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INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

VOLUME III. NUMBER IV.

THE MISSION

TO THE

OUABACHE

BY

JACOB PIATT DUNN.

INDIANAPOLIS:
THE BOWEN-MERRILL COMPANY.
1902.

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as many clergymen as were needed to fill the ecclesiastical posts of their district, and knowing elsewhere that they were little fitted for missions among the savages, decided that it was absolutely necessary to establish a new partition, which being fitted to the character and the particular talents of the two orders, fixed unalterably their relations from this time forward. It decided to establish the Capuchins in all the French posts, and to charge the Jesuits with the spiritual management of the savages, under the will and pleasure of the Bishop of Quebec, who had warmly approved this arrangement by his letters.

"In consequence it made an agreement on February 20, 1726, with the Jesuit Fathers, by which they engaged to furnish missionaries not only in all the places of their district, but also at the homes of the savage nations, where it might be to the interest of religion and of the state to establish them, in the territory formerly conceded to the Capuchins.

"It was not possible to avoid, in this agreement, according an establishment in New Orleans to the superior of the Jesuit missions. He could not receive without it those who came from France for his missions. It is this residence, moreover, which puts him in position to render account to the Commandant-General, and to the council, of that which the missionaries inform him touching the disposition of the savages, whose friendship is our security. But the Company did not accord this establishment to the superior of the Jesuits except on the condition that there should not be any ecclesiastical functions without the consent of the Capuchins.

"In the month of December, 1726, there departed from France the number of Jesuits necessary to supply the missions which they had agreed to establish. Their arrival at New Orleans and the publication of their agreement caused at first a great deal of jealousy in the Capuchins, but as

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the cause at court, and his letter to M. de la Loe, Secretary of the Company of the Indies, detailing the difficulties he encountered,[1] but also the testimony of those familiar with the proceedings. A very full account of the trip of the nuns to New Orleans is preserved in the letters of Madeleine Hachard,[2] one of the party, and she not only speaks of Pere Beaubois as "the able conductor of this entire enterprise," but also says:

"It is the [illegible]ed Pere de Beaubois, of the Society of Jesus, who formed the noble project of our establishment at New Orleans; this missionary is full of zeal and wisdom; you can not imagine how many obstacles he has had to surmount to make his enterprise succeed; it is now happily come to a conclusion by the aid of heaven."

Madeleine Hachard journeyed from Rouen to Paris in the latter part of October, 1726, in company with two Ursuline sisters, Marie Mahieu and Cécile Cavalier, having been preceded thither by Mother Marie Tranchepain, the superior of the new community, Sister Marguérite Jude, the assistant, and Sister Marianne Boulanger, the depositary, who had gone ahead to make the necessary contracts with the Company. Her account of the trip is so pleasantly written that it is worthy of free quotation. She says:

"We left Paris with the Reverend Pere D'Outreleau[3] and Brother Crucy, Jesuits, who were to go with us to Louisiana, the 8th of December, at five o'clock in the morning, after having heard the holy mass, recited the prayers of travelers, and breakfasted. The Brittany coach came to take us at the door of the convent; it cost us forty livres for each person to carry us to Rennes, without including meals. * * *

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[1] Written from L' Orient, Nov. 2, 1726. Jesuit Relations, Vol. LXVII, p. 265.

[2] Relation du Voyage de Dames Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle-Orleans. Gravier's Edition, Paris, 1872.

[3] She spelled the name "Doutrelo."

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After passing this island some two hundred leagues they sighted a vessel that appeared to be a pirate or corsair, and at once prepared for a desperate encounter. Even the secular women put on men's dress and took their places with the crew. The post of "the first captain was on the poop deck, and Pere Tartarin was stationed with him; that of the second captain was on the forecastle, and Pere D'Outreleau was stationed with him; and Frere Crucy was on the main deck to supply cartridges to all these warriors, all armed to the teeth and of admirable courage. We others had for arms only our beads in our hands. We were not sad, thank the Lord. None of our company showed any weakness. We were charmed to see the courage of our officers and passengers, who appeared ready to overthrow the enemy at the first blow." But the pirate deemed it wise to keep away from such warlike preparations, and withdrew. The same experience was had with four other corsairs which approached the Gironde during the voyage. One of them, manned by Englishmen, sent a boat to the vessel under plea of a desire to trade for wine, but treachery was suspected and the boat was ordered to withdraw or be fired upon. The principal effect of these dangers was to increase the religious exercises, which came to be as frequent and regular on the ship as in a religious establishment.

The greatest danger encountered was in the Gulf of Mexico, where, after much annoyance from bad weather and contrary winds, the ship struck on a shoal off an island called "Blanche," and was in a way to go to pieces. The captain began lightening the vessel by putting the cannon overboard, supported by wooden buoys. Then the ballast was thrown over, but this was not enough, and the baggage of the passengers was considered as the next sacrifice, but it was decided first to throw over the sugar, of which everyone seemed to have a private supply, and this was

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followed by sixty-one barrels of brandy belonging to the Company. This let the vessel off, and a favoring tide soon after carried them to safety. Our chronicler says they were not desirous to land on this island because it was inhabited by savages who were said to be "very cruel," and justly so by her report, for "not only do they eat the whites but first make them suffer torments a thousand times worse than death. Sometimes they make the whites drink their own blood, and in brief make them endure most cruel martyrdom."

On July 23 they arrived at Balise, the French port at the mouth of the Mississippi. Here they remained till the 29th awaiting news from Pere De Beaubois, who had supposed them lost at sea on account of their long voyage of five months. They made the trip to New Orleans, twenty leagues up the river, in three boats, and the fatigues of the six days required for this were worse than anything endured on the ship. The mother superior, with the younger sisters, Pere D'Outreleau and Frere Crucy were in a pirogue—a boat made from a hollowed log. The other sisters occupied a launch, and the domestics and workmen of the reverend fathers came in a second pirogue. There were no settlements along the river and the vegetation was so dense that they had to camp at night on the immediate banks of the river. Among the greatest troubles were the mosquitoes, which, our chronicler asserts, "were at times in so great number that one could cut them with a knife," and whose assaults called for much precaution. "Our sailors, to make us bars, stuck canes in the ground in the form of a bower, over a mattress, and we retired two by two under our bars where we slept fully dressed; then they covered the bower with a large sail cloth in a way that the mosquitoes were not able to find any little opening through which to visit us. We slept twice in the midst of mud and of water which fell from the skies in

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abundance, and penetrated to us as well as our mattresses, which almost floated in the water. The storm having occurred in the middle of the night the pirogue was not able to go on the next day, it, as well as our clothing and the mattresses, being soaked with water. On this occasion several of our mothers were much indisposed. Some took colds and catarrhs; others had inflammation of the face and limbs; and one had an even more considerable illness. For me, although I was equally steeped in water, I was not at all unwell. We also suffered the annoyance in the pirogue of not being able to sit, stand or kneel, or to make any movement, for the pirogue would have upset and we would have served as food for the fishes. All our baggage of mattresses and chests filled it, and we had to be on top of all that in a little heap, and when the pirogue stopped we changed our positions. We ate biscuit and salt meat taken from the Gironde which the master of our pirogue had us cook at night in his saucepan. All these little troubles wearied us at the time, but one is well recompensed in the end by the pleasure found in recounting each her own little adventures, and one is surprised on considering the strength and courage which God gives in these trials; it proves indeed that he never fails anyone, and that he does not permit that we shall be tried beyond our strength, giving each grace sufficient for the trials which come to us. It is true that the ardent desire which we had to arrive at this promised land made us endure all with joy."

The new additions to the colony were received with unbounded joy, and most distinguished attentions were paid to them. Our missionaries tarried with them for about a month, for in a letter of October 17, 1727, Madeleine Hachard says: "The reverend fathers Tartarin and D'Outreleau left six weeks ago to find their post in the Illinois country." She also mentions their arrival at the Illinois

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settlements in a letter of April 24, 1728, saying: "I must not neglect to acquaint you with the sorry adventure come to our two reverend fathers, Tartarin and D'Outreleau, our worthy conductors of the voyage. We learn from their letters that when within twenty leagues of the Illinois the canoe which carried Pere D'Outreleau was destroyed in passing a river. He saved himself in his shirt by swimming, having lost all his church equipment, his robes and his baggage. He had come five hundred leagues happily enough, to be thus shipwrecked at port. As soon as he reached Pere Tartarin, who was in another canoe, he had the charity, having two cassocks, to give him one, and so they proceeded."

Aside from the reference to Father D'Outreleau as "at the Ouabache" in the memoir of November 21, 1728, before quoted, we have no further account of him, until his arrival at New Orleans, in 1730, gave the French definite information of the great Indian outbreak of that year. Writing from New Orleans, following an account of the murder of Father Souel, Father Petit says:

"One of the Yazous having stripped the Missionary (Father Souel), clothed himself in his garments, and shortly afterwards announced to the Natchez that his nation 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 D'Outreleau. 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 camped.

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"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 defense 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 voyagers 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 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

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seen two of them. Father D'Outreleau, 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 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

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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 can not express to you, my Reverend Father, the great satisfaction I felt at seeing Father D'Outreleau, 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

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return to his dear mission, but it was necessary for me to fit him out generally with everything 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."[1]

After this experience there is another hiatus in the record of the doings of Father D'Outreleau until he is mentioned in the letter of Bienville, of May 13, 1737,[2] where he is spoken of as living at the house of the Jesuits in New Orleans, and is recommended for appointment as chaplain at the hospital. It appears that he received this appointment, and remained in the Mississippi Valley some ten years longer, then returning to France.[3]

Etienne D'Outreleau was unquestionably "the missionary destined for the Ouabache," but whether he ever arrived at this destination is a much more difficult question to answer. The probability is that he did not. The documents that have been unearthed in this search for the memoir of de Beaubois, and which are appended hereto, furnish more information as to the founding of Post Vincennes than has ever been in the possession of Indiana historians heretofore. First in importance of them is the letter of Sieur de Vincennes, written from the post March 7, 1733. This furnishes the information, that the post had then been under construction for three years. The term "depuis trois années" is somewhat ambiguous.

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[1] The Early Jesuit Missions, Kip, p. 290; Jesuit Relations, Vol. LXVIII, p. 175.

[2] Appendix, Second Report, Section 24.

[3] Jesuit Relations, Vol. LXVII, p. 342; ibid, Vol. LXXI, p. 169.

