the reeds and trees do yet almost wholly cover, will be one day, and perhaps that day is not far off, an opulent city, and the metropolis of a great and rich colony.

You will ask me, madam, on what I found this hope? I found it on the situation of this city, at thirty-three leagues from the sea, and on the side of a navigable river, that one may come up to this place in twenty-four hours; on the fruitfulness of the soil; on the mildness and goodness of its climate, in 30° north latitude; on the industry of its inhabitants; on the neighborhood of Mexico, to which we may go in fifteen days by sea; on that of the Havana, which is still nearer; and of the finest islands of America, and of the English colonies. Need there anything more to render a city flourishing? Rome and Paris had not such considerable beginnings, were not built under such happy auspices, and their founders did not find on the Seine and the Tyber the advantages we have found on the Mississippi, in comparison of which, those two rivers are but little brooks. But before I undertake to mention what there is here worthy your curiosity, that I may proceed according to order, I shall take up my journal again where I broke it off.

I stayed at the Natchez much longer than I expected, and it was the abandoned condition in which I found the French, with respect to spiritual aids, that kept me there till after Christmas. The dew of heaven hath not yet fallen on this fine country, which above all others may boast of its portion of the fatness of the earth. The late M. d'Herbville had destined a Jesuit† for this purpose, who accompanied him in the second voyage he made to Louisiana, with a design to establish Christianity in a nation, whose conversion, he made no doubt,

\* Et Campos, ubi Troja fuit. † Father Paul du Ru.

would be followed by that of all the rest. But this missionary passing by the village of the Bayagoulas, thought he found there more favorable dispositions for religion, and while he was thinking to fix his abode amongst them, he was called to France by superior orders.

After this, an ecclesiastic of Canada \* was sent to the Natchez, and remained there a pretty long time, but he made no proselytes, though he had gained the good graces of the Woman Chief, who out of respect to him, gave his name to one of her sons. This missionary having been obliged to make a journey to Maubile, was killed on the way by savages, who probably only wanted his baggage, as it had happened before to another priest† on the side of the Arkansas. Since that time all Louisiana, above the Illinois, has remained without any priest, except the Tonicas, who have had for several years an ecclesiastic‡, whom they loved and esteemed, and whom they would have made their Chief, and who, notwithstanding, could never persuade one of them to embrace Christianity.

But it is something preposterous to think of taking measures for the conversion of infidels, whilst the household even of the faith are almost all without pastors. I have already had the honor of telling you, madam, that the canton of the Natchez is the most populous of the colony; nevertheless, it is five years since any Frenchman has heard mass here, or even seen a priest. I soon saw that the privation of the sacraments had produced in the greatest part of them that indifference for the exercises of religion, which is the common effect of such privation, yet many showed a great desire to take advantage of my presence, for regulating the affairs of their consciences; and I thought it was my duty to help them to this comfort without much solicitation.

The first proposal that they made to me was, that I would agree to marry in the presence of the church, some inhabitants, who by virtue of a civil contract, drawn up in the presence of the commandant and the principal clerk, lived together without any scruple, alleging, as well as they who had authorized this concubinage, the necessity of peopling the country, and the impossibility of having a priest. I represented to them, that there was one at the Yasous, and at New Orleans, and that the matter was worth the pains of taking the journey. They replied that the contracting parties were not in a condition to take long journeys, nor to be at the expense of bringing a priest hither. In short, the civil was done, and there remained nothing but to remedy it, which I did. Then I confessed all

\* M. de S. Cosme. † M. Foucault. ‡ M. Davion.

who presented themselves, but the number of these was not so great as I had hoped.

Nothing more detaining me at the Natchez, I departed from thence the 26th of December, pretty late, accompanied by M. de Panger, the King's engineer, who was visiting the colony to examine the places where it was fit to build forts. We went four leagues, and encamped at the side of a little river, which we found on the left. We re-embarked the next day two hours before it was light, with the wind pretty high and against us. The river in this place makes a circuit of fourteen leagues; and as we turned, the wind turned with us, being beaten back by the land, and by the islands, which we found in great numbers, so that it was always in our faces. Notwithstanding which, we went ten leagues farther, and entered into another little river on the left hand. All night we heard a great noise, and I thought it was the effect of the wind that was grown stronger; but they assured me that the river had been very quiet, and that the noise which had waked me, was made by the alligators that dashed about the water with their tails.

The 28th, after having gone two leagues, we arrived at the river of the Tonicas, which appeared to me at first to be but a brook; but at a musket-shot distance from its mouth, it forms a very pretty lake. If the Mississippi continues to throw itself as it does on the other side, all this place will become inaccessible. The river of the Tonicas has its source in the country of the Tchactas, and its course is very much obstructed with falls. The village is beyond the lake, on a pretty high ground, yet they say that the air here is bad, which they attribute to the quality of the waters of the river; but I should rather judge that it proceeds from the stagnation of the waters in the lake. This village is built in a circle, round a very large open space, without any inclosure, and moderately peopled.

The cabin of the chief is very much adorned on the outside for the cabin of a savage. We see on it some figures in relieve, which are not so ill done as one expects to find them. The inside is dark, and I observed nothing in it but some boxes, which they assured me were full of clothes and money. The chief received us very politely; he was dressed in the French fashion, and seemed to be not at all uneasy in that habit. Of all the savages of Canada, there is none so much depended on by our commandants as this chief. He loves our nation, and has no cause to repent of the services he has rendered it. He trades with the French, whom he supplies with horses and fowls, and he understands his trade very well. He has learned of us to hoard up money, and he is reckoned very rich. He has a long time

left off the dress of a savage, and he takes a pride in appearing always well dressed, according to our mode.

The other cabins of the village are partly square, as that of the chief, and partly round, like those of the Natchez. The place round which they all stand, is about a hundred paces diameter, and notwithstanding the heat of the weather was that day suffocating, the young people were diverting themselves at a kind of truck, much like ours.

There are two other villages of this nation at a little distance from this; and this is all that remains of a people formerly very numerous. I said before that they had a missionary whom they greatly loved; I have learned that they drove him away not long since, because he had burnt their temple, which nevertheless they have not rebuilt, nor lighted their fire again; a certain proof of their little attachment to their false religion! They even soon recalled the missionary; but they heard all he could say to them with an indifference, which he could never conquer, and he has forsaken them in his turn.

From the bottom of the lake, or the bay of the Tonicas, if we used canoes of bark, we might make a portage of two leagues, which would save ten on the Mississippi; but this is not practicable with pettiaugres. Two leagues lower than the river of the Tonicas, we leave on the right hand the Red river or Rio Colorado; at the entrance of which, the famous Ferdinand de Soto, the conqueror of Florida, ended his days and his exploits, or rather his rambles. This river runs east and west some time, then turns to the south. It is scarcely navigable for pettiaugres, and that for no more than forty leagues; after which we meet with impassable marshes. Its mouth appeared to me to be about two hundred fathom wide. Ten leagues higher, it receives on the right hand the Black river, otherwise called the river of the Onatchitas; which comes from the north, and has water only for seven months in the year.

Nevertheless, there are several grants situated here, which in all appearance will not grow very rich. The motive of this settlement is the neighborhood of the Spaniards, which at all times has been a fatal enticement to this colony. In hopes of trading with them, they leave the best lands in the world uncultivated. The Natchitoches are settled on the Red river, and we have judged it convenient to build a fort among them, to hinder the Spaniards from settling nearer us. We encamped the 29th, a little below the mouth of the Red river, in a very fine bay.

The 30th, after having gone five leagues, we passed a second point

cut off. The Mississippi, in this place, makes a great winding. Some Canadians, by dint of hollowing a little brook, which was behind the point, brought the waters of the river into it; which spreading themselves impetuously in this new channel, completely cut off the point, and hath saved travellers fourteen leagues of way. The old bed of the river is actually dry, and has no water in it but in the season of the floods; an evident proof that the Mississippi casts itself here towards the east; and this deserves to be considered with the greatest attention, in making settlements on either side of the river. The depth of this new channel has been lately sounded, and they have let out a line in it of thirty fathom long, without finding any bottom.

Just below, and on the same hand, we saw the weak beginnings of a grant, which bears the name of St. Reyne, and at the head of which are Messrs. de Coetlogon and Kolli. It is situated on a very fertile soil, and there is nothing to fear from the overflowing of the river; but with nothing, nothing can be done, especially when they want men for labor, and men want an inclination for labor; and this seemed to us to be the condition of this grant. We went a league further this day, and came to the grant of Madam de Mezieres, where the rain stopped us all the next day. Some huts covered with the leaves of the lattanier and a great tent of cloth at present form all this grant. They wait for men and goods from the Black river, where the magazines are, and which they are not willing to leave. I am afraid that by endeavoring to make two settlements at once, both will fail.

The soil on which they have begun this, is very good; but they must build a quarter of a league from the river, behind a cypress wood, which is a marshy ground, and of which they might make advantage in sowing rice and making gardens. Two leagues further in the wood, there is a lake two leagues in compass, the sides of which are covered with wild fowl, and which perhaps may supply them with fish, when they have destroyed the caimans, which swarm in it. I have learnt in this place some secrets, which you shall have, madam, at the same rate they cost me, for I have no time to make trial of them.

The male cypress bears in this country a pod, which must be gathered green, and then they find it a sovereign balm for cuts. That which is distilled from the copahue, has, among other virtues, that of curing the dropsy. The root of those great cotton trees I mentioned in another place, and which we find continually on all the route which I have made from the lake Ontario, is a certain remedy

against all hurts of the skin. You must take the inside of the bark, boil it in water, bathe the wound with this water, and then lay on the ashes of the bark itself.

On New-Year's day we went to say mass three leagues from Madam de Mezieres, in a grant very well situated, and which belongs to M. Diron d'Artaguette, Inspector-General of the troops of Louisiana.\* They brought us here a monstrous tortoise, and they assured us that these animals were capable of breaking a large iron bar. If the fact is true, for I should be willing to see it before I believe it, the saliva of these animals must be a very powerful dissolvent. As for the leg of a man, I would not trust it in their jaws. This is certain, that the meat of that which I saw, was enough to satisfy ten persons who had good stomachs. We staid all the day in this grant, which is not much forwarder than the rest, and which they call la Bâton Rouge (the red stick).

The next day we made eleven leagues, and we encamped a little below the Bayagoulas, which we had left on the right hand, after having visited here the ruins of the ancient village I mentioned before. It was very populous about twenty years since. The small-pox has destroyed a part of its inhabitants, the rest are gone away and dispersed. They have not so much as even heard any news of them for several years, and it is a doubt whether there is a single family remaining. The land they possessed is very rich. Messrs. Paris have a grant here, where they have planted in rows a great number of white mulberry trees, and they make very fine silk here already. They also begin to cultivate here, with much success, indigo and tobacco. If they labored the same in all other places, the proprietors of grants would soon be indemnified for all their expenses.

The 3d of January we arrived about ten o'clock in the morning at the little village of the Oumas, which is on the left, and where there are some French houses. A quarter of a league higher up in the country is the great village. This nation is very well affected to us. The Mississippi begins to fork or to divide into two branches, two leagues higher. It has hollowed itself on the right, to which it always inclines, a channel, which they call the fork of the Chetimachas or Sitimachas; and which, before it carries its waters to the sea, forms a pretty large lake. The nation of the Chetimachas, is almost entirely destroyed; the few that remain are slaves in the colony.

We went that day six leagues beyond the Oumas, and we passed the night on the fine spot where they had settled the grant of M. le

\* He died the King's Lieutenant at Cape François, in St. Domingo.

Marquis D'Ancenis, at present Duke de Bethune; which, by a fire happening in the great magazine, and by several other accidents, one after another, is reduced to nothing. The Colapissas had here formed a little village, which did not subsist long.

The 4th we arrived before noon at the great village of the Colapissas. It is the finest village of Louisiana, yet they reckon in it but two hundred warriors, who have the character of being very brave. Their cabins are in the shape of a pavilion, like those of the Sioux, and they seldom make any fire in them. They have a double roof; that in the inside is made of the leaves of the lattanier, interwoven together, that in the outside is made of mats.

The cabin of the chief is thirty-six feet diameter: I had not before seen one so large; for that of the great chief of the Natchez is but thirty feet. As soon as we appeared in sight of this village, they beat a drum; and we were scarcely landed, before the chief sent his compliments to me. I was surprised, in advancing towards the village, to see the drummer dressed in a long gown, half white and half red, with white sleeves on the red side and red sleeves on the white. I inquired into the origin of this custom, and they told me it was not ancient; that a Governor of Louisiana had made a present of a drum to these savages, who have always been our faithful allies, and that this kind of beadle's habit was their own invention. \* \* The women are better shaped here than in Canada, and their way of dressing themselves is also something more becoming.

After dinner we went five leagues further, and we stopped at Cannes brulées (the burnt reeds), where the grant of M. le Comte d'Artaguere has an habitation on it, which is also to serve him for a store-house, if it has not the fate of almost all the rest. This house is on the left; and the first object that presented itself to my sight was a great cross set up on the bank of the river, about which they actually sing vespers. This is the first place of the colony, from the Illinois, where I found this mark of our religion. Two mousquetaires, MM. d'Artiguere and de Benac, are the directors of this grant; and it was M. de Benac who had the direction of the house of Cannes brulées, together with M. Chevalier, nephew to the master of the mathematics to the king's pages. They have no priest, but it is not their fault: they had one whom they were obliged to get rid of, because he was a drunkard; and they judged rightly, that a bad priest is likely to do more harm in a new settlement, where he has no superior that watches over his conduct, than his services are worth.

Between the Colapissas and the Cannes brulées, we leave on the right hand the spot which was formerly possessed by the Taugas,

who, in the time of M. de la Salle, made a great figure in this country, but who have entirely disappeared for some years. This is the finest place and the best soil of Louisiana. M. de Meuse, to whom it was granted, has done nothing here yet: nevertheless he keeps here a director, who has neither men nor merchandise.

On the 5th we stopped to dine at a place which they call the Chapitoulas, and which is but three leagues distant from New Orleans, where we arrived at five in the evening. The Chapitoulas, and some neighboring habitations, are in a very good condition. The soil is fruitful, and it is fallen into the hands of people that are skilful and labori-ous. They are the Sieur du Breuil and three Canadian brothers, named Chauvins. The last have contributed nothing but their industry, which was perfected by the necessity of laboring for a subsistence. They have lost no time, they have spared no pains, and their example is a lesson for those lazy people whose poverty very unjustly disparages a country which will render a hundred-fold of whatever is sowed in it.

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TOLLOSE ISLAND, OR LA BALISE.

(The Buoy, or Sea Mark.) January 26. 1722.

The environs of New Orleans have nothing very remarkable. I did not find this city so well situated as I had been told. Others are not of the same opinion. These are the reasons on which their opinion is founded: I will afterwards explain mine. The first is, that about a league from hence, inclining to the northeast, they have found a little river, which they have called the Bayoue of St. John,\* which at the end of two leagues discharges itself into the lake Pontchartrain, which communicates with the sea: by this means, they say, it is easy to keep up a certain commerce between the capital and la Maubile, Biloxi, and all the other posts which we possess near the sea. The second is, that below this city the river makes a great turn, which they have called le Detour aux Anglois (the English Reach), which may cause a retardment, which they judge very advantageous to prevent a surprise. These reasons are specious, but they don't appear to me to be solid; for in the first place, those who have reasoned in this manner, have supposed that the entrance of the river could receive none but small vessels; therefore in this case,

\* Bayouc in the Indian language signifies a rivulet.



what is there to be feared from a surprise, if the town is ever so little fortified, as I suppose in my turn it will be soon? Will they come to attack it with boats, or with vessels which cannot carry guns? On the other hand, in whatever place the city is situated, must not the mouth of the river be defended by good batteries, and by a fort, which will at least give time to receive intelligence, and to keep themselves ready to receive the enemy? In the second place, what necessity is there for this communication, which cannot be carried on but by boats, and with posts, which they cannot succeed if they were attacked; and from which consequently they can receive but weak succors, which for the most part are good for nothing: I add, that when a vessel must go up the English Reach, they must change their wind every moment, which may detain them whole weeks to make seven or eight leagues.

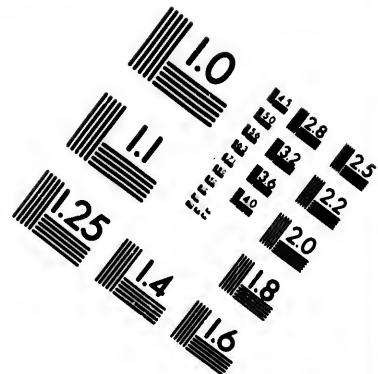
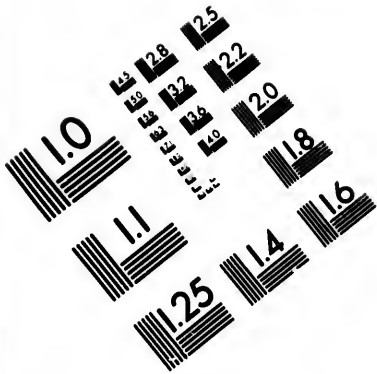
A little below New Orleans the land begins to have but little depth on both sides of the Mississippi, and this goes on diminishing quite to the sea. It is a point of land, which does not appear very ancient; for if we dig ever so little in it, we find water; and the number of shoals and little islands, which we have seen formed within twenty years past in all the mouths of the river, leave no room to doubt that this slip of land was formed in the same manner. It appears certain, that when M. de la Salle came down the Mississippi quite to the sea, the mouth of this river was not the same as it is at present.

The more we approach the sea, the more what I say appears evident: the bar has scarce any water in the greatest part of those little outlets, which the river has opened for itself, and which are so much increased only by the means of the trees, which are brought down with the current, one of which being stopped by its branches, or by its roots, in a place where there is little depth, stops a thousand others. I have seen heaps of these two hundred leagues from hence, one of which alone would have filled all the wood-yards of Paris. Nothing is capable of removing them, the mud which the river brings down serves them for a cement, and covers them by degrees; every inundation leaves a new layer, and in ten years at most the reeds and shrubs begin to grow upon them. Thus have been formed the greatest part of the points and islands, which make the river so often change its course.

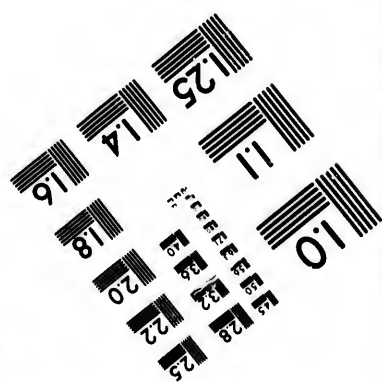
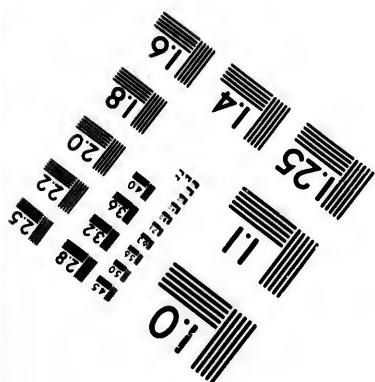
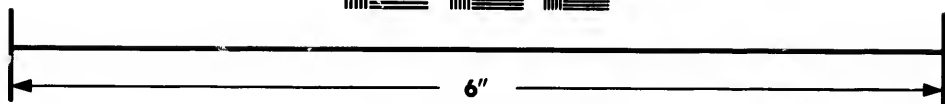
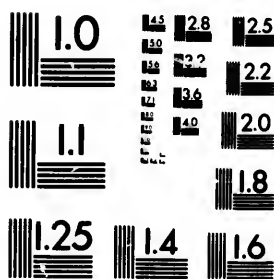
I have nothing to add to what I have said in the beginning of the former letter concerning the present state of New Orleans.\* The

\* The following is a list of the first inhabitants to whom lots were assigned for building purposes in the City of New Orleans, including those appropriated





**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

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E 32  
E 25  
E 22  
E 20  
E 18  
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truest idea that you can form of it, is to represent to yourself two hundred persons that are sent to build a city, and who are encamped on the side of a great river, where they have thought of nothing but

for public purposes. The numbers designate the lots thus occupied in each square, according to the plan of the city made by M. Brontin in 1728. There appears, however, to have been two plans of the city, viz., the one by M. de la Tour, and the other two years after by M. de Panger, dated 1723, which was probably the same afterwards signed by M. Brontin. M. de Panger was one of the royal engineers employed by the Western Company, who accompanied Father Charlevoix in his travels through the country in 1721 and 1722. Neither Dumont nor Du Pratz has fixed the precise period at which the city was laid out, but it may be inferred (though the order was given in 1717) from the remarks of the former, that it was in the year 1718. In his *Memoires Historiques Sur la Louisiane*, a translation of which will soon appear in the fourth volume of the Historical Collections, he says, "The commander M. de Bienville, remaining alone at Old Biloxi with his troops and the officers of the company, thought of procuring in the country for the colony, a more fixed and more solid establishment than any which had been formed up to this period. With this view he selected a spot situated about thirty leagues above the mouth of the Mississippi river, and sent M. de la Tour, the chief of the engineers, thither with orders to select in this canton a situation for a city worthy of becoming the capital, and the source from whence all the other plantations which were about being formed, might have recourse and receive supplies. As soon as M. de la Tour arrived on the spot, which then consisted of a few inconsiderable plantations scattered here and there, and which had been cultivated by *voyageurs* who had come from the Illinois, he caused to be made along the river a clearing of sufficient extent to enable him to carry his intended plan into execution. Afterwards, with the aid of *piqueurs*, he traced the streets and squares which were to compose the new city, and made known to all who desired lots or places to build on, to present their application to the Council. Each inhabitant who presented himself received ten toises (sixty feet French measure) front by twenty toises in depth; and as each square was fifty toises square, it is easy to conceive that each square contained twelve inhabitants, of which two lots in the middle had ten toises front by twenty-five toises in depth. It was ordered that all who should obtain these building lots (*emplacements*) should be obliged to inclose them with a picket fence, and leave all around an empty space, three feet wide, for the construction of drains to carry off the waters of the river in the season of its overflow. M. de la Tour thought himself not only obliged to order these canals or ditches which communicate with each other, from square to square, but he caused likewise, in order to preserve the city from inundation, to be erected in front of it, and close to a small elevation which leads to the river, a dyke or levee of earth, at the foot of which he caused to be excavated a similar drain." M. le Page du Pratz says, "that when he arrived in Louisiana, in 1718, New Orleans only existed in name, and that M. de Bienville had gone to the Mississippi to lay out a city, and that he returned to Dauphin Island after he had landed there. That M. de Bienville had made choice of this spot, because, of all others, it was the most suitable and most convenient place to communicate, either by the river or by the

to shelter themselves from the injuries of the air, whilst they wait for a plan, and have built themselves houses. M. de Pauger, whom I have still the honor to accompany, has just now showed me one of

lakes, with Mobile, which was then the head-quarters or capital of the colony." He gives a plan of the city, which he describes as being divided into sixty-five squares, eleven in length on the river, and six in depth, with a levée in front, extending above and below for seven miles. After M. de la Tour had traced the plan of New Orleans, he descended with M. de Pauger, assistant engineer, to the mouth of the river to establish a post called "la Balize," which was in the year 1722. It may therefore be safely assumed that the City of New Orleans was not finally established until the year 1722; the same year in which the seat of government was removed thither, after a plan signed by M. de Pauger in 1721. The lands on each side of the city, both above and below it, were afterwards laid out into plantations; and many of them since that period have been divided off into lots, which now make up the extensive plan of that city. The old city was regularly fortified up to the cession of France to the United States, after which the fortifications were entirely demolished. The inhabitants and others passed in and out by means of four large gates. They were defended by military works and mounted with heavy cannon. They were shut every night at nine o'clock, and after that no one was permitted to walk the streets without permission from the Governor.

1. De Bienville.	40. D'Artagnette.	81. Dubourg.
2. Dubrouil.	41. Lazon.	85. Corps de la Garde.
3. Leblanc and Dasfield.	42. Raguet.	86. Maison de les Capucins.
4. Bouvard.	43. Hospital de la Compagnie.	87. Vve. Trepanier.
5. Chavannes.	45. Convent des Ursulines.	88. Carriere.
6. Touyadon.	46. Trudeau.	89. Delassus.
7. Tisonant.	47. Maison de la Jesuits.	90. Caron.
8. De Pauger.	48. St. Royné.	91. Paseal.
9. La Freres.	49. Hellane.	92. Paseal.
10. La Freres.	50. Demorand.	93. Montauban.
11. Delery.	51. Michel.	94. Lenouand.
12. De Mandeville.	52. Fleurian.	95. Langlois.
13. Dreux Freres.	53. Morriset.	96. Rivaro.
14. Perreault.	54. Vendome.	99. Renard de Massacre.
15. Dauseville.	55. Bruslo.	100. Vg. St. Jean.
16. Chauvin.	56. Bruslo.	101. Moreau.
17. Duval.	57. Le Page.	102. Malot.
18. Rosard.	58. St. Hilaire.	103. Francois.
19. Dupuy Freres.	59. Goublaye.	104. Vve. Brillant.
20. St. Martin.	60. Vve. Sarazin.	105. Barrason.
21. Da by.	61. Vve. Vitre.	107. Bianville.
22. Jonnelierie.	62. Lecourt.	108. Robert.
23. Forge de la Marine.	63. Poupard.	109. Gouillon.
24. Magasins des Direction.	64. Tisne.	110. Vve. Cardenal.
25. Commissary du Governm't.	65. Roger.	111. Rigaut.
26. Villeré.	66. Passepartout.	112. Daleour.
27. Maison a la Compagnie.	67. Delattes.	113. Vve. Carpentier.
28. Villeré.	68. Belair.	114. Laurent.
29. Provenche.	69. Bourbeau.	115. Bretonne.
30. Ganurit.	70. Thomasson.	116. Grandjean.
31. Pelerin.	71. Benac.	117. Grand Court.
32. Kolly Freres.	72. De Mezieres.	118. Montagu.
33. Kolly Freres.	73. Chantilly.	119. Pierre.
34. Kolly Freres.	74. Aufrere.	120. Livandais.
35. Kolly Freres.	75. Ozanne.	
36. Kolly Freres.	76. Revardi.	
37. Kolly Freres.		
38. Kolly Freres.		
39. Kolly Freres.		
40. Kolly Freres.		

his drawing. It is very fine and very regular: but it will not be so easy to execute it as it was to trace it on paper. We set out the 22d of July for Biloxi, which is the head-quarters. Between New Orleans and the sea there are no grants; they would have too little depth; there are only some small private habitations, and some magazines for the great grants.

