

ANGLO-SPANISH RIVALRY IN THE IOWA COUNTRY 1797-1798

Spain and England became neighbors in the Mississippi Valley in 1763 by virtue of the Treaty of Paris. Later the United States officially supplanted the English on the eastern bank of the Mississippi — although the British continued trading in this territory until the close of the eighteenth century, if not indeed until 1815.

Both Spain and England were interested in buying peltries and in the extremely valuable and lucrative trade with the Indians. From Michilimackinac, agents of the merchants of Montreal and other trading centers dispatched traders via the Fox-Wisconsin route to Prairie du Chien. From here they spread in all directions. Some operated in the Iowa country, ascending the Iowa, Skunk, and Des Moines rivers, even penetrating as far as the Omaha, Oto, and Pawnee Indian habitats along or near the Missouri in the vicinity of the mouth of the Platte River. Some descended the Mississippi River to the Illinois country where they also traded with the Spanish merchants at St. Louis. Still others ascended the Mississippi, entered the valley of the St. Peter's [Minnesota] River, and extended their operations to the Red and Missouri rivers. From Prairie du Chien they penetrated the lake country in the present State of Minnesota. Trading posts were set up, at least for temporary occupation.

From Assiniboine, Saskatchewan, La Souris [Mouse River] and other posts of the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies west of Lake Superior the intrepid traders, employees of the Montreal Scotchmen, made their way to the Missouri River region where they traded with the Mandan,

Gros Ventres, or other Indian tribes residing thereabouts. They erected at least one fort among the Mandans.

Such activities were in violation both of international law and the agreements entered into between the sovereigns of Spain and Great Britain, but protests were of no avail, as the Spanish officials of Illinois and Louisiana and the British officials of Canada soon found out. English traders, who had the advantage of better and more plentiful supplies, and possibly less strict laws under which their conduct was to be guided, were tacitly allowed by their own government to continue their money-making endeavors and the work of extending British influence and prestige among the natives resident beyond the Mississippi, in territory which technically belonged to Spain.

The Spaniards did not remain idle. Seeing that protests and agreements were more or less unavailing and desiring to extend their influence not only throughout their own territory, but also to the east of the Mississippi, the officials of Spanish Louisiana pleaded with their superior officers to give them money and men with which to protect the northeastern frontier of the provinces of Spain in America. To keep the British out of their territory the Spaniards desired to erect forts at the mouths of the St. Peter's and Des Moines rivers. Jacques Clamorgan, in the name of the Missouri Company, drew up a contract whereby he was to construct forts at the mouths of the Skunk, Iowa, Des Moines, and other rivers in return for the exclusive trade of the Upper Mississippi country. In addition to forts, it was necessary to patrol the Mississippi River for at least three to six months each year in order to keep the English traders from entering Spanish territory. It was likewise necessary to establish forts on the Missouri River for the purpose of overawing the Indians already indoctrinated by the British, to destroy the English fort among the Man-

dans, to erect Spanish forts up and down the Missouri River, and to patrol the river itself.¹

Baron de Carondelet, the Governor General, who supported these ideas and who had faith in the ability of the Missouri Company and the success of its activities, urgently advocated these proposals before the Spanish Court. But Spain had a war on its hands in Europe. Money was scarce and money was indispensable to the carrying out of these projects. At last, fearing attacks by the English and worried by Americans and Indians in Lower Louisiana, Carondelet adopted the rather old policy of Spain — fighting the British with their own fire.

Carondelet realized that Upper Louisiana was in need of settlers. Its possibilities as an agricultural region had not been developed and it offered a valuable trade in furs and Indian goods which would not only take away from Canada profits, commerce, etc., but would divert the traffic down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, thus enhancing the profits of the Spaniards and increasing the revenue and commerce of Spanish Louisiana. He therefore decided to make Louisiana a better, stronger, and more valuable province of Spain.

Opportunity presented itself to the Governor General when Andrew Todd, who had most likely been associated with Clamorgan and the Missouri Company for some time, applied to Carondelet for the exclusive trade with the Indians residing north of the Missouri and the Ohio rivers. He asked that he be permitted to obtain his supplies and men from Canada, and that the import and export duties at New Orleans upon goods necessary for carrying on that trade be reduced from fifteen per cent to six per cent. These requests were granted, and success was beginning to

¹ A full account of the activities on the Upper Missouri may be found in Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

be realized when two things occurred: Todd, while in New Orleans on business, was attacked with yellow fever and died; and war broke out between England and Spain in 1796.

Carondelet was in a difficult position. Money was scarce, for Louisiana was not a profitable colony of Spain and was relatively unimportant. The lack of supplies forced the St. Louis merchants and traders to supply themselves from Canada and Illinois, in violation of Spanish law. Moreover they were competing with traders from Canada who had an abundance of supplies, and liberal laws, and were, by their very nature, aggressive. Spain was fighting a losing battle in the Upper Mississippi Valley against the British. Step by step the British traders moved westward and took away from the subjects of His Catholic Majesty the trade which they had previously held.

It is true that Spain made some positive endeavors to stop these activities. There were the activities of the Missouri Company, particularly in the persons of James Mackay and John Evans;² the captures made by Spain of British traders on the Mississippi; the expeditions sent up the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien; and the spies and agents sent into the Illinois country. Mention has already been made of the agreement authorizing Andrew Todd to engage in trade not only on the western shore of the Mississippi in the region of Iowa, but also among the Sac and Fox Indians who resided on the eastern shore in what is now the State of Illinois. British officials, especially at Michilimackinac and Detroit, protested against some of the Spanish activities, while Louis Grignon³ insisted that the

² For a more complete account of the activities of the Missouri Company, Mackay, and Evans, see Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

³ Grignon was a resident of Prairie du Chien. He was working for the British interests.

British at Prairie du Chien feared not the Americans but the Spaniards, who would occasionally dispatch a gunboat to seize goods and furs which they maintained had been gathered on Spanish territory without Spanish license.

The fear of the Spaniards of an attack upon the Illinois by the British from above is illustrated by some documents from the Louisiana Collection in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, translated by the writer. Documents from this collection, supplemented by a vast amount of material drawn from the Archivo General de Indias, located at Seville, enable one to rewrite the history of the activities of the Spaniards in the Upper Mississippi Valley.

In October, 1796, England and Spain found themselves once again at war. Fearing an attack upon the Spanish Illinois from Canada,⁴ Carondelet, the Governor General of Louisiana, wrote to Lieutenant Governor Trudeau of the Spanish Illinois country on November 22, 1796, that he was certain that war had been declared between Spain and England and warned him to be on the look-out for a suspected surprise attack by the English. He also informed Trudeau that he would be reinforced by forty men from Ecores-á-Margot and by artillery sufficient to put St. Louis in a state of defence. He told Trudeau to follow the plan which Collot had given him for forming, in case of necessity, "*una inundacion que defienda la maior parte de su*

⁴ In 1797, the Spanish ambassador to the United States, Carlos Martinez de Iruyo, after a careful inquiry, warned Carondelet of a projected attack upon the Spanish Illinois by the English from Canada.—See documents printed below, and letter from Carondelet to Morales, No. 10, *reservado*, New Orleans April 21, 1797, in the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-24, transcript in the Bancroft Library; proclamation of Carondelet, New Orleans, May 31, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library; and letter from Liston to Grenville, No. 36, Philadelphia, August 30, 1797, Public Record Office (London), Foreign Office Papers, 5/18, and translation of Carondelet's letter enclosed therein. See also the correspondence concerning this matter in *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 66-103, *passim*.

recinto''.⁵ Finally, Carondelet told the Lieutenant Governor that he could act in a hostile manner (*obrar hostilmente*) against all British subjects who might be upon the Missouri and Upper Mississippi rivers without a declaration of war and the same rule could apply to the Missouri Company in the extension of its privilege.⁶

On the twenty-sixth of November, Carondelet issued a rather lengthy set of instructions to Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard who was dispatched to St. Louis to act as military commander of the Spanish Illinois, Trudeau remaining as civil lieutenant governor. With several galleys, galliots, and a few men, Howard was to proceed to St. Louis and there he was ordered to protect St. Louis and destroy the English trade on the Upper Mississippi as well as on the Missouri. He was instructed to dispatch an expedition to explore the shores of the Mississippi from St. Louis to the mouth of the St. Peter's River and to destroy any canoes they might find. All property and goods seized were to be equally divided among the members of the crew on the one hand, and the King on the other. Howard was also ordered to attempt an expedition against a British post, similar to the one which in 1781 resulted in the capture of St. Joseph.⁷ He was instructed to destroy the English post rumored to have been located among the Mandans and to secure information concerning the strength and location of the English posts and the disposition of

⁵ Literally, a flood which should surround the greater part of his territory — apparently referring to some dike or moat to be constructed around St. Louis.

⁶ Letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, November 22, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 23. The declaration of war against Great Britain was published in New Orleans by Carondelet on December 16, 1796. — Letter from Carondelet to Martin Duralde, New Orleans, December 16, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 23.

⁷ Regarding the capture of St. Joseph in 1781, see Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783* in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, October, 1928.

their inhabitants, chiefly of Michilimackinac. He was also to stir up a revolution in Canada in favor of France. Such a revolution would protect Upper Louisiana from the British during the war then going on.⁸

Fulfilling his instructions, Carlos Howard, on the second of May, 1797, ordered Trudeau to secure information concerning the English posts situated nearest to the Spanish settlement and to inquire concerning the attitude of the inhabitants in those posts. Trudeau reported that, according to information received, the English had given up the post of Michilimackinac to the Americans, in accordance with the provisions of Jay's Treaty, and part of the English garrison formerly stationed there had moved to a point on Lake Huron about fifteen leagues from the island of Michilimackinac. The new point was only scantily guarded by about sixty men and no settlers. Detroit had been delivered up to the Americans, but the English had moved to the opposite shore where they established a post which was heavily garrisoned. According to Trudeau's information, Detroit was about three hundred leagues distant from Illinois by land and four hundred via the rivers and lakes. The best practical method of weakening the English settlements in Canada would be through the services of Don Gabriel Cerré, Don Auguste Chouteau, and Don Antonio Reilhe. The first named, a Canadian, who rarely missed a year in which he did not journey to Montreal, had just made a visit on the seventh of the preceding September. Reilhe had also been for a long time in Canada, and Chouteau was a man who had always managed to inform himself about Canada, its trade, and the customs of its citizens.