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It may mean three full years, or parts of three years, as in the biblical statement that Christ was three days in the tomb. That the latter is the meaning of Sieur de Vincennes is assured by the fact that in the accounts of the Company the first allowance for salary of the commandant at the post is in 1731, and only for the last six months of the year. In 1732 M. de Vincennes receives his full annual allowance of 800 livres. We have, therefore, the fact established by unimpeachable testimony that the post was begun in the summer of 1731. And this harmonizes with all other evidence, with the local traditions and with the oldest local records, for Judge Law, after his study of them, came to the conclusion that Sieur de Vincennes came there about the year 1732.[1]

The letter also furnishes practically conclusive evidence that there was no French settlement at this point prior to the founding of the post. He states expressly that in 1733 the only buildings there were the fort, or stockade, and two houses within it. It might be urged that he was describing only the work he had done, and that this statement does not preclude the existence of the houses of settlers, but there are other evidences to the same effect. If there had been any French settlement at this point the Louisiana authorities would have known it, and Vincennes would have mentioned it in describing the location of the post, but he does this only by giving its distance from the rivers by which the English descend. Furthermore, the place was so exposed to attacks from the Southern Indians that a settlement could not have been maintained there before a fort was built. As is shown by the appended documents, and numerous others, these Indians, as well as the Sioux and the Foxes, were attacking French settlers even in the vicinity of Fort Chartres. And, furthermore,

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[1] Law's History of Vincennes, p. 19.

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although casualties throughout the Province are very fully reported, there is no mention known of any injury by Indians to persons or property in the vicinity of any settlement on the Ouabache prior to the letter of Vincennes. It may be added that there is no known indication of any settlement at this point on any map of earlier date than 1731, and that the first known intimation, in the Canadian documents, of any such settlement is in that year.[1]

The danger of attack by hostile Indians at this point was the greater because at this time there were no friendly Indians—in fact no Indians at all—located on the Ouabache within the boundaries of Louisiana. It has often been surmised that there was an Indian village at the site of Vincennes prior to the French settlement, but these documents disprove that. As we have seen, the original project was to have Sieur de Vincennes induce the Ouiatanons to remove to the lower Ouabache to serve as a protection against the Southern Indians. He did not succeed in this, but he did induce the Piankeshaws to move. As appears by Bienville's letter of June 22, 1737, it was his intention to have the establishment made at "the mouth of the Ohio"—i. e., the mouth of the Wabash—but this was prevented, and the post was placed at Vincennes, because the Indians refused to go any lower down.[2] And after the disastrous Chickasaw campaign, and the death of Sieur de Vincennes, St. Ange reported that the greater part of the Piankeshaws had abandoned the post, and "returned to their old village on the Vermillion."[3] The boundary line between Louisiana and Canada crossed the Wabash about the site of Terre Haute,[4] and consequently this Piankeshaw village was in Canada. There was no Indian village on the Ouabache below it.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. IX, pp. 1027, 1035.

[2] Appendix Second Report, Section 25.

[3] Appendix Second Report, Section 26.

[4] Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. II, p. 437.

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This explains the special interest of Father de Beaubois in having a post on the Ouabache. When he went to France, in 1725, there were no Indians on the Ouabache, within the Province of Louisiana, among whom a mission could be established, and yet he arranged for such a mission, and brought Father D'Outreleau over to take charge of it. It was not until 1726 that the project of having Sieur de Vincennes bring the Ouiatanons within Louisiana was announced. Indeed the Company, in its letter to De Boisbriant, of December 22, 1725, advised only that Vincennes and the Ouiatanons be asked to co-operate from Canada, and not to move into Louisiana. The change of plans was coincident with the appearance of Father de Beaubois in France, and in the absence of any other known cause for the change, and in consideration of its harmony with his preparations for a mission, it is quite probable that he induced it.

But there is no indication that Father D'Outreleau was actually on the Ouabache except in the memoir of 1728, before quoted, and he could not possibly have been there actually then, because there was no post, no settlement no Indians on the Ouabache within Louisiana at that time. The contract of the Jesuits was to supply missionaries for Louisiana, not Canada, and their support was paid for by the Louisiana Company. In what little mention there is of Father D'Outreleau, he is spoken of as coming from the Illinois and going to the Illinois. In the letter of Bienville and Salmon, of May 13, 1737, he is spoken of as "former superior at the Illinois."[1] The key to the situation is probably found in the statement of the same letter that he was "too old to learn the Indian idiom." This is a curious statement to be made nine years after his supposed entry on the mission work, for, of course, no one could do such work effectively without understanding the

[1] Appendix, Second Report, Section 24.

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Indian language, and he was not "too old" when he began.[1] The probability is that he went to the Illinois to study the Indian tongue while waiting for the establishment of the Ouabache post, and discovered that he was one of those persons who have no aptitude for acquiring languages. But he had other gifts, and in accordance with Jesuit policy he was set at work for which he was fitted, and became superior of the order in the Illinois settlements. His recommendation for appointment as chaplain of the hospital at New Orleans was in the same year (1737) as the announcement of the return of the Piankeshaws to Canada, and presumably this first attempt at a mission to the Ouabache, from the Louisiana side, was then abandoned. As a missionary enterprise it was a failure, but it is probable that the effort to secure it was largely instrumental in securing the establishment of Post Vincennes, and caused the attempt to hold the Indian trade against the English by means of Indian allies and a small fort, instead of by a fort with a considerable garrison located at some point on the Ohio river.

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[1] Etienne D'Outreleau was born in the Province of Champagne, October 11, 1693. He entered the order July 27, 1715. Jesuit Relations, Vol. LXXI, p. 169.

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graphs of them were obtained, by the generous aid of Mr. Gowdy, and fac-similes of them are presented in this publication.

The Beaubois memoir was not found, although Mr. Douglas found Father Sommervogel in Paris, and made inquiries of him. He had forgotten where he found his reference to the memoir, but thought it was in some manuscript catalogue of documents that he had consulted.

FIRST REPORT OF MR. DOUGLAS.

PARIS, June 27, 1901.

DEAR MR. LIGHT—In accordance with your instructions, I went to the Colonial Office and searched for the document required by the Indiana Historical Society. The Librarian and other officials gave me every assistance, and I examined fully a dozen long letters and memoirs by Nicolas Beaubois, and about three hundred other MSS., but could not find either the paper or any reference to it.

The following extracts from the official reports of the Governor of Louisiana show, however, that Beaubois arrived in New Orleans, from Illinois, in January 1725, and that he sailed for France, in the Bellona, after Easter in that year. He remained in France about fifteen months, and returned to New Orleans in the winter of 1726-27. He seems to have been a typical Jesuit, and is described by one of his many enemies as being "d'un vivacité insuportable, d'un turbulence sans egal, et d'une ambition demesurée."

I am inclined, therefore, to believe that the approximate date given by Mr. Dunn—1725—is correct, and that the scheme for fortifying the Wabash against the English was written during his stay in Paris, with a view to ingratiate himself with the Minister. In that case, it would probably have been filed amongst the state papers in some

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Father, that he would like to have an establishment here for educating the youth. That would be excellent in one sense, but we foresee by this that they wish to commence to run out the Capuchins, as they have done at the Cape, in order to become the masters there. They are both very honest people.]

All the documents written by or about Pere Beaubois relate to his continual bickerings with the Compagnie des Indies and the Capuchins. Many of them are intolerably long. The charges against the Capuchins occupy fifty-one closely written pages of foolscap, and are rebutted by the Superior of that order in a memoir which runs to seventy-five foolscap pages. As far as I could gather from a necessarily cursory examination, Father Beaubois claimed to have contracted "treaties," whilst in Paris, with his ecclesiastical superiors and the Compagnie des Indies, which would have practically given the Jesuits complete control, spiritual and temporal, of a large extent of country, but—very unfortunately—the deeds were lost in the wreck of the vessel which brought him back to America. The infinite pains he takes to prove there really had been a shipwreck, have, somehow or other, quite a contrary effect.

In none of Beaubois' letters do I find any reference to fortifications. My researches hitherto have extended from 1725 to 1730, and I also inspected—but not thoroughly—the previous and succeeding volumes, and M. Moulin, the sub-librarian, has also searched independently, but without result.

It is singular that in these volumes I came across no reference to Vincennes, though the French settled there in 1702. The name of Beaubois' curé was Cascaquia. The following extract from the accounts of the colony for 1726 will perhaps prove of interest:

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A Ouabache, lors qu'il sera etably—

Un Pretre 600	}	l	s
Pour vin, farine, cierges, etc.....195	}	980	8
Pour un domestique.....185.8	}		

Aux Cascaquia
Village Français et Curé
Le R. P. Beaubois, Jesuitte
qui passe en France par la Bellona.

[TRANSLATION.

At the Ouabache (Post), when it shall be established—

A Priest 600	}	l	s
For wine, flour, wax tapers, etc....195	}	980	8
For a domestic.....185.8	}		

At Cascasquia
French village and curé,
The Rev. Father Beaubois, Jesuit,
who went to France by the Bellona.]

On one of the Governor's reports (dated 13th March, 1726) some one has written, in pencil, "Vincennes Ouabache Chactas," though the names do not occur in the report. I will conclude with an excerpt from this report, which may, perhaps, give a new version of some well known or little known incident, and interest local historians:

"Depuis le depart de Mons. de Bienville il n'est rien que les Anglais n'ayent faits pour gaigner les nations sauvages. Ils ont envoyés tant aux Alebamons qu'aux Abecars Chactas et Chicachas plus de deux cent chevaux chargés de Marchandise pour les attirer dans leur party, heureusement que les Chactas et Chicachas qui sont les plus proches voisins (à nous) se sont brouillés avec eux après cependant leur avoir traitte beaucoup de pelletries, il y a en dans leur Brouilleries de deux Anglais de tués et la charge de dix-huit a dix-neuf chevaux pilles. Ces sauvages donnerent apres les autres Anglais qui estoient partis il y avoit environ huit jours qu'ils ne purent joindre. Cette catastrophe n'a point rebute les Anglais, ils ont envoyés dire aux Chactas qu'ils estoient prest à faire la paix avec eux aux

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conditions qu'ils leur apporteroient la teste de l'interprette Francais qu'ils accusent fort malapropos de leur avoir fait tués et pillés quoique ces sauvages paroissent fort bien intentionés pour nous il est à craindre que les Anglais ne les gagnent parcequ'on manque toujours icy de Marchandises convenables pour les sauvages."[1]

[TRANSLATION. Since the departure of M. de Bienville, the English have done nothing but make attempts to win over the Indian tribes. They have sent not only to the Alabamas but also to the Abecars, Choctaws and Chickasaws more than two hundred horses loaded with goods to win them over to their side. Happily the Choctaws and Chickasaws, who are our nearest neighbors, quarreled with them after having sold them a large quantity of skins. In their altercation two English were killed and the loads of eighteen or nineteen horses were stolen. The Indians went in pursuit of the other English, who had left about eight days before, but were unable to overtake them. This catastrophe has not rebuffed the English. They have sent a message to the Choctaws that they were ready to make peace with them on condition that they would bring them the head of the French interpreter, whom they accuse, most wrongfully, of the killing and robbery. Although these Indians appear very well-intentioned toward us there is danger that the English may win them over, because we lack here always satisfactory goods for the Indians.]

