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SPAIN IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1765-1794

EDITED BY

LAWRENCE KINNAIRD

(PT. I)

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, 1765-1781



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SPAIN IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1765-94
TRANSLATIONS OF MATERIALS
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PART I: THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, 1765-81

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTIONS
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FOREWORD

The Louisiana papers of Bancroft Library, University of California, supplied the incentive and material for the beginning of this work. The collection, which is composed of more than 900 original manuscripts and rare pamphlets, was obtained by Hubert Howe Bancroft from Alphonse Pinart, who had acquired it in Havana during the early 1880's. All the documents had come originally from the Spanish governmental files of Louisiana and West Florida, and cover the period 1764 to 1809. Of the many types of correspondence represented, that of the governors and lieutenant governors is the most extensive. As a whole, the manuscripts have an excellent distribution with reference to time, place, and event. A frontier atmosphere pervades much of the collection since many of the letters and reports were written by commandants of remote posts, traders, Indian agents, squaw-men, and half-breeds. Even the Indians themselves, through interpreters, made their contributions to the historical documentation of the period. Untutored men of the border often made up in picturesque expression and unvarnished statement for what they lacked in grammar and literary style. Manuscripts in Spanish, French, and English reflect the trilingual character of the correspondence.

In final organization the present work was limited to a period of thirty years, 1765 to 1794. It developed in two phases. First, all the Louisiana manuscripts were transcribed, translated, and prepared for publication. Later, selected documents were added from Bancroft Library's rich collection of transcripts and photographic reproductions of Spanish archival materials in order to present a more complete documentary history.

The resulting three volumes begin with the appointment of Antonio de Ulloa as first governor of Louisiana and end with the decline of Carondelet's Indian confederacy after Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers. From an administrative standpoint the collection belongs to the governorships of Ulloa, O'Reilly, Unzaga, Gálvez, Miró, and the first half of that of Carondelet. Geographically it pertains to the Mississippi Valley and adjacent Spanish and Indian territory to the east. Topically the documents cover such diverse subjects as insurrection, war, defense problems, finance, colonization, religious matters, commerce, agriculture, Indian affairs, and international rivalry.

Beginning with the period of the Revolutionary War, American activities in the West are extensively represented in the collection. Emigrants from the United States eventually became Spain's most aggressive Mississippi Valley colonists. The advance of the Amer-

ican frontier was of major importance to the two nations, and a corollary was the accumulation in Spanish archives of a great store of pertinent historical documents from both sides of the border. The brief collection presented here is representative in that it includes letters signed by such noteworthy Americans as Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, John Hancock, Oliver Pollock, Benjamin Franklin, and James Robertson. Documents are the life-blood of history, and Spain in the Mississippi Valley unwittingly performed a significant service by preserving materials which give vitality to the study of the American westward movement.

In translation an attempt has been made to follow the styles of the writers of the manuscripts in so far as clarity permitted. A polished literary rendering of a document written originally in ungrammatical French or Spanish would be a distortion of expression. English documents are reproduced with no editorial changes and offer a fairly accurate parallel in style and form to those written in Spanish and French. While a few of the documents included here have previously been published, in most cases they appeared in historical periodicals or works now out of print. An extensive group of original Louisiana manuscripts translated and published by Professor Herbert E. Bolton in his work, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, has been omitted.

Many persons were involved in the preparation of this collection, and, for their assistance, the editor makes grateful acknowledgment. Professor Bolton, director of Bancroft Library, originally suggested the project and has given it strong support at all times. Without the friendly interest of the late Sidney Hellman Ehrman the work might never have been undertaken. Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, the West's greatest patron of historical study, generously contributed funds. Linguistic experts employed were Dr. Beatrice Quijada Cornish, Dr. Gwendolin B. Cobb and the late Nellie van de Grift Sánchez for Spanish, and Dr. Theodore R. Bowie for French. For the second phase of the work the University of California Institute of Social Sciences gave financial assistance by means of research grants. A special word of appreciation is expressed to Professor John D. Hicks. Mrs. Eleanor Bancroft and the other members of Bancroft Library staff have been most co-operative at all times. Dr. Lucia Burk Kinnaird has been the editor's principal adviser and assistant during the entire work.

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INTRODUCTION

Spain occupied her colony of Louisiana reluctantly. After France ceded the province in November 1762, it was not until May 21, 1765, that His Catholic Majesty appointed Antonio de Ulloa, captain of the royal navy, as first governor and captain general. The king specified that no drastic change in administrative procedure should occur and that the colony should be placed under the direction of the Ministry of State rather than the Ministry of the Indies.¹ A ship was sent from Spain to meet Ulloa at Havana and convey him and his small retinue to the new province.²

Ulloa arrived at New Orleans on March 5, 1766, with a force of about ninety men.³ Effective occupation depended upon a plan to induce French troops stationed in Louisiana to enlist in Spanish service. Difficulties developed immediately. French soldiers were unwilling to re-enlist at their former pay because it was less than that received by Spanish troops. Ulloa wrote to Grimaldi, the minister of state, recommending that the French soldiers be paid at the Spanish rate.⁴ Although the recommendation was approved, it was not effective in obtaining the desired enlistments.⁵

Until his military forces could be augmented, Ulloa decided that it would be impossible to take formal possession of the province. A temporary expedient was adopted under which Aubry, the French governor and military commander, would govern as Ulloa's agent while colonial expense would be assumed by Spain.⁶ An important factor in this decision was the hostile attitude of the New Orleans merchants. A few days after Ulloa's arrival, these merchants presented a demand that he announce the conditions under which he intended to take possession of the colony. Furthermore, he was asked to state specifically whether trade between Louisiana and France was to continue as before and whether the colony would be free to trade with the ports of Spanish America. The demand was so truculent in tone that Aubry advised Ulloa to temporize. Investigation later proved that Lafrenière, the attorney general of the Superior Council, and Foucault, the intendant, had encouraged the malcontents to sub-

¹ See below, p. 1. The diplomacy of the cession of Louisiana by France to Spain has been extensively treated in the following: William R. Shepherd, "The Cession of Louisiana to Spain," *Political Science Quarterly*, XIX (1904), 439-458; Arthur S. Aiton, "The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession," *American Historical Review*, XXXVI (1931), 701-720; E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1934), 13-35.

² See below, p. 2.

³ Vicente Rodríguez Casado, *Primeros Años de Dominación Española en la Luisiana* (Madrid, 1942), 100-101; Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (4 vols., ed. 4, New Orleans, 1903), II, 131.

⁴ See below, p. 5.

⁵ See below, p. 13.

⁶ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, II, 166-167.

mit their demands. The merchants, having enjoyed a measure of freedom from commercial regulation during the interval between active French control and Spanish occupation, were determined not to relinquish it. The opposition, which resulted in Ulloa's expulsion two and one half years later, was clearly in evidence at the time of his arrival.⁷

Meagerness of Ulloa's forces and his refusal to present his instructions to the Superior Council fostered the prevalent belief that the cession of Louisiana had been merely a political maneuver between the courts of France and Spain and was not intended to be permanent.⁸ In the face of strong resistance to Spanish control, the governor could do little more than avoid clashes which might result in open rebellion and to await the arrival of additional Spanish troops. Consequently, during the first year and a half of his administration, he spent scarcely a third of his time at the capital.

Soon after his initial trouble with the merchants, Ulloa departed upon an inspection of the settlements and did not return to New Orleans until May 17, 1766.⁹ He was cordially received in the outlying districts and went as far as Natchitoches on the Red River.¹⁰ After the governor returned to New Orleans, other difficulties arose when he removed supervision of the slave trade from the Superior Council and entrusted it to a board of his own selection.¹¹ The situation became critical on September 6 when, in compliance with instructions from Spain, he directed Aubry to proclaim new commercial regulations. Although these were designed to protect the general public from profiteering, the merchants and shippers again made violent objections. To calm this storm the governor withdrew to the mouth of the Mississippi where he established his headquarters until the following summer.¹² Governmental affairs in New Orleans were left in the hands of Juan Joseph de Loyola, commissary of war and military intendant, Estevan Gayarré, *contador* or royal controller, and Martín Navarro, the treasurer.

One of Ulloa's chief objectives in Louisiana was to found new forts and settlements along the Mississippi as defenses against British establishments to the east. While at Balize the governor prepared

⁷ An interpretation of the reasons for the conspiracy in Louisiana put into execution on October 29, 1768, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 86-6-7 (Bancroft Library transcript). The materials used in this work are those of the Bancroft Library collection which includes many transcripts and photographic reproductions of manuscripts in Spanish archives. For brevity, subsequent citations will indicate only the location of the original manuscripts as shown on the copies.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ See below, p. 10.

¹⁰ Representation of the Superior Council to the King of France, November 12, 1768, AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Gayarré, *op. cit.*, II, 168-173.

careful instructions for the undertaking.¹³ Loyola was given the responsibility of organizing and equipping an expedition which was to consist of three parts, each under the command of a Spanish officer.¹⁴ On April 12, 1767, seven boats loaded to the gunwales with soldiers, colonists, supplies, and Indian presents began the ascent of the river.¹⁵ One party, under the command of Lieutenant Juan Orieta, founded San Gabriel in the Iberville district.¹⁶ Lieutenant Pedro Piernas established San Luis de Natchez on the west side of the Mississippi about a league from British Natchez.¹⁷ Captain Francisco Ríu continued to the mouth of the Missouri where he constructed Fort El Príncipe de Asturias on the south bank and a block-house named Don Carlos Tercero El Rey on the north.¹⁸

In the meantime, Ulloa himself undertook the construction of a new establishment at the mouth of the Mississippi. He abandoned the old French post Balize on the east pass and selected as a new site a small island in the northeast pass which he named Isla Real Católica de San Carlos.¹⁹ The reason for this change was that the shifting currents of the river had deepened the northeast channel so that it afforded a safer passage for vessels entering the Mississippi. On Isla Real, Ulloa constructed a governor's house, a church, barracks, hospital, warehouses, shops, and a wharf over a thousand feet in length.²⁰ While he was thus employed, his fiancée, Francisca Ramírez de Laredo, daughter of the Conde de San Javier of Lima, arrived and their marriage took place.²¹

With widely dispersed establishments to supply and both the French and Spanish governmental expenses to be met, Ulloa was soon hard pressed for funds. He reported that the expenses of the colony exceeded the annual allotment of 150,000 pesos. The king approved an increase to 250,000 pesos but the new arrangement did not become effective until the middle of 1767 and even then the allotments arrived late and in insufficient installments.²² Funds for the support of Louisiana were to be supplied by Bucareli, captain general of Cuba, who in turn received them from Mexico. The last half of Ulloa's administration consisted of a series of financial crises and a great portion of his official correspondence was made up of pleas for men and money. He foresaw clearly that without one or both even

¹³ Louis Houck, ed., *The Spanish Régime in Missouri* (2 vols., Chicago, 1909), I, 1-28.

¹⁴ Loyola to Ulloa, January 16, 1767, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, *legajo* 109.

¹⁵ Loyola to Ulloa, April 23, 1767, AGI, PC, *leg.* 82.

¹⁶ Ríu to Ulloa, April 29, 1767, AGI, PC, *leg.* 109.

¹⁷ Piernas to Ulloa, June 5, 1767, AGI, PC, *leg.* 2357.

¹⁸ Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 29-31, 49-52.

¹⁹ See below, p. 149.

²⁰ See below, pp. 23, 149-150.

²¹ Arthur Preston Whitaker, "Antonio de Ulloa," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XV (1935), 189.

²² See below, pp. 15-19, 38, 52.

nominal Spanish control over Louisiana could not be maintained.²³ He was forced to buy on credit and had difficulty in meeting the government's obligations. Soldiers and civilian employees were frequently unpaid.²⁴ It was not surprising that he eventually was forced to leave Louisiana, but rather that he was able to remain so long.

French dissatisfaction with Spanish occupation was focused upon the person of the governor. By character and education Ulloa was not a man with appeal for inhabitants of a frontier community. He was Spain's outstanding scientist and throughout his stay in Louisiana he collected notes systematically upon climate, geography, flora, and fauna—an activity totally beyond the comprehension of most of the French inhabitants.²⁵ Yet, as an administrator, he was interested in the welfare of the colony and carried out his instructions as thoroughly as his limited resources permitted. In matters of general policy few changes were made in subsequent administrations.

Ulloa retained the French system of managing the Indians. He utilized the services of experienced French commandants in the frontier posts, continued the practice of giving the Indians presents, and depended upon licensed traders to keep the tribes under control. The Indian trade was an extensive business and an important element of the provincial economy. Its chief centers were St. Louis, Arkansas Post, and Natchitoches.²⁶ A great number of tribes received goods through St. Louis in exchange for peltry. Some of the more important were the Great Osages, Little Osages, Kansas, Otoes, Pawnees, Sacs, Foxes, Iowas, Missouris, Sioux, and Ottawas. St. Ange, the commandant of St. Louis, reported that twenty-five tribes from both sides of the Mississippi commonly came to his post to receive presents.²⁷ Arkansas Post was the distribution point for trade with the Arkansas and the other neighboring tribes. From Natchitoches trade was conducted with the Cadodachos, Little Caddos, Yatasis, Tonkawas, Wichitas, Hasinai, and Bidais.²⁸ O'Connor, the governor of Texas, attempted to exclude Louisiana traders from his jurisdiction but Ulloa regarded the trade as essential to the control of the Indians. After some difficulties with the Yatasis, he permitted Villiers, the commandant of Natchitoches, to allow French traders to operate freely among the tribes of the Louisiana-Texas frontier.²⁹ Captain Ríu, in Ylinueses or Spanish Illinois, likewise

²³ See below, pp. 31, 53, 62-63.

²⁴ See below, pp. 38, 40, 42, 55-56.

²⁵ Antonio de Ulloa, *Noticias Americanas* (Madrid, 1772), *passim*.

²⁶ Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1914), I, 70-75.

²⁷ Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 44-45.

²⁸ Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 74.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 88-89.

made concessions to the traders in order to maintain better relations with them and with the Indian tribes.³⁰

Immigration and colonization occupied a great deal of the governor's attention. In contrast to Spain's other colonies, foreign immigrants were welcomed in Louisiana. Colonization was an important element in the history of the entire Spanish period. Ulloa, upon his arrival, found an Acadian migration already under way. He assisted these immigrants by grants of land, and gave them agricultural implements, rations, and even livestock.³¹ In the north, British occupation of Illinois and Canada caused many French inhabitants to move to the west side of the Mississippi. St. Louis, founded originally as a trading post by Laclede and Chouteau in February, 1764, quickly grew into a village of importance and was selected as the headquarters of the first lieutenant governor of Ylinueses.³² The period of greatest French settlement in Louisiana was during the Spanish regime. Acadian immigration alone continued for more than twenty years.³³ Influenced by reports from Acadian friends, a number of Maryland Catholics opened negotiations with Ulloa for the purpose of obtaining permission to settle in Louisiana. The governor gave a favorable reply and allowed a representative of the group to visit the province and to examine lands which might be suitable for the colonists.³⁴

Despite the lack of military forces, Ulloa gave as much attention as possible to the problem of defense. Precautions were taken to prevent English traders from entering Spanish territory and dealing with the Indians. The governor kept close watch upon the British establishments along the eastern shores of the Mississippi and made recommendations concerning military defense. However, it was with doubtful relief that he reported in 1768 the withdrawal of English troops from West Florida to reinforce those of the eastern seaboard. He noted the difficulties England was having with her colonists and, on October 8th, reported to his government that it was believed that the people of Boston were determined upon complete independence.³⁵

During Ulloa's administration there was much unrest both in the English colonies and in his own. Conduct and motives of the Louisiana merchants and shippers were not unlike those of New Englanders. The Superior Council sought to maintain its authority as did the English colonial legislatures. Many an Acadian settler had moved from the disturbed Atlantic colonies only to find similar unrest at New Orleans. While Ulloa was reporting the troubles of

³⁰ Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 37-39.

³¹ See below, pp. 17, 43, 76.

³² Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri* (3 vols., Chicago, 1908), II, 7-16.

³³ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 171, 185-186. See Pt. II, p. 169.

³⁴ See below, pp. 36-37, 39, 40-42.

³⁵ See below, pp. 69-70, 71-72.

the English, he was well aware of the discontent in Louisiana. In the fall of 1768 a conspiracy was organized for the purpose of expelling the Spaniards.³⁶ Leaders of the uprising were those who had opposed Ulloa from the beginning and included Lafrénière, Foucault, and a number of influential merchants, planters, and politicians. Failure of Spain to send troops, inadequate financing of government expenses, and Ulloa's refusal to show his commission to the Superior Council were all factors which contributed to the agitation. Objectives were the expulsion of the governor, elimination of trade restrictions, and establishment of the Superior Council as the supreme governing body of the province. The conspiracy of 1768 was the culmination of opposition which had developed in 1766 and 1767.³⁷ In January 1768, Aubry had written, "It is no pleasant mission to govern a colony which undergoes so many revolutions."³⁸ To incite rebellion, the conspirators, in the fall of 1768, circulated rumors among the Acadian and German planters that they would not be paid for the provisions the Spanish government had purchased from them. When St. Maxent was sent by Ulloa to pay the debts, he was arrested by the order of Villeré, the commandant of the German Coast, and the money seized.³⁹ Foucault called a meeting of the Superior Council for October 28, and early that day armed bands of Acadians and Germans arrived in New Orleans under the leadership of Noyan and Villeré. Other armed planters soon joined them. Confronted with this force, Ulloa, upon the advice of Aubry, boarded the Spanish frigate which was anchored in the river.⁴⁰

A petition bearing more than 500 signatures was presented at the meeting of the Superior Council demanding that it expel the Spanish governor. The following day Lafrénière addressed the Council and urged favorable action upon the petition. In its bold denunciation of despotism his speech bore some similarity to that delivered by Patrick Henry when he introduced the Virginia Resolutions before the House of Burgesses in 1765. Over the protest of Aubry, the Council ordered Ulloa to depart and petitioned the king of France to reclaim the province.⁴¹ Ulloa returned to his old headquarters at Isla Real Católica where he remained for two weeks and then sailed for Havana upon a French vessel.⁴²

In New Orleans a period of uneasy quiet followed the expulsion

³⁶ See below, pp. 38, 40, 42, 53, 77-81.

³⁷ An interpretation of the reasons for the conspiracy in Louisiana, AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-7.

³⁸ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, II, 186.

³⁹ An interpretation of the reasons for the conspiracy in Louisiana, AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, II, 192-209.

⁴² Ulloa to Bucarelli, December 8, 1768, AGI, PC, leg. 1055, No. 64.

of the governor. Although the Spaniards who remained in Louisiana were not molested, the Superior Council and the conspirators urged the departure of the Spanish frigate *El Volante* captained by Joseph Melchor de Acosta. After some repairs the vessel sailed on April 20, 1769, for Havana transporting a number of troops which had been withdrawn from the new posts on the Mississippi.⁴³ However, the officials, Loyola, Gayarré, and Navarro, were not forced to depart because the Spanish government had outstanding debts of about 100,000 pesos.⁴⁴ While they remained, there existed the possibility that additional allotments of Spanish funds might be received. Aubry, who had opposed the insurrection, exerted a restraining influence upon the inhabitants and the fire of rebellion gradually subsided. When the conspirators sought aid from the British, they were coldly received. They devised a scheme to create a republic but, instead of winning popular support for it, they met strong opposition.⁴⁵ The insurrection was dead.

The Spanish government still moved slowly but was now determined that the occupation of Louisiana should be undertaken with a great show of force. Lieutenant General Alexandro O'Reilly, one of Spain's most distinguished military men, was selected to command the expedition and given extraordinary powers to employ all measures necessary for re-establishment of Spanish authority in the province. In contrast to Ulloa, who could never obtain more than a handful of troops, O'Reilly was given far more than were necessary. Of ships, artillery, and supplies, he also had a surplus. After extensive preparations he sailed from Havana on the *Volante* accompanied by twenty other vessels and more than 2000 first-class troops.⁴⁶ Total white population of New Orleans at this time was approximately 1800.⁴⁷

O'Reilly and his squadron arrived in the river before New Orleans August 17, 1769. He disembarked on the afternoon of the 18th and with great ceremony took possession of the province. Three days later he arrested all the leaders of the insurrection. On the 26th he required all the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to the king of Spain.⁴⁸ Prosecution of the leaders of the revolution was assigned to Felix del Rey, advocate of the royal audiencias of Mexico and Santo Domingo, and the trial was conducted with great legal formality. Five conspirators including Lafrènière were sentenced to death, six were given prison terms, and Villeré, before the end of the

⁴³ Loyola's report of troops returning to Havana, April 16, 1767, AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-7; Aubry to Bucareli, April 14, 1769 (Spanish translation), *ibid.*; see below, p. 84.

⁴⁴ See below, pp. 84-85.

⁴⁵ Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane française* (Paris 1903) 285; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, II, 281-282.

⁴⁶ See below, pp. 86-88.

⁴⁷ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, II, 355.

⁴⁸ See below, p. 90.

trial, met his death in prison under mysterious circumstances. Property of all conspirators was confiscated.⁴⁹ Foucault alone escaped trial because he was an official of the French government.⁵⁰

Even before the trial had ended, O'Reilly had turned his attention to the political and economic reorganization of the colony. To prevent an inflation of values, which the great influx of Spanish troops might cause, he issued a proclamation on September 7th fixing prices of foods.⁵¹ Undesirable merchants were expelled and Spanish commercial regulations enforced. However, to give Louisiana an outlet for its products, he proposed free trade for the province with Havana and the ports of Spain. The king gave this recommendation his approval.⁵² The Superior Council was abolished, a Cabildo created, new laws and regulations proclaimed, and governmental expense reduced.⁵³ By December, O'Reilly was able to send a considerable part of his military force back to Havana.⁵⁴ He devised a plan of defense based upon the organization of strong colonial militia rather than upon the employment of Spanish regular troops and also drew upon the French population to fill many colonial offices. For more effective administration the districts of Natchitoches and Ylinueses were placed under lieutenant governors. The first was Athanase de Mézières, a Frenchman of long experience on the Louisiana-Texas frontier.⁵⁵ The second was Pedro Piernas who had succeeded to the command of Captain Riu in the Missouri country during the latter part of Ulloa's administration. As assistant and special adviser on Indian affairs to Piernas, O'Reilly appointed St. Ange, former French commandant.⁵⁶

The Indian policies of O'Reilly were substantially the same as those of Ulloa with the exception that he ordered abolition of Indian slavery.⁵⁷ The French system of controlling the tribes by means of licensed traders and distribution of gifts was continued. Considerable economies were effected, however, by purchasing all goods used for Indian presents through the firm of Ranson and Maxent.⁵⁸ Among the tribes of the Louisiana-Texas frontier, hostilities engendered by former French and Spanish rivalry had not entirely subsided and De Mézières was assigned the task of reconciling the Indians to the new administration. He made numerous journeys into the Indian country, negotiated treaties, and supplanted unauthorized traders

⁴⁹ Sentence passed by O'Reilly upon leaders of the Louisiana uprising, October 4, 1769, AGI, PC, *leg.* 81.

⁵⁰ Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana* (4 vols., Paris and New York, 1904), I, 221.

⁵¹ See below, p. 93.

⁵² See below, pp. 103-105, 165-166.

⁵³ See below, pp. 97-98, 108-125, 132-135, 163-164.

⁵⁴ See below, p. 126.

⁵⁵ See below, pp. 129, 187; Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 79-84.

⁵⁶ See below, p. 236.

⁵⁷ See below, p. 126.

⁵⁸ See below, p. 147.

with those properly licensed.⁵⁹ Other lieutenant governors and commandants of frontier posts also devoted a major portion of their efforts to Indian affairs. Louisiana's Indian population far exceeded the white and the maintenance of peace with the tribes was essential to the safety of the settlements. The problem was rendered even more serious by the intrusion of English traders both from West Florida and Illinois into the Indian country west of the Mississippi. Furthermore, English merchants along the Mississippi supplied unlicensed French traders with goods and thus diverted much commerce from legitimate Spanish channels. O'Reilly took severe measures to prevent this illegal trade, but as long as the English remained on the Mississippi it never entirely ceased.⁶⁰

O'Reilly investigated the condition of the posts established by Ulloa and decided that none of them was well located either for military or economic purposes. Buildings on Isla Real Católica were demolished and headquarters for river pilots were removed to the old French site of Balize. San Gabriel was turned over to a few German settlers who had established themselves in that district. San Luis de Natchez was entirely abandoned and the Acadians who had been taken there were distributed among the settlements lower down the river.⁶¹ On the Missouri only a few men were retained to guard the mouth of the river and the principal part of the garrison was removed to Ste. Geneviève and St. Louis.⁶² By March, 1770, O'Reilly had completed his task of reorganization. As special commissioner of the king, he installed Luis de Unzaga as governor and departed for Havana. Expressing his satisfaction for O'Reilly's work, the king approved all of his acts and recommendations. As a result of O'Reilly's occupation, Louisiana became a dependency of the captaincy-general of Cuba. Thereafter its affairs were placed under the supervision of the Ministry of the Indies in the manner of Spain's other American colonies.⁶³

Unzaga, by the mildness and restraint of his administration, did much to reconcile French inhabitants to the Spanish regime. The population of the province increased and there was an expansion of agriculture and trade. Purchases of tobacco by the government, although small at first, caused more planters to turn to this crop.⁶⁴ The governor, realizing the need for goods in Louisiana, made little effort to check the contraband trade carried on between the inhabitants and the British.⁶⁵ A brief war scare occurred in 1770 and 1771 as a

⁵⁹ Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 79-110.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 76-79; Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, 77.

⁶¹ See below, pp. 144-148.

⁶² Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 78-83.

⁶³ Royal Cedula, August 17, 1772, AGI, Aud. SD, 86-5-24.

⁶⁴ Caroline Maude Burson, *The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miró, 1782-1792* (New Orleans, 1940), 75; see below, pp. 188, 193.

⁶⁵ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 46.

result of the Falkland Islands dispute between England and Spain. The British regarrisoned their West Florida ports and Ungaza prepared for an attack.⁶⁶ The expected war did not occur, but renewed English interest in the Mississippi led to greatly increased commercial activities from which the Louisiana planters profited. Francisco Boulogny stated in a report of August 10, 1776, that the annual commerce of the colony was about 600,000 pesos of which only about 15,000 pesos passed through legitimate channels. The remainder went to the English who had established many floating stores along the river and thus supplied the Louisiana planters.⁶⁷

During Unzaga's administration a serious problem was created by the depredations of the Osage and Missouri Indians. Despite their dependence upon traders from Spanish Illinois for goods, they were not only troublesome to the inhabitants there but also perpetrated numerous attacks upon the French of Arkansas and Natchitoches districts.⁶⁸ As a retaliatory measure Lieutenant Governor Piernas in 1773 suspended all trade with them. Traders from British Illinois recognized the opportunity and a party headed by Ducharme ascended the Missouri with the purpose of taking over the commerce of the Osage and Missouri. Piernas promptly organized a body of volunteers which, under the leadership of Pierre Laclède, surprised the intruders in the Indian villages and captured all their supplies.⁶⁹ Eventually the cutting off of trade produced some favorable results because in March 1776, Francisco Cruzat, the successor of Piernas, reported that the conduct of the Osage and Missouri had improved.⁷⁰ However, their repentance was very temporary in character and usually in proportion to their need of supplies.

The most portentous events of Unzaga's administration were the outbreak of the Revolutionary War and the arrival of Americans upon the Mississippi. Fortunately for Spanish-American relations, Oliver Pollock, an Irish-American merchant and strong supporter of the cause of independence, was already well established at New Orleans. In Havana he had made the acquaintance of O'Reilly who later granted him certain commercial privileges in Louisiana. At the beginning of the war, Pollock was already a man of prestige and wealth. His diplomatic and financial assistance was an important factor in American successes in the west.⁷¹ In September, 1776,

⁶⁶ Clarence Edwin Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774* (Washington, 1910), 142-144; see below, pp. 170-171, 193-194.

⁶⁷ Fortier, *op. cit.*, II, 38-39.

⁶⁸ Bolton, *op. cit.*, I, 193-194, 300, II, 24-26; see below, pp. 202-203, 204-205.

⁶⁹ See below, pp. 214-218. For an extensive collection of documents pertaining to the Ducharme affair see Abraham P. Nasatir, ed., "Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri: An Incident in the Anglo-Spanish Rivalry for the Indian Trade of Upper Louisiana," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXIV (1929-30), 3-25, 238-260, 420-439.

⁷⁰ See below, p. 229.

⁷¹ James Alton James, *Oliver Pollock* (New York, 1937), *passim*.

Captain George Gibson and Lieutenant William Linn came from Fort Pitt to New Orleans under orders from Congress and the State of Virginia to negotiate for munitions. Pollock's influence was a factor in their success. Through his intercession with Governor Unzaga they obtained about five tons of gunpowder delivered from the king's stores. A part was sent up the river in charge of Lieutenant Linn and was delivered to Fort Henry and Fort Pitt. The remainder was shipped by sea to Philadelphia.⁷² This incident marked the beginning of Spain's direct aid to the Americans.

Bernardo de Gálvez succeeded Unzaga as governor at the beginning of 1777. With the support of his court he aided the Americans actively while strengthening the defenses of his province. In the spring several American boats from the Ohio arrived at New Orleans in quest of munitions. The commander of the expedition brought a letter to Governor Gálvez from Colonel George Morgan, the commandant of Fort Pitt. Morgan appealed for aid in obtaining supplies, made inquiry concerning the reaction of Gálvez toward a possible attack upon Pensacola, and requested that Americans be permitted to trade freely at New Orleans. When the boats returned to Fort Pitt, they carried munitions valued at approximately \$70,000 and a letter from Gálvez expressing willingness to co-operate with the Americans, provided his assistance were kept secret. At the same time he gave a favorable reply to the request concerning trade.⁷³ However, when Patrick Henry, the governor of Virginia, wrote in October and proposed that New Orleans be made a free port for western American products, Gálvez replied that he could not agree to it.⁷⁴ Thomas Jefferson, after he succeeded Henry as governor in 1779, also wrote Gálvez upon the subject of free navigation of the Mississippi and its importance to the western settlements.⁷⁵ Thus, before the war had entered its final phases, the Mississippi issue was well defined. Gálvez aided the Americans in many ways, but he did not have the authority to change Spain's commercial regulations.

Meanwhile, Spain attempted to improve Louisiana's economic condition by liberalizing commerce and expanding agriculture. As a result of successful development of the governmental tobacco monopoly in Mexico, Gálvez was authorized to make extensive purchases in the province. He reached an agreement with the planters as to prices, and on June 15, 1777, issued a proclamation governing methods of selection and preparation of tobacco for export.⁷⁶ Although the crop for the year was not as large as expected, tobacco

⁷² *Ibid.*, 61-65; see below, pp. 234-235.

⁷³ John Walton Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934), 90-92.

⁷⁴ See below, pp. 241-242, 272.

⁷⁵ See below, pp. 362-363.

⁷⁶ See below, pp. 237-238; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 107.

cultivation grew steadily in importance. Within a decade it had become one of Louisiana's main cash crops. A shortage of plantation labor was met by a partial relaxation of restrictions upon the Negro slave trade.⁷⁷

Gálvez had scarcely begun to put the province upon a military basis when the war reached the Mississippi. Two American expeditions were organized in the West in 1778. The first, headed by James Willing, was directed against the British colony of West Florida. The second was led by George Rogers Clark against the English posts of the Illinois country. Willing surprised the citizens of Natchez and met no resistance. He called the settlers together and required them to take an oath of neutrality. Farther down the river he raided plantations of loyalists, seized considerable property, and captured a number of British boats including the armed vessel *Rebecca*.⁷⁸ A volunteer detachment organized by Pollock in New Orleans ascended the river to co-operate with Willing. Another band of volunteers from New Orleans captured the British vessel *Neptune*, while the *Despatch* escaped down the river only to fall into the hands of the American privateer Joseph Calvert. Willing brought his plunder into New Orleans to be disposed of by Pollock, for whom he bore a commission appointing him agent for the Continental Congress. Gálvez permitted Willing's forces to remain in New Orleans and assigned them quarters in a government building. The loot, which consisted largely of Negro slaves taken from loyalist plantations, was auctioned by Pollock.⁷⁹

Alarmed by American activities on the lower Mississippi, the British sent war vessels into the river and reinforced their West Florida posts. Willing's second attempt to invade West Florida met with disaster and the Americans found themselves bottled up in New Orleans. To placate the British, who protested vigorously and demanded the surrender of the Americans, Gálvez returned some of the prizes.⁸⁰ When Pollock saw that the American force had been neutralized, he made arrangements to send Willing to the United States by sea.⁸¹ Gálvez authorized Willing's force, then under command of Robert George, to proceed northward by land making a long detour by way of Natchitoches, Opelousas, and Arkansas Post in order to avoid all contact with the British.⁸² Pollock had to draw upon his personal funds to cover the expense of George's

⁷⁷ See below, pp. 279-281; Burson, *op. cit.*, 75-76.

⁷⁸ See below, pp. 262-264; Clarence Walworth Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records* (Springfield, 1909), 45; John Walton Caughey, "Willing's Expedition Down the Mississippi, 1778," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XV (1932), 5-36.

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 282-284; James, *op. cit.*, 120-121.

⁸⁰ See below, pp. 297-298; Bolton, *op. cit.*, II, 235; Andrew Elliccott, *The Journal of Andrew Elliccott* (Philadelphia, 1814), 130-133.

⁸¹ James, *op. cit.*, 147.

⁸² See below, pp. 303-304.

return journey.⁸³ Willing's expedition failed chiefly because it was too small for the task assigned and because the British had access to their Mississippi settlements both by way of the river and by the lakes.

In the meantime, George Rogers Clark had successfully taken the British posts in Illinois. Lieutenant Governor Fernando de Leyba had received orders from Gálvez to assist the Americans. He invited Clark to visit him at St. Louis and received him with great ceremony. Clark remained as a guest at Leyba's home for two days and a friendship began between the two men which was to be of great value to the American cause in Illinois. To pay the expenses of the occupation Clark was forced to draw drafts upon Pollock at New Orleans and to purchase on credit in St. Louis. When the merchants were reluctant to accept Clark's receipts, Leyba personally guaranteed a considerable portion of the debts. As a result he, as well as many others who helped supply American forces in the West, suffered financial losses.⁸⁴ The main burden of maintaining Clark in Illinois, however, fell upon Pollock. He sacrificed his personal fortune, utilized his credit to the limit, and borrowed from the Spanish treasury at New Orleans. Spain aided the Americans, but considering that it would have been impossible for her to defend Upper Louisiana if the British had recovered Illinois, it was meager aid. In the years 1778, 1779, and 1780 Gálvez lent 74,087 pesos to Pollock on behalf of the United States. During the same period Spain spent three times that amount for presents given to the Louisiana Indians.⁸⁵

While the American Revolution was in progress, Gálvez was trying to strengthen his province by means of immigration. He instructed Fernando de Leyba, the lieutenant governor of Spanish Illinois, to offer special inducements to all Catholic settlers who might come from east of the Mississippi, particularly to those who were French and German.⁸⁶ Arrangements were also made to import colonists from the Canary Islands and Málaga for establishment in Lower Louisiana. By the end of 1779 more than 2000 had arrived. After the failure of Willing's West Florida expedition, many of the inhabitants who belonged to the American faction fled to Spanish territory. One group founded a settlement south of the Iberville River with the permission and assistance of Gálvez. In gratitude the settlers named their village Galveztown.⁸⁷ Since this district was strategically

⁸³ Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez*, 131; James, *op. cit.*, 148.

⁸⁴ Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., "Clark-Leyba Papers," *American Historical Review*, XLI (1935), 92-93, 111-112.

⁸⁵ Caughey, *op. cit.*, 99, note 51; Statement by Contador Joseph de Orue of all disbursements by the branches of the royal exchequer in Louisiana from January 1, 1766 to the end of 1785, May 31, 1787, AGI, PC, *leg.* 597.

⁸⁶ See below, pp. 258-260.

⁸⁷ See below, p. 326; Caughey, *op. cit.*, 80-81; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 115-116, 119-120.

located in case of war with England, the governor enlarged the establishment by sending there some of the Canary Island immigrants. Francisco Collell was appointed commandant and two companies of militia were organized, one of Anglo-Americans and the other of Canary Islanders.⁸⁸

After France entered the war against England in 1778, Governor Gálvez knew that Spain also would soon become involved. He carefully laid his plans for a campaign against Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. When news arrived in 1779 that Spain had declared war, Gálvez was ready to attack. Concealing his intentions from the English, he advanced towards Manchac. Even his followers did not know the purpose of the expedition until he approached the fort. Only then did he announce that he had received news of the declaration of war.⁸⁹ Lieutenant Colonel Dickson, the British commanding officer, withdrew with his main forces to Baton Rouge. Only a few men were left to defend Manchac and it quickly fell when attacked by Louisiana militia. As Gálvez advanced into the Baton Rouge area, William Pickles, captain of the American privateer *Morris* which had formerly been the British *Rebecca*, entered Lake Pontchartrain and captured the British armed vessel *West Florida*, thereby closing the lake route to the English.⁹⁰ On September 21, 1779, Baton Rouge fell and the British commander was forced to surrender all English posts on the Mississippi. Captain Juan Delavillebeuvre was immediately dispatched with a small force to Natchez bearing an order from Colonel Dickson to the commandant directing him to yield Fort Panmure without resistance. In addition he carried a letter from Pollock addressed to American sympathizers of the district urging them to assist the Spaniards in every way possible. Consequently, Natchez was occupied without bloodshed.⁹¹

After the fall of the British Mississippi posts, Gálvez immediately began preparations for an attack upon Mobile. He sent Estevan Miró as special agent to Havana to request additional troops. With considerable difficulty he was able to procure a small force to support the expedition. Gálvez requisitioned every available ship in Louisiana, and was finally ready to sail from New Orleans January 18, 1780. The campaign did not begin auspiciously. Bad weather

⁸⁸ See below, pp. 340-343; Lawrence Kinnaird, "American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana," *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (2 vols.; Los Angeles, 1932), I, 229; V. M. Scramuzza, "Galvestown, a Spanish Settlement of Colonial Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1930), 566-569.

⁸⁹ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 124-127.

⁹⁰ Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed., *Documentos Históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, Siglos XVI, al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 343-350; Caughey, *op. cit.*, 159-160; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 130.

⁹¹ A letter of thanks written by Gálvez to Pollock, October 21, 1779, is translated in J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State* (Jackson, 1880), 122.

hindered the landing and three ships ran aground. Eventually, on the 28th day of February, Gálvez had his forces ready for the attack. The siege progressed slowly, and it was not until the 12th of March that the Spaniards were able to construct a heavy battery which dominated the British Fort Charlotte. After one day's bombardment Captain Elias Durnford, the English commander, surrendered and Mobile was occupied.⁹²

In the north, the British of Canada were separated from their new enemies, the Spaniards, by great distances. Nevertheless, an expedition made up chiefly of Indians was organized to descend the Mississippi and attack St. Louis. Fortunately Governor Leyba was forewarned. When the attack came on May 26, 1780, he conducted a successful defense, despite his inadequate forces.⁹³ This was Leyba's last important contribution to the service of Spain. He died a few weeks later and was succeeded by Francisco Cruzat.

The attack upon St. Louis had clearly shown the danger of British influence upon the Indians, and Cruzat worked to win over the neighboring tribes to the Spanish cause. When two Milwaukee chiefs reported that the British were accumulating a store of supplies at Fort St. Joseph and requested that Cruzat send a military force with them to attack the place, he complied with the request for two important reasons. First, he needed the support of friendly Indian tribes and feared that, if he refused, the Milwaukees would think the Spaniards were weak and consequently might go over to the British. Second, he hoped to destroy the supplies at St. Joseph, thereby preventing or at least making more difficult a British attack upon St. Louis the following spring.⁹⁴ The military operation was assigned to the militia. Captain Eugene Pourré was given command of a detachment of sixty-five militiamen and sixty Indians which left St. Louis January 2, 1781, by boat. He ascended the Mississippi and Illinois rivers until ice forced him to abandon the boats and to march overland. On February 12, Pourré's force took Fort St. Joseph completely by surprise.⁹⁵ In a formal ceremony the region was declared to be the possession of Spain.⁹⁶ After a distribution of booty the detachment returned to St. Louis without incident. The St. Joseph expedition was the most spectacular and

⁹² See below, pp. 366-368; Articles of capitulation for the surrender of Mobile, March 13, 1780, AGI, PC, *leg.* 193; Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (Boston, 1910), 312-316.

⁹³ A. P. Nasatir, ed., "St. Louis During the British Attack of 1780," *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, I, 239-261.

⁹⁴ See below, pp. 415-417; Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Spanish Expedition Against Fort St. Joseph in 1781, a New Interpretation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX (1932), 173-191.

⁹⁵ See below, pp. 432-433.

⁹⁶ See below, p. 418. On November 22, 1780, Baltazar de Villiers, commandant of Arkansas Post, had taken possession by formal declaration of the east bank of the Mississippi north of the jurisdiction of Natchez. See below, p. 401.

successful Spanish military operation in the upper Mississippi Valley.

Governor Gálvez at this time was preparing for a campaign to be directed against Pensacola, then the chief British stronghold on the Gulf. Not receiving sufficient co-operation at Havana he went there himself and eventually obtained the desired military and naval support. Gálvez sailed with the first part of his expedition on February 28, 1781.⁹⁷ After he arrived off Pensacola a delay occurred because the officers of the supporting Spanish fleet were reluctant to risk their vessels in attempting to run past the batteries which protected the harbor. Gálvez sent Pedro Rousseau, captain of the brig *Galvestown*, to take soundings of the channel at night. On March 18 the governor, on board the *Galvestown*, ran past the British batteries of Fort Barrancas and was followed by three other small craft from Louisiana which were under his direct command.⁹⁸ The following day the main portion of the Spanish fleet entered the harbor. On the 22nd Gálvez' small army was augmented by reinforcements from Mobile and New Orleans and on April 19th another Spanish fleet arrived bringing troops from Havana. With more than 7,000 troops at his command, Gálvez began the siege of Pensacola. Fort George was defended by British troops under command of General Campbell and supported by numerous Indian allies. On May 8th, General Campbell was finally forced to capitulate after Spanish artillery fire had caused an explosion in the powder magazine of Fort George. Governor Chester and General Campbell agreed to surrender the entire province of West Florida.⁹⁹

While General Campbell was waiting for the Spanish attack upon Pensacola, he appealed to loyalists in the Natchez region to create a diversion by instigating a revolt against the Spaniards. He sent commissions to Blommart, Eason, Alston, Winfree, and several others who had expressed willingness to engage in the undertaking. On April 22, 1781, Blommart led an attack against Fort Panmure at Natchez and forced Commandant Delavillebeuvre to surrender. Carlos Grand-Pré, Spanish commandant at Baton Rouge, began moving militia detachments toward Natchez but no resistance was encountered because recent news of the fall of Pensacola had broken the morale of the insurgents. A force under Captain Morandiere landed at Natchez on June 22nd and occupied Fort Panmure without opposition. Blommart and most of the other leaders of the uprising were eventually arrested and sent to New Orleans for trial. Many of the insurgents, however, fled into the Indian country where they

⁹⁷ See below, pp. 421-424.