Behind one of these habitations, which is on the right, immediately below the English Reach, there was not long since a village of the Chaonachas, the ruins of which I visited. I found nothing entire but the cabin of the chief, which was pretty much like the house of one of our peasants in France, only with this difference, that it had no windows. It was built of branches of trees, the vacancies between which were filled up with the leaves of lattanier; the roof was of the same structure. This chief is very absolute, as are all those of Florida; he never hunts or shoots but for his diversion, for his subjects are obliged to give him part of their game. His village is

123, /	Schmidt.	177.	Ringal.	210.	Le Due.
127, /		172.	Levee.	211.	Pansin.
124.	Poupart.	173.	Jean Louis.	212.	Gautier.
125.	Alexandre.	174.	Masson.	251.	
126.	Demerveilleux.	175.		213.	Rondeau.
127.	Lavigne.	176.	Belyme.	215.	Duplessis.
128.	Pompidy.	177.	Lacoste.	250.	Bacout.
129.	Lalotte.	178.	Toutin.	251.	Ducoux.
130.	Andon.	179.	Labbe.	252.	Blaiche.
131.		180.	Chesnier.	253.	Bosset.
132.	Jasande.	181.	Lemauselier.	254.	Dufos.
133.	D'Inville.	182.	Amelin.	257.	Rouget.
134.	Casseres et Forges.	184.	Bignot.	263.	Toussaint.
136.	Rose.	185.	De Beaume.	264.	Garnet.
281.		189.	St. Jean.	275.	Dausonville.
137.	Damaout.	190.	Raymont.	276.	Bonner.
138.	Vve Perot.	191.		277.	Laville.
140.	Leveuf.	192.		278.	Parer.
141.	Pernier.	193.		279.	Petit.
142.	Menard.	194.		280.	Bourdon.
143.		196.	Bramet.	271.	Gardere.
249.	La Fontaine.	196.	Bonnaventure.	272.	
144.	Sauter.	197.	Jolencour.	273.	Borduzat.
145.	Rocher.	198.	Guden.	274.	Mern.
146.	Meneville.	200.	Ragnot.	275.	Lamer.
147.	Ducantye.	201.	Dohier.	279.	Laubert.
148.	Goutay.	203.	Gleseau.	282.	Marcheterre.
149.	Bernard.	204.	Gance.	284.	Xavier Chevos.
150.	D'cas.	205.	Journel.	285.	
151.	Francoeur.	206.	Carlos.	286.	Foucher.
152.	Marie Françoise.	213.	Paul.	287.	Contablon.
153.	La France.	214.	Dauphin.	288.	Bourgaignon.
311.		215.	Mesnier.	291.	
154.	Forestier.	216.	Gallard.	294.	
156.		217.	Piney.	296.	Barre.
155.	Sauct.	318.	La Forge.	309.	Vincent.
156.	Postillo.	319.	Jean Sautz.	308.	Fonmier.
157.	Marie Miehel.	320.	Sanson.	210.	Laurent.
161.	De aer.	227.	Mosnard.	312.	Gentilhomme.
162.	D'Aranguette.	228.	Beguet.	43.	
163.	Sauvagnere.	230.		56.	
164.	La Riviere.	231.	Comtois.	84.	La Compagnie.
165.	Soyer.	232.	Mancan.	95.	
167.		232.	Saubier.	130.	
168.	Pinet.	233.	Avette.		
169.	Lemaire.	235.	Christina.		
170.	Duparc.	247.	Laclef.		

at present on the other side of the river, half a league lower, and the savages have transported thither even to the bones of their dead.

A little below their new habitation the coast is much higher than any where hereabout, and it appears to me that they should have placed the city there. It would be but twenty leagues from the sea, and with a south wind, or a moderate southeast, a ship would get up in fifteen hours. The night of the 23d we quitted the boat which had brought us hither, and embarked in a brigantine, in which we fell down with the stream all night. The next morning by day-break we had passed a new circuit, which the river makes, and which they call the Reach of the Plakimines.

We found ourselves soon after in the midst of the passes of the Mississippi, where it requires the greatest attention to work the ship, that it may not be drawn into some one of them, from whence it would be impossible to recover it. The greatest part are only little rivulets, and some are even only separated by sand banks, which are almost level with the water. It is the bar of the Mississippi which has so greatly multiplied these passes; for it is easy to conceive by the manner in which I have said there are formed every day new lands, and the river, endeavoring to escape by where it finds the least resistance, makes itself a passage, sometimes one way and sometimes another; from whence it might happen, if care was not taken, that none of these passages would be practicable for vessels. The night of the 24th we anchored beyond the bar, over against la Balise.

The contrary wind keeping us still here, we were willing to make some advantage of this delay. Yesterday, the 25th, being Sunday, I began by singing a great mass in the island, which they call la Balise, on account of a sea-mark which they have set up for the direction of ships. I afterwards blessed it, we named it Toulouse Island,\* and we sang the Te Deum. This island is scarce more than half a league in compass, taking in also another island, which is separated from it by a gutter, where there is always water. On the other hand it is very low, excepting only one place, where the floods never come, and where there is room enough to build a fort and some magazines. They might unload vessels here, which could not easily pass the bar with their whole lading.

M. de Panger sounded this place with the lead, and found the bottom pretty hard, and of clay, though there come out of it five or

\* This island, situated, at the time of the visit of Father Charlevoix, on the edge of the Gulf of Mexico, is now more than nine miles inland from the present mouths of the Mississippi.



six little springs, but which yield little water; this water leaves on the sand a very fine salt. When the river is lowest, that is to say, during the three hottest months of the year, the water is salt round this island: in the time of the floods it is quite fresh, and the river preserves its freshness a good league in the sea. At all other times it is a little saltish beyond the bar. Therefore it is entirely a fable, which has been reported, that for twenty leagues the Mississippi does not mix its waters with those of the sea.

M. Pauger and I passed the rest of the day with the pilot Kerlasio, who commanded the brigantine, in sounding and discovering the only mouth of the river which is navigable; and these are exactly our observations on the state in which we found it, for I do not answer for the changes which may happen in it. It runs northwest and southeast the space of three hundred fathom, in going up from the open sea quite to the island of Toulouse, over against which there are three little islands, which have yet nothing growing on them, though they are pretty high. In all this interval, its breadth is two hundred and fifty fathom, its depth is eighteen feet in the middle, the bottom soft ooze: but we must navigate here with the sounding-line in hand, when we are not used to the channel.

From hence going upwards we make still the northwest for four hundred fathom, at the end of which there is still fifteen water, the same bottom; and it is to be observed that every where the anchorage is safe, and that we are sheltered from all the winds but the south and the southeast, which may, when they are violent, make the ships drive with their anchors, but without danger, because they would run on the bar, which is a soft ooze: then we make the northwest by northeast for five hundred fathom. This is properly the bar, twelve feet water, mean depth; we must also work here with great attention, for we meet with many banks; this bar is two hundred and fifty fathom wide between low lands that are covered with reeds.

In the pass of the east, which is immediately above, we make full west for a league: it is two hundred and fifty fathom wide, and from four to fifteen feet in depth. Then all at once we find no bottom. In taking again the great pass at coming off the bar, we make again the northwest the space of three hundred fathom, and we have always here forty-five feet water. We leave on the right the pass of Sauvole, by which boats may go to Biloxi, making the north: this place took its name from an officer, whom M. d'Iberville made commandant in the colony upon his return to France.

Then we must return to the west and by northwest for fifty fathom, and in a kind of bay, which we leave on the left; at the end

of this space there are three passes, one to the south-southeast, another to the south, and a third to the west-southwest. This bay is notwithstanding only ten fathom deep, and twenty wide; but these passes have little water. We continue to follow the same rhumb of the wind, and at fifty fathom farther there is on the same hand a second bay, which is twenty fathom wide and fifty deep. It contains two little passes, which canoes of bark would be troubled to get through, and therefore they seldom reckon them among the passes. From hence we take to the west for the space of five hundred fathom, and we come over against the pass à la Loure (of the Otter). It is five hundred fathom wide, but is passable only for pettiaugres. Then we turn to the southwest for twenty fathom; we return to the west for three hundred, then to the west by-north the space of one hundred; to the west-northwest as many, to the northwest eight hundred; then we find on the left the pass of the south, which is two hundred and fifty fathom wide, nine fathom water at its entrance on the side towards the river, and two feet only where it goes out to the sea. Two hundred and fifty fathom farther is the pass of the southwest, nearly the same breadth: never less than seven or eight feet water. Hereabout the country begins to be not so marshy, but it is overflowed during four months of the year. It is bounded on the left by a succession of little lakes, which are at the end of that of the Chitimaches; and on the right by the islands de la Chaudelour (Candlemas): it is thought that between these islands there is a passage for the largest vessels, and that it would be easy to make a good port here. Great barks may go up from the sea to the lake of the Chitimaches, and nothing hinders from going thither to cut down the finest oaks in the world, with which all this coast is covered.

I think it would be best to stop all the passes but the principal one, and nothing would be easier; to effect this we need only guide the floating trees into them, with which the river is almost always covered. From hence it would follow in the first place, that nothing would enter the river, not even barks and canoes, but by one passage, which would defend the colony from surprises; in the second place, that all the force of the current of the river being united, its sole mouth would deepen itself as well as the bar. I found this conjecture on what had happened at the two points cut off, which I mentioned before. Then there would be nothing more to do than to preserve the channel, and to hinder the floating trees from causing any obstruction in it, which does not appear to me to be very difficult.

As to what concerns the breadth of the river between the passes, that is to say, for the four leagues from the island of Toulouse to the

pass of the southwest, it is never more than fifty fathom: but immediately above this pass, the Mississippi insensibly recovers its usual breadth, which is never less than a mile, and seldom more than two miles. Its depth also increases from the bar upwards, which is the reverse of all other rivers, which are commonly the deeper the nearer they come to the sea.

It would be here a proper place, Madam, to entertain you with the causes of the failure of those numerous grants which have made so much noise in France, and on which so many persons had built such mighty hopes; but I had rather refer this to our first interview, and confine myself at present to communicate to you my thoughts of the method that persons should pursue in settling in this country, if the success of so many efforts, and of such large sums advanced to no purpose, does not entirely disgust our nation.

It appears to me that the habitations ought not to be placed on the side of the river; but I would have them removed higher up the country, at least a quarter of a league, or even half a league. I am not ignorant that it is possible to be freed from the inconveniences of the common floods by making good ditches; but I think it is a great inconvenience to build upon a soil where, if you dig ever so little, you immediately find water; and of consequence one can have no cellars. I am also of opinion that they would be great gainers by leaving the lands all open to the annual inundation of the river.

The mud that settles on them, when the waters are gone off, renews and enriches them: one might employ a part of them in pasturage, the other might be sown with rice, pulse, and in general with every thing that requires rich and wet lands. In time we should see on both sides of the Mississippi nothing but gardens, orchards and meadows, which would be sufficient to feed the people, and would supply matter for a useful commerce with our islands and the other neighboring colonies. In short, I think I could answer for it, having lauded twice or thrice every day as I came down the river, that almost every where, at a little distance from the sides, we may find high grounds, where we might build on a solid foundation, and where wheat would grow very well when they have given air to the country by thinning the woods.

As to what concerns the navigation of the river, it will always be difficult when we are to go up it, because of the strength of the current, which obliges us even in going down to be very cautious, as it bears upon points that run out, and upon shoals; so that to navigate it safely we must have vessels that have both sails and oars. Moreover, as we cannot go forward at night when it is cloudy, these voy-

ages will be always very tedious and expensive, at least till the borders of the river have settlements near each other, on the whole extent of the country, that is, between the Illinois and the sea.\*

Such, Madam, is this country which they have so much talked of in France for some years, and of which few people have a just idea. We have not been the first Europeans to acknowledge the goodness of it and to neglect it. Ferdinand de Soto ran over it for the space of three years, and his historian† could not forgive him for not having made a solid settlement here. "Where could he go," says he, "to do better?"

Indeed, I never heard Louisiana lightly spoken of, but by three sorts of people that have been in the country, and whose testimony is certainly to be rejected. The first are the mariners, who, from the road of Ship Island or Isle Dauphin, could see nothing but that island quite covered with barren sand, and the still more sandy coast of Biloxi, and who suffered themselves to be persuaded that the entrance of the Mississippi was impassable for ships of a certain bulk, or that it was necessary to go fifty leagues up this river to find a

\* Even after the mouths of the Mississippi were surveyed, sounded, and buoyed, ships arriving from Europe preferred to anchor at Ship Island, than to encounter the difficulties of crossing the bar and ascending the river to New Orleans, which sometimes took a month or more. Steam-tugs had not then been thought of. The southeast pass was then the only practicable entrance for vessels drawing fourteen feet of water; and to preserve as well as to improve it, a *mole* built of piles was thrown up which preserved the channel from the extreme point of main land to the sea. A water battery, a military post, store-houses, a powder magazine, and chapel, were built upon the bank formed by these piles. A garrison of fifty men was usually kept there, as well as pilots and a few sailors. This spot was known as Balize fort. At first constructed on the edge of the shore, about seven hundred yards from the Gulf, the deposits of earth by the current of the river have been so great that it now stands about nine miles from the sea-shore. The engineer de Panger, to increase the depth of that mouth or channel, proposed to inclose it between two moles built of drift-wood covering an extent of two thousand four hundred yards. This plan would doubtless have improved the channel, but it was never executed. Although this channel has remained about the same ever since, still it is deeply to be regretted that scarcely any efforts have been made to increase its depth, which would not only have been of great advantage to commerce, but would have prevented much destruction of property, and valuable land and plantations from being annually inundated. Fifty thousand dollars a year, if *judiciously* laid out by the State, would insure sixty or seventy feet of water in this channel, through which probably pass upwards of two hundred millions of dollars annually; besides lessening the risk to merchants and ship-owners.

† Garcilaso de la Vega's History of the Conquest of Florida.

place that was habitable. They would have been quite of another opinion if they could have mistrusted those who talked to them in this manner, and have discovered the motives which induced them so to do.

The second sort are poor wretches who are being driven out of France for their crimes or bad conduct, true or false, or who, whether to shun the pursuit of their creditors, have engaged themselves in the troops and in the grants. Both these looking upon this country as a place of banishment, are disgusted at everything. They do not interest themselves in the success of a colony, of which they are members against their inclination, and they concern themselves very little about the advantages which it may procure for the state: the greatest part of them are not even capable of perceiving these advantages.

The third sort are those who, having seen nothing but poverty in a country on which excessive expenses have been bestowed, attribute to it without reflection that we ought entirely to cast on the incapacity or on the negligence of those who had the care of settling it. You also know very well the reasons they had to publish that Louisiana contained great treasures, and that it brought us near the famous mines of St. Barbe and other still richer, from which they flattered themselves they could easily drive away the possessors; and because these idle stories had gained credit with some silly people, instead of imputing to themselves the error, in which they were engaged by their foolish credulity, they have discharged their spleen on the country, where they have found nothing of what had been promised them.

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ON BOARD THE ADOUR, April 5, 1722.

The 26th, after having closed my letter, I embarked, and we prepared to sail; but after we had made one tack to the south, the wind coming against us obliged us to return to our anchorage, and to remain there the two following days. The 29th we weighed anchor early in the morning, but the wind was so weak and the sea ran so high, that in twenty-four hours we made but fourteen leagues, which was but half the way we had to go. The 30th we had neither the wind more favorable nor the sea more calm till towards four in the afternoon, when a shower of rain cleared up the weather, which was very thick, and calmed the sea; but after an hour or two the mist

returned, and became so thick that, not being able to see how to steer our vessel, we came to an anchor. The next day as the fog did not disperse, M. de Pauzer and I went into the boat to gain the road of l'Isle aux Vaisseaux\* (Ship Island); we visited there some ships of France, and we got back to Biloxi about four in the afternoon.

All this coast is extremely flat; merchant ships cannot come

\* *Ship Island* was always the first point on the coast where vessels anchored on coming from France. A fort was built there with convenient accommodations for troops, besides warehouses for the storage of goods and supplies for the colony.

For a number of years Biloxi was the principal factory of the company until the head-quarters were removed to Mobile. Here Iberville built a fort, a barracks for the troops, and sheds for the colonists, until they could be removed to other points. On Deer Island a hospital was built for the accommodation of the sick. The transportation of the colonists was performed by boats of the company, which starting from Biloxi, passed through lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas and Bayou Mauchac. At the outlet of the bay, a post was established which communicated directly with the upper part of the river, by means of stations ranged all along its course, at which boats employed in carrying correspondence and conveying troops could obtain all their necessary supplies. The boats on the river stopped at the port of Mauchac, which before the head-quarters were removed, was sometimes called New Orleans. Those of Biloxi only passed from Mauchac to Biloxi. Thirty miles a day was considered a good passage for boats going up the river Mississippi. The government of France, at this early period, had recommended the opening of a road by land from Biloxi to the country of the Illinois, to obviate the delays which the overflow of the river occasioned in the correspondence between these two points of the colony. A bearer of dispatches left each of these points once a month. Dauphin Island, near the entrance of Mobile bay, was for many years an important post. It was regularly fortified and served as a convenient harbor for the French shipping in summer. There was a military post at the mouth of Bayou St. John, nine miles from New Orleans, defended by a battery of six guns. One at Cat Island; one at the Balize; one at Point Compée; one at Natchez; one at Natchitoches; one on the Arkansas; one at the Yasons; one at Attakapas; one at the Illinois; and one on the Alabama. Each of these posts was under the command of a chief, who exercised both civil and military jurisdiction. The administration seat of the colony remained at Biloxi until the year 1723, when Governor Bienville removed his head-quarters to New Orleans. This transfer gave an impetus to New Orleans, which from a miserable hamlet, has now become the third great commercial mart of the United States, and is doubtless destined, when the Tehuantepec route is opened between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and the lines of railroads connecting the South with the North are completed, to be what Alexandria in Egypt was in the times of the Romans, the great inter-oceanic capital of the world. Already her exports exceed that of any city in the United States, while with well-directed enterprise, and encouraging coastwise and foreign steam navigation with all parts of the world, her imports may be made to exceed in a very

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 nearer it than four leagues, and the smallest brigantine than two; and even these are obliged to go further off when the wind is north or northwest, or else they find themselves on ground; as it happened the night before I debarked. The road is the whole length of Ship Island, which extends a small league from east to west, but has very little breadth. To the east of this island is Dauphin Island, formerly called Massacre Island, where there was a tolerable port, which a gust of wind shut up in two hours, a little more than a year ago, by filling the entrance of it with sand. To the west of Ship Island lie one behind the other the Island des Chats or de Bienville, the Island à Corne, and the Isles de la Chandeleur.

What they call the Biloxi is the coast of the main land, which is to the north of the road. This is the name of a nation of savages which were settled there formerly, but who are now retired towards the northwest, on the borders of a little river called the river of pearls, because they have found in it a poor sort of pearls. They could not have chosen a worse situation for the general quarters of the colony, for it can neither receive any succors from the ships, nor give them any, for the reasons I have mentioned. Besides this, the road has two great faults; the anchorage is not good and it is full of worms, which damage all the ships; the only service it is of is to shelter the ships from a sudden gust of wind when they come to discover the mouth of the Mississippi, which, having only low lands, it would be dangerous to approach in bad weather without having first discovered it.

The Biloxi is not more valuable for its land than for its sea. It is nothing but sand, and there grows there little besides pines and cedars. The cassine, otherwise called the apalachine, also grows there every where in plenty. It is a very small shrub, the leaves of which, infused like those of tea, pass for a good dissolvent and an excellent sudorific, but its principal quality is diuretic. The Spaniards use it in all Florida; it is even their common drink. It began to be used in Paris when I left it; but we were then in a bad time

few years, her great rival in wealth and enterprise, the city of New-York. The following table will give some idea of the extent of country watered by numerous large rivers, which is now made by steamboat navigation, in some measure tributary to the commerce of New Orleans, viz.:-

Valley of the Ohio, . . . . .	200 000	sq. miles.
“ “ Mississippi proper, . . . . .	180 000	“
“ “ Missouri, . . . . .	500 000	“
“ “ Lower Mississippi, . . . . .	330 000	“
	<hr/>	
Area in square miles, . . . . .	1,210,000	“

for new trials; they dropped as suddenly as they were taken up. Nevertheless, I know that several persons who have used apalachine praise it greatly.

There are two kinds, which differ only in the size of the leaves. Those of the large sort are above an inch long, the others are little more than half that length. In shape and substance they are much like the leaves of box, except that they are rounder at the ends and of a brighter green. The name of apalachine which we have given this shrub, comes from the Apalaches, a people of Florida, from whom the Spaniards learnt its use, and this is their manner of preparing it.

They set on the fire in an earthen pot a certain quantity of leaves, and they let them parch in it till their color becomes reddish, then they pour water on them gently till the pot is full. This water takes the color of the leaves, and it froths when it is poured out, like beer. They drink it as hot as possible, and the savages would sooner go without eating than miss drinking it night and morning; they think they should be sick if they went without it, and it is said the Spaniards have the same notion.

Half an hour after they have taken it, it begins to pass off, and this lasts an hour. It is hard to conceive how a drink which passes so soon through the body can be so nourishing as they say it is: it is easy to comprehend that it may cleanse away whatever hinders the passage of the urine, and causes diseases of the reins. When the savages would purge themselves, they mix sea-water with it, and this produces great evacuations; but if the dose of sea-water is too strong it may kill them, and this is not without example. I have seen it taken in France without so much ado in preparing it, and in the manner one makes tea, but only doubling the dose, and making it boil near half a quarter of an hour; and I make no doubt but that it has then a great effect.

They find here also a kind of myrtle with large leaves, which I knew already was very common on the coast of Acadia, and of the English colonies on this continent. Some give it the name of laurel, but they are mistaken: its leaves have the smell of myrtle, and the English always call it the candle myrtle. This shrub bears a little grain, which being thrown into boiling water swims upon it and becomes a green wax, less fat and more brittle than that of bees, but as good to burn. The only inconvenience they have found in it is that it breaks too easily, but they might mix it with another wax extremely liquid which they get in the woods of the islands of America, which, however, is not necessary, unless they want to make large tapers. I have seen candles made of it which gave as good a light and



which lasted as long as ours. Our missionaries of the neighborhood of Acadia mix suet with it, which makes them apt to run, because the suet does not mix well with this wax.

The Sieur Alexandre, who is here in the service of the company in the quality of surgeon and botanist, mixes nothing with it, and his candles have not this fault; their light is soft and very clear, and the smoke they make when they are blown out has a smell of myrtle very agreeable. He is in hopes of finding a way to blanch them, and he showed me a mass of it, which was above half blanched. He says that if they would allow him five or six of those slaves who are least fit for the common labors, to gather the grain in the season, he could make wax enough to load a ship every year.

At thirteen or fourteen leagues from the Biloxi, inclining to the east, we find the river of the Maubile, which runs from the north to the south, and the mouth of which is over against Dauphin Island. It rises in the country of the Chicachas, and its course is about a hundred and thirty leagues. Its bed is very narrow, and it winds much, which does not hinder it being very rapid; but there are scarce any but the little pettiagre that can go up it when the waters are low. We have on this river a fort, which has been a long time the principal post of the colony; yet the lands are not good, but its situation near the Spaniards makes it convenient for trading with them, and this was all they sought for at that time.

It is reported that at some leagues beyond the fort they have discovered a quarry: if this be true, and the quarry abounds with stone, it may prevent the entire desertion of this post, which many inhabitants begin to forsake, being unwilling to cultivate any longer a soil which does not answer the pains they take to improve it. Nevertheless, I do not believe that they will easily resolve to evacuate the fort of Maubile, though it should serve only to keep in our alliance the Tchaetas, a numerous people, who make us a necessary barrier against the Chicachas, and against the savages bordering on Carolina. Garcilasso de la Vega, in his history of Florida, speaks of a village called Mauvilla, which no doubt gave its name to the river, and to the nation that was settled on its borders. These Mauvilians were then very powerful; at present there are hardly any traces left of them.

They are at present engaged in seeking to the west of the Mississippi, a place fit to make a settlement which may bring us nearer to Mexico; and they think they have found it at a hundred leagues from the mouth of the river, in a bay which bears the name sometimes of St. Magdalen, and sometimes of St. Louis, but oftener that

of St. Bernard. It receives many rivers, some of which are pretty large; and it was there that M. de la Salle landed when he missed the mouth of the Mississippi. A brigantine has been sent lately thither to reconnoitre it, but they found there some savages, who appear little disposed to receive us, and whom they did not treat in such a manner as to gain them to us. I also hear that the Spaniards have very lately prevented this design by settling there before us.

There is in truth something more pressing and better to be done than this enterprise. I know that commerce is the soul of colonies, and that they are of no use to such a kingdom as ours but for this end, and to hinder our neighbors from growing too powerful; but if they do not begin by cultivating the lands, commerce, after having enriched some private persons, will soon drop, and the colony will not be established. The neighborhood of the Spaniards may have its use, but let us leave it to them to approach us as much as they will, we are not in a condition, and we have no need, to extend ourselves farther. They are peaceable enough in this country, and they will never be strong enough to give us any uneasiness. It is not even their interest to drive us out of this country; and if they do not comprehend it yet, they will without doubt soon be sensible that they cannot have a better barrier against the English than Louisiana.