I am, dear Mr. Light,

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT B. DOUGLAS.

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[1]Reports, Louisiana, Vol. X.

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SECOND REPORT OF MR. DOUGLAS.

No. 1.

ADDRESS OF P. NICOLAS BEAUBOIS TO THE KING. This address is included in an article entitled "Relation de l'arrivée en France de quatre Sauvages de Missicipi, de leur sejour & des audiences qu'ils ont eues du Roi, des Princes du Sang, de la Compagnie des Indes, avec les compliments qu'ils ont reçus, &c.," which occupies thirty-three pages of *Le Mercure de France.* (Vol. I, December, 1725, pp. 2827–2859.) It relates that the Chevalier de Bourgmont collected twenty-two chiefs of various Indian tribes to accompany Pere Beaubois to France, but, just as they were about to embark, the ship "sank in an instant," which so discouraged the greater number of the chiefs that they returned home. Only half a dozen Indians had the pluck to cross the Great Water. They were Agapit Chicagou, chief of the Metchigamia, an Illinois nation; Menspéré (a Missouri chief), Boganienhein (Osage), Aguiguida (Otoptata); also Ignon Ouaconisen, daughter of the Missouri chief, and a slave named Pilate, of the Atanana nation.

These Indians had a good time in Paris, and were especially astounded at the kitchen of the Invalides, the opera, and the fountains at Versailles. On November 24, 1725, they were taken to the Fontainebleau, and presented to the Duc de Bourbon and other princes. The Duc promised to present them the next day to the King, when he returned from hunting, and, on the morrow, they were introduced, dressed "in savage costume," into the King's cabinet. The R. P. Beaubois had the honor of delivering the first address, and of presenting to the King a letter from the Illinois chief:

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HARANGUE AU ROY DU PÈRE DU BEAUBOIS, JESUITE.

SIRE—Ce sauvage, qui a l'honneur de parâitre devant Vostre Majesté, n'est point un homme de commun,—cependant quoique Chef de son village, & un des plus considerés de sa nation, il n' a rien de cet eclat ni de cette grandeur qui environnent les Princes & qui les rendent si respectables aux Peuples qui leur sont soûmis, mais qui sont inconnus aux nations de l'Amerique. Au reste, ce qui Vostre Majesté estimera, sans doute, dans lui, c'est que cet Indien, né, pour ainsi dire, dans un autre monde, & elevé au milieu des forests, ait pu concevoir une assez haute idée de Vostre Suprême Grandeur pour desirer si ardemment de l'envisager de plus près & de lui venir faire hommage. Un triste nauffrage, qui a disconcerté ceux qui l'accompagnoient, ne l'a point intimidé, & depuis qu'il est en France la vue de ce qui fait l'etonnement de tous les Etrangers n'a fait qui augmenter en lui l'empressement qu'il avoit de voir la Monarque d'un si puissant Empire. Le plus considerable chef de toute la Nation Ilinoise a mille fois envié le bonheur de celui-ci, comme il le dit lui-même à Vostre Majesté d'une maniere si ingenieuse & mille fois il a regretté, pour ainsi dire, d'être si necessaire dans son pays à la Nation Française.

Daignez, Sire, recevoir avec bonté la lettre qu'il ose ecrire à Vostre Majesté & lui repondre favorablement. Pour moi, Sire, je m'estime trop heureux d'approcher aujourd'hui de vôtre Trône, & d'y être temoin des merveilles que la France admire dans vôtre Personne sacrée. Permittez moi, Sire, de demander a Vostre Majesté sa Royale protection pour les Missions de la Louisiane, cette vaste Province, où l'on ne scaurait trop les multiplier pour le bien de vôtre Colonie, & procurer à tant de nations sauvages qui l'habitent, la connoissance du vrai Dieu. Louis

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le Grand, de glorieuse mémoire se fit toujours un plaisir de protéger ceux que la Providence honore d'un si saint Ministère, & de marquer par la zéle qu'il avait pour la propagation de la Foi. Heritier de ses heroiques vertus, comme vous l'êtes de son superbe Diadême, Sire, faites éclates le même zéle, qui ne peut que vous être infiniment glorieux. Nous avons droit, ce semble, de l'attendre de vôtre piété, qui a paru si eminente dans le choix que vous avez fait de la plus vertueuse Princesse du monde, pour la placer à côté de vous sur le plus auguste Trône de l'univers.

[TRANSLATION.

ADDRESS TO THE KING OF PERE DU BEAUBOIS, JESUIT.

SIRE—This savage, who has the honor to appear before Your Majesty, is not a common man, and yet, although chief of his village, and one of the most distinguished of his nation, he has nothing of that splendor nor of that grandeur which surround princes, and which make them so estimable to the peoples who are subject to them, but which are unknown to the nations of America. In addition to this, that which Your Majesty will esteem, without doubt in him, is that this Indian, born, so to speak, in another world, and reared in the midst of forests, has been able to conceive a high enough idea of your supreme grandeur to desire so ardently to see it more closely, and to come to pay homage. An unfortunate shipwreck, which frightened those who were to accompany him, did not intimidate him, and since he has been in France the sight of that which is the wonder of all foreigners has served to increase his ardor to see the monarch of so powerful an empire. The principal chief of all the Illinois nation greatly envies the good fortune of this one, as he himself

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says to Your Majesty in so striking a manner, and has often regretted, so to speak, that his presence in his own country was so necessary to the French nation.

Deign, Sire, to receive with kindness the letter which he has ventured to write to Your Majesty, and to respond favorably. For myself, Sire, I consider myself most happy to approach today to your throne, and to be witness of the marvels which France admires in your sacred person. Permit me, Sire, to ask of Your Majesty the royal protection for the missions of Louisiana, that vast province, where one could not increase them enough for the good of your colony and to give sufficiently to the savage nations which dwell there the knowledge of the true God. Louis the Grand, of glorious memory, made it always his pleasure to protect those whom Providence honored with so holy a ministry, and to testify by the zeal he had for the propagation of the faith. Heir of his heroic virtues, as you are of his superb diadem, Sire, make resplendent the same zeal, which is able to make you eternally glorious. We have the right, it would appear, to expect this of your piety, which is shown so notably in the choice which you have made of the most virtuous princess in the world to place by your side on the most august throne of the universe.]

Pere Beaubois also presented a letter and necklace from Mamantouensa, the head chief, who said in his letter he would have liked to come—

"Mais mes Pères de Boisbriant & du Tisné qui tiennent la place, m'ont dit du rester pour maintenir mon Village, defendre les Robbes noires & le village français contre les Renards, tes ennemis & les nôtres."

[Translation. But my fathers de Boisbriant and du Tisne, who command here, have told me to remain to

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maintain my village, to defend the Jesuits and the French village against the Fox Indians, your enemies and ours.]

The King took the Indians out hunting on Tuesday, 27th November. The Queen much wanted to see them, but the King thought their "assortiment sauvage & trop bizarre" might be bad for her health—he was fifteen, and just married—so she had to be content with an interview with Pere Beaubois. Before they left the King presented each chief with a medal hung on a gold chain, a musket, game bag, sword, watch, and a picture representing their interview with the King.

No. 2.

J'ay envoyé un Père Jesuite d'jcy aux Caouitas pour scavoir ce qui se passera chés eux, et pour voir si on pourra Establir une mission dans cette nation. * * * Il faudra attendre que la Colonie rende d'auvantage avant que de proposer de nouveaux Establissements.

(Signed) PERIER.

Nouvelle Orleans, le p^{r} Avril, 1729.

[TRANSLATION. I have sent a Jesuit father from here to the Caouitas to learn what is going on there, and to see if we could establish a mission with this nation. * * * It should be expected that some advantages would result to the colony before proposing new establishments.

PERIER.

New Orleans, April 1, 1729.]

No. 3.

J'ay fait remonter cette année une fregatte aux Natchez qui est à cent vingt lieues. J'espere faire remonter les vaisseau beaucoup plus haut.

IBID. (Same date.)

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[TRANSLATION. I have this year sent a frigate up the river to the Natchez, which is an hundred and twenty leagues. I hope to send the vessels much higher up than that.]

No. 4.

Il est vray, Monsieur, que depuis le depart du R^d P. de Beaubois tout est plus tranquile icy. * * * Il faudra Monsieur penser d'Etablir un Curé à la Pointe Coupée a quarente lieues d'icy ce Canton commence à ce bien peupler, il y a une quarantaine d'habitants, etc.

Letter of J. Delaihaye to Abbé Raguet.

N. O. 20 Aôust, 1729.

[TRANSLATION. It is true, Monsieur, that since the departure of the reverend Pere de Beaubois all is more tranquil here. * * * There should be considered, Monsieur, the establishment of a curé at Pointe Coupee, forty leagues from here. This canton begins to be well populated; it has forty residents.

J. Delaihaye to Abbe Raguet.

New Orleans, August 20, 1729.]

No. 5.

Memoire pour la Père de Beaubois, Superieur des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus à la Louisiane.

No date; no signature. A defense of P. Beaubois against the charges of immoral conduct, being a noisy, turbulent, ambitious man, who had "gaté l'esprit du commandant," usurped clerical functions at New Orleans without permission, etc. In all this long document there is no allusion to any memoir about the Wabash. It appears to have been written about 1729.

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No. 6.

The Capuchins of the Province of Champagne were charged with a mission to Louisiana, by the King's commission, decree dated 16 May, 1722. Some time afterwards it was arranged that the colony should be divided between the Capuchins and the Jesuits. "Suivant ce partage les Jesuites avoient tout le pays du haut du fleuve St. Louis jusques à la Rivière de Ouabache exclusivement. * * * En 1724 on revancha en faveur des Jesuites la partie du district des Capucines qui s'entendre depuis Ouabache jusques au Natchez exclusivement."

From a "memoire sur ce qui a donné lieu au Rapel du P. de Beaubois" (evidently by a Capuchin, and dated—in a later hand—"X^{bre} 1729.")

[TRANSLATION. After this conference the Jesuits had all the country on the upper Mississippi as far down as the Ohio exclusively. * * * In 1724 they gave to the Jesuits exclusively that part of the district of the Capuchins which extended from the Ohio to Natchez.