⁹⁸ Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 138-140.

⁹⁹ "Diary of the Operations of the Expedition against the Place of Pensacola, Conducted by the Arms of H. Catholic M., Under the Orders of the Field Marshall Don Bernardo de Gálvez," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, I (1917), 46-84.

remained to plague the Spaniards for many months.¹⁰⁰ Despite that fact, the year 1781 marked the end of Spain's major military operations in North America. Governor Gálvez turned over his administration at New Orleans to subordinates and departed for Havana.

In the sixteen years which had elapsed since the arrival of Ulloa in Louisiana, Spain had experienced a revolt among her French subjects, suppressed it, reorganized the administration of the province, judiciously aided the English colonists in their struggle for independence, participated in the war against England, conquered West Florida, and pacified the rebellious inhabitants of Natchez. The revolutionary period ended with Spain in possession of her main objectives in North America, and one of the most important of them was the control of the Mississippi and its commerce.

¹⁰⁰ Labbadie to Miró, May 22, 1782, No. 1 (translation), AGI, SD, 87-3-10; Navarro to Gálvez, June 4, 1782, No. 120, *ibid.*; Declaration of Labbadie, July 5, 1782, Bancroft Library; Reports of British plans to attack Spanish Illinois, July 8, 1782, *ibid.*; Proceedings of council of war held at St. Louis, July 9, 1782, *ibid.*, Cruzat to Miró, August 8, 1782, *ibid.*; Colbert to Miró, October 6, 1782, *ibid.* See Part II, pp. 18-19, 21-34.

ROYAL DECREE COMMISSIONING DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA
GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*May 21, 1765.*¹

THE KING

Don Antonio de Ulloa, captain of my royal navy. Noting your intelligence, zeal, and behavior, I have named you as governor of the province of Louisiana, ceded to me by the Most Christian King, my cousin, and consequently added to my crown. You will take possession of this province by virtue of the orders of this Sovereign which will be sent to you by my Secretary of State with the respective instructions by which you will be guided in everything.

I have decided that in this new acquisition, for the present, no change in the system of its government shall be undertaken and, consequently, that in no way shall it be subject to the laws and practices observed in my dominion of the Indies, but that it shall be regarded as a separate colony, even with respect to all trade between them. It is my will that, with the same independence from the Ministry of the Indies, its Council, and other tribunals connected with it, everything pertaining to it shall go through the Ministry of State, and that you shall give an account to me, only through this channel, of what happens relative to your duty, and that you shall receive your orders, instructions, and all that pertains to the government and administration of that new independent dominion from this ministry.

I assign to you six thousand pesos salary per year which will be paid from the allotment set aside for that province. Your receipt for this amount will be honored by the Treasurer or other minister entrusted with my royal treasury, from whom you receive the salary. Such is my will, and notice shall be taken of this decree in the general accounting offices for the disbursement from my royal treasury, and by the Council of the Indies.

Given at ARANJUEZ, *May 21, 1765.*

I THE KING.

¹ Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 86-5-21. Documents published in this work are from the Bancroft Library, University of California, and the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain. In addition to its collection of original Louisiana manuscripts, Bancroft Library also has copies, chiefly in microfilm, of all other documents herein presented. Citations indicate the location of the manuscripts with the exception of a few designated as Pinart transcripts. The latter were made by Alphonse Pinart in Havana from the *Papeles Procedentes de Cuba* before these papers were removed to Spain in 1888 and 1889. The manuscripts from which the Pinart transcripts were made should also be in the Archivo General de Indias although they have not been specifically located. The Library of Congress, with funds provided by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., included many of the documents published here in its extensive program of photographing the sources of American history in European archives. The Division of Manuscripts, upon numerous occasions, has generously made available its material to the editor to assist in checking the textual accuracy of various passages. Unless otherwise noted the documents are written in Spanish. For additional explanation of method used in preparing this work, see Foreword.

GRIMALDI TO ULLOA

July 3, 1765.²

No. 185.

In connection with the discharge of your office of governor of New Orleans and captain general of Louisiana which the King has conferred upon Your Lordship, I enclose the instructions which his Majesty desires to be observed. Your Lordship will comply with them and with the attached decree of the Most Christian King in the discharge of this trust and the method of taking possession of that post and territory. The vessel carrying these parcels of letters is also taking the gifts which have been allotted for the savages. The presents consist of the various goods indicated in the attached list, and Your Lordship will use them for the purposes prescribed in the instructions.

The commander of the frigate *La Liebre*, conducting this expedition, has been given necessary orders by the Ministry of Marine, instructing him to proceed to Your Lordship at Havana in order to continue under your orders to New Orleans, and from there return to Spain when Your Lordship considers this expedient.

Your Lordship will see to it that the one thousand quintals of flour carried by this frigate are stored, cared for, and distributed for the proper purposes of the service, and in conformity with the instructions. In this connection corresponding orders have also been given to the *comisario*.

The Señor Bailio Arriaga is sending Your Lordship, under separate cover, the original commission of your appointment; and with it you will find a duplicate of this dispatch.

Your Lordship will also find in these covers thirty commissions for the French officers who are transferring to our service, together with the other copies mentioned in the instructions, with the exception of the letters from Señor Conde de Fuentes, which are omitted, as they do not appear to be necessary.

Monsieur de Vilemont will deliver to Your Lordship a case containing fifty silver medals of merit, and enclosed herewith are six gold ones.

I have nothing more to advise Your Lordship, referring you to the instructions; and I add that Your Lordship should see to it that the Capuchin Fathers are given the assistance due their character, as in all matters connected with their journey they are entirely in the hands of Providence. When they arrive at their destination, Your Lordship will arrange to have the letters they receive delivered post-free, as their poverty is deserving of this aid.

² AGI, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 174.

I repeat to Your Lordship the charge given you in the instructions to assist and protect Monsieur de Vilemont and his family, as I consider this gentleman very deserving of this distinction.

As regards the allotment and funds to be raised at Havana for the budget of the colony, I refer you to the instructions and to what Señor Don Julian de Arriaga specially advises Your Lordship.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

MADRID, *July 3, 1765.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric).

FERNÁNDEZ DE ÁNGULO AND QUADRA TO ULLOA

December 3, 1765.³

The Marqués de Grimaldi, First Secretary of State, either will inform or has already advised Your Lordship of the decision of the King with regard to the establishment of a new monthly maritime post between these dominions and those of the two Americas. Inasmuch as the general direction of posts in these realms is under our charge, and as this had been extended by special royal orders to those which may be established in other dominions belonging to the Crown, we consider it advisable to bring this to Your Lordship's attention, as well as the appointment of His Excellency Don Cayetano Badan to serve as administrator of the maritime post to be established in the new possession of New Orleans and province of Louisiana, supported by the royal exchequer. In view of this and the early departure of this gentleman to take up his post, we trust that, in conformity with the documents of instruction which have been given him, as well as those which His Excellency is addressing to Your Lordship regarding the respective sub-delegation of revenue, you will co-operate with your customary zeal with all that you can contribute toward the achievement of the important purposes to which these royal instructions are directed, and which we are convinced will redound to the benefit of the people there, as well as to the efficient use of the revenue.

As it is probable that royal treasuries have not yet been established there and that consequently funds are lacking to defray the expense of the establishment of the maritime post in that city and district, we are under this date communicating the necessary orders to the chief administrator of those of Havana and Island of Cuba, so that he may endeavor to furnish the funds necessary for this purpose by the most opportune and convenient means. We do not doubt your diligence and zeal for the best employment of the revenue, nor that you will instruct Don Cayetano Badan in all the particular matters

³ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

relative to this establishment and its conduct, so that the intentions of the King, those of the Marqués de Grimaldi, and our own may be perfectly carried out with the assistance and best efforts of Your Lordship.

On this occasion we take pleasure in placing ourselves at Your Lordship's orders, wishing to please you in everything.

May God preserve you the many years we desire.

MADRID, *December 3, 1765.*

Your Lordship's most attentive servants kiss your hand.

LAZARO FERNÁNDEZ DE ANGULO (Rubric)

ANTONIO DE QUADRA (Rubric)

RODRÍGUEZ TO ARMONA

April 10, 1766 *

The French schooner *La Julée* having arrived at this port, its captain, Don Luis Monjeon, has delivered to this administration the covers and letters which I forward to you by the special courier Juan de Amoedo, a resident of this city. They are as follows:

2 small boxes wrapped in rubber, addressed to the Most Excellent Marqués de Grimaldi.

1 package sealed and wrapped in unbleached linen for Señor Joseph Antonio de Armona.

1 nailed box, also for said gentleman.

38 separate letters for Havana and Spain, received in the Province of Louisiana from the hands of Señores Don Antonio de Ulloa, and Don Juan Joseph Loyola, *Comisario* of War.

This captain says that he could not make the port of Havana on account of very contrary currents, and that he is bound for Santo Domingo with wood. I immediately told this commander that, as he had delivered these covers, he should depart immediately. I gave him a receipt for everything listed above and he delivered the same to me as he had promised in Louisiana.

God preserve Your Lordship many years.

MATANZAS, *April 10, 1766.*

SIMON JOSEPH RODRÍGUEZ (Rubric)

Señor DON JOSEPH DE ARMONA.

* AGI, PC, leg. 174.

GRIMALDI TO ULLOA

*May 24, 1766*⁵

The King has taken note from Your Lordship's letter of the 11th of March last, of the reluctance of the French soldiers in that colony to enter the service of His Majesty at less pay than his troops receive in America, and the request of those who have completed their time that they either be given their discharges or new enlistments.

Regarding the increase in pay, His Majesty, taking into consideration the fact that for some time the cost of food and goods has been increasing in that colony, the importance of keeping these soldiers satisfied, and the great hardships and isolation in the detachments they occupy, has decided to grant them the same pay as that which he has designated should be given the other troops in America. The attached regulation, drawn up by me, will inform you what each member of a regiment is to receive; and although that troop does not have the same organization, each member thereof is to be paid that amount allotted to his rank.

With regard to discharges, His Majesty does not think that we can in justice deny them to those who have completed their terms of service, if they do not wish to agree to new enlistments. He authorizes Your Lordship to deal with them on this principle and to make a new agreement with them for five years or as long a period as possible from the time they enter the service of His Majesty, giving them whatever enlistment you think proper, with the idea that, although somewhat more expensive, the soldiers whom Your Lordship re-enlists will be less costly than those sent out fresh from Europe.

With these inducements, and by assuring them that they will find no difference from the good treatment which they have enjoyed up to now, the King trusts that they will not persist in their refusal to enter his service, and that Your Lordship will be able to take possession of that colony in his royal name without trouble. However, if some refuse to re-enlist, they are to be given their discharges immediately because His Majesty does not wish to have forced soldiers, but rather those who serve him well and willingly.

In order to offset any decrease in the size of the troop because of those who do not wish to re-enlist, I shall send you as soon as I receive the statement which you promise me, two or three hundred men, mostly French, and try to have them of better quality than the hundred Spaniards who were on the frigate. In order that you may employ the surplus officers, these men will be sent without those they would ordinarily have. For this purpose I require the statement

⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

promised by you, but knowing Your Lordship's punctuality, I expect it before long.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

Aranjuez, *May 24, 1766.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

(Regulation mentioned in the preceding letter)

Regulation covering pay of veteran troops employed in America, and method of payment of monthly allowances to sergeants, drummers, corporals, and private soldiers.

Regulation covering monthly pay to be received by the officers and other members of infantry regiments employed in America.

Number of men	Officers and Other Members	Monthly pay in pesos fuertes
	Captain of grenadiers	60
	Lieutenant of ditto	38
	Sub-Lieutenant of ditto	30
1	Sergeant, first class	16
1	Sergeant, second class	14
1	Drummer	10
3	First corporals at 11 pesos each	33
3	Second corporals at 10 pesos each	30
54	Grenadiers at 9 pesos each	486
63	Another company of grenadiers totaling	717
	Captain of fusiliers	50
	Lieutenant	32
	Sub-Lieutenant	25
1	Sergeant, first class	14
2	Sergeants, second class at 12 pesos each	24
2	Drummers at 9 pesos each	18
4	First corporals at 10 pesos each	40
4	Second corporals at 9 pesos each	36
64	Soldiers at 8 pesos each	512
1155	Fifteen other companies, totaling the same as the preced-	
—	ing one	11265
1358		
	Sum total	13450

General Staff of the First Battalion

	Colonel	200
	Major	85
	Adjutant Major	45
	Two Flag Sub-Lieutenants at 25 pesos each	50
	Chaplain	30
	Surgeon	40
	Master armorer	16
1	First fifer	10
1	Second fifer	9
1	Drum major	14

Second Battalion

Lieutenant Colonel	135
Adjutant Major	45
Two Flag Sub-Lieutenants at 25 pesos each	50
Chaplain	30
Surgeon	40
Master armorer	16
1 First fifer	10
1 Second fifer	9
For gratuities to the men and care of arms there shall be paid to each of the effectives appearing at review two and one-third reales monthly. Assuming that the regiment is complete, the total per month amounts to	
	397.4½

1363

14681.4½

The King commands that all pay be settled and paid monthly in conformity with the above; to which royal decision the governor and royal officials shall give the most exact compliance.

ARANJUEZ, May 21, 1766.

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Method to be observed in the payment of the monthly allowances to sergeants, drummers, corporals, and private soldiers of regiments of veteran infantry employed in America.

<i>Grenadier Company</i>	Monthly Allowances		Held back for clothing and maintenance		Total pay
	Pesos	Reales	Pesos	Reales	Pesos fuertes
1 First sergeant	14	—	2	—	16
1 Second sergeant	12	—	2	—	14
1 Drummer	7	2	2	6	10
1 First corporal	8	2	2	6	11
1 Second corporal	7	2	2	6	10
1 Grenadier	6	2	2	6	9
<i>Regular Infantry Company</i>					
1 First sergeant	12	—	2	—	14
1 Second sergeant	10	—	2	—	12
1 Drummer	6	2	2	6	9
1 First corporal	7	2	2	6	10
1 Second corporal	6	2	2	6	9
1 Private soldier	5	2	2	6	8

Officers, sergeants, drummers, corporals, and private soldiers in the artillery shall receive the pay indicated for grenadiers and the payment of their allowances shall be made in the same manner.

Inasmuch as veteran troops cannot be recruited during their stay in America, any gratuities there shall be at the pleasure of the King, and the corps shall administer the funds only under those rules and

formalities which best conserve the same and guarantee the legitimacy of the expenditures made; for which purpose the regiment on its return to Spain shall give the inspector an exact account of the funds on hand, expenditures made, and men short, so that with due consideration of all these particulars, he may leave the corps sufficient funds to put itself in good condition and have the balance returned to the royal treasury.

For the mess of the troops one real daily shall be deducted from the monthly allowance and all the remainder paid into the hand of the soldier himself for tobacco, other sundries, and voluntary expenditures, but not including barber or laundress, who must be paid from the deduction made for maintenance.

Under no consideration shall there be admitted into the veteran troops as drummer or fifer any slave, or any negro or mulatto, even though free. All men of those ranks must be white, of good conduct, and honorable character.

Each year the troops shall be outfitted with coat, waistcoat, breeches, and other necessary items. After this outfitting (which should be determined by the climate) has been done, pay shall be settled to the first day of the month in which they begin to wear the new outfit. After retaining for each soldier four pesos as an emergency fund for use in case of need, the balance remaining shall be immediately paid.

Each day of hospitalization among the veteran troops shall be charged for at the rate of two reales for a sergeant, one and a quarter for drummer, first or second corporal or grenadier, and one real for each private soldier.

The monthly settlement shall be the only one made to the troops by the royal officers. Each month they shall charge for the days of hospitalization during the preceding month, without longer delay than from one month to another. For this purpose the comptroller, or person in charge of the hospital, shall be instructed to furnish the offices of the royal exchequer on the first day of each month a formal statement of hospitalizations during the preceding month, classified by regiments, and to give a similar document to each corps for its information.

In order to facilitate the settlement of pay, there shall be no high or low grades for sergeants, drummers, corporals, or private soldiers. All those who appear at review shall be given their pay for that month, but anyone who is recruited thereafter or is promoted to sergeant or corporal shall not be entered on the rolls until the following review. However, the corps must give recruits the allowance due them, taking this from the gratuity chest, to which shall be devoted pay left by the dead and deserters. In regard to those

promoted, they shall be credited with their new pay only from the first day of the month in which they appear at review.

To avoid any complaint by soldiers over the price of the goods furnished them for their maintenance, the captain, upon learning that a soldier needs some article, shall give the cost of same to a sergeant so that, accompanied by the soldier, and provided that the soldier is satisfied with the price and quality, the sergeant may pay for same. Both of them shall return with the article purchased to the captain's house for his approval. It is to be thoroughly understood that the soldier is never to be required to patronize a certain shop, but rather that he is to be allowed full liberty in this particular, except when the corps makes a formal contract for goods to definite advantage. However, for this purpose there must be a committee of captains, a written contract, and samples approved by the inspector, who must see to it that the contractors comply faithfully, and that in no way is injury done the soldier.

In order that the settlements and payments of the troops may henceforth be made with due formality and proper precautions for the best protection of the royal interests, in each regiment there shall be a subaltern officer as paymaster, to whom shall be given an appointment signed by all the captains, one lieutenant, and one sub-lieutenant of each battalion, who must agree to the selection of the officers of this rank. This appointment must be approved by the inspector and be registered in the office of royal exchequer, so that the signature of the officer selected may be duly honored. This officer shall sign the payrolls of the corps and receive all pay monthly.

Punishments in the troop shall always be in accordance with the stipulations of the royal ordinances. Good treatment and the exact observance of military laws are the only means of preserving among the troops that discipline and subordination so important to His Majesty's service and recommended by his repeated royal orders.

The captains must bear in mind that they are always responsible for the discipline of their companies, and that they have subalterns to assist them in this, but not to relieve them entirely of this duty. They shall also see to it that their sergeants and corporals are fully instructed in all the points of their duties.

All officers shall take particular care that the soldiers appear on the streets with greatest cleanliness, and far from tolerating in America any lack of respect or subordination, they shall see that they are observed with the greatest strictness.

Captains shall not permit any member of their companies to wear any article which is not part of his uniform, prohibiting the purchase of such; and officers at their inspections of clothing, which shall take place every Saturday, shall bear this prohibition in mind.

It shall be announced by public proclamation that any shopkeeper or other person who trusts a soldier for a larger amount than two reales shall not have the right to demand payment, nor may the captain compel this, in view of the bad example which would result. This proclamation shall be repeated every six months.

Mess shall be served with the same formality as in Spain. Mess orderlies shall carry it to the troops, but shall never be permitted to make use of negroes for this purpose, nor for washing pots or fetching wood, even though they pay them themselves.

Everything not covered in this regulation shall be governed by the provisions of the general ordinances of the army and regulations issued for the government of troops in Spain.

From these regulations Señor Don Antonio de Ulloa will select those suitable for the government of Louisiana.

GRIMALDI (Rubric)

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

May 28, 1766^a

No. 2.

I returned here on the 17th from the journey which I made to the posts of the colony. On the 18th I received Your Lordship's favor of April 17th in which you advise me of the decision made for the despatch of the one hundred and ten thousand pesos allotment for this place which is to come by His Majesty's frigate, the *Jupiter*. In compliance with what Your Lordship instructs me, I immediately sent a large boat from here to La Baliza with Treasurer *ad interim* Don Martín Navarro to receive the funds there. In this way I avoid the necessity of having the frigate come up the river. However, up to the present there is no advice when it will arrive but, when it does, it need not be delayed.

I advise Your Lordship of this, placing myself at your orders.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *May 28, 1766*.

Your Lordship's most attentive servant and friend kisses your hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA.

^a AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*June 14, 1766*⁷

No. 3.

I have received Your Lordship's favor of May 2, by the frigate *Jupiter*, which on the 3rd of this month anchored between the Isla del Gato and Venaos on the Mobile coast. According to what the captain says, it was necessary to anchor because the pilot whom he was given did not dare to proceed from there to La Baliza as had been decided. Moreover, according to his story, the captain was given neither course nor orders in writing as to the place where he should come. He was told that the pilot would direct him and this he has done in the manner mentioned above, resulting in great delay to the captain and unnecessary expenses for both vessels here. One of the vessels has been at La Baliza since May 21 and the other, which on June 9 went in search of the frigate, at the anchorage. In the meantime, the captain has come to me here with the funds, bringing them by his felucca. He arrived yesterday and counting has begun today. I judge that it will be four days more before he can set sail for Vera Cruz while he could easily have been there already if he had come directly to La Baliza. This is the fault of the pilot and of his not having been given a course like the one I have sent for such occasions.

I take note of the retention of the 60,000 pesos of the allotment, which are not needed at present, until the court has decided what is to be done. I believe that Your Lordship will be advised by it as to what is proper since I have so arranged it. In this connection the advices communicated to you by the court will serve Your Lordship as a guide, but whenever there is occasion to make remittances of money on any vessel that is selected, it should be done by placing on board a real pilot of this route and coast, so that he may carry out his mission and arrive at La Baliza, and not embarrass the one in command of the vessel with his inexpertness.

If the *Volante* is not there when this occurs, the frigate *Jupiter* can bring it on its return to Vera Cruz, because its captain and officers are now more experienced than they were, at the cost of not having hit the mark on the first voyage. It will always be necessary to seek a pilot, doing so constantly, and being content with fishermen because, although they are no good as pilots for large vessels and are ignorant of the ship's course, they do know the coast.

I wish Your Lordship all felicity in the heavy duties of your government and that your health may remain unimpaired, and

⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

again place myself at your orders in all sincerity, praying Our Lord will protect you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 14, 1766.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*July 8, 1766*⁸

No. 4.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: It has finally been necessary to remove the sergeant of the Spanish company of this colony, Pedro de Flores, at the proposal and the request of its captain, Don Francisco Ríu, for the offense of swindling and having been incorrigible therein, not only now but also from the time he was in Spain. He has become addicted to this irregularity with greater license here, although I have attempted to prevent his continuing these excesses. Perhaps he may incite others to desertion, of which enough is being experienced on account of the proximity of this colony to the English ones. It has seemed to me that, in order that the King may not lose this man, I should send him to Your Lordship with his regimental registry, which I enclose, so that you may attach him to whatever regiment of your post you consider best.

I remain at Your Lordship's orders with great willingness and pray that God protect you for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 8, 1766.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*August 31, 1766*⁹

No. 7.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have been ordered by His Majesty that, as soon as possession was taken, I should make a beginning of the works to the full extent permitted by the funds allotted to this place. Although this amount is small for such a large task, my obedience will be manifested by my prompt execution of what I have been ordered.

In this connection I beg Your Lordship, when you are permitted by your pressing duties, to be pleased to order that there be remitted here the 60,000 pesos remaining there although I consider that, pending a reply to the last reports, possession may not be taken. The reason is that there are not even enough troops to garrison the posts

⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

when possession is taken. The French troops, despite the fact that they have been informed that His Majesty is placing those of this colony on the same scale of pay as all those in the Indies, insist that they be given their discharges, because they have completed more than eight years since the time of their last enlistment. There is no other recourse than to bring the troops from Spain.

I am Your Lordship's servant with great willingness and pray God protect you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 31, 17[66]*.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*December 12, 1766*¹⁰

No. 8.

MY VERY DEAR SIR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND: This colony is so lacking in what is necessary that there is not to be had here even what is most requisite for its repair. On the other hand, there are things so urgent that they should have been done as soon as peace was concluded, and they are so many that one does not know where to begin; but in order to make a beginning somewhere, I am writing at this time to Don Joseph de Armona, asking him to furnish me some workmen and flags, reserving other requests for the future.

I am also writing to Quartermaster General Don Miguel de Altamira, so that from the allotment that has already been made or from other sums that His Majesty may be pleased to assign for these expenses, he may furnish him all the funds he may ask for. Although I do not doubt that he will do so, nevertheless, knowing the distinguished zeal of Your Lordship for whatever is conducive to the service of His Majesty, I can do no less than request that you please lend your assistance in all this, giving Don Joseph de Armona the aid and guidance that he may need, although his own knowledge is very great, and persuading the quartermaster general, despite the urgencies that I presume exist there, to lend his aid in these matters which need it very much.

I hope that with the aid of Your Lordship everything will be accomplished, and that we shall attain that which is of such great importance.

I offer Your Lordship my services and with sincere affection pray God to protect you many years.

BALIZA, *December 12, 1766*.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

¹⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*December 28, 1766*¹¹

No. 11.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Some of the passengers who were shipwrecked on the *Nuevo Constante* have asked me to permit them to proceed to your city on a French vessel, setting forth the losses that would be caused them by remaining longer in this colony. I have agreed to this, inasmuch as there is at present no Spanish vessel in the river, permitting them to proceed by the brigantine *La Resurse*, whose captain is Jean Dursse. The persons who are going both from the abovementioned vessel and from the *Corazon de Jesús* are those shown by the attached list.

For this reason the said captain has been entrusted with boxes of letters, and when these, together with the passengers and baggage are landed, Your Lordship will please allow him to set sail again without any hindrance being placed in the way of continuing his voyage.

I place myself at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to protect you for many years.

BALIZA, *December 28, 1766.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

(Accompanying the foregoing)

List of passengers and seamen taken by the French brigantine, captained by Jean Dursse, from this colony to the port of Havana, together with their baggage.

PASSENGERS

Don Santiago Regato and family—4 chests and 2 bottle cases.

Don Gregorio Alsazua—one trunk and one bottle case.

Don Pedro Alonso Truley—one trunk.

Don Joseph Gómez—2 trunks.

Don Francisco Bautista Liandry—one trunk and one letter case.

SEAMEN

Juan de Games, caulker—one chest.

His servant.

Joseph Riva.

Vicente González.

¹¹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

Joseph González with some letters addressed to Don Manuel de Urrutia.

Antonio Molina.

Juan Cazal—3 boxes.

GOVERNMENTAL EXPENSES

1767¹²

COLONY OF LOUISIANA

No. 1.

Prior to acquainting himself with the expenses which were necessary for the maintenance of the colony of Louisiana, the King allotted to it one hundred and fifty thousand pesos annually, and decreed two things: first, that the Indians should continue to be given the same ordinary and extraordinary presents as had been given them by France; second, that all the military and civil employees which His Most Christian Majesty had there should remain in the service of His Majesty and at the same salaries.

In the instruction sent to Don Antonio de Ulloa, all this was covered and he was ordered to submit lists of the annual amount of said presents and salaries and as exact a statement as possible of all the other indispensable expenses of the colony.

He has submitted these, and from everything it appears that the ordinary expenses are as follows:

ORDINARY EXPENSES

	Pesos
The maintenance of a regiment costs in the Indies, on the basis of pay which it receives at present, 176,171 pesos annually. According to the reports rendered by the French commandants and those now submitted by Ulloa, 1200 men are necessary to garrison the posts of the colony properly. Let us suppose that at present no more than one battalion is maintained. This will cost.....	88,000
Payment of the various employees in the offices of justice and police of the colony cost France 86,040 livres, amounting in pesos to.....	17,200
Payment of the salaries and wages of the various commandants and employees in the posts of the colony.....	8,448
The prime cost of the goods which must be sent annually, according to the estimate made by the consul at Bordeaux, amounts to 441,811 livres to which must be added the expenses of commission, transportation to the port, packing and freight, which will be at least 6%, amounting to 26,508 livres, and making a total of 468,319, equivalent in pesos <i>fuertes</i> to 93,660. Half of these goods is for the annual presents to the Indians and must be counted as expense; the other half is for the King's stores and is sent in place of money.....	46,830

¹² AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

	Pesos
The prepared medicines which must be sent annually for the hospital maintained by the King for the posts are estimated at 30,000 reales, including containers and packing.....	1,500
The other expenses of the hospital in which officers, soldiers, paupers, and negroes of the King are treated are not estimated but must be considered	000
For the spiritual care of the city and posts 24 Capuchin monks are required; each of the twelve now there were given by France 120 pesos annually for support. They claim that they cannot live on this and that it will be necessary to increase it to 150, totalling annually.	3,600
Salary of the governor.....	8,000
<i>Comisario</i>	2,400
<i>Contador</i>	1,500
<i>Contador's</i> clerk	600
Spanish clerk needed in the <i>contaduria</i>	000
Salary of the Lieutenant Colonel of Cavalry M. de Villemont, who was here formerly	1,000
Salaries for the commandants placed over the new Acadian settlers must be included, which, based on what the other post commandants enjoy, will amount to.....	600
Two engineers must be sent to take charge of the works which must be carried out and their salaries should be considered.....	000
	<hr/> 179,678

So that even without including in the total some important items, the indispensable ordinary expenses amount to one hundred and seventy-nine thousand, six hundred and seventy-eight pesos, which is 29,678 more than the present allotment.

EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES

To the said expenses must be added other no less considerable ones, which, although they may be called extraordinary, will continue for a long time.

In order to understand these, it must be noted that in the whole colony there is not a building which does not need repair, and that those which require rebuilding are quite numerous.

It is necessary to rebuild the principal church of the city, as the present one is so threatened with ruin that it has been decided to remove the Holy Sacrament and place it in a guard house.

A church must be built for the Ursuline nuns, who have none.

The convent of the Capuchins must be rebuilt, because they have one now in such ruin that they are compelled to live in private houses.

La Baliza must be rebuilt, as it is so damaged that everything there at present is assessed at only 983 livres.

A fort must be established at the mouth of the Missouri River to

guard its entrance and defend the settlements of Pencur and Ste. Geneviève, opposite which the English have fortified themselves.

There must be another opposite Manchac, to prevent the English, who have one there, from coming over to the south bank of the Iberville River, and to protect our convoys up the river.

The post of Ylinueses is in extremely bad condition and must be repaired without delay, as it is one of the most important of the colony.

The fortification of New Orleans consists of a stockade which is continually deteriorating on account of the moisture of the soil. The cost of repairing it must be considered.

Also to be considered is the cost of the repair of the warehouses and other buildings of the King, which, being of wood and earth, do not last long.

To this must be added the cost of increasing the population of the colony, which should constitute its greatest strength.

It will be difficult and very costly to colonize it with Europeans. Since the cession of Canada to the English, various families of Acadians have come in after suffering great hardship and misery on the way, and have been formed into a settlement.

Ulloa praises these people highly and considers practically certain the promises they made that, in order to preserve their Catholic religion, about ten thousand families will come, provided their passage is paid, land given them to cultivate, and means of subsistence for the first year.

The passage of each family which has come in has cost France 20 to 25 pesos. Besides allotting land to them, France has assisted them with tools to clear and till it, together with a gun and ammunition for hunting, and corn for food and seed.

Ulloa says that this is not sufficient, and in view of the misery he has seen them suffer, it will be necessary to add a cow and calf, six hens, and a cock. Supposing that many families come, even though not as many as Ulloa thinks, if such aid is given them, it will be necessary to provide funds for this purpose.

In New Orleans and all the other posts of the colonies there are the following serviceable cannon:

45	of	18
5	of	12
6	of	8
15	of	6
14	of	4

Ulloa says that in order to equip every post with those indispensably necessary, it will be necessary to send:

20	of	24
15	of	12
4	of	8
17	of	6
31	of	4
4	of	2
<hr/>		
91		
15	Mortars	of 8 inches
14		of 9
8		of 6
<hr/>		
37		
20	Howitzers.	

In order to serve the artillery, there are needed 11 officers, 22 sergeants, 135 gunners, 28 bombardiers, 6 artificers, 4 smiths, 5 carpenters, 4 armorers.

With regard to the artillery which must be sent, it is probable that this will be supplied from the King's arsenals, but the pay of the men sent to serve it must be counted as an ordinary expense of the colony.

Ulloa reports that the English have on the Mississippi River several coast guard vessels, and are never without one or two war frigates.

He adds that it is necessary for us to keep at least another frigate there to protect our shipping on the said river and insure respect for the colony.

This point requires a decision, and if it is decided to keep vessels there, their maintenance must be provided for.

The savages and Choctaws living in the part ceded to the English must be given presents for the years 1761 and 1762. Since then they have been content with promises, but now they insist strongly that they be given these, threatening war if denied.

This is a tribe which could destroy various settlements of the colony if steps are not taken to satisfy it, and for said gifts some eight thousand pesos are needed.

This is an expenditure which France should make, but as she does not do so and we would suffer the results, it is necessary to assume it and include it among the extraordinary expenses.

These matters have been discussed with Bailio Arriaga and Don Miguel de Muzquiz, and in view of everything and bearing in mind the other obligations of the crown, they have given their decision in writing. In this they are of the opinion that the allotment of

that province should be increased to two hundred and fifty thousand pesos for all its expenses, with the stipulation that twenty-five thousand pesos should be used precisely for assisting the Acadian families who may come to the colony, without diverting this amount to any other purpose.

They are also of the opinion that, without causing any shortage here, some artillery could be sent there, which for the time being could be half of what Ulloa requests, together with half of the men he also requests to serve it.

The King approves the allotment of the 250,000 pesos, in accordance with the conditions given above, but stipulates that this increase of 100,000 pesos in the allotment must not take effect before the middle of this year, 1767, in view of the shortage being suffered by the treasury of Mexico.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*January 23, 1767*¹³

No. 12.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I find on my hands at one and the same time three expeditions, three settlements, and four forts, which, although not costly in themselves, are made so by the great distance at which they are to be formed, as I have informed Your Lordship. At the same time all the expenses of the colony have been paid from last June on in Spanish money on account of the total discredit into which the paper has fallen; and the whole colony is now dependent on these funds.

In this connection I can do no less than request Your Lordship most urgently to forward, the moment it is received and without the least delay, the allotment or any other funds that His Majesty may assign to this place. Please bear in mind that there is no recourse here from which to obtain funds, and that these people, even without cause, clamor seditiously, as has already been experienced on various occasions, making it indispensable to maintain what little we have at present. There are also the new settlements that are to be made, for all of which, funds are necessary.

I remain your most devoted and affectionate servant and pray that God protect you for many years.

BALIZA, *January 23, 1767*.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

¹³ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*January 23, 1767*¹⁴

No. 13.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The vessel carrying this letter is touching at your port with covers for the ministry, as well as to leave there Don James Noble, an Irishman by race, but who says that he is naturalized in Spain. It is very important that he should proceed directly there by the very first opportunity that offers itself, either mailboat or other vessel, to discuss with the ministry matters of the greatest consideration. I have already advised and informed it that I was having him set out for that city.¹⁵

This man was there after the English took possession of that place, and had large commercial interests.

When it was returned to us he bought from the Spaniards in Pensacola the properties they had there, but the civil governor, Mr. George Johnston did not permit him the use of them. He recently came to this colony to engage in business in which he has not been entirely successful.

I beg Your Lordship, inasmuch as the matters that oblige me to dispatch him there are of interest to the service of the King and in view of what I owe to his favor, to aid and assist him to sail as promptly as possible. I do not doubt that the Minister of State, for whom I have given him an open letter which he will show to Your Lordship, will thank you for doing so, and I shall always remain properly grateful.

I hope for many opportunities to show my sincere affection as your faithful servant and may God protect you many years.

BALIZA, *January 23, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*March 3, 1767*¹⁶

No. 15.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: As it is possible that the allotment for this colony may be delayed, I have informed Your Lordship there are no means here of obtaining funds in cases of urgency. The contingency has already arrived, due to the indispensable expenditures which have been made for the armaments that have been ordered and those being made separately by the French commissariat.

¹⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

¹⁵ Havana.

¹⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

In view of this and also of the fact that here everything causes revolts and sedition, I should thank Your Lordship, if your circumstances so permit, please to order that I be sent promptly 40,000 or 50,000 pesos for account of the allotment. This sum is more important to receive now than the entire amount at one time in May or June, because, as it is not all consumed at one time, if there is sufficient for the ordinary expenses, nothing more is needed.

If there were any funds here, they could be made use of as loans until those of the King arrive, but there are none. The money which enters here immediately returns to Europe, so that the colony is entirely devoid of any recourse. For this reason, as I have already told Your Lordship, a small sum is more desirable in an emergency than a larger one afterwards.

I promise myself that Your Lordship, in view of these circumstances, will kindly lend your assistance, in so far as circumstances permit, toward remedying the present need, as you know better than anyone else the consequences and the situation in which the colony finds itself, populated by foreigners everywhere and surrounded by perils.

May God preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

BALIZA, *March 3, 1767*.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

EXTRACT FROM THE RECORDS OF THE MEETING OF THE SUPERIOR
COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA

*March 7, 1767*¹⁷

On this date, the King's attorney general makes remonstrance that the court has always been reluctant to tolerate advocates or solicitors in this colony; that it has always applauded the ministerial orders, which are the basis for the establishment of this country, and which declared lawyers to be harmful to its development. The multiplicity of affairs, and the need to distinguish between certain communities for the apportionment among the various co-heirs of the dowries, rights, and other claims, and the grandsons and the great-grandsons who give proof in their claims of their proper descent, had induced this court to allow an advocate and a solicitor to practice their calling, with the purpose of advising the parties, of urging them to make a settlement, and of uprooting the cause of lawsuits by a compromise and properly drawn up guardianship accounts. He further points out that these motives were worthy of the open protection which the council granted, in its capacity and out of its free

¹⁷ Bancroft Library (Printed in French).

will, to the sad and grievous state of client and defendant; that it is the duty of the same attorney general to describe to that same court the abuses which arise and the rapid strides made by cupidity; that it is notorious that the quickest road to fortune has been taken by this aforesaid advocate and still more by the new solicitor, and that their clients are loudly complaining of exorbitant fees and vexations. A petition containing four or five sheets of writing costs four-and-twenty piasters. The decrees rendered by this same court are paraphrased, and we have just seen a final decree costing nine hundred and fifty-two livres, of which more than seven hundred should be refused. There is an intent to claim that the solicitor's or the advocate's activities in speaking to the chief justice or the attorney general should be paid for in addition to the cost of the petition and that the signal disinterestedness, and the modest rights and fees, adopted by the gentlemen of the bar, were not sufficient for men who should deem it an honor to follow principles precious to honor and humanity. Finally, it is the duty of the said attorney general, in order to correct abuses, stamp out the progress of cupidity, and restore their rights to all parties who by their status are under orders from the court, to demand: (1) that it be stated in the Decree of Intervention, that the court tolerates MM. Doucet and Azemar in their functions as advocate and solicitor, merely for the purpose of counselling the parties, or inducing them to compromise, and of obliterating the cause for litigation by compromise or properly drawn up guardianship accounts; (2) that they shall be required to sign all their papers, and that fines and legal sanctions be applied to all phraseology employed in contempt of the court or the persons against whom they shall plead; (3) that they shall be forbidden to receive any payment from their clients except against a receipt; (4) that they state the amounts of their expenses with reference to clerical work and other fees to be determined by a councilor commissioner and by the attorney general. Finally the attorney general demands that all the parties be authorized to lodge a complaint against the advocate or solicitor who becomes delinquent in these cases, so that they may be restored in their rights to the full extent of the law; and that the Decree of Intervention be recorded, read, published, posted, and intimated to MM. Doucet and Azemar, sole advocate and solicitor tolerated in this city. After the said remonstrance and request were seen and examined, the attorney general withdrew. The council has tolerated and does tolerate MM. Doucet and Azemar, in their functions solely as advisers to the parties, to induce them to compromise and uproot the causes of litigations, through private agreements or properly drawn up guardianship accounts. It has commanded and does command them to sign all

their legal papers; it forbids them to use any phrases, in writing or otherwise, which would be in contempt of the court or the persons against whom they are pleading, under penalty of an arbitrary fine and legal punishment; likewise it commands them to receive no sums from their clients without giving them a receipt, and whenever they shall have clerical work or other expenditures, to have them determined by a councilor commissioner, in presence of the attorney general. In view of all this, it has authorized and does authorize all parties to lodge complaints against the advocate or solicitor who shall be delinquent, so that they shall receive justice with the full severity required by the circumstances. The council has ordered and does order that this decree shall be recorded, read, published, and posted wherever need be, and intimated to MM. Doucet and Azemar, sole advocate and solicitor tolerated. The attorney general's deputies are enjoined to watch over the execution of this decree.

Given in the Council Chamber, March seventh, seventeen hundred and sixty-seven.

For the Council
GARIC, *Chief Clerk*.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*March 11, 1767*¹⁸

No. 16.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I bring to the attention of Your Lordship the opening of a new channel in the bar of this river, running to the northeast and having somewhat more water than the one to the east, the former entrance.

Adjacent to it I have had raised five poles, 40 varas long, in the form of a pyramid, to serve as a lookout, and in clear weather I have no doubt that they will be sighted by vessels four to five leagues off shore. This I bring to your attention so that you may advise those coming from there, informing them that this pyramid indicates the entrance of the bar from whatever direction they see it, as it is situated on an islet two gun-shots north of the channel.

I hope for many occasions to serve Your Lordship and beg God to protect you for many years.

BALIZA, *March 11, 1767*.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

¹⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*March 20, 1767*¹⁹

No. 18.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The mail schooner *El Postillon* arrived here from Havana on the 12th instant, bringing the workmen and materials that I had requested of the administrator general, Don Joseph de Armona, for the establishment of the forts that are to be made. As for the success of these measures, they may already be looked on as attained, since the expeditions, which were ready, are to set out without delay. For Your Lordship's kind and effective assistance, which always distinguishes you, I offer my gratitude. The prompt dispatch of the expeditions is essential since everything depends on these measures and also because, as I have told Your Lordship, in this colony one cannot count on anything here that will help in the carrying out of what is needed. This circumstance is most regrettable in connection with the many others that afflict the one who is entrusted with command of it.

I hope for continued opportunities to serve Your Lordship and to serve on those occasions with zeal. I beg God to protect you many years.

BALIZA, *March 20, 1767*.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*March 20, 1767*²⁰

No. 19.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I give Your Lordship many thanks for the particular attention with which you have been pleased, at my recommendation, to treat Don James Noble until his departure for Spain. This forethought is very important for the affairs of this colony, as I have already informed Your Lordship.

I shall look forward to having similar opportunities of pleasing Your Lordship and pray that God protect you many years.

BALIZA, *March 20, 1767*.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

¹⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

²⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*March 25, 1767*²¹

No. 20.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: By this opportunity I am sending to Your Lordship for your disposition Gregorio Gor, one of the seamen enrolled and registered in the Comissariat of War of this colony for the service of His Majesty here, for the crime of having made himself leader of a mutiny with eleven others. Encouraged by the bad example of the disorder reigning in the colony, they refused to perform their duty.