Trudeau said that they could carry on trade from Canada to the Mississippi but for the fear of the Indians who were

⁸ Instructions printed in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 71-91.

accustomed to trade with the English and would protect the English, who were operating in many cases under American passports.

Trudeau dispatched Tesson Honoré (or Louis Honoré Tesson) with a group of five men to Prairie du Chien, there to gain what information they could. These men were sent to Prairie du Chien because that frontier post was the rendezvous of the traders and at this center they could procure information concerning the "enemies" of Spain and the Indians. The Lieutenant Governor commissioned Honoré to attempt to win the Indians over to the Spanish side and allegiance, and to secure information. He was charged to return as soon as he should learn definitely concerning the hostile movements of the English and Indians against the Spanish Illinois.

At the same time Trudeau dispatched Prevost to Chicago. Prevost was charged to examine the route to Lake Michigan via the Illinois River. In an endeavor to secure information concerning the land route to Detroit, Trudeau was forced to send a half-breed from the Miami nation, called "Blue Eyes", who had property under the protection of the Spanish government, for no white man was available with the qualifications necessary for such an undertaking.⁹

⁹ Letter from Trudeau to Howard, St. Louis, May 10, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document II below. It appears that the lieutenant colonel proposed that Spaniards be sent to Fort Pitt and Michilimackinac under the pretext of business, in order to secure information.

"Dicho Teniente Coronel se proponia enviar sugetos hasta Fuerte Pitt y Michilimakinak que á la sombra de una expedicion mercantil indagasen con aparente indiferencia quanto pudieran debiendo regresar desde qualquier parage en el momento que supiesen ó reconociesen indicios ciertos y probables de hacerse preparativos hostiles contra esta Provincia." — Letter from Morales to Varela y Ulloa, New Orleans, June 30, 1797, in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-24, transcript in the Bancroft Library.

"Tengo recibidos los pliegos que me anuncia Vm. haver recibido del Puesto de San Fernando de las Barancas, y la copia de la carta de 14 de Noviembre ultimo pasado escrita en Pitburg por Dn Pedro Menard en qe avisa las inten-

Three days later Howard reported to Carondelet that he was fulfilling his instructions. He stated that he had arranged for an expedition to ascend the Mississippi to the St. Peter's River; he had dispatched one to capture St. Joseph; and he was securing information concerning the Mandan post. From Chouteau, with whom Mr. Morrison of Kaskaskia communicated, Howard was informed that the English were assembling the Indians from the environs of Detroit. From now on, declared Howard, Trudeau would inform the Governor General concerning the affairs in the Illinois country.¹⁰

On April 23, 1797, Prevost arrived at Chicago. There he met a man named Ange, who informed him that he had learned from Major Hamtranck, the commander of the post of Detroit, that the Americans had joined with the English to declare war on the French, an opinion held by the Americans in general at that time. Prevost was merely reporting the news as he heard it, but he told the Lieutenant Governor that Ange was going to St. Louis where he could question him. Prevost concluded his letter with these words: "The English bid the savages always hold their hand. It is not difficult to understand what they mean."¹¹

A confidential agent was also sent by Trudeau to the Illinois River to investigate concerning the projected descent of the English via the Illinois River but nothing was discovered.

On March fifteenth, an inhabitant of San Fernando was

ciones ostiles de nros enemigos contra essa Partida de Ylinois, lo parece apresurado quando se save qe la guerra se a declarado en el Canada solo en 29 de Noviembre en qe escribe dho Menard sin embargo es bueno su aviso." — Letter from Trudeau to Carlos de Hault de Lassus, No. 5, St. Louis, March 19, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

¹⁰ Letter from Howard to Carondelet, St. Louis, May 13, 1797; two letters, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library, Documents III and IV below.

¹¹ Letter from Prevost to Trudeau, La Gibaudière, April 26, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document I below.

dispatched to Detroit. At Vincennes he was arrested, owing to a false rumor of a breach between Spain and the United States, but was later released and continued to Detroit. Cerré, Jr., was sent up the Ohio, while his father was sent to Michilimackinac, and directed to travel on to Montreal, if possible. He was expected to arrive at the former place sometime during the month of June, just about the time the traders assembled there to start upon their trading ventures among the Indians in the Upper Mississippi Valley.

A careful inquiry was instituted concerning the circulation of some "collars" among the Indians of the Missouri and Lieutenant Pedro Montardy, who returned to St. Louis, but one day before, after a two years residence among the Osages, reported that no British interference had been evident among those Indians.¹²

Meanwhile Louis Tesson Honoré, Jr., had been sent to Prairie du Chien. He probably left St. Louis about the end of March or the beginning of April and arrived at his destination late in April or early in May. When he arrived at Prairie du Chien he was arrested and imprisoned for three days by two Englishmen, who desired that Honoré dispatch some one to the Sac and Fox Indians and force them to release their canoe which had been confiscated. These Englishmen — Gillespie and Crawford — had caused trouble, it seems, in the Iowa country on the Des Moines River where they had been trading. While in that vicinity they had pulled down a Spanish flag.

Hearing of Honoré's imprisonment, the Sac and Fox Indians went to his aid at Prairie du Chien and effected his release. On account of the "flag" episode, Honoré sent a curt dispatch to the government of Michilimackinac in

¹² Letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 7, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document VII below.

which he stated that the flag was a genuine Spanish flag and demanded that it be treated with respect. He informed the Governor of Michilimackinac that Gillespie and Crawford had wintered and traded on the Des Moines River contrary to the treaty and called upon the Governor to pay attention to the treaty.¹³

Honoré left Prairie du Chien on May 23rd, in company with a deputation of chiefs of the Sac, Fox, and Puant tribes, to return to St. Louis where he arrived on June 11th, and immediately reported to Howard. He told the lieutenant colonel that when he left Prairie du Chien he left Julien Mombuc [Dubuque?], to whom a section of land had but recently been granted and who lived opposite Prairie du Chien, charged with the mission of being on the lookout and sending information immediately to St. Louis of the slightest move or movement made on the part of the English or Indians.

Honoré also told the Spanish official that Gillespie and Crawford, English traders who pretended to be Americans,¹⁴ intended to return to the Des Moines River to trade — either at the end of June or the beginning of July of that year. To capture them Howard dispatched Metzenger to the Iowa region in a swift galliot rather heavily armed. Bernardo Molina had already been ordered to patrol the region in a galliot. To facilitate their work and to get the Sac and Fox Indians to attack by land while the gun-boat attacked by water, Honoré was sent with the expedition.

¹³ Letter from Honoré [Louis Honoré Tesson] to the Governor of Michilimackinac, May 18, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document V below.

¹⁴ Evidently Gillespie did have an American passport for General Wilkinson gave a speech to him and asked that he deliver the "parole" to the Sac and Fox Indians residing near Prairie du Chien. Indeed Gillespie substituted for the American commander. — Speech of Wilkinson to the Indians, August 18, 1797, enclosed in a letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, St. Louis, December 1, 1797. A copy is in the Bancroft Library.

Howard prepared for opposition, for he had been informed that Gillespie and Crawford had twenty men to aid and protect them while they carried on trade in the Des Moines River region. Howard further stated that the Spanish confidential agent on the Illinois River reported that no trouble was imminent in that region.¹⁵

On the twenty-sixth of June, Howard received a letter which Gabriel Cerré, on his way to Michilimackinac, had written to Trudeau. By this means the lieutenant colonel was able again to assure the Governor General that all was quiet in the Illinois River region so far as projected attacks by the English against Spanish Upper Louisiana were concerned. It appears that Howard was beginning to fear the Americans¹⁶ rather than the British, but Carondelet's fear of a British attack from Canada caused Spain to refrain from carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of 1795 until after President Adams on February 4, 1798, instructed General Wilkinson to oppose any British movements of troops across the United States.¹⁷

¹⁵ Letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 14, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document VIII below.

¹⁶ See in this connection Trudeau's letter to Carlos de Lassus, St. Louis, September 7, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131, in which he states:

"Me ha venido noticias de McKina [Michilimackinac] de 18 del mes pasado, donde havia llegado de cierto el General Wilkinson y corria la voz en dho Puesto que havian llegado al de troit 400 hombres de tropa destinados por diferentes puntos de nuestras circanias, lo que participo a Vm. como es devido en esta circunstancia."

¹⁷ Letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 27, 1797, and letter from Cerré to Trudeau, Chicago, June 18, 1797, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library, Documents XI and X, respectively below; Smith's *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), Vol. I, pp. 204, 205. See also Bemis's *Pinckney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926) for earlier period; and Turner's *The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. X, pp. 273-275. A few general remarks concerning Cerré's voyage to Canada are contained in the drafts of Carondelet's letters to Howard, New Orleans, July 17, 1797, and to Cerré, April 25, 1798, in Papeles de Cuba, legajos 131 and 215, respectively. See also the correspondence printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. II, pp. 66-103,

Howard left St. Louis about the first of August, leaving Trudeau with forty men. In reporting to the Governor General, Trudeau stated that within six weeks the Illinois would have little to fear from Canada, and since "our neighbors [Americans?] are so near, it is necessary to be on our guard in case of hostile action, which reports announce may occur."¹⁸

During the month of August little cause for action occurred. In fact the Lieutenant Governor of the Spanish Illinois received very little news. About this time, a nephew of the deceased Andrew Todd, who had come to take charge of his deceased uncle's affairs, arrived in St. Louis from Canada and reported that there was "nothing of interest" transpiring in Canada. The Spaniards still had Cerré in that region, and he would not return except when "the season will oblige him or when something unexpectedly comes up and it will be necessary for him to report to St. Louis."

Trudeau also reported that the nations of the Mississippi were behaving well. The Indians were jealously guarding the entrance to the Des Moines River¹⁹ and every Britisher who attempted to enter would be repulsed. The Lieutenant Governor received an ambassador from the Indians once a month. He bewailed the fact that the presents which he could give to the Indians were far from being satisfactory or sufficient in amounts, particularly on account of the lack of traders and especially of powder which "is to them [the Indians] so necessary to make their livelihood." Accord-

passim. A good summary of Spain's policy in the lower Mississippi country is given in Riley's *Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1897, pp. 175-192.