From a memoir on that which has occurred on the recall of Pere de Beaubois. December 1729.]

No. 7.

Pour ce qui regarde les missionaries de Alibamons, des Apachez, des Natchitoches, et D'Ouabache que j'espere voir placer de l'année prochaine, etc.

From a "Memoire sur les Missions de la Louisiane, Pour estre Presenté à messieurs de la Compagnie des indes," signed N. J. de Beaubois, Sup. Jes. Marked 1729, in pencil, but not dated.

[TRANSLATION. Concerning the missionaries of the Alabamas, the Apaches, the Natchitoches, and of the Ouabache which I hope to see located next year, etc.

From a Memoir on the Missions of Louisiana, to be presented to Messieurs of the Company of the Indies.]

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No. 8.

A Ouabache qui a toujours esté negligé et sur lequel selon moi pour les connaissances que j'en ay, on auroit du premier y etablir par rapport que cest une clef des Anglais par laquelle ils pourroient plûtot s' emparer de la Province de La Louisiane que par aucun endroit, et seduire nos nations quoyqu'en paix ils ont fait de ce Tentatif plusieurs fois; il seroit necessaire dans cette poste J'enverois pour ainsy dire le nombre il faudroit plûtot y mettre quartre cent hommes que trois.

From Memoire de M. de St. Denis commandant aux Natchitoches, du 30 Novembre 1731.

[Translation. On the Ouabache, which has always been neglected, and on which, in my opinion, by the information I have had, we should be the first to form an establishment, for by report it is a key of the English by which they would be better able to get hold of the Province of Louisiana than by any other place, and to entice away our tribes, because in peace they have made this effort many times. There will be necessary in this post—I would advance the number needed there, so to speak, to four hundred men rather than three.]

No. 9.

From Estat des Officiers que le Roy a resolu d'Etablir à la Louisiane et des Appointements quelle leur a Reglé à commencer du premier Juillet 1731.

Aux Illinois.

Un commandant tout pour ses appointements que pour l'Entretien du fort..... 2,000

A Ouabache.

Un commandant id 800

Fait a Versailles le 30 Janvier 1731.

Signé Maurepas.

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[TRANSLATION. From Roll of the officers that the King has decided to establish in Louisiana and of the salaries which have been fixed for them, to commence July 1, 1731.

At the Illinois.

A commandant, in full for salaries and for the support of the fort..... 2,000 (livres)

At the Ouabache.

A commandant, the same 800

Done at Versailles, January 30, 1731.

Signed Maurepas.]

No. 10.

From Projet de l'Estat des Depenses pour l'année 1731.

A Ouabache.

A l'officier commandant tout pour suplem[t] d'appointements que pour l'entretien du fort pour les six d[ers] mois 1731, à raison de 800 par an..... 400 :—:

(In these same estimates I also find)

Offrs reformés.

Au S. Jantzen, lieutenant, pour les appointements des 6 d[ers] mois, à raison de 480 par an 240
Au S. de St. Ange Père, id 240
Au S. de Vincennes, id..... 240

[TRANSLATION. From Statement of Expenses for the year 1731.

At the Ouabache.

To the commandant, both for the allowance of salary and for the maintenance of the post for the last six months of 1731, at the rate of 800 livres per year..... 400 :—:

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Half Pay Officers.

To Sieur Jantzen, lieutenant, for salary for the last six months, at the rate of 480 livres per year	240
To Sieur de St. Ange, the father, id.....	240
To Sieur de Vincennes, id.....	240]

No. 11.

Les habitants de la Prairie du fort de Chartres aux Ilinois, nous ont addressés pour demander la confirmation du choix qu'ils ont fait d'un prêtre des missions Etrangeres pour la deserte de l'Eglise qu'ils ont fait batir à leurs frais avec un Presbiterre. Nous sommes informés qu'avant la batiss de cette paroisse ces habitans n'avoient point d'autres desservant que le jesuite missionaire de Mitchigamia qui est en même-temps aumonier du fort de Chartres. * * * Nous marquons cependant à M. de St. Ange qui commande en ce poste qui nostre avis est qu'il n'a pas esté au pouvoir de ces habitans d'appeler un prestre, etc.

Letter from Perier and Salmon to the Minister, N. Orleans, 20 July, 1732.

[TRANSLATION. The settlers of the Prairie of Fort Chartres, at the Illinois have addressed us demanding the confirmation of the choice they have made of a priest of the foreign missions to officiate at the church which they have built, with a parsonage, at their own expense. We are informed that before the building of this parish church these settlers had no one to serve them but the Jesuit Missionary to the Mitchigamia, who is at the same time Chaplain of Fort Chartres. * * * We informed M. de St. Ange, who commands at this post, that our understanding is that these settlers have not had any right to call a priest.]

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No. 12.

Quoyque trés propre pour le poste qu'il occupé il rendroit de meilleurs services s'il avoit un commandem[t] dans quelque poste. Celuy des Islinois luy conviendroit fort, il est aimé de ces sauvages, il y a demeuré longtemps, et il ne seroit pas eloigné (?) d'y retourner. Il y feroit plus de progres que le S. de St. Ange, Père qui y commande, et qui les Sauvages trouvent trop vieux.

Concerning D'Artaguiette, from a report by Salmon to the Minister, Maurepas, 29 March, 1732.

[Translation. Although very well fitted for the position he occupies, he would render greater service if he had command in some post. That of the Illinois would suit him admirably. He is loved by these Indians; he lived there a long time; and he will not have to remove far to return there. He will make more progress there than Sieur de St. Ange, the father, who commands there, and whom the Indians find too old.]

No. 13.

In "The estimate of public expenses for the year 1732" I find an entry,

Au garde magazin à Ouabache..... 300

[Translation. For a storekeeper at the Ouabache... 300]

No. 14.

Is a long "Ordonnance donnée par monsieur de St. Ange au Sujét de l'assasinat commis en Lapersonne dunommée pierre roston Dit Langeuin soldat De Lagarrison du fort de Chartre." The Court Martial consisted of the St. Anges, father and son, Lieut. Bassée and Ensigns Dutisné and Buchet. St. Ange fils is described as an ensign. I do not find any matter of general interest in the trial. The murderer, Francois Frétél, was executed Oct. 16th, 1732.

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No. 15.

"Memoire contenant les services que Raymond Amyault, Ecuyer, Sr. D'Auseville, a rendus à l'Etat, les facultés de la Colonnie de la Louisiane, les Moyens de la faire fleurir, et la scittuation affreuse ou elle est presentement reduitte avec les causes de la Guerre." A long document of 92 foolscap pages (but the writing is only half across the page) containing about 15,000 words. It is an interesting account of the Colony. He suggests that 4,000 men would be needed to insure the safety of the post, viz.:

600 hommes à la Mobille, ce gros nombre y est necessaire pour contenir cette grosse Na[n] Chaquetas.
100 aux Alibamons.
200 aux Chaquetas.
100 à la Balize.
300 à la No[lle] Orleans.
50 à l'entree de la Rivière Rouge.
50 aux Tonnicas.
100 aux Natchitoches.
50 aux Akansas.
400 aux Natchers dispersees en quatre forts faits de Gros Dieus Ronds.
100 a l'entree de la Rivière de Yazous.
50 a l'entree de la Ri[re] de Maramet.
200 a la Rivière de Ouabach qui prend sa source prés la No[lle] York.
600 aux Ilinois afin de mettre les mineurs en seurette contre les sauvages.
200 hommes en quatre postes du bas de la Ri[re] de Missouri.
600 pour faire l'etablissement le plus pris des Espagnols au haut de la dite R. Missouri.
300 hommes restans.

4,000

No. 16.

From a letter of Bienville and Salmon to the Minister, dated 20 May, 1733.

"Par la même lettre le Sr. St. Ange temoigne estre peu assuré de la fideliteé des Ilinois, qui luy donnent souvent des alarmes et font semblant de Craindre notre Ressentiment sur leurfautes passées pour avoir un pretexte de Remuer.

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D'un autre Costé le Sr. de Vincennes, qui commande aux Miamis, marque que les Sauvages etablis sur Ouabache ne sont pas plus tranquilles que les Illinois, qu'il n'est point en Etat de les Empecher d'avoir Commerce avec les Anglois, parce qu'il faudroit tous les faire reunis, et qu'il n'a point de Marchandise pour les y engager, que la Garrison d'ailleurs est trop foible pour contenir ces Nations.

[TRANSLATION. By the same letter Sieur St. Ange testifies that he is little assured of the fidelity of the Illinois, who often give him alarm, and make pretense of fear of our resentment for their past faults to have a pretext for agitation.

On another side Sieur de Vincennes, who commands at the home of the Miamis, states that the savages established on the Ouabache are not more tranquil than the Illinois; that he is not in condition to prevent them from trading with the English, because it would be necessary to bring them all together, and he has not the merchandise to invite them, in addition to which the garrison is too feeble to constrain this nation.]

No. 17.

Letter of M. Perier, 25 Jan., 1733, to the Minister:

Les Ouyatonons chez qui est Le Sr. de Vincennes se sont liez avec les Akansas pour faire La Guerre ensemble aux Chicachas, etc.

[TRANSLATION. The Ouiatanons, at whose home is Sieur de Vincennes, are united with the Arkansas to make war together on the Chickasaws, etc.]

No. 18.

Letter from M. de Vincennes,—presumably, as also with the one following, to the Governor, but with no address given. The spelling is as in the original.

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Le 7 Mars, 1733.

MONSIEUR:

pour faire reponse a l honneur De Lavostre je Commenceray par vous informé que Le Ouabache est compoze De Cinq nations, qui Compoze quatre Villages Dont Lemoindre ets de soixante hommes portant Les armes et Letout peut faire six a sept Cent hommes qu'il serais necessaire Derassembler pour Lebien Du service et Leurs oster La proximite Des Langlais ille ma Esté impossible De faire rassembler toutes ces Nations parcequil a toutjours manqué De marchandise Dans Cette androit. Lefort que jay fait faire est à quatre Vinq Lieues Dans Le Ouabache au Desus Des Rivieres par oules anglais auront peu Disendre et ouvir commerce avec Ces nations. Landroit est fort propre pour y faire Ungros Establissement ceque jaurois fait si jauvis eut Des forces, à Lesgard du Commerce que Lonny (l'on y?) peu faire est Lapelletrie ille peut sortir toute les annee De Ce poste pour trante milluire (milliers?) Depelletrie Voyla Monsieur tout Le Commerce que Lonpourrit faire pour Lepresent.

jamais onna eut plus Debesoing Detroupe Dan Ces androit qua present Les Sauvages tant illinois que miamis et autres sont plus insollent quil nont jamais eté et ce La Depuis que Lerenard est Defait. Le peut Dexperiance que jemesuis acquis Depuis 20 (?)[1] anneés que je suis avec eux mefait craindre quelque mauvais Retour De Ces nations surtout Les miens qui Voyt Une Establissement que jay Commancé et qui ne paroitre pas vouloir Estre continue puisque Depuis trois années ilnevient Rien cepandant monsieur Cest Lapassage Detoutes les nations tant Des Lacs que Des autres androyts.