The heat was already very troublesome at the Biloxi in the middle of March, and I judge that when the sun has once heated the sand on which we walk here, the heat must be excessive. They say indeed that without the breeze which rises pretty regularly every day between nine and ten in the morning, and continues till sunset, it would be impossible to live here. The mouth of the Mississippi is in twenty-nine degrees latitude, and the coast of the Biloxi is in thirty. We had here in the month of February some cold weather, when the wind blew from the north and northwest, but it did not last long; and it was even followed by great heats with thunder and lightning and storms, so that in the morning we were in winter, and in the afternoon in summer, with some small intervals of spring and autumn between both. The breeze comes generally from the east. When it comes from the south it is only a reflected wind, which is much less refreshing; but it is still a wind, and when it falls entirely there is no breathing.

The 24th of March I departed from Biloxi, where I had been stopped by a jaundice, which held me about a month, and I returned to New Orleans, where I was to embark in a pink belonging to the company named the *Adour*. I made this voyage in a peltiagre, and I never yet made one more disagreeable. Five leagues from the

Biloxi, the west wind, which in three hours brought me there, gave place to a south wind so violent that I was obliged to stop. I had scarce time to set up my tent before we were overflowed with a deluge of rain, accompanied with thunder.

Two little vessels that set out with me were willing to take advantage of the wind, which carried them a great way in a few hours, and I was very sorry that I could not do the same, but I soon heard that their fate deserved rather pity than envy. The first was in continual danger of being lost, and her passengers arrived at New Orleans rather dead than alive. The other was run aground about half way, and five persons were drowned in a meadow, of which the storm had made a lake. The wind continued all night with the same violence, and the rain did not cease till the next day at noon. It began again at night, and continued till day with thunder.

When we sail in sight of this coast it appears very pleasant, but when we come nearer it is not the same thing. It is all along a sand as at the Biloxi, and we find on it only poor woods. I observed here a kind of sorrel which has the same taste as ours, but the leaves of which are narrower; and which causes, as they say, the bloody-flux. There is also in these parts a kind of ash, which they call Bois d'Amourette (Lover's Wood), the bark of which is full of prickles, and passes for a sovereign remedy, and very speedy against the tooth-ache.

The 26th it rained all the day, and though the sea was calm we made little way. We got a little further the 27th, but the following night we went out of our course above the island of Pearls. The next day we went and encamped at the entrance of lake Pontchartrain, having left a little before on the right the river of Pearls, which has three mouths. The separation of these three branches is at four leagues from the sea, and the Biloxies are a little above it.

In the afternoon we crossed the lake Pontchartrain. This traverse is seven or eight leagues, and at midnight we entered the Bayoue of St. John. Those who first navigated this lake, found it, as they say, so full of caimans (alligators) that they could scarce give a stroke of the oar without hitting one. They are at present very scarce in it, and we only saw some traces of them at our encamping; for these animals lay their eggs on the land. After I had rested myself a little at coming out of the lake, I pursued my way by land, and I arrived at New Orleans before day.

The *Adour* was gone from thence, but not far, and I came up with her the next day, the 1st of April. The inundation was at its height, and of consequence the river much more rapid than I found

it two months before. Moreover, a ship, especially a pinnace, is not so easily worked as a sloop; and as our sailors were not used to this navigation, we had a great deal of trouble to get out of the river. The ship driven sometimes to one shore and sometimes to the other, often tangled its yards and tackling in the trees, and they were obliged more than once to cut away the tackling to free us from this embarrassment. It was worse still when we came to the passes, for the current always drew us into the nearest with great violence. We got even into one of the smallest, and I could never yet conceive how we could get out again. We came off, however, with the loss of an anchor which we left there. We had already lost two days before, so that we had only two remaining. Such a bad beginning made us a little thoughtful, but the youth and little skill of those with whom they had trusted us gave us still more uneasiness.

The *Abour* is a very pretty vessel of three hundred tons burthen. It sailed from France with a very good crew, under the conduct of a captain who understood his business, and a lieutenant who had a very good character. The latter was left sick at St. Domingo. The captain soon after his arrival at the Biloxi, quarrelled with one of the directors of the company, who displaced him. To supply the places of these two officers, they have chosen a young man of St. Malo, who came three years ago to Louisiana, in the station of pilot's mate or apprentice, and who since that time got the command of a sloop in the road of the Biloxi, to go sometimes to la Maubile and sometimes to New Orleans with provisions. He appears to have every thing that is requisite to become a skilful mariner: he loves his business and applies himself to it; but we should be very willing to see nothing of his little experience, especially in a navigation which is attended with great difficulties.

He has for his second an officer who came from France in the quality of Ensign; he also is a young man very fit to be a subaltern under principals of experience, who would leave nothing to him but the care of executing their orders. It would be hard to find a seaman of more courage in a storm, which he has been used to from his childhood in the painful fisheries of Newfoundland; and two or three shipwrecks from which he has happily escaped, has given him a confidence, which I shall be much surprised if he does not come into a bad plight by.

Our first pilot appears a little more experienced than these two officers, and they depend much on the knowledge he has of the channel of Bahama, which he has passed once already. But this is but little to be acquainted with this passage the most dangerous that

there is in the American seas, and where they reckon shipwrecks by thousands. Moreover, I am greatly apprehensive that a certain self-sufficient air which I observe in him will produce some fatal effect. He has two subalterns who are very good natured fellows; we have fifty sailors of Bretagne, a little mutinous, but strong and vigorous; almost all have been at the cod fishery, and that is a good school. The seamen appear to be men of judgment and experience

In spite of all these hindrances which I have mentioned, we anchored on the outside the bar the 2d, at night; we passed it the 3d, and for want of wind we could go no farther. Yesterday we were again stopped all the day, and this night we have had a storm from the south, which made us give thanks to the Lord that we were not at sea so near the coast. I hope, madam, to write you in a short time from St. Domingo, whither our pink is bound to take in a cargo of sugar, which lays there ready for us. I take the advantage of a sloop which is going up to New Orleans, to send this letter to you by a vessel that is bound directly for France.

COPPIE

D'VNE

LETTRE VENANT DE LA FLORIDE,

ENVOYEE A ROUEN,

ET DEPUIS AU SEIGNEUR D'EUERON;

ENSEMBLE

LE PLAN ET PORTRAICT DU FORT

QUE LES FRANÇOIS Y ONT FAICT.

1564.\*

Mon tres honoré pere estât arrivé en ceste terre de la Nouvelle France, en bonne prospérité et santé (Dieu merey) lequel ie prie que ainsi soit-il de vous. Je n'ay voulu faillir à prendre la plume en la main, et la faire courir sur le papier, pour vous faire vn petit discours de l'isle de la Floride diete la Nouvelle France, et de la sorte

\* This is an important document, because it fixes the precise time and place of settlement of the first French colony in New France, about forty years after its discovery by Verazzano, and corrects the mistake that M. de la Harpe has fallen into by fixing on Pensacola bay as the place where M. Landouiere built fort Carolina, and planted a French colony. The honor of the discovery of this part of North America, called by the Spaniards, Florida, no doubt belongs to them, but after the disastrous expeditions of Ponce de Leon, Pamfile de Narvaez, and Hernando de Soto, to take possession, it was virtually abandoned by the Crown of Spain, as a vast wilderness unfit for conquest and unworthy of her arms. It was not therefore until the Huguenots of France, under the patronage of Admiral Coligny, had fled from the persecution and intolerance of the Catholic Church in the reign of Charles the Ninth, to found a Protestant empire in New France (North America), that the Crown of Spain pretended to set up any title to it. The French, therefore, are not only entitled to the honor of building the first fort and establishing the first colony in that country, but also for having explored the Mississippi and the countries bordering on it, and the Gulf of Mexico, which they afterwards colonized and called Louisiana.

et maniere des saunages. Lequel vo' plaira prédre en gré, vous suppliat tres humblement m'auoir pour excusé si ne vous escriptz plus amplement comme desirerois. Mais la cause a esté que traueillons iournellement à nostre fort, lequel est de present en defencee.

Nous partismes du Haure le xxii de avril, 1564, soulbz la conduite du seigneur René de Laudonniere, gentil-homme Poiteuin, ayant charge de trois nauires de guerre, dont celle sur laquelle il nauigeoit se nomme *l'Ysabeau*, ds Hômlleur, dôt est maistre Jean Lucas, dudiet lieu admiral : l'autre lequel estoit vis-admiral nauigeoit le capitaine Vasseur, de Dieppe, lequel se nommoit *le Petit Becté*, auquel estois embarqué, et ay fait mé voyage : l'autre se nomme *le Paulcon*, auquel nauigeoit le capitaine Pierre Marchant, lesquelz tous ensemble (auec l'ayde, de nostre bon Dieu qu'auons eüe) auôs tousiours nauigé ensemble auec beau tēps, sans s'eslôgner l'un de l'autre p<sup>r</sup> de trois lieues, tellement que pouuons dire (rendant grace à Dieu) auoir esté des plus heureux nauigeôs qui furēt iamaiz en mer, voyât la grand faueur que ce bon Dieu a vsé enuers nous qui sommes patures pecheurs nous ayât conduictz en bonne prospérité sans trouuer nul empeschement sinon que côme passions par la coste d'Angleterre trouuasmes enuiron dix huict ou vingt hurques, que nous estimôs estre Anglois, qui nous gnettoiens pour nous prendre, et les ayâs descouuerts nous nous mismes en bataille pour les receuoir : car l'o nous auoit diet auât de partir qu'il y auoit des Anglois qui nous gnettoient pour nous prédre, et lesquelles hurques nous ayans descouuers, et nous voyâs toutes noz éseignes desployées et nos husnes bastillonnées tous prêts à combatre, nous appereusmes l'admiral et le vis admiral desdictes hurques qui faisoient réger les autres hurques et puis s'en vindrent droiet à nous, et nous à eulx, et à ceste heure nous appereusmes q' c'estoiēt hurques de Flâdres ausquelles no' parlasmes, lesquelles nous dirent qu'ils alloient en brouage pour charger du sel parquoy nous les laissasmes aller, et prinsmes nostre route iusques au vingt deuxieme iour de iuin, que nous sommes arriuez à le venue de la Nouvelle France, autres fois appelée la Floride, où nous sentismes vne douceur odoriferante de plusieurs bonnes choses à cause du vent qui venoit de la terre, et voyans la terre fort platte sans vne seulle montaigne, fort droiete au lóg de la mer, et toute plaine de beaux arbres, et tous bois tout le long de la riué de la mer. Je vous laisse à penser en quelle ioye nous pouuions estre tous, mesmes que sur le midy nous eusmes cognoissance d'vne fort belle riuère, où il print enuie audit seigneur de Laudonniere y descendre pour la recognoistre, et de fait y alla accompagné de douze soldats seulement, et si tost que ilz mirent pied à terre, trois roys

avec plus de quatre cens sauvages, vindrent tous saluer à leur mode lediet seigneur de Laudoniere, en le flattant tous ainsi comme si on adoroit vne image. En après cela faict, lesdits roys le menerét vn peu plus loing, emiron vn traict d'arc, auquel lieu auoit vne fort belle feuillée de laurier, et là s'assirent tous ensemble, en moustrant signe d'auoir grád ioye de nostre arriuée, et aussi faisant signe (en môstrant lediet seigneur de Laudoniere et le Soleil) disant que lediet seigneur estroit frere du Soleil, et qu'il yroit faire la guerre avec eulx cõtre leurs enemys, lesquels ils appellét Tymangoua, en nous faisant signes par trois inclinations de nuët, qu'il n'y auoit que trois iournees, ce que lediet seigneur de Laudoniere leur promist qu'il yroit avec eulx, dõt l'un après l'autre, selon leur qualité, se leuerét et le remercierent. Peu après lediet seigneur voulut aller vne autre fois plus amont ladiete rivièrre, et en regardant sur vne petite dune de sable, eut cognoissance de la borne de pierre blanche, la ou les armoyries du roy sont en gravées, laquelle auoit esté plantée par le capitaine Iean Ribault,\* de Dieppe, au premier voyage qu'il fiet,

\* The Huguenots, as has been stated, were the Protestants of France. Under the patronage of their sagacious and distinguished leader, Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France, they fitted out an expedition to found a Protestant Empire in New France, America.

On the 18th February, 1562, two ships, under the command of Jean Ribaut and René Laudoniere, distinguished French officers of Marine, set sail from Dieppe for the purpose of making the first permanent European settlement in those regions of romance. They arrived on the coast of Florida, the same which had been previously described by Verazzano in 1523, and entered the river St. John's, which they called May river because they had discovered it on the first of May, but subsequently known by the name of St. Matheo, it being the day on which the Spaniards inhumanly massacred the French colony. The French navigators extended their researches along the whole coast to the capes of Virginia and returned to the river of May, where they set up a pillar of stone, on which they engraved the arms of France, as a sign of her jurisdiction. From thence they pursued a northerly course and continued to plant columns, and to take possession of the country after the usual forms, conferring names upon several rivers which they borrowed from similar well known rivers in France. They finally entered Port Royal river, where they built Fort Charles, which they named, and returned to France for further aid and supplies.

On the 22d April, 1564, M. Laudoniere sailed from France in three ships, with additional emigrants and aid and succor for the colony, which he reached on the 25th June. On the 30th June he entered the river May where he built a fort which he called Carolina, in honor of Charles IX. It was built in the form of a triangle. "On the side towards the west, which was towards the land, it was enclosed by a breastwork and towers; on the side towards the river it was enclosed by a palisade of timber; on the south side it was defended by a bastion, with a house for the ammunition. In the midst was a great court or es-



(1562) dont lediet seigneur de Laudoniere fut fort ayse, et si recogneut estre en la riuere (selon le nom que lediet Iean Ribault luy avoit donné à só arriuée qui fut au premier iour de may). L'appellant pour cette cause la riuere de May: et nous demeurasmes près ladiete borne l'espace de demie heure, q' lesdiets sauvages apporterent du mil de laurier, et de leur breuuage excellent, et embrassant ladiete borne, crians tous *tyuangoua*, côme voulant dire en faisant cela, qu'ils auroient victoire contre leurs ennemys, qu'ils appellant *tyuangoua*, et q' le Soleil noit enuoyé lediet seigneur de Laudoniere, son frere, pour les reuengor, dont apres leur avoir faict quelques presents, lediet seigneur de Laudoniere commada se retirer à bord, laissant ces pauvres gens qu'il et pleurer de notre départie: tellement qu'il y en eut un lequel se mist dans la barque par force, et vint concher à bord, et le vendredy fut renvoyé à terre.

Puis ayât leué l'âcre et régeât la coste iusques au dimanche que no' descouvrismes vne belle riuere, en laquelle lediet seigneur de Laudoniere enuoya le cappitaine Vasseur, acompagné de dis soldats, dont l'en estois l'un; et sitost que feusmes en terre trouvasmes un autre roy avec trois de ses filz et plus de deux cés sauvages, leurs femmes et leurs petits enfans, lequel roy estoit fort aagé, et nous faisoit signe auoir veu cinq lignes, assavoir les enfans de ses enfans iusques à la cinquième ligne. Lequel après nous auoir faict asseoir sus du laurier, qui estoit au pres de luy, nous faict signe de *tyuangoua*, aussi bien que les autres: mais au reste les plus grands larrons du monde, car ils prenent aussi bié du pied que de la main, nonobstant qu'ils n'ayent que des peaux devant leurs parties hôtenses, et toutes painctes de noir, en fort beau compartiment: et les femmes ont à l'entour d'elles une certaine mousse blanche fort lógue, couurant fort mamelles et leurs parties houteuses, fort obeissantes à leurs marys, non larronmesses comme les hômes, mais fort enuieuses des bagues et careans pour pendre à leur col: et un iour ayât sondé la-

planade, where was built a *corps de garde* and houses on the other side towards the north." In the following year, 1565 M. Ribaut returned to the colony with a large fleet, and relieved M. Laudoniere of his command, who afterwards sailed for France. Unfortunately for this colony and the permanence of French settlements in Florida, Ribaut's fleet was shipwrecked and dispersed in a storm. The Spaniards afterward fell suddenly upon the defenceless colonists, and committed the most cruel excesses. Thus was the French colony of Florida or New France destroyed in its infancy by an attack as cowardly as it was detestable for its barbarity. It was founded at a period when, in consequence of discoveries and settlements made to the north and south, anterior to those of the English or Spaniards, France claimed and extended her sovereignty over the whole of the new continent.

diète riuère, fut trouué assez bonne cōmodité d'entree pour les nauires, mais non pas comme celle de May, tellemēt qu'estant lediet seigneur de Laudōniere retourné à bord, delibera avec le cappitaine Vasseur, retourner à la diète riuère de May, et le mardy en suyuant nous leuasmes l'anere pour y retovrner, auquel lieu le vendredy en suyuant arriuasmes incontinent en terre, ou feusmes receuz honorablement des sauuages comme la premiere fois, et nous menerēt au lieu mesme ou de present auōs faiet nostre fort lequel se nôme le fort de la Carreline, et la on nommē ainsi parce que le roy a nom Charles, duquel en pouuez veoir le pourtraict cy apres.

Lequel fort est sur la diète riuere de May, enuiron six lieues dās la riuere loing de la mer, lequel en peu de tēps auōs si biē fortifié que l'auōs mis en defence, ayās les cōmoditez fort bonnes, leau iusque dans nostre fossé du fort: mesmes auons trouué vn certain bois d'Esquine, qui sert grādemēt à faire la diette, qui est la moindre vertu qui est en luy: car l'eau qui en procede a telle vertu en elle que si vn homme ou femme maigre en buuoit continuellement quelques tēps, il deviēdroit fort gras et replet, ayāt autres bons remedes. Nous auōs entendu par les chirurgiēs qu'elle se vend fort bien en France, et y est biē recueillie: le dit seigneur de Laudōniere a defēdu à nous autres soldats d'en enuoyer par les presens nauires, et n'y a q' luy qui en enuoye pour faire presēt au roy, et aux autres princes de Frāce, et à monsieur l'admiral: avec de l'or d'vne mine qu'auōs trouué par deçā: mais a donné cōgé s'en fournir pour les premiers, nauires qui reuiendrōt: tellemēt qu'avec l'ayde de Dieu s'en feray bōne prouision, m'asseurant qu'elle sera fort requise par de la, ou en autre lieu. Voulant lediet seigneur de Laudōniere s'il y a profit que ses soldats en ayent leur part. Auons trouué aussi vne certaine sorte de cānelle, mais non de la bonne, quelque peu de searlatte, et aussi de la rubarbe, mais fort peu: toutes fois auōs esperance qu'avec le temps on pourra s'asseurer des cōmoditez qui y pourrōt estre. A vingt-cinq lieues de nostre fort y a vne riuere laquelle se nomme le lourdain, en laquelle se trouue de fort belles peaux de martres sublimes, auquel lieu esperons aller avec l'aide de Dieu, auant qu'il soit six semaines. Au surpl' il y a fort beau cedre rouge cōme sang, et ces bois en sont cy plains q' ce n'est quasi autre chose: et aussi force pins, et d'vne autre sorte de bois qui est fort iaulne: et mesmes les bois sont si plaines de vignes, que vous ne seauriez marcher deux pas que ne trouuex force raisins, et cōmencēt à présent à meurir, tellement que nous esperons faire bientost du vin, qui sera quelque peu bon. Aussi le seigneur de Laudōniere delibera quinze iours apres la fortification du fort, enuoyer deux barques à Tymangoua, et de

faict le samedi quinziesme iour de ce presët mois y allerët, dont estoit conducteur monsieur d'Antigny et le cappitaine Vasseur, et y demurerët jusque au xviii en suspeant, et estät de retour apporterent fort bönes nouuelles, disans auoir descouuert la mine d'or et d'argët, auquel lieu y peut auoir enuiron de nostre fort soixante lieues, et si lon y va par nostre riuere de May : ou estäs arriuez traffiquerët avec les sauuages, lesquels eurent grand crainte, se tenäs tousiours sur leur gardes, à cause de leurs voisins qui leur fõt tousiours la guerre, cöme ils möstrerët depuis audiet seigneur d'Antigny, et audiet cappitaine Vasseur. L'arriüee fut telle qu'ils laisserët leurs almadis sur le bort de leau. la ou fut mis par le diet seigneur d'Antigny quelque marchädise et feit retirer les barques, les quelles estant retirées lesdiets sauuages approchant de leurs almadis ou trouuerent ladiete marchandise, et cömençët à s'asseurer, faisant signe q' lö s'approchast, criät *Amy Thyppola Panassoon!* qui est autät à dire frere et amy cöme les doigtz de la main. Ce que voyant le diet seigneur d'Antigny et le cappitaine Vasseur s'approcherent et ayänt recens grädes cerimonies, les menerët à leur village. et les traierët à leur mode, qui est de döner du mil et de leau boullie avec vne certain herbe de laquelle ils vsent, qui est fort böne, en sorte que s'il plaict à Dieu nö' döner la grace de viure encor deux ans, nous esperös avec l'ayde qu'il plaira au roy nous enuoyer, luy garder la diete mine. Entre cy et lediet teps i'espere cöprödre la maniere de faire desdits sauuages, lesquels sont fort bönes gens, estät la traffique avec eulx fort aisée, möstrant par signe qu'ils bailleröt autant d'or et d'argent q' la grädeur de ce qu'on leur baillera, soit hasches, serpes, cousteux, ou careans de petite valleur.

Je n'ay voulu oublier à vous escrire que hier vendredy fut prins vn grand cocodrille, de la mesme sorte d'vn lezard, mais a les bras cöme une personne avec les ioinetures, et cinq doigtz aux pattes de deuant, et quatre à celles de derriere : duquel la peau est enuoyé en Fräce par les presäs nauires qui s'en retournët : en la diete riuere on ne voit autres choses que cocodrilles, et en iettät la seine dans leau pour pescher, lö pröd des plus terribles poissons que iamais lon ayt encores veu. Adieu.

HISTOIRE MÉMORABLE  
DU  
DERNIER VOYAGE AUX INDES,  
LIEU APPELE  
LA FLORIDE, (NOUVELLE FRANCE,)

FAIT PAR LE CAPITAINE JEAN RIBAUT,  
ET ENTREPRIS PAR LE COMMANDEMENT DU ROY,

EN L'AN M. D. LXV.