¹⁸ Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, July 29, 1797, in *Papeles de Cuba*, legajo 35.

¹⁹ This is the writer's conjecture. The name of the river is torn out of the original document.

ing to the tone of this missive, Trudeau's fear of English aggression seems to have subsided for the time being, but he was anxious to hear the news regarding the relations between the United States and Spain. The Americans who were his neighbors were very quiet, he said, but he had not heard news regarding the United States nor had he received any letters from the Governor since the twentieth of April. Carondelet instructed the Lieutenant Governor that he must keep the Indians of the Upper Mississippi region in this good disposition despite the lack of provisions, forces, and facilities at hand.²⁰

A week later Trudeau wrote to Howard as follows: "I enclose for you a letter from the new confidential agent whom we have on the upper part of this river, by which you will see that the Indians in the neighborhood of McKina came to invite the Saquias and Renard nations, who are attached to us, to go to McKina. In this there would be nothing strange if it were not for the rumors from different directions that a number of troops are expected at McKina. Either we are going to have war soon with the United States of America,²¹ or they have undertaken to guard the passes of the Chicago and Wisconsin. The latter seems to me the most probable, for if an expedition were to be

²⁰ Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, August 31, 1797, and draft of letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, October 17, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

²¹ In his letter to Grenville (see note 4 above) Liston stated that Blount's case had contributed to the continuance of the misunderstanding between the United States and Spain over the surrender of the posts on the frontier of Louisiana. On March 24, 1797, and on April 3, Carondelet (?) intimated to Carlos Howard concerning the imminence of war with the United States and ordered the lieutenant colonel to be ready to descend to Nogales with all his forces, leaving no more than thirty men in St. Louis — for he feared an American invasion of Spanish territory. — Drafts of letters from Carondelet (?) to Howard, New Orleans, March 24, and April 3, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131. See also the correspondence printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 66-103, and Turner's *Documents on the Blount Conspiracy, 1795-1797*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. X.

formed against this province it would more properly be formed by way of the Ohio, because they have there greater conveniences. Nevertheless, my duty is to inform you of what comes to my knowledge and I am doing it at the same time that this letter reaches me."²²

Meanwhile the fortifications of St. Louis were being steadily carried out under the direction of Van den Benden and De Finiels, who had recently arrived in St. Louis, having been sent there by the Spanish minister to the United States.²³

That the action of the Spaniards began to tell upon the British is evident from the letter which Thomas Duggan wrote to Joseph Chew from St. Joseph on July 9, 1797: "This Spring our Traders in the Mississippi were nearly pillaged by the Saques [Sacs] and Renards [Foxes] headed by some traders of St. Louis with authority from the Spanish Commandant of that place, fortunately for our Traders a party of Sioux were at La Prairie du Chien which overawed the other Indians and their property was saved."²⁴

On December 1, 1797, Trudeau dispatched a letter to Governor General Gayoso de Lemos in which he speaks of James Wilkinson's attempt to secure for the Americans the friendship and allegiance of the Sac and Fox Indians. He enclosed Wilkinson's speech to those Indians delivered by Gillespie. But the Lieutenant Governor was able to boast that the Sac and Fox Indians, although they had never had a war with the Americans, had never been brought under

²² Letter from Trudeau to Howard, September 7, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library. No enclosures accompany this letter in the Bancroft Library.

²³ Letter from De Finiels to Carondelet (?), St. Louis, January 14, 1798, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 215; letter from Howard to Carondelet, July 7, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document VII below; Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 133 ff. and 225 ff.

²⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 457; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 523.

their influence. Despite the fact that those natives inhabited both sides of the Mississippi, they were attached to the Spaniards and often went to St. Louis. That winter they were hunting on the Missouri and Trudeau could say, "quedo confiado que con los Yndios mas inclinados en nuestro favor."²⁵

The following March, Trudeau reported to Governor General Gayoso de Lemos that in the following month some three thousand Indians and white traders from Michilimackinac were to assemble at Prairie du Chien. The excuse given for the meeting was to undertake to make peace between the Sioux and Sauteux [Chippewa] nations in the interests of bettering trade.

Trudeau feared so large an assemblage of people on the Mississippi, whence they could easily descend upon St. Louis within ten days and he mistrusted the motives of the traders, who might influence the Indians to join in another attack upon St. Louis such as that which had occurred on May 26, 1780.²⁶ To protect Spanish interests Trudeau ordered the galeota *La Flecha* to go up the river for the purpose of keeping guard and acquiring information and to report all findings to him. In addition the Lieutenant Governor established a volunteer guard at a point just opposite the mouth of the Illinois River, in order that the British might not descend into the Spanish Illinois region via that river. These men were to remain as "confidentes" among the Sac and Potawatomi nations who were the most numerous and influential of the tribes. They were also to

²⁵ Letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, St. Louis, December 1, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2371. A copy of this letter and a copy of the enclosure, the speech of Wilkinson to the Sac and Fox Indians, are in the Bancroft Library.

²⁶ For an account of the attack upon St. Louis in 1780 see Nasatir's *The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783* in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, October, 1928.

watch the inclinations and movements of those tribes and especially the reports and communications which they presumably were holding at this time with the British and Americans.²⁷

Commanded by Bernardo Molina, the *La Flecha* departed from St. Louis on March 22, 1798. Its destination was Prairie du Chien. They met several traders on their upward journey and also held council with the Sac and Fox Indians. It is unnecessary to summarize the events which transpired on the voyage for they are given in full in the *Journal* of the voyage kept by the interpreter of the expedition, François Cailhol, which is translated below on pages 383-388.²⁸

Such were some of the events that transpired on the Anglo-Spanish frontier in the Iowa country during 1797 and a part of the year of 1798. The writer believes that sufficient evidence has been produced to show that the Spaniards were actively engaged in trying to keep the British out of the Iowa country and to protect all the territory over which its flag floated.

It is unnecessary to supply any extended comment concerning the documents which follow. They are presented in English translation, since all have been utilized in preparing the narrative above. So far as the writer knows, none of them has ever been published heretofore. The translations follow closely the original text, with no attempt to present a smooth or polished version. All the documents printed are preserved in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

ABRAHAM P. NASATIR

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
SAN DIEGO CALIFORNIA

²⁷ Letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, No. 319, St. Louis, March 16, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document XIV below.

²⁸ A manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document XV below.

DOCUMENT I

LETTER FROM PREVOST²⁹ TO TRUDEAU

APRIL 26, 1797

On my arrival at Chicagou the twenty-third of the present month, I met a man coming from Detroit named Ange³⁰ who reported that Major Emtremcke³¹ commander of Detroit, told him that he believed that the Americans had joined with the English to declare war on the French. I believe this man employed by the Americans would surely know if it is true. He also said positively that St. Jean de Miklon³² at the mouth of the St. Laurent River has been conquered by the French and that it is proposed, in the course of this campaign, to take Quebec. I report this to you as I have heard it. It is the opinion of all the Americans. This same man, named Ange, is coming to the Illinois, where you can question him personally.

The English bid the savages always hold their hand. It is not difficult to understand what they mean.

God help you and believe me with respect,

Your very humble
and very obedient servant,

To Monsier Zenon Trudeau Prevost (rubric)
Commandant at St. Louis La Gibaudiere, April 26, 1797.

²⁹ Prevost was at the Peoria village in June, 1798. — Letter from Prevost to Rinon (?), June 25, 1798, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library. A Pierre Prevost is mentioned in Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records (Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V, Springfield, 1909)*; Alvord's *Cahokia Records (Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II, Springfield, 1907)*; and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri, Vol. II, pp. 389-392*.

³⁰ An Augustine Ange is mentioned as a settler at Prairie du Chien. — Houck's *History of Missouri, Vol. II, p. 79*. See also *Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. IX, pp. 282, 285, Vol. X, p. 318, Vol. XI pp. 249, 250*.

³¹ Major John Francis Hamtranck. — See Smith's *St. Clair Papers (Cincinnati, 1882)*; Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records*; Esarey's *Historic Indiana (Indianapolis, 1918)*; Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, Vol. I, p. 496*.

³² Miquelon, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River.

DOCUMENT II

LETTER FROM ZENON TRUDEAU TO CARLOS HOWARD³³

MAY 10, 1797

Reservado:

As you charged me in your private letter (oficio reservado) of the second of this present month, I have tried by all possible means to secure news concerning and the location of the English posts which are the nearest to us, as well as the attitude in which one might expect to find their inhabitants. The one at Michilimakinak, which you mentioned to me, was abandoned and given up to the Americans³⁴ in the month of August of the year just passed. They maintain in its fort a garrison of sixty men under the command of a captain. A part of the English garrison of the same place went with a lieutenant to establish Point Tesason on the shore of Lake Huron,³⁵ fifteen leagues from the island of Michilimakinak. According to report the garrison of Tesason is at present about sixty men and, like Michilimakinak, without settlers or inhabitants. The fortifications must be such as they have been able to build since the month of last August to the present time, considering that in the winter they were not able to work at all.

The fort of Detroit also went to the Americans. It is three hundred leagues distant from Illinois by land and four hundred by the rivers, lakes, etc. On its surrender the English went and fortified themselves on the opposite bank³⁶ and they must have about three hundred men in the garrison. It is well settled by Canadians, Englishmen, and

³³ This is a certified copy attested by Carlos Howard.

³⁴ According to the provisions of Jay's Treaty.

³⁵ This is probably St. Joseph's Island. When the British gave up Michilimackinae in 1796, the British soldiers moved to St. Joseph's Island where they built a fort and remained there until the outbreak of the War of 1812. — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. xviii, 447, 448.

³⁶ Malden.

Americans and for a long time St. Louis and its environs has had no communications with them, for this reason, that their intention [disposition] is not known and to my way of thinking it will be difficult to establish communications with them and aid them in case of a revolution unless one learns some other place, nearer by, which is settled by the English with which we might communicate since we have to pass through American territory in all directions. The honorable citizens and good subjects with whom you can speak with all confidence regarding the most particular information that is needed concerning the above mentioned English settlements of Canada and the most practical way to do them as much harm as possible will be Don Gabriel Cerré,³⁷ Don August Chouteau,³⁸ and Don Antonio Reilhe.³⁹ The first is a Canadian and there is rarely a year that passes in which he does not make a trip to Montreal, which he visited in September of last year. Don Antonio Reilhe has also spent much time in Canada, and Don August Chouteau is a man who has always managed to inform himself about that country, its trade, and the customs of its citizens.