Vous mefaitte Lhonneur Dememarquer Devous anvoy Une Estats Des ouvrages faitte et à faire ille ny a quun

[1]This is a very doubtful reading as may be seen from the fac simile.

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fort et Deux maisons dedans et ille faudroyt presentement y faire faire Uncordegarde avec Des Cazernes pour loger Lessols Dats ille nest pas possible Dereste Dans cette androy avec si peut Detroupe ille faudroyt trante hommes avec Une officier Jesuis plus anbarasée que jamais Dans cette androyt par Laguerre Des chicachies qui Sont Venus Deux fois depuis leprintamps ille ny a que Douze jours que Ledernier party a aménè trois personnes et Comme Cest Lefrancois qui leurs amis Le Cassetete alamain je suis obligé Defaire tout les jours De Ladepence jespere Devostre Bontez que Vous voudré Bien avoir Esgard acette androit et a Lapeine oujesuis tant pour moy que pour Lapetite garnizon que jay cest Lagrace quattand Devous Ce Luy qui a Lhonneur Destre avec Unprofond respect

Monsieur

Vostre trés humble et trés obeissant Servituer

VINSENNE

[TRANSLATION.

March 7, 1733.

MONSIEUR—To make reply to the honor of yours, I will commence by informing you that the Ouabache nation is composed of five tribes, which include four villages, of which the least is of sixty men bearing arms, and in all about six or seven hundred men, whom it will be necessary, for the good of the service, to gather together and remove from proximity to the English. It has been impossible for me to bring together all these tribes because I have always lacked merchandise in this place. The fort which I have had built is eighty leagues up the Ouabache, above the rivers by which the English will be able to descend and open trade with these tribes. The place is well fitted for the location of a large establishment, which I would have made if I had had the troops. In regard to the trade which can be had, it is in furs. It

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is possible to send out from this post every year about thirty thousand skins. That, monsieur, is all the trade that can be secured for the present.

There has never been so great need of troops at this place as at present. The Indians, Illinois as well as Miamis and others, are more insolent than they have ever been, and that since the Foxes have been overthrown. The little experience I have acquired in the twenty (?) years I have been with them, makes me fear some bad return from these nations, especially mine, which sees an establishment that I have begun and which there has appeared no desire to continue in the past three years. The only thing that can come in the meantime, Monsieur, is the loss to us of all the tribes, both of the lakes and of other places.

You have done me the honor to ask me to send you a statement of the works finished and to be constructed. There is only a fort and two houses in it, and there should at once be built a guard room with barracks for lodging the soldiers. It is not possible to remain in this place with so few troops. It will need thirty men with an officer. I am more embarrassed than ever in this place by the war with the Chickasaws who have come here twice since spring. It is only twelve days since the last party brought in three persons, and as it is the French who have put the tomahawk in their hands, I am obliged to be at expense continually. I hope of your kindness that you will give special attention to this place and to the trouble which I experience, as well for myself as for the little garrison that I have. It is a favor expected of you by him who has the honor to be with profound respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VINCENNES.]

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No. 19.

A second letter from M. de Vincennes—as above.

21 Mars, 1733.

MONSIEUR:

je viens derecevoir Un paquit demonsieur Lemarquis De bauharnois que janvoy partire amons^{r} de St. Ange pour vous Lefere tenir antoute dilligence.

monsieur Lemarquis de Bauharnois manvoy Un collier et Uncalumet pour Les illinois que janvoy a monsr. de St. Ange pour insister Les nations a aller frapér sur les chicachias toutes les nations du Canada et de Lacs parte Ce printamps pour y aller tous ceux Dicy isont alles jusqua Leurs chef ille nest pas resté dan tous ces Villages un seule homme et tout ca apasée par ce poste cequi napas L'etée de bien court.

jay eut lhonneur Devous marquer par ma derniere que Les chicachias onts tuez cette otthomne six francois Dans Ouabache qui savenoit a ce poste et dont ils estoit abitant ce meme party atuez Unde ces sauvages De ceposte avec sa feme sille commance avenir dans Ces Lieux il sera Dificile De voyager monsieur Lemarquis debauharnois me marque quil veut absolument faire detruire les chicachias et Leurs allies et dinviter (?) ces nations a Ci joindre a Ceux du Canada.

Nous sommes Denuéz de tout Dans ceposte je suis obligé danprunter Des voyageurs et dedonner Le peu que jay pour obvier (?—illegible) a toutes Les affaires qui arrive journellement jay Lhonneur de vous suplier monsieur Devouloir bien avoir esgard a ce la et De me faire Rambourcér ceque jay fourny je previens quil maura ancore couter Baucoup quand ces nations Reviendron puis que tout Les prisonniers quil ameniront Nous seront donnés et quil faut payer Ce sorte dechose aussi bien que Decouvrir Les morts sille perde Dumonde jespere quils yront cette

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otthomne y faire coup Dumoins je les y inviter Bien ils y sont toute a fait dispozes je vais partir dans quelques jours pour aller au grand village et si jevoy tout tranquille je pouré desendre au canada monsieur Lemarquis Debauharnois me marque quil me permit daller faire dutour pour vacquer aux afaires demafamille jenecera (sera ?) aux plus que sinq mois Dans cevoyage jecrit amr De St. ange quil anvoy mr sonfis (son fils?) a mon apsance (absence?) jespere monsieur que vous ne trouverez pas mavais que fasee ce voyage puisque jene Lefais quand car que jevoy toute anbontraing dans ces continent je Lhonneur Destre avec Un profond respect

Monsieur

•Vostre trés humble et trés obeisant Serviteur

VINSENNE

Du fort de Uabache ce 21e mars 1733.

[TRANSLATION.

March 21, 1733.

MONSIEUR—I received a pacquet from Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois which I sent to Monsieur de St. Ange that you might receive it with all diligence.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois sent me a belt and a pipe for the Illinois, which I sent to Monsieur de St. Ange to insist that the tribes go to strike the Chickasaws. All the nations of Canada and of the lakes leave this spring to go there. All from this place have gone even to their chief. There does not remain in all these villages a single man and all is so quiet about the post that the summer will not seem very short.

I had the honor to inform you by my last that the Chickasaws have killed this fall six Frenchmen on the Ouabache who were coming to this post and who lived here. The same party killed one of the Indians of this post, with his wife. If they begin to frequent this region

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it will be difficult to travel. Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois informs me that he wishes to have entirely destroyed the Chickasaws and their allies, and to invite the tribes here to join those of Canada.

We are stripped of everything in this post. I am obliged to borrow of the voyageurs, and to give the little I have to avoid difficulty from things that occur daily. I have the honor to beg you to give especial attention to this, and to reimburse me for what I have furnished. I anticipate that I will be put to still greater expense when the tribes return, because all the prisoners which they bring will be given to us, and it is necessary to pay for this sort of thing, as well as to hunt up the dead if anyone is lost. I hope that they will go to make war this fall. At least I shall urge them. They are much disposed to do so. I shall start in several days to go to the large village, and if I find all quiet I will be able to go on to Canada. Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois has said that he would permit me to make this trip to attend to the business affairs of my family. I shall not be more than five months on the route. I wrote to Monsieur de St. Ange to send Monsieur his son during my absence. I hope Monsieur that you will not be displeased that I make this trip, for I shall not make it unless I find everything in good shape among my charges.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

VINCENNES,

Of the Fort of the Ouabache, this 21 March, 1733.]

No. 20.

In the "Etat des Depenses de 1732,—Appointements et Gratiffications dans les Postes," I find :

A Mr. De Vincennes command^{t} a Ouabache pour gratiffication.....800 (livres)

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[TRANSLATION. List of public expenses of 1732,—salaries and perquisites in the posts:

To M. de Vincennes, commandant at the Ouabache. For allowance.....800 livres.]

No. 21.

From "La Louisiane"—M. de Bienville sur les sauvages Chicachas, Natchez & Chactas:

Le Sr. De Vincennes qui y commande lui mande qui les Peanguichas qui sont établis auprès de notre fort ont envie d'attirer à eux un village de la même nation qui est resté a 60 lieues plus haut Deux raisons lui font goûter ce dessein, la première pour fortifier nôtre Etablissement, et la Seconde pour ôter a ce village la commodité de commercer avec les Anglois qui ont deux Magazins etablis chez les Chaouanons sur la Riviere d'Oio.

[TRANSLATION. Sieur de Vincennes, who commands there, informs me that the Piankeshaws, who are established near our fort, wish to draw to them a village of the same tribe which is located sixty leagues higher up. Two reasons make him approve this plan; the first is to strengthen our establishment, and the second to remove from this village the chance to trade with the English, who have established two store-houses in the country of the Shawnees on the River Ohio.][1]

No. 22.

From a report by the Governors—Bienville and Salmon—addressed to the Minister, and dated 8th April, 1734:

Pour ce qui concerne Ouabache, M. de Vincennes de qui nous n'avions point encore eu des nouvelles, nous marque

[1]The Ohio above the mouth of the Wabash. In all this early period the Wabash was considered the main stream emptying into the Mississippi, while the Ohio was a tributary of the Ouabache.

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par un convoy qui vient de descendre des Ilinois, que le fort qu'il avoit fait pour la garnison, qui n'etoit que de 10 hommes, est tres petit, et en assez bon estat, qu'il convient seulement d'y mettre un doublage de pierres, qu'il a fait construire dedans une maison à son frais, pour son logement, et quelques soldats de leur part ont fait eux-memes des Baraques pour se loger, que presentement que la garnison sera augmenté jusquà 30 hommes, comme M. de Bienville en a donné les ordres à M. Dartaguiette.

[TRANSLATION. Concerning the Ouabache M. de Vincennes, from whom we have not yet had news, informs us by a convoy which has come down from the Illinois, that the fort which he has built is very small for the garrison, which is of only ten men, and is in good enough condition; that it is desirable only to add a sheathing of stone; that he had constructed within it, at his own expense, a house for his lodging, and several soldiers, on their part, have built a barracks for their lodging; that now the garrison will be increased to thirty men, as M. de Bienville has given orders to M. D'Artaguiette.]

No. 23.