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Le roy et plusieurs princes et seigneurs en son conseil; appa-  
rauât que les troubles et tumultes de la guerre civile s'esleuassent en  
ce royaume, auoit arresté d'enuoyer vn bon nôbre d'hommes avec  
plusieurs nauires en l'vne des contrées des Indes, nommée la Floride,  
nouuellement cogne et descouerte par les François, parquoy l'édit  
de pacification publié de l'autorité de sa maiesté, le propos se con-  
tinua et pour excecuer l'enterprise, Iean Ribaut, hôme de cœur et  
de conseil, et grandemêt exerceé en la marine, fut mandé à la cour et  
receut la cômmission du roy de faire équipper sept nauires, qui portas-  
sent hommes, viures et munitions et de là, l'honorant du titre de son  
lieutenât, et chef de tous ces gens de guerre, qu'il luy auoit com-  
mandé leuer, à l'expédition d'vne telle enterprise, et luy fut expres-  
sément défendu de n'attenter aucune descente en quelque autre pays  
ou isle que ce fust, singulieremêt en nulle qui seroit sous la seigneu-  
rie du roy d'Espagne, ains que singlât la grand' mer Oceane, il fist  
route droit à la Floride. Les nouvelles de ce voyage à faire furent  
incontinêt diuulgüées par tout, et plusieurs furent persuadez à se  
submettre au commandement de ce capitaine, et sous l'autorité du  
roy, menez toutes fois d'affections diuerses, car les vns estoient in-  
citez d'vn desir honeste et louable d'auancer en la cognoissâce de  
l'univers, pour en rapporter la science telle que le cœur de l'homme

bien assis desire naturellement. ayant opinion qu'a cela la navigation leur apporteroit grâd auantage, les autres eschauffez encor en leur cœur guerrier, si rendirent aussi : aimâs mieux encourir la fascherie des eaux, que posans les armes se retirer à leur première céditioin, ce qui pouuoit aussi bien fort inciter les vns et les autres, e' estoit le bruit qui couroit par deçà, c'est à sauoir que la Floride promettoit le suffisant contentement de tout ce que l'homme pourroit desirer en la terre, d'autant que ce pays receuoit du ciel vne faueur et demeure singulière, quand il ne seroit ne glacé ne gelé de la roide froidure du septentrion, ne rosty et bruslé de l'ardeur du midi : que les champs sans estre labourez ou auenuemét exercez, produisent assez de quoy soustenir et suffisamment entretenir la vie du peuple qui y habiteroit : qu'il semble que pour en faire vn pays de plus fertiles et riches de toute la rondeur des terres, ne seroit requis sinon qu'hommes diligés et industriens qui employassent la bonté et graisse de la terre, à l'utilité pu genre humain, qu'ayant son estédue de l'aquilon au septétrion, quasi en pareille longitude que nostre Europe, et la latitude de 23 degrez, souuent qu'elle est frappée des rayons de son haut soleil, reçoit en elle force chaleur, laquelle toutes fois est temperée, non seulement de la fraischeur de la nuit ou de la rosée du ciel, mais aussi de gracieuses pluyes en abondance, dont le gazon en deuient fertile, voire de sorte que l'herbe forte y croist en hauteur admirable, qu'elle est riche d'or et de toutes sortes d'animaux : qu'ayant les champs pleins et spacieux ; ce neantmoins aussi ses montagnes sont assez hautes, les fleuves plaisans à merueilles, arbres diuers, rendant la gomme odoriferante. Que tout cela considéré, ne pouuoit, autrement aduenir que l'hôme ne trouuast là grand plaisir et singuliere delectation. Plusieurs donc allechez de telles promesses, aucuns aussi d'vn auare desir de se faire riches en ce voyage, à cause de l'or, se rendoyant par troupes en ceste villa, où la monstre se deuoit faire, pour en choisir ceux qui, au iugement du lieutenant du roy en ceste part, se trouueroyent les plus idoines à continuer l'entreprise. Or, elle ne fut pas si tost mise en effect, côme aucuns le desiroyent, et ceux principalement qui auoyent receu les soldats et leur hostel ; car ils estoyent enuyez d'auoir hommes qui fissét telle chere sans payer leur escoit, combien qu'on leur promit avec assurance, qu'en bref temps ils seroyent contentez et satisfaits, et furent quatre mois et plus en ceste ville à faire la piaffe ; et finalement ils furent obligez, par serment solennel, de se porter fidelement au seruice du roy, receuant la paye pour six mois, ce qui ne vint pas au contentement du coronal, car enuiron le mois de may, que de rechef le denombrement des hommes se deuoit faire pour embarquer, aucuns de ceux mesmes

qui auoyent touché la paye se formâs vne conscience d'vn si long voyage, estonnez aussi de la face barbare de la mer, changerent incontinent leur propos, et se retirârét secretement sans passer plus outre. Or, pour aller au départ de ceste dissolution et desbauchement d'hommes qui se promettoient, ils furent de rechef instamment appelez. et leur fut commandé que tout incontinent et à la même heure s'embarquassent, qui fut le 10<sup>e</sup> iour de may (1565), et demeurasmes en ceste rade iusques au 22<sup>e</sup> iour du mesme mois, attendans quelques bestiaux et farines. Le nombre des hômes qui monterét pour le voyage estoit de trois cèss, compris aucuns artisans avec leurs familles; et côme nous attendions le commandement et comodité de nostre lieutenant du roy, et vent fauorable, le mardi, 22 dudit mois, no' fusmes assaillis de vents impetueux, soufflants d'vne part et d'autre; de sorte que les vagues s'entrecroyét d'vne façon indicible, et donnerent telle frayeur à nos mariniers, qu'ils ne trouverent autre remede ni moyé propre, sinon couper les cables, quitter les ancrès et nous abandonner au gré du vent, le plus violent qui fust, vn vent de nord-est, lequel nous chassa de telle vitesse, qu'incontinent nous volasmes au Haure-de-Grace, et là demeurasmes trois iours, attendâs nouvelles de Dieppe, par vn brigandin que nous y enoyasmes expres; et puis nous appareillasmes de cest rade le 26 du mesme mois; et comme nous tendions à singler droit à nostre route, nous trouvasmes incontinent vent contraire, et nous commanda d'aller terrir et poser les ancrès en l'isle d'Wich, l'vne des contrees d'Angleterre, où les Anglois voulurent cognoistre de nostre entreprise; et nous ayans cogneus s'offrirent à nous faire plaisir. Or du iour que nous arriuasmes là, qui fut le 28 de ce mois, nous y demeurasmes ancrez iusques au 14 de iuin; et le iour mesme nous eusmes le vent nord-est à souhait et leuasmes les voiles pour chascr droit à la Floride, laquelle nous appetions comme une nouvelle France, et demeurasmes singlans la grand'mer Oceane deux mois entiers, premier que puissions auoir aucune cognoissance des terres de la Floride, reserué l'vne des isles des Antilles, appellee des paysans Vocaionques, et en françois la Grand-Lucoise; aucuns des nostres la voulurent appeler du nom de Catherine-la-Roine, mere du roy; et disent qu'elle est de 27 degrez de latitude; nous trouvasmes aussi quelque nauire à deux cents lieues de là vers l'eau, mais nous ne l'approchasmes de plus pres que de trois au quatre lieues. Lorsque no' fusmes arrivez en la terre de la Floride, qui fut le 14 d'aoust (1565), nous appercusmes le feu q' les Indes nous faisoient; nous enoyasmes le brigandin qui descourit vne petite riuiere; et au-dessus de l'embracheure s'y trouuerant quelques sauages qui troquerent quelque argent à de la marchâdise

que nous auions portee de ce pays, et disoyét que l'argent leur estoit demeuré d'un nauire là eschoüé, reuenant des Entilles; no' y trouuasmes aussi un seul Espagnol eschappé d'un naufrage il y auoit vingt ans passez, lequel nous receuillismes avec nous, et nous enquismes s'il auroit entendu quelque chose des François, et où ils pourroyent estre campez; lequel nous respondit ne rien sauoir autre chose que ce qu'il auoit entédu des sauuages, c'est qu'ils estoyét placez à cinquâte lieües plus nord que le lieu où nous auions terri. Or de là nous resinglasmes loin au long de la coste, qui nous sembla basse et la terre sablonneuse, plantée d'arbres fort petis, et y sont aussi les marces qui viennent du susuest, assez petites, et à michemin, de là nous descouvrismes vne riuiere que nos gens auparauant auoyant appellee la Riuiere de May, où mesmes les marces ne sont grandes, qui viennét du nord nord-est, et peut-on voir, à cause de la basse eau, la bouche des aneres, et auons esprouué qu'à trois ou quatre lieües de la terre il n'y a que six ou sept brasses d'eau ou enuiron; il ne soumiét aussi qu'entre la riuiere de May et vne autre qu'on appelle d'Ay, nous-en cogneusmes vne autre qui demeure nord de celle de May enuiron deux lieües, et là mouillans l'ancre chascque nuit à huit en neuf brasses d'eau, trouuioés fonds de sable, aucunes fois de grauiers, et aucunes fois de vase; nous sondasmes aussi la riuiere des Dauphins, et la trouuasmes haute sur la barre de deux brasses; mais la mer y croist de trois quartiers de brasse; et apres que nous eusmes, le long de la coste, regardé à descendre, le 27 d'aoust (1565) no' vinsmes mouiller à la rade de la riuiere de May, à sept brasses d'eau, demeurans de l'eau à la terre enuiron deux lieües. Le mercredi, 29 du mesme mois, nous entrasmes trois des petits nauires et chassasmes à môt la riuiere, droit au fort de la Carreline, que noz gens auoyent auparanant basti pour leur estre lieu d'assurance et de retraite, place assez cõmode, tant pour la riuiere qu'elle a d'un costé et le bois de l'autre, qui n'est distant que d'un bien petit quart de lieüe, et le champ entre le fort et le bois, et un costau fort plaisant tout couuert d'herbes fort grandes et espesses, et n'y a chemin au bois, sinon que la largeur d'un pas d'homme que noz gens auoyét fait pour aller à la fontaine dans le bois.

Quand donc nous fusmes arriuez pres d'icelle place, nostre lieutenant fist descharger et porter les viures au fort, et autres munitions pour recrer la place, et commanda que nous artisans, femmes et petits enfans, y allissions, et nous y fait conduire par le sieur d'Villy, de Beauchaire et autres, auxquels aussi il laissa la garde de son plus precieux baggage. Ceux qui nous attendoyét au fort furent grandemét resiouys de nostre venue, car ils estoyent angoisiez et trou-

blez d'estre si long temps sans rien ouïr de la France : et qui plus augmentoit leur douleur, ils estoient sans viures, sinon qu'ils se vousissent renger à la façon de viure des paisans sauvages, desquels encor ne pouuoient-ils rien auoir, si non par courses, avec force et violéce comme plus amplemēt nous dirons en son lieu. Or quand nous fusmes de seïour, ie consideray la forme des habitans de la terre, qui me sembla bonne et assez humaine, car les hōmes sont droits et quarrez, et d'un taint tirant au rouge. Jay entendu dire qu'ils ont rois en chaque village, et pour ornement ils ont le cuir marqueté d'une estrange façon ; ils n'ont aucun accoustrement, non plus les hommes que les femmes ; mais la femme ceint un petit voile de pelisse de ciof ou d'autre animal, le nœud batāt le costé gauche sur la cuisse, pour couvrir la partie de sa nature la plus honteuse ; ils ne sont ne camus ne lippus, ains ont le visage rond et plain, les yeux aspres et vigoureux ; ils nourrissent leurs cheueux fort longs, et les tressent proprement à l'entour de leurs testes, et ceste tresse de cheueux leur sert, comme de carquois, à porter leurs fleches quand ils sont en guerre ; c'est merveilles que soudainement ils les ont en main pour en tirer loïn et droit au possible. Quāt aux mœurs, ils sont dissolus, ils n'enseignent point leurs enfans et ne les corrigent aucunement ; ils prennent sans cōscience et s'attribuent tout ce qu'ils peuuent secretement emporter. Chacun a sa femme propre, et gardent le mariage, voire avec toute rigueur. Ils sont en guerre contre les pais frōtiers, qui sont de diuers langages. Les armes les plus insignes sont arcs et flèches ; leurs demeures sont de figure ronde et quasi à la façon des colombiers de ce pais, fondées et establies de gros abres, couuertes au dessus de feuilles de palmiers, et ne craignēt point les vents et tempestes ; ils sont souuent faschez de petites mousches, lesquelles ils appellent en leur langage *maringons*, et faut qu'or dinairemēt aux maisons ils façēt feu, et expressemēt sous leurs lits, afin d'estre deliurez de ceste vermine ; ils disent qu'elles piquēt fort aspresmēt, et la partie de la chair touchée de leur morsure deuïēt cōme celle d'un ladre. Ils n'estiment rien plus riche ou plus beau que plumes d'oiseaux de diuerses couleurs ; ils ont en grand prix, petis caleules qu'ils font d'os de poissons, et autres pierres verdes et rouges ; leurs viures sont racines, fruits, herbes et poissons de diuerses sortes, et le poisson leur est fort gras qu'ils sorissent, et l'appellent en leur langue *bouquanté* ; ils en tirent la graisse et s'en seruent au lieu de beurre ou d'autre sausse ; ils n'ont pas de blé, mais ils ont le mil en abondance, et croist à la hauteur de sept pieds ; il a son tuyau gros cōme celuy d'une canne, et son grain est gros cōme un pois, l'espy long cōme d'un pied ; sa couleur est ainsi que celle de la



cire recente; le moyen d'en vser est premièrement de le froisser et resoudre en farine; puis après le deffont par meslinge, et en font leur migan, qui ressemble le ris que l'on sert en ce pays; il le faut mäger aussitost qu'il est fait, pource qu'il se change incontinent, et n'est point de garde; ils ont force vignes bastardes, rampâtes à l'entour des arbres, ainsi que nous voyons en quelques contrees de ce royaume; mais ils n'ont point l'vsage d'en tirer le vin; leur boisson, qu'il sappellét *cassinuel*, se fait d'herbes composees, et m'a semblé de telle couleur que la ceruoise de ce pays; i'en ay gousté et ne l'ay point trouué fort estrange. Quât au pays il me semble montueux, et y a beaucoup de forests, qui peut bien estre cause de tant de bestes sauuages, lesquelles ils disent porter grande nuisance à ceux qui ne se donnent garde. Je laisseray à dire beaucoup de choses des animaux estranges, desquels seulemēt i'ai ouy parler; ce n'est assez de raconter ici ce que i'ay veu et qui me semble digne de memoire, pour la postérité; et singulièrement des crocodilles que l'on voit assez souuēt sortir du sable pour aller à leur proye. Nous en auons veu plusieurs, mesmes vn mort, et auons mangé de sa chair, qui nous sembla tendre et blâche comme celle d'un veau, et quasi de mesme goust; il auoit esté tué d'un coup de harquebouzade, porté entre deux escailles; que s'il n'eust esté là frappé, ses escailles autrement sont assez fortes pour le garentir de tous coups; il auoit la gueulle fort grande, et les maschoïeres renuersees d'une horrible façon, desquelles les dents s'entretenoyēt ainsi qu'un peigne, et pouuoit ouurir la gueulle assez grande pour deuorer vne genisse; il estoit long de corps de douze à treze pieds; il auoit les iâbes fort courtes à la proportion du corps; ses ongles estrâges et cruels, sa queue forte et longue, en quoy gist et cósiste sa vie et sa principale défense. Aussi ie n'ay veu en sa gueulle aucune apparéce de langue, si elle n'estoit cachee en son palais, car il auoit (comme i'ay dit) la maschoïere de dessous dessus, chose monstrueuse, et qui seulement à regarder pouuoit donner frayeur aux hômes; i'ay veu aussi vn serpent mort, assez pres du bois, qui auoit esté tué par l'un de noz gens, duquel les sauuages vindrent couper la teste, et l'éporterēt avec vn grand soin et diligéce; ie n'ay seu sauoir la raison pourquoy il auoit ailes par lesquelles il pouuoit aucunemēt voltiger sur la terre. Aucuns des nostres estimoyent que les sauuages faisoyēt cela par quelque superstition, et à ce que l'en ay veu, ils ne sont pas sans opinion de diuinité, mesmes aussi ay ie prins coniecture de quelques eïreôstances que facilement on les pourroit dresser, non seulement à ciuilité et honnesteté, mais aussi à sainteté et religion, si le decret du Seigneur le permettoit; car aussitost que la cloche du fort auoit sonné pour faire les prières, ils se

tournoyent en la place, et là cōme nous dressoyent les mains au ciel, voire avec reuerence et attention. Ce temps, apres nostre coronal, estoit apres pour s'acquitter fidelement de sa charge, et dōnoit ordre que la place fast tellement remparce et munie, qu'elle servist apres de sauuegarde, si d'aenture les sauuages nous eussent voulu courir sus, lorsque le lundi, troisième de septembre, arriuerēt, pres de nostre equippage, cinq nauires espagnols. L'admiral se monstrant à la grandeur de quatre cens tonneaux, la barque de cent cinquante, suivis de trois patenas qui vindrēt mouiller l'anere à l'enfonseure de nos quatre nauires, environ les neuf heures du soir. La nuict ils parlerent ensemble, et sur ce que les nostres demanderent pourquoy et à quelle fin ils les cerchoyent, respondirent qu'ils estoyent ennemis et que la guerre estoit suffisamment declairee. Lors les nostres regardant à la force des Espagnols, à leur enuie et mauuais vouloir, deshabillerent et mirent les voiles haut, et les Espagnols firent chasse apres eux, mais ils ne les peurent auoir à la voile. Par quoy ils se retirerēt en la riuiere des Dauphins; car là ils auoyēt deliberé de faire descēte, apres auoir cōmuniq̄ de nostre ruine avec les sauuages, comme l'issue de leur entreprise l'a fait finalement cognoistre; et de ceste riuiere enuoyerent de leurs hōmes par embuscades, autant que ils penserent estre de necessitē pour executer leur entreprise. Et auons depuis entendu des sauuages, qu'ils estoyent en armes enuiron six cens hommes; tost apres trois de noz nauires reuenus à la rade, car la *Trinité*, nostre admiralle, auoit esté emportee vers l'eau; le capitaine Iean Ribaut se delibera avec ces trois d'aller trouuer les Espagnols. Apres auoir resolu en son conseil qu'il estoit necessaire de se mōstrer contre eux sur les eaux, sinon que nous vousissions encourir la perte de noz vaisseaux. Car noz hōmes estans à terre, riē ne les eust empesché d'aborder noz nauires, de les crocher, qui nous sembloit vne perte intolérable, pour ce regard principalement; c'est à sauoir que n'auiōs pour l'auenir cōmoditē d'enuoyer en France, pour faire entendre à la maiestē du roy, de l'estat de nostre entreprise. Parquoy le lundi, dixième iour de septembre (1565), trois heures apres midi, le capitaine et lieutenant de roy voulut receuoir ses hōmes, et apres les auoir exhortez de bien faire pour le seruice du roy, s'embarqua ensemble avec eux; prenant pour sa defense, non seulement les soldats qu'ils auoyent nouvellement amenez, mais aussi les plus signalez de ceux qui tenoyent la place auparauant, nōmement l'enseigne, caporal et sergent du capitaine Landuniere. Ce capitaine, enuyé de n'auoir entendu nouvelles de France, et faché d'estre privé de vinres, vn peu auparauāt que nous fussions là arrivez, pensoit à retourner, et cependant ne se soucioit beaucoup si

ceux de sa compagnie faisoyēt choses aux sauvages ; de quoy leur bōne affection se destournast des François ; ains il les permettoit forcer et amener prisonniers dans le fort, prendre et ravir leur mil et autres choses que la necessité, laquelle ne peut estre so'aveune loy, leur commandoit. Et d'autant que le desir de se venger est naturellement planté au cœur de l'homme, mesmes aussi l'appetit commun à tous animaux de se defendre, son corps et sa vie, et de destourner les choses qui semblent apporter quelque nuisance ; il ne faut douter que ce sauvages ne cōplota et prattiqua avec l'Espagnol, comme il se pourroit delivrer de ceste gent, de laquelle il estoit et en son corps et en ses biens travaillé. Le mardy, onzième de septembre, a huit heures du matin ou environ, lorsque noz gens estoyēt assez pres des Espagnols, se leua un tourbillō de vent qui continua long temps, avec de grosses playes, esclairs et tonnerres ; de sorte qu'à la fois l'air estoit comme en feu, et les parties effrayees des menaces du ciel s'es-carterent : les nostres trois nauires furent contraints de ponger ; et les autres, admiral et barque espignole, de faire le vêt bon ; et dura la malice de ce temps iusques au vingt troisieme iour de septembre.

Or les Espagnols descēdus à terre eurent assez de loisir de nous espionner et mesmes de s'informer des moyēs qu'ils tiendroyēt pour nous surprendre, estans bien aduertis que noz forces estoyent sur les eaux, et que le reste qui estoit demeuré au fort, estoit compose partie de malades encor alterez de l'air de la mer : partie aussi d'artisans, de femmes et petits enfans, le tout montant au nombre de deux cens quarâte ames, recōmandees à la garde et diligence du capitaine Lauduniere qui ne se doutoit aucunemēt qu'aveune force peust venir par terre pour les endommager. Parquoy la garde leua pour s'en aller rafraischir, à cause des mauvais temps qui auoient cōtinué toute la nuict vn peu denāt soleil levant, la pluspart des nostres au fort dormans et eu leurs liets : le guichet ouuert, l'Espagnol ayant tracassé bois, estāgs et riuieres, cōduit par le sauuage, et arrivē le iedy vingtieme iour de septembre au matin, temps fort pluieux, et entrent sans nulle resistence dans le fort, et font vne horrible execution de la rage et furie qu'ils auoyēt conceue cōtre nostre nation ; c'estoit lors à qui mieux esgorgeroit hōmes, sains et malades, femmes et petits enfans, de sort qu'il n'est possible de sōger vn massaere qui puisse estre esgalé à celsui-ci, en cruauté et barbarie. Aucuns des nostres les plus habiles sortans de leurs liets s'escolerēt, et se sauuerent de vistesse dans les nauires qui estoyent en la riuiere, laissez du coronal à la garde de Jaques Ribaut, capitaine d'vn navire nommé *la Perle*, et de Loys Ballard, son lieutenant : les autres surpris sauterent pardessus la pallisade, singulierement le capitaine Lauduniere

se sauua par la. avec celle qui le seruoit à la chambre. Je fus aussi surprins allant à ma besogne, le fermoir à la main ; car sortant de la cabane, je rencontray les ennemis, et ne trouuay autre moyen deschapper, sinon tourner le dos, et me haster au possible de sauter aussi pardessus la pallissade ; car l'estoye aussi poursuiui de pas à pas d'une pieque et pertizane, et ne say cōment autremēt, sinon de la grace de Dieu, mes forces se redoublerēt, de moy, dis-je, pour viel-lard que ie suis, et tout gris : toutes fois ie sautay le râpart, ee qu'a loisir ie n'eusse peu faire en rampant. car il estoit eslevé de huit à neuf pieds, et lors ie me hastay de me sauuer au bois : et comme l'estoye assez près de la rive du bois, à la distance d'un bon trait d'arc, ie me retournay vers le fort et m'arrestay un peu de temps sur la coste, et d'autant plus hardiment, parce que personne ne me poursuiuoit. Et comme de cest endroit, tout le fort, mesmes la basse court me fut descouuerte, aussi vi-ie là une horrible tuerie, qui se faisoit de noz gens, et trois enseignes de noz aduersaires plantées sur les rampars. Ayant donques perdu tout espérance de voir noz gens ralliez, ie resignay tous mes sens au Seigneur, et me recommandāt à sa misericorde, grace et faueur, ie me lançay dās le bois, car il me semblait que ie ne pourroye trouuer cruauté plus grāde entre les bestes sauvages, que celle des ennemis : laquelle j'auoye ven se desborder sur les nostros. Or la misere et angoisse en laquelle ie me trouuay lors pressé et enseré, ne voyant plus en terre moyen de salut, sinō que le Seigneur de grace speciale et pardessus toute opinion d'homme me deliurast : me faisoit ietter souspirs en sanglots, et d'une parole rompuē de destresse, erier ainsi au Seigneur. O Dieu de noz peres, et seigneur de misericorde, qui nous as commandé de t'inuoker, mesmes du profond des enfers et des abysmes de mort, promettant incōtinent ton aide et ton secours, monstre moy pour l'esperance que j'ay en toy, quel chemin ie doy tenir, pour venir à fin de ceste miserable vieillesse, plongee au gouffre de douleur et d'amer-tume : au moins fay que sentant l'effect de ta mercy, l'asseurāce que j'ay de tes promesses ceneē en mon cœur, ne me soit arrachée, pour l'apprehension de la cruauté de ces bestes sauvages et furieuses d'un costé, et de tes ennemis et les nostros d'autre : qui nous en veulent plus, pour la memoire de ton nom qui est inuoké sur nous, q' pour autre chose : Aide-moy, mô Dieu, assiste-moy, car ie suis tant affligé que plus n'en puis. Et cependant que ie faisois ce discours, trauer-sant le bois fort espès et comme tissu de ronces et espines, au dessous des hauts arbres, ou il n'y auoit chemin ne sentier aucun, à peine auoy-ie tracassé le chemin de demie heure, quand ie vins à entendre un bruit, cōme de pleurs et gemissemens d'hommes qui estoyent à

l'entour de moy. Et m'auançât au nom de Dieu et en la confiance de son secours, ie descouuri l'vn des nostres, nommé le sieur de la Blonderie, et un peu arriere de luy, un autre, nommé maistre Robert, assez cognu de no' tous, d'autât qu'il auoit charge de faire les prieres en nostre fort. Tost apres aussi nous trouuâmes le laquais du sieur d'Villy, le neueu de M. Lebeau, maistre Jaques Tonsé, et plusieurs autres: et nous assemblez conferions de nos miserés, en cõmun, et deliberiõs de ce que nous auriõs à faire pour sauuer noz vies: l'vn des nostres, assez estimé d'estre fort excreé en la leçon des Eseritures sainctes, proposa quasi en ceste maniere: Frères, nous voyons en quelle extremité nous sõmes, quelque part que nous tourniõs les yeux, nous ne voyons que barbarie. Le ciel, la terre, la mer, le bois, les hommes: bref, rien ne no' fauorise: que savons-nous si nous rendâs à la misericorde de l'Espagnol, il nous fera grace? Bien encor qu'il nous tue, ce sera pour souffrir vn peu de temps: ils sont hõmes, et ce peut faire pue leur fureur appaisee, ils nous receuront à quelque composition; autrement que pourrions-nous faire? Ne vaut-il pas mieux tomber en la main des hommes, qu'en la gueulle des bestes saunages, ou bien se laisser mourir de faim en ceste terre estrange? Apres qu'il eut ainsi parlé, la plus part de notre compagnie fut de son aduis, et loua son cõseil. Nõ obstant que ie remõstrasse la cruauté encor toute sanglâte des aduersaires, et que ce n'estoit point seulement pour vne cause ou debat humain qu'ils auoyent executé d'vne telle fureur leur entreprise, mais principalement pour l'aduertissement qu'on leur auroit donné, que nous seriõs de ceux qui se seroyent reformez à la prédication de l'Éuãgile; que nous serions lasches de regarder plustost aux hommes qu'à Dieu qui fait viure les siens au milieu de la mort, et donne ordinairement son assistance, lorsque l'esperance des hommes est en défaut. Aussi alleguoy-ie quelques exemples de l'Eseriture à propos de Ioseph, de Daniel, d'Elie et des autres prophetes, mesmes des apostres, cõme de S. Pierre et de S. Paul, qui tous ont esté tirez hors d'affliction, voier par moyès extraordinaires et estrãges au sens et à la raison de l'hõme: son bras, disoy-ie, n'est amoindri ne affoibli aucunemét, se main est toujours vne. Ne uous souuiét-il poit, disoy-je, de la fuite des Israélites deuant Pharaõ? Quelle esperãce auoit le peuple d'eschapper des mãs de ce tyran puissant et eruel? il leur marchoit quasi sur les talons. Deuant eux ils auoyét la mer, aux deux costez les montaignes inaccessibles.