I see no possibility of attacking our opponent except in

³⁷ For material on Cerré consult Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*; Houck's *History of Missouri*; Billon's *Annals of St. Louis under French and Spanish Dominations* (St. Louis, 1886); Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records*; Alvord's *Cahokia Records*; Thompson's *Penalties of Patriotism in the Journal of the State Historical Society of Illinois*, Vol. IX; *Sketch of Gabriel Cerré in the Missouri Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 58-76; James's *George Rogers Clark Papers (Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII)*; and James's *George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, 1928).

³⁸ One of the pioneers of St. Louis. Auguste Chouteau was one of the outstanding merchants in St. Louis and had business connections with Michilimackinac and Montreal. For some published material on the Chouteaus see Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri* and also his *History of Missouri*, and Nasatir's "Chouteaus and the Indian Trade of the West" (manuscript thesis).

³⁹ Associated with Clamorgan and a director of the Missouri Company. For some published material on Reilhe see Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri* and Houck's *History of Missouri*.

the commerce which they may come to engage in on the Mississippi passing through the lakes and down the Wisconsin River which flows into it some three hundred leagues above St. Louis. It would be an easy matter if it were not that they fear greatly the Indians who are accustomed to trade with the English and will protect their persons and their goods, which I also know for a fact will be protected by American passports which they will secure in Michilimackinac through which they will be obliged to pass.

As for the English post established among the Mandan,⁴⁰ five hundred leagues up the Missouri, only a few persons would be necessary to destroy it if it were not for the Sioux Indians, who every year harass the passing of our traders. This will make it necessary for you to send at least fifty men in small boats. With this precaution they will surely be able to get there but in order to do it it is absolutely necessary [indispensable] for them to start the beginning of the month of June at the very latest, for otherwise they will be forced to spend the winter on the way, exposed to hunger and unable to reach there until the spring of the following year.

I have given you a verbal report of having sent a man named Honorato Taisson⁴¹ with five men to pass to the settlement of Prairie du Chien, now American, which is three hundred leagues from St. Louis on the east bank of

⁴⁰ Concerning this problem see Nasatir's *Spanish Exploration of the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XIV, pp. 59-63; Quaipe's *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others* in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915, pp. 186-210. For a more complete account see Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

⁴¹ Honoré Tesson or Tesson Honoré. He received a rather extensive grant of land on the present site of Montrose, Lee County, Iowa. — See *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 369, 370, Vol. XIV, pp. 331, 332. There are a number of references to Honoré in the documents here published. A number of Tesson documents are also to be found in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society.

the Mississippi. Here the English are accustomed to assemble after they have been trading with the Indians for the purpose of observing there what is happening not only among our enemies but also among the Indians. I have charged him to win them over to our side by giving them the collar customarily used for the purpose, and with the especial charge to send any news that may come to his knowledge, and to return himself with his company as soon as he learns definitely of hostile movements against these settlements.

At the same time and with the same commission a man named Prevost⁴² was sent to the place called Chicagou. He will examine the passage of the Lake Michigan into the Illinois River, whose confluence with the Mississippi is thirteen leagues distant from St. Louis. Because of not finding a white man capable of understanding and making the trip by land to Detroit, I have sent a half-breed of the Miamia nation, called Blue Eyes, who has a family, a house, and stock under the protection of this government. I hope that he will honorably fulfill his duty and return to report the movements that are on foot in that district against us.

May God keep you for many years.

St. Louis, May 10, 1797.

Zenon Trudeau

To Sr. Don Carlos Howard.

This is a copy of the original

Howard. (rubric)

DOCUMENT III

LETTER FROM CARLOS HOWARD TO CARONDELET

MAY 13, 1797

In accordance with the instructions⁴³ you were pleased

⁴² See letter of Prevost to Trudeau, April 26, 1797, Document I.

⁴³ The instructions are printed in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 71-91.

to give me in your letter of November twenty-sixth last concerning managing to destroy English commerce as far as possible not only on the upper Mississippi but on the Missouri; for this purpose arranging an expedition to the San Pedro River; sending another to capture the post of San Joseph on the river of the same name which empties into Lake Michigan; but first of all to destroy (since his majesty's orders are positive on this point) a fort which it is believed has been built by the English among the Mandans on the Missouri;⁴⁴ and ending that Lieutenant Colonel Zenon Trudeau,⁴⁵ and the captain of the militia, Don Carlos Tayon,⁴⁶ would inform me on all the above-mentioned points in general concerning the expedition against San Joseph and the active traders on the Missouri. With regard to the Mandan nation, from the best information that I have been able to secure from the above-mentioned persons, as well as from several others and particularly Don Diego McCay,⁴⁷ who returned a few days ago from the Missouri which he has been exploring since the month of July of '95, it turns out that the said post of San Joseph as well as the post of

⁴⁴ Regarding the fort among the Mandan, see Nasatir's *Spanish Exploration of the Upper Missouri in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XIV; and Quaife's *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915, pp. 186 *et seq.* A full account of the Anglo-Spanish rivalry on the Upper Missouri can be found in Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

⁴⁵ Zenon Trudeau was Lieutenant Governor of Spanish Illinios, 1792-1799.

⁴⁶ Don Carlos Tayon, later commandant of St. Charles. Concerning him see Houck's *History of Missouri* and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, consult indexes.

⁴⁷ James Mackay. — See Mackay's *Journal* printed in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 181 *et seq.*; Quaife's *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915; Teggart's *Notes Supplementary to Any Edition of Lewis and Clark in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 190 *ff.*; Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

Michilimakinak was handed over to the Americans last year⁴⁸ so that the nearest English post there is to this place (which seems to be Tesalon, an island in Lake Huron) is more than three hundred leagues. To get to this post one must first secure the permission of the United States or rather violate their neutrality,⁴⁹ all of which is clear from the enclosed official note to Don Zenin [Zenon] Trudeau.

As to the existence of a trading-post or small English fort in the Mandan nation it appears that there is no doubt according to the assurances of the above-mentioned McCay who has given me an explicit report of the route taken by the English both from Canada and from Hudson Bay in reaching that Indian nation.⁵⁰ I will send you a translation of this report as soon as time permits.

McCay also informed me that before he came down the Missouri he had definite information that Don Juan Evans,⁵¹ who had been sent to explore a route to the Pacific Ocean had crossed the Mandan Nation successfully on the way to the Shining Mountains (Montañas Relucientes), alias the White (Blancos) Mountains, alias the Rocky (Pedrejosos) Mountains and that once they were crossed he believed it would be easy to reach the sea.

According to what McCay has lead me to believe, although difficult, it is not impossible to dislodge the English from

⁴⁸ In accordance with the provisions of Jay's Treaty.

⁴⁹ "Tesalon" is most likely St. Joseph's Island. — See note 35 above. With regard to allowing British soldiers to cross American territory, see Bemis's *Pinckney's Treaty*; Smith's *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 204, 205; Turner's *Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. X, pp. 273-275.

⁵⁰ See in this connection Mackay's *Journal* in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 181 *et seq.*; and *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915, pp. 186 *et seq.*

⁵¹ John Evans. — See *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others* in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915, pp. 186-210.

among the Mandans, but in order to accomplish [that] I should have to be supplied with more aid than I now have and it would have to be begun before they have advanced beyond their present position. Moreover, I would seriously devote myself to discussing the most desirable measures for the enterprise if I were not restrained by the fact that at present the good faith of my immediate neighbors is suspicious.

May God keep you for many years! St. Louis de Illinois, May 13, 1797.

Carlos Howard⁵² (rubric)

To the Baron de Carondelet.⁵³

DOCUMENT IV

LETTER⁵⁴ FROM CARLOS HOWARD TO CARONDELET
MAY 13, 1797

Three days ago a decent and not at all ignorant citizen of Kaskaskias named Morrison was here.⁵⁵ He told Don Augusto Chouteau,⁵⁶ so the latter informed me, that the

⁵² Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard.

⁵³ Baron de Carondelet was Governor General of Louisiana, 1791-1797. For a sketch of his administration see Gayarré's *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination*.

The draft of Carondelet's reply to this letter is as follows:

"En oficio de 13 de Mayo me informé Vm. conseqüente a mis ordenes acerca de la posibilidad de destruir el Comercio ingles tanto sobre el alto Missisipi, como sobre el Misury, de todo quedo enterado, y habiendo Vm. ya dado disposiciones para que cruze una Goleta sobre el Rio Moingona [Des Moines], que es lo que parece puede hacerce por ahora; es menester eplicarse luego que estemos seguros de nuestros vecinos los Americanos a cumplir la orden del Rey sobre el Misuri, destruyendo el fuerte ó factoria, que los Yngleses tienen en los Mandanas objeto primitivo de la expedicion de Vm." — Draft of letter from Carondelet (?) to Carlos Howard, New Orleans, July 18, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

⁵⁴ This is incomplete. The first folio or folios are missing.

⁵⁵ William Morrison was a merchant at Kaskaskia. For some material on Morrison consult Alvord's *The Illinois Country* (Springfield, 1920); Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike* (New York, 1897); and Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902).

⁵⁶ On Auguste Chouteau, see Document II.

English were assembling the Indians in the neighborhood of Detroit. I afterwards talked with this same citizen, and when I asked him casually for the news of the day he told me he did not know of any; but later on I asked him if he had not said something about the English assembling the Indians for the purpose of restraining and terrorizing a certain uprising of citizens which had occurred in Montreal, and he replied (not without some hesitation, I thought) in the negative. Afterwards Chouteau confirmed what he had said about this and also what is contained in the enclosed letter from Monsieur Prevost⁵⁷ to Don Zenon Trudeau Michilimakinak; but for all this it will be necessary to disburse actual money, or to lower the duties on the goods which those in charge of the two expeditions may bring on their return.

It annoys me not a little to be the author of such a project, which I know is exposed to being judged by people of small ideas as directed to my own interest; but since my object is, I assert on my honor, none other than the best service of the king, and dependent at the same time on the necessary approval of Your Lordship, I despise such people, especially since I have not been able to contrive, on account of the scarcity surrounding me, any other plan, with probability of success, of penetrating the intentions of our enemies. All the news of this country, excepting that of the public knowledge on the whole Ohio of the circumstances of Your Lordship's refusal to deliver up the posts of this river, lead to it:⁵⁸ but I have not heard that those people are complaining of it, and I am inclined to believe that it gives them very little anxiety so long as they are not prevented from free navigation of the Misisipi.