For the purpose of moving these dilapidated huts a league and a half from here to an island adjacent to the new bar channel which has been discovered to be the best place where the pilots should be, I ordered a boat manned by Spanish seamen to come from the city. This step I took as a reproof to the crew of the French boat that is maintained here at the expense of His Majesty but which has refused to do anything that is for his royal service, demanding special payment for anything they do. The boat arrived at the bar, and since it was necessary for it to transport to the island the materials to be used as a foundation there and to assist in this work, as is the custom on this river, the first day the crew did so without objection. However, on the second day, in imitation of the French in the license with which the latter conduct themselves without obedience or respect for their superiors, all of them as one man refused to perform this work. They presented themselves to me in a body and the man I am now sending to Your Lordship, acting as spokesman for the others, told me emphatically that all those present would not do any work on the island. I did not give him time to proceed, but had him taken by the French storekeeper and two or three others, whom I immediately summoned for this purpose, to a poor hut that serves as a prison and placed him in irons. I told the others that the ships in this bay have yardarms for mutineers, which was enough, so that without more ado they went to work.

The night before there had also been trouble with the same men about the rations, which they spurned with contempt for the Spanish Sovereign who provided them.

If these excesses are not corrected in the beginning, especially in a country as populous as this one is, it will be impossible to have anything done here in the service of the King, particularly as there are not troops in the colony to restrain license. On this occasion there was not, nor is there yet, a single soldier here, French or

²¹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

Spanish, because three of them had gone to the city to take as a prisoner on his own vessel the captain of a small sloop for the offense of threatening to strike the captain of French infantry in command of this place. Such audaciousness is common here. Three others had gone to take the news of the arrival of the mail boat, so that preparations might be made. These six men are ne'er-do-wells with the name of soldiers. Such is the garrison of the mouth of the Mississippi and the colony of Louisiana.

In view of the fact that it is necessary to maintain the colony and the service of the King by fear and energy rather than by power, I can do no less than ask Your Lordship to order the seaman, Gregorio Gor, placed in El Morro in shackles for the period of two years. With this example I am convinced there will be some subordination in those remaining here; and even though the progress may be small, there will be some when there is some obedience. He has received his pay from the day he enlisted to that of his arrest.

Consider, Your Lordship, how can there be any progress here or regularity in the conduct of the government when there are no troops with which to maintain respect and to restrain license. It should be understood that these seamen and the others who have been enlisted for the three expeditions to the number of 100 men are those who rove about on the vessels in illicit trade, independent, and without any discipline whatever. Since this vice prevails with the same excess as all the others in the colony, it is a providence of God that it has been possible to control them. This has been done up to the present by threats, but now these will not suffice unless they see those who commit excesses punished.

I place myself at your command and pray that God grant you many years of happy life.

BALIZA, *March 25, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*April 2, 1767*²²

No. 21.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The captain of the mail schooner has been entrusted with Matias Garreta, a Spanish seaman of this colony, so that Your Lordship may please order that he be punished for the offense of having attacked and resisted the French patrol, wounding one of them, in a house where they found him out of hours and disorderly. For this crime, if Your Lordship is so pleased, you may

²² AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

punish him with two years in irons in El Morro, so that this may serve as a warning to others here. I inform Your Lordship of this for the reason that there is no way or means of punishing here those who commit offenses such as this one.

I remain at the orders of Your Lordship with the most sincere affection and pray God to protect you for many years.

BALIZA, *April 2, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*April 6, 1767*²³

No. 23.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Don Julian Antonio de Urcullo has delivered to this treasury of His Majesty nine thousand pesos *fuertes* to defray the ordinary expenses arising here; and as he is to receive the same amount in that city, I shall esteem it a favor if Your Lordship will order that he be paid this from the allotment for this year by virtue of the receipt that he has from the treasurer *ad interim* here.

I look forward to serving Your Lordship and hope that in the accomplishment of your orders you will regard me as a faithful and obedient servant. I pray God to protect you many years.

BALIZA, *April 6, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*April 6, 1767*²⁴

No. 24.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Don Julian Antonio de Urcullo, captain and first pilot of the ship *El Nuevo Constante*, is returning to your city by the brigantine *San Joseph y Nuestra Señora del Carmen* (alias *El Bello Indio*), which he bought for the purpose of carrying the cargo that he was able to save from his ship.

It has been necessary to ballast it with brick, for lack of anything else in the colony with which this could be done. It has on board two Spaniards who were here, as shown by the special permission given them.

It is also taking another Spaniard named Don Manuel de Roalcaba, who is going secretly as an exile from the colony; for it is

²³ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

²⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

agreed that he has taken this means of freeing himself from ignominious disaster, leaving behind many fraudulent debts and numerous persons who have demands on him for his excessive gambling and other irregularities.

I obey the orders of Your Lordship and with the truest affection hope for many future opportunities to serve you. May God protect you for many years.

BALIZA, *April 6, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

GRIMALDI TO ARRIAGA

*May 13, 1767*²⁵

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have brought to the attention of the King a summary of the individual reports which Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor of the province of Louisiana, has written at various times about the expenditures which are necessary to make in order to maintain it, showing that it is impossible to do so with the 150,000 pesos which were allotted to it in the beginning. I have also read to His Majesty Your Excellency's opinion of January 29 and that of Don Miguel de Muzquiz of March 4, about this matter, and His Majesty has agreed to what is proposed therein and has decided to increase said allotment by another hundred thousand pesos. This is not to take effect nor to be counted on until the first day of July next, so that, with said increase, that province will enjoy in the current year an allotment of two hundred thousand pesos, and from the beginning of next year, 1768, and thereafter, two hundred and fifty thousand. This amount must defray all expenses of divine worship, maintenance of troops, salaries of employees, gifts to the Indians, and the establishment and preservation of fortifications and buildings. It is stipulated that 25,000 pesos be devoted solely for use in assisting the Acadian families who may come to said colony, and that this sum may not be diverted to any other purposes.

I advise Your Excellency of this at the direction of His Majesty, in order that you may issue the proper instructions, so that this year the said colony may be paid by the royal treasury of Mexico the said 200,000 pesos, and the next year and thereafter, 250,000.

I trust that when Your Excellency does so, you will advise me of it; and I pray Our Lord to preserve you for many years.

ARANJUEZ, *May 13, 1767.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

SEÑOR BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

²⁵ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

ROYAL ORDER

*May 19, 1767*²⁶

THE KING.

My viceroy, governor and captain general of the kingdom of New Spain and president of the Audencia of Mexico: As it is impossible for the assignment of 150,000 pesos for the annual allotment of the province of Louisiana to defray the expenses which necessarily arise and may arise in the future, I have resolved to increase the said allotment by another hundred thousand pesos; but this is not to take effect nor be counted upon until the first day of July next. Consequently, with this increase, that province shall enjoy in this current year two hundred thousand pesos allotment, and from the beginning of next year, 1768, and thereafter, two hundred and fifty thousand pesos, with which must be defrayed all expenses, for fortifications as well as every other kind that may arise. As these amounts are to be provided by the treasury of my royal exchequer in that capital, you will send them for this purpose to the intendant of my royal exchequer of the Island of Cuba and the town of Havana, so that they may be applied as agreed upon with the governor of that province, Don Antonio de Ulloa.

Take good note of this for punctual compliance therewith.

Given at ARANJUEZ, *May 19, 1767*.

GRIMALDI TO LOYOLA

*May 27, 1767*²⁷

The governor, Don Antonio de Ulloa, has brought to the attention of the King the orders he has given for the establishment of three settlements on the Missouri, Colorado, and Iberville rivers. The King has taken note of them and I am informing Ulloa by this mail of his royal approval, so that they may be put into effect and observed until His Majesty issues a general regulation for the governing of the colony. I am instructing him to send you a copy, signed by him, of the instruction which he issues or sends to the storekeepers, and a copy of the articles bearing upon the relation the commandants may have with the royal exchequer, so that these offices being advised of them, you may have them observed insofar as affects you.

One of the things of which he will inform you, if he has not already done so, is the method to be followed for the maritime service at all the posts of the colony. Another is the order that the commandants of the new settlements be given a five per cent profit

²⁶ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

²⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 2357.

on the goods shipped for their own benefit, any additional price they may bring falling to the royal exchequer. The King wishes that both measures be put into practice in all the posts of the colony and desires that you should contribute for your part to their being instituted. However, as it is not probable that this can be done insofar as affects the old posts until possession is taken, it may be advisable to keep the idea secret until then. Secrecy is very essential in those who handle government affairs and very necessary in almost everything, but particularly in measures aiming to reform abuses, because if they are published beforehand, opportunity is given for the invention of obstacles by those interested in their continuance.

May Our Lord protect you the many years I desire.

ARANJUEZ, 27th of May 1767.

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON JUAN JOSEPH DE LOYOLA.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*June 17, 1767*²⁸

No. 26.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: By this opportunity there are being returned to your city the man who came here as a master shipwright, Lorenzo Jejun, together with a boy, his apprentice, Cristóbal Anaya, Francisco Utreta and Joseph Corral, journeyman cooper and apprentice, and Tomás Contreras and Gregorio Contreras, cabinet maker and apprentice, who are being discharged as not being suited for the work for which they were engaged. Experience has shown the deceit with which they presented themselves, seeking places as master workmen, when they are not even deserving of being called journeymen. It has been learned that some of them paid others of their crafts in your city to certify to their ability and good work so that they might be believed. However, this does not in any way detract from the merit and service rendered His Majesty by Don Joseph Antonio de Armona, at whose direction they came here, as it was a deceit that has been detected by experience. It was not easy to discover there and, due to the urgency and speed with which they were obtained, it could not be ascertained which of them were skilled at what they pretended to be, because otherwise the royal exchequer would have had a greater burden without any advantage or profit.

²⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

I place myself at your command with assurances of faithful obedience and pray God to protect you for many years.

ISLA REAL CATÓLICA DE SAN CARLOS, *June 17, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*June 17, 1767*²⁹

No. 28.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: If from the end of March there began to be felt the effects caused by the lack of money, as I informed Your Lordship after this became the case, you, with your wisdom, can well realize the present situation in which the colony has been placed.

All payments are suspended, not only by the Spanish commissariat but also by the French, and even the officials find themselves in the same predicament. This results not only in seditious and insolent rumors but also very extravagant and intolerable threats.

This mail should have been dispatched to Your Lordship the middle of last month, but because a small English sloop that was purchased for this purpose has been found unseaworthy, it has been delayed until the departure of the schooner *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* from Campeche, which is taking it.

I cannot exaggerate to Your Lordship the peril in which the colony finds itself, nor the importance of the arrival of some aid to fulfil the most urgent requirements and to quiet the disturbances that are being experienced. Therefore I again beg you earnestly, if you have any means of doing so, not to fail to arrange to remit some amount at once even though it be no more than 20,000 to 30,000 pesos, in case the allotment has not yet arrived. If it is already there, it can be sent, either all or the larger part, because, as I have already said, there is no objection to its being brought by schooner if accompanied by some trustworthy person, as otherwise I do not have confidence in its master.

I offer myself to the orders of Your Excellency and pray God to protect you for many years.

ISLA REAL CATÓLICA DE SAN CARLOS, *June 17, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

²⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*August 28, 1767*³⁰

No. 31.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: There arrived at the new establishment of Isla Real Católica de San Carlos, the 21st instant, Master Juan Caminada with his settee *San Juan Bautista*, bringing the sixty thousand pesos that Your Lordship advised me in your letter of the 30th ultimo were being sent for account of the allotment of this colony.

I shall see to it that this fund is received as soon as the vessel reaches this place, and shall give the said master the corresponding receipt in discharge of the obligation that he has contracted.

I place myself at your Lordship's disposal and pray God to guard your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 28, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*August 28, 1767*³¹

No. 37.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In letter of the 29th ultimo, Your Lordship advises me the same as the Most Excellent Señor Marqués de Grimaldi instructs me under date of May 27, last, regarding the suppression of this council as soon as possession of the colony is taken. In its place the governor shall exercise jurisdiction, having at his side for matters of litigation, an assessor whose nomination His Majesty reserves for himself; in this tribunal, in addition to the French notary who is there at present, it is indispensable to have another Spanish one supplied by Your Lordship with the title of royal notary of government and of affairs of war and exchequer. As it will be costly and troublesome to have one come from there, he should be assigned a moderate salary inasmuch as he is not to collect fees for the official acts he performs.

In view of this, and as Your Lordship offers so graciously to seek a man of integrity and honesty to fill this post, Your Lordship may do so, advising him in advance that the salary is six hundred pesos annually, so that with this knowledge he may see whether it is advantageous for him to change his domicile.

It will be advisable for Your Lordship to give the preference in making this selection to one who is married, so that there may be thus one more Spanish family in the colony.

³⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

³¹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

I wish Your Lordship continuance of good health and pray that God protect your life the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 28, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*August 28, 1767*³²

No. 38.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Under date of April 10, Your Lordship informs me of the troubles with which you found yourself beset because of the delay of the allotment of your post. At the same time you informed me that you had exhausted all the sources from which you could supply your needs, and that, since this was the same difficulty I was experiencing here, as I described to you in my letters of March 3 and 15, Your Lordship could not assist me in any way until such time as the funds should arrive from Vera Cruz.

There is no doubt that these things are the cause of great consternation to those in command, especially to me, finding myself in a country so poor that it is not possible to raise 500 pesos among all the citizens comprised in it. I so inform Your Lordship in another letter of mine under this date, which you will receive at the same time.

I trust that, in conformity with what Your Lordship will have represented to the Señor Viceroy, the remittances will be made with more regularity in the future, and thereby the service of the King will not find itself forced to experience the delays that are inevitably entailed by the lack of funds, since money facilitates everything.

I desire to express my wish for many occasions on which to serve Your Lordship and pray God to protect you for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 28, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA.

O'CONOR TO ULLOA

*September 5, 1767*³³

Received the 16th of December.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your favor of the third of last August in which you are pleased to ask my predecessor, Don Angel

³² AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

³³ BL.

de Martos y Navarrete,³⁴ upon receiving it to send the six deserters who went from your jurisdiction to this one. This can not be brought about by myself since Don Angel de Martos y Navarrete not only released the aforementioned deserters but gave them passports by means of which they were able to leave two months before I took over the command of this province. Some of them started for Vera Cruz and others for Mexico City. This is the reason that I am unable to send these six deserters to the commandant, Monsieur Laperiere, as you advise that I should do in your abovementioned letter of August 3.

These abuses, it seems to me, will cease in the future; for I shall send all classes of people, without any exception, who pass from that colony to this jurisdiction without a passport from Your Lordship or from the commandants of the posts, to the city of New Orleans under sufficient guard and custody so that Your Lordship may do as you deem advisable. To this end I am issuing the proper orders on this date to the presidios under my command so that they shall be fully complied with.

Not only the deserters from the new Louisiana have found shelter in this presidio, but likewise those from the presidios of this province. A proof of this is the fact that this garrison of Los Adaes is composed of the aforementioned deserters. Don Angel de Martos took advantage of the deserters from these presidios in order to prefer charges against the captains and suspend them from their offices. All this was at the instigation of Don Manuel de Soto Bermudes³⁵ who, in the year sixty-four, had the presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada burned with the purpose (according to the judicial proceeding drawn up by Don Angel himself on the subject) of taking the person of the captain by fire and sword.

Realizing that Your Lordship is exceedingly busy, and fearing to cause you too much trouble, I am not making you a report of all that happened in the aforementioned presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada, and in others of this province by the direction of Bermudes. I shall be indebted to Your Lordship if (in case he is in the town) you will send him to me at this presidio, and if you will be kind enough to order the commandant of Natchitoches, Monsieur Laperiere, to make all the necessary efforts to capture this Bermudes so that the people of this province may enjoy a longed-for tranquillity. This can never be realized with the aforesaid Soto in the

³⁴ Angel Martos y Navarrete received the appointment as governor of Texas in 1756 but did not arrive at his post until 1760. During his administration he became involved in a personal quarrel with Captain Rafael Martínez Pacheco, the commandant of San Agustín de Ahumada, which resulted in the incident mentioned in this document.

³⁵ Manuel de Soto Bermudes served as secretary to Governor Martos. He was engaged in the Indian trade and later had an establishment between Natchitoches and the Yatasi nation.

vicinity as he does everything possible to stir up the soldiery and settlers of these presidios. I beg of Your Lordship that the order which you may decide to give to Monsieur Laperiere on this matter be rigid.

I shall immediately make known to Your Lordship all that may pertain to the royal service in these regions without having recourse to any of the French commandants.

May our Lord preserve for as many years as possible the life of Your Lordship of which I have great need.

ROYAL PRESIDIO OF NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL PILAR DE LOS ADAES, *September 5, 1767.*

Your affectionate and devoted servant kisses the hands of Your Lordship.

HUGO O'CONOR (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*September 21, 1767*³⁶

No. 39.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The settee *San Juan Bautista*, which brought the 60,000 pesos for account of the allotment, is returning to your city. Although this sum has brought some relief, it is not sufficient to pay all the creditors in full, despite the fact that they were promised and were so led to expect that they would receive what was owed to them at the first opportunity.

For this reason it is necessary to contract new obligations on those that were not settled in full. Adding to this the fact that we are expecting from one day to another the troops and officers who were to leave Spain for here, it is inevitable that, as soon as this takes place, it will entail new and greater obligations. For this reason I hope that Your Lordship will please order that there be no delay in remitting the funds to complete the allotment, when the Viceroy of Mexico has had them sent to your city, as he promised.

I greatly appreciate Your Lordship's care in making this first remittance. It arrived at a time when I already could not bear to listen to the clamor but had no place to appeal, as money is one thing that is absolutely lacking here.

I offer my obedience to Your Lordship's orders with repeated willingness and pray God to protect you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 21, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

³⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

JERNINGHAM TO ULLOA

*November 28, 1767*²⁷*Maryland North America Mouth of Nicomaco river
St. Marys Countie, Novem 18 [1767]*

EXCELLENT SIR: I have enclosed to your Excellency a faithfull copy of a letter dated New Orleans July 31, 1767 it having no nominal or manual signatur Credit could not be given to it here; besides it hints only at the questions pointed at, permit me to request an answer more explicit. Grant me also the favor [of] your pardon, if I undertake to acquaint you, that a British subject is free, that he may emigrate Where he pleases. In time of peace, nothing Can stop him but his Creditors, should he have any. Your Court and governors of his Catholic Majesty, need be under no apprehensions, of Kindling any Jealousy in ye Breast of the British Ministry on that account, because a Clearance from the officer of the port where the adventurers Would ship themselves as migrators is not only a passport and permission, but a positive assent of his Britannic Majesty ratified by his officer affixing his seal to it. The Letter of the 31 July says, lands are granted in property Without fee, or future taxation. It does not inform What is the lot of individuals, or What people of property, may purchase or What price.

Was this certyified with the other proposal of y^e 2d may many Who are the descendants of pure noble and ancient Blood Would settle among you. Objection: unless we have his most Catholic Majestys royal assurance of Irish or English priests[s] the Migrants could not comply With ye dutys incumbent of a Roman Catholic, nor have any spiritual consolation at the hour of death. This the letter Says his Catholic Majesty shall be necessarily consulted on; all that would enter to plant there familys among you could not have objection to taking the oath of allegiance to his Catholic Majesty, as their intentions Would be to become his subjects; in consequence, must conform to all the Laws and customs as every good [subject] should doe Where he resides. None of the roman Catholics of this province have never betrayed there allegiance.

Nor it never has been demanded of them by his Britannic Majesty. The fertility of your soil and healthiness of the climate are well Known from history, and converse With those Who have travelled and resided there. We have seen many letters from the Acadians to their Countrymen, praying them to speed themselves to partake of their good fortune in that fruitfull region, as they could not have

²⁷ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6 (English). The author of this letter was the grandson of Sir Francis Jerningham, an English Catholic.

been a Sufficient time in the Country, to render an account of it, and in general, but illiterate people not great confidence could be reposed in their relations; in many essential particulars they are very much Wanting. First how they are served or the natives in the Country, With priest or Missionars; New Orleans, we Know, does not want them. Are the seculars or what religious orders are among you. We Know, since his Catholic Majestys late orders no jesuits reside in his Extensive dominions. Your Excellency may be assured, there are hundreds of roman Catholic familys here, to whom the advantages granted to the Acadiens Who are gone among you Would be a great blessing to them; but men of property and fortunes must Know before they dispose of their estates here on What terms they can acquire an equivalent among you which is not to be attained to by any other method, we can devise than by your Excellencys information, so as to leave no further doubts among us. You Can not Expect, on such a treaty, any person to appear authorized With a public Caracther because it relates solely to the roman Catholics.

Who Can not represent or serve, in any office under the British government. Secondly tho the constitution does not impede his Subjects from migrating to any part of the globe Sound policy dictates to her as to all other nations, to Encourage an encrease rather than decrease of their inhabitants.

I am your Excellencys most humble and obedient Servant.

HENRY JERNINGHAM,
m Doctor and Eques Anglicanus.

P. S.

Your Subscribers father Was first Cousin of the present dutchess of Norfolch the 1st dutchess in Britain.

I am related to many of the prime nobility, roman Catholic in England—my Eldest Brother died a Jesuit at Rome.

My younger Brother Charles is now lieutenant Colonel in a Regiment de Stampech Cuirassiers pour le service de Sa m. 1 m p. . . .

Hugo still younger a recollete at douay in French flanders.

Three sisters one Elizabeth and Edwardina [illegible] all religious at the augustins' nuns at bruges, in the Austrians netherlands.

My uncle Sr. george Jerningham Knight and Baronet now living, was in a public Caracther at the Court of Charles 12, King of Suede his son lately married my lord Dillons daughter and his youngest son is a lieutenant Colonel in the service of his Christian Majesty.

I have a wife and seven children.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*December 2, 1767*³⁸

No. 41.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: There is now being experienced here a scarcity of funds equal to that suffered in August when the 60,000 pesos brought by the settee *San Juan Bautista* were received. Since that time, the payments of the French officials have been suspended, as well as payments for the flour, provisions, and other things obtained from the French and English merchants by the Spanish commissariat. They are clamoring over their not being paid their money, and because of the losses entailed by the long stay they must make here and the greater expenses caused their vessels. The same thing is the case with the officials and other employees, who have nothing upon which to subsist except their salaries; and when they do not receive these, as is the case now, they suffer the greatest want. The result of this is a general and continuous clamor among every class of people dependent upon the treasury of the King.

I take into consideration the fact that you probably have not received funds, so that you could send them here; but if the allotments are not received more regularly than they are at present, I do not know what will happen, because, as I have told Your Lordship, all recourses are closed when money is lacking. The King suffers from this seriously in the supplies of provisions which, when bought at the wrong time, cost double or triple what they do if purchased when they should be.

I place myself at Your Lordship's orders and hope for many opportunities in the future to prove my desire to serve you. May God protect your life for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 2, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*December 2, 1767*³⁹

No. 42.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The packetboat *El Cazador*, whose captain and owner is Don Jacobo Chaquelain, lieutenant of militia of this colony, will touch at your port and land Don Pedro Laredo y Astorga, who is proceeding from this colony to Spain. He came here in company with my wife. This circumstance obliges me to recommend him to Your Lordship, so that during his stay there you may please show

³⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

³⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

him any attention that you may care to, a favor that I shall appreciate greatly.

I place myself at Your Lordship's orders with a true desire to serve, and pray God to protect you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 2, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

JERNINGHAM TO ULLOA

*December 14, 1767*⁴⁰

May it please your Excellency.

SIR: If I presume to trouble you since my answer, to your 31 of July dated New Orleans 1767, it is to acquaint your Excellency that the bearer James Walker, is sent by his neighbours, to your Excellency to receive your information relating to the subject I have been Writing to you about in my letters of the 2d may 67, and nov the same year, also in his own name, and, that of his neighbours, begs your Excellencys permission to travel in the Country, and assistance of passaports necessary therefore, that he may be able thereby to get information, and inteligence of the soil and Civil government in order at his return to satisfy his friends and neighbours, Who are desirous to settle among you. This same James Walker is a plebeyan and mechanic. His father, and mother Were Roman Catholics, and dyed in that faith. He was Christened in the same communion and has behaved as a good Cristian, and moral man, With the Esteem of his neighbours, and those Who are acquainted With him; he possess[es] lands in freehold here, nor has he any other Views or intentions in his Expedition, but to enable himself at his return to render agreeable accounts, to his friends relations, and neighbours, that may Encourage them to undertake the same voyage With their familys. He proposes With your Excellencys permission to remain some months, under your government, to see the produce of the soil, at the different seasons the manner[s] and Customs of the people their Way of living, and how the Laws are executed; Questions every reasonable, and thinking person Will be enquisitive about at his return.

I am your Excellencys most obedient and humble servant.

HENRY JERNINGHAM m. D. et eques Anglicanus.

December 14th, 1767.

⁴⁰ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6 (English).

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*December 25, 1767*⁴¹

No. 43.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Inasmuch as I am sending a cover to your city for the ministry, I can do no less than repeat to Your Lordship the difficulties in which we find ourselves here due to lack of funds. We have entirely exhausted the few there were, and are left with no recourse for daily expenses.

Everybody is without pay, troops, officials, offices, and purveyors. In the hope that the balance of the allotment would be received during the month just ending, the people had been suffering their want with patience; but now that they have seen the contrary come to pass, it is inevitable that this will result in some very serious disaster, for the reason that, as I have told Your Lordship, there is no place here to turn for aid.

I place myself at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to protect Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 25, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*February 11, 1768*⁴²*Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The Catholics in Maryland, having received the unsigned reply which I wrote them on last July 31, a copy of which I sent Your Excellency, have again written to me through the recently arrived Acadians. From the copies of the two letters which I have received from them and send to Your Excellency, you will note fully what they have to say. The signs are for the purpose of making the letters recognizable.

Your Excellency will also see that they have sent a man in whom they have confidence, one of those who plan to come here to settle, so that he may inform himself upon the conditions and security which they wish to have, as well as the character of the lands they are to settle after abandoning the property and comforts they have there.

Since this matter is already taking shape, some assurances are necessary before permitting the inspection of the country which the emissary is to make. I have questioned the Acadians themselves, and

⁴¹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

⁴² AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

without exception, they confirm all that the letter says. They state that these people are Catholic families who were expelled from England at the time of the troubles in the kingdom over religion and subsequent matters. As they have remained since then Catholic in all purity, they are oppressed and despised under the dominion of the Protestants. Having learned of the good reception given the Acadians and their present prosperous circumstances, they are planning to change their domicile and to sacrifice all the property they have there for the sake of freedom in the practice of their religion and for their self-respect.

With these assurances, I have arranged for the emissary Jacobo Walker to go with the Acadians to San Luis to inspect the settlements of those who have come here during the last two years, and in particular to observe the comfort and peace already being enjoyed by those who arrived last July. I have also arranged for him to be taken by boat from San Luis five or six days' journey up the Colorado River to the Río de Cañas so that he may see the extent of the country and its good character. When he has returned to the Mississippi, I have arranged to have him taken by the Bayou of Chafalalla to Opelousas where he will see another quite prosperous settlement of Acadians, great expanses of territory, and prairies extending as far as the eye can reach.

All of this is explained more fully in the two instructions, copies of which I am also sending to Your Excellency. Thus, this man, in whom his compatriots have placed their confidence, will be a living letter, and I shall have little to write in reply to theirs, merely referring them to the report which he will give them.

Your Excellency can see that in this way, if the country suits them, the colony will quickly be thickly settled with people who are irreconcilable enemies of England on account of the contempt and persecution they have suffered, and that, while the King is gaining subjects, England will be losing them. I am convinced that a flood of settlers will be coming here within a short time, if they once begin, leaving empty the country they abandon as they fill up this one; because if Maryland offers many more than a thousand families, how many more will there be from the neighboring provinces following the example of the first ones.

I shall advise Your Excellency of the results of this inspection at the first opportunity. There is nothing to be done in this matter except to let them come, if they decide to do so. If the successor whom I desire and have requested of Your Excellency arrives, he will be informed of the places where and the manner in which he should locate them so that they will be useful to His Majesty and to the growth of the colony. He will subsequently be instructed

how to handle this matter without any bad results ensuing with the court of England.

I myself shall write to those Catholics, assuring them of the confidence which they should have in whoever is the governor here, and I shall tell them to write to me in Spain in case of necessity. I tell Your Excellency this so that you may have no misgivings as to the success of this venture, provided only that the paths already beaten be followed.

I place myself at Your Excellency's orders and pray God to preserve your life the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 11, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*February 20, 1768*⁴³

No. 46.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Having described to Your Excellency on previous occasions the miserable and critical state in which this colony finds itself through lack of funds, I have nothing more to add, because the longer the delay the more the want and troubles will increase. Words cannot express the harm and losses being occasioned our foreign creditors and all who are dependent on their pay or salaries from the royal exchequer. In addition to the want that all are suffering there must be counted the increase in the price of foodstuffs, even while they are in the greatest abundance, on account of everything being sold on credit, with lack of confidence in being paid. They look on this as contingent since no one has the wherewithal to send to the plaza to buy what is needed for the day. We find ourselves in the position of being entirely without daily allowances for the French and Spanish troops.

One of the suppliers of flour, Moore of New York, among others, weary of waiting payment for more than six months, and injured by the delay of his vessel and the expenses occasioned by it, has asked me on two or three occasions with great urgency to permit him to go to collect this in that city [Havana]. I have tried to delay as much as possible, but if he returns to insist on it as I believe he will do, as well as others in imitation of him, it will not be possible to deny

⁴³ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

this to him, in view of the justification and reasons that he has, because these are now extreme and there is no remedy to be had.

I place myself at Your Excellency's orders with the greatest willingness and desire to serve, and pray God to protect you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 20, 1767.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

PIERNAS TO ULLOA

February 22, 1768 ^{43a}

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have at hand the sheet of instructions for the transportation of the Acadians from their establishments, together with the other documents, insertions, reports, and the letters for Constable Julián Albares. I acknowledge receipt of these and, in accordance with your instructions, I shall give the most exact compliance to what Your Lordship commands.

May God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 22, 1768.*

Your most humble and true servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

Acknowledgement is made of the receipt of the sheet of instructions regarding the conveyance of the Acadians.

O'CONOR TO ULLOA

March 15, 1768 ⁴⁴

MY DEAR SIR: Immediately upon the receipt of your very esteemed letter of October 17th of last year, I sent to Mexico City by courier the cover for the Marqués de Rubí.⁴⁵ As soon as this gentleman notifies me of its receipt, I shall inform you of it without delay. I expect that this will take place very shortly as the Marqués reached Mexico City last February.

As Your Lordship is so fond of the Marqués, I do not doubt that you will take great pleasure in learning of the successful outcome

^{43a} AGI, PC, leg. 2357.

⁴⁴ BL.

⁴⁵ The Marqués de Rubí was commissioned to inspect the posts of the northern frontiers of New Spain and to make recommendations for more efficient defense against the warlike Indian tribes. He visited all the frontier presidios and settlements from Sonora to Los Adaes on the eastern border of Texas. He left Mexico City March 18, 1768, and reached Los Adaes on September 10. *Relación* of Nicolás de la Forá, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, D.

of the matter entrusted to him. This circumstance moves me to give Your Lordship the agreeable information which I have received from Mexico City (both officially and through private sources), that His Excellency the viceroy has approved all that was decided by the Marqués in this province; and this notwithstanding the underhand scheming of Don Angel de Martos in trying to make out his Lordship as a man of little experience, and saying of him other things with the avowed intention of injuring his reputation, despite the fact that on his tour he acted in the most honorable manner. Martos cannot be anything but the man he is, but he ought to realize the difference between himself and the Marqués de Rubí, and not permit Manuel Bermudes to slander a gentleman of such distinguished birth and position by blindly subscribing to everything that has been arranged by the aforementioned Bermudes who is an enemy to God and the King.

According to reports, the said Soto Bermudes is walking about Nachitos with the permission of the commandant there, and holding up to mockery all the measures of the superior government notwithstanding the fact that his crime is that of high treason. This Your Lordship will see by the general report, which I shall send upon my arrival at Los Adaes, about all that has happened in this province by direction of the aforementioned Soto. His acts make him deserving that it shall be your pleasure to order the commandant of Nachitos to hand him over to me. The Marqués will take great pleasure in this I assure you.

In the accounts liquidated by the order of the Marqués, and arranged according to the instructions given to this effect, there were discovered eighty thousand and four hundred pesos overcharges on account of the troops in those which Don Angel de Martos made up for the garrison of Los Adaes during the time of his administration. It is to be noted that the Marqués forgave him more than twenty thousand pesos. But this seemed little to Don Angel because he wished that his accounts should be approved contrary to all law or reason, and to the detriment of these poor soldiers who complained bitterly to the Señor Marqués. His Lordship listened to them, examined everything carefully, and saw that as a matter of fact what they declared was true. On the strength of this he saw that justice was meted out in due form, corrected an infinite number of abuses, and ordered that a new regulation governing the fixed price of provisions should be drawn up. I enclose a copy of this to you so that Your Lordship may do me the honor of telling me whether you find it in accordance with that which ought to be established and carried out in a Christian manner.

The favors which I owe to the Marqués are many, but none of them has been so important and so pleasing to me as having been assured of the friendship and the coveted correspondence with Your Lordship which has been confirmed by your letter dated the 17th of October of last year. In it you are kind enough to promise me your protection. This expression of friendship leaves me so extremely grateful that I am anxious to be worthy of your greater esteem on repeated occasions in which I may prove my devoted as well as grateful affection. I assure you that my obedience to your orders will always be a happy duty for me and I hope that the occasion to serve you will soon be realized.

I pray that his Divine Majesty may preserve your esteemed life many years in the best of health.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR, *March 15, 1768.*

Your very devoted and grateful servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

HUGO O'CONOR (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

P. S. After writing this, I received a letter from the captain of Orcoquiza, Don Melchor Afan de Ribera, a copy of which I enclose. In it you will note in part the proceedings of Soto Bermudes and the grave danger to the royal service to which his stay in Nachitos may give rise. Your Lordship will decide about the matter whatever may be your greatest pleasure, in the knowledge that the present commandant of Nachitos is boasting that he will protect him, together with other expressions by no means respectful to the Spanish nation. Because of all this he deserves (excepting the opinion of Your Lordship) a stern reprimand.

(Rubric)

REGULATION OF LOUISIANA COMMERCE

March 23, 1768 ⁴⁶

Royal decree providing the rules and conditions under which commerce may be carried on between Spain and the province of Louisiana.

Since the province of Louisiana came under my sovereignty, it has been my desire that my new subjects residing therein shall not experience any injury by the change of sovereign; and that means shall be sought to protect them, encourage them, and provide for them everything conducive to their prosperity and increase which is not opposed to the general interest of the monarchy. With this object

⁴⁶ BL. (Printed).

I have resolved that commerce shall be established between Spain and the province of Louisiana, and that for the present, until a new order is issued, it shall be carried on under the conditions, circumstances, and method expressed in the following articles.

I.

This commerce is to be carried on through the same ports which, by decree of the 16th of October, 1765, were authorized for that of the islands of Barlovento. These ports are Cadiz, Sevilla, Alicante, Cartagena, Málaga, Barcelona, Santander, Coruña, and Gijón.

II.

In order to facilitate this commerce, I have decided to grant freedom from the duty of Palméo, established by the plan of the year 1720; from that on tonnage; from the tax which they paid to the Seminary of San-Telmo; from the duty on foreign goods; from the charges for inspections and examinations of careenings, equipments, licenses for sailing, and other expenses which previously existed. In fact it is to be carried on in accordance with the same terms as that established by royal decree of the 16th of October, 1765, for the islands of Barlovento, that is to say: Any merchant or person shall be allowed freedom to sail and carry on this commerce at the times convenient to him, without necessity of applying to the court for a license, but only under the obligation of informing the administrator of the customhouse of the authorized port when he presents the ship for loading, in order to arrange that all goods and products which may be loaded shall pass through the customhouse without the collection of any export duty. A list of the shipments is to be made and a bond is to be furnished. Upon his return, a corresponding receipt certifying to the unloading of the aforesaid goods and products in the province of Louisiana is to be given. It must be fully understood, however, that the shipping of foreign wines is not to be permitted because I have prohibited it.

III.

The vessels in which this commerce is to be carried on must be of Spanish construction and belong to Spaniards, or persons naturalized in these kingdoms. Also the captains and two-thirds of the crew must be Spaniards or naturalized; and if these circumstances be lacking, no vessel shall be permitted to load or sail for the purpose of carrying on the aforesaid commerce.

IV.

All the ships which take on cargoes in the aforesaid ports for the purpose of going to Louisiana must go directly to that province, without entering or arriving at any other port or coast of my dominions of America and adjacent islands. The violence of storms or any other unexpected accident may not be used as an excuse, but they must be proved in proper form, and the cause which made sailing directly to the destination impossible must be judged to be legitimate. Otherwise it is to be understood that the change of route, entrance, and unloading in another port was intentional and for private purposes. In this case, proceedings must be taken against the captain, his property, and bondsmen, as a defrauder of the royal revenues and violator of the laws, decrees, and orders which establish the regulation of the commerce of the Indies.

V.

The administrators and clerks of the customhouses of the ports authorized for this commerce must make a true and accurate list of all the goods and products which are shipped to Louisiana, agricultural products, and goods of Spain as well as agricultural products and goods of foreign countries, and at the same time an itemized statement of their value; and nothing is to be shipped without the supervision of the abovementioned administrators.

VI.

No duty is to be collected at the time of the export of any of the products and goods which are shipped to Louisiana, whether they are foreign or of the country.

VII.

Foreign goods and products which are taken from the ports indicated must be actually those which have been already introduced into the aforesaid ports and have already paid the duties in force.

VIII.

When the loading of the ship is completed, the register must be closed, and the captain must give a bonded guarantee for ten percent of the value of his cargo. Under this bond he is obligated to transport directly to the aforesaid colony the goods and products loaded. He must prove their delivery therein with a return receipt or certification, which he must present on his return at the same customhouse of the port from which he sailed, signed by the minister of

the royal treasury and the person authorized for the examination and supervision of the goods shipped by the vessels which may arrive at the colony. He must also obligate himself to come with the goods, products, and money which he may take on in Louisiana, to some one of the authorized ports and present therein the register which is formed and must be given by the minister of revenue of the colony of the products which he brings back from that colony. The only exception is to be made in case of the total loss of the vessel through shipwreck, fire, or some other unavoidable accident, of which he must bring proof according to the custom of the sea.

IX.

If through the violence of storms or some unexpected accident he should arrive at some other port in America, he must present evidence in legal form of the cause which prevented him from reaching his destination; and if it be judged legitimate, he will be permitted to unload and sell there the goods and products which he is carrying; but in this case he must pay ten percent of its value, on account of export duties, for the fulfillment of which the bond is also to serve.

X.

The return receipts or certificates which testify to the discharge of the goods and products comprised in the register must be presented at the customhouse of the port of departure, so that in virtue thereof the obligation or bond which they may have given shall be canceled.

XI.

As soon as the vessels arrive at Louisiana they must present the register to the minister of the royal treasury, who will permit the unloading of the products and goods listed in it without imposing any charge on account of my royal treasury, since I desire that for the present all the products and goods carried to it from the designated ports shall be free of import duties in Louisiana, and that they shall only pay the charges for anchorage in the river, or any other municipal duty which it is customary to charge in that port.

XII.

After the cargo has been discharged the aforesaid minister shall give to the captain the return receipts or certificates which testify to the unloading in that colony of the products and goods comprised in the register, so that, when he presents them at the customhouse of the port from which he sailed, the bond furnished for this purpose shall be canceled.

XIII.

The products and goods which he takes on in Louisiana for his return definitely must be those manufactured or raised in that province; for I absolutely prohibit the shipping to Spain of those introduced from other places.

XIV.

An accurate list of the products and goods which, in accordance with the preceding article, are taken on for his return, and of the money brought, must be given to the minister of the royal treasury, with a formal declaration that they are products of that colony.

XV.

This list must be presented by the captain on his arrival in Spain at the customhouse of the port in which he arrives, so that, in virtue thereof, the bond which he gave for this purpose may be canceled in the port from which he sailed.

XVI.

The goods, products, and money which in the aforesaid manner come from the colony of Louisiana must pay for the present four percent import duty in the ports of Spain authorized for this commerce.

XVII.

If the products and goods brought from the said colony and introduced into the ports of Spain cannot be disposed of in them and it is desired to take them to other countries, it may be done freely, without paying any export duties.

Let all this be observed and let the necessary orders be given to the ministry of the treasury in your charge for its fulfillment; and let copies of this decree be forwarded to the proper tribunals and officers for their information so that they may attend to its observance in so far as it may pertain to them. Signed by the royal hand of His Majesty at El Pardo on the 23d of March, 1768, A. D.

MIGUEL DE MUZQUIZ.

It is a copy of the original which His Majesty sent to me. Madrid, March 28, 1768.

PUERTO RICO, *July 23, 1768.*

Let this royal dispatch be forwarded to the royal auditor's office

of this place, and let due note be taken thereof so that all orders may be complied with.

This royal auditor's office in my charge.

PUERTO RICO, *July 23, 1768.*

FRANCISCO GONSÁLES (Rubric)

GRIMALDI TO ULLOA

*June 20, 1768.*⁴⁷

In view of what Your Lordship says in your letter of November 30, last year, about the good disposition and willingness with which M. D'Aubry, commander of the troops of His Most Christian Majesty in your colony, has co-operated in all matters pertaining to the service of His Majesty since the arrival of the governor, troops, and Spanish ministry there, His Majesty has decided that, when possession of the said colony has been taken, this gentleman shall be given by the treasury there in the royal name of the King a present of three thousand pesos *fuertes*, so that he may arrange for his voyage to France. Under this date I am communicating the corresponding order to *Comisario* Don Juan Joseph de Loyola. I advise Your Excellency of this so that you may see how the King has agreed to your proposal.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *June 20, 1768.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*June 22, 1768*⁴⁸

No. 47.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The brigantine of Captain Moore, bound for your city with letters, is proceeding in charge of Lieutenant of Frigate Don Andrés de Balderrama of the packetboat *El Volante*, accompanied by the cadet volunteer of the same *Volante*, Don Pedro de Encalada, and its surgeon, Don Pedro Bullon. To the latter, in view of what he has represented to me and as this vessel is to return, I have given permission to go visit to his family. He is leaving a man to take his place and is returning here on the same brigantine.

⁴⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

⁴⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

The ship is also taking twelve of the workmen who came from that city last year. Since they have been discharged as being useless and very bad workers, I am having them returned and have adjusted their accounts up to the days on which they were dismissed. I am inclosing to Your Excellency a list of them.

This vessel, at no cost to the King, is proceeding there voluntarily for the purpose of performing this errand and returning here with a reply, as its captain is interested in this matter. There is no reason to delay his return. Both he and the officer have been instructed to place themselves at Your Excellency's orders in whatever you may be pleased to command them. As its owner is one of the principal suppliers of flour and salt meat to the colony, I advise Your Excellency, so that, with all confidence, you may entrust to it anything that you have for this country. This is with the qualification that, if at the expiration of one month from his departure from here, he has not returned, I shall understand from the longer delay that Your Lordship has had him detained or is keeping him to bring the funds that are to be remitted for the troops and the rest of the citizenry. This action will be of great satisfaction to the public, which is equally interested.