Quoy done? celuy qui a ouuert la mer pour faire la voye à son peuple, et pour puis apres engloutir ses ennemis, ne pourroit-il nous conduire par les lieux champestres de ce pays estrãge? Quoy que

ie tinsent tels propos, six de la compagnie suivirent la première proposition; et nous abandonnerent pour se retirer à la part de noz ennemis, esperant trouver grâce devant eux; mais ils cognerent incontinent, et par experience, quelle folie c'est de se fier plus aux hommes qu'aux promesses de Seigneur. Car estans sortis hors le bois, cômme ils descendoient au fort, ils furent incontinent saisis des Espagnols, et traittez à la façon des autres. Ils furent donc esgorgez et massaczés, et puis traînez au bord de la rivière, où les autres tuez au fort estoient par morceaux. Je ne veux pas ici me taire d'un exemple d'extreme cruauté. Jacques Ribant, capitaine de *la Perle*, tenoit les nauires à l'ancre, à cent pas pres de ceste boucherie, où il receut beaucoup de ceux qui eschapperét de ceste tuerie. Or les Espagnols ayant le cœur gros à cause de leur victoire, et acharnez à pactuer le reste des François, braquerent les canons du fort contre les nauires et batteaux; mais à cause du temps pluuieux, et que les canons aussi estoient mal apprestez, ils ne feirent aucun dommage à noz gens; mais ils firent marcher vne trompette jusqu'à eux pour les sommer de se rendre. Et quâd ils veirent que cela ne les intimidoit aucunement, ils enuoyèrét un de leurs hommes jusques aux nauires, mettant en auant l'authorité de Don Pedro de Malendez, coronal de leur compagnie, pour composer avec noz gens, à telle condition qu'ils quittassent les nauires et qu'ils se retirassent avec les batteaux, leurs bagues saunes, aux autres nauires qui estoient bas à l'embouchure de la rivière, distant du fort environ deux lieus; à quoy noz gens respondirent qu'il y eust aucune guerre entre eux, que depuis six mois ils auoyent receus commandement du roi pour faire ce voyage, que tant s'en faut qu'il fust entrepris pour faire tort ou exaction à aucun, quand il leur estoit expressément defendu de sa maiesté, et mesmes de son admiral, de ne faire descende en aucune terre d'Espagne, ni mesmes en approcher de peur de les offenser. Nous auôs gardé et obserué inuiolablement le commandement du roy, et ne pouuez dire contre nous que nous ayons esté cause du massacre que vous avez fait de noz hommes cõtre tout vsage de guerre, ce qui nous fait seigner le cœur et de quoy pourrez bien vous ressentir en tẽps et lieu. Quant au nauire que vous demandez, vous auriez plustost noz vies; et ois vous n'voudrez parforce, nous employerons le moyen que Dieu et nature nous a donné pour nous defendre. L'Espagnol retourné rapporta que noz gens ne se mouuoient pour rien, ains qu'ils estoyént deliberez de se bien defendre. Lors ceste furieuse troupe reietta sa colere et sanglant despit sur les morts, et les exposerent en monstre aux François qui restoyent sur les eaux, et taschoyent à naurer le cœur de ceux des-

quels ils ne pouvoient, comme ils eussent bien voulu, desmembrer les corps ; car, arrachant les yeux des morts, les fichoyent au bout des dagues, et puis avec eris, henlemens et toute gaudisserie, les iettoyent contre noz François vers l'eau. Quant à nous qui demeurasmes au bois, nous continuasmes à trauser, tirans à nostre iugement au plus pres de la mer. Et comme il pleut à Dieu de conduire noz pas et dresser noz voyes, bientost nous paruinmes à la croupe d'une montagne, et de là cōmençasmes à voir la mer. Mais il y auoit encor grande distance ; et qui pis estoit, le chemin que nous auions à tenir se monstroit merueilleusement estrange et difficile ; premiere-mēt, la montagne de laquelle descēdre il nous estoit necessaire, estoit de telle hauteur et si roide qu'il n'estoit possible à homme, en descendant, se tenir debout, et iamais n'eussions osé nous mettre à descendre sans l'esperance que nous auions de nous cōtretenir par les brāches des buissons qui estoyēt fréquens sur le costau de la montagne, et pour sauuer la vie, n'espargnant point les mains, lesquelles nous auions toutes gastees et sanglantes, mesmes les iambes et quasi tout le corps deschiré. Or, descendus que nous fusmes de la montagne, no' perdimes la veuē de la mer, à cause d'un petit bois qui estoit cōtre nous planté sur vne petite colline, et pour aller au bois il nous falloit trauser vne grande pree toute de vase et de fondrière, couuerte de roseaux et autres sortes d'herbes fort estrāges ; car le tuyan estoit dur comme bois, et les fueilles nous decoupoient pieds et iambes iusques au sang, estans tousiours en l'eau iusques au foure, et qui redoubloit nostre misere et calamité ; la pluye tomboit tellemēt du ciel sur nous que, cōme, en vn deluge, nous estions tout ce temps-là entre deux eaux ; et plus nous marchions auant, aussi nous trouuiois l'eau profonde. Et lors, pensant bien estre au dernier periode de nostre vie, nous embrassasmes l'un l'autre, et d'affection commune nous commençasmes à souspirer et erier au Seigneur, accusant noz pechez, et recognoissans sur nous la rigueur de ses iugemens. Helas ! Seigneur, disioisnous, que sommes-nous plus q' poures vermisseaux de terre ? noz ames, toutes alterees de douleur, se rendent entre tes bras ; ô Pere de misericorde et Dieu de charité ! deliure-nous de ce pas de la mort ; ou si tu veux qu'en ce desert nous tirions le dernier soupir de la vie, assiste-nous à ce que la mort, de toutes choses la plus terrible, nous venant saisir, ne nous estonne d'auantage, mais que nous demeurions fermes et stables au sens de ta faueur et bien vueillance que nous auons tant et tant esprouee à cause de ton Christ, pour dōner lieu à l'esprit de Satan, esprit de desespoir et de defiance ; car, soit que nous mourions, nous protestōs maintenāt deuant ta maiesté, que nous voulons mourir à toy ; soit

que nous viuions, ce sera pour raconter tes merueilles au milieu de l'assemblee de tes seruiteurs. Nos prières faites, nous marchasmes à grand'peine droit au bois, tât que nous arrivasmes pres d'une grosse riuere q' enroit au milieu de ceste pree; le canal estoit assez estroit, mais fort profond, et l'eau y couloit de grande vistesse, d'autant que tout le champ pendoit vers la mer. Ce fut vne autre augmentation de noz angoisses, car il n'y auoit homme des nostres qui osast entreprendre à passer la riuere à nage; mais en ceste cõfusion de noz pensees, quât à trouuer moyen de passer outre, il me souuint du bois que nous auïos laissé derriere nous; apres auoir exhorté mes freres à patiëce et à continuer à bien esperer du Seigneur, ie retournay au bois, et y coupay vne lögue perche, avec vn fust d'vn fermoir assez gråd qui me demeura en main. de l'heure que le fort fut pris, et retournay aux autres qui m'attendoyent en gråde perplexité. Or ça, dis-ie, freres, essayôs si Dieu, par le moyen de ce baston, nous voudra donner quelque auantage à parfaire nostre chemin. Lors nous couchasmes la perche dessus l'eau; l'un des nostres, et chaenn à son tour, la tenât par le bout et entrât en l'eau, portoit la perche quant à soy; et au milieu du canal, cõme nous en perdions la venë, le poussasmes de force assez pres de l'autre riuë, où il print terre à l'aide des cannes et autres herbes qui estoyët de l'autre bord; et, à son exemple, passames ainsi vn à la fois; mais ce ne fut pas sans gråd peril et sans boire beaucoup de ceste eau salee, voire et tellement que nous, venans à l'autre bord, nous auions le cœur tout espousseté, et estions ainsi affadis comme si nous eussions esté à demi noyés. Apres que nous fusmes reuenus et que nous eusmes repris courage, tédans teuiours à ce bois que nous auions remarqué proche de la mer, le perche mesme no' fut necessaire à passer vn autre bras d'eau, qui ne nous donna pas moins de faseherie que le premier: mais, grâces à Dieu, nous le passa mes et entrames le soir mesme dedás le bois, où demeurames la nuict en grande crainte et tremblement, estans debout contre les arbres. Et combien que nous fussions traueillez tant et plus, si n'aviôs-nous pas volonté de dormir. Car quel pourroit estre le repos des esprits en telle frayeur. Mesmes no' vismes aussi enuiron le poinet du iour vne beste grande comme vn cerf, à cinquante passes pres de nous, qui auoit la teste fort grosse, les yeux flamboyans et sans siller, les oreilles pendantes, ayant les parties de derriere eiminëtes. Elle nous sembla monstreueuse à cause de ses yeux fort estincellans et graus à merueilles; laquelle toutes fois ne s'approcha de nous pour nous faïres aucune nuisance. Le iour venu nous sortismes du bois et reuismes la mer, à laquelle nous aspirions apres Dieu, comme au seul moyé de sauuer noz vies;



mais nous fusmes de rechef faschez et troublez, car nous apperceusmes vn pays de mareses et lieux fangeux, plein d'eau et couuert de roseaux, côme celui que nous auions passé le iour precedét. Nous marchames donc au trauers de ceste pree, et assez pres de la route que nous auions à faire. Nous apperceusmes parmi les roseaux vne troupe de gés que nous estimions estre de prime face noz ennemis, qui fussent là venus pour nous couper chemin; mais quâd nous eusmes ven de pres que ils estoient desolez comme nous, nuds et effrayez, nous entendismes incontinent qu'ils estoient de nos gés; aussi estoit-ce le capitaine Lauduniere, sa fille de chambre, Jacques Morgues de Dieppe, François Duval de Rouën, le fils de la couronne de fer de Rouën, Nigaise de la Crotte, Nicolas le menuziers, la trompette du sieur de Lauduniere et autres, qui tous ensemble faisoyét le nombre de vingt-six hommes. Sur la delibération de ce que nous auions à faire, deux de nos gens monterent au coupeau de lvn des arbres le plus haut, et des couvrirent l'un de noz petis nauires, qui estoit celui du capitaine Maillard, auquel ils donuerent le signal, pour lequel il fut aduertí que nous auions besoin de son secours. Lors il nous fait arriver sa petite barque; mais pour approcher du ríage il nous estoit necessaire de trauser des roseaux et autres deux riuieres semblables á celles que nous auions passées le iour precedét. A quoi nous furét grandement vtilés et necessaires la perche que l'avoiee coupee l'autre matin, et deux autres desquelles ceux du sieur de Lauduniere auoyent fait prouision, et vísimes assez pres de la barque, mais le cœur nous faillit et de faim et de travail, et fussions demeurez là, sinon que les matelots nous eussent presté la main, qui se monstrent fort secourables, et nous porterent les vns apres les autres jusques dedás la barque, et nous rendirent tous au nauire où nous fusmes bien et cherement receus; ils nous donnerent pain et eau, et apres auoir mangé nous commençames petit à petit à reprétre force et vigueur qui nous fut argument tres-certain de recognoistre le salut du Seigneur, lequel nous auait sauuez cõtre l'esperance d'vne infinité de dâgers de mort, desquels nous auions esté entournez et assiegez de toutes parts, pour luy en rendre graces et louanges à iamais. Nous passames ainsi toute la nuit, racontans les merueilles du Seigneur, et nous consolames les vns les autres en la souenance de nostre salut. Et le iour estant venu, Jacques Ribaut, capitaine de *la Perle*, nous aborda pour conferer avecques nous de ce que nous pourriõs faire, et du moyen que nous pourriõs tenir pour sauuer le reste de noz hõmes et les vaisseaux. Et alors il fut remõstré le peu de viures que nous auions, noz forces rompues, noz munitions et apparats de defense saisis, l'incertitude de l'estat de nostre

coronal, ne sachant s'il estoit eschoûé en quelque costé, au loïn arrière de nous, emporté de la tourmente. Nous conclumes donc que nous ne pourrions mieux faire que d'essayer de retourner en France, et furent d'aduis les plus grans de nostre cõpagnie de separer en deux parties ceux qui estoÿet eschappez de la journée du fort, et que l'une demeurast en *la Perle*, et l'autre se retirast sous la charge du capitaine Maillard. Or le ieu-di, vingt-einquieme iour du mois de septembre, nous partismes de ceste coste à la faueur d'un gros vent du nord, estans deliberez de nous retirer en France; et, dès le premier iour, noz deux nauires ont esté tellement escartez, que plus ne nous sommes entre-trouuez sur les eaux.

Nous singlasmes cinq cõs lieues assez heureusement; et alors, un matin, enuiron soleil leuant, fusmes assaillis d'un nauire espagnol, lequel nous soutinsmes au possible, et les canonnasmes d'une telle sorte que nous les rendismes subiets à nostre deuotion, et les batismes tellement qu'õ voyoit le sang regorger par les naugeres; nous les teniõs ainsi comme rendus et descendus tout bas; mais il n'y auõit aucun moyen de les cramponner, à cause du temps qui estoit fort impétueux; car il y auõit danger en les cramponnât's s'entreferroisser, qui eust esté pour nous enfondrer et faire couler bas, eux aussi se cõtentans de ceste charge nous donnerêt congé, et les laissames ioyeux, et remerciaus Dieu, de ce qu'aucun de nous ne fut blessé en ceste escarmouche ne tué, sinon nostre cuisinier. Le reste de nostre nauigation a esté sans aucune rencontre d'ennemis; mais nous auõs esté fort tourmẽtéz des vents, qui nous ont maintes fois menassez de nous jeter à la coste d'Espagne, qui eust esté le comble de noz malheurs, et la chose que nous auõs en plus grãde horreur. Nous auõs aussi enduré sur les eaux beaucoup d'autres choses, cõme froid et faim, car, il faut bien entendre que nous autres qui estions eschappez de la Floride, n'auõs pour tout vestement ou accoustrement, tant pour le iour comme pour la nuit, fors que la simple chemise, ou quelque autre petit haillon, qui estoit bien peu de chose pour nous défendre à l'encontre de l'iniure du tẽps: et qui pis est, le pain que nous mangions, nous le mangions fort escharsemêt, et estoit tout corrompu et gasté, mesmement aussi l'eau que nous auõs estoit toute empuãtie, de laquelle néantmoins nõ' n'auõs pour tout le long de la journée que plein une petit tasse.

Ceste mauuaise nourriture a esté cause que nous estans descendus à terre, sommes tõbez en beaucoup de diuerses maladies, lesquelles ont emporté plusieurs des hommes qui estoÿent en nostre compaignie, et fusmes pour la fin de ceste nauigation périlleuse et lamentable, rendus à coste de la Rochelle, où nous auõs esté receus et

traitez fort humainement et gracieusement des habitans du pays et de ceux de la ville, nous donnât de leurs biens autant que nostre nécessité le requéroit: et assistez que nous esté de leur grâce, nous auons eu assez de quoy chacun retourner en son pays.

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### LIVRE SECOND.

Nous auos dit de Iean Ribant qu'il s'embarqua avec l'eslite de nos soldats pour aller trouuer les Espagnols, et les ayant cerchez par l'espace de cinq iours ne les trouua pas, mais il rencontra l'admirale de son équippage, nommee la Trinité, et résola de cōtinuer à défendre la coste contre la descente des Espagnols, ignorant ce qui nous estoit aduenu au fort, entra dedans: pour, selon la discipline ordinaire en mer, mieux commander à tous ses hommes: le tēps leur estoit fort fâcheux, d'autant que le vent estoit merueilleusement impétueux, et plouuoit incessamment. Le cinquième iour la tempeste se redoubla, et les pressa de telle sorte, qu'onques ne se peurent garder d'estre eschoiez à la coste, au-dessus de la riuère de May, environ cinquante lieues: les vaisseaux furent tous rompus, et leurs munitions perdues: les hômes toutes fois vindrent tous à terre, reserué le capitaine La Grange, qui se ietta sus vn mast, et fut englouti des eaux; hôme entre les autres lequel est à regretter, tât pour le bon conseil et adresse qui estoit en luy, que aussi pour les fruits de son amiable accointance, tant il estoit cōmode à dresser les hômes pour les rendre vertueux et semblables à luy. Noz gens alors estans sauuez à terre de la furie des ondes, se trouuèrent incontinēt en vne autre fâcherie: car à la faim qui les tenoit ils n'auoyent aucun remède, sinon qu'ils le prinsent tel que la terre leur présenteoit, c'est à sauoir, herbes, racines ou autres telles choses, desquelles ils pensassent appaiser leur abbayant estomach. Il n'y auoit aussi de quoy satisfaire à leur soif: sinon des vieilles eisternes, ou l'eau estoit fort trouble, mesmement l'esemme qu'elle iettoit, pouoit tant seulement au regarder faire des plus sains les plus malades: neâtmoins la rage de leur grande famine les emportoit à tout aualer, combien qu'il leur semblast fort estränge, et furent en telle misère l'espace de huit iours entiers. Le neuu-ème iour ils trouuerēt d'auenture vne barque assez petite, et furent de cela aucunement recréez, espérās vue par ce moyens ils pourroyent faire entēdre leur naufrage à ceux du fort. Or entre eux et le fort, il y auoit distance de douze lieues par terre, et cinquante par mer, et eust fallu qu'ils eussent trauersé la riuère des Dauphins qui

est fort profonde et large, enuiron d'un grand quart de lieuë, parquoy sans vaisseau ce leur estoit vne chose impossible de passer outre. Quand donc ils eurent reconuré la barque, ils la calfadèrent de leurs chemises en lieu d'estouppes. Adonc le capitaine Iean Ribaut, de sa grace et modestie accoustumée, en appela plusieurs de son conseil, et leur fist enuiron telle remonstrance: Compagnons et amis, il n'y a moyens de cōtinuer la vie en telles misères et calamitez: la mort nous seroit plus à souhaitter, que de viure estans chargez de telles afflictions, sinon que nostre bon Dieu nous a doné la foy de sa prouidence, pour attendre le secours tel qu'il luy plaira nous donner, et cependant c'est à nous d'employer tout nostre entendement, si nous pourrōs trouuer l'issue de ces angoisses. Je suis d'aduis, qu'il y en ait quelques vns d'entre nous, lesquels par ceste petite barque tendēt par deuers le fort, à fin d'auertir noz gens qu'ils nous viennent donner secours en ceste extrême nécessité. Et sur le chap iettant grosses larmes commença à inuocquer le nom de Dieu, se prosternant à terre, et tons ceux aussi de sa cōpagnie. Les prières estant faites, ils commencerent à regarder qui seroit le plus idoine à faire le voyage; et nomērēt Thomas le Vasseur de Dieppe, à qui Iean Ribaut dona charge, qu'au plustost il list eutēdre à noz gens en quel désastre ils estoyēt tombez, et allèrent avecques luy, Vincent Simon, Michel Honor et autres iusqu'au nombre de seize. Noz gens, comme l'ay dit ci deuāt, estoyent du costé de la riuière au dela du fort, et le iour mesme veirent de l'autre costé vers le fort vne troupe d'homēs en armes, l'enseigne desployée. Après qu'ils eurent cognu par coiectures, autant qu'ils en peurēt prendre, en telle distance de lieu, que c'estoyent Espagnols. Noz François en telle abysme d'angoisse, pour extrême recours enuoyērēt à nage quelques vns de la compagnie, pour leur faire offre de se rendre leurs vies sauues. Les déléguēz furent reçus de prime face assez humainement. Le capitaine de ceste compagnie Espagnole, lequel se faisoit nomēr Vallemande, protesta en foy de gentilhomme, cheualier et chrestien, de sa bienveillance enuers les François, mesmement aussi que c'estoit la faço qui auoit esté de tout temps pratiquée en la guerre que l'Espagnol victorieux se cōtentast, à l'endroit du François principalement, sans passer plus outre: exhortant en truchemēt, afin q' tous fussent persuadez de ceste belle promesse, que iamais il ne voudroit faire en cest endroit, dequoy les nations se puissent en après ressentir, et prestement list accoustrer vne barque, en laquelle il comāda qu'il y eust cinq homēs Espagnols qui entrassent dedans, et qu'ils passassent outre à nos gens, ce qu'ils firent. Or estans passez, et la harangue faite de la part du capitaine Vallemande, le capitaine Iean Ribaut

entra des premiers en la barque avec les autres, iusques au nombre de trente, qui fut reçu de Vallemande assez humainemēt, mais les autres lesquels estoyent de sa compagnie furent menez assez loin arrière de luy. et liez tous, deux deux, les mains derrière le dos.

Alors le reste des nostres passoit, trente à la fois, cependant que Vallemande faisoit entretenir de paroles feintes et simulées ce bon capitaine Iean Ribaut, lequel s'attendoit simplement à la foy de ce Vallemande, à laquelle il s'estoit rendu. Or les nostres estans tous passez furēt ainsi liez ensemble deux à deux, et comme ils estoyent tous ensemble, François et Espagnols, cheminoyēt vers le fort : le capitaine Iean Ribaut et autres nommeiment le sieur d'Ottigny, quand ils veirent ainsi les nostres estans couplez ensemble, commencērent à changer de couleur, et de rechef se recommandērent à la foy dudit sieur de Vallemande qui les asseuroit : que ces liens estoyent seulemēt pour les mener iusques au fort en assurance, et que là il leur tiendroīt ce qu'il auoit promis : et cōme ils estoyent assez près du fort, il commēça à s'enquērir de ceux qui estoyent matelots, charpentiers de navire, canoniers et autres, lesquels seroyent vtils aux offices de la marine, lesquels estans choisis se trouuērent le nombre de trente hōmes, et bientost après voiei vne compagnie du fort, laquelle compagnie venoit à l'encontre de noz gens, lesquels on faisoit marcher arrière du sieur de Vallemāde et de sa compagnie, ainsi comme on feroit vn troupeau de bestes lequel on chasseroit à la boucherie, lors à son de pliffres, tabourins et trompes, la hardiesse de ces furieux Espagnols se besbēdessur ces pources François, lesquels estoyent liez et garottez : la c'estoit à qui donneroit le plus beau coup de picque, de hallebarde et d'espée, de sorte que en demye heure ils gagnēret le champ et emportērent ceste glorieuse victoire, tuans ceux-la vaillamment qui s'estoyent rédus, et lesquels ils avoyēt receu à leur foy et sauuegarde.

Or durant ceste cruauté le capitaine Iean Ribaut fait quelques remontrances à Vallemande, pour sauuer sa vie : mesmes le sieur d'Ottigny se jettant à ses pieds, l'appelloit de sa promesse : mais tout cela ne leur servit de rien : car leur tournant le dos marcha quelques pas arrière d'eux, et l'vn de ses bourreaux frappa par derrière d'vn coup de dague le capitaine Iean Ribaut, tellement qu'il le fist tomber par terre, et puis bien tost après redoubla deux ou trois coups, tant qu'il luy eust esté la vie.

Voilà quel a esté le traitemēt que les nostres (lesquels s'estoyent rendus sous ombre de bonne foy) ont reçu de l'Espagnol. Et pour combler leur cruauté et barbarie : ils ont rasé la barbe du lieutenant du roy, pour faire monstre de leur expédition, et l'ont bien tost

après envojée à Ciuile, ainsi côme aucuns de noz matelots, réserverez et employez pour ce mesme voyage, nous ont ces iours passez filèlement raconté, nommément Christophe le Breton du Haure de Grâce, lequel s'est secrettement retiré de Ciuile à la ville de Bourdeaux, et s'est fait porter par les nauires de Bourdeaux à Dieppe, et pour le trophée de leur renommée et victoire, démembrèrent le corps de ce bon et fidèle seruiteur du roy, et firent de sa teste quatre quartiers lesquels ils fichèrent en quatre pieques, et puis les planterēt aux quatre coings du fort.

[This narrative is one of great value and importance to the historian, and is necessary to establish the claim of France to Florida. Louisiana was a part of the vast territory of the new world, claimed by the Spaniards under the name of Florida, and by the French under that of New France. After the disastrous expeditions of Narvaez and De Soto, Spain virtually abandoned this wilderness of territory as unworthy of her arms, and for more than thirty years she neglected to confirm her claim to its discovery by any one act of possession as recognized by the laws of nations.

Such was the state of things when the brave and intrepid commander, Jean Ribaut, arrived in New France or Florida, (which had been previously discovered and described by Verazzano, a French navigator,) to settle a colony and take possession by order of his King, Charles IX., in 1562. For two years or more the French held peaceable possession of all this country, and their occupancy gave to them an indisputable title. The legitimates of France and Spain, Charles the Ninth and Philip the Second, were at this time at perfect peace; but the latter, finding that the French had taken possession of New France, dispatched Don Pedro Melendez de Aviles, a man of cruel disposition and accustomed to scenes of blood, in 1565, to dispossess the French and drive them from the country. He arrived on the coast on the 28th August, 1565, and having ascertained the strength and position of the French colony, he deemed it his first duty to destroy the colonists.

About the same time, Jean Ribaut arrived with succors and aid for the colony, but his fleet was driven to sea by a storm, and his vessels wrecked. Melendez landed his troops near the present town of St. Augustine, and by a rapid and secret march through woods and swamps he arrived before Fort Carolina, and after a spirited resistance it was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. He then decoyed the troops of the French expedition which had been cast away on the shores of Florida, and most treacherously massacred them on St. Matthew's day (the St. Bartholomew's of the Protestants in America), not even sparing their brave commander, Jean Ribaut, who was dispatched by the dagger of an assassin. The whole number of French who fell in this carnage was about nine hundred. Many of the bodies were suspended from trees with this inscription: "*Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*" M. De Gourgues, a French nobleman, finding that his sovereign neglected to call Spain to an account for this outrageous and cruel act, fitted out at his own risk and expense an expedition, in 1567 and sailed for Florida. He arrived after a long voyage at the month of the river May, and was saluted by the Spaniards, who mistook him for one of their own nation. To confirm them

in their error, he returned the salute and passed on to the St. Mary's, where he landed. He there assembled a body of the natives, who were strongly attached to the French, and marched for the river St. John's. The Spaniards had rebuilt Fort Carolina, changing the name to St. Matheo, and constructed two other forts nearer the sea. These were garrisoned by three hundred men. The French and Indians surprised the forts, killed a great number in the assault, and the rest he hung upon the trees. Having accomplished his object and destroyed the forts, M. de Gourgues returned to France. The French made no further attempt to establish themselves in this part of New France. But after the discovery of the Mississippi river they fitted out an expedition under M. de la Salle to colonize Louisiana.]

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JOURNAL HISTORIQUE  
DE  
L'ETABLISSEMENT DES FRANCAIS  
A LA LOUISIANE  
PAR  
M. DE SAUVOLE.\*

*Recueil que j'ai pris sur mon journal de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable depuis le départ de M. d'Iberville, du 3 Mai 1699 jusqu'en 1701.*

M. d'Iberville m'ayant donné le commandement du fort qu'il a fait construire, j'ai fait travailler nos gens pour se mettre à l'abri des injures du temps; ce qui n'avait pu se faire avant son départ pressé

\* The Historical Journal of M. de Sauvole is a narrative of great interest and value, because it gives the details of what took place when the first colony of Louisiana was established. It should have preceded that of La Harpe's Journal in this volume. M. de Sauvole was one of the most accomplished officers that ever went to Louisiana. He was a poet, an orator, and a soldier. In the high circles of society, where his birth and fortune entitled him to appear, he made a great sensation on account of his brilliant attainments as a scholar. Although born to fortune he preferred a life of activity in the service of the country to one of ease and retirement, and when he heard that M. d'Iberville was about to sail for Louisiana, he begged to join the expedition. Having located the colony, and protected them by a fort, M. de Iberville set sail for France in the beginning of 1699, leaving Sauvole and Bienville his lieutenants, the first to command the fort, and the other as general superintendent of the colony.