Report of M. de Bienville on the Chickasaws, August 20, 1735:

Le Sr. de Vincennes qui commande au fort des Peanguichias a determine les sauvages de son Quartier à faire la même chose (i. e., declare war against the Chickasaws) et a obtenu de M. Dartaguiette l'agréement de marcher avec eux avec ce quil pourra ramasser de Francois. Comme cet officier a beaucoup de credit sur l'esprit des sauvages, M. de Bienville est persuadé qu'il les engagera à bien faire.

[TRANSLATION. Sieur de Vincennes, who commands at the fort of the Piankeshaws, has induced the Indians of

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his region to do the same thing and has obtained from M. D'Artaguiette an agreement to march with them with such of the French as he can collect. As this officer has much influence on the spirit of the Indians, M. de Bienville is convinced that he will get them to act well.]

No. 24.

In a letter of Bienville and Salmon to the minister, May 13, 1737, it is mentioned that as the Jesuits live close to the hospital, one of the fathers might be appointed chaplain, and be on duty all day.

Il pourroit même y rester la nuit dans Les cas pressants. Nous avons pour cela jetté la veue sur Le P. Doutreleau Cydevant superieur aux Ilinois, c'est un homme d'Environ 45 ans qui n'est plus D'age à apprender l'Idiome sauvage, nous ne disons pas pour cela qu'il convienne de donner cette place d'Aumonier aux Jesuites. * * * Au sujet de la curé du fort de Chartres aux Ilinois nous attendons l'Effet de ce que Monseigneur en aura dit à M. L'evesque de Quebec.

[TRANSLATION. He would also be able to remain there over night in pressing cases. We have had in mind for this Pere D'Outreleau, former superior at the Illinois. He is a man of about forty-five years, who is no longer of an age to learn the Indian idiom. We express no opinion on the propriety of giving this place of chaplain to the Jesuits. * * * On the subject of the curé of Ft. Chartres, in the Illinois country, we await the effect of that which Monseigneur has said about it to the Bishop of Quebec.]

No. 25.

Extract from a letter of M. de Bienville to the Minister, June 21, 1737:

Les Peanghikias chez qui nous avons un poste ou commandoit feu Mr. de Vincennes ont presque tous quittés

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leur Village depuis sa mort, à la reserve d'environ 15 hommes qui etoient encore avec le Sr. de St. Ange. Ils sont allés plus haut dans Ouabache à un autre village. Je prevóisque puisque cette station se retire on seroit inquieté par les Chikachas dans ce poste où la garnison n'est pas forte. Cette Circonstance et Les Tentatives recentes et reiterées des Anglais pour penetrer dans la Colonie par la rivière Oyo par laquelle ils descendent dans Ouabache me determine à replacer ce fort à 40 Lieues plus bas à l'entree de cette Rivière. Je l'y aurait mis d'abord si les Sauvages eussent voulus nous y suivre. Il se trouve aujourdhui que Les Kikapous et Maskoutins qui sont venus il y a deux ans faire Village avec les Miamis ne s'accordent point avec eux et Mr. De La Buissonière m'assure que pour peu qu'on les invitat ils viendront s'y établir. Je luy envoyeray les ordres pour ce Changement qui ne sera pas d'une grande depense et j'espère que Monseigneur les approuvera. Tout ce que je crains c'est que Left. de Linquetot[1] officier de Canada qui commande aux Miamis et Ouyatanons, ne s'oppose à laisser aller Les Kikapous et Maskoutins, parceque ces deux nations sont de son departement. Je lui ecriverai a ce sujet.

[TRANSLATION. The Piankeshaws, in whose country we have a post where the late Sieur de Vincennes commanded, have almost all left their village since his death with the exception of about fifteen men who are still with Sieur de St. Ange. They have gone higher up the Ouabache to another village. I foresee that since this station shrinks we will be troubled by the Chickasaws in this post, which has a weak garrison. This circumstance and the recent and repeated attempts of the English to penetrate the colony by the river Ohio, by

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[1]Presumably De Linctot—one of the Godefroy family—Tanguay, Dict. Genealog.

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which they descend to the Ouabache, determine me to relocate this fort forty leagues lower down, at the mouth of this river. I would have located it there in the first place if the Indians had been willing to follow us there. At the present time the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, who came two years ago to make their village with the Miamis, do not harmonize with them, and M. De la Buissoniere assures me that they will go for little more than an invitation if we establish there. I will send him orders for this change, which will not be of much expense, and I hope that Monseigneur will approve them. All that I fear is that Lieutenant de Linctot, officer of Canada, who is in command at the Miamis and Ouiatanons, may oppose letting the Kickapoos and Mascoutins go, as these two tribes are in his department. I will write to him on this subject.]

No. 26.

Letter from M. Salmon to Minister, 22d June, 1737:

J'apprends par le Sr. Delaloire que le Sr. St. Ange, fils, qui etoit monté a Ouabache pour prendre le Commandement de ce poste à la place de feu M. de Vincennes luy marque que les Sauvages qui l'avoisinnent ont Envie de l'abandonner que quelques uns d'Entre Eux se sont déja retirés à leur ancien Village du Vermillon, en sorte que ne reste plus qu'environ 25 hommes que s'il n'abandonment Comme Ily apparence, on sera Contraint de relever la garnison qui se Troveroit a la mercy des Ennemies. Il ajoute qu'il na point vu Jusques à present que ce poste fut d'une Grande utilité, et qu'il cause beaucoup de Depense, pour moy Je pense qu' Effectivement Il est plus couteux qu'il n'est utile. Cependant Il seroit de Consequence de le Conserver pour Empecher les Anglais de s'y Etablir, ce qu'ils feront certainement si nous l'abandonna.

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[TRANSLATION. I learn from Sieur Delaloire that Sieur St. Ange, the son, who had gone up to the Ouabache to take command of that post in place of the late M. de Vincennes, informs him that the Indians of that neighborhood wish to abandon it; that part of them have already retired to their old village of Vermillion, so that there remain only about twenty-five men who have not deserted it. Apparently, we shall be obliged to increase the garrison, which will be at the mercy of the enemy. He adds that he has never seen to the present time that this post was of much utility, and that it causes much expense. For myself, I think that really it is more expensive than useful. However, it will be important to maintain it to keep the English from establishing there, which they will certainly do if we abandon it.]

64 RUE DES MARTYRS, PARIS,

10 September, 1901.

DEAR SIR—I have looked through sixteen volumes of MSS.—from the year 1730 to 1744 (I had previously been through the years 1725 to 1730)—but have failed to find the document by Father Beaubois, nor do I find any allusion to it. On his return to New Orleans (early in 1727) he stayed there some years and performed clerical functions, which so annoyed the Capuchins—who claimed an ecclesiastical monopoly—that they denounced him, and insisted on his being recalled. Extract No. 5 is from a long document in his defense by a Jesuit. Every possible argument in his favor is adduced, and if he had done the State some service, and they knew it, his apologist would have mentioned the fact; nor, though it would have been a signal instance of the "meddlesome ambition" with which the Capuchins charged him, do his opponents say anything about it. He returned to France, in 1729, to answer these

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charges, but seems to have been back in New Orleans in 1731, but little or nothing is recorded about him after that date.

The following observations on the excerpts made may perhaps prove useful:

No. 1. There is nothing in this long article of any interest; a great part consists of speeches made up of fulsome compliments which the Indians probably never uttered. I have given the names of all the Indians, as you may be able to identify some of the personages or tribes. The picture representing the King receiving the Indians, I have a distinct recollection of having seen—at Versailles, I fancy.

No. 4. Portion of a letter from a Capuchin monk, I imagine, to one of the heads of the order in France. The extract shows that Father Beaubois had left for France in August, 1729.

No. 6. Is interesting as showing the division of the country between the missionaries of both sorts.

No. 7. Is signed by Beaubois, as Superior of the Jesuits. If the date is 1729—and we have just seen that it could not be later—that would give 1730 as the foundation of the post on the Wabash, which agrees with the date given by M. de Vincennes. No doubt a Jesuit was sent there, but in the budgets and estimates the Capuchins are paid separately, but the Jesuits receive a lump sum (8,000 livres) for the support of 12 missionaries.

No. 8. Is the earliest reference I find to the importance of the Ouabache as a "key" by which the English would seek to invade the colony. It is perhaps only a coincidence that the phrase "pour ainsy dire" also occurs twice in the course of Beaubois' short address to the King.

Nos. 9 and 10. I find the commandant at Ouabache mentioned in every succeeding report as far as I have looked—i. e., to 1744. It is curious that he received 800

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livres a year whilst at the other posts the pay was 600 livres. Was this on account of the danger, or a recognition of Vincennes' influence with the Indians?

No. 13. The proposed storekeeper does not seem to have been allowed, for there is no mention of such an official in any succeeding budget.

Nos. 18 and 19. I have preserved the original spelling of these two letters. Bad writing, the absence of all stops and accents, and a curious habit of inserting a capital letter in the middle of a word made them difficult to decipher. It would seem that the fort was founded three years before the date of the first letter. In No. 19 the writing is even worse, and I have been obliged to query several words.

No. 23. Here, for the first time, I find mention of the "fort des Peanguichas."

No. 24. This is the only mention I find of Père D'Outreleau. As will be seen, he is proposed as hospital chaplain, because he is too old to learn the language of the Indians. This seems rather puzzling if he had been a missionary on the Wabash for two years.

No. 25. Vincennes, Dartaguiette, St. Ange, the son, and a dozen other French officers were killed in a battle with the Chicachias on Palm Sunday, 1736. Several "relations" of this battle are found in these volumes. Was the fort ever moved, as proposed in this letter and the following?

The mystery concerning Père Beaubois' memoir still remains unsolved. He could hardly have written it before his visit to France in 1725, for the post did not then exist. On his return he was superior of the order, and would hardly have gone to a distant post where there was a garrison of ten men. Perhaps he was disgraced when he went to France the second time, in 1729. Possibly the document was written during his stay in France, on either occasion. Father Sommervogel is unable to tell me where he found mention of the document, but thinks it was in

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some catalogue of MSS.—but whether in France or in Canada, or whether in a public library or private collection, he has omitted to note. I will do my best to elucidate the mystery, and if I can find the document will at once communicate with you.

I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

ROBERT B. DOUGLAS.

THIRD REPORT OF MR. DOUGLAS.

64 RUE DES MARTYRS, PARIS,
13 November, 1901.

DEAR SIR—In accordance with your instructions, I have searched the volumes for the years 1720 to 1725 for the Beaubois memoir, and those of the years 1744 to 1750 for any information I could find regarding the Ouabache, but, I regret to say, the success of my search has not been commensurate with the time and labor involved.