I hope that Your Lordship offers many opportunities for serving and I pray God to protect you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, June 22, 1768.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

(Accompanying the foregoing)

List of the workmen of the dockyard of this colony who came from Havana and are to be returned to that city as not being useful here.

Baliza or Isla Real

Josef de Flores, master mason.

Josef Romero, journeyman ditto.

Juan Rodríguez Jacinto, apprentice smith.

Natchez

Juan Feliz Botín, master smith.

Blas Hernández, journeyman ditto.

Gregorio Padilla, master carpenter.

Juan Laureano Valencia, journeyman ditto.

Josef Rafael Navarro, apprentice ditto.

Agustín Chávez, master stonemason.
 Baltasar Luarca, journeyman ditto.

New Orleans

Juan Phelipe Ruíz, journeyman cooper.
 Josef Waldo de Cárdenas, ditto carpenter.

NOTE.—Although Feliz Montero and Juan Antonio Flores, master carpenter and apprentice, who were stationed at Iberville, are in this city to go to Havana as are the others, their accounts cannot be drawn up. The reason is that, although the storekeeper of that port sent down his accounts on May 22, this year, they were returned to him because of some discrepancies that were noted in them, and up to now he has not sent others.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 20, 1768.*

LOYOLA

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*June 22, 1768.*⁴⁹

No. 48.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The need of funds in which this colony finds itself has caused the extreme and serious crisis now being experienced. The reason is that last year there was no allotment, only 60,000 pesos having been remitted for account of this colony, while this year not even the balance of 140,000 has been received, much less the one for this year. [Torn] I have sent the vessel of Captain Moore, that has just arrived from New England with a third cargo of flour, without giving him more time than necessary to land it and take on ballast, to take these letters for Your Excellency, the quartermaster general of your island, and the court. The purpose is to satisfy, by means of the reply which he brings back, the creditors of the royal exchequer, among whose number is the said Moore, for balances due them since August, last year, as well as the public. At the present time it is very rare to find anyone who is not interested in the funds of the allotment, which, without having been received, have circulated in imagination from one hand to another in proportion to the want that is being suffered by everyone. The difficulties have been increasing the longer the remedy is delayed.

I assume that funds expressly intended for this colony have not yet been received in your city from Mexico since the allotment for the year '66 was sent. If they have been received, I have no doubt

⁴⁹ AGI. PC, leg. 1055.

that Your Lordship's zeal and consideration of the conditions prevailing in this new dominion would have caused you to have ordered them dispatched immediately, in accordance with the instructions of His Majesty. [Torn] I can take no other step for the satisfaction of the public and the discharge of my duty than that of asking Your Excellency to let me know when the royal exchequer can discharge its obligations to this colony and satisfy the large number of creditors it has at the present time. I must ask what has been the reason why the allotment for last year was not remitted in its entirety and why up to the present no news has been received that the one for this year will arrive before it ends. This information will serve to guide me in what I should do in the discharge of my obligation.

A limited amount, like that of last year, is not sufficient now, because when that was received, I advised Your Excellency that there still remained unpaid more than half of the obligations, including those to the said Captain Moore for flour and other comestibles which he had supplied to that time. As the new obligations that have been incurred in the ten months which have elapsed since then have been increasing, the public debt is that much greater, while the means of paying it are less in proportion to the large number of creditors in and outside the colony. This situation could have been taken care of with the distribution of a limited sum, as was done at that time, only through the hopes which were given them that before the end of the year there would be funds to pay them in full. As this has not come to pass, either at that time or up to the present, the natural result is the lack of confidence they feel. In addition to this, difficulty is being experienced in maintaining the circulation of money and discharging obligations to all kinds of people, because for the last four months there has been a complete suspension among the public of all payments in cash. Debtors are protected from claimants by the courts, in view of the lack of any circulation of silver, which is the only money that has been current since the beginning of last year.

Such a situation is the more difficult and its consequences much more serious in a new dominion, as is this one where, at the same time that a new sovereignty begins, want makes itself felt. Furthermore, little attention is paid to it. For these reasons it is inevitable that the new subjects and those that supply the necessities of life, should make most dire predictions for the future, because, as their fealty has not become deep-rooted nor their confidence been won, distrust cannot fail to be widespread, and it reveals itself automatically.

I hope for many occasions on which to serve Your Excellency and pray God to preserve you the many years that I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 22, 1768.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

GRIMALDI TO ULLOA

*June 25, 1768.*⁵⁰

The officers and men of the Spanish Company who are to form the battalion of your province are now embarking in Cadiz, together with artillerymen, clothing, cannon, etc., as Your Lordship will see from the attached statement. This is being done so hurriedly, I am advised by Señor Don Julian de Arriaga, that there will not be time for them to be joined by the following: Don Pascual de Ulloa, captain of the King's own regiment, who is in Madrid and is going as major with the rank of lieutenant colonel; Don Juan Ygnacio de Urriza, naval quartermaster, who is going as military counsellor and adviser to Your Lordship; Engineer Beas and two other officers, one going as adjutant and the other as ensign of the battalion. All of them will proceed immediately to Coruña to embark on the packet-boats of the maritime post.

With the troop sailing from Cadiz there will be incorporated the hundred and some odd mercenaries who are now in Havana. Their number has been reduced by that governor's having put twenty of them on the fortification works as a punishment for their having fled to the convent of San Francisco and from there demanded the wine ration which had not been given them, as had been done with later arrivals. The reason was that, when they embarked, it had not yet been decided to give this as a general thing to those going to America. Other mercenaries up to the complement of 250 effectives (orders having already been issued for the replacement of the twenty abovementioned) will continue embarking in Coruña with all the promptness permitted by the small capacity of the packetboats.

On the arrival of the convoy from Havana, Your Lordship will organize the battalion, and although it will be rather small until the arrival of the other mercenaries, you will arrange to take possession immediately. If any of the French soldiers who are due to be given their discharges wish to remain in the battalion, Your Lordship may admit them under the terms of enlistment which you consider advisable, inasmuch as in any event they will be less costly than those sent from here.

⁵⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

I deeply regret the delay in dispatching these troops, but greater promptness has been impossible because the expulsion of the Jesuits, the transfer of troops, the sending of some to Mexico, and other exigencies which have arisen have absolutely prevented it.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years as I desire.

ARANJUEZ, *June 25, 1768.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*July 20, 1768.*⁵¹

No. 50.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: On the 12th instant I received Your Excellency's favor of June 7, brought by the packetboat *La Hermosa Limeña*, which brings 100,000 pesos for account of the allotment. This vessel, having had a long and difficult voyage, passed over the bar on the 9th and its arrival has given great satisfaction and relief. From the letter that I sent Your Excellency by Lieutenant of Frigate Don Andrés de Balderrama on the English brigantine *La Africa* of Captain Moore you will have noted the difficulties in which this country found itself after great penury. There had not been seen for six months any money circulating in it or any person having been paid.

Very well taken, despite the urgent requirements here, was Your Excellency's decision not to risk the entire 200,000 pesos on one single vessel, because in case of some contretemps, there would be no means of remedying it. As Your Excellency had at your disposal the other brigantine that I dispatched there for the same purpose, you could have increased the remittance, retaining the sum you considered proper for the expenses of the troops which had already arrived at that city and for those that were expected up to the full number that is to form the battalion of this province.

The 100,000 pesos that have just arrived are not sufficient to pay the obligations of the royal exchequer up to now. These, including the uniforms that were given the French troops at the end of last year and the expenses incurred by the *Volante*, will exceed 124,000 pesos, because, even without these two items or the pay of the French troops employed in the presidios, the sum that was owed at the middle of last month amounted very nearly to 10,000. Consequently we are left in almost as bad a position as we were when we

⁵¹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

received the 60,000 pesos that Your Excellency remitted, because in these two years we are lacking 181,000 pesos to complete the two allotments. In case the troops arrive, I doubt that there will be funds for their pay until another remittance is received from Mexico. It is not possible to defer payment for the flour and other things that have been unpaid since last August, nor the pay and salaries which are in the same condition.

I hope for many occasions to demonstrate my desire to serve and pray God to protect you for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 20, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most affectionate and faithful servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELLI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*July 20, 1768*⁵²

No. 15.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Having made the intimation, of which I informed Your Excellency, to the old Jesuit who was acting as parish priest in the towns of Ste. Geneviève and Pencur in Ilinueses, the commandant, M. de St. Ange now advises me that he immediately went over to the English side, and that he has been instructed and warned that, if for any reason he again comes over to our side, he will be arrested and brought here.

The commandant there is now making representations, after the many others which he had already made, that there remains not a single ecclesiastic in that place, and those towns are unprovided with any recourse in any of the cases which may arise. The same thing is true at the fort of the Missouri, and the two nearer here. They are for this reason totally without any practice of religion and divine worship. I doubt not that Your Excellency has given careful consideration to this matter in order to take the proper action thereon.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 20, 1768.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

⁵² AGI, Aud, SD, 86-6-6.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*July 20, 1768*⁵³

No. 52.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: From Your Excellency's letter of June 7th, I note the selection of Don Josef Fernández as clerk of the court of Spaniards, war, and royal exchequer of this government, his coming by the packetboat *La Hermosa Limeña*, details as to his family, and the opinion that Your Excellency has formed of him. Likewise I note the letter sent to the quartermaster general in your island to have his passage arranged for.

In view of the ideas expressed by Your Excellency about his coming to serve in this colony, and, because in the beginning he will not have any fees to collect since the number of Spaniards is very small, he is to be assisted by paying Villaescusa for his passage, etc., so that he may have clear the 600 pesos assigned him as salary. I shall arrange to have the rent of the house he occupies defrayed on the account of the royal exchequer until such time as his office permits him to do so himself.

I desire many occasions on which to serve Your Excellency and pray God to protect your life for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 20, 1768.*

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*August 4, 1768*⁵⁴

No. 16.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I am well aware that the English from New York and Philadelphia have set up stores of goods in the part of Illinois belonging to them for the purpose of establishing a profitable commerce with this province and gradually absorbing the silver entering it. Seeing that the prohibition, which I made in the year '66, that no trade or commerce should be carried on between the two dominions was not sufficient to stop this, and that it is difficult to enforce observance of it because of the many opportunities offered by the proximity of the two banks, I have totally prohibited the taking of silver there from here and ordered the confiscation of all that is found in the boats going across.

⁵³ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

⁵⁴ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

Inasmuch as the troops, officials and other employees are the most numerous group there, I have ordered that the latter be supplied there with what they need for their support and a warrant for the value thereof issued against the treasury here by the storekeeper with the approval of the commandant. Those who have furnished the supplies shall be paid here. At the annual adjustment of accounts the employees shall select some person to receive what they have coming from their salaries; but as regards the troops, they will be paid the balances due them when they are relieved at the end of two years. During that time, being supplied with bread, meat, and other necessities from the King's storehouse, they do not need the balances due them from their allowances and pay. Otherwise the money would all immediately flow over to the English side, as happened with the funds sent there last year. Since goods are sold by the English at lower prices than here, what would happen in the future would be that they would supply themselves there to the grave detriment of the commerce between those realms and this province which would then be short of funds which escaped by that channel.

I place myself with the greatest respect at the orders of Your Excellency and pray God to preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 4, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most faithful servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*August 4, 1768.*⁵⁵

No. 18.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The troops which were to have arrived here have been delayed longer than was expected. Consequently the shipment of presents which should have been sent to the Missouri at the beginning of this year has also been delayed, together with other things required for the support of that settlement and good relations with the Indian tribes. It has become necessary for me to delay no longer but to dispatch a boat to take these things. I believe that it will have time to reach there and return before the arrival of the troops. They are also greatly needed there since very few remained after the offense committed by those who were on the boat. This state of things necessarily increases the expenses as the troops must be transported in other boats when they arrive. The situation would

⁵⁵ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

have been avoided if all of them could have gone together. I had postponed the dispatch of the boat, as I have already told Your Excellency, with the idea of keeping down the expenses.

I place myself at Your Excellency's orders and pray God to protect you for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 4, 1768.*

Your most faithful servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

The Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*August 4, 1768.*⁵⁶

No. 20.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In the lists of officers which I sent to Your Excellency in the year '66 you will find the name of M. de St. Ange, for a long time past the commandant of Ilinueses. He is an elderly man and very well known among the tribes there because of the long time he has held that command and his having fought with them against the English. His residence has been in Pencur since Fort de Chartres passed into the hands of the English. It is necessary to keep him in the same command which he has held not only on account of his conduct but also because of the credit and reputation which he has among the Indians. Consequently this officer will have to be retained in the service of His Majesty with the rank he holds in the list of officers and the corresponding salary. He is a man of advanced age, and when he comes to the end of his days, the officers of our troops naturally will have more knowledge of the management of the Indians, and that command will be reduced to the status of that of the Missouri without having aggrieved the man who holds it at present, as would be the case if he were removed.

At Missera or Ste. Geneviève, twenty leagues below Pencur, there also resides, as special commandant, another retired French officer, M. de Rocheblave. As this is also a well populated place, it cannot get along without a commandant, principally because it is almost opposite the English Fort de Chartres. Up to the present the commandant has not received a salary because before peace was concluded these places were very small and their inhabitants resided in the part which is now English.

It is necessary to retain him, for although this town is part of the government of Missouri, it cannot get along without a chief or com-

⁵⁶ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

mandant, either military or civil, because it is twenty-five leagues from the Missouri and is daily growing larger. For this reason will Your Excellency ascertain in both cases what is His Majesty's pleasure, and communicate to me his orders, fully assured of my prompt and faithful compliance.

May God protect Your Excellency's life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 4, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

The Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*August 4, 1768.*⁵⁷

No. 21.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In my letter No. 3 of July 20 I informed Your Excellency of what has been done in the matter of raising wheat, and that now the difficulty is that there are no millstones. As this is not a country of quarries it is necessary to get them elsewhere.

On inquiring whether they can be obtained from Havana, I am told that none are there except those which come from Spain. For this reason it is useless to try to get them from that governor. If Your Excellency, in the midst of your heavy duties, should consider this matter deserving of your attention, you might be pleased to order that vessels bound for Havana should bring some sets of millstones in their ballast, and have a model of a horse mill made so that it might be copied and mills established here. The two here at present, one at Opelousas and the other being established by Don Juan de Méssières at Natchitoches, are so imperfect that they require the strength of two mules to turn the stone and these animals have to be relieved by others, while all that they grind from daybreak until night is only four bushels.

It will be advisable to send now six sets for horse mills and six sets more for water mills because from February or March to July, when the river is high, the water mills run, but are shut down the other eight months.

The model is necessary so that the grinding may be less costly than it is at present and so that the design of the various water and horse mills may facilitate this development, because there is no advantage in having good harvests of wheat if there is no way to turn it into flour at little cost.

⁵⁷ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-8.

I remain entirely at your Excellency's service and pray God to guard your life many years.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent, Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*August 4, 1768.*⁵⁸

No. 17.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: One of the most difficult tasks of this government is the regulation of the trade or commerce with the Indian tribes in such a way as to keep them in peace, friendship, and good harmony with the presidios without increasing the trouble and burden of the presents and support which they frequently come to get from them. Consequently, I have given the greatest attention to this matter, being of the opinion that to continue giving them everything, as was formerly done, is to keep them addicted to this bad practice, and once habituated to it, to increase their importunities. On the other hand, this course will open the way for the commandants and others handling the matter to take advantage of the same opportunity.

With this idea I have labored to reduce the extraordinary Indian expenses and to have the commandants realize that the Indians cannot be despotic in their demands, and that they must not be given everything they are minded to ask for, with threats of attack if they are not gratified every time they come to the forts. This measure was not sufficient to secure the end desired. The principal difficulty was that the merchants who trade with them, in order to secure greater profits, induce the Indians to come to the presidios, telling them that they will receive wonderful presents there. This situation has already been experienced and the Indian tribes themselves have reported it to us.

In order to prevent this long-standing and pernicious abuse in the future, I have ordered that the territories of the various tribes be distributed among the better class of traders, giving them licenses to enter the tribes to trade for one year and making them responsible for anything which may occur to the detriment of the peace and good relationships. They are required to persuade the Indians not to come to the forts except at the customary times for receiving their presents and to supply them regularly with the things they customarily use so that it may not be necessary for them to come to the

⁵⁸ AGI Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

forts to ask for these as extra presents because they had not been supplied with them. I believe that, in this way, the Indians will be less burdensome, and that in time this vicious custom will be abolished.

I send Your Excellency herewith a copy of one of the licenses so that you may see the terms under which they are issued. This one will serve as a model in the future.

I place myself with the greatest respect at Your Excellency's orders, and pray God preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 4, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

August 10, 1768.⁵⁹

No. 53.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: On the 30th ultimo, when Don Andrés de Balderrama arrived here, he delivered Your Excellency's two letters of the 11th of that month, and upon his reporting that he had brought no more silver than that which arrived by the packetboat *La Hermosa Limeña*, which crossed the bar on the 9th, the difficulties and clamors have increased, for the reason that the creditors cannot be paid even half of their claims. After reducing the payments to one-third and paying wages, salaries, and pensions for only the first three months of the year, there is nothing left for the expenses of the maintenance of the *Volante*. I do not mean the pay and wages of its officers and crew, but only its provisions and supplies from the time of its arrival here to the present, which are being supplied independently of the treasury by the merchant, M. Maxent. It is a cruelty that at the end of two and a half years of making disbursements without any interest, there is no way of reimbursing him.

How can Captain William Moore, a creditor to the extent of 24,000 pesos, the greater part since August last year, be satisfied with a third of this sum after the expense and losses that he has suffered all this time waiting for his money?

All the others are in the same position to the total of 130,000 pesos, and it is absolutely necessary to provide for the pay of the troops

⁵⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

and other unescapable necessities. The receipt of the 100,000 pesos is the same as if no funds whatever had arrived, and the dangers and risks in which we find ourselves are no less than those there were before. For this reason Don Andrés de Balderrama was instructed, and must have told Your Excellency that, if he encountered on his way any vessel bringing funds, he was to ascertain the amount and, if they did not amount to or exceed 150,000 pesos, not to interrupt his voyage but to continue it, for the reason that, without this sum, nothing could be done in the situation in which we find ourselves.

In order to quiet and put a stop to the distrust, and the rumors and troubles that it brings, Your Excellency will please order that Don Lucas Villaescusa return again, bringing at least an additional 50,000 pesos of the 100,000 pesos remaining there, as the balance will be sufficient for the troops there and those that arrive from Spain. I have so promised the interested parties, as the only means of calming them and making them restrain themselves with this hope. Since I have broken my word to them so many times, they have become suspicious of what they are told about subsisting in some way until the arrival of Moore.

There is no other way of rectifying matters at present, and of being able to go ahead, because if there were any means or things that could remedy matters, I should already have undertaken them, as I have done with the new settlers. I have sent word to New England that they should postpone their coming for the present, because we do not have funds with which to assist them. Likewise we are suspending for the same reason almost all the works that should have been made, confining ourselves to wages, salaries, ecclesiastic pensions, and the troops.

I remain entirely at Your Excellency's orders and pray God to protect you for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 10, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most affectionate and faithful servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*August 13, 1768.*⁶⁰

No. 55.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have taken note of the shortage that may be caused in your city by the absence of the officer and ten soldiers

⁶⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

who came escorting the 100,000 pesos brought by the packetboat *La Hermosa Limeña*. It will make no longer a stay than to discharge a cargo and again load a cargo of pitch and boards, which, according to contract, it is taking there for account of the royal exchequer. It did not arrive here till the 4th instant; and as soon as it has completed loading, it will again depart without delay. Of this I advise Your Excellency in reply to yours of June 8, reiterating my wish to serve Your Excellency and praying God to protect your life the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 13, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*August 18, 1768.*⁶¹

No. 25.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I am now studying the case of a French trader named Pedro Simon, who is accused of having suggested to various tribes of Indians that they should make war on the Spaniards on the frontier of Mexico. This affair requires a nice judgment because there are no other witnesses than the Indians themselves. As they are accustomed to give as an excuse for their atrocities the first one that comes to hand, no true judgment can be formed on the case in which the accused alleges in his own behalf that he does not understand the language of these Indians.

At the order of the commandant of Natchitoches, Don Louis de St. Denis went to make this investigation and arrest the culprit. This was done because some thirty Indians appeared to report that the trader, Pedro Simon, had suggested to them, on behalf of the commandant himself, that they should get ready to make war on the Spaniards, for which reason they had come to learn whether this was his will.

I referred this case for legal advice to a jurist who was for many years the King's attorney general in the Island of Granada. In his opinion he condemns Pedro Simon to forced labor for five years on the royal works to which he may be sent, and fines him 200 pesos to be paid to the exchequer; but this opinion and case are open to great doubt at the present time, principally as there is no complete proof of the crime. Consequently I shall not proceed to execute such a sentence without more proof than I now have, because among the

⁶¹ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

Indians there are only two who say they heard him, while all the others, to the number of eighteen, say only that they heard it from other Indians; so the case reduces itself to the statements of two Indians, which is enough for accusation, but not for proof of same.

The accused is in jail, and I shall order that some other steps be taken to see what can be brought to light, of which I shall advise Your Excellency, and pray Our Lord to preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 18, 1768.*

Your most devoted servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ACCUSATION AGAINST PIERRE SIMON FOR INCITING INDIANS AGAINST THE SPANIARDS ⁶²

Abstract of the investigation made by the Chevalier de Villiers, commandant at Natchitoches, of one Pierre Simon, trader and native of Pointe Coupée, concerning some pernicious statements made by Simon among the savage nations, with the purpose of having the nations attack the Spaniards.

1.—The report which notes the fact that seven savages, of whom two were chiefs named Houahan and Cocaye, had come to Natchitoches to declare that the said Pierre Simon, being among the Ahis, encouraged the savages to make a raid on the Spaniards with the consent of Monsieur de Villiers, commandant, and that consequently they were going to assemble but to this the said commandant opposed himself, urging these nations to be peaceful and friendly, and sent them back to go themselves and contradict these false statements.

2.—The order of the aforesaid commandant of Natchitoches to Monsieur de Saint Denis, one known and respected by the nations, to go with two soldiers and one militiaman for his bodyguard to the Ahis, the village of the savages, to deny the false statements of the said Pierre Simon and to act according to the instructions given to him in consequence thereof.

3.—The instructions given to the said Sieur Saint Denis containing seven articles.

THE FIRST

To go promptly to Los Adayes to present the letter, of which he is bearer, in order to secure two soldiers from its garrison.

⁶² BL. (French).

SECOND

To leave promptly for the Hais, where the said Simon is located, whom he will arrest cautiously, etc. . . . If he were not there, to find out secretly where he might be etc. . . .

THIRD

To proceed with the examination of the said Simon, as to the statements he has made, calling the chiefs and all other savages to ascertain the truth etc. . . .

FOURTH

The said Sieur Saint Denis shall address all the savages etc. . . . and shall tell of the chief's particular affection for them and the friendship he bears to the Spaniards, his brothers etc. . . . He shall obtain assurance from them that they remain orderly and peaceful with the Spaniards as they are now all part of one nation etc. . . .

FIFTH

He shall inquire whether there are any other French traders among the savages in the dependencies of Los Adayes, and he shall order them to withdraw etc. . . .

SIXTH

To return with the said Pierre Simon etc. . . .

4.—Letter of Monsieur de Villiers to the governor of Texas about this matter and about the mission entrusted to Monsieur Saint Denis, bearer of this letter, etc. . . .

5.—The report of the said Sieur Saint Denis in which he gives the details of his mission to the *Hiatassés* and the *Nacocodossés* where he found the said Pierre Simon with Leveill  , Rouleau, Thibaud, and Blaud, traders, whom he has seized and from whom he has taken the following depositions.—

Ahouahan and Cocayes, chiefs, declared that they had not heard anything from Pierre Simon but that two chiefs named Le Noir of the Great Nacocodoss  s, and Le Sanche of the Assinai had received the order from the said Simon to attack the Spaniards by Monsieur de Villiers' command; that these first ones having been invited to join in this affair had gone to Natchitoches to make their report about it; and that the commandant had forbidden them to attack the Spaniards, and after inducing them to be peaceful, had sent them back to carry that message etc. . . .

Having questioned the subjects of the said chiefs and Little Nacocodossés they declared that they heard other savages make the same statements of which Simon is accused.

Two Cadoux, at the time in the said village, declared as above.

Six Adayes declared as above.

Four Ahis declared nothing, as they were not the head men of their nation.

The two *Nacocodossés* of the great village declared that they heard the said Pierre Simon make these statements, telling them that they should attack the Spaniards and that it was the desire of the French chief. Being confronted with the accused they maintained their deposition in his presence. Pierre Simon protested that these statements were invented by them.

One Leveillé, trader, states that he has not heard the said Simon say any of the things of which he is accused, but nevertheless the rumor among the savages was that they were going to make a raid on the Spaniards.

One Rouleau, trader, declared as above.

One Blaud, trader, declares that he had not heard the said Simon make any bad statements against the Spaniards, and that the said Simon had told him on behalf of Monsieur de Villiers to withdraw to French territory.

One Thibaud, trader, declares as above.

And the said Pierre Simon, accused, declares that, having gone to Natchitoches and then wishing to go up among the nations to pay some debts, he received a passport from the commandant, in which he was ordered to inform all the French traders that they should withdraw from the Spanish territories, and having gone to the *Ahis*, he had given these orders to parties named *Maniere*, *Césaire Bôrme*, *François Barré*, and *Blaud* who were located in the said village, and that afterwards he had gone to the *Hiatassés*.

I addressed these savages, etc. . . . for which they were quite glad, and having contradicted these evil statements, I left them a white flag etc. . . . urging them all to be friendly and peaceful, etc. . . . I informed the traders to go to the Natchitoches within fifteen day . . . and I took the said Simon to Natchitoches.

Signed, SAINT DENIS.

I, Saint Denis, declare that two Nacocodossés savages have warned me that one *Patris*, a Spaniard, had told them that the Spanish troops were to be assembled in order to destroy them etc. . . .

6.—The depositions of the traders named above, taken at Natchitoches, at the request of Monsieur de Villiers, commandant,

by Monsieur Saint Amant, officer in the fort, and acting major etc. . . . In the presence of witnesses etc. . . .

The deposition of one Jacques Rouleau, trader, who says he knows Pierre Simon, having met him at the *Yatassés*, had informed him that his passport ordered him to command all traders to withdraw to French territory, but the said Simon made none of the statements of which he is accused.

That of Matthias Thibaud, trader, is similar to the one above, and only adds that he has noticed things going on among the savages, but not understanding their tongue was unable to learn anything from them.

That of François Blaud, trader, says the same thing, and that he has merely heard several savages say that the said Simon has made these statements among the nation to induce them to make raids on the Spaniards.

And that of the said Pierre Simon says that it is not true that Monsieur de Villiers, the commandant of Natchitoches, had ever told him to get the savages to attack the Spanish, nor is it true that he has ever made these statements or other similar ones, since he is not conversant with their tongue; that he journeyed to the neighboring nations in Spanish territory to communicate to the traders the order he had for them to withdraw and go to Natchitoches.

SUMMARY OF THIS PROCEDURE

Two savage chiefs named *Le Noir* and *Le Sanche* said to two other chiefs named *Houahan* and *Cocaye* that Pierre Simon had told them on behalf of Monsieur de Villiers to attack the Spaniards.

The subjects of the said *Ahouahan* and *Cocaye* and the Little *Nacocodossés* declare that they have heard other savages repeat the statements of which Pierre Simon is accused, said Simon apparently having brought the word of the French chief to attack the Spaniards.

Two Cadoux declare as above.

Six Adayes declare as above.

Four Ahis have declared nothing as not being among the principal men of their nation.

Two *Nacocodossés* declare that Pierre Simon told them that they were to attack the Spaniards because it was the will of the French chief; and having confronted them with the accused, they maintained their deposition in his presence. Pierre Simon declared that these statements were false and of their invention.

Leveillé, Rouleau, Blaud, and Thibaud, all traders, declare that they have known and spoken to the said Pierre Simon, but that he has never made them any of the statements of which he is accused,

and they do not accuse him at all. However they declare that several savages told them that they were indisposed toward the Spaniards.

Monsieur *De Saint Denis*, declares that a Spaniard named Patris said to two *Nacocodossés* savages that the Spanish troops were to be assembled to destroy them.

And the said *Pierre Simon* declares that Monsieur de Villiers has not commanded him to tell the savages to attack the Spaniards; that he has made none of the statements imputed to him as he does not know their tongue.

It is Monsieur Azemar's opinion that the two *Nacocodossés* savages should be confronted again with the said Pierre Simon; that in the meantime the said Simon should be examined by a man familiar with the laws; that *Patris* should be secured in order to know if there has been collusion.

The question is to find out, in order to base judgment, whether two savages who declared the said Simon to be guilty are sufficient to condemn the accused. If they were Christians, they would be sufficient.

Monsieur de Villiers must be cleared by a judgment.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

August 23, 1768.^{es}

No. 28.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In this colony we are suddenly in receipt of important news from the English. Yesterday there arrived here an officer named Mr. Green with letters from the governor general of Pensacola, Don Frederick Haldimand. Under date of the 16th of this month he advises me of the decision of his court to withdraw the garrisons which the English have in the forts of Bute at Iberville, and Panmure at Natchez, demolishing the first and abandoning the second. Likewise the general himself with the greater part of the garrison of Pensacola and Mobile will retire to St. Augustine, Florida, where the English are going to establish general headquarters. For this reason he proposes that we take over the provisions which they have in the forts at the original cost.

The officer has informed me that the decision received from their court is that the general will be at St. Augustine, Florida, and have there a command of 3000 troops from which will be taken the garrisons for all the islands under that command. He also stated that in Pensacola there will be only one company of fifty men and from there a small detachment will be sent to Mobile. This indicates that

^e AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-8.

the English have been undecided about the value of these possessions, and that the expense occasioned England is not repaid by the profit taken from them.

Regarding this river, we shall feel more at ease without the concern occasioned us by their proximity. On the other hand, our cares will be increased by the tribes of Indians dependent upon the two English forts and who are on their side, as it is probable that they will come to our side, or even here, to beg as is their custom. Even so the move will be good for us and will put a stop to the constant movement of officers and troops as heretofore.

The officer adds that a commissioner will remain at Natchez, and that the town will be continued for those who wish to go there to settle, although I doubt that anyone will do so in the absence of troops to control the Indians. At Pensacola they have constructed many works upon which they have expended much capital, but they are abandoning it all.

I shall be happy to receive Your Excellency's orders so as to comply with them faithfully and obediently, and pray God to spare your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 23, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most devoted servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

GRIMALDI TO ULLOA

September, 1768.⁶⁴

The Council of War has examined the petition sent me by Your Lordship from Don Pedro Piernas, at that time first lieutenant of the Spanish Company of your Province and commander of the Fort of San Luis de Natchez, in which he requests permission to unite in marriage with Doña Felicitas Portneuf. It was without some documents which he should have submitted to Your Lordship in conformity with the regulations of the military pension fund. However, the council was of the opinion that (in order to avoid delay due to the distance) he should be given this permission, subject to several stipulations. As the King has now approved the decision of the council, I advise Your Lordship of his royal order, so that you may inform the interested party of same, but instruct him that before contracting marriage he must submit to Your Lordship said certificate of baptism and a certified copy of his commission as captain. Without these his wife will not be entitled to the benefits of the

⁶⁴ AGI, FC, leg. 174.

pension fund according to the provisions of the said regulation, unless said Don Pedro should die in action.

Your Lordship will send me said certificate of baptism and copy of his commission and also include the certificate of marriage for filing in the office of the fund.

I pray God to preserve your life many years.

SAN ILDEFONSO, *September, 1768.*

MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*October 6, 1768.*⁶⁵

No. 1.

Most Excellent Sir:

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Under date of August 23, I informed Your Excellency of the news received of the English having abandoned the forts which they had on this river, and retiring with most of their troops from Pensacola and Mobile to St. Augustine. This movement has been carried out. On the 5th instant, the troops from the two forts left here for Pensacola. They had set out from that post for their new station at almost the same time that the two officers who brought the news of this event arrived here.

The artillery at Bute has been brought through here to Pensacola, but that at Panmure has been left in that fort in charge of a merchant named Bradely, who has begun to form a settlement with negroes. I do not know whether it will be able to survive, because the Indians will not fail to harrass it and to commit raids on its territory.

On the 14th of last month there arrived here an English naval officer, one Michilman, and a hydrographer, who had come with a schooner to the entrance of the lakes. They are engaged in making a map of all the coast of Florida and of this region.

From them I have learned that, although the English have withdrawn the infantry from Pensacola and Mobile, they are not doing the same with their naval forces. Two frigates-of-war still remain in that port at the request of the people who are established there and are engaged in trade with the ports of Campeche and other Spanish ones on this Gulf. The governor has consented to one company of fifty men remaining in Pensacola and thirty more in Mobile, to protect them from the attacks which might be made on them by Indians.

These men have reported that the troubles in New England continue to spread. The people have compelled Governor General Don Thomas Gage to flee from the capital and retire to the fort, where it

⁶⁵ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

is said they have him besieged. They also added that these troubles and conspiracies are greater in the province of Boston than in the others. The inhabitants there are determined on total independence from old England. This is what was giving the greatest concern.

No vessel whatever has arrived from Ylinueses for some time. For this reason I do not know whether the English troops which have been there up to the present will remain there or whether they will be withdrawn, as has been reported.

This news changes the situation in this country considerably. Formerly 800 men were not sufficient to garrison it as long as the English might try to invade it by bringing naval forces to blockade it at the entrance, cutting communications or landing forces at any of its many harbors.

This number is less necessary now on account of our not being faced by forts or troops of another nation to cause concern at the present; and, in regard to the interior of the colony, there are needed only enough to prevent attacks by the Indians and to keep the people in order. The troops could now, if His Majesty should think this advisable, be reduced to one half, which will be sufficient to keep a detachment of sixty men at the Missouri and Ylinueses, fifteen at San Luis de Natchez, fifteen at Arkansas, thirteen at Natchitoches, thirteen at Pointe Coupée, thirteen at San Gabriel de Iberville, eight at the fort of the Bayou of St. John, outlet of Lake Ponchartrain, eight at the fort of Tigullo, and ten at Isla Real, making a total of 155. From a complement of 400, this would leave 245 in the city for reliefs when required. There would result a saving of a large part of the expenses in comparison with the present footing. I shall give Your Excellency my ideas on this matter in the following letter under this date.

I place myself at Your Excellency's orders and pray God to preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 6, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir.

Your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hands.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

October 6, 1768.⁶⁸

No. 2.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: One of the greatest of my cares in this post has been the lack of advancement in those things which the country clearly promises to the state and nation. In this connection I search for some means of reducing expenses, so that whatever does not produce a profit may entail the least possible burden on the exchequer. But I realize that it has not worked out this way, because the departments and objects of the government are so many that, no matter how much one may wish to reduce them, their total ever increases.

With the withdrawal of the English troops from Pensacola and Mobile, together with the governor general who resided there, and the abandonment of the two forts of Bute and Panmure at Iberville and Natchez which they had on this river, the situation of the country changes in aspect, and becomes more favorable to the interests of the royal exchequer.

In any event England now teaches us to economize by abandoning whatever it considers unable to produce any advantage, and without renouncing its dominion or rights, reduces its government to a civil one, thus decreasing the considerable expenditures occasioned by the military part.

If we on our part should imitate this style of government, the expenses of this province could be reduced to less burdensome figures.

The offices of the intendancy and the *contaduría de intervención* are costly on account of the number of officials employed, and this represents the greatest expenditure of the royal exchequer.

Everywhere in the Spanish Indies it has been the custom to have the royal exchequer and its revenues managed by two royal officials, or at the most three; auditor, treasurer, and cashier, but generally there are only two; auditor and treasurer. I shall cite to Your Excellency as an example Huancavelica, a very expensive place, to which the food must be brought from outside. There are only an auditor and treasurer, with salaries of 1500 pesos each when they are permanent, those who hold office temporarily and are appointed by the viceroy receiving only half as much, a chief clerk, and a second clerk with small salaries. These men handle from 700,000 to 800,000 pesos a year, receiving and disbursing same and having to attend to various other tasks, not only in connection with that province but also four or five others which are dependent upon that treasury. Nevertheless they are sufficient to handle everything in connection with the royal

⁶⁸ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

exchequer, both receiving and disbursing, and keeping the accounts with all the formality required and prescribed by the regulations.

Here we have an intendency, an auditor's office, and a treasury. The two first named have various clerks to run them, but still their chiefs complain that they are not sufficient for the work they have to do. For this reason it seems to me that, if there were established a royal treasury on the same footing as the others in the Indies, and as prescribed by the laws thereof, much would be saved in the salaries of clerks and also of their chiefs, bearing in mind the footing on which the English in Pensacola would be.

As the governor no longer has the English to contend with, he need not be of the same character as before, nor will he have the reasons for making the expenditures which there have been up to now. For this reason he will not have to endure the afflictions he otherwise would, and his salary should be proportionate to the character which it is decided to give him.

A reduction in the number of troops means a corresponding one in the number of officers, including the artillery corps and the engineers, as there is no longer any need of having more than one artilleryman in the forts to care for the little artillery they have.

The frigate-of-war can also be dispensed with, as it is not probable that vessels flying the English flag will come here with troops, officers, and provisions, as heretofore; and for our nationals, whether Spanish or French, this frigate will not be needed. There will only be needed enough seamen for the boats which are going to and coming from the forts.

I cannot tell Your Excellency exactly how much these savings will amount to, but they will be considerable even by beginning the reduction of expenses through halving the number of troops and reducing the salaries of the offices. These are the items of prime consideration.

The province will have less commerce, because the smaller the funds arriving, the fewer will be the goods brought in for consumption. But this will not make it poorer than it is, nor will there by this be any lack of necessities, because it will always produce the food it does now. If wheat should be grown, as now appears probable, there will be more opportunity for the progress of its inhabitants.

The important thing is to establish a commerce designed to handle the great quantity of lumber of all kinds, which is the principal item exported from here. As regards its other products it is necessary for the inhabitants to export these in order to obtain the other necessities of life which they must import from abroad.

I do not doubt that Your Excellency in your great wisdom has already reflected on these matters, and that consequently you will

take the steps most in conformity with the pleasure and service of His Majesty, the goal toward which I direct my zeal. Although the fixed troops and the intendancy are now established on a different footing, the conditions which compelled this have changed. In recognition of the greater expenditures entailed in continuing the present system, it might now well be altered, in view of these changes, and what has been demonstrated by experience.

I place myself at the service of Your Lordship and pray God to preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 6, 1768.*

Your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

October 6, 1768.⁶⁷

No. 4.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have advised Your Excellency in my previous letters of the miserable conditions existing here on account of the scantiness of the funds which arrived last year and this, because even after allowing for the value of the powder which Your Excellency had sent from France, the amount lacking to complete the allotments is considerable.

According to reports I have from the Kingdom of New Spain, the obligations of the royal exchequer at the end of last year amounted to five and a half million pesos. It has been three years since the allotments of the presidios of the kingdom had been paid, but the worst thing about this situation is the little hope of any reduction in these obligations or any improvement relative to the shortage of revenue.

For this reason it is clearly impossible for Louisiana to be supplied fully with its allotments, and this in itself makes more necessary the reduction of expenses as much as possible, even in those things which seem indispensable. If this is not done, the result will be, as is already the case, that the expenses of the province cannot be defrayed nor the credit of the royal exchequer maintained.

Therefore the withdrawal of the English troops in this vicinity and the abandonment of the forts which they had on the river is most opportune. If they had done this sooner, we could have avoided the

⁶⁷ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

expense of those we have established and cannot now abandon because of the settlements which are dependent upon them and must be protected from the attacks they might suffer from the Indians.

With regard to the settlements from here to Iberville and Natchez, which naturally will continue to be extended, it may be possible to avoid henceforth the expense of the Acadians and have those who come find some way of supporting themselves with the aid of their own countrymen, or otherwise, without giving them anything more than lands when they ask for them.

This would relieve the royal exchequer of quite a heavy expense. They are now of less importance, not only because there are no English to trouble us on the 500 leagues of river between here and Ilinueses, but also because there is already a sufficient number of families to multiply the population by means of the opportunities offered them through the commerce which is being established in this province. Consequently it may now be considered as a land tilled and sown, and lacking only the water to make it grow, and time for the crop to mature.

I remain at the orders of Your Excellency and pray God to preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 6, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir.

Your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*October 10, 1768*⁶⁸

No. 7.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The independence of the English merchant vessels, which arrive with flour, meat, and other provisions for this city, has compelled me to order the captain of His Majesty's packet *Volante* to fire on any which may tie up on the opposite bank without first presenting permission in writing from me. I ordered the *alcalde* of the river or lieutenant of the port to cut the lines of any which may do the same on this bank without similar permission, and to inform them that the middle of the river is all that is free to them in accordance with the treaties of peace, but that the banks are the dominions of His Majesty, where no vessel may tie up without the permission of the governor.

⁶⁸ AGI, Aud, SD, 86-6-6.

The cause of this is their not wishing to be subject to the payment of the anchorage duties paid by all vessels, nor the fees of the pilot and the bar launch which brings them into the river and takes them out again. They also wish to avoid the inspection which I have ordered made of all vessels before departure, in order to prevent the desertion of seamen and troops.

I have remonstrated with them several times about this, warning them that steps would be taken if they did not mend their ways. Since they have not complied, it has become necessary to order this done, so that they may know that, while they are free on the river, they are not so on its banks anywhere around this island, and that whenever they tie up to it they must pay the same duties as the vessels of our own nation.

They have also been informed that this does not apply to war vessels nor those freighted for account of the British King, (whose commanders have not failed to comply with the obligation of seeking permission to tie up to one side or the other, which they have also done on the occasions when they were carrying troops), but only merchant vessels coming here for business reasons.

I have thought it advisable to inform Your Excellency about this. Thus informed, if there should be any complaint on the part of the English minister, you may answer him with a knowledge of what has given rise to this order.

I welcome every opportunity of placing myself at Your Excellency's disposal, and pray God to preserve you the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 10, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO GRIMALDI

*October 26, 1768*⁶⁹

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Yesterday, the 25th, at eleven o'clock M. Maxent came to inform me of what had been learned about the present disturbances, and a little later the engineer, Don Ypolito Amelot brought me the same information. This leaves no doubt that there is already a general conspiracy of the whole colony to refuse submission to the dominion of His Majesty.

⁶⁹ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-6.

Their plan is to present a manifesto full of complaints against me, because it is necessary to have some pretext to excuse their report to the council. They claim that, as my government is harsh even before possession has been taken, it will be much more so after this is done. The conspirators will ask, according to what has been learned, that the council intimate to me that I should depart from the province with all the Spaniards, leaving the colony under the dominion of France, as it formerly was. In order to make it appear that they are forcing the council to accede to this decision, they have drawn up a memorial and have been gathering the signatures of the citizens here, and the outsiders, of whom there are a large number, as well as the Germans and Acadians, whom they have won over by pointing out to them the injuries which are being done to them by me and the Spanish government. They vary their talk according to the class and situation of each kind of people, and do many other things which even the people who have given me this information cannot explain.