In the course of this year two missionaries from Canada, accompanied by sixteen Canadians, descended the Mississippi to its mouth, and sailed along the coast until they reached the colony at Biloxi. A communication with Canada was afterwards kept open by Pass Manchac or Iberville and the lakes in the rear of New Orleans. During the absence of M. d'Iberville, Bienville was indeed fatigable in making explorations to secure the prosperity and perpetuity of the



par le peu de vivres qu'il avait. Leur logement étant fini, je leur ai fait clore le magasin qu'il avait dressé; ensuite, nous avons fait un Hôpital, et nous nous sommes donnés autant de jour que nous l'avons pu autour du fort, en abattant les arbres d'alentour qui étaient d'une grosseur prodigieuse. Je me suis attaché dès le commencement à connaître le fort et le faible d'un chacun, pour établir la discipline qu'il faut toujours faire observer. L'on ne le saurait sans peine, surtout à des gens ramassés dont la plupart n'en ont jamais en la moindre teinture: notre Aumônier a dit journellement, comme dans nos vaisseaux, les prières ordinaires et la messe. M. de Bienville et Levasseur, et M. Bordeneau, notre Aumônier, leur ont donné très bon exemple.

Le 17 de Mai, nous avons aperçu une fumée à l'ouest du fort, de l'autre côté de la rade. J'y ai envoyé un canot pour voir qui c'était— nos gens ont amené le chef des Banagoulas avec trois autres sauvages. Je leur ai fait la meilleure réception qu'il m'a été possible, et fait mettre la garnison sous les armes; ce qui n'a pas laissé de les effrayer. Comme c'était la première de leurs visites en ce fort, j'ai comblé d'honneurs ce chef, et l'ai fait manger tout son saoul; c'est le plus grand de leurs plaisirs. Heureusement, ce jour là nos chasseurs avaient tué trois chevreuils. Leur ayant mis une chemise à chacun sur leur corps, je leur ai fait voir le fort: ils ont été surpris qu'en si peu de temps nous ayons entassé de si grosses pièces de bois les unes sur les autres; nos canons ne les ont pas moins étonnés; ils les ont trouvés monstrueux, bien qu'ils ne soient que de 8. J'ai fait tirer deux coups à balle devant eux: ils ne savaient ou se mettre tant ils avaient peur. Ayant passé une nuit très tranquillement parmi nous; à une alarme près que le sergent leur donna avec sa hallebarde, venant prendre l'ordre, et parlant au major à l'oreille; cela les fit rêver profondément: m'en étant aperçu, je les rassurai

colony. But the condition of the colonists soon became changed by the inroads of the climate upon their constitutions; and before M. d'Iberville's return sickness had made such ravages among them that many died of malignant fevers, probably of what is now called the congestive and yellow fever, so common to Louisiana, among whom was the youthful commander of Biloxi the lamented M. Sauvole. His career was short but brilliant. Beloved by all the colonists and followed to the grave by their tears and regrets his name will ever be consecrated with those who sacrificed their lives to the glory of France and the colonization of Louisiana. The picturesque ruins of the old fort of Biloxi, now occupied by an Anglo-American family, with its bastions still throwing their evening shadows upon the placid waters of the bay, mark the spot where Iberville and Bienville often met to drop a tear upon the grave of one ever dear to the memory of Louisianians.

par des caresses. Le lendemain, au point du jour, ils m'avouèrent que leurs femmes étaient de l'autre côté, et qu'ils seraient ravis de leur faire voir le fort. Le chef les voyant débarquer me fit signe de faire mettre les soldats sous les armes, et chercha dans le fort, criant hautement que sa femme y était, et qu'il fallait lui faire les mêmes honneurs qu'à lui. Je n'avais pas compté que les sauvages y fussent sensibles. Après être resté trois ou quatre jours parmi nous, ils partirent. Je leur ai donné deux de nos jeunes garçons pour qu'ils apprennent leur langue; ils enverront l'un aux Houmas et garderont l'autre chez eux. Ce chef s'appelle Antobecania. C'est le sauvage le plus rusé que je connaisse, et qui va le plus à ses fins. Il m'a dit que la couverture que M. d'Iberville lui avait donnée, avait eu le même sort que sa maison qui avait été brûlée; bien que je n'en crusse rien, je lui ai donné un habit rouge ou capot; mais je lui ai fait entendre que je ne le lui donnais que pour qu'il eût plus de soin du jeune homme que je lui confiais. Je donnai à chacun des autres de petits présents, des rassades, des couteaux, quelques haches; et les engageai par là à conduire M. de Bienville aux Equinipichas, auxquels j'envoyai aussi un présent d'un capot, d'un calumet, de rassades et autres affaires propres à gagner pareilles gens. Le chef des Baïagoulas balançait long-temps s'il y irait ou non, me disant qu'il ne répondait pas que les autres ne tuassent nos gens. Je lui dis que nous ne craignons personne, et que s'ils faisaient quelque mauvaise démarche, j'irais les tuer tous. Voyant qu'il ne pouvait plus se dispenser d'y aller, il s'y détermina. Il ne disait tout cela qu'en vue d'avoir tout pour lui et pour ne pas nous donner connaissance d'aucune autre nation.

Le 29. M. de Bienville est revenu des Coulapissas, c'est ainsi qu'ils se nomment. Ils n'ont jamais ouï parler de M. de Lasalle ni de M. de Tonty. Il y a été bien reçu. Ils ne sont qu'à quatre journées de nous. Ils m'ont envoyé deux calumets de paix; malgré cela, ils n'ont jamais approché d'ici. Il faut que le chef des Baïagoulas les ait intimidés, faisant croire que c'était eux que nous cherchions, M. d'Iberville et moi, lorsque nous les avons tant questionnés sur la fourche de la rivière et sur les Quinipissas. Ils ne sont pas plus de cent cinquante hommes, mais très bien faits.

Le blé d'inde que nous avions semé et autres herbages ont été brûlés par l'ardeur du soleil. M. d'Iberville peut avoir avancé que tout y venait à merveille; il est vrai aussi que quand il partit, je lui offris à manger d'une salade de laitues, bien qu'il n'y eût que 18 jours qu'on l'avait semée. Mais la sécheresse a été si grande, que tous les marais ont séché. Le mois de Juin est le plus chaud, c'est celui-là

ou nous avons été en grande disette d'eau ; et sans le secours d'un petit ruisseau que je trouvai étant à la chasse à une lieue et demie du fort, nous eussions été mal dans nos affaires, n'en trouvant pas une goutte dans les autres endroits. Il y a une si grande quantité de crocodiles qu'on en voit à tout moment ; mais nous n'avons pas lieu de nous en plaindre jusqu'à présent ; nous en avons tué plusieurs au pied du fort ; ils n'y reviennent plus si fréquemment. Les serpents sont beaucoup plus dangereux. J'en ai vu la preuve sur un de mes chiens qui étant mordu par un serpent à sonnettes ne vécut point un quart d'heure. La enfla si fort sur le champ, qu'il ne put branler de l'endroit. Heureusement personne n'a eu ce même sort.

J'ai envoyé reconnaître la baie de la Mobile le 9 Juin, et le fort de Pensacola ; voir si les Espagnols ne l'auraient point abandonné faute de vivres, comme leurs déserteurs nous l'avaient assuré ; ce qu'ils n'avaient point fait par le rapport de M. de Bienville qui y à été ; mes instructions le portant, je n'eusse fait nulle difficulté d'y envoyer dix hommes jusqu'à l'arrivée des vaisseaux, ou pour mieux dire, nous nous y fussions tous transportés.

Je ne saurais occuper nos gens que deux heures le matin et deux heures le soir, à cause du grand chaud, pour défricher et brûler autour du fort, tant il fait chaud. La plupart de nos gens ont été atteints de la dissenterie. Les mauvaises eaux la leur ont sans doute causée ; encore, n'en trouve-t-on pas quand on veut : à l'égard du terrain, il est assurément fort ingrat. Ce n'est quasi que du sable brûlant—nos gens ont semé très souvent, et infructueusement. Les arbres sont sur pied percés de vers ; les traversiers en ont été endommagés. Ça n'a pas été sans peine si nous les avons remis en état, personne ne s'en étant défié, et encore ça n'était il pas trop bien ; j'avoue très ingénument tout contre moi sur ce qui vient en ma connaissance.

La rivière de la Mobile est peu de chose ; son terrain est bas et stérile ; point d'eau à son entrée, 7 pieds seulement ; encore l'entrée est elle très difficile.

Le 25 de Juin, nos gens ont amené deux sauvages de la nation des Biloxis qu'ils ont trouvé sur le bord de l'eau. Ils n'ont pu parler à leurs femmes qui étaient avec eux et qui s'en sont enfuies. Je leur ai fait le meilleur accueil que je l'ai pu, et donné quelques haches, un sabre et un chapeau.

Le chef des Baïngoulas m'a laissé ici un sauvage âgé de 22 ans pour apprendre notre langue : il a fort bien redressé les autres sur ce qu'il leur voyait faire qui n'approchait point de notre manière ; il nous copie de son mieux ; il serait fort fâché de nous quitter.

J'ai envoyé reconnaître la rivière des Pascagoulas et Biloxis qui est à deux ou cinq lieues d'ici ; son terrain est bon à deux journées de son embouchure ; il n'y a que deux pieds d'eau à son entrée, et à un demi cable 7 à 8 brasses ; elle serpente beaucoup ayant fait 16 lieues. L'on rencontre les villages des Pascagoulas, Biloxis et Mochtobis qui ne sont pas 20 cabanes en tout.

Juillet.—Il est arrivé deux canots d'écoree le 1er de ce mois, dans lesquels il y avait deux missionnaires. Ils étaient en tout 18 hommes. Ils sont du séminaire de Québec. L'un est établi aux Taensas, et l'autre aux Tonicas. Ils ont appris de nos nouvelles aux Houmas, et sont descendus par le bas du fleuve à la mer. Ils ont été dix jours dans leur traversée ici, et sans le secours de quelques pluies, ils seraient morts de soif indubitablement ; car, la plupart étaient très mal par la disette d'eau. Je leur ai fait tous les plaisirs qu'on peut faire en pareil lieu, et les ai fait rafraichir par des bouillons de chevreuil qui ne leur a pas manqué. Ils sont restés neuf jours parmi nous. Je les ai priés de prendre le parti de s'en aller, vu que nous n'avions que peu de vivres. M. de Montigny à qui je me suis adressé, m'a dit que je lui faisais plaisir, qu'il n'osait commander aux gens qu'il avait avec lui ; qu'ils lui eussent voulu du mal, s'il leur en eût parlé lui-même, qu'il voyait bien que dix-huit hommes n'étaient que très à charge en pareille conjoncture. Si notre traversier que j'avais envoyé à St. Domingue venait à manquer, la garnison en eût souffert, et je ne pouvais pas m'en dispenser. M. de Montigny m'a marqué envie de s'en aller établir aux Natchez qui est la nation la plus nombreuse du bas du fleuve, et la plus respectée des autres sauvages. Pour faciliter quelque accès près de leur chef, je lui ai remis un capot rouge dont il lui ferait présent, et quelques haches et autres affaires tant pour lui que pour les sauvages où ils ont fait leur mission. Ils ont emporté du vin pour dire la messe, des outils et de la farine. Ils avaient avec eux 3 sauvages de la nation des Chouanons, et deux autres des Taensas. Je leur ai donné un capot de toile à chacun, et quelques rassades pour que les nations d'en haut ne doutent point que nous ne soyons au bas du fleuve. Ces sauvages se trouvaient si bien parmi nous, que ces Messieurs ont en beaucoup de peine à les faire embarquer ; il a fallu que je leur aie donné pour leur servir de guide pour le portage le jeune homme des Baiagoulas, n'ayant pour pilote que le petit enfant que j'avais envoyé aux Houmas, qu'ils avaient pris aux Baiagoulas en descendant.

Un nommé Launay qui était avec eux m'a fait une carte du fleuve qu'il dit avoir descendu et monté deux ou trois fois. Il était avec M. de Tonty quand il a fait la paix avec les Quinipissas qui

nous ont si adroitement caché cette nation. Il m'a assuré que le chef des Mogoulachas est véritablement celui des Quinipissas. Ils étaient établis en ce temps là 20 lieues plus bas qu'ils ne sont à présent; la maladie les a détruits; le peu qu'il en est resté s'est joint à la nation des Mogoulachas dont le chef est du nombre, et l'ont reçu pour tel, car il est le chef.

Le 13, le chef des Pascagoulas est venu nous porter en chantant le calumet de paix; il avait à sa suite 7 hommes de la même nation. Je n'ai point vu de sauvages moins embarrassés; ils nous ont embrassés, ce que je n'avais point vu faire aux autres; ils passent doucement la main sur la poitrine à leur abord. Ayant élevé leurs bras au ciel, ils m'ont apporté en présent 6 peaux de chevreuil, dont ils ont fait présent sur le champ à nos chasseurs, pour faire des souliers sauvages, quelque peu de viande boucanée et la moitié d'un chevreuil. Ils sont repartis après avoir eu leurs présents comme les autres.

Il a presque plu tous les jours pendant le mois de Juillet. Nous n'irons plus chercher à boire si loin. Sans le vent de sud ouest qui règne dans les grandes chaleurs, on serait mal en ce pays. Le 21 du mois il est arrivé quatre sauvages de la nation des Pascagoulas, qui, après avoir passé une nuit parmi nous, sont repartis chargés de nos présents qui, selon eux, ne sont que très minces.

Quant au sujet de l'eau de vie, je n'en puis parler qu'avec aigreur, et dire que c'est la plus pernicieuse boisson qu'il y ait tant pour la santé que pour les discussions et querelles qui en proviennent; elle ruine le corps, abrutit l'homme; quelque précaution que j'aie pu prendre, il ne m'a pas été possible de leur faire boire leur ration journallement; ils la prennent pourtant de même; mais ils ont le secret de la cacher si secrètement qu'on ne saurait la déterrer pour la boire quand ils en ont assez accumulé. S'il était possible d'envoyer du vin suffisamment, ou assez de grain et de me lasser pour faire de la bière, ils s'en porteraient bien mieux; et cela nous exempterait d'infliger des punitions que nécessite l'ivresse. Le vin ne fait pas la centième partie de l'effet que produit l'eau de vie.

Août.—Le commencement de ce mois a été le plus beau qu'on puisse voir au monde. Il est arrivé le 8 une pirogue dans laquelle il y avait sept sauvages de la nation des Pascagoulas, parmi lesquels se trouvait le chef de cette même nation; il s'appelle Chenoua. Ils sont établis sur la rivière de la Mobile. J'avais dans mes instructions l'ordre de faire beaucoup de caresses à ces nations, et de leur donner un fusil; ce que j'ai fait. Ils vont indubitablement voir les Espagnols; car ce chef avait un de leurs mousquets. Outre le fusil, je lui ai donné un sabre, un chapeau brodé, un capot, un plumet, et

d'autres présents pour les siens. Ils se sont si bien trouvés parmi nous, qu'il n'y a point de sauvages qui, après être venus ici, n'y soient revenus plusieurs fois.

Le 21 Août notre traversier est revenu de St. Domingue chargé de vivres qu'il a pris au cap; nous n'en avons pas été contents. Il s'est trouvé beaucoup de farine gâtée, la moitié d'eau de vie de madère d'une qualité détestable, renfermée dans des barrils très petits qui, l'un dans l'autre n'étaient remplis qu'à un quart près; elle était dans les plus mauvais fûts du monde. Si le capitaine du traversier, nommé Guion, n'eût pas passé à Léogand, nous eussions eu quinze barrils de farine de moins, que M. Ducasse lui a fait prendre pour faire les six mois de vivres que le gouverneur nous envoyait: il peut s'être trompé. Quant à l'eau de vie, il me manda qu'il me l'envoyait moitié de France, moitié de Madère, n'en ayant point d'autre.

Le 22, j'ai envoyé sonder les deux lacs par où M. d'Iberville a descendu et qu'il avait nommés lacs Ponchartrain et Maurepas, ce qui n'est plus. Par le rapport qu'il m'a fait, il est impossible de faire d'établissement sur leurs bords, tant le terrain y est bas et noyé.

Le 27, j'ai envoyé deux canots d'écorce commandés par M. de Bienville avec six hommes lui compris pour aller faire portage dans le fleuve Michassipi, et le descendre jusqu'à son embouchure. Il a trouvé plus d'eau dans le chenal où nous avons monté que dans les autres—il a monté aux Baiagoulas et aux Quinipissas. Il nomme les Mongoulachas, Quinipissas, parceque nous voulous faire revivre cette nation dont le chef est véritablement un Quinipissas.

Il a trouvé ces deux nations très affligées de la perte de quelques hommes que les Houmas leur ont tués, ayant été chez eux les surprendre dans le temps qu'ils étaient à travailler dans leurs champs. Ils l'ont appris par le petit garçon qui est chez eux, du reste j'ignore la cause de leurs différends.

En descendant le fleuve, et à 25 lieues de son embouchure, M. de Bienville a rencontré une frégate Anglaise de 12 canons à la quelle il a fait opposition (comme l'ordre que je lui avais donné le portait). C'était le 15 Septembre. Le capitaine de la frégate, nommé Barr,\*

\* Coxé, in his description of *Carolina*, called by the Spaniards *Florida*, and by the French *La Louisiane*, states that this ship (in 1698) was the first that ever entered the Mississippi river from the sea. He further states that in the year 1678 a considerable number of persons went from New England to make discoveries, and proceeded as far as New Mexico, one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Mississippi, and after their return rendered an account of their expedition to Colonel Dudley, afterwards Governor of New England. That his

lui avoua ingénument qu'il n'avait été reconnaître cette rivière que pour y faire un établissement pour une compagnie ; mais, voyant que nous nous en étions emparés avant eux, et nous croyant établis en haut, il a pris le parti de s'en retourner, assurant les nôtres qu'on le reverrait l'année prochaine.

Il est arrivé 13 sauvages le dernier de Septembre, de la nation des Baïagoulas et Quinipissas.

La rivière de Mississippi n'a point de courant ou très peu. Depuis le 1 Septembre jusqu'au 15 Novembre, l'eau avait baissé de 20 pieds aux Baïagoulas (à son embouchure il y en a d'avantage dans ce temps là).

Le 17 Octobre il est arrivé une pirogue de Pascagoula dans laquelle il y avait 13 sauvages ; parmi eux, il y en avait un qui venait de la nation des Chactas ;\* il nous a dit que cette nation était fort

father, the proprietary of Carolana, twenty-three years before, was possessed of a journal from the mouth of the Mechasebe (Mississippi), which had been written many years before, together with a large map with the names of the rivers, nations, and productions of this country.

That in 1698 he fitted out an expedition at his own expense, consisting of two ships, armed with twenty great guns, sixteen patereroes, and an abundance of small arms, ammunition, stores and provisions not only for the use of those on board, but also for building a fortification and settling a colony, there being in both vessels a great number of volunteers, including gentlemen and noblemen.

One of these vessels, commanded by Captain Barr, entered the Mississippi and ascended it above one hundred miles, and would have established a colony there had the captain of the other ship done his duty and not deserted him.

He, however, took possession of this country in the name of his Majesty, and left in several places the arms of Great Britain affixed on boards and trees for a memorial thereof.

\* The Chactas and Chicachas came from the west, according to a tradition preserved among them, and are an offshoot of the Chichemees, who were driven out of Mexico. After wandering many years, the Chactas crossed the Mississippi, and settled in the territory now embraced in southern Mississippi and southwestern Alabama, while the Chicachas established themselves in northern Mississippi, and all the western half of Tennessee. They spoke the same language, with the exception of a slight difference produced by the intonation of the voice. At the time the French visited Louisiana, they were still a powerful nation, numbering about twenty thousand warriors, and occupying more than fifty large villages. They successively exterminated the Chocchumas, Yasons, Tunicas, and several smaller tribes inhabiting the banks of the Mississippi. They were slender in form and very active, and both sexes were models of beauty and figure. They marked their faces and bodies with curious figures in blue indelible ink, and flattened their heads by artificial means, hence they were called "*Plathwads*." No Indians excelled them in hospitality. They were superior orators, spoke with good sense, and used most beautiful meta-

nombreuse et avait 45 villages ; il en parle avec beaucoup de vénération et de crainte. Il nous a fait entendre que les Chaetas et les Anglais avaient eu affaire ensemble ; ces derniers allaient, dit-il, aux Chicassas. Je crois fort bien que de la Caroline ils pouvaient avoir passé aux Chicassas où deux hommes des leurs sont établis, selon le rapport de M. Davion, un des missionnaires qui ont été ici ; ce missionnaire avait été aux Chicassas avec eux ; ils étaient partis ensemble des Tonicas où ils ont été pour acheter des esclaves destinés à la Caroline.

La frégate qu'on a trouvée dans le Mississippi pouvait bien avoir donné rendez-vous à d'autres Anglais pour se joindre au bas du fleuve. C'est à savoir s'il est vrai que les Anglais et les Chaetas se soient battus. Ce sauvage avait sur lui une couverture bleue qu'il dit avoir trouvée près d'un homme mort. Ce qui me le fait croire, c'est que les Chaetas sont enragés de ce qu'ils achètent de leurs esclaves et d'autres sauvages.

Plus j'ai connaissance de ces espèces de nations, plus je suis frappé de leur misère. Si l'espoir de trouver quelque mine ne se réalise point, la cour ne saurait être remboursée des dépenses qu'il lui faut faire, à moins qu'elle ne permette la descente du castor par ici, ce qui ne sera pas ruineux pour le Canada ; car il aura toujours

plors. Their speeches were concise, strong, and full of fire. They had no other religion than that which attached to their funeral rites. They had some idea of a Supreme Being. The French missionaries never succeeded in converting them to Christianity. This once powerful and warlike nation has now almost disappeared from the state of Mississippi, having sold out their country and emigrated to the Indian Territory west of the Arkansas, where they are rapidly advancing in the arts of civilization. They have a republican constitution, a legislature, and a judicial system, and every measure is taken by the general government to civilize them.

The Chicachas, a brave and warlike nation were among the most haughty, cruel and insolent people among the southern Indians. They numbered about forty villages, and had numerous well cultivated fields. They defeated De Soto, D'Artaguet and Bienville in several pitched battles, and were the enemies and constant terror of French *voyagers* upon the Tennessee, Tombecbee and Mississippi rivers. Like the Creeks, they often invaded a country, killing and carrying off slaves and plunder. They neglected agriculture, and when not occupied in hunting or warfare, they amused themselves with dancing and playing upon musical instruments. They were athletic, well formed and graceful, and their women handsome. Like the Creeks they punished adultery by beating their wives with poles, and cropping their ears. Of all the North American Indians they were the most expert in tracking their enemies or game. They were constantly at war with other tribes, and were the implacable foes of the French. In short, they were the Spartans, and the Chaetas were the Boetians of Louisiana.



son cours et la même abondance. L'on ferait beaucoup de tort par là aux Anglais.—La laine de bœuf est encore un article à ne pas négliger. Les sauvages, en peu de temps, en feraient des amas, au lieu de la laisser perdre quand ils ont tué des bêtes; ils la descendraient pour rien ou du moins pour des bagatelles.

Le chef des Quinipissas et celui des Baugoulas sont arrivés du 28. Le premier m'a confirmé ce que le nommé Launay m'avait dit à son sujet; il m'a raconté que la jeunesse de sa nation avait été attaquer M. de Lassalle pour voler ses gens; ils ignoraient l'effet des armes à feu; quand ils s'en aperçurent, ils se retirèrent en désordre, en perdant quelques hommes; il ajouta que n'ayant point trempé dans cette attaque, il fit offrir à M. de Lassalle le calumet de paix, à son retour de la mer.

L'hiver a été très venteux et très froid. Le vent du Nord s'est fait sentir très vivement pendant le mois de février; à peine avait on rincé un verre, que l'eau qui y restait était glacée à l'instant.

Les vaisseaux qui étaient en rade pendant les coups de vent n'ont point souffert du tout, tant la tenue y est bonne. C'est le seul endroit, hormis Pensacola, où ils puissent se mettre à l'abri du mauvais temps dans les environs du Mississippi. Je n'ose point assurer s'il est possible de construire un fort à la pointe ouest de l'île, attendu que la mer poussée par un vent de sud la noie; en outre ce n'est que du sable qui n'a point de solidité. Si l'on bâtissait un fort à un quart de lieue de la pointe, il faudrait sans faute faire des citernes pour le manquement d'eau.

A l'arrivée de M. d'Iberville, je lui ai rendu compte de l'exécution des instructions qu'il m'avait laissées. La rencontre de la frégate Anglaise dans le Mississippi lui a fait prendre le parti de pousser du monde dans le fleuve, afin que personne ne s'en emparât. C'est par là que j'ai débuté aussi; je me suis offert à lui pour y mener un traversier. Ayant voulu y aller lui-même, il m'a chargé d'aller chercher un endroit propre à changer la colonie et la pousser à moitié chemin du portage qui est à 22 lieues plus bas que les Baugoulas, dans une rivière d'eau douce que j'ai trouvé avoir assez de courant, et presque aussi large que la rivière de Rochefort. L'ayant montée à une distance d'une lieue, j'y ai trouvé un terrain qui m'a paru assez propre à un établissement, quoiqu'il ne dure qu'une lieue et demie sur ses bords. Je l'ai montée à cinq lieues, et j'ai trouvé tout inondé. Je lui ai dépêché un canot d'écorce que j'avais mené avec moi, pour lui rendre compte de ma découverte, et lui dire que j'attendais des ordres pour y faire travailler. Il m'a fait répondre qu'il m'en laissait le maître, mais qu'il ne lui paraissait point prudent d'abandonner

le terrain que nous occupions près de la rade où sont nos vaisseaux, l'unique mouillage de ces quartiers; il ajoutait que si je ne renuais rien, il était à propos de faire écartir des pieux pour construire nos deux bastions, ce que je fais faire incessamment, afin qu'il voie le travail à son retour. Je n'ai pourtant pas beaucoup de monde; car de 18 hommes tant Canadiens que flibustiers qu'il a laissés malades, ayant amené les autres, il n'y en a que 7 qui se soient remis. Mais M. de Reconard qui commande son vaisseau en son absence m'a envoyé six charpentiers que j'ai joints à nos soldats. Cet officier met un si grand zèle et une telle vigilance au service, qu'il trouve le secret d'armer 3 chaloupes pour le débarquement des effets destinés pour la colonie; il nous fournit outre cela le plus de matelots qu'il peut pour nous aider à haler les pieux pour nos bastions.