There is no reference to Father Beaubois in any of the series from 1720 to 1725. In several places I find lists and descriptions of the forty or fifty letters taken from New Orleans to France in some particular vessel, but there is nothing at all resembling the document of which we are in search. That, however, does not surprise me. The Governor would not have looked favorably on a Jesuit missionary who interfered in civil and military affairs, and Beaubois would, in all probability, have entrusted the document to some priest—a Jesuit for choice—returning to France. On the other hand, if this had been the case, I should think there would have been some memorandum about the document in the archives at the headquarters of the Jesuits. But Father Sommervogel himself pointed out to me that in the first edition of his book there was no mention of this memoir, and therefore he must have found

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the reference to it between the appearance of the first and second editions—i. e., between 1886 and 1889. Unfortunately he can not tell me where this reference is, but he thinks it is in some catalogue of MSS. that he has seen—in France, he believes—but it might be in Canada.

There are two other points which suggest themselves to me, and which I give for what they are worth. If Beaubois had written his memoir prior to his visit to the King (an account of which I sent you), and were the ambitious, meddlesome man his enemies describe him to have been, would he not have made some reference to his services in the course of his speech? The second is, could Beaubois have known sufficient about the country, before 1729—when he was in disgrace—to make his account of any value?

At any rate I feel tolerably confident that the memoir is not in the Colonial Office. The nearest approach to it I have been able to find is a memoir by Père Baudoin, which, however, contains nothing of interest. These volumes contain from 500 to 700 pages each. In the earlier days of the colony, one volume suffices for two years, but after 1730 or so, two volumes are needed for one year. I have examined in all about twenty-five of these volumes, and in the six weeks I have worked it would have been impossible to go as carefully through each volume as I should have wished, and no doubt anyone who gleaned after me would find enough to repay his trouble. In fact, in hunting up the letters for the photographer to copy, I came across two extracts which I send herewith. My search in the years 1744–50 has not been prolific of results. De Vaudreuil, who was Governor then, gives hardly any news in his letters, which are filled with generalities about the Indians, the English and financial matters.

No. 1. Shows that the Compagnie des Indes was fully alive to the importance of establishing factories on the

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Ouabache. I presume it was the transfer of the colony to the royal authority that delayed the execution of these orders for several years.

No. 2. I have found no previous reference to the writer of this letter, who I judge from the letter to have been an oldish or middle-aged man, long resident in the colony. He says (after the words "en attendant mieux"):

"Vous voyez Mr. qu'il ne me manque plus pour faire un établissement solide a La Louisiane qu'un certain meuble qu'on se repent souvent d'avoir pris, et dont je me passeray, comme les autres."

The "certain meuble" was a wife! He complains that the girls sent from Canada were "a very licentious lot," whilst those who came from France "had at least an appearance of virtue." He had expected that his sister would send him over a wife, but "his hopes in that quarter had ended in smoke." In his description of the massacre of the Canadian family, he mentions that one of the men with his wife and sister, went off for help, leaving the others "cabanés sur le bord du Mississipi a quatre ou cinq lieues de Ouabache." When help arrived, all had been murdered or taken prisoners by the Scioux.

No. 3. From this it would seem that M. de Noyan had been appointed commandant on the Ouabache by the company, but had been superseded by the King's nominee when the colony came under royal control.

No. 4. Is a long essay on Louisiana with a scheme for improving that colony and St. Domingo. I have copied out all that was of interest.

No. 5. The same items occur in the accounts of every year. The Jesuits are always paid a lump sum, and the only officers mentioned by name are those at or near New Orleans.

No. 6. He gives the same figures in a tabulated form on another page, where he makes the total number of

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white men in the colony to be 1,700, with about 1,500 women and children. He adds, "the climate is healthy and the women prolific."

No. 7. I do not know whether this alludes to enlarging or strengthening the old fort, or creating a new one. In 1750, I find two copies of a proposal by a M. Bailly Messager to found a new colony midway between New Orleans and Canada, and independent of both. He had an ax, or rather a whole cutlery store to grind, for he suggested that the King should make him Governor-General; present him with six square leagues of ground on the river front, with seigniorial rights over the property; send three regiments from France, and make him a lieutenant-colonel. As nothing ever came of this modest proposal, I did not think it worth while to copy it out.

No. 8 I found while searching for the letters of Vincennes. It shows that Pere Baudoin was posted somewhere near the Ouabache, though apparently not on it. I presume that the prisoners from whom he derived his information were some of the Chicachas, who had captured the young Canadian, and had, in turn, been themselves captured by the Chactas. At any rate, it proves that Père Baudoin was posted somewhere near,[1] and lends color to my supposition that some copyist may have confounded him with Beaubois.

No. 1. 1720.

Mèmoire pour M. du Vergier, Directeur Ordonnateur de la Colonie de la Louisiane, concernant les differents operations qu'il est chargé de faire pour perfectionner les établissements de la ditte Colonie. (22 pages foolscap.)

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[1] Père Baudoin was then with the Choctaws, with whom he remained for eighteen years. He was then withdrawn to New Orleans, on account of the hostile attitude of the Indians, and was made Superior General of Missions. Kips Early Jesuit Missions, p. 316. There is nothing to show that he was ever in the vicinity of the Ouabache.

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(P. 3.) Les principaux postes que la Compagnie s'est proposée de faire fortifier sont l'Isle aux Vaisseaux, les Alebamons, et Ouabache.

(P. 12.) Il est aussy necessaire de se poster sur la Riviere d'Ouabache où les Anglais semblent vouloir s'approcher, la Compagnie mande au Commandant de la Colonie d'y placer un corps de Troupes pour occuper le premier tout ce Terrain et empecher que les Anglais n'y penetrer. L'Ordonnateur y etablira une Tannerie pour l'aprest des peaux que l'on y traitera, ce qui empechera que les Mittes ne les gastent, ce que l'on n'a pu eviter jusque à present malgré les precautions que l'on y a prises.

(P. 15.) L'on pourra tirer une grande quantité de peaux de boeuf de Ouabache, lorsque notre Etablissement y sera fait, mais il sera apropos de les tanner pour les conserver, et à cet effet d'y construire des Moulins à Tan.

(P. 21.) Fait et arresté par nous, Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes, a Paris, en l'hostel de la Compagnie, le quinze Septembre, Mil sept cent vingt. (Signatures follow.)

[TRANSLATION. The principal posts which the company proposes to fortify are the Isle aux Vaisseaux, the Alabamas and Ouabache. * * *

It is also necessary to have a post on the River Ouabache where the English appear desirous to push forward. The company requests the commandant of the colony to place there a body of troops to occupy first this territory and prevent the English from penetrating there. The manager will establish there a tannery for the preservation of the skins which will be bought there, to prevent the mites from spoiling them, which we have not been able to avoid heretofore, notwithstanding the precautions that have been taken. * * *

It will be possible to gather a great quantity of buffalo skins at the Ouabache, when our establishment shall be

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made there, but it will be desirable to tan them for preservation and, for this purpose, to construct tan mills. * *

Done and ordered by us, Directors of the Company of the Indies at Paris, in the hotel of the Company, the fifteenth of September, 1720.

No. 2. 1722.

Extract from a letter of M. Chassin,[1] dated "Aux Illinois, le 1r. Juillet, 1722," and marked in corner, "Je l'ay recue à Versailles le 16e Decembre, 1722."

Les Renars continuent toujours leurs insultes et ont deja frapé trois fois depuis le printens sur les sauvages du village auprès du fort de Chartres. Je ne scais meme s'ils ne m'ont pas laissé échaper exprès dans un voiage que j'ay fait aux Kaoukias avec M. Thaumar et un officier de cette garnison, peutêtre aussique comme nous etions tous trois bien montés et bien armés, ils nous ont vû sans oser nous attaquer.

Enfin deux jours apres que nous fumes passer ils tuerent une femme à une lieue du fort de Chartres, au bord de la rivière. (Pages 3 and 4. Then follows on p. 5, a description of the massacre of a Canadian family by the Scioux.)

Ils avoient deux canots bien chargés des marchandises qui avoient descendu fort heureusement des Miamis par Ouabache. * * *

(P. 6.) Je me suis avisé aussi d'en prendre une (concession) à environ une demie lieue de fort de Chartres, où je vais resider. Elle fera au moins de vingt arpens de face sur une lieue où plus de profondeur, et j'espère avoir cette

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[1]Nicolas Michel Chassin was a Commissary, or representative, of The Company of the West—John Law's Mississippi Company—afterwards merged in the Compagnie des Indes. He, with the Principal Commissary, who was then Marc Antoine de la Loire, and the Commandant, who was then De Boisbriant, formed the Provincial Council of the Illinois. Kaskaskia and its Parish Records, p. 2; Old Fort Chartres, p. 27.

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terre en franc aleu et titre seigneurial. Je compte y mettre l'année prochaine une demi douzaine de négres, en attendaut mieux. * * * Les Jesuites qui longtems avant que les français vinssent s'etablir en ce lieu avoient une mission chez les Kaskassies, sont nos curés, en cette qualité ils ont fait jusqu'a present les fonctions de Notaire mais on m'a charge de cette pratique jusqu'a ce que la Compagnie en ait envoyé un plus expert que moy.

[TRANSLATION. The Fox Indians continue constantly their insults and have already, three times since spring, attacked the Indians of the village which is near Fort Chartres. I do not know, indeed, but that they allowed me to escape purposely, in a trip which I made to Cahokia with M. Thaumar and an officer of this garrison; it is possible, however, that as we were all three well mounted and well armed they saw us but were afraid to attack us. * * * At least, two days after we passed, they killed a woman a league from Fort Chartres, on the bank of the river. * * *

They (the Canadian family) had two canoes well loaded with goods, which had descended very safely from the Miamis by the Ouabache. * * *

I am thinking, also, of taking a concession about a half-league from Fort Chartres, where I am going to reside. It is of at least twenty arpents front by a league or more in depth, and I hope to have this land in freehold and seigniorial title. I expect to put there next year a half-dozen negroes to make improvements. * * *

The Jesuits, who came a long time before the French to establish in this place, and who have a mission with the Kaskaskias, are our curés, and in this capacity they have performed until now the functions of notary, but I have been charged with this duty until the company has sent out someone more expert than myself.]

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No. 3. 1722.

Letter from M. Leblond de la Tour to the Compagnie des Indes, apparently.

Au fort Louis le 17e May 1722.