⁵⁷ On Prevost, see Document I.

⁵⁸ This is not intelligible to the translator. It is apparent that there is something missing between the two folios still extant in the Baneroft Library.

But it is not to be supposed that the Federal Government will look upon it with the same indifference, for it is dominated, and particularly its new President, according to appearances, by the English party, although it is held as certain that the Vice-President and the mass of the people are attached to that of France. Nevertheless it is my opinion (of little value in truth) that we have more to suspect than to gain from American friendship, not only in present circumstances but also at all times and occasions, because of the deeply rooted, though erroneous belief, which is imbued in the common mass, upper and lower of those people, that simply by scratching the ground one may find heaps of gold and silver in the dominions of Spain, particularly in Mexico, to which they believe it is easy to cross by way of this river.

God keep Your Lordship many years. San Louis, Yllinois, May 13, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric)

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

DOCUMENT V

COPY OF THE NOTE SENT BY HONORÉ TO THE GOVERNOR
OF MICHILIMACKINAC⁵⁹ MAY 18, 1797

Prairie du Chien, May 18, 1797.

I desire to inform the government of Misseli Machinac, commanded by [under the jurisdiction of] the United States of American that the flag that was erected a la Riviere des Ayouwas⁶⁰ in the Saqui⁶¹ village is the same flag which the Spanish government gave to M. Mongrain and Co.⁶² to be treated with respect. Since it has been

⁵⁹ Enclosed in a letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 14, 1797, a manuscript in the Baneroft Library, Document VIII.

⁶⁰ The Iowa River.

⁶¹ Sac village.

⁶² Mongrain and Company was operating for Todd in the Iowa country. — Letter from Isaac Todd to Trudeau, Michilimackinac, June 27, 1797, en-

proved to me that this has not been done by two persons, who are M. Glaspé and M. Clofford,⁶³ who not only showed disrespect for the flag but also for the troops that spent the winter on the river Desmoines.

This is the reason why we hope that the governor of Misselimachinac will be pleased to regard the treaty that exists between the two territories and that he will be convinced that the government of Spain has given no order for the breaking of the treaty.

However, we have been obliged to pursue two persons who have shown themselves open enemies at the time of actual war with England. Of this we will give proof on the evidence of Frenchmen and savages from the Mississippi. For this reason I hope that you will give attention to whatever complaint is brought to you because there will be no other persons involved except these two gentlemen.

Signed Louis Tesson Honoré fils.

DOCUMENT VI

SPEECH OF CAPTAIN T. PASTEUR TO THE INDIANS⁶⁴
MAY 29, 1797

To Chiefs PENCHIPAO and VRACHIOWA and the warrior PETIT
VOLEUR, concerning the case of the SAQUIAS INDIANS.

closed in a letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 191, St. Louis, July 21, 1797, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library. See also Documents XII and XIII.

⁶³ George Gillespie and Redford (?) Crawford were British traders who had headquarters at Prairie du Chien. — *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 711, 712, 714. Some information concerning them can be gleaned from the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 337; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 170, 171, 487-491; *Memoir of J. B. Faribault* in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III. See also letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 14, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document VIII.

⁶⁴ This is a certified copy in French and is enclosed in a letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 18, 1797, printed as Document IX. Captain Thomas Pasteur was commander of Fort Knox, 1794. — See Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Vol. I, p. 773; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 550. Pasteur made many other speeches to the Indians, copies of two of which are in the Bancroft Library,

My brothers:

I regret that so long a time has passed before my making you this reply. I hope that the great distance from here to the Great Chief, my father, will be a sufficient excuse. It seems that there is no convenient way to have you go to Philadelphia now, where our great and good father lives. I have, therefore, provided you with clothing, arms and ammunition such as I have at present, and when I tell you that I was not waiting to see strange brothers when one of yours arrived and I had no goods such as my father provides for his children, I hope you will be satisfied with your father and what I have done.

I now pass on to giving you some advice briefly which I think will be for your good and to which I hope that you will pay attention: return at once to your nation with what I have given you; inform them of what I have said to you; and you will say that when they are moved again to send a deputation to my father, they must go to Fort Wayne because there they will be nearer the Great Chief and he will be able to provide for them better than I can do; present my affectionate and respectful compliments to your chiefs and tell them to trust a faithful brother when he tells them that the surest and the only way they can be happy is to remember that he is strong and powerful and that those who shall make him use his forces will find him irresistible; that they must be warned not to lend their ears to anyone whatsoever who might invite them to close their ears against my father because by such procedure they will plunge themselves into total ruin, but, on the other hand, while they conduct themselves like faithful children my father will aid them and protect them against any white people whatsoever and in time you will be able to see his

viz., March 10, 1798, enclosed in a letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, No. 20, St. Louis, August 19, 1798; and one which he delivered at Vincennes on July 17, 1794, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library.

face and hear his pleasant voice; assure them that if he is forced into war against any other white people he will not under any conditions ask his red children to fight for him, for he is able to fight his own battles, as he has done previously and all he asks of his red children is to remain quiet at home and to look out for their wives and children.

My brothers, I bid you farewell and wish you a quick and pleasant return to your homes and a happy welcome from your relatives and friends. My wish is that you remain wise enough to continue to deserve the good will of my father. Farewell.

Fort Knox, May 29, 1797.

Signed — T. Pasteur, Captain of the First
Regiment, Commander of Fort Knox.

Copy, translated from the original English.

Howard (rubric).

DOCUMENT VII

LETTER FROM HOWARD TO CARONDELET

JUNE 7, 1797

The official letters received by Your Lordship on the present occasion, with dates previous to this, were ready to be sent by express messenger when there arrived here on the third of the current month Don Nicolás Finiels,⁶⁵ formerly captain of artillery in the service of the United States. He delivered to me on the part of His Majesty's Minister in Philadelphia papers among which he inserts a copy for me, under date of the thirteenth of March, of the letter which he directed to Your Lordship on the same date, explaining to you the measures which he had taken to place in a state of defense this outlying territory of His Majesty.

This letter of the Minister and information given by the

⁶⁵ De Finiels was a French engineer sent by the Chevalier de Irujo, Spanish Ambassador to the United States, to strengthen the defenses and fortifications of St. Louis. His appointment is contained in Irujo's letter to De Finiels, Philadelphia, March 20, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

aforesaid Finiels, who left Philadelphia on the second of April, gave me to understand that all the rumors and talk which had been going around in this neighborhood to the effect that the American Government was making preparations to invade the province were absolutely unfounded. The reasons which had caused me to detain the galleys⁶⁶ here being therefore voided, I thought it was better to hold back the said previous letters in order to send them together with this and another on the boats.

It would be improper for me to comment on the copy of the letter from the Minister; but, with all deference to his superior knowledge and understanding, which, on account of his nearer presence, he no doubt has in regard to what passes among the English, I think that some of the information that has been given to him is not strictly accurate. But, at the same time, it was natural to his illustrious zeal to take the measures which (on account of his ignorance of the very effective steps which the foresighted activity of Your Lordship, as far as was permitted by the small resources lent by the restricted nature of the country, had already taken since the month of last November, in order to put this place in a state of resistance to any sudden blow on the part of the English or savages) he put into effect, and which he sets forth in six points.

The first point was the petition which [was] made to the Secretary of State of the United States, by word of mouth and in writing, explaining the hostile intentions of England and requesting him to cause the neutrality of his territory to be respected.

The second sets forth the efficacious measure taken by the Minister in dispatching a trustworthy man to the Lakes to ascertain whether troops were actually being assembled in

⁶⁶ Carondelet approved of Howard's detaining the galleys. — Draft of a letter from Carondelet (?) to Howard, New Orleans, April 27, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

any part, their number, character, and whether they are taking artillery, etc.

It is to be noted that similar measures were put into effect here before my arrival by Lieutenant-Colonel⁶⁷ Don Zenon Trudeau; and it is learned from a confidential person who is still on the Illinois River that in the entire extent of this river there was nothing new on the second of last month; and from a trustworthy chief of the Sakia nation who came down three days ago from Prairie du Chien it was learned that on the twenty-fifth of the same month everything was quiet in that neighborhood. On the fifteenth of March an inhabitant of San Fernando left here charged with finding out what was going on in Detroit; he was arrested by the commandant of the post of Vincennes, who was deceived by the rumors which were circulating there of a break on our part with the United States, but when the falsity of these rumors was learned he was released, and has gone on to his first destination. It is already known to you that a commission was given to Cerré, Jr., to go up the Ohio, a step which it appears now might have been omitted, but which will never be wasted, if one keeps in mind how important it is to learn in time and with certainty what may have been determined by Congress in the extraordinary meeting which was to begin on the fifteenth day of May. The rumor is growing that this meeting is deferred until the twentieth of the present month. Finally, the destination to Michilimackinac, and if possible to Montreal, of Cerré, Sr., who is experienced in those countries and versed in the language of their savages, has been calculated so that he may be in the first named post some time this month, which is the season that the traders from Canada gather there in order to start on their trading expeditions with the various Indian nations of that immense territory, includ-

⁶⁷ Lieutenant Governor.

ing those situated on the upper part of this river. Also, a careful inquiry is being made into the object of the collars which, as I inform Your Lordship in a separate official letter, are being passed about among the Indians of the Missouri River. Yesterday there arrived here from the Osages — after a residence among them of two years — Lieutenant of Militia Don Pedro Montardy, who had not seen in that nation any attempt on the part of the British to cause commotions among those Indians. Montardy added that the relatives of the two Indians who are prisoners here, for the reasons that Your Lordship knows, showed that they were much disturbed, and anxious to know what would be the fate of their compatriots, although they admitted at the same time that they deserved death.

In respect to the third point of the aforesaid letter from the Minister, nothing occurs to me to say about its contents, except that I have received Don Nicolás Finiels with all the attention due to the high recommendation that he brings; but I have excused myself, politely but firmly, from employing him or giving him any knowledge of the plan of provisional works drawn up by Don Luis Van den Benden⁶⁸ until I receive an explicit order from Your Lordship to that end, telling him at the same time that he might in the interim count upon the hundred pesos monthly that the Minister has assigned to him. I do not doubt that this person will be a good engineer, but I understand that he has devoted himself more particularly to the branch of artillery; it seems that he left a wife and mother-in-law in New Madrid.