M. d'Iberville me mande encore son heureuse entrée dans la rivière qu'il a montée 18 lieues. Il a choisi un terrain quoique fort bas qui n'est pas inondé, par le rapport d'un sauvage qu'il avait, après avoir donné des ordres et fait écartir des pieux pour une maison où il doit mettre six canons. Il s'est rendu aux Baagoulas d'où sa lettre est datée. M. de Tonty qui l'a joint à l'endroit de l'établissement qu'il a fait, est de son voyage. Il a descendu des Illinois où je lui avais écrit par les missionnaires et marqué à peu près le temps que nos vaisseaux pourraient arriver. (M. de Tonty est remonté aux Illinois, lui 3ème, et ses gens ont suivi M. d'Iberville. Des sauvages que j'avais menés à bord, sont venus m'avertir qu'il venait trois bâtimens Espagnols le long de la côte ouest.) M. Lesueur reste aux Baagoulas avec ses 15 hommes, jusqu'au retour de M. d'Iberville. Je souhaite que son bonheur l'accompagne en cette occasion pour le bien du Roi, et qu'il trouve de quoi se dédommager des dépenses qu'il a faites. Il est certain qu'il est impossible de se donner plus de peine qu'il ne fait. Rien ne lui est difficile; s'il y a quelque possibilité de faire une chose, on y peut compter sûrement. Je suis outré de n'être point de ce voyage par les lumières que j'en eusse pu tirer. J'espère que la cour me mettra à portée, l'année prochaine, si l'on établit dans la rivière, de faire quelque découverte; je ne puis en faire ici, tant les environs sont peu considérables.

J'ose me flatter que les sauvages feront aveuglément, tout ce que nous voudrons, quoi qu'ils soient bien paresseux; ils ont confiance en ce que nous leur disons. J'ai mené le chef de la Mobile voir les vaisseaux, depuis le départ de M. d'Iberville. Il restait extasié de voir de si grandes machines; il s'est montré fort satisfait de l'accueil qu'on lui a fait. Il avait avec lui deux Chactas et le chef des

Pascagoulas. Etant de retour au fort, ils ont compté aux autres qu'ils avaient été dans des vaisseaux qui allaient jusqu'aux nues, qu'il y avait plus de cinquante villages dans chacun et du monde à n'y pouvoir pas passer, et qu'on les avait fait descendre dans un endroit où ils n'ont vu ni soleil ni lune ; ils sont partis pour aller chez les Chactas leur apprendre ces prodiges. Je souhaite qu'ils les amènent.

Revenus des vaisseaux avec M. d'Iberville, où j'avais été pour recevoir les ordres ; nous avons aperçu, avant d'avoir mis à terre, notre petit traversier en feu. Il nous a été impossible d'éteindre le feu déjà trop avancé ; en outre, il y avait plusieurs barrils de poudre qui, en peu de temps ont fait leur effet ordinaire. Cet accident a été causé par deux maladroits qui ayant été travailler à bord, y ont laissé une mèche allumée qui a occasioné cette perte ; j'en suis inconsolable, par le besoin qu'on en peut avoir. Un malheur n'arrive point seul ; une de nos biscaïennes a déserté ; son équipage était de 9 hommes que la *Renommée* avait fournis. Ce bâtiment avait chargé à bord, selon son ordinaire, et en était parti le 11 mars après midi ; je n'en fus averti que le lendemain par une chaloupe qui vint des vaisseaux, et me demanda des nouvelles de l'autre qui était parti le veille. J'envoyais M. de Boisbriant après, pour tâcher de la rencontrer, ce qui a été inutile. M. Dejourdy a eu le même sort. Je ne doute pas qu'ils ne soient allés aux Espagnols. Ils ont sans doute tué leur patron ; ils le lui avaient juré, à ce qu'on m'a dit.

L'autre traversier est parti le 18 pour Pensacola et pour les Apalaches, par ordre de M. d'Iberville qui réclamera ces gens là. Il écrit une lettre d'honnêteté à chaque gouverneur, et leur donne avis de l'intention qu'ont les Anglais de s'établir dans ces contrées. Je suis dans une grande impatience de la réception que ces messieurs là feront au traversier, et comment ils accueilleront nos honnêtes. J'ai écrit aussi au gouverneur de Pensacola.

Nos bastions seront bien avancés à l'arrivée de M. d'Iberville, car les pieux sont entièrement écarris pour le deux bastions ; celui de l'ouest est à moitié fait, ses pieux sont extrêmement forts. Je ne néglige pas un moment à les mettre dans l'état qu'il faudra. Il est mort, dans ce fort, 4 hommes qui avaient porté leur maladie de France. Depuis l'arrivée des vaisseaux, il en est mort trois de ceux qui étaient arrivés ici malades.

À l'égard des perles, je n'en ai point vu de véritables. Un homme de probité m'a dit en avoir vu une véritable qui venait de la rivière des Colapissas (Pearl). Il est certain qu'il y en a beaucoup, selon le rapport des sauvages.

SAUVOLE.

FAIT AU FORT BILOXI, ce 1er Avril, 1700.

*Suite de ce qui s'est passé dans le Fort du Biloxi, depuis le départ du traversier pour St. Dominique du 1er Mai, 1700.*

Le 12 Mai les chefs d'aomé et de la Mobile sont venus réclamer notre protection contre les Conchas, les Piniscas et d'autres sauvages que leur ont tué 12 hommes. Je n'ai pas balancé à envoyer du monde, dans la nécessité pressante où je me trouve faute de vivres. Je leur ai facilité par la le moyen de cultiver leurs terres, en les rassurant par un tel secours ; outre que nos gens y ont vécu assez long temps, avec quelques rassades, quelques haches et d'autres petites affaires que je leur avais données. J'étais bien aise aussi de m'assurer le reste de blé d'inde qu'ils avaient chez eux, qui m'a duré jusqu'à l'arrivée du vaisseau *l'Enflammé*. Ce n'est pas là une petite obligation que nous devons à ces gens là ; ils sont les seuls à cent lieues à la ronde qui eussent pu nous secourir. Ils souhaitent avec passion que nous allions nous établir dans leur rivière. C'est véritablement le meilleur terrain de ces contrées. S'y fais rester de nos gens jusqu'à l'arrivée de M. d'Iberville pour voir ce qu'il y aura à faire.

Il y a plus de six mois que les Espagnols n'ont été chez eux ; il est vrai qu'ils avaient mis des cochons dans leurs villages, et qu'ils leur faisaient entendre qu'ils devaient s'y aller établir, lorsqu'ils allaient y trafiquer doublé d'inde. Ils ne les regarderont pas à présent sur le pied de bons amis, car ils ont tué un de leurs sauvages. J'ai toujours veillé à ce que nos gens ne leur fissent pas le moindre tort ; aussi sont ils bien contents de nous.

Le 15 j'ai reçu une lettre de Mr. de Bienville, du Mississippi, où il me marque avoir été obligé d'envoyer de ses gens à la chasse à la Baie St. Louis, pour les faire subsister, ne le pouvant pas au bord du fleuve. Je lui ai envoyé sur le champ tout le blé d'inde que j'avais ici, comptant sur le retour d'un bâtiment que j'avais envoyé à la Mobile en chercher. Il est vrai que la garnison en avait pour dix jours. J'avais fort compté que le détachement du Mississippi serait beaucoup mieux que nous par le moyen des Natchez et des Hommas ; mais j'en ai été détrompé par leur misère. J'espère, Monseigneur, que la note vous, paraîtra assez touchante, pour vouloir bien ordonner qu'on nous envoie des vivres au moins pour 18 mois. Il peut arriver des accidents dans une aussi longue traversée que celle-ci. Peu s'en est fallu que *l'Enflammé* ait éprouvé un sort fort triste en échouant ; ç'eût été un malheur pour nous et pour ceux qui le conduisaient, s'ils n'eussent allégé leur vaisseau qui s'est rendu ici le 27 de Mai.

Le capitaine m'a remis un paquet qui consistait en deux lettres, avec le mémoire de Mr. d'Iberville, et un autre paquet renfermant quelques effets pour les sauvages.

Pour répondre, Monseigneur, aux ordres que vous me prescrivez, je commencerai par assurer votre grandeur que les 12 pirogues dont on a besoin sont faites. J'ai envoyé sur le champ du monde au Mississippi : ils sont de retour depuis huit jours ; les pirogues sont de 30 & 23 pieds de long.

Quant à envoyer un canot au Tamaroa, il eût été inutile de le faire ; car les deux hommes dont Mr. d'Iberville fait mention n'y sont plus. L'un est ici, et l'autre dans rivière des Arkansas.

A l'égard des esclaves du pays de l'Ouest, j'en ai 4 ici, avec un Illinois qui paraît avoir assez couru. L'on ne manquera pas de voyageurs Français, car ils sont en grand nombre. Je serais fort embarrassé sans le secours de la Mobile où je les envoie subsister. Je n'ai pu me dispenser de faire donner la ration à sept hommes que j'ai cru nous être le plus nécessaires, et qui s'en seraient retournés sans cette douceur. Je suis encore persécuté par bien d'autres qui ne savent comment se tirer d'affaire jusqu'à l'arrivée des vaisseaux ; car on ne peut rien tuer à présent à la chasse. Nos malades qui sont au nombre de 30, ne sauraient revenir d'une fièvre tierce qui les mine, faute de remède, et des rafraichissements qu'on a oubliés à Rochefort. J'attends l'arrivée du traversier avec impatience ; il pourra nous apporter quelque secours. J'ai reçu un petit secours du Mississippi, consistant en quatre vingt poules. Celles que nous, avions ici ont été mangées jusqu'à la dernière. J'ai même été obligé de faire tuer 4 veaux pour sustenter les plus malades.

La remarque que j'ai faite est que, la pluie venant, la maladie ne tarde pas à venir aussi. C'est ordinairement au commencement de Juillet. Ce qu'il y a de bon c'est qu'on n'en meurt pas. Ce sont les Acadiens qui en sont le plus maltraités. Ils n'en sont pas plus sages pour cela. Mr. d'Iberville conviendra sans doute, à son arrivée, de leur mutinerie et de leur inconstance, quand son frère et les autres officiers Canadiens l'assureront de leur désobéissance et de l'air indépendant qu'ils souhaiteraient avoir. Pourquoi quittent ils leur pays, pourquoi les voit-on errant dans ce pays-ci et ailleurs, si ce n'est pour ne point travailler et ne dépendre de qui que ce soit ? Peut-on compter après ça, sur une garnison composée de tant d'inconstans. Je puis assurer que pour le moindre travail il m'a fallu moi-même aller les prendre dans leur lit, et ne pas les quitter jusqu'à ce que le travail fût fini. Les soldats sont, sans contredit, plus propres à garder des postes, et il coûterait beaucoup moins au Roi. On pour-

raient faire un choix d'une vingtaine de ces gens là, parmi les plus sages, si l'on croyait ne pas pouvoir s'en passer. L'exemple de M. Lesueur est tout récent. Il y avait des paris ici, que les gens qu'il avait amenés de France pour son voyage chez les Sioux, ne le mèneraient pas aux Baiagoulas. Il a pourtant été où il voulait, et il est revenu avec les mêmes hommes. Je dois convenir cependant, que les Canadiens sont forts, vifs, et alertes pour les voyages; mais il faut que le jeu leur plaise. Ils attrapent les manières des sauvages; mais la manière qui réussit le mieux auprès d'eux, c'est d'avoir de quoi leur donner.

J'ai prié un missionnaire qui est parti d'ici pour retourner aux Natchez, de nous acheter du blé d'inde, de le mettre dans une cabane, à fin qu'il soit tout prêt quand on passera chez eux. Je lui ai donné des rassades pour cela. J'ai prié celui qui est ici, s'il s'en retourne aux houmas, d'en faire de même; sinon, j'enverrai un canot quand le blé d'inde sera ramassé. C'est le Père Limoge qu'il se nomme, il est de la Compagnie de Jésus. L'autre est du séminaire de Québec.

Comme il est porté dans les instructions de prier le révérend père Jésuite qui doit être descendu des Illinois de vouloir bien y remonter pour faire descendre le père Marest, je lus cet article au Père Gravier et au père du Ru. Le premier me dit fort modestement qu'il n'était pas en état de le faire, attendu qu'il n'avait pas les effets convenables pour sa mission, qu'il les attendait par les vaisseaux. Le deuxième parla d'un autre ton, et eût mérité que je l'eusse envoyé lui-même par la réponse qu'il fit en présence des officiers et de moi; elle me paraît des plus insolente. J'en ferai part à Mr. d'Iberville, ce n'est pas en cette seule occasion qu'il a donné des marques de sa légèreté. Il est rare parmi ces messieurs, de trouver des esprits aussi peu accommodants que l'est celui-ci. Il a trouvé le secret de se brouiller avec tous les officiers de ce fort et avec ceux du vaisseau *l'Enflammé*. Les remontrances que je lui ai faites l'ont tellement aigri contre moi, qu'il a mis tout en usage pour s'en venger. Il a été jusqu'à vouloir soustraire des gens de mon commandement. Je remettrai Monseigneur, des écrits à Mr. d'Iberville, qui vous en informeront. Il est bien désagréable, en pareil lieu d'avoir affaire à un tel homme. Votre grandeur verra si je suis capable de lui en imposer.

À l'égard de l'Anglais qui était établi aux Chicassas, il a été volé et tue par des Canadiens voyageurs comme je l'ai déjà mandé par le traversier.

Les Anglais en ont agi bien différemment à l'égard des 3 Cana-

diens qui ont été à la Caroline; ils ont été bien reçus, selon le rapport que voici :

Les deux plus apparents nommés Belle feuille et Solon m'ont rapporté qu'il y a quatre cents lieues de Tamaroa à Charleston, autrement Caroline. C'est par la rivière Wabash qu'ils s'y sont rendus : ils la disent très belle. Ils n'ont trouvé qu'un portage d'une lieue et demi qui est à cent lieues de la Caroline. Le premier village qu'ils ont trouvé appartient aux Chicassas; il est situé à droite en montant, environ à cent quarante lieues du Mississippi. Ensuite on rencontre les Coongalécés, les Calés où il y a un Anglais établi pour trafiquer des esclaves, comme ils font chez plusieurs autres nations. Les Cassotis et les Cakinon pas, sont sur une île que forme la rivière aux deux extrémités de la quelle sont situées les deux nations. Ils ont passé aussi chez les Cherokees qui sont voisins de la rivière des Chavanons.

Le Gouverneur de Charleston s'appelle M. Moore. Ils l'ont trouvé à la maison de campagne à six lieues de la ville où pas un d'eux n'est allé. Il leur a offert quatre livres et demi de leur castor qu'ils n'ont pourtant pas apporté dans leur canot. Ils en avaient seulement de montre. Ils en ont agi de même ici; ils veulent savoir s'il est permis de le passer en France. Il est positif que si ces vagabonds et rebelles prennent une fois l'habitude d'aller aux Anglais, on ne les reverra pas de si tôt au Canada, ni ici. Il est tout à fait de conséquence d'y mettre ordre. Je compte très fort, Monseigneur, sur les ordres que vous nous enverrez sur ce sujet.

Ils ont parlé à un ingénieur Français religieux, que M. de Bienville rencontra dans le Mississippi, quand je l'envoyai faire opposition au Capitaine Barr qui commandait une frégate pour des découvertes. Ce même Français leur a dit avoir découvert une ruine (s'il faut et croire ces gens là) à 50 lieues de la ville, dans la rivière des Chavanons dont il avait envoyé de la matière en Europe; ils la disent être d'argent.

Nous avons découvert un terrain qui n'est pas noyé. Il est au dessus de l'établissement à 10 lieues. Il y a 7 à 8 cabanes de sauvages actuellement. On peut y communiquer par le grand lac; mais il n'y a pas de quoi placer bien des gens, à cause de son peu d'étendue; il est à un quart de lieue du Mississippi.

J'ai envoyé 4 hommes par terre aux Natchez pour découvrir si le pays est beau, et la distance qu'il y a d'ici. Ils m'ont rapporté n'avoir trouvé qu'une rivière à quatre journées d'ici, qu'ils croient celle de Colapissas; mais, qu'il y a bien des ruisseaux qui y coulent en hiver, et qu'on aurait de la peine à passer. Ils ont trouvé d'au-

tres pays depuis. Celui des Natchez est bien différent; car il est parfaitement bon et agréable. Il y a cinquante lieues d'ici.

M. le Sueur est arrivé des Sioux dans une felouque que M. d'Iberville lui avait prêtée pour remonter le Mississippi. M. de Tonty est ici aussi avec des missionnaires. Je n'ai pu me dispenser de faire donner des rations à ces Messieurs, mes provisions n'étant point arrivées, et M. d'Iberville étant à Paris quand ce vaisseau est parti ne m'apportant que peu de chose.

A l'égard de Mathieu Sajan que vous m'ordonnez de garder en ce fort, il me paraît fort embarrassé: il a trouvé nombre de gens ici que le connaissent pour avoir été engagé au Canada; mais ils ne le connaissent pas pour fils d'un sergent nommé Duplessis, comme il a voulu me l'assurer. Ils le contrarient sur un voyage qu'il dit avoir fait il y a 22 ans; il ne saurait nommer un des dix Français qui étaient avec lui; il n'est pas possible qu'on passe trois années ensemble sans en garder le souvenir. Cependant il ne cesse de parler de la nation des cannibas où il dit avoir vu une si grande quantité d'or. C'est par le Missouri qu'il prétend l'aller retrouver. Il témoigne beaucoup d'impatience sur le retardement des vaisseaux. Il est sûr que si l'on ne part pas en Septembre l'on court risque d'hiverner vers les Illinois, à cause des glaces.

J'informerais Votre Grandeur de l'arrivée du traversier que j'avais envoyé à St. Dominique pour y aller chercher des vivres et des rafraichissemens, et des remèdes pour nos malades. Il n'a porté ni les uns ni les autres; ensorte que je me trouve à la veille d'un cabarras pareil à celui de ci-devant. Il a seulement apporté pour moi 22 barrils de farise et quelques barriques de vin. Je nourrirai volontiers là dessus les missionnaires, et Messrs. de Tonty et Lesueur jusqu'à l'arrivée des vaisseaux. Voilà 13 hommes qui nous reviennent dans le traversier, autant que M. L'intendant en a envoyés; si bien que les vivres que j'ai reçus ne sauraient nous mener qu'an commencement d'Octobre, pour la farine; pour le lard il ne saurait durer que jusqu'au 10 de l'autre mois; quant au vin, il n'y en a que pour ce mois-ci, parceque deux barriques ont coulé; ce qui nous dérange beaucoup. Nous avons tenu conseil là dessus; et d'après les avis que j'ai reçus par le traversier que M. d'Iberville était encore à Paris, et qu'on ne faisait aucun préparatif à Roehafort pour ici, il a été décidé de faire passer *l'Enflammé* par St. Dominique, pour y demander des vivres, si l'on n'avait pas de nouvelles de M. d'Iberville. S'il s'y trouvait par hasard, ce vaisseau continuerait sa route pour France, ce retardement ne devant durer plus d'un mois.

Les voyageurs qui sont ici au nombre de 60 et plus, payent tribut



à la maladie aussi bien que nos gens. Il est bien difficile, quoiqu'ils ne le méritent pas, d'avoir quelque charité pour eux ; cependant nous ne sommes guère en lieu ni en état de les secourir.

Ils ont descendu quelques castors et quelques menues pelleteries. J'attends, Monseigneur, vos ordres là dessus. J'ai veillé à ce qu'on n'embarque point un poil de castor sur ce vaisseau.

SAUVOLE.

AU FORT DU BILOXI, ce 4 Août, 1701.

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E.

MÉMOIRE DE M. DE RICHEBOURG,

SUR

LA PREMIERE GUERRE DES NATCHEZ.

POUR bien faire connaître ce qui a donné lieu à cette nation de se déclarer contre nous, il faut reprendre d'un peu plus haut. En 1713, le roi ayant accordé la concession de la Louisiane à M. Crozat, M. de Lamothe Cadillac, son associé, y fut envoyé gouverneur; et M. de Bienville, qui n'avait que le titre de lieutenant de roi, eut ordre de rester sous lui pour le mettre au fait du pays. Mais le dit sieur de Lamothe, ayant voulu se gouverner à sa fantaisie, aliéna si fort les sauvages, que M. de Bienville avait maintenus dans la plus grande dépendance pendant plus de treize ans, qu'ils se jetèrent tous du côté des Anglais: lesquels, ravis de ces dispositions, leur envoyèrent plusieurs traiteurs avec quantité de marchandises et établirent des magasins aux Chaetas, aux Chickassas, aux Yazous et aux Natchez, d'où ils envoyèrent des émissaires parmi le petit nombre de nations qui persévéraient dans notre alliance. Il est aisé de juger par la position de ces postes, qui sont au milieu de la colonie, qu'elle était sur le point de sa perte entière. Aussi, le sieur de Lamothe, qui sentait ce danger, chargea M. de Bienville de ramener les sauvages dans notre alliance, et de trouver les moyens de faire retirer les traiteurs anglais, qui étaient parmi eux. Ce qu'il fit en moins d'un mois. En effet, il fit piller tous les magasins des traiteurs anglais, qui lui furent amenés, et qu'il envoya à la Vera Cruz pour les éloigner davantage. En même temps, il se fit apporter les têtes des principaux chefs Chaetas qui étaient allés à la Caroline inviter les Anglais à venir s'établir chez eux.

Au mois d'octobre de cette même année, M. de Lamothe revint des Illinoïis, sachant tout ce qui s'était passé. Comme il avait été mécontent de la mauvaise réception que les Natchez lui avaient faite en montant, il crut devoir à son tour leur en témoigner son mécon-

tentement. Ayant abordé chez eux pour y prendre des vivres, les chefs s'empressèrent de lui donner tout ce qu'il souhaitait, lui présentèrent le calumet de la paix et le prièrent d'oublier leur faute. M. de Lamothe se rembarqua sans les vouloir écouter, les laissant ainsi persuadés que ce gouverneur avait l'intention de leur faire la guerre.

M. de Bienville ayant reçu dans ce temps de nouvelles provisions du roi au commandement du Mississippi, Sa Majesté lui donna ordre d'aller faire plusieurs établissements sur ce fleuve et de commencer par celui des Natchez avec 80 soldats. Il fit aussitôt travailler à la construction des pirogues nécessaires et disposer toutes choses.

On apprit au mois de janvier 1716, par M. Davion missionnaire, que quatre Canadiens, qui montaient aux Illinois, avaient été assassinés par les Natchez. Cette nouvelle engagea M. de Bienville à presser son départ. Il pria M. de Lamothe de faire nommer son détachement avec 80 hommes, comme il en avait l'ordre de M. le comte de Pontchartrain. Ce que M. de Lamothe refusa. Il fit seulement commander la compagnie de M. de Richebourg, qui n'était que de 34 hommes. M. de Bienville engagea M. Duclou, commissaire ordonnateur, et Messieurs Rauzon et Labarre, agens de M. Crozat, de se joindre à lui, pour représenter à M. de Lamothe l'impossibilité d'entreprendre la construction d'un fort et la guerre contre les Natchez, qui comptaient au moins 800 hommes. avec une compagnie de 34 hommes ! Mais tout fut inutile. Il fallut donc partir avec cette compagnie à laquelle on ajouta 15 matelots. On partit dans huit pirogues.

On arriva le 23 avril aux Tunicas, à dix-huit lieues des Natchez. On apprit là que les Natchez avaient encore assassiné un Français descendant des Illinois, et devaient en surprendre quinze autres qui étaient attendus au même endroit. M. Davion, missionnaire des Tunicas, avertit M. de Bienville que les Natchez ignoraient que ces meurtres fussent connus des Français, la chose étant tenue fort secrète parmi eux. Le missionnaire avertit en outre M. de Bienville de se tenir sur ses gardes contre les Tunicas, qui avaient même reçu présents pour le tuer. Toutes ces nouvelles avaient dû donner de l'inquiétude à M. de Bienville qui, bien loin d'en faire paraître, fit assembler tous les Tunicas, et, sans leur donner à connaître ce qu'il avait appris, leur dit que sa mission était d'aller aux Natchez pour y faire un petit établissement et un magasin qui pût fournir à cette nation et autres, en troc de leurs pelleteries, les marchandises dont ils pourraient avoir besoin, mais que, comme ses gens étaient très fatigués du voyage et comme il avait des malades, il allait se camper

dans une île à un tiers de lieue de leur village, pour se reposer quelque temps; mais qu'ils lui feraient plaisir d'envoyer pendant ce temps à quelqu'un de leurs gens pour avertir les Natchez de son arrivée. Ce qui fut fait dans le moment. Le sieur de Bienville, après avoir reçu le calumet des Tunicias en fait fumer ceux-ci dans le sien, s'en alla avec sa petite troupe camper, sur l'île, où il fit travailler, dès le lendemain 24, à un petit retranchement d'une enceinte de pieux, et à faire construire trois baraques: l'une pour mettre les vivres et munitions de guerre, l'autre pour corps de garde, et la troisième, pour prison.