On receipt of this news, which I immediately communicated to the governor general, Don Carlos Aubry, we met and he assured me that he had heard nothing of this up to that time. He said that only two days before it had come to his knowledge that the people wished to make representations on a matter of commerce, but that he had never suspected that it was of the nature which had been discovered, nor that the decision would be forced by violence. We discussed what should be done to extinguish this conflagration. By means of the steps which he took with M. Lafreniere, the attorney general of the council, as well as my own, we learned that next Friday the city will be full of people, the Germans and Acadians coming to it, together with the people here, armed to carry out the coup. We also found out that in the city they have in a certain house (which one has not been learned) a large store of guns and ammunition to arm those who lack them.

When the governor tried to persuade the attorney general to exert himself to put down this uprising, the latter replied that he could not do so, because things were so far advanced that this was impossible. He assured him that the manifesto or representation to the council was in very proper and respectful terms, and that everything would be done in the best of order without trouble or noise. This confirms, even if there were no other proofs, that he and his friends have instigated this sedition. I should call Your Excellency's attention to the fact that no one in the colony but myself knows anything of His Majesty's decisions about the council and form of government.

One of the arguments which has been used to win over the Germans and Acadians to the uprising is that they have not been paid for the grain which they supplied for the support of the other

Acadians, and that this is because I and the Spanish ministers plan to swindle them and divide this sum up among ourselves.

I immediately ordered that, of the less than 6000 pesos, comprising all the funds there were in the treasury yesterday, M. Maxent should be given 1500, which is the most that can be owed them, and that he should pay them and try to see if he can quiet them with the assistance of the commandants, Messrs. de Arensburg, Judice, and Veret. Three thousand were sent them last year also in payment for the same. This pretext is as unfounded as all the others they have used, because if anyone owes them, it is the French commissariat for grain they furnished in the year '66 to supply this city. They were made to sell this in the market place, but were not paid for it. But on such occasions when they desire to escape the obligations of fealty, they disguise their real reasons with specious arguments, and this is what has happened in this case.

My informants tell me that the ones who are collecting the signatures, which is like enlisting under a flag for sedition, are one Cares and the Milhet brothers, all foreigners engaged in business here. The first named is the man who was refused entry for a party of negroes which he brought from Martinique on account of their having been vicious characters there. Regarding this, I made a report to Your Excellency. There are also M. de Bienville, ensign-of-ship in France, brother of M. de Noyan, and Vilere, a relative of Lafreniere, together with some others of the same group.

In order the better to insure this deed, the attorney general, who, as I have already told Your Excellency, is the one at the head of all this, has decided upon the creation of some new councilmen to replace the old ones, who are incapacitated by age and sickness. He has selected for these offices three citizens, laymen and members of his faction.

The French governor is of the opinion that this uprising has been plotted among Lafreniere, *Comisario* Foucaut, and Noyan, the son-in-law of the former, who is associated with Foucaut in a plantation. He has not been named to me as an accomplice by my informants, but in view of the part he played in the uprising in the year '66, I am not loathe to believe what the governor says.

The French governor is determined to leave and abandon the province in case I am compelled to do so, because he knows the gravity of this, and that the court of France can not regard it favorably. He has called his officers together and exhorted them to follow his example and to conduct themselves with honor on this occasion, reminding them of all that they and their families will lose if they do not do so. He hopes that the few troops here will remain faithful. Today he has called up the militia, but does not

expect much of them. It has been learned that they have had some rather improper notions, among them being the uncalled-for action of having discarded the Spanish uniform which they adopted of their own free will last year without the slightest suggestion on my part.

What these people want is, as I have told Your Excellency on other occasions, military or political employment according to the fancy of each, highly comfortable and lucrative at the expense of the King. They desire liberty in everything, and that the Sovereign be so only in expenditures but not in authority with the country said to belong to Spain, and the people to France. They want to have plenty of money here, but in order that it may go to France and not to Spain, and finally under the term full liberty, all that is understood by it.

They make imputations against me because in this business I am, as the executor of His Majesty's orders, the one who must bear the burden of their fault finding. One of them results from my reports to His Majesty and his subsequent command to publish in these realms and this province the project of commerce, which excludes that of France.

With the withdrawal of the English, I thought, in view of the tranquillity which was reigning up to that time, that half of the troops would be sufficient for the protection of the country. Now, in view of what is being experienced, I see that more are necessary in order to conquer it, because when there was the least reason and excuse for it, this news has come to light. I have not done the least thing with respect to the vessels going to and coming from Santo Domingo, for the reason that, as Your Excellency had not given me any orders to the contrary, I had nothing on which to base action.

The beginning and origin of everything was Noyan's decision to sell his plantation and go to Cayenne with his negroes.

This man recently married the only daughter of Lafreniere. There was great grief and tears over the separation, and the way they were assuaged was by deciding at a dinner that the whole family and their friends should join the same party. They knew that this threat had not disturbed me, but that on the contrary I, with considerable severity, had told those who spoke to me about it that they could leave the colony as honored citizens, but that His Majesty did not desire subjects who were not content and could better themselves elsewhere, and that he would never regard as good subjects those who were so only for Bordeaux wine. I mentioned this since they were giving as one of the causes of their displeasure with the new commercial regulation, that they would not have this wine but would have to use that of Catalonia, which did not suit their palates.

They saw that I was not moved by all this and perhaps reflected

on the uncertainties of the Cayenne project and their regret at leaving their country and the estates they had in it. Consequently they decided in their meetings and parties to take off their masks altogether, and to take as a pretext the harshness of my actions and government, citing the measures I have taken, but without making mention of the gravity of the causes which gave rise to them. Up to now these measures have been only in matters pertaining to the royal exchequer and expenditures. They argued that as formal possession had not yet been taken and they were still subjects of the Most Christian King, it was not wrong to try to continue being so and to have the country again as it was before the cession.

I have given Your Excellency this long account before the trouble breaks out. By means of Don Manuel Felix Riesck who is going there I shall give you information of what transpires, so that subsequent events may not be confused, if the living voice can make more comprehensible the facility with which these uprisings are provoked here, together with the character and propensities of these people, than can the muteness of the pen. Your Excellency can inform yourself from him about all the deceptions I have suffered here since my arrival and the way I have overlooked the liberties they have taken, although sometimes my tolerance was overstrained, despite its being considerable.

I place myself with all respect at Your Excellency's orders and pray God to preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 26, 1768.*

Your most sincere and devoted servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

DON ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*November 16, 1768*⁷⁰

No. 58.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: By this time I expected to be in your city with the extraordinary news that will be imparted to Your Excellency by the Reverend Father Saldaña. He will also inform you of the cause of my being delayed, which I cannot attribute so much to contrary winds, as to what he will tell you; and he will explain in the report that he will make to you more than I am in a position to say about this matter.

⁷⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

Under the present circumstances it is very important that Your Excellency should assist the said Father Saldaña so that he will not have to wait more than twenty-four hours from arrival until departure in a mail boat or other vessel that is provided for his use. Already since the 3rd of this month a vessel has been on its way to Santo Domingo to take to France the news of what has occurred. I have not had an opportunity to do much for the reason that, as I am in the dominion of the enemy itself, they are my masters until I reach Havana, and any channel that I might select would be to place in their hands anything that I might write.

The English captain, Thomas Hammond, of the sloop *Live Oak*, who was going to sail from this river for Pensacola, has promised me to take this passenger and two or three others to Havana, first touching at Pensacola to leave there some mules and other animals of which he has charge. Your Excellency will please reward him for the service he is rendering in doing this, and see that he is paid 300 pesos for the voyage, as this is the sum that has been agreed upon.

Your Excellency can well imagine my situation, and that of those accompanying me, suffering not only from what we have already gone through, but also what we shall have to endure before we reach Havana. As it is mandatory that my passage to Spain be made as quickly as possible, Your Excellency will please furnish me with a vessel on which I can make the voyage with my family. This matter Father Saldaña will explain fully to Your Excellency.

I place myself at Your Excellency's orders with protestations of my faithful and constant devotion; as also does your countrywoman. She finds herself surrounded by tribulations, as you can well imagine, but despite them she tells me that she wished to send two short notes.

I shall thank Your Excellency if you please have the harbor pilot sent out as far as possible as soon as the three-masted French vessel on which I am travelling is sighted, for the reason that its pilot is not a coast pilot. This action will set our minds at rest to some extent.

May God protect Your Excellency many years.

ISLA REAL CATÓLICA DE SAN CARLOS, *November 16, 1768.*

Most Excellency Sir, your most faithful servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

ULLOA TO BUCARELI

*December 8, 1768*⁷¹

No. 64.

(Copy)

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I am under the necessity of proceeding to Spain promptly, in order to report with the detail required by the ministry all that has transpired in New Orleans, the origin and other circumstances concerning that extraordinary uprising. Consequently it seems to me to be necessary to place in the hands of Your Excellency the orders and instructions that I have received relative to that government, to the end that you may look them over and select those that may be important here for the things that may take place. You may return to me the others, although, in view of the state of the rebellion when I left there, I am of the opinion that the instructions of His Majesty that I have, as well as those that may arrive up to the time news of what has occurred comes to his royal knowledge, cannot be observed. These instructions are all based on the supposition that those people will remain as loyal and agreeable to the taking possession in the name of His Majesty as they always pretended to be.

Among the items I am leaving Your Excellency is a package of letters patent for Spanish and French officers of infantry, artillery, and engineers. Although some of the parties concerned are here, I have decided not to deliver these until I see whether it is possible to do so despite what has occurred. With the same idea Your Excellency may open all the official covers addressed to me that may arrive during my absence to see whether there is anything in them that can be applied to this city while the troops and employees are here. However I am convinced that this will not be the case until Your Excellency receives the instructions of His Majesty regarding the stay of troops in this city. I expect that those addressed to me will be based on the supposition that I am in Louisiana and that that country will still belong to His Majesty.

The only difficulty that may arise is in connection with the war vessels or chartered ones bringing the troops and armaments, for the reason that those drawing more than 10½ French feet of water cannot pass over the bar. They are useless for whatever is planned there, and can without hesitation be ordered to return to Spain, where steps will probably be taken adapted to what His Majesty plans to do. The packetboat *El Volante*, which is the only one of the vessels there that is of service in that place, can be counted

⁷¹ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

upon. This is all that occurs to me to say to Your Excellency on the matter. I place myself at your orders and pray God to protect your life for many years.

HAVANA, *December 8, 1768.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most faithful and affectionate servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO DE ULLOA

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO BUCARELI.

LOYOLA TO BUCARELI

*April 20, 1769*⁷²

(Copy)

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: At the time of the departure of Señor Governor Don Antonio de Ulloa from this city I was convalescing from a serious illness that brought me to death's door and obliged Chief Auditor Don Estevan Gayarré to take charge of the administration of everything that was in my care. However on the regaining of my former health, although still weak, I began to discharge my former duties in the month of January, this year.

I believe that Your Excellency has been informed by the said Señor Governor of everything that has occurred in this colony and in the uprising of the 29th of October, last year. Since then the people have remained quiet, although there has been no cessation of the urging on the part of the representatives of the people to compel the departure of His Majesty's packet *El Volante* from this river with all the Spaniards, as they recently demanded. They have succeeded in bringing about the departure of the packet on this very day, but not our own withdrawal, because the council has wished to maintain what was prescribed in their decree of October 29th, last year, and because we are without funds with which to pay the debts of His Majesty, which amount to about one hundred thousand pesos *fuertes*. We are unable to comply with the instructions of the said governor in a letter sent to this intendancy on the 20th of the same month, ordering that all these debts should be paid before our departure. It has not been possible to do this, for the reason that the remittance of only 8000 pesos made by your general treasury, together with the 5000 turned over to this treasury by the said Señor Governor has been exhausted, despite its having been applied only to unescapable obligations for which it was impossible to find any other recourse. Although the French troops have been paid for all of the current

⁷² AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-7.

month, there is nothing left to do so in May. This urgency and that of the following months until the receipt of the decision of His Majesty well deserve the attention of Your Excellency. I am making a representation under this date to the Señor Quartermaster General of your island who, I am sure, will communicate the same to Your Excellency.

Sailing under the escort of the said packet is His Majesty's sloop *La Alegre Cazadora*, belonging to this colony, which will be at the disposal of Your Excellency and of the said Señor Quartermaster General on its return to this river. We promise ourselves that we can thus expect, if not assistance proportionate to the urgency in which we find ourselves because the vessel is considered small and poorly armed, at least prompt information on what we do not yet know, but what it is time that we should know. We are convinced that on its return here it will encounter no difficulty, as it is coming for the purpose of paying these troops and the employees in the service of His Majesty. We have nothing more than our current salaries, without which it is impossible to live. And for our part it is regular to request the slight expense to the royal exchequer for the maintenance of this small vessel, especially the pilot in charge of it, M. Le Conte, who receives 40 pesos monthly and rations for all the time employed in the service of His Majesty.

The fact that no decision was arrived at in the council that Your Excellency had called in your city to consider the difficulties presented to Señor Governor Don Antonio de Ulloa on his departure from here, as he advises me in his letter of December 9, that year, has embarrassed us greatly in deciding the matters that had presented themselves up to that time, as well as those that arose subsequently. Up to now we have dealt with them as best we could.

The principal authors of the uprising still continue in the same frame of mind as in the beginning, although they are very uncertain as to the decision that they must make in case they find themselves pursued by the forces they expect. The best course which has presented itself to them up to now is that of going to live in the territory belonging to the King of England on this continent. This step is easy for them (as Your Excellency has been informed by the said Señor Governor) by way of various channels leading to a lake dividing that territory from this, the voyage being made in small boats, launches, barges, etc.

We are awaiting the decisions of His Majesty without fear (at least for the present, in view of the state in which everything is) that undue anxieties will present themselves. If, during this time, Your Excellency has anything to instruct me, I shall derive great satisfaction therefrom, not only as regards the ends of the service

for which Your Excellency may consider me useful, but also the personal ones of Your Excellency.

May Our Lord guard Your Excellency's life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 20, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

JUAN JOSEF DE LOYOLA

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI.

BUCARELI TO ARRIAGA

*July 7, 1769*⁷³

No. 1135.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In my letter No. 1130 dated June 24, last, I reported that on the afternoon of that day there entered this port His Majesty's frigate *Palas*, on board of which was Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly, who delivered to me royal order of April 15. I stated that I, having taken note of the object of his mission therefrom, took proper steps to prepare his expedition.

And now, taking advantage of the opportunity of the departure of a vessel of the free commerce bound for Cadiz, as I also did on the previous occasion, I have the special satisfaction of being able to report to Your Excellency that yesterday morning at six o'clock the said general set sail on the frigate *Volante*, together with twenty other ships, carrying the troops, artillery, munitions, provisions, equipment, and funds shown in the attached statements. These are what he said he needed. Thus was completed an expedition which not even those who saw it prepared and who worked equipping it ever believed could be made ready in eleven days, as it was.

The quality of the veteran troops and militia composing the troops selected could not be bettered, either in discipline and vigor or in the good spirits and disposition with which they embarked. All of them are eager to show their zeal on this occasion.

The number of volunteers from the troops and citizens who offered themselves, asking to be chosen, was so great that it was necessary to refuse the former and accept from the latter only those shown in the said statement.

I intended to keep the Queen's Regiment here for service. However, after considering the expense which would be entailed, also the fact that the one from Sevilla must arrive before long, and that very favorable results may ensure from its being known in Europe

⁷³ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-6.

that Havana is in a position to organize an expedition without outside aid, I decided, in accord with Don Alexandro O'Reilly, that it should proceed with the expedition and that I should depend upon the services of the militia so far as demanded by necessity.

In addition to the cash funds shown in the statement as being carried by Don Alexandro O'Reilly, the troops and militia are provided mess allowances for forty days, so that they may supply themselves with what they need, as it is not possible with so many ships to have any one person do this.

In order to avoid the consequences which I fear from our shortage here, I dispatched the frigate *Palas* to Vera Cruz, on the 29th ultimo, with proper advices to the viceroy, asking him to assist us. Meanwhile I am taking steps to replace everything that has been taken from the necessary allotments of Morro, Atares, and the batteries of the post, because, as I have devoted all my best efforts to the preparation of this convoy, no part of those under my control was excepted. The same has been done by the intendants of royal exchequer and the branches of the navy. All co-operated for its success with the most distinguished zeal, so as to make themselves deserving of the favor of the King.

I beg Your Excellency so to inform His Majesty, in order that the prompt dispatch with which all the difficulties which presented themselves in the fulfillment of his royal wishes were overcome may win his royal gratitude.

May God preserve Your Excellency the many years I desire.

HAVANA, *July 7, 1769.*

I kiss Your Excellency's hands.

Your most obedient servant,

ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA (Rubric)

Triplicate.

Most Excellent Señor Bailio Frey Don Julian de Arriaga.

(Accompanying the foregoing)

Statement showing the troops, artillery, munitions, equipment, goods, and provisions loaded for the expedition to New Orleans.

<i>Troops</i>	<i>Number of men</i>
The First Battalion of the Infantry Regiment of Lisbon.....	679
The First Battalion of the Infantry Regiment of Havana.....	567
Pickets from Aragon and Guadalajara, intended for the formation of a battalion in Louisiana.....	213
Two companies of Cataluña Light Infantry.....	162
One picket of the Dragoon Regiment of America.....	50
Sixty artillerymen from this post and thirty-one from Louisiana, in- cluding in the total one sergeant and six sappers.....	91

	<i>Number of men</i>
<i>Troops</i>	
One company of grenadiers of the White Militia Battalion.....	80
Ditto of the Mulatto Battalion.....	80
Ditto of the Negro Battalion.....	80
One picket of the Volunteer Militia Cavalry Regiment.....	40
Noble cadets of Havana.....	6
Distinguished volunteers	8
Total Troops	2,056
<i>Engineers</i>	
Captain Don Juan Cotilla	
Sublieutenants: Don Juan Treuxo, Don Ramon Yoldi	
Artillery:	
Cannon, 16-pounders	18
Ditto, 8-pounders	8
Ditto, 4-pounders	20
Mortars:	
Of 12 inch	2
Ditto of 9.....	2
Plain shot, for 16-pounder.....	2,000
Ditto, 8-pounder	3,600
Ditto, 4-pounder	7,515
Bombs, 12 inch	199
Bombs, 9 inch	200
Powder, quintals	850
Bullets, quintals	1,000
Cartridges	160,000
Flints	40,000

NOTE

That there is being taken sufficient supply of grapeshot cartridges for the artillery and of combustible materials for igniting vessels or buildings when advisable.

ANOTHER

That sufficient supply of artillery fittings, tools for pioneers, hand grenades, iron, nails, and other items for any need is being taken.

PROVISIONS

Navy rations for forty days.

Flour for four months, together with a sufficient supply of dried vegetables and salt meat.

FOR THE HOSPITAL

One surgeon major, together with the surgeons of the various corps.

Medicine chest.

Surgical ditto.

Two hundred pallets.

Diets proper for the number of men composing the expedition.

FUNDS

One hundred and fifty thousand pesos *fuertes*, in addition to the troop's having been given pay and allowances for the month of July and August of this year.

HAVANA, *July 7, 1769.*

(Rubric)

PROCLAMATION BY O'REILLY

*August 21, 1769.*⁷⁴

By Order of the King

DON ALEXANDRE O'REILLY, Commander of Benfayan in the Order of Alcántara, Lieutenant General and Inspector General of His Catholic Majesty's Armies, Captain General and Governor of the Province of Louisiana.

By virtue of the orders and powers invested in me by His Catholic Majesty, we declare to all the inhabitants of the province of Louisiana that, although past events have fully justified His Majesty in expressing to them his displeasure, he is willing to be moved solely by clemency toward the public at this point in the belief that it has sinned only because it allowed itself to be led astray by the intrigues of ambitious, fanatical, and ill-intentioned people, who have rashly taken advantage of its ignorance and great credulity. The latter alone shall be responsible for their crimes and shall be judged according to the laws.

So generous an action should assure His Majesty that his new subjects will endeavor each day of their lives by their fidelity, zeal, and obedience to deserve the mercy he grants them, and the protection which he henceforth accords them.

Done at NEW ORLEANS, *August 21, 1769.*

O'REILLY (Rubric)

PROCLAMATION BY O'REILLY

*August 24, 1769*⁷⁵

DON ALEXANDRE O'REILLY, Commander of Benfayan in the Order of Alcántara, Lieutenant General and Inspector General of His Catholic Majesty's Armies, Captain General and Governor of the Province of Louisiana.

Several inhabitants have pointed out to us that individuals in the city and the country were using no restraint about selling goods to slaves of both sexes and without distinction as to age, and were

⁷⁴ BL. (Printed in French).

⁷⁵ BL. (Printed in French).

making no inquiries as to the source of the money with which they were paid; and that they are likewise continuing to buy from the said negro slaves everything which they bring either to market or elsewhere, without express permission from their masters, despite the various prohibitions made. These complaints appeared to us well-founded, and it is indispensable to remedy this abuse which is so contrary to good order. We have examined the proper regulations and especially the decree of October 12, 1765, which states, "that all merchants, residents, and others of all classes are expressly forbidden to trade with negroes and other slaves without previous permission from their masters, or unless they are known to be so authorized, under penalty of being fined five hundred livres the first time, of returning and surrendering the money which they have received, and of losing the stocks and goods thus bought or sold by the said slaves."

The wisdom of these prohibitions which are in such conformity with good order induces us to renew them in the present ordinance; all residents are as a consequence commanded to conform with them.

The lieutenant of police is directed to have it read, published, and posted in all the usual places. All officers of the guard are hereby commanded to lend their aid to enforce these provisions whenever called upon to do so.

O'REILLY (Rubric)

NEW ORLEANS, *August 24, 1769.*

O'REILLY TO MUNIAIN

August 31, 1769.⁷⁶

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Under any circumstances I owe Your Excellency a detailed account of all that I do, and I should never wish to omit any manifestation of my gratitude and invariable desire of meriting the favor of Your Excellency.

I arrived at this city with all my convoy on the night of the 16th and 17th instant. I disembarked on the afternoon of the 18th, and with the greatest formality took possession of the Province in the name of His Majesty. On the 21st, I had all the principal leaders and instigators of the recent uprising arrested; and on the 26th, the inhabitants of all classes took an oath of fealty before me, each one signing same in the order which Your Excellency will see from the attached formulary No. 1.

The edict, of which I enclose a copy, reassured the populace, which was greatly terrified.

⁷⁶ AGI, Aud., SD, 87-3-10.

With the leaders already imprisoned and their property confiscated, their trials are now proceeding in accordance with the laws before the judges whom I brought from Havana for this purpose. All the declarations and judicial proceedings in this grave case are attended in my name and as my representative by Captain Don Josef Carroja, a man enjoying my full confidence. He signs everything together with the assessor and the notary, and gives me a detailed account thereof. In this way I am better able to insure justice and due formality in such a grave case.

This official will be very useful to the King in military and political matters, and I shall not fail to give him all the instruction I can.

I have had to overcome many difficulties in navigating this river and in keeping the convoy together. The populace here, very fearful of the consequences and constantly excited by the rumors which were continually being spread by the leaders of the recent troubles, gave me more concern from my fear that they would flee to English territory than that they would make any resistance.

They sent three deputies to welcome me at the mouth of the river, where I was detained, waiting to assemble all my convoy, but the true purpose of this ceremony was to spy out my real forces and to ascertain my intentions. I succeeded in convincing them that all the inhabitants and Indians in the province, even though fanatical and united, could not hope to resist the troops, artillery, and other preparatives which I had. Without departing from the truth, I explained to them my desire of doing good and my great repugnance at doing harm, and that I should never do it unless it were just and even necessary. This was fully believed even by the leaders themselves. As I realized the importance of speed, the whole convoy, in spite of the great rapidity of this river and the dead calms which I experienced on it, made twenty-four leagues by warping and towing, and to the great surprise of these inhabitants we tied up in this port on the 17th instant, when we awoke them by the salute which we fired to the post at dawn.

The chiefs and all the troops under my orders are entirely to my satisfaction. Not an officer or even soldier has said a single improper word to these people, nor done anything meriting the slightest disapproval. This great moderation and good conduct has filled these natives with confusion, as they (through malign influences) had so greatly wronged our nation without knowing us.

My measures up to now have produced as favorable effects as might be desired for the King, the public, and my own satisfaction. I can already assure Your Excellency that within four months more the authority of the King will be firmly established in this province and all the objects of the mission which has been entrusted to me

carried out (as far as I am able). I shall then proceed to Havana, where I hope to find the orders which his Majesty may be pleased and which Your Excellency may see fit to give me. With them I shall always comply with the greatest punctuality and satisfaction.

At the present time I have only one hundred and two sick, none seriously. This is very fortunate after a long voyage in such hot weather.

Two days before our arrival lightning struck one of the vessels of the convoy, killing two men and injuring eight more, but after bleeding the latter they soon recovered.

All of the officials who have come from Spain at my order have turned out very well. They are applying themselves assiduously, thereby serving the King and training themselves to be more useful to him.

I again place myself completely at Your Excellency's service and pray Our Lord to preserve and bless Your Excellency's valuable life for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 31, 1769.*

Your most attentive and grateful servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JUAN GREGORIO DE MUNIAIN.

(Accompanying the foregoing)

We, the undersigned retired officers, residing and domiciled in this city of New Orleans and its vicinity, today, the twenty-sixth of August, 1769, of our own free will swear to preserve the most inviolable fealty and obedience to His Catholic Majesty, our sole and legitimate sovereign, to reveal to the governor of this province without any delay whatsoever all that we know of any opposition to his sovereign authority and service, and to resist its execution with all our might and at the risk of our lives.

NOTE. The clergy, militia, farmers, traders, merchants, artisans, and others domiciled here have taken this oath, which was read to them, first in Spanish and then in French. The commandant general first instructed them that any who did not want to do so could withdraw, because the King did not wish any subjects who did not desire to be such.

After having taken this oath with the greatest solemnity, each class signed in the presence of two notaries and two officials. Those who did not know how to write made a crossmark, and the officials wrote at the side the name of the one who had done so.

At the end the officials and notaries certified to having witnessed

the taking of the oath and the signatures, which formality seems called for by the gravity of the matter.

The clergy in their oath obligated themselves to preach frequently to their parishoners the aforesaid obligations to their King. While the schoolmasters and teachers swore to instruct their pupils in the obedience and fealty which they owe to their sovereign, and to explain to them the formulary of the oath.

PROCLAMATION FIXING PRICES

*September 7, 1769*⁷⁷

DON ALEXANDRE O'REILLY, Commander of Benfayan of the Order of Alcántara, Lieutenant General and Inspector General of the Armies of His Catholic Majesty, Captain General and Governor of the Province of Louisiana.

Nothing requires greater attention from the government than the equitable regulation of the prices of food products. Having taken note of the abuses which are being practiced in this regard and desiring equally that the farmer receive due recompense for his labor, and that the soldier, the resident of the city, and other consumers may not be tyrannized over, we have, after taking all the steps compatible with the sincerity of our intentions, established this tariff of prices to which it is our will that all conform with the greatest exactness, under penalty of a fine of fifty livres for the first offense, whether the offenders be sellers or buyers, and double in case of a second offense. We order that this be proclaimed, published, and posted at all the customary places in this city, especially in the market place, and that the printer print enough copies to sell to all who may demand them.

New Orleans, the 7th of September, one thousand, seven hundred and sixty-nine.

TARIFF OF PRICES OF VARIOUS FOOD PRODUCTS

Fresh beef per pound	6 sols 3 d.
Fresh pork ditto	6 sols 3 d.
Unrendered lard	12 sols 6 d.
Quarter of mutton	3 liv. 2 sols 6 d.
Quarter of lamb	1 liv. 5 s.
A mother hen	1 liv. 5 s.
Capon	1 liv. 17 s. 6 d.
Big hens and pullets	12 s. 6 d.
Pair of grain-fed pullets	18 s. 9 d.
Dozen eggs	12 s. 6 d.
Turkey, 18 months old	3 liv. 15 s.
Year old turkey and old turkey-hens	2 liv. 10 s.

⁷⁷ AGI, PC, Leg. 187 (Printed in French).

Young turkey	1 liv. 17 sols 6 d.
Jar of milk to Nov. 1st.	12 s 6 d.
Jar, from Nov. 1st to end of March	18 s 9 d.
Pound of fresh butter	1 liv. 5 s
Jar of lard	1 liv. 17 s. 6 d.
Jar of bear grease	1 liv. 11 s. 6 d.
Pound of veal	[Illegible]
Quarter of medium size venison	1 liv. 17 s. 6 d.
A quarter of large venison	2 liv. 16 s.
A quarter (25#) of unhulled rice	6 liv. 5 s.
A quarter (25#) of hulled rice	17 liv. 10 s.
Red and white Apalachian beans	6 liv. 5 s.
Barrel of whole corn	6 liv. 5 s.
Barrel of corn meal	2 liv. 10 s.
Barrel of dried kidney beans	15 liv.
Jar of lentils	1 liv. 5 s.
Barrel of peas or English beans	10 liv.
Pair of pigeons	18 s. 9 d.
French domestic duck	1 liv. 5 s.
India duck	1 liv. 11 s. 3 d.
Wild game meat per pound	5 s.
Wild beef tongue	1 liv. 17 s. 6 d.
Pound of ordinary fish such as meuil, casseburgos, etc...	5 s.
Pound of choice fish, such as bass, redfish, etc.	6 s. 3 d.
Barrel of sweet potatoes	3 liv. 2 s. 6 d.
Cord of wood, delivered at the levee.....	8 liv. 15 s.
Cord of drift wood, ash, oak, etc. at same	7 liv. 15 s.
Cord of drift wood from the forest, at same	6 liv. [TORN]
French wild duck	1 liv. [TORN]
Other wild ducks	18 s. 9 d.
Teal, two marsh hens for one teal	6 s. 3 d.
Cartage in the city	18 sols 9 d.

The present price of bread is six sols, three deniers, but since the dearness or cheapness of flour determines the price of bread, the public will be advised when there is any change.

Proclaimed, published, and posted, the 7th of September, one thousand, seven hundred and sixty-nine.

BUCARELI TO ARRIAGA

*September 18, 1769*⁷⁸

No. 1208.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The lack of news of the expedition against New Orleans and the appearance that it was being delayed (as on the 6th instant two months had elapsed since its departure from here) has kept me in suspense up till now. However, with the re-

⁷⁸ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-7.

turn to this post of three vessels of the said expedition, I have received advices that on the 28th of July the convoy crossed the bar of the Mississippi and, overcoming the currents of the river with no little difficulty, cast anchor in front of the city the night of the 17th. There, the troops having disembarked, Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly took possession with all the tranquillity that was desired. It is reported that the inhabitants have sworn allegiance and fealty to the King, and are ashamed of recent events which made necessary an armed force such as they had not believed possible in such a short time, nor so completely equipped as is the one that has surprised them.

So, I beg Your Excellency to bring this to the attention of the King and explain that I do not take time to describe the voyage and the happy success of the expedition in detail, because I think it unnecessary, as the said general is doing so himself with this same mail, according to what he informs me.

May Our Lord guard the important life of Your Excellency many years.

HAVANA, *September 18, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, Your hand is kissed by your most attentive servant.

ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

O'REILLY TO GAGE

*September 21, 1769*⁷⁹

(Copy)

No. 1.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: On the 18th of last month I took possession of this province in the name of His Catholic Majesty, and until his further orders I shall remain here as captain general and governor. I shall be very happy if this post affords me the satisfaction of pleasing Your Excellency, whose renown has made me respect you highly, although I have never had the opportunity of meeting you.

I have given the strictest orders to the commandants of all the posts under my command to keep the Indians to their obligations, always giving them to understand that our close friendship entails the most sincere co-operation, and that any affront that they offer to the subjects of His Brittanic Majesty will be considered the same

⁷⁹ AGI, And. SD, 80-1-9.

as if made against those of His Catholic Majesty. They will always hear such talk from me, and if any person under my orders deviates in the slightest from the sincere friendship and good harmony happily existing between our respective sovereigns, which I desire to cultivate by all means possible, he shall be punished according to his fault.

Any aid that I can render the vessels going up and down the river, I shall be very glad to furnish, but I beg Your Excellency to give orders that none is to put in at this city without permission, nor land goods in any part of the territory of the King, my master.

In everything that occurs during my stay in this governorship, my sole desire is to be on good terms of understanding with Your Excellency to whom I now give assurance of my invariable desire of pleasing you. Anything that you care to ask and that I am able to grant I shall do with the greatest satisfaction, because, in addition to this being very proper to the orders that I have, I shall take special pleasure in demonstrating to Your Excellency my affection and esteem for your own good qualities.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 21, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, Your Excellency's hands are kissed by your attentive servant.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY

Most Excellent Señor DON THOMAS GAGE.

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*October 17, 1769*⁸⁰

No. 3.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: After a most thorough examination of all the affairs of this province, I shall describe to the King, through Your Excellency, the number and quality of the troops which I consider necessary to keep it in proper subordination and tranquillity by means most conducive to its preservation and discipline and which will save the exchequer all superfluous expense. Next month I shall draw up and send Your Excellency a detailed and comprehensive report of all the items and expense of the colony to the royal exchequer.

The former distribution of the troops among the multitude of posts would leave us helpless everywhere and, with a large number of storekeepers and other employees, it would be as costly as useless.

⁸⁰ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-7.

Without regard for particular interests, I shall reduce everything to what is necessary, but I shall omit no expense which I consider useful or essential.

Natchitoches and Opelousas are the only posts through which goods can enter the Kingdom of Mexico. I shall arrange to have at both of them Spanish officials who speak French well, and who will be relieved quite frequently so as not to give them time to become corrupt by illicit gains. But what will contribute more than anything else to the prevention of such entries will be the vigilant care of the governor of this province in controlling the merchants of this city who supply and give credit on these goods.

I found established here two Genevan brothers, named Duraldes, who were dealing in diamonds, watches, gold caskets and other jewelry, galloons, laces and other costly goods, for which there would be no outlet whatever here. This made me suspicious of their business, and I was able to ascertain that these Duraldes kept this stock here for the illegal trade, and that they had sent some shipments to Campeche and Vera Cruz. These parties, when accused, even confessed this to me themselves.

I have ordered them to leave here before the end of this month, together with three Jews, named Nonsanto, Mets, and Brito, who had also made some illegal shipments and had correspondents in Vera Cruz, Campeche, the nearby presidios, and other places. By pursuing this same course with equal care, I can assure you that the value of the illegal shipments which can be made from this colony to the other dominions of the King in America will be very small. This is the important objective.

I have found that the interested parties are strongly in favor of a multitude of posts, as well as desirous of having a store at each of them. It has always been claimed that these produced profits for the King, and as the accounts have never been audited, it has never been possible to prove otherwise; but I, having thoroughly examined this matter, assure you that the losses were large and the expenses heavy.

In the economy of this province the exchequer will save annually more than one hundred thousand pesos *fuertes* of the two hundred and fifty thousand allotted to it.

In the valuations made of the French buildings taken over by the King, I have convinced these people that the appraisals were unfavorable to the Spanish exchequer to the extent of sixty some thousand pesos *fuertes*, and this very day we and the French are signing the new valuations of the greater part of the buildings, with a reduction of fifty-two thousand, five hundred and twenty-one pesos *fuertes* and seven reales, as Your Excellency will see from the attached statement marked with the letter "A". It is worth Your Excellency's reading.

Up to the present time I have been unable to secure from these offices of royal exchequer the adjustment of a single account, despite the small obligations of the King in this province. From the very day of my arrival I have constantly been pressing all the employees for these. I have placed in the *contaduría* a very clever major and some clerks, and in the storehouse a lieutenant and some clerks.

All the accounts were far behind. This makes it difficult for me; but as I want everything in proper order, I have taken the most efficient steps to have all old accounts adjusted, and, in proportion to the need, I shall continue to take other steps to secure the desired end.

What will Your Excellency say when you learn that there are one hundred thousand pesos *fuertes* of the notes of this treasury circulating among the public as currency; and that from the day of Ulloa's arrival in this province until I took over my command, the accounts of the first year had not been adjusted, nor of any of the following years, and that the greater part of the deliveries from the stores were on verbal orders. However, the deliveries are now being handled in the proper and legal manner.

Your Excellency will be more surprised by this disorder and delay when you learn that the King collects no customhouse duties nor any tribute whatever in this province. There was a *comisario*, who exercised the functions of intendant, with three officials in his office, paid by the King, an auditor with five, a treasurer and a storekeeper general with four officials. According to the system which I propose, a *comisario* of war, a treasurer, a storekeeper general, and four clerks among all of them, will be sufficient to take care of all the obligations of this colony. With this number all the accounts could be adjusted every four months.

I summoned the chiefs of the Indian tribes within sixty leagues of this capital. All of them appeared with the trappings of greatest solemnity and respect. From the enclosed report, marked with the letter "B", Your Excellency will see that they are greatly pleased to hear me, receive from my hands the presents which I had promised to give them, and to see the troops under my orders maneuver.

All of this produced in them a high respect for the power of the King and great satisfaction over the treatment I had given them.

I have found the French officers and troops here without money and without provisions. I have supplied them with what they needed, as Your Excellency will see from the attached letter from the French commandant, M. Aubry. Three officers and some hundred soldiers have already embarked for France. There still remain fifty soldiers and some officers, who expect to embark at the beginning of next month. I am omitting nothing to assist them and to facilitate their prompt departure.

For many years past there has been the greatest disorder in the administration of justice in this province. It has become nothing but partiality and mere formality. Even when suits between parties have been adjudicated by the council, the decisions have not been carried out. This has increased my tasks, but the public welcomes this work.

The case of the prime movers and leaders of the uprising is being prosecuted with the greatest justification and formality, and I believe that such convincing and well-substantiated proofs are rare in similar cases. No one whom I have wished to apprehend has escaped me, nor a single witness failed me.

There was no kind of subterfuge which the leaders of the uprising in this province did not use in their projects and plans, but their sole aim was to better their own fortunes, whatever the cost.

I have already expelled from here as many as eighteen persons, whose names Your Excellency will see from the attached report, marked "C". There will be about a dozen more, when the case is concluded. They were deserving of punishment, but I thought it best to rid the colony promptly of those already known to be dissatisfied, turbulent, and lovers of change, thereby securing perfect tranquillity in the province with no more harm or punishment than absolutely necessary.

From the day of my arrival in this city, my tasks have been increasing daily, but now, thanks be to God, I am approaching the end of the most difficult and urgent matters.

It will be a great consolation to me that His Majesty is well-served. This is my sole desire, and would that I had more talents, in order to do it better and fulfill all the desires of Your Excellency's incomparable zeal.

May Our Lord guard and bless Your Excellency's life many years, as I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, OCTOBER 17, 1769.

Your most attentive and devoted servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

(Accompanying the preceding)

(A) Statement showing the prices at which the buildings that belonged to His Most Christian Majesty were appraised last year, 1767, and those at which they have been valued this year, according to the revaluation made by the undersigned experts and engineers, with

the assistance of the ministers of royal exchequer, and the difference resulting between the two estimates, to wit:

BUILDINGS

	First Estimate	Second Estimate	Difference
The great hospital, including one for the officers and the foundation made for the construction of the principal kitchen, together with the two temporary ones now being used and other works connected with the said building	440,999- 6- 6	268,299-15- 5	172,699-11- 1
The general storehouse	51,535- 0-11	43,181-19- 2	8,353- 1- 9
Another similar one	42,648- 9- 5	23,655- 6- 7	18,993- 2-10
The principal guardhouse, including the military and civil prisons	182,050- 2- 0	151,509- 4- 5	30,540-17- 7
The house in which the <i>comisario</i> lived, serving as the treasury	105,491- 9- 8	82,262- 5- 6	23,229- 4- 2
The present hospital for the troops ...	29,886- 5- 0	23,135- 6- 4	6,750-18- 8
The house in which the physician lives, and the botanical garden	13,189- 6- 2	11,146- 3- 7	2,043- 2- 7
Totals	865,799-19- 8	603,190- 1-0	262,609-18- 8

The total difference amounts to two hundred and sixty-two thousand, six hundred and nine livres, eighteen sous and eight deniers, French money, equivalent to fifty-two thousand, five hundred and twenty-one pesos *fuertes*, seven and three-fourths reales.

The difference shown by this statement between the first appraisal, made in the time of and under commission of Don Antonio de Ulloa, by Don Carlos Aubry and M. Foucault, with the assistance of the auditor, Don Estevan Gayarré, and experts under supervision of Engineer Don Ipolito Amelot, results from their having estimated the prices at that time in accordance with a contract which M. Dabadie had made some time before for the works of the King in this city. However, when the present governor of His Catholic Majesty in this province learned that the said prices were excessive, he asked for a new appraisal, made at the prices current on the day when Don Antonio de Ulloa arrived at this city, the time when the appraisals and deliveries were to be made according to the orders of both France and Spain. As everyone thought this request to be well-founded and just, we unanimously agreed thereto; and, having summoned the best qualified persons in all the offices and after administering to them the customary oath, they made new appraisals which appear to us to be just. This is confirmed by their being the same as the prices agreed upon in a contract made under the supervision of the said engineer, Don Ipolito Amelot, for all the King's works in this province a short time after the arrival here of Don Antonio de Ulloa. Since that time there has been no change in

prices according to all the experts. Therefore, we, the undersigned, fully convinced of the equity of this new appraisal, agree thereto
 NEW ORLEANS, *October 7, 1769.*

O'REILLY (Rubric)

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA

(Rubric)

AUBRY (Rubric)

HIPOLITE AMELOT (Rubric)

JEAN ARNOULD VALENTIN, (Rubric)

JUAN DE COTILLA (Rubric)

Comptroller of Navy

ESTEVAN GAYARRÉ (Rubric)

(B) After having taken possession of the province of Louisiana in the name of His Catholic Majesty, and received the oath of fealty from its inhabitants, the Excellent Señor Don Alexandro O'Reilly summoned all the Indians living within sixty leagues from this city.

At half past eleven o'clock in the morning there arrived at His Excellency's house nine chiefs, accompanied by the interpreters, each one respectively authorized, together with quite a number of Indians, singing and playing on their military instruments.

His Excellency entered the principal hall of his house, and having seated himself under the canopy, accompanied by all the officers of the garrison and the principal persons of the city, the Indians were admitted into his presence, preceded by the interpreters. After they had placed their military implements at His Excellency's feet, each one of the chiefs saluted him with his flag, which is a small pole decorated with feathers in the shape of a fan, waving it in a circle over his head, and touching him on the chest four times with it, then giving it to him. Each one then presented him with his burning pipe, the chief himself holding it while he smoked, which His Excellency did as he was not ignorant of its significance; and finally each chief gave him his hand, which is the Indian's greatest sign of friendship.