In regard to the fourth point, it does not pertain to me to give an opinion, but, in truth, the perspicacity and talent

⁶⁸ Louis Van den Benden was a Dutch engineer appointed by Governor General Carondelet to erect fortifications at St. Louis. Some material concerning De Finiels and Van den Benden can be gleaned from Houck's *History of Missouri* and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*.

of General Collot⁶⁹ must be very extraordinary, if he could acquire a *perfect* knowledge of this country in the short space of two and a half days that he remained in it, without having in that time done anything more than go and come by a direct road to San Carlos on the Missouri, accompanied by the rector Don Pedro José Didier, and going one afternoon to the arroyo distant about half a mile from here, on which Your Lordship ordered that a dam should be built. Nor did he, I am very sure, set foot inside the fort of San Luis, or travel to the north of the town where the stone bastion is situated.

The fifth point simply treats of Finiels as the bearer of the papers.

What the Minister says in his sixth point in regard to having chartered a ship in order to inform the Captain-General of Cuba of everything is another eminent mark of his zeal and efficacy; it is only to be desired that these qualities may produce the effect of causing the money and troops to be sent which it is very evident are needed in the present straitened circumstances of the province.

The Minister concludes by telling me that Mr. Finiels brings his instructions, which are reduced to what Your Lordship will see in the accompanying copy of the original.

After reflecting well upon everything, I have determined that Don Luis Van den Benden shall continue the works already begun until he receives further orders from Your Lordship, for I do not think myself authorized to obey any others whatever, no matter how well attested they may be.

God keep Your Lordship many years. St. Louis de Illinois, June 7, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric)

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

⁶⁹ On Victor Collot see his *Journey in North America* (Paris, 1826 — reprint in English translation, Firenze, 1924); Turner's *Policy of France toward the*

DOCUMENT VIII

LETTER FROM HOWARD TO CARONDELET

JUNE 14, 1797

I talked this morning with the chiefs of the Sakias, Renard [Fox], and Puant nations who arrived here three days ago accompanied by citizen Taisson Honoré,⁷⁰ who left Prairie du Chien on the twenty-third of the month just passed, at which time there was no evidence in that district of any gathering of savages or English for any expedition whatever; but a Mr. Dixon, who was about to depart for Michilimackinac on the thirteenth of the same month, told Honoré that he was expecting to meet on the way a pirogue carrying a mixed party of English and Americans who intended to settle the boundaries of the two nations on the Colorado River⁷¹ which flows much farther up than the falls of San Antonio⁷² towards the head of the Mississippi. Honoré also informed me that the Saquias and Renards of the Ayouwas⁷³ River had arrested there at his request some pirogues belonging to Galaspie and Crauford,⁷⁴ Englishmen by nation, although they pretended to be Americans. (They are the same men who committed the outrages of last year on the Moingona⁷⁵ River, that Your Lordship mentioned in your letter of February 14, last.)

Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams in The American Historical Review, Vol. X, pp. 249 et seq.; Turner's Documents on the Blount Conspiracy in The American Historical Review, Vol. X, pp. 574 et seq.; Gayarré's History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination; and Houck's Spanish Régime in Missouri and Houck's History of Missouri.

⁷⁰ Louis Tesson Honoré or Honoré Tesson. For information concerning Tesson see note 41 above.

⁷¹ Red River of the North (?).

⁷² St. Anthony Falls.

⁷³ The Iowa Indians.

⁷⁴ Gillespie and Crawford, see note 63.

⁷⁵ Des Moines River. — See Honoré's letter to the Governor of Michilimackinac, Document V.

Having learned of his forbidding pirogues in the Ayouwas River,⁷⁶ these Englishmen arrested Honoré when he arrived at Prairie du Chien where they were and held him prisoner for three days until they forced him to send some one to tell the savages to let the canoes go, leaving as hostages for its fulfillment some friends that the prisoner had at Prairie du Chien, where there is a settlement of some twenty families, mostly creoles from Canada, partisans of the English, and some others who came here before the present and are still in favor of the Spaniards, together with a very few Americans, but there is no commandant, magistrate, or government whatsoever.

It seems that the said Galaspie and Crawford, after committing the outrages (of which they were guilty) on the Moingona,⁷⁷ tried to pull down the Spanish flag (a cross of Burgundy), which the Saquias and Renard Indians had put up there.

The savages of this last nation who have three villages in the vicinity of the River Aux Indes,⁷⁸ having learned of the imprisonment of Honoré at Prairie [du Chien] went up by our river until they arrived opposite it. From there they sent some of their men to demand his liberty, threatening in case it was denied to attack not only those settlers, but also seventy-two Sioux savages who had come at the summons of the above-mentioned Englishmen. The Sioux, convinced by the Renard of the evil of mixing in the affairs of white men, withdrew at once.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ The Iowa River.

⁷⁷ The Des Moines River.

⁷⁸ The word "Indes" is written over in the original. Iowa might possibly have been meant.

⁷⁹ For the English side of this story see Thomas Duggan's letter to Joseph Chew, St. Joseph, July 9, 1797, in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 457; and the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 523.

Honoré asserts that when he came away he left Mr. Julien Mombuc,⁸⁰ who lives opposite Prairie du Chien (and is the same person to whom Your Lordship recently granted a section of land), charged with the care of being on the lookout and giving immediate information here of the slightest movement on the part of the English or the Indians.

Honoré also informed me that the last of this month or the beginning of the next Galaspie and Crawford propose to send another load of goods on [to] the Moingona River.⁸¹ In order to seize these men and the aforesaid two Englishmen, I intend to send Juan Bautista Metzenger⁸² in the galliot, *Activa*, mounted with a four pound cannon (cañones de a quatro), four swivel-guns (pedreros), and six small guns (canons esmerillas) to relieve Molina. There should accompany him a corporal and six or eight picked soldiers and also the said Honoré, the latter with a view to persuading the Sakias and the Renards of the Ayouwas River⁸³ to attack by land and the galliot by water, some twenty men, whom, I am informed, the said Englishmen have paid to protect their commerce on the Moingona River.⁸⁴

Without doubt it was with good intentions that Honoré wrote to the Governor of Michilimackinac the letter, of which I enclose⁸⁵ a copy for Your Lordship, but the confusion with which it is written and the failure to make visible the character of the writer (and the fact that the writer

⁸⁰ Probably Julien Dubuque.

⁸¹ The Des Moines River.

⁸² Concerning Metzenger see Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 130. He had charge of a galley.

⁸³ The Iowa River.

⁸⁴ The Des Moines River.

⁸⁵ Document V above.

lacks an obvious position), will doubtless cause him to be despised [scorned]. Your Lordship will please inform me whether I should write about the matter to the said Governor or to the Commandant-General of the Northwest Territory.

Don Manuel Garcia⁸⁶ is in charge of a calumet and a pipe of war for Your Lordship, which was given me by the Renard chief after I had the honor of smoking both in the name of Your Lordship.

Yesterday I received a letter under date of the tenth of the present month from our confidential agent on the Illinois River. At that time there was no news there nor on the Aux Sables River.⁸⁷

May God keep you for many years. St. Louis de Illinois, June 14, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric)

To the Baron de Carondelet.

DOCUMENT IX

LETTER FROM CARLOS HOWARD TO CARONDELET

JUNE 18, 1797

I am enclosing for Your Lordship a copy, translated into French, of the message in writing⁸⁸ which was sent on the twenty-ninth of last month in English by the commander of Fort Knox to the Sakias Indians, whose names are written at the head of the speech. The one called "El Ladron" [the Thief] and crafty enough, was sent last March by Don Zenon Trudeau in company with the two

⁸⁶ Manuel Garcia was *comandante* of the galera. — Draft of a letter from Carondelet (?) to Howard, New Orleans, April 27, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

⁸⁷ There is an Au Sable River in Michigan. — See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, p. 101, Vol. XIII, p. 172, Vol. XVI, p. 120, Vol. XVII, pp. 276, 484, Vol. XX, pp. 48, 50; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 294.

⁸⁸ See Document VI.

chiefs for the purpose of getting information of what was going on in the neighborhood of Fort Detroit. They returned here yesterday and they reported that the Poux [Potawatomi] nation, located near Detroit, were the bearers of collars to the other nearby Indian nations together with the report that the French had entered Canada. In view of this news the great council of the said nations sent a general order to all charging them not to give ear to the English henceforth. One of the companions of El Ladron added that he was entrusted with another speech of the same council inciting the nations on this side of the Mississippi to make war against the Osages.

You will give to what I have set forth the weight that your superior wisdom dictates, but in my humble understanding savages in general are little to be trusted and the above-mentioned two chiefs in particular, since they deny having received any help at Fort Knox and it is clear from the written word of the commander that he gave them clothes, arms, and ammunition.

The answer, that I gave these savages and all I have talked with up to the present, was aimed and will be aimed, until I receive new orders from you, to fix in their minds that the English, taken as friends or enemies, are false; that a few days ago they deceived the Spaniards and the French in a way that caused the two nations to quarrel, but that afterwards, informed of the deceit of the English, they recognized their error and quickly devoted themselves to returning to their old friendship, which is now stronger than ever so that the two nations form a single family; that the English are trying in the same way to deceive the Americans at present, but that although the latter start out according to their purpose they will not be long in undeceiving themselves and the best course that the savages can adopt in the meantime will be to keep quietly at home

and at their hunting and not allow either armed English [men] or Americans to pass through their land, since in the end they would treat them as they have treated the other nations, using towards them in the beginning flattering words, fine promises and perhaps even a few gifts. I ended my speeches by charging them to bring prompt information here of any assemblies whatever of the English or Americans against their old and true friends, the Spaniards, who have never coveted their land and never will covet it and who never allow any red men to leave their presence with their hands empty.

My messages are always by word of mouth since I do not feel authorized to give them in writing.

May God keep you for many years. St. Louis de Illinois, June 18, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric)

To the Baron de Carondelet.