MESSIEURS—La crainte que j'ay que les lettres que j'ay l'honneur de vous écrire, et les plans et cartes qui les accompagnent n'ait le même que mes precedentes, fait que j'en ay chargé M. de Noyan, neveu de M. de Bienville, qui passe en France en veue de Retourner dans la Colonie, il doit prendre la poste des son arrivée, ainsy vous les recevres aussitôt. Comme il y a quelque temps qu'il est dans le pays où il a fait quelques voyages il vous rendra compte au vray Messieurs de ce que en ait; d'ailleurs c'est un Cavalier qui a du merite, la Compagnie l'avoit nommé commandant aux Ouabaches qui vient de luy estre osté par le dernier Reglement qui a esté fait; J'ose vous assurer Messieurs qu'il seroit bien plus propre de commander aux natchitoches que le Sr St Denis, sur lequel on ne peut conter et qui est meme d'engereux (sic) il ne connoit aucune subordination et n'execute aucun ordre qu'un luy donne ne faisant qu'a sa teste, d'ailleurs il a epousé une Espagnolle et il a des frequentes Conversations et grande liaison avec cette nation qu'il a deja voulu servir autrefois, mais il ne peut s'acomoder du prix, et il est capable de tout quand il est dans le vin ce qui luy arrive très souvant; nous avons l'honneur d'en ecrire notre sentiment.

J'ay l'honneur etc etc

LEBLOND DE LATOUR.

[TRANSLATION. The fear I have that the letters which I have the honor to write you, and the plans and maps which accompany them, are different from those of my predecessors, causes me to put them in charge of M. de Noyan, nephew of M. de Bienville, who goes to France with a

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view of returning to the colony. He should take post on his arrival, in order that you may receive them as soon as possible. I would add that he is a cavalier of merit; the company had named him commandant at the Ouabaches which is taken away from him by the last orders. I venture to assure you Messieurs, that he would be much more proper to command at the Natchitoches than Sieur de St. Denis, on whom you cannot rely, and who indeed is dangerous. He knows no subordination, and does not execute any order that is given him, doing nothing but what suits him. Moreover he has married a Spanish woman, and he has frequent communications and great intrigue with that nation, which he formerly wished to serve but could not agree on the price; and he is capable of anything when he is in liquor, which is very often. I have the honor to express my opinion of him.

I have the honor, etc.,

LEBLOND DE LA TOUR.]

No. 4.

Instruction sommaire pour achever en peu de temps un solide etablissement dans la Louisiane, dirigée par le Sr. Drouot de Valdeterre, Capitaine Reformé au regiment du Prince de Pons, cydevant Commandant L'isle Dauphine et les Biloxy dans la Louisiane.

[TRANSLATION. Brief instruction for accomplishing in a short time a permanent establishment in Louisiana, prepared by Sieur Drouot de Valdeterre, invalided captain of the regiment of Prince de Pons, and former commandant of Isle Dauphin and Biloxi, in Louisiana.]

The author proposes that there should be five "postes principaux," attached to each of which should be several "postes particulieres." The "3e poste principal a etablir"

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is Alcanza. In the margin of page 22 is written "Les houabaches a etablir." Opposite this is:

Il y a deux grosses Rivières qui se jettent ensemble dans le fleuve lesquelles forment une pointe ou L'auteur du memoire estime qu'il sera necessaire d'y faire un Etablissement et même d'y construire un fort.

L'une de ces Rivières prend sa source du coté de La Caroline qui porte le nom de la nation, et L'autre du grand Lac des Illinois qui en porte le nom. L'entredeux de ces Rivieres est un terrain des plus beaux pour former les etablissements.

[TRANSLATION. There are two large rivers which flow together forming a point, where the author of the memoir thinks that it will be necessary to make an establishment, and indeed to build a fort. One of these rivers takes its rise in the direction of Carolina, and bears the name of the tribe, and the other comes from the direction of the great lake of the Illinois, and bears its name. The land between the two is most excellent for an establishment.][1]

No. 5.

In the accounts of the year 1743, I find:

Au commandant D'ouabaches par gratiff'on
la somme de huit cent livres, cy.....800

(Most of the others received 600 l., but St. Denis, commandant aux Natchitoches had 90 l. a month, or 1080 l. for the year.)

At most of the posts — Natchitoches, Natchez, Mobile, Balise, etc.— the priest received 600 l., but the Jesuits still kept at Ouabache, I presume, for it is not mentioned, but there is the usual entry:

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[1]This is very obscure. It is possible that the writer may refer to the junction of the Tennessee and the Ohio.

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Aux P. Jesuites missionaires, pour l'entretien et subsistance de deuze Religeuses prestres, et de deux freres pour le service des missions, la somme de huit mil livres, cy...8000

[TRANSLATION. To the Jesuit fathers, for salary and subsistence of twelve priests and two brothers, for the service of the missions, the sum of 8000 livres.]

No. 6.

Memoire sur l'Etat de la Colonie de la Louisiane en 1746.

(P. 11.) Telles sont les habitations Françaises qui se trouvent sur le fleuve du Mississipi: Il y en a encore deux autres qu'il ne faut point omettre le premier sur le Missouri a environ 90 lieues de son embouchure dans le fleuve du Mississipi, et a 100 lieues des Illinois. L'autre appelé les petits ouyas, situé sur le Ouabache qui prend le nom de cette riviere après sa reunion avec l'oyo, et de la se rend dans le Mississipi. Les petits ouyas sont environ a 70 lieues de l'embouchure de la Belle riviere et a 100 lieues des Illinois. Ces deux établissements sont encore très peu considerables. Celui des Missouris n'etant compose que d'environ 20 hommes et 10 negres; celui des petits ouyas n' étant que d'environ 40 hommes et de 5 negres. Leur occupation est la chasse, la culture du blés et celle du tabac.

(P. 27.) Nous avons deja parlé du poste des petits ouyas sur le Ouabache, lequel depend de la Louisiane. En remontant plus haut la même riviere, a 60 lieues de distance, il y a un petit etablissement aux grands ouyas, c'est de ceux qui qui dependent du Canada celui qui est le plus avancé vers la Louisiane. Il n'est composé que d'environ 20 habitans. Il s'y fait un commerce de traite assez considerable. * * * A la Source du Ouabache on trouve les Miamis qui sont environ au nombre de 300 guerriers,

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et ou il ya encore un poste François a peu près aussi foible que celui des grands ouyas. L'objet est le meme, qui est de s'assurer de la traite des pelleteries.

[TRANSLATION. Such are the French settlements on the Mississippi river. There are still two others which should not be omitted. The first is on the Missouri about 90 leagues from where it empties into the Mississippi river, and about 100 leagues from the Illinois. The other is called the Little Weas,* situated on the Ouabache, which holds this name after its junction with the Ohio, and under it flows into the Mississippi. The Little Weas is about 70 leagues from the junction of the Ohio, and about 100 leagues from the Illinois. These two establishments are quite inconsiderable, that of the Missouris being composed of only about 20 men and 10 negroes, and that of the Little Weas having about 40 men and 5 negroes. Their occupation is hunting and the culture of wheat and tobacco. * * *

(P. 27.) I have already spoken of the post of the Little Weas, which belongs to Louisiana. Going higher up the same river, at a distance of 60 leagues, there is a little establishment at the Great Weas; it is the nearest to Louisiana of those belonging to Canada. It has about 20 residents. It has quite a considerable Indian trade. * * * At the head of the Ouabache are found the Miamis, who are about 300 warriors in number, and here there is still another French post almost as weak as that of the Great Weas. Its purpose is the same, which is to assure the trade in skins.]

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*The Vincennes post. The name refers to the Ouiatanon or Wea Indians, of whom the Piankeshaws were sometimes considered a part. At that time the common English rendering of this name was Little Wiautanon, which was usually abbreviated "L. Wiaut."

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No. 7.

Letter of M. de Vaudreuil, Governor, dated 8th April, 1747.

(P. 3.) La crainte que j'en ai eu m'a fait insister Monseigneur a vous faire sentir de quelle importance nous seroit le fort projetté sur Ouabache, et j'en sens tellement la necessité, que j'aurois pris sur moi a le commencer cette année si je n'eusse trouvé a ce sujet vos ordres trop precises. Ces considerations me font esperer Monseigneur que vous voudrés bien m'en donner par le prochain vaisseau qui puissent déterminer cet etablissement suivant les plans que vous en aves reçu.

[Translation. The fear which I have always had makes me insist, Monseigneur, that you consider of what importance to us will be the projected fort on the Ouabache, and I feel the necessity of it so much that I should have taken it on myself to commence it this year, if I had not found your orders on this subject very explicit. These considerations make me hope, Monseigneur, that you may be willing to authorize me, by the next vessel, to make this establishment, according to the plans which you have received.]

No. 8.

Report of de Bienville, 27 July, 1734.

Le Pere Baudoin lui mande aussy que le jeune Canadian qui avoit été pris par les Chicachas il y a 2 ans avoit été ramené sur la Riviere d'Ouabache au dessus l'etablissement francais où les sauvages l'on mis dans une Pirogue avec un aviron et les vivres necessaire pour se conduire au fort; il tient cette nouvelle des prisonniers que les Chactas ont emmené.

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[TRANSLATION. Father Baudoin reports also that the young Canadian who was taken by the Chickasaws two years ago has been released on the river Ouabache, below the French establishment, where the Indians put him in a pirogue with a paddle and the food necessary to supply him to the fort; he obtained this information from the prisoners whom the Choctaws have brought in.]

SAUVAGES DE LA RIVIERE OUABACHE.[1]

(From the same Report.)

Le Sieur de Vincennes qui y commande lui mande que les Peanguichas qui sont etablis auprès de notre fort ont envie d'attirer à eux un Village de la même nation qui en reste à 60 lieues plus haut. Deux raisons lui font gôuter ce dessein, la première pour fortifier nôtre etablissement, et la seconde pour ôter à ce village la commodité de commercer avec les Anglais qui ont deux Magasins établis chez les Chaouanons sur la Rivière d'Oio. Cet officier ajoute qu'il ne seroit pas difficile de leur enlever cette nation qui ne leur donne la préference que parcequ'ils ne sont pas à portée de tirer leur besoins de nous comme des Anglais. Il assure qu'une partie a dessein dese retirer au Detroit et l'autre auprès de luy. Si Monseigneur juge que ces changements conviennent je donnerais les ordres en consequence au Sieur de Vincennes. Au surplus, comme le poste d'Ouabache est un des plus importants de la Colonie puisque c'est une Barrière qu'on oppose aux progres des Anglais, qui de tout temps ont beaucoup frequenté ces Quartiers, il a donné ordre a M. Dartaguiette de detacher 30 hommes avec deux officiers pour en composer la garnison.

(Marked "approuvée.")

[1]This is in part the same as section 21 of the second report.

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