When these ceremonies had been concluded, the chief of the Bayougoulas asked permission to speak, and His Excellency having granted it, the chief made substantially the following speech :

"Red men, chiefs and warriors, in your name I speak to the great chief whom the great King of Spain has sent to take possession of these lands.

"Father and great chief, we hope that thou wilt deign to have pity on these, thy children, and grant us the same favors and benefits as did the French, and that thou wilt now deign to have our arms and implements repaired and give us some little assistance to live on for the rest of this year.

"I am afraid of displeasing thee, great chief of chiefs, and so I close, assuring thee that all these red men, warriors and chiefs of the

tribes will be inviolably faithful to thee, both here and in all the posts where there are people at thy orders."

When he had finished, all the other Indians (in ratification of what he had said) raised their voices, beat on their chests, and made signs of approval.

His Excellency then explained to them the close bonds of blood and alliance between the kings of Spain and France, as a result of which this cession of the colony had been made. He told them any particular offense against either was common to both sovereigns and nations, and that he, who was the friend of one, was also the friend of both. He impressed on them their great good fortune in now being subjects of the greatest King in the world, because, in addition to having many kingdoms and more than thirty millions of vassals, he was to the highest degree heroic, clement, just, and faithful to his friends and allies. He exhorted them to refrain from the hostilities committed up to this time, as these were all contrary to the sacred intentions of His Majesty. He charged them with good treatment of the English, because, although they were not related by the same bonds as was the French nation, they were friends of His Majesty. He assured them of the punctuality of the annual presents, and that the King did not wish to demand of them any other gratitude than their constant fidelity. Finally he promised them, in confirmation of the royal protection and in addition to the presents he had already mentioned, to honor them with a medal bearing the royal effigy. He also promised that in the afternoon he would parade all the troops of the garrison, and impressed on them that this was a very great honor, given only to persons of the highest rank.

The Indians were so surprised and pleased that they looked at each other as if they could not believe the news.

At the end of the speech, His Excellency arose from his chair to place about the neck of each one of the chiefs the medal which hung from a silk ribbon of deep scarlet color. He first had them kiss the royal effigy, and then with his bare sword he touched them on both shoulders and chest, and made over their heads the sign of the Cross, and finally gave each an embrace and his hand, whereupon they again showed such admiration that it was evident how pleasing to them was the ceremony and that it was the first time they had seen it.

He then had distributed in his presence the gifts promised, which were only articles of small value. In the afternoon he had all the troops march out under arms and practice some evolutions, whose number, uniformity, skill, and beauty left the Indians astonished and showing their joy at finding themselves under such powerful protection.

The following day they departed with such signs of satisfaction,

according to the interpreters, as were never before seen in them. This is confirmed by all the French officials here.

(C) List of the persons who have been expelled from this province on account of having shown themselves to be dissatisfied, turbulent, and prejudicial to the public peace.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Occupations</i>
Two Durand brothers	Merchants
Two Boudet brothers	ditto
Two Duraldes brothers	ditto
Juan Sauvestre	ditto
Elias Hughes	ditto
Papiom	ditto
St. Pé	ditto
Doraison	ditto
Fournie	ditto
Juan Brunet	ditto
Blache	ditto
Loquet	Clerk in our offices of royal exchequer
Maison	First bailiff of the council
Juan Vincent	Merchant and watchmaker
Regnier	Surgeon of the hospital

In addition to the abovementioned there are to leave this province during the current month two Jews, named Brito and Mets, and before the end of the next month the Jew, Nonsanto, for the reason that all three are undesirable on account of their businesses and the religion they profess.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*October 17, 1769*⁸¹

No. 4.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Your Excellency is well aware that this province cannot live without commerce. It needs flour, wine, oil, tools, arms, munitions, and all kinds of cloth to make clothing, and can obtain them only by exporting its products.

These are wood, indigo, cotton, peltries, and a little corn and rice. There would be no outlet in Spain for the wood, which is one of the most important products for these people. Of our colonies, Havana is the only one where it would have a sale. I consider its importation there profitable for both the King and that island. It would be advantageous to the King because it would conserve, for the con-

⁸¹ AGI, Aud, SD, 80-1-7.

struction of his ships, the cedars now being used for sugar chests, and planks from here would cost His Majesty less for sheathing vessels and other works in which they could be employed.

This lumber would be profitable for that island, because it would make the sugar chests cheaper, as well as other works carried on by the people of Havana.

By permitting this province to engage in the free commerce with Spain and to carry it on with Havana, as Florida formerly did, these inhabitants would find in Havana itself an outlet for all their products, and obtain there most of the things they need. Thereby the King would obtain the duties which those goods pay in Spain, and the excise which they pay on being landed in the island of Cuba. The sugar mills would develop greatly with an outlet for the rum which is now useless and lost. Its consumption here would be very considerable, and each barrel would pay the two pesos duty which is placed on it in Havana. But in order for this commerce to develop and be mutually useful, it seems to me advisable and necessary that the wood, peltries, indigo, cotton, corn, and rice of this province should not pay import duties at Havana and that, on goods from there shipped to this province, no new excise or export duty be demanded.

It would also be advisable for the ships belonging to this colony to be admitted at Havana and the ports of Spain, but under the condition that there shall not be admitted at this city nor used for transport any vessel not Spanish or not of the colony, and that my successors shall look after this with special care.

From Catalonia vessels would come with red wine. They would load wood and other things here for Havana, and get sugar there. I think that this arrangement would assure an outlet for the products of this colony and a supply of what it needs, and I do not think it possible to establish it more securely or more advantageously to the interests of our commerce.

The King, having been informed through Your Excellency of what I consider advantageous to his service in this matter, will command what is most to his pleasure.

I must explain to Your Excellency that, pending His Majesty's decision, in order to give these people an outlet for their products and a supply of what they need, I shall be obliged to issue passports for the French ports of the island of Santo Domingo, but I shall limit this privilege to the said vessels of the colony, which number five good ships.

I found the English entirely in possession of the commerce of this colony. They had merchants among the Germans and stores in this city, and I can assure you that they got nine-tenths of all the ready money spent here. The commerce of France accepted the

products of the colony in payment for goods, but the English, selling more cheaply, got all the silver. I made the English merchants and other citizens of that nation whom I found in this city depart, and I shall henceforth admit none of their vessels into this port.

May Our Lord guard and bless Your Excellency's life many years.
NEW ORLEANS, *October 17, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses your hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*October 27, 1769*⁸²

No. 9.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The case that was being prosecuted against the twelve leaders, instigators, and principal accomplices of the recent uprising in this province has been concluded. The merits of the case resulted in the penalty of the gallows for six of them, but as one of them had already died in prison, and as there is no hangman here, five of them were shot on the 25th instant, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The other six were sentenced to imprisonment in a castle, one for life, two for ten years, and three for six, and all twelve to confiscation of all their property.

The six sentenced to prison in a castle are being sent on this date to one of the fortresses of Havana, to the captain general of which I am sending a copy of the sentence for compliance therewith in that post.

The property of these prisoners had been sequestered from the beginning, and I have now given special directions for its prompt liquidation, according to law, so that the part that belongs to the exchequer may be applied thereto, and the widows and creditors may receive theirs.

Full satisfaction has now been given for the offense committed against due respect for the sovereign authority of the King in this province and the bad examples set for his subjects. Everyone recognizes the necessity, justice, and clemency of the proceedings, and this example will remain eternally graven on the hearts of all. Respect for the authority of the King is greatly augmented by the strict justice and great celerity with which it has been carried out.

Henceforth, I shall receive without discrimination those who were

⁸² AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-7.

seduced and signed the first representation to the council, and it will be the greatest consolation to the public to know that I shall not leave in the province any memory of that ill-considered act. I shall reconcile and calm their minds by all means possible, and none is more effective than to let them know that there is and always will be entire forgetfulness of the past, and that everyone will find in the government the protection and favor of which he is deserving.

The attached certified copy of the accusation by the prosecuting attorney, the sentence, and its execution will inform His Majesty in detail of all these grave proceedings.

I hope that I have carried out his royal instructions, and if I have attained this happiness, my satisfaction will be complete.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency's valuable life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 27, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

O'REILLY TO BUCARELI

*November 10, 1769*⁸³

Most Excellent Sir.

MY DEAR SIR: There will be a definite need for a priest here to serve as chaplain of the battalion of Louisiana. I beg Your Excellency to send me, at the first opportunity, one who, in addition to the other requirements, will possess the ability to learn French well and I request that our bishop amplify his powers as much as possible.

It is my hope that God will keep Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 10, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, your affectionate servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Señor DON ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI.

⁸³ AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

GAGE TO O'REILLY

*November 18, 1769*⁸⁴

(Copy)

No. 4.

NEW YORK, *November 18, 1769.*

SIR: I avail myself of the earliest opportunity of thanking Your Excellency for the honor that you do me in your letter of September 21, last, advising me of your arrival at New Orleans to take over the governorship of the province of Louisiana.

Permit me, Your Excellency, to offer my congratulations on this occasion, and to express the satisfaction given me by your safe arrival, and because such a great and important commission has been conferred on a person of the distinguished merit of Your Excellency.

Nothing can be more pleasing to the King, my master, than to learn of the orders that Your Excellency has given to the commandants of the posts under your command. His Majesty desires sincerely to cultivate the friendship of His Catholic Majesty, and to strengthen the union that happily exists between both sovereigns. To this end the British commandants on the Mississippi River have orders to bend all their efforts toward maintaining peace and tranquility between the Indian tribes and toward promoting the best harmony and union between the subjects of both crowns.

On account of my profound respect for His Catholic Majesty, as well as my esteem for the Spanish nation, I had the greatest satisfaction in sending to the officers under my command orders so expressing my wishes, and Your Excellency may rest assured that nothing can give me greater pleasure than to have opportunities of manifesting to Your Excellency the esteem that I have for your own merit, and my invariable desire of complying with your wishes.

The kind promises of Your Excellency to give all proper and possible aid to British vessels navigating the Mississippi, and your gracious expressions toward myself demand of me the most lively appreciation. Insofar as my department is concerned with matters of that nature, I shall not fail to instruct the subjects of His Britannic Majesty not to introduce anything into New Orleans, nor land goods in the territories of His Catholic Majesty without permission.

There remains for me only to ask of Your Excellency your protection and good offices for the detachments of troops of His Britannic Majesty and other subjects of his going up and down the Mississippi from Illinois to the sea. I do not doubt from the candor and good disposition of Your Excellency that they will enjoy the same.

⁸⁴ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant.

THOMAS GAGE

Most Excellent Señor DON ALEXANDRO O'REILLY.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW ORLEANS CABILDO

November 25, 1769⁸⁵

DON ALEXANDRE O'REILLY, Commander of Benfayan of the Order of Alcántara, Lieutenant General of the Armies of His Majesty, Inspector General of Infantry, and by commission Governor and Captain General of the Province of Louisiana.

The trial which has just taken place as a consequence of the recent insurrection in this colony, has fully demonstrated the part and influence exerted by the council in those proceedings, in countenancing, contrary to its duty, the most criminal actions, when its whole care should have been directed to maintaining the people in the fidelity and submissiveness which are due to their sovereign. Therefore, and in order to prevent hereafter evils of such magnitude, it is indispensable to abolish the said council, and to establish in its stead that form of political government and administration of justice prescribed by our wise laws, under which all the states of His Majesty in America have been maintained in the most perfect tranquility, contentment, and submission.

For these reasons, in pursuance of the power which our Lord the King (whom God preserve) has been pleased to entrust to us by his commission, issued at Aranjuez, the 16th of April, of the present year, to establish in the military and police forces, and in the administration of justice and of his finances, that form of government, dependence, and subordination, which should accord with the good of his service and the happiness of his subjects in this colony, we establish, in his royal name, a city council or cabildo, for the administration of justice and preservation of order in this city, composed of six perpetual regidores, in conformity with the second statute, title ten, book five, of the *Recopilación de las Indias*. Among these shall be distributed the offices of alferéz royal, provincial alcalde mayor, alguacil mayor, depositary general, and receiver of *penas de camara*, or fines awarded to the royal treasury. These shall elect, on the first day of every year, two judges, who shall be styled *alcaldes ordinarios*, a syndic attorney general, and a manager of the income and taxes of the city such as the laws have established for good government and administration of justice.

⁸⁵ BL. (Printed in French).

As the lack of advocates in this country, and the little knowledge which his new subjects possess of the Spanish laws might render a strict observance of them difficult, and as every abuse is contrary to the intentions of His Majesty, we have thought it useful, and even necessary, to make an abstract or regulation drawn from the said statutes, which may serve for instruction and elementary formulary in the administration of justice and economic government of this city, until a more general knowledge of the Spanish language may enable every one, by the perusal of the aforesaid statutes, to extend his information to every point thereof. In consequence thereof, and with the reservation of His Majesty's good pleasure, we order and command the justices, cabildo, and their officers, to conform punctually to the requirements of the following articles:

I.

THE CABILDO.

1. The cabildo, at which the governor shall preside, or, in his absence, the alcalde ordinary who shall have the first vote, shall assemble at the city hall (1) on the first day of every year, and proceed to the election of alcaldes ordinary and the other officers abovementioned; it shall also assemble every Friday, for the purpose of deliberating on all that may concern the public welfare. The syndic attorney general shall propose in these assemblies what may appear to him for the welfare of the republic. One or two regidores shall immediately after inform the governor, if he has not presided, of the resolutions that may have been taken; and, except in pressing cases when the cabildo for very important reasons may assemble at the governor's dwelling, it shall not assemble in any other place than the city hall, (2) under the penalty, to the officers who compose it, of being deprived of their office.

2. In urgent cases, which cannot be deferred until the usual meeting on Friday, the regidores may hold an extraordinary sitting; they shall be notified to that effect by one of the door-keepers of the cabildo; (3) and if any one of the members shall not have been notified, the resolutions which may have been taken shall, if he shall challenge the same, be void; (4) as also in case the majority should not have been notified, even if all those who have been notified shall not object thereto. No assembly shall ever be held except by order of the governor, and the members shall keep a

(1) Statute 1, title 9, book 4, *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*.

(2) Stat. 2, *ibid.*

(3) Stat. 2, *ibid.*

(4) Stat. 1, title 4, part 1.

profound silence with respect to the subject upon which the assembly may have deliberated.

3. The regidores shall have a vote in the elections, as well as the alcaldes of the preceding year, who shall remain in the cabildo until the election of their successors shall be confirmed, and they shall have been received. (5) However, the alcalde who, in the absence of the governor, shall exercise the functions of president, (6) shall not have a vote; and as soon as the elections shall have been determined, the secretary of the cabildo shall give information thereof to the governor, (7) who alone may decide on the validity of the opposition made by any member to the persons elected to the municipal offices, and confirm the alcaldes and other officers.

4. The office of alcalde should be given to capable persons who may have the information necessary to fill worthily so important an office. (8) They shall have a house in the city, and shall reside therein. Those who are employed in the militia (9) may be named to those offices; and they may also be given to those regidores whose official duties will not conflict with these posts. (10)

5. The alcaldes, and the other elective officers of the cabildo, cannot continue in office without the unanimous vote of all the members. (11) Without this condition, they cannot be re-elected until two years after they shall have relinquished their badge of office. (12)

6. Neither the officers of the treasury, (13) those who are indebted to the said treasury, (14) those indebted to the cabildo, nor the sureties of either the one or the other, (15) those who have not attained the age of twenty-six years, (16) nor the new converts to our holy faith, (17) may be elected to the said offices.

7. The election being confirmed by the governor, the door-keepers shall deliver tickets from the clerk to the elected, notifying them to go to the assembly hall in order to take the oath prescribed by law, (18) the form of which will be found annexed to this regulation, and to be received and installed in their offices.

(5) Stat. 3, title 3, book 5.

(6) Stat. 15, title 3, book 5.

(7) Stat. 10, *ibid.*

(8) Stat. 4, *ibid.*

(9) Stat. 8, *ibid.*

(10) Stat. 7, title 15, part 1.

(11) *La Cour Philélique*, sec. 2, number 36.

(12) Stat. 9, title 3, book 3, *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*.

(13) Statute 7, *ibid.*

(14) Stat. 7, *ibid.*

(15) *La Cour Philélique*, sec. 2, number 36.

(16) Stat. 2, title 9, book 3, of the *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*.

(17) Stat. 23, title 5, part 1, *ibid.*

(18) Stat. 16, title 6, and stat. 3, title 9, book 3, of the *Recopilación de Leyes de Castilla*.

8. The clerk shall keep a book entitled "Resolutions", in which he shall record the elections and the decisions of the assemblies, ordinary and extraordinary, and which shall be signed by all the judges and members who may have been present thereat. (19)

9. The regidores cannot give their votes for the said offices in favor of their father, son, brother, father-in-law, son-in-law, step-son, or step-brother of their wives, (20) although they may be elected by all those who shall be entitled to vote.

10. Whenever the cabildo shall deliberate upon an affair which may personally interest a regidor, or other officer of the cabildo, or even any one of his kindred, or for other particular reasons which might induce a suspicion of partiality, he shall withdraw immediately, and shall not return until the affair shall have been decided. (21)

11. All decrees, royal provisions, and despatches, which may be addressed to the municipality either by the governor or other authorized minister, shall be opened in the cabildo only, where they shall be recorded, and the originals preserved in the archives of the said cabildo. (22)

12. In case of the death or absence of one of the *alcaldes* ordinary, a new election will not be necessary as the *alferez* royal shall exercise the duties of that office during the remainder of the term of the deceased or absentee, and, if two *alcaldes* should be lacking at the same time, the other office shall fall by right to the senior regidor, provided he does not hold in the cabildo any office incompatible with that employment, (23) as specified in the present regulation, in the articles dealing with each particular office.

13. Whenever the regidores are present in a body, they shall preserve the following order, as in the cabildo, viz: the *alferez* royal shall take the first place; (24) the provincial *alcalde* mayor the next; the *alguacil* major, and the other regidores according to their seniority.

14. Each regidor, according to his rank, and by turns, shall be charged with the maintenance of the municipal ordinances, and of the other dispositions of government for the public good. He shall control the prices of provisions, exacting the fines, and putting in force the penalties incurred by the delinquents.

15. Whenever there shall be the question of augmenting the price of meat, with which this city is abundantly and constantly supplied,

(19) Stat. 16, title 9, book 4, of the *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(20) Stat. 5, title 10, book 3, of the *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(21) Stat. 14, title 9, book 4, of the *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(22) Stat. 17 and 18, book 4, *ibid.*

(23) Stat. 13, title 3, book 5, *ibid.*

(24) Stat. 4, title 1, book 4, *ibid.*

the cabildo, at a public bidding, shall adjudge the contract to the one who shall undertake to supply it on the best terms and for the greatest advantage of the public.

16. The cabildo shall have cognizance of appeals from sentences or condemnations pronounced either by the governor, or by the *alcaldes* ordinary where the sum involved does not exceed 90,000 maravedis; (25) this must be understood as extending only to wholly civil cases, for in criminal cases the appeal must be made to the superior tribunal, which His Majesty will have the goodness to appoint, in consequence of my representations to him on that subject.

17. For the purpose of authorizing such appeals, the cabildo shall name two *regidores*, who, in quality of commissioners, and after having taken the oath, shall decide on the justice or injustice of the sentence from which an appeal is made, conjointly with the judge who may have pronounced the same. (26) This nomination shall be made as soon as the cabildo shall be so required by the appellant, the form of which, as well as that of the examination of the said appeal, will be fully set forth in their places.

18. In the first ordinary assembly which will be held after the annual elections, the cabildo shall name two *regidores* to receive the accounts from the city steward of the preceding year of the sums which he may have received belonging to the city, and of the expenditures by order of the cabildo, for the objects to which those sums are destined. They shall have those accounts rendered with the greatest exactitude, and shall oblige the said steward to deliver up immediately to his successor the residue of the said account; the said *regidores* being responsible for the total thereof when the said accounts shall be settled by one of the principal officers of finance. (27)

19. Although the application and expenditure of the public funds for the purposes to which they are destined belong to the cabildo, it cannot, even in extraordinary cases, dispose of more than 3,000 maravedis thereof; and when a greater expenditure may be necessary, the consent of the governor must be previously obtained. Without it the said cabildo cannot assign either salary or allowance for any purpose whatsoever. (28)

20. The electors in the two jurisdictions, being responsible for the injury and detriment which the public may sustain through the bad conduct and incapacity of the elected officers in the administration of justice and the management of the public interests, should have for their only object in the election of *alcaldes* ordinary and

(25) Stat. 17, title 12, book 5, *ibid.*

(26) Stat. 2, title 18, book 4, *ibid.*

(27) Stat. 21, title 9, book 4, *ibid.*

(28) Stat. 2, title 13, book 4, *ibid.*

the other officers, the service of God, the King, and the republic; and, to prevent an abuse of that great trust, their choice should be directed to those persons who shall appear most suitable for those offices, by the proofs they may possess of their affection for the King, their disinterestedness, and their zeal for the public welfare.

21. The cabildo is hereby informed that it should exact from the governors, previous to their installation in office, a good and solvent surety and a full assurance that they will submit to the necessary inquiries and examinations during the time they fill their posts; and that they will pay what may be adjudged and determined in that respect. (29) This article merits the most serious attention of the cabildo, which is responsible for the consequences that may result from an omission or neglect in exacting those securities from the governor.

22. The offices of regidor and clerk of the cabildo may be sold. Those officers shall also be allowed to assign them in the manner prescribed by the laws of this kingdom. In acknowledgment of this favor, and in consideration of the value that these offices will acquire by the privileges of being relinquished so that they may be effectively transferred from one person to another, there shall be paid into the royal treasury, for the first assignment, one-half the sum at which the said offices may be rated, and one-third of the same for every subsequent assignment thereof, exclusive of the royal custom of half-annats,⁸⁶ receivable without any deduction in Spain. (30) This fee shall also be paid by the alcaldes ordinary who may be yearly elected to those offices.

23. To render these assignments valid, the assigner shall observe a delay of twenty days, computing from the date of the resignation; and the assignee shall present himself to the governor within seventy days from the date of the same, provided with an authentic act substantiating the said assignment, and likewise the abovementioned twenty days' delay that the assigner shall have observed. Should neither of those precautions be taken, the assigner shall forfeit the said office, which shall be deemed vacant, to the profit of the King's demesne; and neither he nor his heirs may lay claim to any portion of the price at which the same may be sold. (31)

24. The said assignments shall not be valid, unless made in favor of persons known to be capable, (32) of the age of twenty-six years, and possessing the capacity and talents necessary to the common good of

(29) Stat. 9, title 2, book 5, *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*.

⁸⁶ Half the income of the first year.

(30) Stat. 1, title 21, and stat. 4, title 19, book 8, *ibid*.

(31) Statutes 4 and 6, title 21, book 8, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(32) Stat. 9, title 21, book 8, *ibid*.

the republic, and worthy of the cabildo, on account of the injury which would result therefrom should those officers be deficient in these qualifications. (33) The said assignments shall be carefully executed and preserved by a public notary of the place at which they may be made. (34)

II

THE ALCALDES ORDINARY.

1. The alcaides ordinary shall have first cognizance of all matters in dispute, either civil or criminal, between the people of their jurisdiction which includes all the inhabitants in the cities and their dependencies. Exception must be made, however, of those who enjoy ecclesiastic or military exemptions, or some other privilege. (1)

2. The alcaides ordinary cannot interfere in affairs of government, which come exclusively within the jurisdiction and department of the governor. (2)

3. In all matters on which the cabildo may deliberate, the alcaides ordinary present therein, during their year of office, shall have an equal vote with the regidores. (3)

4. The alcaides shall appear in public with decency and modesty, bearing the wand of royal justice—a badge provided by law to distinguish the judges. (4) When administering justice they shall hear with mildness those who may present themselves, and shall fix the hour and place of audiences. It would be appropriate that these be at 10 o'clock in the morning at the town hall; (5) and for the decision of verbal cases, in the evening between 7 and 8 o'clock, at their own dwellings, and in none other.

5. One of the principal objects of justice being to prevent effectually those disorders which take place during the night, one of the alcaides, assisted by his alguaciles and the clerk, shall go the rounds of the city; and, in case a greater force should be necessary, they may not only demand it from those persons who may be present, but also from the guard house nearest.

6. It is also the duty of the alcaides ordinary to keep a watchful eye upon fornication, and to punish the same, and all other public offences, conformably to the laws; of this a sufficient detail will be given herein.

7. The alcaides may hear and decide verbally in civil cases, when the demand shall not exceed twenty piasters, (6) as also in criminal

(33) Stat. 7, title 20; stat. 10, 11, title 21, book 8, *ibid.*

(34) Statute 7, title 21, book 8, *ibid.*

(1) Stat. 1, title 3, book 5, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(2) Stat. 11, title 3, book 5, *ibid.*

(3) Stat. 15, title 3, book 5, *ibid.*

(4) Statute 11, title 2, book 5, *ibid.*

(5) Statute 13, title 2, book 5, *ibid.*

(6) Statute 1, title 10, book 5, *ibid.*

cases of little importance. They may also hear and decide verbally those which may exceed that sum, in case the parties interested shall consent thereto.

8. Cases legally brought before one of the judges shall be continued and decided in his tribunal, and neither the governor nor any other shall deprive him of the jurisdiction thereof. (7) The governor, however, at the demand of the parties thereto, may, by an order in writing, and suitable to the case, require and summon the *alcalde* to render speedy justice, conformably to law.

9. In cases of controversy with respect to jurisdiction, between the governor and one of the *alcaldes*, or between these last, where one of them may claim cognizance of a case instituted with the other, either by reason of the said case having been also instituted in his tribunal, or his supposing the same exclusively within his jurisdiction, they shall draw up a report of the said controversy, in which they shall set forth their pretensions in a grave and legal style. The case shall remain in abeyance until the decision of the superior, whom they shall be bound to consult, and to whom they shall deliver an exact copy of the proceeding, unless one of the judges may give way to the claim of the other, and thereby put an end to the said controversy. If, however, in the interval of the decision, one of the judges should proceed in, or take the least cognizance of, the aforesaid case, he shall forfeit his claim to the same, which shall be immediately vested in the other. (8)

10. If one of the parties pleading shall challenge the *alcalde* who may already have taken cognizance of a case, he may not continue the same except in conjunction with another; and, if the latter should also be challenged, he shall associate himself with a *regidor*, who shall take an oath to do his duty impartially, and to terminate the case according to law, and as speedily as possible. Whatever may be done by the *alcalde* alone after exception has been taken against him, shall be void and of non-effect. The oath taken by the party to the written act of exception, that he is mistrustful of the *alcalde*, shall be sufficient to render the same valid; but, if the party shall purpose to exclude him entirely from the hearing of the case, besides the aforesaid oath, he shall make known and substantiate the ground on which he relies for the support of his pretensions. If the judge should be related, even in the fourth degree, to the adverse party, or is in such habits of friendship with him as to excite a suspicion of partiality, or prejudiced against the challenger, in all these cases he shall be excluded from the hearing of the case in controversy, which shall be committed to the other *alcalde*.

(7) Statute 14, title 2, book 3, *ibid.*

(8) Statute 8, title 9, book 5, *ibid.*

11. Two referees appointed, one by the alcalde, and the other by the challenger, after taking an oath to execute their office impartially, shall determine whether the case be of the nature before-mentioned; and, if of the said nature, they shall exact the entire exclusion of the alcalde therefrom; and, if a difference should arise between the referees, a third, named by the judge, shall decide thereon; which decision shall be indispensably binding.

12. The diversity of cases not permitting a special detail of the forms of proceeding therein, the alcaldes shall be guided by the formulary hereunto annexed; and shall consult with the counsellor, to be appointed for that purpose, upon all doubtful cases which may occur in their practice, or which may not be provided for by the said formulary; and shall approach, as nearly as possible, to the spirit of our laws for the administration of justice.

13. The alcaldes ordinary, accompanied by the alguacil mayor, and the clerk, shall, every Friday, make an inspection of the prison. They shall examine the prisoners, the causes of their detention, and the time of their imprisonment. (9) They shall release the poor who may be detained for their expenses, or for small debts; and the jailer shall not exact from them any releasement fee. (10) The alcaldes may not set at liberty any of the prisoners detained by order of the governor, or of any other judge, without the express consent of those officials.

14. They may not release those who are imprisoned for debts due to the domain; (11) nor for fines imposed by law, unless the sum due shall be previously deposited. (12)

15. The governor, with the alcaldes, the alguacil mayor, and the clerk, shall, yearly, on the eves of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, make a general visitation of the prisons, in the manner prescribed by the laws of the Indies. (13) They shall release those who have been arrested for criminal cases of little importance, or for debts, when the debtors are known to be insolvent; and shall allow them a sufficient term for the payment of their creditors.

III.

THE PROVINCIAL ALCALDE MAYOR.

1. The provincial regidor alcalde mayor shall bear the rod of justice, and shall have jurisdiction over crimes committed in the uninhabited places, that is to say, outside the cities and villages. (1)

(9) Statute 1, title 7, book 7, *ibid.*

(10) Statute 16, title 6, book 7, and statute 17, *ibid.*

(11) Statute 16, title 7, book 7, *ibid.*

(12) Stat. 17, title 7, book 7, *ibid.*

(13) Stat. 1, title 7, book 7, *ibid.*

(1) Stat. 2, title 13, book 8, *Recopilación de Castilla.*

Thefts, robberies, carrying away of property by force, rape of decent women, as also treason, or attacks accompanied by wounds or followed by death, setting fire to or burning down of houses or crops, and other crimes of this nature, shall be within the competency of the said provincial alcalde mayor.

2. He may also take cognizance of the aforesaid crimes, although committed in cities, when the offenders have quitted the same, and have withdrawn to the country with their plunder; as also of murders or assaults committed on their officers while in the exercise of their duties, or even afterwards, if the same are the result of malice. (2) If, however, the governor, or one of the judges ordinary of the city, shall have previously taken cognizance thereof, the provincial alcalde mayor shall not interfere therein, for the reason that the jurisdiction of the same is vested in the alcalde ordinary. (3) The judge, however, who shall have apprehended the offender, shall have the preference therein, even if the others should have preceded him. (4)

3. Whenever it shall be known that the crime does not concern the tribunal of the Santa Hermandad,⁸⁷ the provincial alcalde mayor shall refer the cognizance of the same to one of the alcaldes ordinary, without waiting to be required thereto. (5)

4. The provincial alcalde mayor shall see that travellers are furnished with provisions at reasonable prices, as well by the proprietors of plantations as by the inhabitants of the places through which they may pass. (6)

5. The principal object in the institution of the tribunal of the Santa Hermandad is to repress disorders, and to prevent the robberies and assassinations committed in unfrequented places by vagabonds and delinquents, who conceal themselves in the woods and attack travellers and the adjacent inhabitants. The provincial alcalde mayor should assemble a sufficient number of the commissaries or brothers of the Santa Hermandad to clear his jurisdiction of this kind of people, by pursuing them with spirit, seizing, or putting them to flight. (7)

6. For the purpose aforesaid, and conformably to the usage of the other provinces of the Indies within the domain of His Majesty, the provincial alcaldes mayors, their commissaries, and the brothers of the Santa Hermandad shall have the right of arresting, either

(2) Statute 2, title 13, book 8, *ibid.*

(3) Statute 10, title 13, book 8, *ibid.*

(4) Statute 10, title 13, book 8, *ibid.*

(5) Statute 13, title 13, book 8, *ibid.*

(6) Statute 15, title 13, book 8, *ibid.*

(7) Statute 1, title 13, book 8, and statute 1, title 4, book 5, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ A court of justice which had the right to try and punish persons who had committed misdemeanors or other offenses in open fields or upon public roads.

within or without the city, all runaway negroes and fugitives, and may exact a reasonable fee therefor; which right shall not be vested in any other person save the master of the fugitive slave.

The said fee is all the more just since the provincial alcalde mayor, to comply with his duty, must, at his own expense, travel through unfrequented places, for the benefit of the inhabitants.

7. The said officer shall render speedy justice in all matters within his competency, (8) and from his judgment there shall be no appeal; (9) otherwise it would be impossible to remedy the injurious consequences that would result therefrom. But, on the other hand, his judgments shall be pronounced in strict conformity with the spirit of the laws, to which end he shall consult some lawyer; but, in the interim, he shall be guided by the instructions herein contained, which relate to the administration of justice and the forms of procedure.

8. This office of the Hermandad being created with a view to prevent those disorders which may be committed in unfrequented places, the provincial alcalde mayor should make frequent trips from the city. This duty consequently renders his office incompatible with that of alcalde ordinary, to which he cannot be elected. He may, therefore, not lay claim, except by obtaining permission of the King, to commit to a lieutenant, appointed by himself, the duties of the Santa Hermandad.

9. The said officer and his lieutenants must take an oath, in the form annexed to this summary; he shall account to the governor for the appointments he may have made, and shall notify him of the judgments he may have pronounced, to the end that the same may be put into execution. Although this formality is not prescribed by any law, yet it is necessary for the purpose of preserving harmony and subordination, and for the facility of procuring assistance.

10. In all controversies, with respect to jurisdiction, which may occur between the tribunal of the Santa Hermandad, and any other tribunal of the province, the parties shall conform exactly to the instructions which have been given in the particular article relating to the alcaldes ordinary. The instructions which have been given in relation to exceptions against judges, should also be strictly followed, as no altercation should take place on that subject between these officers.

IV.

THE ALGUACIL MAYOR

1. The alguacil mayor is an officer charged with the execution of sentences and judgments rendered, including payments ordered, tak-

(8) Statute 18, title 13, book 8, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(9) Statute 9, title 13, book 8, *ibid.*

ing possession of goods for sale, imprisonments, and the punishment of crimes. He cannot be elected *alcalde* ordinary, (1) unless he shall have appointed a lieutenant to discharge his duties, in the manner prescribed by the provincial *alcalde mayor*. (2)

2. Recovery of moneys upon writs of execution, orders for taking possession of goods, and seizures of real property, shall be carefully executed by the *alguacil mayor* in taking the fees allowed by law, (3) and fixed by the tariff included in the present regulation.

3. The *alguacil mayor* shall also have the superintendence of the prisons. He shall commission the jailers (4) and keepers of prisons, after having presented them to the governor, that he may judge of their capacity for those offices, (5) under the penalty of being deprived, for one year, of the right of nominating the same, which shall, for that term, be vested in the governor. All the jail fees which the prisoners may pay shall be for the use of the *alguacil mayor*.

4. The said officer cannot appoint as lieutenants any persons except such as are known to be suitable for those employments, (6) who are young, and do not exercise any mechanical profession. They shall be presented to the governor, and approved by him, and shall take the oath required. (7) The *alguacil mayor* may not appoint to the said office either the relatives or servants of the judges and officers, (8) but he shall be allowed to change the said lieutenants when he may have just reasons therefor. (9)

5. The *alguacil mayor* and his lieutenants shall go the rounds, and shall visit the public places, both by night and day, to prevent noises and disputes, (10) under the penalty of being suspended from their offices, and payment of the damages that may result from their negligence. (11) They shall arrest, without other authority, the offenders, and shall give immediate information thereof to the *alcaldes*. (12) They shall not tolerate unlawful games, nor public and scandalous offences. (13) They are also hereby informed that, although they have the power of arresting any one without orders, they may not release the same, under the penalty of being deprived of their offices, and of being declared incapable of holding any other. (14)

(1) Statute 29, title 11, 20, book 2, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(2) Stat. 3, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(3) Stat. 3, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(4) Statute 13, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(5) Stat. 14, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(6) Statute 5, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(7) Stat. 6, tit. 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(8) Stat. 7, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(9) Stat. 11, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(10) Stat. 21, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(11) Stat. 20, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(12) Stat. 23, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(13) Stat. 24, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

(14) Stat. 28, title 20, book 2, *ibid.*

6. The alguacil mayor shall conform strictly to the articles which relate to the prisons, and to the tariff which specifies the fees which are demandable. He shall also be present with the judges ordinary in the visitations of the prisons, which shall be made at the times prescribed by this regulation.

V.

THE DEPOSITARY GENERAL.

1. The depositary general whose duties are incompatible with those of a judge cannot be elected alcalde ordinary, unless he names a lieutenant, who may be charged with the care of the deposits.

2. Before assuming the said office, the depositary general shall give good and valid sureties, which shall answer for the safety of the deposits, and which shall be approved by the governor, the alcaldes, and the cabildo. (1) This warranty shall be recorded in the book to be kept by the clerk of the cabildo for the recording of the deposits (2) in which he shall inscribe the day, month, and year, of the said warranty.

3. The governor, the alcaldes, and the cabildo shall carefully examine the books which exhibit the sureties of the depositary general, the state of his property, and that of the said sureties, which shall be certified by the clerk of the cabildo, in order that the same may be verified the succeeding year, so as to have the necessary information thereon. (3)

4. If, by the said examination, it shall be found that the situation of the depositary general, or of his sureties, be such as to excite apprehension, he shall be prevented from exercising the duties of his office, until he shall have rendered his accounts, and given a better security. (4)

5. The depositary general shall deliver at the first demand the sums which may have been deposited with him, in the same coin in which he received them; to which the judges, and other officers competent thereto, should pay particular attention. (5)

6. The depositary general shall record the deposits in a book similar to that of the clerk of the cabildo. (6) He shall receive for the same, and for deposit fees, three percent, as explained in the commission which he has received for the exercise of his office.

(1) Statute 18, title 10, book 4, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(2) Statute 21, title 10, book 4, *ibid.*

(3) Statute 18, title 10, book 4, *ibid.*

(4) Statute 19, title 10, book 4, *ibid.*

(5) Statute 20, title 10, book 4, *ibid.*

(6) Statute 21, title 10, book 4, *ibid.*

VI.

THE RECEIVER OF FINES.

1. The receiver of fines, whose duties are incompatible with those of alcalde ordinary, shall have cognizance of all matters in relation thereto, as also of those arbitrarily imposed by the judge; (1) and he shall keep and render an account of these, using for that purpose a book similar to that kept by the clerk for the same object, in which they shall be entered according to date.

2. For the security of the remainder of the accounts rendered by the receiver of fines, he shall give good and valid sureties, (2) in the same manner as the depositary general. Examination shall be made yearly into the state of the said sureties, which shall be changed if they become less substantial.

3. To the end that the receiver may fully discharge the duties of his office, and a certain knowledge be acquired of the funds in his possession, the clerk, in whose presence the fines will have been laid, shall advise the clerk of the cabildo of the same, who shall enter them in a book, the sheets of which shall be signed by the governor. (3) Afterward the clerk of the cabildo shall inform the receiver thereof, who, by these means, will at once collect the amount of the sums he should receive; and the book of the cabildo will serve to make him render an account of the sums which are entered herein.

4. The receiver of fines cannot employ the proceeds thereof without the order or permission of His Majesty, by reason that the same, being the property of His Majesty, cannot be removed without his approbation. He shall dispose of only that portion which has been imposed by the judges (4) in conformity to the orders he may receive, and not otherwise.

5. The receiver shall discharge, out of the aforesaid portion of fines, the drafts which may be drawn by the governor, the alcaldes, and the other judges, who shall limit themselves to the sums which may be necessary. (5)

6. The said receiver shall render a yearly account of the sums he may have received and paid in the execution of his office. His accounts, shall be reviewed by the officers of finance appointed thereto in this province. (6)

7. He shall be allowed a commission of ten percent on all sums

(1) Statute 1, title 25, book 2, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(2) Statute 36, title 25, book 2, *ibid.*

(3) Statute 39, title 25, book 2, *ibid.*

(4) Statute 5, title 25, book 2, *ibid.*

(5) Statute 25, title 25, book 2, *ibid.*

(6) Statute 25, title 25, book 2, *ibid.*

which may be recovered and received by himself from those parties, or by those commissioned by him, for the recovery thereof. (7)

VII.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

1. The attorney general of the commonwealth is an officer appointed to assist the public in all its affairs, to defend it, secure its rights and obtain justice, and to prosecute all other claims which have relation to the public cause. (1)

2. In consequence thereof, the attorney general, who is appointed solely for the public good, shall see that the municipal ordinances are strictly observed, and shall endeavor to remedy anything through which the said public might suffer.

3. For these purposes he shall apply to the tribunals competent thereto, for the recovery of debts and revenues due to the city funds, in his quality as attorney for the city. He shall prosecute causes with the activity and diligence necessary to discharge him from the responsibility in which he would be placed by the slightest omission.

4. He shall see that the other officers of the council or cabildo discharge strictly the duties of their offices; that the depositary general, the receiver of fines, and all those who are to give sureties, shall give such as are good and valid; and in case of expiration, he shall demand the renewal thereof, conformably to law.

5. He shall be present at, and take part in, the division of lands, and other public matters (2) to the end that nothing unsuitable or injurious may occur in the distribution of the same.

VIII.

THE CITY STEWARD.

1. The city steward shall have the management of, and shall receive all that is comprised within the denomination of city lands. He shall give receipts to debtors, and shall record all sums which he may receive, as also the expenditures he may make for account of the cabildo, in order that he may be able to render his accounts as soon as his year of office shall expire.

2. He shall discharge the drafts of the cabildo upon the income of the city, and none other. He shall abstain from furnishing or lending any sums to any individual whomsoever, under the penalty of being

(7) *Ibid.*

(1) Statute 1, title 2, book 4, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(2) Statute 8, title 12, book 4, *ibid.*

responsible therefor, and of being declared incapable of holding any office in the republic.

3. The construction and upkeep of bridges, within and without the city, shall not be defrayed out of the city funds. This expense shall be borne by those who shall enjoy the benefit thereof, amongst whom the same shall be proportioned in the manner defined by statute 1, title 16, book 4, of the *Recopilación de las Indias*.

4. Whenever any public work shall be undertaken, either by the cabildo or by individuals, care shall be taken that the same may be substantial and durable. (1) A regidor shall be named for that purpose, who, without any compensation, shall inspect the said undertaking. (2)

5. The expense of public mourning for the royal family shall be defrayed from the city funds, with all the economy which the cabildo can adapt to these circumstances. (3)

IX.

THE CLERK OF THE CABILDO.

1. This officer shall preserve in his archives all the papers which may concern the cabildo, its cases, and the trials. He shall inscribe in a book all the bonds and deposits which have relation to the depositary general; and, in another book, those which relate to the receiver of fines. He shall also keep a third book for trusteeships and their sureties, ordinary and extraordinary, in which he shall record the patents and commissions delivered by His Majesty, (1) and shall take care to preserve the originals in the archives of the cabildo.

2. The clerk of the cabildo shall never suffer any paper or act to be removed from his archives, and if the judges should be obliged to have recourse to the same, he shall furnish them a correct copy thereof, but shall never part with the original. (2)

3. The said clerk of the cabildo and of the government shall note, at the foot of all acts and copies of documents which he may deliver, the fees which he has received therefor, under the penalty of forfeiting the same, and of incurring the other penalties established to prevent him from exacting more than is allowed by the tariff (3).