DOCUMENT X

LETTER FROM GABRIEL CERRÉ TO [TRUDEAU]⁸⁹

JUNE 18, 1797

Chicagou, June 18, 1797

Sir:

I take advantage of the opportunity of a young Pouteatami⁹⁰ Indian brave who is going to visit you. He is considered a chief. He came to receive me with a Spanish flag. I could not help giving him a small gift of tobacco, having nothing else. He asked me if he went to Illinois if you would give him some powder. I answered him that he might go there if he wished and that I thought you would receive him as one of your children. Moreover since he has always behaved well, I recommend him to you. There have

⁸⁹ This letter was unaddressed but was presumably to Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau. This letter was enclosed in the one from Howard to Carondelet, June 27, 1797, Document XI.

⁹⁰ Potawatomi.

arrived here two canoes coming from Montreal, which left the fourth of May, and which report that the militia has been ordered to hold itself in readiness in case of need and one of them thinks it is to go to Quebec. Since a fleet of twenty-seven vessels appeared last autumn in the gulf they think that they will return this spring to besiege Quebec. It seems that Canada is at peace at present. Fifteen canoes have come from Montreal to McKinac.⁹¹ There is no reason to suppose that many others will not come also. This news was given me by boatmen who gave no further details. My respects to Mr. Howard.⁹² Please assure Madame Zenon of my regards.⁹³ I am, sir, most respectfully your very humble and obedient servant.

Cerré (rubric).⁹⁴

DOCUMENT XI

LETTER FROM CARLOS HOWARD TO CARONDELET

JUNE 27, 1797

Yesterday I received here the enclosed original letter from Don Gabriel Cerré.⁹⁵ It seems that the Chicagou River is situated at least a hundred and fifty leagues from here, above the head of the Illinois River, communication from one another being by [way of a] portage, the former emptying into Lake Michigan. This letter, written by an honorable man and one well versed in the language of these Indians, adds a great deal of force to the previous reports that I have sent you on the subject of there being no evidences that the English intend to trouble this country. This confirms me more and more in my determination to follow the Americans under the conditions that I made

⁹¹ Michilimackinac.

⁹² Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard.

⁹³ Madame Zenon Trudeau, wife of the Lieutenant Governor.

⁹⁴ On Cerré see Document II.

⁹⁵ Document X.

clear to you in the letter of the twenty-fifth of the present month.

I do not acquaint you with what the commandant of Nueva Madrid told me on the twenty-first of the present month since he informed me that he had told Your Lordship of the assembling of Americans at Fort Massiac and farther up on the Ohio. It seems probable that Colonel Butler and the people, who, it is said, have come with him by the Cherikie River, have done so with a view to settle, together with the fifteen hundred men that they think are assembled near Natcheville, in Cumberland County. As a matter of fact, everything is problematical except the assembling of people in Fort Massiac. Within two weeks at the latest we shall know the true object of this meeting.

May God keep you for many years. St. Louis de Illinois, June 27, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric).

To the Baron de Carondelet.⁹⁶

DOCUMENT XII

LETTER FROM ISAAC TODD TO TRUDEAU⁹⁷

Michilimacka: 27th June 1797

Sir:

The unfortunate death of my nephew Andrew Todd⁹⁸ has

⁹⁶ The draft of Carondelet's reply is as follows:

"He leido el Oficio de Vm. de 27 de Junio en que me incluye la carta de Da Gabriel Cerre que en efecto confirma la noticia de que los Yngleses no parece intentan por ahora molestar esos establicimientos, y nada tengo que prevenir a Vm. sobre el particular, ni sobre las noticias del Comandante de Nuevo Madrid confiado en que Vm. obrará conforme a las circunstancias, y siempre promoviendo el mejor servicio del Rey". — Draft of a letter from Carondelet (?) to Carlos Howard, New Orleans, July 17, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

⁹⁷ Enclosed in a letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, July 21, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document XIII below. This is written in English, but a Spanish translation is enclosed in Trudeau's letter.

⁹⁸ Andrew Todd was a British subject and merchant, who turned to Spanish Louisiana and became a Spanish subject when the fulfillment of the pro-

called me to this Post to attend to his concerns. Mr. Swan⁹⁹ & my Grand Nephew Mr. Merry¹⁰⁰ is very sensible of your kind & polite attention to them at St. Louis for which I beg leave to return you my best thanks, also for a letter you was so kind to write Mr. Swan the 27th April on his leaving S'Louis wherein you say there is no change in the commerce & exclusive privileges granted my late Nephew by Government in Louisiana, among which was the river de Moin. Mess^r: Mongrain & C^o. who wintred there could not benefit by the exclusive privileges Granted them as other Traders came thru to Trade and occasioned difficultys with the Indians, so that Mess^r. Mongrain & C^o did not bring out of the River Peltry sufficient to pay within 30,000 Livres of their outfitt — as I believe this Year no Traders from hence will attempt going to that River without your permission and as I trust the Trade of this River will this year — be continued to my Nephews Representatives for the benefit of his Estate, I intend soon to send my Grand Nephew to S'Louis in order to arrange this bussiness and obtain your permission & orders as I propose that he will winter in the River de Moin, by him I will have the honor of writing you and sending you some Tea & other things that may be acceptable at S'Louis.

visions of Jay's Treaty threatened his business. — Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 180, 254, 255; Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 330, 331; Stevens's *The Northwest Fur Trade* (Urbana, 1928), pp. 114.

⁹⁹ James Swan was Isaac Todd's agent at Michilimackinac. — Quaife's *John Askin Papers* (Detroit, 1928), Vol. I, p. 375.

¹⁰⁰ Mr. Merry, nephew of Andrew Todd, arrived in St. Louis before August 30th for on that day Trudeau advised Howard of the arrival of Mr. Merry. — Draft of a letter from Carondelet (?) to Trudeau, New Orleans, October 17, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131. The whole letter is as follows:

“Por Carta 30 de Agosto, avisa Vm. al Teniente Coronel Dn Carlos Howard el arrivo a esa de Mr Merry sobrino del difunto Dn Andres Todd, la inquietud del Canada y la construccion en Tesselon sobre el Lago Ontario (Huron?) de un fuerte por los Yngleses; y finalmente de la fidelidad con que se portan los Yndios del alto Misisipi, no permitiendo se introduzca alguno contra nuestros

I was at New York this Spring and sent from thence a Gentleman to New Orleans to attend to my Nephews Interest there and to assist Mr. Clark¹⁰¹ & Doct^r: Don His Executors there. I took the Liberty of writing his Excellency the Baron de Carondelet representing that as it was under his Auspices and his particular incouragement & protection that our Nephew embarked so largely in Business in Louisiane and was Naturalized a Spanish Subject, I had no doubt that his Excell^o would continue the same protection to his Representatives, the property my Nephew had at New Orleans, (independent of what is owing for Goods Taken from this Post) exceded £40,000 pounds Sterling, and to support my Nephews Credit in this business I became his Security. —

I have the honor to be with Respect Sir

Your much obliged Debt Sir

Isaac Todd¹⁰² (rubric)

Zenon Trudeau Esquire.

DOCUMENT XIII

LETTER FROM TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

JULY 21, 1797

No. 191.

I herewith enclose to Your Excellency a letter written in English¹⁰³ (and its translation) which was written to me by Don Isaac Todd, uncle of Don Andres Todd, who passed away in New Orleans.¹⁰⁴ Your Excellency, with his Majes-

Establicimientos; conviene mantenerlos en estas buenas dispositiones a Vm. las pocas facultades y fuerzas con que se halla.”

¹⁰¹ Daniel Clark was a merchant in New Orleans with whom the merchants of St. Louis dealt.

¹⁰² Isaac Todd of Todd, McGill and Company. There are many references to this company in Davidson's *North West Company* (Berkeley, 1918); Quaipe's *John Askin Papers*; Stevens's *Northwest Fur Trade*; the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*; etc.

¹⁰³ The preceding document.

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Todd died from an attack of yellow fever in the fall of 1796.

ty's approval, had conceded to him the exclusive trade with the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, including the rivers of the western shore above the Missouri.¹⁰⁵ It appears that this merchant, upon the advices which I have received from Mr. Swan,¹⁰⁶ representative of the deceased, was under instructions from Your Excellency to make no variations in the trade but rather to facilitate it, and that he has the intention of sending a nephew¹⁰⁷ of the aforementioned deceased, who has already been in St. Louis, to continue the management and government of the said interests.

It would appear to me that in order to carry out the ideas of Your Excellency, I should offer no support to his pretension[s], but as it is my wish to be governed in accordance with present conditions, which every moment change in aspect, I place before Your Excellency that which occurs to me, so that you may prescribe to me whatever new instructions there may be bearing on the matter.

¹⁰⁵ See the letter from Todd to Carondelet, New Orleans, December 18, 1796, Annex no. 6 to Carondelet's letter no. 65, *reservado*, to El Principe de la Paz New Orleans, January 8, 1796, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Seccion, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. This may also be found in Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-24. A draft of this letter, written in English, may be found in the same depository, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2364. See also the letter from Todd to Carondelet, New Orleans, December 21, 1795, and Carondelet's remarks in the margin, Annex no. 1 to Carondelet's letter no. 65, *reservado*, to El Principe de La Paz, New Orleans, January 8, 1796, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Seccion, in Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. The letter referred to may also be found in the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129, and in Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-24. See also Carondelet's letters numbers 65 and 66, *reservado*, both dated New Orleans, January 8, 1796, in Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Seccion, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. The official decree of the Consejo de Estado is in Minuta del Acta del Supremo Consejo de Estado, for May 27, 1796, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

¹⁰⁶ Swan went to St. Louis in 1798 to attempt to recover for Todd payment of debts owing by the firm of Clamorgan, Loisel and Company. — Quaipe's *John Askin Papers*, Vol. I, p. 375. Swan, however, was unsuccessful in this undertaking.

¹⁰⁷ Mr. Merry. See the preceding document.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years. St. Louis, July 21, 1797.

Zenon Trudeau (rubric)

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

DOCUMENT XIV

LETTER FROM TRUDEAU TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

MARCH 16, 1798

No. 319.

I have received information that in the first part of next month there are to assemble at Prairie du Chien, on the upper part of the Mississippi, some three thousand men, Indians and white traders from Michilimackinac. It seems that the reason is that these traders have undertaken to make peace between the Sioux and Sauteux nations, who have not had it for some years among themselves, to the detriment of commerce. I do not think that the government of Canada nor that of Michilimackinac have any part in the purpose of those merchants, who are themselves alone seeking good harmony among all the Indians for the betterment of trade.