Le 27 avril, il arriva trois Natchez, qui étaient envoyés par leurs chefs à M. de Bienville auquel ils présentèrent le calumet, qu'il repoussa en leur disant: qu'ils pouvaient faire fumer quelques-uns de ses soldats; que pour lui, étant grand chef des Français, il ne fumerait que lorsque des calumets lui seraient présentés par les chefs Soleils. Ce discours déconcerta un peu ces trois guerriers. Cependant M. de Bienville, leur ayant fait donner à manger, affecta de rire avec eux, leur demanda des nouvelles en particulier de leurs chefs, témoignant de l'empressement pour les voir et de l'étonnement de ce qu'ils n'étaient pas déjà venus lui apporter des rafraichissements. Il ajouta qu'apparemment les Natchez ne se souciaient pas que les Français fissent faire un établissement chez eux; que s'il croyait que la chose fût ainsi, il le ferait aux Tunicias. Ils répondirent, avec une satisfaction marquée, que toute leur nation ne désirait rien de mieux que d'avoir un établissement Français sur leur territoire et qu'ils étaient persuadés que, dans cinq ou six jours, des chefs de la nation de manqueraient pas d'en venir témoigner leur joie.

Le 28 avril, ces trois sauvages s'en retournèrent. M. de Bienville fit partir avec eux, un jeune Français qui parlait parfaitement bien leur langue, auquel il expliqua tout ce qu'il fallait dire à ces chefs et tout ce qu'il avait à leur répondre pour les engager à venir.

Ce même jour, M. de Bienville fit partir un Canadien, des plus hardis et des plus adroits, dans une petite pirogue, avec un sauvage Illinois, pour remonter le fleuve, passer la nuit devant les villages des Natchez, et aller au-dessus, pour avertir les quinze habitants des Illinois qui devaient descendre, de se méfier des Natchez, et surtout de ne point débarquer chez eux. M. de Bienville remit à ce Canadien une douzaine de grandes feuilles de parchemin, pour les placer aux pointes de la rivière. Il avait écrit en gros caractères: "Les Natchez ont déclaré la guerre aux Français et M. de Bienville est campé aux Tunicias."

Le 4 mai, il arriva à notre camp six Canadiens voyageurs, dans

trois pirogues chargées de pelleteries, de viandes fumées et d'huilo d'ours ; lesquels nous contèrent que, ne sachant pas que les Natchez eussent tué de leurs eamarades, ils étaient allés aborder chez eux, et qu'à peine il eurent mis pied à terre, une vingtaine d'hommes sautèrent sur eux, les désarmèrent et enlevèrent tout ce qu'il y avait dans leurs pirogues. Ils furent conduits au village du chef, nommé le Barbu, grand chef de guerre de cette nation, qui, aussitôt qu'il les vit, leur demanda combien il y avait encore de Français qui descendaient après eux ; qu'ils avaient répondu ingenuement et qu'ils en avaient laissé douze en chasse dans six pirogues et qu'ils ne tarderaient pas à arriver ; quo peu de temps après, les grands chefs de cette nation étaient venus très en colère gronder ce chef de guerre de ce qu'il avait fait désarmer les Français et piller leurs pirogues ; qu'aussitôt, ces grands chefs leur firent rendre leurs armes et leur promirent que leurs effets se retrouveraient. Ils leur donnèrent à manger, et on les mit dans une cabane séparée, où ils restèrent trois jours. Pendant ce temps-là, ces chefs et les principaux de la nation tenaient conseil, nuit et jour, pour délibérer sur ce qu'ils devaient faire des prisonniers. Le quatrième jour, les chefs étaient venus les prendre et les conduire à leurs pirogues dans lesquelles on avait reporté presque tout ce qu'on y avait pris. Là, ces chefs avaient appris à leurs prisonniers que M. de Bienville était aux Tunicas, à se reposer, que dans peu il devait venir chez eux y faire un établissement, et que dans quelques jours, eux-mêmes comptaient lui envoyer des vivres.

Le 8 mai, sur les 10 heures du matin, nous vîmes venir quatre pirogues, dans lesquelles il y avait huit hommes debout qui chantaient le calumet, et trois hommes dans chaque pirogue que étaient assis sous des parasols, douze qui nageaient, et deux Français. M. de Bienville ne douta pas que ce ne fût les chefs des Natchez qui venaient tomber dans le piège qu'il leur avait tendu. Comme il savait parfaitement toutes les cérémonies des sauvages, il ordonna à la moitié de ses gens de ne point paraître, mais de se tenir prêts avec leurs armes dans le corps de garde, et à l'autre moitié, de se tenir sans armes autour de sa tente et au débarquement, pour ôter les armes à ces sauvages à mesure qu'ils débarqueraient ; il recommanda de ne laisser dans sa tente que les huit premiers chefs qu'il nomma, les connaissant tous par leurs noms de guerre, et de faire asseoir les autres à la porte de la tente. Tout cela s'exécuta parfaitement. Ces chefs entrèrent en chantant tous les huit, le calumet à la main, qu'ils passaient à plusieurs reprises sur M. de Bienville, de la tête aux pieds en signe d'union, et après, passant leurs mains sur son es-

tomac sans frotter, ensuite sur le leur. Ceci terminé, ils lui présentèrent à fumer. Il repoussa avec mépris leurs calumets et leur dit qu'il voulait entendre leurs harangues et savoir leur pensée avant de fumer. Cela déconcerta ces chefs, qui sortirent de la tente et présentèrent les calumets au soleil. Un d'eux, grand prêtre du temple, parla en l'air, les yeux fixés sur le soleil pour l'invoquer, les bras étendus au-dessus de la tête, et ensuite ils rentrèrent et représentèrent de nouveau les calumets. M. de Bienville leur répéta, d'un ton ennuyé de leurs cérémonies, qu'ils eussent à lui dire quelle satisfaction ils voulaient lui faire pour les cinq Français qu'ils avaient assassinés. Ce discours les étourdit; ils baissèrent la tête sans répondre. Pour lors, M. de Bienville fit signe de les saisir et de les conduire tous dans la prison qu'il avait fait préparer pour eux. On les y mit aux fers. Sur le soir, on leur présenta du pain et de la viande. Ils ne voulurent point manger. Ils chantaient tous leur chanson de mort. L'un des deux Français qu'ils avaient amenés avec eux, était le jeune interprète qui avait été les inviter à venir, et l'autre était un habitant des Illinois qui, ne sachant pas la guerre, était allé se livrer entre leurs mains. Ils ne lui avaient fait aucun tort. A l'entrée de la nuit, M. de Bienville fit venir dans sa tente le grand chef de la nation, qu'on appelle parmi eux le Grand-Soleil, son frère le Serpent-Piqué, et un troisième frère, surnommé le Petit-Soleil. Comme ils étaient demi-morts, M. de Bienville, pour les rassurer, commença par leur promettre qu'ils ne voulaient point les faire mourir; il leur dit qu'il savait que se n'était point par leur ordre qu'on avait assassiné les cinq Français; qu'il voulait que pour satisfaction on lui apportât non seulement les têtes des meurtriers, mais encore celles des chefs qui en avaient donné l'ordre; qu'il ne se contenterait pas de leurs chevelures, mais qu'il voulait leurs têtes, afin de les reconnaître par leurs piqûres; qu'il leur donnait cette nuit pour se consulter entr'eux sur les mesures qu'ils avaient à prendre pour lui faire une prompte satisfaction, sans quoi, il pourrait prendre en parti fâcheux pour tout leur nation. Il ajouta qu'ils n'ignoraient pas le crédit qu'il avait sur tous nos sauvages alliés; qu'il lui était facile de les faire se déclarer contre eux et de détruire leurs huit villages sans risquer la vie de Français; qu'ils devaient se souvenir qu'en 1701, les Chacohonmas assassinèrent un missionnaire et trois autres Français; que sur leur refus de nous livrer les meurtriers, on avait détaché sur eux toutes nos nations alliées qui leur firent la guerre, de manière que de quatre cents familles qu'ils étaient, ils furent réduits en moins de deux ans à quatre vingts.

M. de Bienville leur cita aussi l'exemple qu'il fit en 1702. Il

leur rappela qu'il avait fait condamner à mort un Français pour avoir assassiné deux sauvages Pascagoulas; qu'en 1703, les chefs Coiras ne firent aucune difficulté de faire mourir quatre de leurs guerriers qui avaient assassiné un missionnaire et deux autres Français; que cette même année il avait obligé les chefs Taouachas de tuer deux de leurs gens qui avaient assassiné un Chickassas; que les Chacchoumas, en 1715, avaient eu pareille satisfaction des Chactas que leur avaient tué deux hommes; que les Mobiliens en 1707 portèrent la tête d'un de leurs gens qui avait tué un Taouachas; que les Pascagoulas, en 1707, avaient tué un Mobilien, et qu'il les avait à rendre satisfaction aux offensés, &c. &c.

Les chefs écoutèrent ce discours avec beaucoup d'attention et ne répondirent point. Ils ressentaient vivement la honte d'être aux fers avec quelques-uns de leurs valets.

Le 9 mai, à la pointe du jour, les trois chefs frères demandèrent à parler à M. de Bienville. On les fit venir. Ils le prièrent de faire attention qu'il n'y avait personne dans leur village qui eut assez d'autorité pour entreprendre de tuer les hommes dont il demandait les têtes: que s'il voulait le permettre, le chef Serpent-Piqué, comme le maître de la nation, irait accomplir cette dangereuse mission. Ce que M. de Bienville refusa; et il nomma à la place du Serpent Piqué, son frère cadet, le Petit-Soleil, qu'il fit sur le champ partir dans une pirogue armée de douze soldats et d'un officier, qui le menèrent à deux lieues au-dessous du village des Natchez. De cet endroit, il s'en fut par terre, et notre détachement revint le lendemain matin.

Le 10 mai, il arriva une pirogue dans laquelle il y avait deux Canadiens. Ils avaient heureusement vu, au-dessus des Natchez, une feuille de parchemin qui les avertit de se méfier des Natchez, sans quoi ils seraient allés se livrer à eux.

Le 12 de mai, le Canadien qui était parti le 27 avril avec un sauvage, pour aller su-devant des Français qui descendaient des Illinois, arriva avec onze Français qu'il avait rencontrés à sept lieues au-dessus des Natchez, sans quoi cette troupe allait se livrer à cette nation, ne sachant point la guerre. Ce renfort fit d'autant plus de plaisir, qu'ils avaient sept pirogues chargées de viandes et de farines, dont nous commencions à manquer. Nous apprîmes qu'un Français, avec deux Illinois, qui s'étaient écartés des voyageurs, et qui montaient une pirogue, avaient encore été se faire prendre aux Natchez.

Le 14 mai, le Petit-Soleil arriva. Il apporta trois têtes, dont on ne reconnut que deux pour être de celles que l'on demandait. M. de Bienville fit venir les chefs, et leur dit: Qu'il regrettait la mort

d'un innocent qu'ils avaient fait tuer, et leur fit jeter cette tête aux pieds. Ils avouèrent qu'elle était celle d'un guerrier qui n'avait point eu de part dans l'assassinat des Français ; mais que, comme il était frère d'un des meurtriers qui leur était échappé, ils avaient eu devoir le tuer à sa place. M. de Bienville leur marqua beaucoup de mécontentement de ce qu'on ne lui avait pas apporté les autres têtes, et leur dit qu'il voulait que le lendemain ils renvoyassent encore quelque chef. On remit le Petit-Soleil en prison et aux fers avec les autres. Le Français et les deux sauvages Illinois qui étaient allés se livrer aux Natchez, depuis quatre jours, nous avaient été ramenés par le chef Petit-Soleil, auquel ils devaient la vie, car il les avait délivrés de poteau où ils avaient été attachés pour être brûlés. Ce Français assura M. de Bienville qu'il ne descendait plus de Français du haut du Mississipi, et qu'il était le dernier. Ce qui fit grand plaisir.

Le 15, on envoya aux Natchez deux chefs de guerre et le grand-prêtre du temple, qui se faisaient fort de rapporter la tête du chef Oyelape, autrement dit la Terre-Blanche. Ils furent conduits par un détachement de soldats près de leurs villages. Ce même jour, le chef des Tunicias vint avec M. Davion, leur missionnaire, avertir M. de Bienville de se bien tenir sur ses gardes ; qu'il avait eu nouvelles par trois de ses gens qui venaient d'arriver des Natchez, que cette nation s'assemblait, et que leurs guerriers avaient pris la résolution de descendre tous en pirogues pour nous venir égorguer dans notre camp, et sauver par là tous leurs chefs, ou périr avec eux. Ces Tunicias offrirent d'envoyer quarante de leurs plus braves guerriers, toutes les nuits, pour nous garder. M. de Bienville, que se méfiait autant de ceux-ci que des autres, les remercia, et leur dit qu'il ne craignait rien ; que cependant, ils lui feraient plaisir de continuer à envoyer des espions chez ces Natchez, pour apprendre ce qu'ils faisaient.

Les débordements du Mississipi commencèrent à inonder tout le terrain de l'île où nous étions campés. Il y avait demi-pied d'eau par-dessus la plus haute terre. Ce qui nous causait beaucoup de fièvres, maux de jambes et coliques, ayant toujours les pieds dans de l'eau froide, par des chaleurs excessives. M. de Bienville ne pouvant plus se tenir sous sa tente, fit faire une baraque entourée de pieux, couverte d'écorces d'arbres. Il fit aussi élever une petite poudrière.

Le chef Serpent-Piqué ayant attrapé la fièvre, M. de Bienville le fit sortir de prison, lui ôta ses fers, et lui permit de se tenir tout le jour chez lui, Bienville, avec ses frères. Il avait lieu d'être content d'eux. M. de Bienville, qui passait ainsi toutes ses journées avec



ces chefs, leur reprochait toutes leurs mauvaises manœuvres, en leur disant : Qu'ils avaient reçu l'année dernière des traiteurs anglais, et deux jeunes garçons de cette nation pour apprendre leur langue ; qu'après les avoir renvoyés sur sa demande, ils lui avaient promis que jamais ils ne se détacheraient de l'alliance et de l'amitié des Français ; que cependant, six mois après, ils avaient été assez traitres pour assassiner les premiers Français qui avaient paru chez eux ; que tout autre chef Français que lui ne se contenterait pas de leur demander seulement les têtes des meurtriers, mais qu'il ferait joindre à lui toutes les nations, leurs ennemis, et irait les détruire entièrement ; que néanmoins, ils pourraient le forcer à prendre ce parti, s'ils osaient l'amuser encore long-temps. Ces chefs, après être convenus de toute la trahison et de toute la fourberie de leur nation, assurèrent qu'ils n'avaient jamais paru dans les conseils qui s'étaient tenus pour inviter les Anglais à venir s'établir chez eux ; que les Français qui étaient pour lors dans le village des Natchez pourraient leur rendre cette justice ; que pour ce qui était de l'assassinat des Français, ils ne l'avaient su que huit jours après, et qu'ils les avaient regrettés et pleurés. Dans ce moment, ils jetèrent de grands soupirs et versèrent quelques larmes. M. de Bienville leur demanda ce qu'ils regrettaient. Ils répondirent qu'il était temps d'avouer les choses telles qu'elles s'étaient passées ; que trois chefs de guerre des villages des Noyers, de la Terre-Blanche et des Grigas, étaient les seuls auteurs des désordres arrivés dans leur nation ; que c'étaient ces trois chefs qui avaient attiré les Anglais dans leur village ; que c'était par leur ordre que les Français avaient été tués ; qu'il y en avait deux aux fers dans notre prison ; que l'un s'appelait le chef Le Barbu, lequel était leur frère de mère, et l'autre Alahofféchia ; que le troisième n'était point descendu avec eux, et se nommait le chef de la Terre-Blanche ; que ces trois chefs, depuis un an, avaient pris une autorité si grande sur leur nation, qu'ils étaient plus craints et obéis qu'eux. Le chef Serpent-Piqué avertit encore qu'il y avait aussi dans notre prison deux autres guerriers qui avaient tué le dernier Canadien au mois de mars, et affirma qu'il n'en connaissait point d'autres.

M. de Bienville dit à ces trois chefs qu'il s'était toujours bien douté qu'ils n'avaient point eu de part aux mauvaises affaires arrivées, et que désormais il ne voulait plus qu'ils entrassent dans le prison. Il leur fit faire des lits dans sa baraque.

Le 25 mai, les deux chefs de guerre qui avaient été envoyés à leur village pour avoir la tête du chef de la Terre-Blanche, revinrent sans la porter et en disant qu'il était en fuite. Ils amenèrent plu-

sieurs esclaves qui appartenait aux Français qu'on avait tués. Ils apportèrent aussi beaucoup de leurs effets. Le nombre des malades, qui augmentait tous les jours dans notre camp, engagea M. de Bienville à prendre le parti de terminer cette petite guerre.

Le 1er de juin, il fit sortir du fort tous les chefs et autres qui y étaient depuis un mois, à la réserve des quatre criminels. Il les fit venir chez lui, où étaient les trois autres chefs, et leur dit : qu'il voulait bien leur donner la vie et leur accorder la paix, à condition qu'ils lui donneraient parole qu'ils tueraient le chef de la Terre-Blanche sitôt qu'ils le pourraient joindre et en apporteraient la tête à l'officier Français qui serait chez eux ; qu'ils consentiraient des à présent à ce que les deux chefs de guerre et les deux guerriers, qui étaient actuellement aux fers dans notre prison, fussent mis à mort, pour réparation de l'assassinat qu'ils avaient commis ; qu'ils feraient restituer tout ce qui avait été pillé ; que pour ce qui se trouverait perdu, ils forceraient leurs gens à en payer la valeur en pelletteries et en vivres ; qu'ils obligeraient leur nation à couper deux mille cinq cents pieux de bois d'acacias, de treize pieds de long et de dix pouces de diamètre, et à charroyer le tout près de la rivière Mississippi, au lieu que leur serait par nous indiqué, pour nous faire un fort : qu'ils s'obligeraient, en outre, à nous fournir trois mille côrees d'arbres de cyprès, pour couvrir nos logements, et ce, avant la fin de juillet.

Tous ces chefs remercièrent M. de Bienville, lui firent chacun une harangue où ils protestèrent de leur dévouement aux Français, en disant qu'à l'avenir ils se conduiraient de manière à ne plus mériter de reproches de nous, qu'ils louaient de soleil, leur Dieu, de leur avoir inspiré d'engager leurs chefs de guerre, meurtriers des Français, à venir avec eux pour se livrer à nous ; que sans cela il leur aurait été impossible de nous faire satisfaction par la grande autorité que ces malheureux avaient prise sur leur nation, et qu'il était juste que nous les fissions mourir avec les deux autres. Ils répétèrent ensuite tous les articles et toutes les conditions auxquels ils s'engageaient, promirent de les exécuter fidèlement et d'en faire même davantage.

Après ces harangues finies, ces chefs demandant à M. de Bienville, s'il voulait leur permettre qu'ils lui présentassent à fumer dans leurs calumets de paix, il leur dit qu'il n'était pas encore temps ; qu'il voulait auparavant qu'ils allassent à leurs villages y faire rassembler leurs guerriers et leur expliquer les conditions auxquelles il leur accordait la paix, et qu'il enverrait avec eux un officier et deux soldats pour en être témoins.

Les quatre criminels, se voyant seuls dans cette prison, se doutèrent bien que nous étions instruits de ce qu'ils avaient fait et redoublèrent leurs cris et leurs chants de mort. Le Serpent-Piqué, craignant que ceux de ses gens qui devaient partir pour aller à leur village, ne fussent rapporter qu'on voulait faire mourir ces grands guerriers, et que cela n'occasionnât une rumeur parmi la nation, par la grande estime qu'on avait pour eux, pria M. de Bienville de faire courir le bruit seulement de les envoyer au bas de la colonie au gouverneur, qui déciderait de leur sort, et lui-même alla les trouver en prison pour leur assurer qu'ils ne mourraient point et qu'ils devaient être tranquilles.

Le 3 de juin, le sieur de Pailloux, aide-major, fut commandé avec deux soldats, pour aller au village des Natchez avec tous les chefs et autres, à la réserve du chef Serpent-Piqué et de son frère, que M. de Bienville voulut garder pour ôtages. Il donna ordre à M. de Pailloux, en cas que cette nation acceptât le traité de paix, de rester au grand village avec un soldat et de renvoyer l'autre avec les chefs qui devaient revenir rendre compte de leur mission. Il recommanda aussi à M. de Pailloux d'examiner le lieu le plus convenable à placer notre fort, près de la rivière, et d'en informer.

Le 7 juin, la pirogue, qui avait été aux Natchez, revint avec neuf vieillards de cette nation et le soldat, par lequel le sieur de Pailloux écrivit qu'il avait vu toute cette nation assemblée; qu'elle avait marqué une grande joie de ce que leurs chefs avaient fait avec nous; et que tous ces Indiens étaient très disposés à exécuter tout ce qu'on leur demandait. Le dit sieur de Pailloux l'informait aussi qu'il avait trouvé près de la rivière un coteau situé très avantageusement pour y construire notre fort. Le même jour, M. de Bienville reçut les calumets qui lui furent présentés par ces neuf vénérables vieillards avec beaucoup de cérémonies. On les fit ensuite fumer dans le nôtre. Le lendemain, 8ème de juin, M. de Bienville renvoya les neuf vieillards chez eux. Il permit aussi au chef Petit-Soleil de partir, mais il garda auprès de lui le Serpent-Piqué, et envoya en même temps, dans une pirogue, quatre soldats porter au sieur de Pailloux des haches, bêches, pioches, cloux et autres ferrements nécessaires pour la construction du fort.

Le 9, on fit casser la tête aux deux guerriers par des soldats.

Le 11, M. de Richebourg, capitaine, qui était malade, partit avec trois soldats pour retourner à la Mobile.

Le 12, M. de Bienville, qui retenait depuis quelque temps les Canadian voyageurs, leur permit d'aller à leur commerce au bas de la colonie, leur fit remettre les deux chefs de guerre, et leur donna

l'ordre de leur casser la tête, lorsqu'ils seraient éloignés de dix à douze lieues. Comme on conduisait ces deux malheureux pour les embarquer, l'un d'eux, le Barbu, cessa pour un moment de chanter sa chanson de mort et chanta celle de guerre. Il conta ses hauts faits contre différentes nations, et le nombre de chevelures qu'il avait levées. Il nomma les cinq Français qu'il avait fait tuer, et dit qu'il mourrait avec le regret de n'en avoir pas tué davantage. Le Serpent-Piqué, qui pour lors était le seul de sa nation parmi nous, Pécoutait attentivement, et dit à M. de Bienville: C'est mon frère, mais je ne le regrette point. Tu nous défais d'un méchant homme.

Comme le Mississippi ne baissait point, et que l'eau était toujours à cinq ou six pouces sur la surface de la terre, ce qui continuait à nous donner beaucoup de maladies, M. de Bienville fit passer les malades et les convalescents au village de Tunicas, qui sont sur des terres très hautes. Ces sauvages eurent grand soin de leur fournir des viandes fraîches de bœuf et de chevreuil.

Le 14 juin, il arriva chez les Tunicas huit Natchitoches, dans une pirogue chargée de sel, que ceux-ci venaient vendre. M. de Bienville eut par ces sauvages avis de la marche des Espagnols du Mexique pour venir s'établir sur la rivière Rouge, au nombre de cinq cents hommes à cheval, avec deux cent cinquante mulets de charge. Pour les prévenir, il fit partir sur-le-champ six soldats et un sergent, pour aller prendre possession du haut de cette rivière avant eux.

Le 1er de juillet, M. de Pailloux écrivit à M. de Bienville que les trois quarts des pieux pour notre fort étaient charroyés sur place; qu'il y avait des sauvages qui travaillaient à faire des rigoles, et qu'il aurait besoin de six soldats des adroits pour montrer aux sauvages à planter des pieux droits et de hauteur égale. Le lendemain, 2 du dit mois on lui envoya six soldats et tous les outils nécessaires.

Le 22, M. de Bienville, ayant appris que son fort était presque fini, ordonna au chef des Tunicas de lui fournir trente de ses gens pour nous aider à monter la rivière, qui étoit très rapide. Il ne nous restait pas dix soldats en santé.

Le 26, nous arrivâmes aux Natchez. Le Serpent-Piqué, que nous avions avec nous, fit venir cent cinquante de ses gens, qui portèrent tous nos effets à notre fort, le même jour.

Le lendemain, nous mîmes le peu de soldats que nous avions en santé au travail du fort, et continuâmes jusqu'au 2 août, qu'il fut entièrement fermé. Les Natchez nous firent toutes les écorces qu'on leur avait demandées, et qu'on employa à couvrir un magasin, une poudrière, un corps-de-garde et de casernes. Le tout fut fini le 3 août.

Le 25, une trentaine d'hommes Yazous et Offagoulas vinrent chanter le calumet à M. de Bienville, qui les reçut parfaitement bien. Le même jours, les Natchez vinrent, au nombre de cinq à six cents hommes, sans armes, et environ trois cents femmes, pour faire une danse publique devant notre fort. Les ehes entrèrent dedans, firent fumer M. de Bienville, et lui dirent que tous ces gens étaient venus danser à sa porte pour lui marquer leur joie d'avoir des Français établis parmi eux.

Le 28 août, M. de Bienville, voyant que les choses étaient fort tranquilles dans sa garnison, et qu'il n'y avait rien à craindre de la part des sauvages, donna au sieur de Pailloux des ordres et instructions sur ce qu'il y avait à faire, et prit le parti de descendre à la Mobile, pour rendre compte à M. de Lamothe Cadillac. Le 4 d'octobre, il arriva à la Mobile, où il lui fut remis un paquet du conseil de marine, dans lequel était pour lui un ordre du roi, pour commander en chef dans la colonie, en l'absence de M. de l'Épinay, nommé à ce gouvernement à la place du sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, auquel il n'eut point le désagrément de rendre compte.

Ainsi finit la première guerre des Natchez.

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