4. The clerk of the cabildo and of the government shall inscribe, in a separate book, the mortgages upon all contracts which may be made before him or any other. He shall certify, at the foot

(1) Statute 4, title 16, book 4, of *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(2) Stat. 3, title 16, book 4, *ibid.*

(3) Stat. 3, title 16, book 4, *ibid.*

(1) Stat. 21, title 10, book 4; stat. 39, title 25, book 2; stat. 6, title 8, book 5; statutes 16 and 18, title 9, book 4, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(2) Stat. 20, title 9, book 4, *ibid.*

(3) Statute 28, title 23, book 2, *ibid.*

of each deed, the charge or mortgage under which the sale or the obligation may have been made, conformably to the intention of the law, in order to prevent the abuses and frauds which usually result from that omission.

5. The regidores, the clerk, and all those who may succeed to any of the venal offices established by the laws of the Indies, are hereby informed that the royal ordinances require that, within the term of five years, computing from the date of their commission, they must obtain His Majesty's confirmation and present the same to the governor of the city or province in which they reside, under the penalty of being deprived of the said offices.

X.

THE JAILER AND THE PRISONS.

1. The jailer shall be appointed by the alguacil mayor, and approved by the governor, before assuming the duties of his office. He shall also be presented to the cabildo to be received, and to take an oath to discharge faithfully the duties of the said office, to guard the prisoners, and to observe the laws and ordinances established in this respect, under the penalties therein declared. (1)

2. The said jailer may not enter upon the duties of the said office, until he shall have given a good and valid bond of two hundred piastres, which surety shall warrant that no prisoner detained for debt shall be released without an order from the proper judge. (2)

3. The jailer shall keep a book in which he shall inscribe the names of all the prisoners, that of the judge by whose order they have been arrested, the cause for which they are detained, and the names of those who have arrested them. (3) He shall reside in the prison, and for each considerable fault committed by him he shall pay sixty piasters, applicable one half to the royal chamber, and the other to the informer. (4)

4. It is the duty of the jailer to keep the prison clean and healthy, to supply it with water for the use of the prisoners, (5) to visit them in the evening, (6) to prevent them from gaming or disputing, (7) to treat them well, and to avoid insulting or offending them. (8)

5. It is likewise the duty of the jailer to take care that the female prisoners are separate from the men, (9) that both of them are kept

(1) Statute 5, title 6, book 7, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(2) Stat. 4, *ibid.*

(3) Stat. 6, *ibid.*

(4) Stat. 7, *ibid.*

(5) Stat. 8, *ibid.*

(6) Stat. 11, *ibid.*

(7) Stat. 13, *ibid.*

(8) Stat. 9, *ibid.*

(9) Stat. 2, *ibid.*

in their respective apartments, and that they are not treated worse than their offense deserves, or than is prescribed by the judges. (10)

6. With respect to his fees, the said jailer shall confine himself strictly to those which are established; he shall take none from the poor, under the penalties of law. (11) He may not, without incurring the same penalties, receive any gratuity either in money or in goods. (12) He shall avoid entirely either playing, eating, or forming any intimacy with the prisoners, (13) under the penalty of sixty piasters, applicable one-third to the royal chamber, one-third to the informer, and the remaining third to the poor prisoners.

FORM of the oath to be taken by the governors, the alcaldes, and the other judges, when taking possession of their offices.

DON N., elected governor, or alcalde, &c., (according to the employment or office,) I swear before God, the Holy Cross, and the Gospel, to uphold and defend the mystery of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady the Virgin Mary, and the royal jurisdiction to which I am attached by my office. I also swear to obey the royal ordinances and the decrees of His Majesty, faithfully to discharge the duties of my office, to decide according to law all cases which may come before my tribunal; and for the more certain attainment thereto, I promise to consult with such as are well informed in the law, whenever opportunities may occur in this city; and, lastly, I swear that I will never exact other fees than those fixed by the schedule, and that I will never take any from the poor.

At NEW ORLEANS, November 25, 1769.

DON ALEXANDRE O'REILLY.

FRANÇOIS XAVIER RODRIQUEZ,
Clerk of the expedition.

Printed by order of HIS EXCELLENCY.

PROCLAMATION BY O'REILLY

*December 7, 1769*⁸⁸

DON ALEXANDRE O'REILLY, Commander of Benfayan in the Order of Alcántara, Lieutenant General in His Majesty's Armies, Inspector General of the Infantry, and by commission Governor and Captain General of the Province of Louisiana.

All inhabitants and residents of this province are informed that the wise and just laws of His Majesty very expressly forbid any

(10) Statute 10, title 6, book 7, *Recopilación de las Indias*.

(11) Stat. 13 and 14, *ibid.*

(12) S. 10, *ibid.*

(13) S. 12, *ibid.*

⁸⁸ BL, (Printed in French).

subject of any quality or condition whatsoever to make any Indian a slave or to possess any such, under any pretext whatever, even though there be an open war against that Indian's nation. In consequence whereof, all subjects of His Majesty, and even all transients, are expressly forbidden to acquire, purchase, or take over any Indian slave, beginning from the day of publication of this order. The present owners of the aforesaid slaves are also informed that they shall be unable to part with those they now have in any manner whatsoever, except to give them back their liberty, until receipt of orders from His Majesty. The said owners are enjoined to make a declaration to the record office of the name and nation of the said Indians, and to set a value on them.

In order to secure exact information as to the number of Indians kept in slavery in all the dependencies of this colony, the post commandants are ordered to make an exact census of all the Indians who are in slavery in the entire area of their commands. This census shall contain the names of the said slaves, their age, their sex, and their descent, together with the names of their masters, and the price and valuation of the said slaves. A copy of this census shall be sent by them to the office of Monsieur Garic, scribe to the cabildo, to be joined by him to the declarations which he is to receive from this city and its dependencies. The whole is to be disposed of subsequently as His Majesty shall deem fit.

In consequence whereof, it is commanded that these presents shall be read, published, and posted in the usual places and sent to all the posts of this colony likewise to be read, published, and posted, for the purpose of having their contents executed.

Given at our mansion at NEW ORLEANS, *December 7, 1769.*

O'REILLY (Rubric)

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

December 10, 1769.⁸⁹

No. 23.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: From the 16th to the 18th of this current month there will embark for Havana the six companies of fusiliers of the fixed regiment of that city which have been here. I have arranged for their transportation on two good vessels at a very reasonable cost, amounting to only two thousand pesos *fuertes* for both the troops and two hundred and twenty-two barrels of salt meat and two hundred and twenty-six of bacon which I found in these stores,

⁸⁹ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

and which I am sending to Havana on account of their being of no use here. This meat and the greater part of the bacon was brought during the time of Don Antonio de Ulloa. When I had it inspected some time after my arrival I found it necessary to order fifty-five barrels of salt meat and ten barrels of bacon thrown into the river because of its being declared spoiled by the experts who made the inspection. The experts were one naval officer, the purser of the frigate, and the first official of the auditing office of this province.

No stock of provisions is needed at this place or the posts dependent on it, and keeping such here would entail a very large, continuous, and useless expense. The province will always be able to supply everything necessary in abundance, with the exception of flour; and when this becomes scarce here, they make a bread of rice which serves very well. I have always found this to be true from the time of my arrival here with all the troops and seamen of the expedition, without having had the slightest difficulty in securing for them an abundant supply of all the provisions necessary.

I am sending this meat to the intendant of Havana, so that he may collect the value of it from the commandant of the navy yard, who needs it, and make the corresponding credit to this province.

I pray Our Lord to guard and make happy your important life for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 10, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, Your most humble and attentive servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*December 10, 1769.*⁹⁰

No. 19

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The sale of the property adjudicated to the exchequer in the sentence pronounced by me under date of October 24, last, of which I have sent Your Excellency a copy, is being executed with great care and formality. I have commissioned for the handling of these accounts Captain Don Joseph Carroja (a trustworthy and efficient officer), Treasurer Don Martín Navarro, as he is a royal official, my assessor, Don Manuel Urrutia, my prosecuting attorney, Don Felix Rey, and the clerk of the old council, Don Juan Garic, after I had first taken the oath of each one to proceed with the greatest

⁹⁰ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

legality and in conformity with the laws. The justice with which all these matters are being carried out fully satisfies the parties interested, and leaves in the public mind a most favorable concept of the equity of our government.

I am doing all that I can toward the prompt dispatch of these matters, so that the widows and creditors may get what is theirs and the royal exchequer the part which belongs to it.

M. de Arensburg, a Swede by race, former captain in the service of France and chevalier of the order of St. Louis, was appointed commandant of the Germans with salary of two hundred pesos per year (which was paid by His Majesty from the day of arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa in the province), together with some emoluments as judge of the district. M. Villeret (married to the granddaughter of said Arensburg), now deceased, as he was sentenced to the gallows, was the one who brought about the uprising of the Germans, and led them to this city to seize the colony from Don Antonio de Ulloa and the Spaniards. This Arensburg did nothing to restrain the Germans. He permitted Villeret to operate, pretending to be unaware of what he was doing, so that in any event he would be safe from the law. He succeeded in doing so, but in all respects was very guilty. It is in nowise advisable to permit him to live on that coast, because there the bad effects of his great influence over the minds of those people has been evidenced. I have ordered him to sell his property there at once, and have permitted his two sons to settle at Opelousas, 92 leagues from here, a place where their settlement cannot cause the slightest inconvenience.

I have permitted the father, who is 77 years of age, to live in this city, as he has requested. All his relatives, who are good people, have made themselves guarantors of the conduct of the sons, who, like their father, show great penitence for their guilt, and the greatest gratitude for this benign treatment which, nevertheless, embodies exemplary punishment in the sale of their property.

M. de Sasier, who after the recent uprising went to France as deputy of this council, is a very bad man, too headstrong to be permitted to reside in this province, and by my decree is included in the number of those expelled. This Sasier has never shown any respect for justice, nor has he ever been deterred in the means through which he attains his ends.

May Our Lord preserve the life of Your Excellency many years.

Most Excellent Sir, your hand is kissed by your attentive servant.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

O'REILLY TO GRIMALDI

December 10, 1769.^{a1}

No. 21.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The day after tomorrow, the 12th instant, I shall set out on my journey to Pointe Coupée, fifty leagues up the river from this city and, with the exception of the vicinity of this capital, the only well-populated place in the province. The inhabitants have been notified to come to the place I have indicated in each district, which they can do at little inconvenience to themselves. There I shall hear their complaints, see for myself the country and its inhabitants, establish militia companies as needed, and leave instructions for their prompt assembly and defense in case of an Indian attack or when needed by this governor or for any other object of the service.

Governor Don Luis de Unzaga will accompany me on this journey so that he may assist me with his knowledge and may himself become well-informed on all the affairs of the government, to which object I have ever given special attention.

On the 16th of last month I sent two officials to Atakapas, Opelousas, Natchitoches, and Rapide to take oaths of fealty from the inhabitants and to secure all the information I need. For this purpose I have given the instruction of which I enclose a copy. They will return at the beginning of next month, and on receipt of their reports I shall amplify my last orders relative to these places.

The good reports which I received from the most trustworthy citizens of this country about Don Atanasio de Mézières, retired captain of the service of France, and the good opinion which I have formed of his personal conduct decided me to appoint him lieutenant governor of the post of Natchitoches and its district. I have given him the instructions of which I enclose a copy and have assigned him the salary of thirty pesos per month, but have excused this post from making the large expenditures formerly made, as Your Excellency will see from the general regulations which I shall send to you very soon. I hope to secure for the presidios of Mexico the tranquility which they have not heretofore had and to make much more difficult any illegal entry into that kingdom.

This Mézières has a good amount of capital of his own with which to answer for his conduct, much experience, and knowledge of the Indians and the district of Natchitoches, where he has been settled for many years. He has five children, and in order to bind him more firmly to the service, I have given the eldest two, who are of

^{a1} AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-7.

good presence and distinguished birth, appointments as cadets, which has caused great satisfaction to the father.

The viceroy of New Spain has sent me a warrant asking for the apprehension of the person of Don Manuel Bermudez de Soto, former secretary to the ex-governor of the province of Texas. This Bermudez knew this province very well and had many friends here, but this has served him nothing. As a result of my circular order, he was arrested and handed over to the commandant of the presidio of Los Adaes. Anyone who commits a crime in that kingdom and flees to this province will suffer the same fate.

I pray Our Lord to preserve and bless Your Excellency's precious life the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 10, 1769.*

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

(Accompanying the foregoing)

Instructions to be observed by Captain Don Eduardo Nugent and Don Juan Kelly in the discharge of the mission which I have entrusted to them.

ARTICLES

1. The object of their mission consists principally of taking the oath of fealty from all the inhabitants of Atakapas, Opelousas, Natchitoches, and Rapide on the Red River, taking an accurate census, hearing all the requests and petitions of the inhabitants, and informing themselves of the general and particular grievances of the citizens and what is their cause. On their return they shall give me an exact account and deliver to me the memorials presented by the citizens, together with the information they have gathered to substantiate the truth of the statements of each.

2. They shall assemble the people at the place most convenient for all, take the oaths of fealty with the same formality as practiced in this city by me, and shall have everyone sign at the end of the attached paper which gives the tenor of the oath; and at the foot both officials and the two principals in each town shall certify that they have witnessed the oath taken by all, and the preceding signatures.

3. At each town they shall receive the memorials presented by the people, inform themselves carefully of the truth of the statements of each, and without deciding any matter themselves, bring the petitions of the parties to this city for my decision.

4. They shall ascertain as best they can who are the objectionable characters in each of the said places, in order to inform me on their return, but they shall guard themselves in their reports against the

rivalries and enmities customary among neighbors, and for this purpose they shall have the facts stated, so that they may ascertain their truth through other channels.

5. They shall take a census of the citizenry in accordance with the attached formulary No. 2, and another of the cattle in accordance with No. 3.

6. From Natchitoches they shall go to see the presidio of Adaes, from whose governor they will be able to obtain information about the objectionable characters in Natchitoches, those who furnish arms, powder, and ball to the Indians who wage war on our presidios in Mexico, and others who bring in contraband goods, where they do this, and what the goods are.

7. They shall bring me an exact report on the presidio at Adaes, its fort, garrison, provisions, and from where it obtains what it needs. All these reports must be confidential.

8. They shall keep a diary of the whole journey, with a clear description of the distances, character of the roads, and means of traveling them with a battalion of troops going from this city to Opelousas, or coming down here from Natchitoches. They shall also describe in their report the character of the country and its products.

9. They shall everywhere impress on the inhabitants of the great clemency displayed by the King toward this colony, the felicity which may be expected under a government so kind and just that the good will always be protected and esteemed, the evil punished, and no one imposed upon or wronged. They shall state that everyone may rest assured that prompt justice will be rendered them.

10. If there are any Indian places near the road, they shall visit them and examine them in order to inform me.

11. They shall distribute in Natchitoches the presents they have for the Indians and explain to them that once a year they will be sent a similar gift, without their having to give anything in exchange, and that the kindness of the King, so liberal with them, desires only that, for their own good, they live in peace and quiet with everyone. Under no circumstances must they do any harm to the presidios of Mexico, nor lend ear to any other word than that sent them by the great chief of the province or by the man who is in command in that town at his order and in his name.

12. They shall instruct the Indians that when deserters and malefactors come to their villages and try to impose on their credulity with harmful lies, they must arrest them and take them prisoners to the commandant of Natchitoches, and that their doing so will greatly recommend their fealty.

13. They shall treat all the inhabitants in the towns with great courtesy, particularly the militia officers and distinguished persons in each town.

14. They shall review the militia in each town and bring me a list showing the exact usefulness to the service of officers, sergeants, and soldiers.

15. They shall try to ascertain whether there are dissensions in the towns, the cause of these, and who are the instigators.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 16, 1769.*

O'REILLY (Rubric)

To Don Luis de Unzaga, approving the salary assigned to Don Atanasio de Mézières as lieutenant governor of Natchitoches.

In his letter of December 1, last year, Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly reported, among other things relative to that colony, his having appointed Don Atanasio de Mézières, retired captain in the service of France to be lieutenant governor of the post at Natchitoches, and explained his reasons for this selection, the advantages to be expected from it, and that he had assigned him the salary of thirty pesos per month.

His Majesty has seen fit to approve this assignment and I so advise Your Lordship for your information, praying God to preserve you many years.

SAN LORENZO, *October 24, 1770.*

(Accompanying instructions in French.)

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*December 10, 1769*⁹²

No. 16.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: On the 26th of last month I appointed six *regidores* to form a cabildo and government in this city. On the first day of the current month I assembled them in my house, took from each the oath prescribed by the Laws of the Indies, and after exhorting them to the exact discharge of the trust which His Majesty was placing in them, I, in said cabildo, turned over the political government of this city to Colonel Don Luis de Unzaga, instructing him to preside over the cabildo on the following day and to proceed with the election of two *alcaldes ordinarios*, a *sindico procurador general*, and *mayordomo de propios*. This was done and the cabildo showed its desire for harmony by their selections.

I also send Your Excellency a statement showing the names of the *regidores*, *alcaldes*, *sindico procurador*, and *mayordomo de propios*, together with two printed proclamations in exact con-

⁹² AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

formity with the Laws of the Indies, which I have had drawn up by my *asesor*, Don Manuel de Urrutia and my *promotor fiscal*, Don Felix Rey. One proclaims the establishment of this cabildo and the instructions for the members thereof. The other is for the guidance of judges in judicial cases, to facilitate their actions, give litigants necessary information, and make the public accept with better grace the change of government. I, to this end, have had the said proclamations printed in French.

It has seemed to me very necessary to abolish formally the old council of this province and to inform the public and Europe of the reasons this body has given the King for such a necessary and just decision. I considered this occasion opportune for doing so. To this end I drew up the document which serves as an introduction to the first proclamation and had it published separately for the information of all. It will be of infinite satisfaction to me to know that the reasons and clauses on and with which I base and explain such an important decision meet with the approval of His Majesty, as well as the time and manner in which I have handled this change of government.

For the unavoidable expenses of the *regidores* and in order that they may better appreciate their positions, it seems to me very advisable and even necessary under the circumstances existing in this province for His Majesty to allot the following: to each *regidor* one hundred pesos per year; three hundred pesos to the *escribano* of the cabildo, who is in charge of the French archive and is very useful for his knowledge of both languages and practical knowledge of the affairs of this country; five hundred pesos to another *escribano* who is to come from Havana (he is indispensable here and will not take less); and eight hundred pesos for an attorney to serve as *asesor* in cases arising here. These amounts for the administration of justice and political government of this country will total two thousand, two hundred pesos per year, a sum estimated with the greatest economy, but which I consider sufficient for all the objects of the service and the satisfaction of the public.

His Majesty had in this city a piece of ground intended for a government garden. It was of very little benefit to the governor and cost the King sixty pesos *fuertes* annually for its care, plus four hundred and fifty pounds of flour. As there was no council house in this city, and the old council has always met in the house of the French intendant, I have contracted with Francisco Duplanti for the construction of a house for the cabildo, a plan of which I shall send Your Excellency by the next mail. I ceded to said Duplanti the ownership of this garden, and he obligated himself to construct the council house by the end of next April and to pay to the royal

exchequer the sum of seven hundred pesos *fuertes* within the term of four years, counted from this date, thereby saving the King, the annual and useless expense of the care of said garden. The exchequer will receive seven hundred pesos *fuertes* cash and this city will have a very decent house for its council.

For the revenues of this city I have established to the general satisfaction of the councilmen and public a tax of twenty pesos per year on each of the six inns permitted, forty pesos on each of the twelve taverns, and the same amount on each billiard hall, of which there are six. There has been great rivalry for preference in obtaining these licenses. The total revenues produced by this means mount to eight hundred and forty pesos *fuertes* per year and will be an assured and permanent income for the city.

The butchers have promised to pay, without any increase in price of meat, three hundred and sixty-five pesos per year in the revenues of the city, and are benefited by the elimination of some gifts and unjust taxes to which they were formerly subjected.

Every cask of brandy will pay to the city when landed, one peso *fuerte*. Estimating the annual consumption as five hundred casks, which is the most moderate and exact figure that could be taken, this tax will produce five hundred pesos *fuertes* annually.

His Majesty has on both sides of the plaza plots of ground, eighty-four French feet wide by three hundred and thirty-six feet long. If this land is rented to individuals wishing to build shops, it will embellish the plaza, be of benefit to the public, and increase the revenues of the city. This, together with all the abovementioned items, I estimate will amount to two thousand pesos *fuertes*. With this sum, the cabildo will be able to pay for the city fiestas, royal obsequies, salaries of porters, and various other unavoidable expenses which it will have.

It gives me great satisfaction to see the good our laws and political government are doing here, and I am convinced that with every prudent and equitable conduct on the part of my successor, these favorable impressions will be fostered in the minds of the people. I have given the greatest attention and care to this matter, as its importance deserves.

In this city there has been established for many years an anchorage tax of six pesos per vessel of 200 tons or over, and three pesos for those under this tonnage. This tax is devoted to the preservation of the river bank, which is always needing some repairs. I have made no change in this tax nor in its use, as I consider both very advisable.

The appointment of the *regidores* and *escribano* of the cabildo, as well as the revenues for the city require the express approval of the

King. I beg Your Excellency to bring this to his attention and also order this treasury, or the offices in Havana, in case our dependency on them is established (which I believe very advisable) to pay annually from the royal exchequer the abovementioned salaries to the *regidores*, two *escribanos*, and the attorney who is *asesor* to the governor, thereby definitely and formally establishing the aforesaid matters.

I always report to Your Excellency for His Majesty's information everything as it really is; and moreover, after the most careful examination and with a desire for accuracy I propose whatever I consider most useful for the service. However, I should be very pleased to have His Majesty deign to hear some other better opinion than mine on all these matters, or decide with his own great understanding whatever is most to his royal pleasure.

I pray Our Lord to preserve and bless your valuable life the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 10, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, I kiss your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*December 10, 1769*⁹³

No. 21.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: From the attached documents Your Excellency will see what happened to an English vessel that entered Espiritu Santo Bay. It had on board the Acadian, German, and English families shown by the attached statement. In connection with the complaint that has been made to me here by the English captain, I have taken the declarations of which I enclose copies, and I shall send the originals to the viceroy of New Spain through the governor of the presidio of Los Adayes, so that he may take what action he sees fit.

The English families have returned to Pensacola. They were mere vagrants. I have given the Germans and Acadians lands, tools for their fields, and two hundred and sixty-seven pesos *fuertes* in money. The settlement of these poor families is very costly to the exchequer, and of very little benefit, on account of the location of the country and the quality of the products that their labor can produce.

⁹³ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

May Our Lord guard the valuable life of Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 10, 1769.*

Your most attentive servant.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

(*Accompanying the foregoing*)

Copy

Account of sale of various merchandise sold to Don Rafael Martínez Pacheco, commandant of Fort Cokesau in September last by Don Philip Ford, to wit:

	Pesos
1 piece of superfine camlet, 30 yards at 4 reales.....	15
1 piece of linen, 30 yards at 3½ reales.....	13-1
1 piece of Irish linen, No. 79. 25 yds. at 6 reales	18-6
12 yards of cloth, 12 r. a yd.	18
4½ yds of Irish linen, 6 r. a yd.	3-3
11½ yds of linen, 3½ r. a yd.	5-¼
20 yds of linen, 4 r. a yd.	10
1 cut of superfine cloth with trimming	25
4 yds of scarlet cloth, 5 p. a yd.	20
5¼ yds of Irish linen, 6 r. a yd.	3-7½
5 yds. of Manchester velvet, 3 p. a yd.	15
4½ yds of white serge, 5 r. a yd.	2-6½
7 yds of superfine sagathee, 1 peso a yd.	7
9 yds of <i>Durando</i> , 3 r. a yd.	3-3
19 yds of <i>Duray</i> , 3½ r. a yd.	8-2½
6 superfine napkins, 2 pesos each	12
4½ yds of <i>Durando</i> , 4 r. a yd.	2-2
1 pair of silk breeches of <i>punta de Abuja</i>	6
5 pairs of silk hose, 4 p. a pr.	20
2 pairs of fine woolen breeches, 20 r. a pr.	5
5 ounces of thread at 2 r. and 3 oz. at 3 r.	2-3
1¼ arroba of unbleached thread 16½ r.	2-4½
6 cravats at 4 reales, 3 at 3 and 3 at 1½	4-5
12 doz. large gilded buttons at 3 r.	4-4
20 bundles of mohair at ½ r.	1-2
5 bundles of twisted silk at 1 r.	5
7 bundles of twisted silk at 1 r. and 5 doz buttons at 1 r.	1-4
6 doz. large buttons at 1½ r.	1-1
5 doz. large buttons at 1 r.	5
3 doz. small buttons at ½ r.	1½
2½ doz. large buttons at 1½ r.	3¾
1 bundle of twisted silk	2
2 pair of breeches of <i>punta de abuja</i> . red at 20 r.	5
4 pair of calamanco shoes at 12 r.	6
4 pair of calamanco shoes at 8 r.	4
2 pair of silk shoes at 20 r.	5
1 pair of silk shoes	2

	Pesos
3 pair of men's shoes at 16 r.	6
1 pair men's shoes	1-4
40 yards of striped cotton gingham at 4 r.	20
1 flannel jacket	1
2 saws at 2 r. and 6 at 1	1-2
4½ yards of striped flannel at 3 r.	1-5½
5 steel saws at 16 r.	10
1 iron saw at 10 r. and 1 bronze teapot at 20 r.	3-6
2 coffee pots at 10 r.	2-4
3 large saws at 5 p.	15
7 barrels of nails, weighing 2075 arrobas at 12 pesos per quintal	248
Total pesos	566-6½

I have received for the total of the above account a bill of exchange on Mexico for five hundred and sixty-one pesos.

PHILIP FORD

We, Don Miguel Knaresbrough and Don Bartolome Macnemara, charged by His Excellency the Señor Captain General of this province with the translation of the foregoing invoice, certify that this is an exact one. In witness whereof we sign these presents in New Orleans on December, 1769.

MIGUEL KNARESBROUGH
BARTOLOME MACNEMARA
O'REILLY (Rubric)

Copy

To the Most Excellent Señor Don Alexandro O'Reilly, knight commander of Benfayan in the order of Alcántara, lieutenant general and inspector general of the armies of His Catholic Majesty, captain general and governor of the province of Louisiana.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

We, John Steel, Francis Loundiz, Joseph Mattingly, Philip Ford, Leonard Mattingly, Neal Kerigan, Joseph Hamilton, Charles Stuard, and Joseph Mattingly, Jr., seamen of the English schooner *La Bretaña*, presenting ourselves most humbly before Your Excellency, say that on the 5th of January, this year, we left the port of Maryland with one hundred passengers aboard, destined for New Orleans, and that on the 21st of February following, we sighted the coast of Louisiana; but due to easterly winds and continuous fog we were driven some eighty leagues south and then to the west of the Mississippi. Finding ourselves without food and water, we were obliged to put in at a small bay where we found a Spanish captain named Don Francisco Thobar. From him we requested a passport and food to get to New Orleans, both of which he refused us (despite the fact

that a clergyman who was there, and our supercargo offered him any security he wanted). On the contrary he seized our schooner with all its sails, tackle, equipment, passengers, crew, and merchandise, and took everything (except the schooner) with him to a fort forty leagues inland of which he was commandant. There he obliged the crew and passengers to work until the 21st of May, when he ordered the captain and pilot placed in stocks, keeping them so twenty-four days on half rations, until an order arrived from the governor of that province to set them at liberty.

On the 11th of August the said Don Francisco Thobar forced our supercargo to take away the merchandise that had been seized, which he was obliged to do on account of having nothing with which to continue his journey.

The said captain Francisco Thobar also commanded our captain to take away the sails, tackle and equipment of said schooner, which he did not wish to do as they were all rotted and of no use. We also suffered from the fact that the schooner had been entirely despoiled and destroyed by the savages which was not strange, as it had been left without anyone to guard it since the 8th of April.

We were detained by the said Don Francisco Thobar until the 11th of September, when Don Rafael Martínez Pacheco, commandant of Fort Cokesaw, was sent by the governor of that province, to take us to Natchitoches. There we were embarked in some canoes for New Orleans, where we arrived on the 9th of this month.

So, we beg Your Excellency please to do us justice, not only with respect to our property that was lost, but also for the personal injuries which we have received without having given any cause therefore, a favor that we hope for from the kindness, good disposition and great humanity of Your Excellency, whose life may Our Lord preserve many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 20, 1769.*

We, Don Miguel Knaresbrough and Bartolome Macnemara, entrusted by His Excellency, the captain general of this province, with the translation of the foregoing memorial, certify that this is an exact one. In witness whereof we sign these presents in New Orleans on December 1, 1769.

MIGUEL KNARESBOUGH
BARTOLOME MACNEMARA
O'REILLY (Rubric)

Names of the persons who are to declare all that they know about the detention of the English schooner *La Bretaña* of Captain Don John Steel by Don Francisco Thobar, commandant of the fort of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, which persons were at the fort at that time.

Don Thomas Duharis, lieutenant, discharged in April or May last.

Don Antonio Treviño, lieutenant.

Don Fosteno Lasso.

Don Thomas Allagars, corporal, discharged in September last.

Don Manuel Treviño, soldier.

Don Los Santos, sergeant.

This list was given me by the captain of the English vessel that entered Espiritu Santo Bay.

O'REILLY (Rubric)

BILL OF EXCHANGE

Señores Don Joseph Mateos Chirinos and Company, permanent *regidor*, residents and merchants of the City of Mexico.

MY VERY DEAR SIRs: At sight of this you will please order paid at the demand of Don Philip Ford, residing in this presidio of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, the sum of five hundred and sixty-one pesos, the value of a lot of cattle that he has sold me to supply the presidio of San Agustín de Ahumada, in my charge. At sight of this and on receipt of the person collecting same, it is to be fully paid and charged to my current account.

Said PRESIDIO OF LA BAHÍA, *September 13, 1769.*

RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ PACHECO

CERTIFICATE

I, Don Francisco Xavier Rodriguez, notary public of His Majesty, one of those of the city of Havana, and of the expedition under the command of the Most Excellent Señor Don Alexandro O'Reilly, knight commander of Benfayan, lieutenant general of the royal armies, inspector general of infantry, charged by special commission of His Majesty with the superior government and captaincy general of this city of New Orleans and province of Louisiana, etc., as best I can, certify, bear witness, and true testimony that the foregoing copy is in exact agreement with the original that was submitted to me by Don Philip Ford to whom I returned same, and to which I refer; and at the request and in compliance with the verbal order of His Excellency I issue these presents on the customary paper in this city on the 7th of December 1769.

In witness of the truth thereof.

FRANCISCO XAVIER RODRIGUEZ
Notary Public of the Expedition.

This is in agreement with the copy of the bill of exchange and original certificate placed by me at the end thereof, to which I refer, and in compliance with the verbal order of His Excellency. I had made and did make these presents in New Orleans on the 14th of December, 1769.

In witness of the truth thereof.

[SEAL]

FRANCISCO XAVIER RODRIGUEZ (Rubric)
Notary Public of the Expedition

List of German and Acadian families who went by an English vessel to New Orleans to settle. This vessel was lost in the Gulf of Mexico when it put in at Espiritu Santo Bay and the families arrived at this post on October 24, 1769.

German Families

	<i>Age (Years)</i>
Nicolas Marcoff	62
Channe, his wife	45
Jean George, their son	19
Marie, their daughter	15
Marie Madeleine	12
Joseph, their son	10
Francois, their son	8
Jean Augustin (5 months)	
Nicolas Orre	66
Christine, his wife	40
Mathieu, their son	20
Margarite, their daughter	18
Jean, their son	12
Lois, their daughter	7
Valentin, orphan	13
Barbe Lois, daughter	11
Elisabet, their daughter	8
Eve, their daughter	4
José Basbler	50
Susanne, his wife	30
Joseph, their son	10
Michel, their son	8
André, their son	6
Jeane, their daughter	4
Anne Marie, their daughter	2
Adam La Maur	50
Chaterine, his wife	32
Jacob, their son	12
Anne Marie, their daughter	10
Elisabet, their daughter	8
Marie Anne, their daughter	5
Chaterine, their daughter	2
Jacob Miller	30

Age
(Years)

Anne Marie	30
Barbe, their daughter	6
Catherine, their daughter	4
Anne Marie, their daughter	3
Jacob, their son	2
Andre Reser	39
Marie, his wife	37
Jean, their son	10
Henry, their son	8
Jean Pierre, their son	6
Catherine, their daughter	2
Rose, their daughter (8 months)	
Filippe Pigleal	30
Marie Magdalene	24
Catharine Asuber, widow	40
Michel Chevalier, her son	21
Catherine, her daughter	16
Magdalene, her daughter	14

Bachelors, established

Andre Meche	25
Daniel Muin	30
Henry Thomas	26
Cristian Pringle	24
Jean Legueur	23
Antoine Murguier	30

Acadian Families

Olivier Benoit	40
Marie Bruset, his wife	46
Charles, their son	15
Marie Rose, their daughter	8
Magdalene, their daughter	6
Louis Lasté	39
Anne, his wife	38
Marie	15
Marie Rose, orphan and Benoit	18
Marguerite	9
Antoine, their son	7
Paul, their son	6
Ysabelle, their daughter	4
Etienne Ruvel, widower	46
Etienne, his son	21
Francois	18
Pierre	16
Ochodol	14
Honnore Trahun	45
Marie Corprun, his wife	50
Pierre, their son	18
Joseph Le Jeune, orphan	13

	<i>Age</i> (Years)
Antoine Belar	36
Marie, his wife	22
Etienne Simon, their son	2
Jean Bicente Le Jeune	20
Blaise, his brother	18
Margarite, their sister	17
Nanette, their sister, <i>remained at the Coquiats</i>	13
Pierre Prinne	25
Susanne Plant, his wife	20

Bachelor, not established

Jaques Ruseau 28

NATCHITOCHES, *October 27, 1769.*

[SEAL]

BORME

This is a true copy of the original statement in the chief auditing office of Louisiana, to which I certify as the one temporarily exercising the functions of auditor thereof.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 14, 1769.*

IGNACIO RAMON DE EZPELETA (Rubric)

NOTE.—That by virtue of the decree of the Most Excellent Señor Don Alexandro O'Reilly of November 16, 1769, there have been given to the sixteen families shown in the foregoing statement sixteen large axes, sixteen hatchets, sixteen spades, sixteen iron pots, six drawing knives, and two hundred and sixty-seven pesos in money at the rate of three pesos to each person.

And each one of the eight German families, in consideration of the fact that they are to settle at the fort of Iberville, have been given, in addition to the foregoing, one gun, twelve gun-flints, and three pounds of powder.

NEW ORLEANS, date as above.

IGNACIO RAMON DE EZPELETA (Rubric)

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

December 16, 1769²⁴

No. 27.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: There is no limit to my gratitude to the King for the extreme graciousness with which he always honors me and cements my devotion to his service. Every clause of Your Excellency's letter of August 29 fills me with satisfaction. So authentic a proof of royal approval will always be the best heritage that I can leave to

²⁴ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

my children and the fortune that I most esteem. I beg Your Excellency to aid me in giving His Majesty my most lively and humble thanks, manifesting to him my invariable desire of deserving his confidence and good opinion, and that to this end I shall omit nothing within reach of my limited ability. Would that I had greater talents and powers to do so better.

His Majesty, making the honorable citizens of Havana joyful by his appreciation, which they have won by the zeal shown when they offered themselves with the greatest willingness for this expedition, will inspire in them a good frame of mind and recognition of how much they owe to the incomparable benignity of their Sovereign.

The aforesaid letter will be valuable not only in Havana, but also throughout America, on account of the emulation that it will produce in the minds of these creoles if the chiefs proceed to make as advantageous use of it as they can.

I pray Our Lord to guard the valued life of Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 16, 1769.*

Most Excellent Sir, your attentive servant kisses your hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

O'REILLY TO BROWNE

*December 21 1769*⁹⁵

(Copy)

No. 3.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have received with the greatest esteem and appreciation Your Lordship's favor under date of the 28th ultimo, and grateful for the kind expressions and promises that you make me, I assure Your Lordship, as regards my office and person, of my best co-operation and a will always desirous of cultivating the sincere friendship which happily exists between our respective courts.

This is the declared will of the King, my master, which I shall conform to with infinite satisfaction.

At the end of the month I expect to embark for Havana, and from there I shall proceed to Spain, leaving as my successor in this governorship, Colonel Don Luis de Unzaga, who writes you the attached letter to assure you of his invariable desire of pleasing you. This worthy officer will co-operate in everything to the best harmony and friendly understanding with Your Lordship, as well as all his successors in this command. Any aid which may be needed by the

⁹⁵ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

subjects of His Brittanic Majesty and which he can offer will be given by him with great pleasure.

If, before my departure from this province or wherever else I may be, I can serve or please Your Lordship in any way, I shall do so with great pleasure, and with this assurance Your Lordship may always give me your orders.

I pray Our Lord to guard Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 21, 1769.*

Your Lordship's hands are kissed by your attentive servant.

DON ALEXANDRO O'REILLY

SEÑOR DON MONTFORT BROWNE.

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*December 29, 1769*⁹⁶

No. 25.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The new post called Isla Real Católica, established with the greatest zeal by Don Antonio de Ulloa at the mouth of the Mississippi River on account of its advantageous situation, has deteriorated to the point described by the attached report, No. 1, and the accompanying map. As these damages demand repairs to prevent the risks to which the troops and sailors garrisoning this post are thereby exposed, I sent Captain of Engineers Don Juan de Cotilla with Don Guido Dufossat and Don Luis Andry to make a careful inspection of the said Isla Real Católica. This they have done, as described by the said document No. 1.

I find that the cost of the present repairs to the aforesaid post, only recently completed, would amount to one thousand, one hundred and thirty pesos *fuertes*. Each year new and large expenditures would be necessary. The sailors and troops would always be exposed to the great force of the winds and the violence of the sea beating upon that island composed entirely of mud which cannot bear weight. In time of war the post would be indefensible and its garrison lost in case of attack. Consequently, I have thought it well to call in this city a new council, presided over by my successor, Don Luis de Unzaga. In the council the unanimous opinion of the members was what Your Excellency will see in the attached document No. 2, which I send you, signed by all those attending. I have agreed with this opinion, finding it very well founded and advantageous for the service, and consequently I shall have a careful inspection made of the new location which they believe the best for the purpose. If the necessary solidity is found there, I shall have three small houses

⁹⁶ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

constructed which are quite sufficient for the small garrison and sailors who must be kept at that post. In order that this may cost the royal exchequer as little as possible, I shall make use of the wood and other materials at the Isla Real Católica, and even keep at the new post for its future repairs everything that is possible to remove from the one which it is necessary to abandon. Consequently there will be materials necessary for whatever repairs are needed there for many years.

In case that the necessary security is not found in the careful inspection which will be made of the ground indicated in document No. 2. for the new post of Baliza, I shall have it established at the old Baliza, which was occupied by the French about fifty years ago. There the expenditure which will have to be made will be small.

The present post of Isla Real Católica can in no way defend the mouth of the river. Vessels entering it do not come within range of the cannon, nor is defense a thing to be proposed at a place far distant from any aid. It does not permit any fortification whatever, not only on account of the muddiness of its soil, but also because there is no necessary material unless it is brought from a great distance and at immense cost. There is certainly in this province nothing which is worth the defense. Even if carried out, it would be good for nothing because, in case of war with England and of the latter making some attack on this province, its troops would probably come through Lakes Borgne and Ponchartrain to the vicinity of this capital, where there are many easy landing places. In consequence the defense of the capital must rest solely on its defenders.

I have reduced the troops, sailors, and cost of the said post to what Your Excellency will see in the attached document No. 3, basing my regulation for the sailors necessary there upon a council which I had formed of three merchant captains, very intelligent and experienced in this navigation, the pilot of the frigate who was stationed eleven months at that post, and presided over by Captain of Frigate Don Josef Melchor de Acosta. I have followed without any variation whatever what they have proposed on this matter.

I likewise found myself under the obligation of deciding on that post established by Don Antonio de Ulloa at Natchez. The Acadians settled there have written me a memorial of which I send Your Excellency a copy marked No. 4. I referred it to Don Guido Dufossat and Don Juan Villebeuvre for a report. The former was named Captain of Engineers by Don Antonio de Ulloa and constructed the fort, and the latter was in command there for a long time.

I then asked for a report from the commandant of the French troop, Mr. Aubry, because of his practical knowledge of the country.

All agreed upon the uselessness of the post and the justice of the request of the inhabitants, as Your Excellency will see from their opinions noted at the foot of said memorial.

I considered the matter as carefully as possible, and consulted with my successor in this command. It was evident to me that the inhabitants settled at Natchez could in no way contribute to the defense or support of the colony. They are one hundred leagues from this capital, and have upon their return from it to go up a rapid stream which makes the voyage longer and more costly than the products which they raise can bear.

The fort was costly to the King on account of the repairs which it required every year, the rations which have always had to be provided for the troops, and because it served as a pretext for continual expenditures for the Indians who came there.

So many small detachments would very soon lose the discipline of the troops and would weaken the small forces we have here to the point of making them worthless everywhere. That post, far from stopping illegal trade, would be the best and only means of carrying it on.

The English will never come by land with goods. They lack all means of doing so and they would immediately be known and the goods confiscated. Our own people are the ones who can and always want to trade illegally, and that post, far from all control and inspection, would be a secure haven, protecting the greed of everyone employed there.

These reasons made me assent to the request of the inhabitants, and grant them the permission they have asked to settle among the other Acadians, twenty to thirty leagues from this capital. Nothing can better prove the necessity of this request than their asking as a favor and without assistance to be allowed to leave a land where they have built their cabins, and worked clearing and tilling it for some two years past.

At the new settlement of these families, they can, on account of their union with their own people, better defend themselves from any attack and find a sale for the excess cattle, fowl and provisions which they raise, and, in any emergency, repair promptly to this capital.

The fort at Iberville, thirty-five leagues up river from here, I have likewise abandoned, not considering it in any way advisable to keep a garrison there. It would always be costly on account of the rations for the troops, and much more so on account of the presents for the Choctaws (who live in English territory), who would not stop coming. Most of the time they are invited by the people who would have an interest in the pretext of making them these presents. It

should be borne in mind that this post is indefensible in case of any outbreak of war, and would serve only to entail obligations which it is not advisable to assume.

I have given the buildings of the said fort and the adjacent land to the six German families who arrived recently, as I advised Your Excellency in my letter No. 21. As I have given these families guns and bayonets, the King will have no more expense there, and will have as many troops here together as possible. This battalion has only the detachment at Baliza, the posts near this capital, which are changed frequently, and those at Arkansas and Ylinueses, which are composed of fixed troops, all of the Seventh Company. The officers and soldiers at these posts need more support than their monthly pay, with the exception of those at Baliza, where it is necessary to give the troops and sailors rations, because there is no place near there from which they can supply themselves.