The assembling of so many people on a river which can facilitate their coming down to St. Louis in less than eight days, and the bad inclination of the traders, who might influence the Indians to make another such invasion as that which they made in the year 1780,¹⁰⁸ has induced me to commission the galley called *La Flecha*¹⁰⁹ to go up the river, to

¹⁰⁸ For an account of the attack upon St. Louis on May 26, 1780, see Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783* in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, October, 1928.

¹⁰⁹ The galeota *La Flecha* was a small gun-boat which in 1794 was commanded by Francois Langlois. — Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 87, 93. In the trip here referred to, which was undertaken in 1798, it was commanded by Bernardo Molina. — See Cailhol's *Diary*, Document XV. See also Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 142, 343, and *Diary of His Majesty's Galleot, La Fleche*, January 5-March 25, 1793, commanded by Pedro Rousseau, in Papeles de Cuba and also (unsigned) in the Bancroft Library. In

keep guard as well as to inquire what is happening and report on it. I have also established a detachment of voluntary militia opposite the mouth of the Illinois River. This detachment will be without pay, but I could do no less than furnish them with the rations which they consume.

They will be maintained as has been done since the beginning of the war, confiding in the Saquias and Puteatamia¹¹⁰ nations. Since these are the most numerous and influential over the others, it is necessary to observe their inclinations and movements, and the reports and communications which they hold with the English and Americans. I am endeavoring on the other hand to treat these same nations with the greatest attention possible, without having, up to now, increased the customary annual present, except for some powder, for the scarcity of this in the trade has not permitted me to economize on it. I hope Your Lordship will approve of this, in view of the circumstances.

God keep Your Lordship many years. St. Louis, March 16, 1798.

Zenon Trudeau

Señor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

DOCUMENT XV

Journal¹¹¹ of the Trip made by me, Francois Cailhol,¹¹²

1794 it was also under the orders of Domingo Bouligney. — Letter from Carondelet to Luis de Las Casas, New Orleans, March 20, 1794, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1896, Vol. I, pp. 1049-1051. In 1799 it was commanded by Santiago de St. Vrain. — Letter from St. Vrain to De Lassus, St. Louis, November 17, 1799, in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. VI, p. 806.

¹¹⁰ Potawatomi.

¹¹¹ This *Journal* is horribly penned. It is probably the worst written of all the documents written in French in the Louisiana Collection in the Baneroff Library. Cailhol's grammar and spelling are so poor that his statements are necessarily obscure. It is not always easy to figure out whom he means when he says "he" or "they", or what he means when he says "it".

¹¹² The editor has been able to discover but very little information concerning the writer of this *Journal*. He is mentioned in Houck's *History of Mis-*

Interpreter and Experienced Pilot on board His Majesty's [ship] *La Fleche*, Commanded by Don Bernardo Molina,¹¹³ which left St. Louis des Illinois on March 22, 1798 to go to Prairie du Chien.

[March]

25

On this day a pirogue loaded with furs and belonging to M. St Cirre¹¹⁴ a merchant of St. Louis, passed us. They had the passport of M. Jeneau and said that they were coming from the vicinity (perq.) of the Illinois River in the district of the United States.

April

8

On this day we met Louis Honnoest, Father and Son,¹¹⁵ as well as old Dorrien¹¹⁶ and his nephew Collte, Denis

souri, Vol. II, pp. 53, 63. His claim for two thousand acres of land nearly opposite Prairie du Chien was rejected by the United States.—*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 364. He was "patron" of Andrew Todd's bercha [small boat] called *El Success* in 1796.—Draft of a letter from Zenon Trudeau, New Orleans, November 8, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 261.

¹¹³ Bernardo Molina was commander of His Majesty's galliots. He had been patrolling the Mississippi.—Letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, Document XIV. See also Houck's *History of Missouri* and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*. In 1797, Molina commanded the *Victoria*.

¹¹⁴ St. Cyr. See Billon's *Annals of St. Louis under French and Spanish Domination*, p. 456.

¹¹⁵ Louis Honoré, Jr., and Sr. See note 41 above and Billon's *Annals of St. Louis under French and Spanish Domination*, pp. 422, 423.

¹¹⁶ Pierre Dorion is mentioned in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 370, 502. He probably is the same Dorion who acted as an interpreter for Lewis and Clark.—See the many references to Dorion in Thwaites's *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, consult index.

There was a Dorion who was a trader in Iowa. See his two letters written from Rapide du Moin, August 4 and 18, 1799, manuscripts in possession of the Missouri Historical Society, Pierre Chouteau Collection.

Julien and La Liberté, a prisoner, on their bark canoe loaded with furs. The Sac Indian (Le Sac), with Louis Honnoest, and the Sioux aroused by Dorrior with a thousand lies to tell the Commandant of St. Louis, all of them drunk, told us a thousand wild tales. Louis Honnoest even told me to beg the commandant to wait until tomorrow morning to tell him the news because they were all too drunk. Three hours after midnight the commandant sent me to awaken him to find out whether the Indians were saying the same thing as the day before. All the Sac and Sioux state that it is [was] Louis Honnoest and Dorrior who caused them to tell that story.

[April]

9

When we arrived at the river of the Ayvoa [Iowa] at seven o'clock in the morning [we saw] a bark canoe coming out from that river. When they saw our flag they ran away. The commandant [observing them] told me to call them [but] they kept on running away. They were obliged to shoot at it [canoe] because of its contempt for our flag. Old Marchesseau¹¹⁷ undertook to row after them and they were glad because they did not listen to him. The Commandant asked him for his passport and he said that he had forgotten it. The Commandant let him go because two soldiers and I knew him; he asked him why he had run away, and he answered that he had done so because of the bad news that Louis Honnoest had caused to be circulated. The commandant asked him what the news was and he replied that three galleys were coming and that he did not

¹¹⁷ There are several references to Marchesseau in Perrault's *Narrative of Travels and Adventures, 1783-1830*, in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXVII; Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. cxlvii, 183; and also in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vols. X, XI, XX, XXIII.

know whether it was for war or peace. The same day all the merchants from the other side in the district of the United States appeared before the Commandant with their passports. "My Spanish Commandant, we are well pleased at your arrival, because now we may find out whether we are at war or at peace. Louis Honnorest has aroused our spirit by inciting the nations [Indians] to pillage us. Then the Commandant said to them, "Why don't you give me your statements in writing so that I may send them to the Commandant at St Louis and let him settle this whole affair".

[April]

13

At the said Iowa River there appeared ten Sac and Renard Chiefs. They requested that a council be held. "My father, what are we to make of our St. Louis Father's sending us Louis Honnorest to bring dissension among us? He has promised us many things and we don't believe him. He has converted three Indians of the Sac nation, all great drunkards like himself, and for the purpose of making them tell stories like the ones he made us believe".

May

1

Some merchants and inhabitants presented themselves with all possible courtesy and showed their passports from the United States. With great respect they offered their services to do everything that might be within their power, since the province of the United States and Spain acted as one (or were but one)"; and the arrival of His Majesty's [ship] *LaFleche*, commanded by Don Bernardo Molina has flattered us greatly, and has displaced by peace and tranquility the troubles created by the above-mentioned Louis Honnorest.

[May]

3

On this day twelve Sioux Chiefs appeared and begged me to tell the commandant to listen to them, saying, "My Spanish Father, we hear about what Louis Honnorest is doing, then today we see the exact opposite. We say that three galleys are coming to destroy us utterly. We beg you, My Father, to urge the Commandant-General to prevent men with characters like Louis Honnorest's from going [coming] here and worrying us, because we were very much disturbed, and scared to death but now, at present, we are at rest because of your arrival. Our Father, we say to you that our Great Chief died two years ago and (that) we have been living like children who are without a father to guide them always on the good road of our Spanish Father, just as in the Province of the United States.

[May]

7

The Sioux Chief asked the commandant to hold a council with the Faulle-Avoines and Renards because of the differences that existed among them. Monsieur le Commandant reestablished peace and tranquility among them through his speech to them when he gathered them together.

I take oath before God and on the Cross that this Journal is correct and truthful in everything that is stated above. Done on board His Majesty's [ship] La Fleche, this twenty-sixth [or twentieth?] day of May, 1798, Francois Cailhol (rubric), interpreter for the King.

[May]

27

Today there arrived seven Indians from the Sac Nation who said that there had arrived at St. Louis twenty Sau-teux [Chippewa] on their way to war in the lower part of

the Mississippi, and as there are Sioux there the Commandant had his men arm themselves and made them cross for fear that they would [be] scared to death.¹¹⁸

Francois Cailhol
(rubric)

[May]

28

Today there appeared the Sac Chief (Le Cef Sac) to hold a council to thank the Commandant for the peace that now existed in [or he restored to] the Upper Mississippi among the other Indian nations.

Francois Cailhol (rubric)

[May]

29

Today they summoned us into council and informed us that they were very much surprised at seeing so brave a commandant (and one who with) so few resources [men] had defied all the savage nations without fear and who had quieted them all.

Francois Cailhol (rubric)

DOCUMENT XVI

No. 12

By the last information which has come to my knowledge from the Ohio I have learned certainly that galleys are being constructed at Pittsburgh; that two have been launched and seven more are being built, and that for this purpose a number of carpenters have been brought from Philadelphia. The gazettes always speak of the disturbances between the French and the United States, which, it seems, are preparing for war, which is regarded as inevitable.

¹¹⁸ "Est comme ilia yont Des la nations Sioux ets poura Sors Le Commandant a faite prandre Les Arme est ille a fait Traverser par la peur que le commandant avoit quil nenfasse Dans Ce Cullote."

I do not expect any news from Canada until the 15th of the coming month. The Indians are restless, and visit me frequently under the pretext of having news. They say they are always being influenced against us. The spy whom I have on the Yllinois River writes the same thing to me. I enclose his letter, as well as one from Don Luis Lorimier, with a resumé of the speech of the commander of the post of Vincennes, whose discourse has been repeated to me by the Loup Indians in the same terms.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

San Luis, July 12, 1798.

Zenon Trudeau (rubric)

Señor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.