In order that you may fully understand these matters, I must explain to Your Excellency that the King has here all the buildings that he will need for a hundred years, and that every fortification in this province is an expense without any advantage to the service. From Baliza to Ylinueses it is impossible to construct anything but a moat and a palisade. The upkeep of these is costly, the wood soon rots, the moat fills up with mud brought down by the winter floods, and the very banks of the river cave down as they cannot be covered with stone. This is shown in this city, whose moat and palisade, constructed in the year 1760, cost the King of France sixty-nine thousand, five hundred and two pesos *fuertes*. Today most of the wood is rotted, and the moat completely filled in many places, and easily passable anywhere.

Even if new, this fortification would be of little use in stopping any enemy. Four cannon shots would level the stockade, and the moat, which can never be deepened because the water is everywhere near the surface of the ground, would not hinder the passage of troops; and so I repeat that the defense of this province must consist solely of its defenders and in keeping the enemy occupied elsewhere.

The presents for the Indians have already been distributed to all the tribes inhabiting our territory with the exception of those for Ylinueses. These presents will leave here next month.

In order not to have dealings with this very involved store, the adjustment of whose accounts has caused me so much trouble (without having secured same), and in order to inform myself better as to the cost, I have obtained these presents from the firm of two merchants, named M. Ranson and M. Maxent, who have formed a company to supply them. They have been paid for at prices current here which are the ones I am sending Your Excellency herewith.

Although the Indians have never received as much as at this time, the cost of their presents and the cost of distributing them amounts to only 3,755 pesos *fuertes* and six reales of silver, as Your Excellency will see from the attached certificate of Treasurer Don Martín Navarro, who has paid for them.

From this Your Excellency will see the misconceptions which the greed of the people employed in these distributions have wished to create about this matter. In return for presents given to the Indians, the latter reciprocated with others, which were always to the commandant while the cost of the original presents was borne by the King.

At Ylinueses, when Captain Don Francisco Ríu went there with his detachment, he himself confesses that the present given him by the Indians was worth two thousand pesos *fuertes* which Ríu said he divided with the French commandant, M. de St. Ange.

From the regulation made here the Indians know what they are to receive from the King each year, and in this there will be no excessive charges nor deceit in the distribution. I assure you that the Indians who have come here have in no previous year cost the King so little, nor have they ever gone away so well supplied with presents or so contented; but it has taken plenty of work to reduce things to this method and overcome the ideas which the private interests of so many persons have spread among the public with much guile and little truth.

His Majesty, informed by Your Excellency of what I consider most advisable for his service in the matters dealt with in this letter, will decide what is most to his pleasure.

May God protect and make happy your important life for many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 29, 1769.*

ALEXANDER O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON BAILLO FREY JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

(Accompanying the foregoing)

No. 1. Inspection of the present post of Baliza, situated at the mouth of the Río de San Luis de Misisipy.

During the time of the French regime this post was established where the channel was the deepest, on one of the islands forming the various mouths through which this river flows into the sea. The buildings consisted of five small wooden houses for the quartering of a detachment. The pilots also stayed there with their boat, all

for the purpose of showing the entrance to navigators and rendering them prompt assistance. These poor works were all that remained of the fortifications with which the French, at great cost, had tried to make that post a strong one.

It was of no avail, because both that island and the adjacent ones are formed by the banks thrown up by the river on the bars or flats at its mouth and by accumulating on these sandbanks the debris and soil carried down by its violent currents and dropped in the quiet waters where the main channel of its vagrant course does not flow. From this circumstance come the following results:

First, this ground has only a slight elevation above water level and is created by the putrefaction of the canes, reeds, and other marine plants which naturally spring up when these flats or banks are exposed to the air and sun after the high waters of the rivers recede.

Second, whenever the river changes the direction of its currents (as happens every day), it washes away in one place and builds up in another, decreasing or increasing the size of these islands, or perhaps destroying some and creating others.

Third, as these islands have no solid foundation, but only a thin mud in reality composed of sediment from the stagnant water and corruption of the banks, whenever any weight is placed on the soil the crust or dry surface breaks and lets the heavy body sink. This happened with the artillery which the French placed in the battery they erected. For this reason nothing can be constructed, even on piling because, as soon as the pile penetrates and passes through the crust, with no machine other than its own weight it sinks without touching bottom, however long it may be.

This unstable ground has still another powerful enemy. That is the sea, which, whenever it becomes disturbed, destroys the islands more or less according to the force of the waves or the duration of the storm; and as the winds from the southeast are frequent and strong for the greater part of the year, these islands are exposed not only to this washing away, but also to continual inundations.

When Governor Don Antonio de Ulloa came to take possession of this colony, he found, on reconnoitering the mouths of the river, that the channel known by the name of East Pass had less water than the Northeast one, and he immediately decided that this should be the principal entrance to the river. He selected as a site for a lookout post another island called Real Católica de San Carlos which, although half a league or more from the channel, is the nearest one to it. On this island he ordered constructed various buildings such as the house of the governor, the barracks, church, hospital, etc., some of them of wood and brick. These buildings were constructed in

the years '67 and '68, and are now in the condition shown in the statement. Included are the repairs needed at present by those in a condition to last some time.

The governor's house, of wood and brick, is entirely ruined and should be demolished, as well as the kitchen and storehouse, so that the sea will not carry away their materials, since it has washed away thirty-five *toises* of ground of the island from the year '67 to the present.

The church is in the same state and condition as the former, and for this reason should likewise be torn down.

	<i>Pesos</i>
A store, all of wood. The front has collapsed, the foundation needs to be strengthened, and shored up with props.	
These repairs will amount to one hundred pesos	100
The storekeeper's house somewhat in ruin and the rubble work broken.	30
The pilot's house very much in ruin, and the rubble work ruined in places.	100
The wooden barracks, two sides in ruin; the foundation needs repair and some props	10
The surgeon's house in rather bad condition, foundation needs repair	10
The hospital of rubble work between wooden posts is the largest building and in the best condition of all those on the island. However the rubble work is beginning to crack. Repairs will amount to	20
The bakery in somewhat bad condition and the rubble work cracked in places	40
The carpenter's and blacksmith's house, partly in ruin. Repair will cost.	20
The forge house and the other small houses, constructed for the workmen at the beginning of this settlement, are completely in ruin	—
The wharf, one hundred and seventy-five <i>toises</i> in length is more than half destroyed and in ruins, as also is the guardhouse. Repairs will cost	800
Total	1130

NOTE.—Any repairs made at present to the wharf will be useless, because the currents of the river have taken a new direction and eaten away the low ground, on which it was built, for a distance of more than forty *toises* in the space of only eight months. The floating piles beat against the main supports of the wharf. Repairing it is useless and its ruin complete and unavoidable. There is added another important defect to the others it already had, that is, the lack of a landing place. There is no place where the launch can tie up, except on the side toward the sea, where there is no protection and therefore frequently inaccessible.

ALSO: The consideration of the cost of the repairs necessary at the present time should not serve in judging future ones as time goes on. Because of the instability of the ground which has cracked and dislocated the timbers and framework of the buildings, their

strongest part, the deterioration will be incomparably greater in the future, and consequently repairs more costly.

But all subject to the best judgment and opinion of His Excellency.

ISLA REAL CATÓLICA DE SAN CARLOS, *November 12, 1769.*

JUAN DE COTILLA (Rubric)

GUIDO DUFOSAT (Rubric)

LUIS ANDRY (Rubric)

No. 2.

In the city of New Orleans on the 6th of December, 1769, at the order of the Most Excellent Señor Don Alexandro O'Reilly, knight commander of Benfayan of the order of Alcántara, lieutenant general of the royal armies and inspector general of infantry, Don Joseph Melchor de Acosta, captain of frigate of the royal navy and commander of the one named the *Volante*, Captain Don Juan de Cotilla, commandant of engineers of the present expedition, Don Hipolite Amelot, engineer in chief of His Most Christian Majesty, who was in charge of the works of His Majesty during the governorship of Don Antonio de Ulloa, Don Balthazar de Villiers, captain of the battalion of Louisiana and commandant for many years at the post of Baliza, Captain Don Guido Dufossat and Lieutenant Don Luis Andry experts resident for many years in this city, Don Antonio Paredes, pilot of the royal navy, and Boatswain Juan Bausa, who were stationed at La Isla Real Católica at the time of its first establishment, repaired to the house of Señor Don Luis de Unzaga, colonel of the royal armies and present governor of this place, for the purpose of holding a council. At the council, the present condition of the said Isla Real Católica and its buildings and the evident risk of perishing to which its garrison and sailors are exposed were all shown by the report and notes of the inspection made at the order of the said Most Excellent Señor Don Alexandro O'Reilly. The said Engineer Don Juan de Cotilla, gave as his opinion that in the matter of transferring the present post of Baliza to the former one used by the French during all their regime, the question should be studied carefully and that each one should render his own opinion.

Wherefore the members having informed themselves of the condition of the aforesaid island and its buildings, of which they were well aware, as it is a matter of public knowledge and notorious in this city, and considering that the deterioration and impairment to be observed at present at the Isla Real Católica has made it uninhabitable, they were in full agreement that the former post used by the French is to be preferred to this one. They decided that the latter should be transferred immediately to the former or to some other place, nearby and suitable, that will serve the purposes for which the said post was needed and maintained, without the objec-

tion of its being inundated by the high tides. Moreover it appears to Don Hipolite Amelot and Don Balthazar Villiers that a suitable site is the one opposite the old Baliza on the other side of the river known by the name of the Pasa del Vuelo. However, all is subject to the more expert opinion of the aforesaid Most Excellent Señor.

Whereupon the said council was adjourned, and those attending signed this with the abovementioned Señor Governor.

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA (Rubric)

HIPOLITE AMELOT (Rubric)

JUAN DE COTILLA (Rubric)

GUIDO DUFOSAT (Rubric)

BALTHAZAR DE VILLIERS (Rubric)

ANTONIO DONATO PAREDES

LUIS ANDRY (Rubric)

(Rubric)

No. 3. Sailors destined for the post of Baliza.

	<i>Pesos fuertes per year</i>
Bar pilot—Joseph de la Peña	200
The Captain of Baliza, Domingo Ragas, at six pesos fuertes per month..	72

Sailors

Diego Flores at four pesos monthly	48
Felix de Mendoza, ditto	48
Francisco Antonio de la Osa, ditto	48
Isidro Cevallos, ditto	48
Pedro Sánchez, ditto	48
Pedro Clas, ditto	48
Francisco Conejo, ditto	48
Antonio Carmona, ditto	48
Total per year, pesos fuertes	656

Rations. Number and cost thereof to the royal exchequer.

For the aforesaid sailors, including one to be given the man in charge of the distribution. At the present time, according to the contract made, each ration costs the royal exchequer fifteen sous, French money, thus making the eleven rations cost per year	584
Given to the troops at Baliza, whose cost to the royal exchequer exceeds the regular charge made for the troops by	156

Total annual cost of the post of Baliza 1396

NEW ORLEANS, *January 8, 1770.*

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*December 29, 1769*⁹⁷

No. 24.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Since bad weather has delayed my departure for *Pointe Coupée*, I have been able to finish the accounts submitted by the French *comisario*, M. Bobé, for the year 1766, during which the expenditures of the administration of this province were handled by M. Foucault. I had all these accounts audited by Auditor Don Estevan Gayarré, who disapproved the items shown by the attached paper. I passed these to M. Bobé, who noted on them his replies to the objections. I then formed a council, whose opinion on these matters Your Excellency will find at the end of the same paper. I think that my notes substantiate the justification with which the items indicated were rejected. M. Bobé himself, to whom I passed them, found no reason to give to the contrary, as Your Excellency will see from his report at the end. All this clarity and good faith has seemed to me necessary in a matter of interests between two courts so closely united.

From the attached brief abstract Your Excellency will see the harm that resulted to the royal exchequer from the administration of the expenditures of the province having been left in the hands of M. Foucault during the years 1766 and 1767, and the injustice and despotism with which he was wont to proceed in everything.

The reasonable salaries of the French clerks, after they were reduced to what is now necessary to approve, amount for the said two years to nine thousand, three hundred and seventy-two pesos *fuertes*, as Your Excellency will see from the enclosed certificate from M. Bobé. With the individuals whom the King was paying in his own offices, it seems to me the salaries were quite sufficient for the discharge of their duties. This is proven by the fact that at the present time a much smaller number of clerks is handling everything current, together with the embarkation of the troops that are returning to Havana. I do not wish to imply by this that in any way is blame to be attributed to Don Antonio de Ulloa, to whose zeal and interest I do the justice that it deserves. I believe the sole cause of the irregularity to have been the desire that he had on his arrival of manifesting to everyone his confidence and good feeling toward the French. Afterwards he was not able to remedy the damage, and to make up his mind at the end of the first year to remove M. Foucault entirely from our administration, or to compel him, as he should have done, to submit his accounts. I know that he asked him for them

⁹⁷ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

several times, but Foucault always delayed submitting them for the reasons that are quite evident from the attached paper.

The accounts of the French administration in the year 1767 have now been submitted to our auditing office, and I hope that they will be audited and entirely finished by the middle of next month. I shall then send Your Excellency the general result of them, together with a clear and formal statement of all that the royal exchequer has expended in this province since His Majesty has been defraying the expenses. All this will show Your Excellency the advantages and dire need of establishing new regulations here. I shall do everything that I can, and I hope that the results and my constant desire for the best service of the King will win the approbation of His Majesty and of Your Excellency.

May Our Lord guard Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 29, 1769.*

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

(The documents mentioned are in French.)

STATEMENT OF PAYMENT FOR INDIAN PRESENTS

January 9, 1770⁹⁸

Statement of the funds paid at the order of the Most Excellent Señor Don Alexandro O'Reilly, governor and captain general of this province by the treasury under my charge to the Señores Maxent and Ranson for the goods delivered by them for presents to the savages from the arrival of the said Señor to this date, as shown by the total of each tribe.

Distributed in this capital in the presence of the said Most Excellent Señor.

	<i>Pesos and reales</i>
<i>On September 30, 1769</i>	
Tonicas	121-6-33
Tinsas	57-4-15
Pacaná	50-4-4
Ahumas	43-4-19
Bayagoulas	26-5-19
Othogulas	41-5-1
Chavachas	32-2-0
Ochanya	45-5-17
<i>On October 22</i>	
Chactos	64-5-18
Biloxis	71-2-5
Pascaugulas	59-0-33
Movileños	31-3-2
Ribbons for the medals	5-0-0
<i>On the 29th, Chetimachas</i>	107-7-32
<i>On November 16, Arkansas</i>	515-4-28

Sent to Natchitoches by Captain Don Eduardo Nugent and Lieutenant Don Juan Kelly.

For the Great Cado	127-6-28
For the Little Cado	91-7-22
For the Natchitoches	49-5-10
For the savages of El Rápido	50-1-23
For the Yataste	42-4-30
For the Alibamones	15-6- 6
For two barrels of rum	1-0- 0

On January 1, 1770

Delivered to Captain Don Pedro Piernas for distribution by him at Ylinueses to the twelve following tribes.

On January 1, 1770

The Ayoooua nation

The Great Osages

The Scieux

The Santeux

The Cancé

The Little Osages

The Renard

The Cascasias

The Pannimaha

The Autocdata

The Misouris

The Sact

1600-0- 0

3253-6- 5

The total of the foregoing statement amounts to three thousand, two hundred and fifty-three pesos, six reales and five maravedis of silver.

NEW ORLEANS, January 9, 1770.

NOTE.—The transportation of the present for Ylinueses has cost nothing this year on account of its having gone by the boat carrying the troops destined for said post. As this has been arranged for future years, including all risks of fire, Indian or other attack, at five hundred pesos, the said annual present for Ylinueses will amount to two thousand, one hundred pesos *fuertes*, and the total for all the tribes in the province to three thousand, seven hundred and fifty-five pesos, six reales and eleven maravedis of silver.

MARTÍN NAVARRO (Rubric)

With my supervision,

IGNACIO RAMON DE EZPELETA (Rubric)

I am certain that the cost of the presents given to all the Indian tribes inhabiting this province does not amount to more than the sum stated by the auditor *ad interim* and the treasurer in the foregoing statement. In the future, far from increasing, I believe that

it will be possible to reduce it somewhat, leave them well-satisfied, and commerce better protected and benefited than it has ever been.

The Indians coming to the post of Ylinueses are given bread and a little rice. The cost is not included in the preceding statement, but it is known positively that this will not amount to much.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 9, 1770.*

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

NUGENT AND KELLY TO [O'REILLY]

*January 14, 1770*⁹⁹

There is a small settlement of Apalache Indians here, composed of a total of twenty-one poor houses, twenty-six men, and some eighteen women of all ages. They live on the game in the woods and the small quantity of corn which they grow. Most of them are Catholics and many speak our language.

On the afternoon of the 5th of January we left Natchitoches to return to the city, but in the course of this journey we were unable to make any observations, as it was necessary to travel both day and night.

NEW ORLEANS, *14th of January, 1770.*

EDUARDO NUGENT (Rubric)

JUAN KELLY (Rubric)

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*January 21, 1770*¹⁰⁰

No. 14.

The Conde de Ingimbert, residing in your province does not appear to have been mixed up in any way with the recent revolutions; and being on the other hand an individual in whose behalf certain persons of distinction have interested themselves, I shall appreciate it if Your Excellency will help and assist him in everything you possibly can.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

EL PARDO, *21st of January, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

RABBADIE TO O'REILLY

*January 30, 1770*¹⁰¹

SIR: I am unable to add anything to the letter which my daughter-in-law has the honor of writing to Your Excellency concerning the

⁹⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 2357.

¹⁰⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁰¹ BL, (French).

recovery of the sums which are due her in Louisiana and which accrue from there. I join her in imploring your justice and your good-will on her behalf and on that of her children. That which is owed them in that colony forms two-thirds of their fortune.

I have the honor of being with respect, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant.

LA ROCHELLE, *January 30, 1770.*

RABBADIE, Commissaire of the Navy.

M. OREILLI.

P. S. Will you be so kind, Sir, if you have been good enough to read my son's correspondence, to have it forwarded to M. du Vergé or to M. de Bissise, infantry officers of his Most Christian Majesty.

LIST OF OFFICIALS APPOINTED BY O'REILLY

*February 4, 1770*¹⁰²

A statement of the names of the lieutenant governors and the local commanders chosen by me, together with a statement of the district included in the respective jurisdiction of each.

Lieutenant Governors

Ylinueses district—Captain of Infantry—Don Pedro Piernas.

Natchitoches—Captain of Militia—Don Athanazio de Mézières.

Local Commanders

Half the German Coast, which includes the parish of St. Charles—

Captain of Infantry, Don Francisco Simard de Bellisle, who already draws half an active captain's pay.

The other half of the German Coast, which contains the parish of St. Jean Baptiste—Captain of Militia, Don Roberto Robin de Laugni.

Pointe Coupée—Captain of Militia, Don Francisco Allain.

Opelousas—Don Gabriel Fusilier de la Clayre.

Iberville Coast as far as Ascension Parish—Don Luis Tisne.

Fourche de Chetimachas, which includes the Parish of Ascension—Captain of Militia, Don Luis Judice.

Kabaannose, which includes the whole parish of St. James—Captain of Militia, Don Nicolas Verret.

Rapide—Don Estevan Mardefret Laysarde.

Ste. Geneviève in the Ylinueses—Captain of Militia, Don Francisco Vallé.

When the local commanders receive no other salary from the King, they should draw from the royal treasury 100 pesos a year, an indispensable salary for these appointments in view of the situation

¹⁰² AGI, PC, leg. 1055.

and circumstances in this province. Since local commanders, Don Roberto de Laugni, Don Juan Francisco Allain, Don Gabriel Fusilier de la Clayre, Don Luis Tisne, Don Luis Judice, and Don Nicolas Verret, receive no salary at all from the King, after the first day of the present month each will be paid a consideration of 100 pesos a year as long as he exercises the said office.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 4, 1770.*

LIST OF MILITIA OFFICERS APPOINTED BY O'REILLY

February 12, 1770 ¹⁰⁸

Statement showing the names and ranks of all the militia officers of this province appointed by me and the districts where they are to serve.

Com- pany	Name	Rank	District
	Don Carlos Luis Boucher de Grandpré.	First adjutant major of all the militia of this province.	In this capital.
	Don Nicolas Lorenzo Lasisse.	Second adjutant major of the militia of this capital.	
1st	Don Joseph Villar	Captain	
2nd	Don Antonio Gilberto Maxent.	Captain	
3rd	Don Luis Ramon	Captain	
4th	Don Bartholome McNamara.	Captain	
1st	Don Juan Joseph Duforest.	Lieutenant	
2nd	Don Juan Lafite	Lieutenant	
3rd	Don Juan Hervouet	Lieutenant	
4th	Don Francisco Langlois ...	Lieutenant	
1st	Don Juan Baptista Cavellier.	Sub-Lieutenant	
2nd	Don Juan Bienvenu	Sub-Lieutenant	
3rd	Don Pedro Gondeau	Sub-Lieutenant	
4th	Don Lorenzo Wiltz	Sub-Lieutenant	
	Don Joseph Ducros	Standard Bearer	
	Don Antonio Cavellier	Standard Bearer	
1	{ Don Martini	Captain	St. Louis of Ylinueses.
	{ Don Juan Luis Lambert ...	Lieutenant	
	{ Don Eugenio Poure	Sub-Lieutenant	
1	{ Don Francisco Valle	Captain	Ste. Geneviève of Ylinueses.
	{ Don Enrique Carpentier ...	Lieutenant	
	{ Don Francisco Duchoquet..	Sub-Lieutenant	
1	{ Don Luis Juan Cecer Borme.	Captain	Natchitoches.
	{ Don Romiglo Polsot	Lieutenant	
	{ Don Victorio Dupain	Sub-Lieutenant	
1	{ Don Santiago Courteblau ..	Captain	Opelousas.
	{ Don Jaime Patin	Lieutenant	
	{ Don Santiago Courteblau ..	Sub-Lieutenant	

Com- pany	Name	Rank	District
1	Don Juan Francisco Allain. Don Juan Francisco Allain. Don Jorge Baron Don Antonio Bordelon	Captain Lieutenant Sub-Lieutenant Second Adjutant Major.	Pointe Coupée.
1	Don Nicolas Berret Don Miguel Cantrelle Don Santiago Cantrelle ...	Captain Lieutenant Sub-Lieutenant	Kabahan-Nosse comprising all the parish of St. James.
1	Don Luis Judice Don Nicolas Berret Don Luis Judice	Captain Lieutenant Sub-Lieutenant	Fourche de Chetimachas comprising all the parish of Ascension.
1	Don Roberto Robin Laugni. Don Pedro Bosier Lebrun .. Don Noel Perret	Captain Lieutenant Sub-Lieutenant	Half the German Coast comprising the parish St. Jean Baptiste.
1	Don Luis Agustin Mellon .. Don Francisco Trepanier .. Don Alexandro Bore Don Nicolas Longueval ...	Captain Lieutenant Sub-Lieutenant Second Adjutant Major of the two militia companies of the German Coast.	The other half of the German Coast which comprises the Parish of St. Charles.

Each of the above companies must always consist of one captain, one lieutenant, one sub-lieutenant, three sergeants, four first corporals, four second corporals, and sixty men.

In said militia only the following will receive a regular salary: Don Carlos Luis Boucher de Grandpré, first adjutant of all the militia of this province, with the salary of an active lieutenant of infantry.

Don Nicolas de Lasisse, second adjutant of the militia of this capital, two hundred and forty pesos per year.

Don Nicolas Longueval, second adjutant of the German Coast, one hundred pesos per year.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 12, 1770.*

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

PRIESTS RECOMMENDED BY O'REILLY

*February 14, 1770*¹⁰⁴

The number of priests which we consider necessary to serve the parishes and for the spiritual care of the inhabitants of this province: For the city of New Orleans and its environs—6.

For the parishes on the German Coast, extending for ten leagues on each bank of the Mississippi River—2.

For two parishes, one at Kabaannose and the other at La Fourche de Chetimachas, extending for twelve leagues on both banks of the said river—2.

¹⁰⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 1055; also leg. 2357 (French).

For the parish of Iberville, six leagues long—1.

For the parish of Pointe Coupée, eight leagues long, on the right bank of the river—1.

For the parish of Opelousas—1.

For the parish of Atakapas—1.

For Rapide and the Apalache Indians who live in that vicinity and are Catholics—1.

For the parish of Natchitoches—1.

For the two parishes in Ylinueses, one at the town of St. Louis and the other at Ste. Geneviève—2.

Total—18.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 14, 1770.*

O'REILLY (Rubric)

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*March 1, 1770*¹⁰⁵

No. 37.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: From the attached statement Your Excellency will see that the sale of the property of the twelve insurrectionists included in the sentence handed down by me under date of October 27, last, has been entirely completed. The widows have already received their dowries, the creditors the part due them, and the treasury the amount to which it was entitled in accordance with the laws.

The judicial fees of my *asesor*, *promotor fiscal*, and *escribano* for such a long period and voyage amount only to two thousand and seven pesos and four reales of silver *fuerte*. This is an example of disinterestedness and moderation, as uncommon as it is advisable in this case, in order that these people may realize the clemency with which widows, orphans, and creditors have been treated and that their contemplation of this justice, promptness, and disinterestedness may make them honor our administration of justice.

Having concluded the sales, accounts, and distribution of the proceeds, I have approached all the parties concerned to learn whether they are satisfied in every respect that they have been given full justice. They replied unanimously that they had no complaint whatever to make to me. They gave many thanks for the prompt dispatch and good treatment. It is not enough to do justice; it is most advisable that the populace should acknowledge it.

It is not very common, I believe, to finish in so short a time and so completely such an important, complicated, and voluminous mat-

¹⁰⁵ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

ter. All has been brought to a successful conclusion by keeping continually at it.

I pray Your Excellency to advise the King of the conclusion of this matter, which I am convinced will be in conformity with his gracious and most just wishes.

May God protect Your Excellency's life the many years I desire.
NEW ORLEANS, *March 1, 1770.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble and devoted servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

MUZQUIZ TO ARRIAGA

*March 1, 1770*¹⁰⁶

Summary and Explanation.

The intendant of Cataluña explains in the attached representation that it will be very difficult to develop the commerce of Louisiana unless the Spanish vessels carrying goods from this country to that colony are permitted on their return to call at the ports of the Windward Islands, in order to use for other goods the money which they are bringing back. I send this to Your Excellency together with the note enclosed by said intendant so that, in view thereof, Your Excellency may be pleased to tell me what I shall reply to him.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

EL PARDO, *March 1, 1770.*

MIGUEL DE MUZQUIZ (Rubric)

Señor DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

O'REILLY TO ARRIAGA

*March 1, 1770*¹⁰⁷

No. 36.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: From the attached documents Nos. 1, 2, and 3 Your Excellency will see the unavoidable necessity that I was under of abandoning the post of Isla Real Católica, established by Don Antonio de Ulloa at the mouth of the Mississippi River. Its situation was advantageous for supplying pilots promptly to vessels arriving there, and the said governor was convinced that with some precautions he could protect the island from the currents and further consolidate the soil by the weight of the buildings, but experience proved

¹⁰⁶ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

¹⁰⁷ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

the contrary. The ground gave way, ruining and destroying the buildings, and it is now well-known that repairs and upkeep would continually have been a large and useless expense. It was even without a landing place, due to the river's having carried away the jetty and soil supporting it. This whole matter was examined with the greatest care by persons best fitted to do it. As the unanimous opinion of all of them supported the urgent need of abandonment, I ordered that the post should be transferred to the former Baliza, which was occupied by the French for so many years. The total cost of this transfer to the royal exchequer will be nine hundred pesos *fuertes* as Your Excellency will see from the contract made, the details of which are set forth in document No. 3. I do not consider further expenditure necessary, nor that the object deserves it; but such an advantage could not be attained at so small a cost were it not for the fact that the French buildings are already built and established at the old Baliza.

I pray Our Lord preserve the important life of Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 1, 1770.*

Most Excellent Sir, the hand of Your Excellency is kissed by your most attentive servant.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

ARRIAGA TO MUZQUIZ

*March 21, 1770*¹⁰⁸

Most Illustrious Sir.

I have taken note from the representation of the intendant of Cataluña, Don Juan Phelipe Castaños, which Your Excellency sent me with your letter of the 1st instant, and which I return to you, of the difficulty of inaugurating in that principality free commerce with Louisiana, unless the Spanish vessels are permitted on their return from that colony to call at the Windward Islands. It does not seem to me advisable to discuss this matter until the arrival of Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly; but I consider strange the proposal of proceeding from Louisiana to the said Islands, as Havana is the only place where they should call in regular sailing and it does not prohibit the shipment of its products.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

THE PALANCE, *March 21, 1770.*

Señor DON MIGUEL MUZQUIZ.

¹⁰⁸ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*March 24, 1770*¹⁰⁹

No. 23.

I am advised by Your Excellency under date of the 29th of November, last year, that Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly had communicated to Your Lordship the order of the King in which he was instructed that on his return he should leave Your Lordship in command of that colony. In consequence thereof Your Lordship has taken charge of the political and military government from the first of said month, on which day there was established a cabildo and an administration in conformity with our laws.

The King has taken note that his royal intentions have been complied with in this respect. I shall continue to inform Your Lordship of what His Majesty commands with respect to the colony, as I have already done in the previous mails, on the supposition that upon the receipt of my letters, the said lieutenant general will have already left there and that Your Lordship will be in possession of that command.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

EL PARDO, 24th of March, 1770.

MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*March 24, 1770*¹¹⁰

No. 24.

In his letter of the 10th of December, last year, Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly reported that he had established in that province the Laws of the Indies and the political government prescribed by them. He sent a statement of the *regidores* and *escribanos* whom he had appointed, the two *alcaldes ordinarios*, the *sindico procurador general* and, the *mayordomo de propios* whom the new cabildo, presided over by Your Excellency, had elected. He also sent two proclamations made in accordance with the Laws of the Indies. In the first he abolished the former superior council of the province, established a cabildo and administration, and set forth the functions of each one of those who compose them. In the second he issued an instruction for the guidance of the judges in judicial matters. He also reported the properties that, without any detriment and to the general satisfaction of the contracting parties and of the public, had been assigned to the city for its expenses and the amount which he

¹⁰⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹¹⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

considered very advisable and even necessary to be furnished by the royal treasury for the administration of justice and political government of the province. He likewise reported the contract which he had made for the construction of a town hall. For all of these measures he sought the approval of the King in so far as it was his royal pleasure, so that these matters should be definitely and formally decided.

I brought this letter to the attention of the King and all the documents enclosed and His Majesty has deigned to approve *in toto* the abolition, the establishment, and other measures therein referred to. Of all this, at his royal order, I inform Your Excellency, so that everything may continue unchanged in the form it has been established by said lieutenant general pending the despatch of the royal approval, embodied in a formal decree on these and other matters, to be sent by the Council of the Indies.

But I must call Your Lordship's attention to the fact that in the instruction issued on the method of substantiating and deciding law suits there appears on page 28, No. 6, this article: "The married women who commits adultery and the adulterer shall be turned over to the husband, so that he may do with them as he wishes, provided that he may not kill one without killing the other." Since this article was objectionable, one of the *fiscales* of the Council of the Indies was instructed to give his opinion on the matter, and as he has given it, I send Your Excellency the original of the order of the King so that you may execute the purposes thereof.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

EL PARDO, 24th of March, 1770.

MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

O'REILLY TO BUCARELI

April 3, 1770¹¹¹

(Copy)

No. 8.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In case of the death or serious illness of the governor of Louisiana, Your Excellency will appoint to that post the officer who is most to your satisfaction, for the reason that, as that battalion has at present no proprietary commander to whom to sub-delegate the post temporarily, it will be necessary for you to send promptly the person who merits such special confidence from Your Excellency.

¹¹¹ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

The governor of Louisiana has charge of the inspection of the veteran troops and the militia of that province, but with total dependency upon and subordination to Your Excellency. To you he must submit all proposals for appointment to posts and he must promptly obey all your orders.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years. HAVANA, *April 3, 1770.*

I kiss Your Excellency's hand.

Your most affectionate servant.

DON ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI.

This is a true copy of the original.

O'REILLY

O'REILLY TO UNZAGA

*April 3, 1770*¹¹²

No. 52.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Under date of January 27, last, the Most Excellent Señor Marqués de Grimaldi writes me as follows:

"Your Excellency advises me in your letter of October 17, last, No. 4, that the provisions and goods needed by the people of Louisiana, can be obtained only in exchange for products of that province. What they need is flour, wine, oil, tools, arms, ammunition, all kinds of clothing, and articles of personal adornment, for which they can give in exchange lumber, indigo, cotton, furs, and some corn and rice. Your Excellency is of the opinion that, in order to establish a commerce capable of supporting and even developing that province, it is necessary for it to be declared as included in the free trade with Spain and for it to be permitted to trade with Havana. Your Excellency also considers it advisable and necessary, in order that this commerce may be more firmly established and mutually advantageous, that no import duties whatever be paid in Havana on the products of said province, and that no new excise or other duties be imposed on the goods shipped there from Havana.

"As the King is disposed to grant the said province all the benefits possible, he has decided that it shall be included in the free trade which was established for the Windward Islands. The ships of the province shall be received in the ports of Spain and in Havana the same as Spanish ships, but with the stipulation that no ship which is not Spanish nor of that colony shall be allowed to enter the said colony or be used for transportation. The governors shall strictly see to it

¹¹² AGI, PC, leg. 174.

that lumber, furs, indigo, cotton, corn, rice, and other products of the province, on proof that they are actually products thereof, pay no duties when they enter Havana, and that likewise goods and products shipped from Havana to said province pay no export duties, but they shall absolutely prohibit direct communication and trade between the said province and foreign ports and colonies, as well as with the ports of New Spain, observing this in order to escape the rules and regulations prescribed by the decree proclaimed on March 23, 1768, for the commerce of said province of Louisiana.

"For the formal establishment of all the foregoing the corresponding decree will be issued by the Council of the Indies, but, as in the meantime it would be very prejudicial if the commerce of that province were impeded and suspended, Your Excellency may inaugurate it in conformity with the aforesaid decision of His Majesty, which will also be communicated to Havana by Señor Don Julian de Arriaga."

In compliance with the foregoing royal order and another which I have received from the Most Excellent Señor Bailio Frey Don Julian de Arriaga under date of January 26, last, in which he informs me that he is giving Your Excellency and the intendant of this island a general order to put into execution all the measures resulting from what I have established in the province of Louisiana by virtue of the powers which the King granted me, I give to Your Excellency the attached copy, No. 4, of my dispatch to the court regarding said commerce. As this dispatch and the said royal approvals set forth the rules under which the commerce of this island with Louisiana is to be opened up and carried on, it remains for me only to beg Your Excellency to be pleased to give the proper orders for compliance therewith, henceforth issuing permits to ships from this island which wish to carry products or goods to said colony.

The tobacco of Louisiana is of inferior quality and its introduction into this island would have serious disadvantages. For this reason it should not be admitted, and I have given the proper orders to my successor, in which I command that under no circumstances is he to permit its export and that the consumption of this product shall be confined to that province.

Tar, pitch, meat, and birds are some of the products of the province of Louisiana which, on proof of being such, should be admitted into this island.

His Majesty's subjects in Louisiana have been warned that proceedings will be instituted in conformity with the laws against anyone who brings to this port or any other of this island any goods or products which are not known to be produced in that province

and which are not entered on the manifest from the officials of the royal exchequer there which every vessel must carry. They have been warned that all goods which such persons may have in the said province will be held liable, as well as those which are brought here.

I pray Our God to preserve and bless Your Excellency's life many years. HAVANA, *April 3, 1770.*

Your most affectionate servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI.

NOTE.—A dispatch similar to this one has been sent to the intendant of this island under the same date.

O'REILLY TO BUCARELI

*April 5, 1770*¹¹³

(Copy)

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Inasmuch as the King has declared his desire to favor the commerce of his new subjects in Louisana, we should extend all the leniency possible with regard to the duties paid in this port by vessels anchoring here. Therefore I consider that the said duties should be made the same as those established and observed here for vessels in the free trade with Spain.

I also consider that, in order to facilitate the commerce of Louisana and make more apparent to the people there the advantages which they gain from the trade with this island, they should be permitted to obtain a proper amount of its products in the same way as is permitted to Campeche. This can in general result in no inconvenience, as what they need in the way of clothing and provisions is at least equal to what they can ship here of their products.

May God preserve and bless Your Excellency's life many years.

HAVANA, *April 5, 1770.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI.

INDIAN SLAVES AT STE. GENEVIÈVE

*May 28, 1770*¹¹⁴

General census of all the Indian slaves, their ages and their nations, and names of the masters. Recorded in the clerk's office.

¹¹³ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

¹¹⁴ BL, (French).

TO WIT

In the year 1770 on the twenty-sixth day of May there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of Ste. Geneviève, one Nicolas Boyer, resident, who stated that he had two savage children born in the country, one a boy five years old and the other a girl eight years old, both baptised, one called François and the other Margueritte, estimated at eight hundred livres each which makes sixteen hundred livres; and another savage sixty years old, valued at three hundred livres, in all making nineteen hundred livres. This statement has been made sincerely and truthfully at the above place and the above year and date. Not knowing how to sign he has given us a cross mark for the signature of Boyer.

On the same day and year as above there appeared at the clerk's office of the aforesaid jurisdiction one Henry Carpentier, inhabitant of the said place, who stated that he had a savage woman named Angelique, baptised, twenty years of age, and one child one year old called Thérèse, born in the country, the mother being of the Pawnee nation, and another called Victoire, not baptised, nine years old, of the Pawnee nation, all three being valued at nineteen hundred livres. This statement has been sincerely and truthfully made at the said place in the said year and day and signed on the record—CARPENTIER.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the said place one Louis Robinet who stated that he had a savage girl thirteen years of age, not baptised, called Lisette, of the Pawnee nation, valued at one thousand livres. This statement has been sincerely and truthfully made on the aforesaid day and year, and he signed on the record—ROBINET.

On the same day and year one François Vallé, captain of the militia, stated that he had a savage called Gabriel Ouessa, baptised, thirty-seven years old, of the Pawnee nation and valued at twelve hundred livres. This statement has been sincerely and truthfully made at the aforesaid place, year and date and he signed on the record—VALLÉ.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the said place one Antoine Aubuchon, resident, who declared that he had one savage woman named Marianne, baptised and having two children, a boy named Baptiste seven years old, the other called Louis, four years old, both creoles baptised, the mother being twenty-five years of age, and all three being estimated at two thousand livres. This statement has been sincerely and truthfully made at the aforesaid place, year and date, and he signed on the record—AUBUCHON.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of the aforesaid place one Antoine Diel, inhabitant,

who declared that he had one savage woman called Rose, baptised, of the Pawnee nation, having a male negro child six years of age, baptised and called Louis, the both valued at two thousand livres. This statement has been sincerely and truthfully made at the aforesaid place, year and day, and he made a cross for a signature on the record.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of the aforesaid place the widow Billeron who stated that she owned one savage named Joseph Tiruguet, baptised, thirty years old, and one savage woman his wife, twenty-six years old, married before the Church and called Suzanne, both of the Pawnee nation, valued at two thousand livres. This statement was made sincerely and truthfully at the aforesaid place, year and day, and the widow Billeron signed on the record.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of the said place, Louis Truto who declared that he had at his house and belonging to Laurent Truto, merchant voyageur, a savage woman baptised, seventeen years old, called Margueritte, valued at a thousand livres, a savage called Baptiste, thirteen years old valued at eight hundred livres, one Indian boy and one Indian girl about ten years old, not baptised, valued at twelve hundred livres, the whole making three thousand livres. This declaration has been sincerely and truthfully made at the aforesaid place, year and day and Louis Truto signed on the record as guardian of the aforesaid slaves for Laurent Truto.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of the aforesaid place one Pierre Gadobert, who stated that he had one savage named Pierre, baptised, nine years old, of the Comanche nation, valued at twelve hundred livres. This declaration has been sincerely and truthfully made at the aforesaid place, year and date, and he signed on the record—GADOBERT.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of the aforesaid place one Michel Placet who declared that he had one savage woman thirty-five years old of the Panis Piqué nation who has three children born in the country, all of them baptised, two daughters, one twelve years old, the other six, both born blind, and the other an infant at the breast, the whole valued at three thousand livres. This declaration has been sincerely and truthfully made at the aforesaid place, year and date and he signed on the record—PLACET.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of the aforesaid place one Baptiste La Rose, who declared that he had a savage woman called Marie about twenty years old, valued at eleven hundred livres. This declaration has

been sincerely and truthfully made at the aforesaid place, year and date and he signed on the record with a cross.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of the aforesaid place one François Poitou, inhabitant, who declared that he owned one savage woman of the Panis Piqué nation, baptised, twenty-five years old, called Fanchon, valued at fifteen hundred livres. This declaration has been sincerely and truthfully made and he gave as a signature on the record a cross as the mark of Poitou.

On the same day and year there appeared at the clerk's office of the jurisdiction of the aforesaid place the widow of Mézière Huberdeau, who declared that she had a savage woman named Marianne, thirty years old, baptised, of the Pawnee nation, having two female children born in the country, one three years old called Elizabeth and the other eighteen months old called Ursule, both baptised, valued at two thousand five hundred livres. This declaration has been sincerely and truthfully made at the aforesaid place, year and date, and she signed on the record—MARIE JEANNE HUBERDEAU, widow.

And not knowing any more persons at the said place of Ste. Geneviève who owned Indian slaves, I have concluded the present declaration as being in conformity with the record in the office of Ste. Geneviève this twenty-eighth day of May, seventeen hundred and seventy.

VALLÉ (Rubric)

UNZAGA TO GRIMALDI

June 8, 1770 ¹¹⁵

Most Excellent Sir.

SIR: From two English vessels which have passed by this city taking supplies to their posts of Manchac and Natchez by virtue of the free navigation rights which they secured on the Mississippi River in the recent treaty of peace, I have learned that two regiments of 500 men each have arrived at Pensacola. These, together with its garrison of an equal number, make a total of 1500. I also learned that General Haldimand has arrived with a number of workmen to construct quarters and fortify that port, together with several vessels with munitions of war, and two frigates of the King. The vessels were soon to enter this river, bringing back the garrisons of Natchez and Manchac which three years ago were withdrawn to New York on account of the uprisings there. The fact that these have now been put down permits their return to their stations.

These advance precautions reveal the plans of the English toward

¹¹⁵ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-7.

this province as soon as war is declared, and their intention of attacking it, especially from the post of Manchac, which is situated between the Iberville coast and Pointe Coupée. The inhabitants there will be the first to suffer their raids when they cross the pass to descend upon this capital. It ought no less to fear their assault on account of being unprotected on every side from which it can be attacked, and having no defense other than 472 men (according to the last summary of reviews), a small number to attend to so many tasks.

The frigates-of-war which are now bringing the detachments to Manchac and Natchez and those which will appear on this river as soon as the preliminaries of war are opened will not only cut off all retreat and communication but will also fall upon this capital without opposition because of our having abandoned the posts of the same names of Manchac and Natchez which we formerly had.

I am turning over these thoughts every day in order to select the best means of defending it, as opportunity offers and my limited knowledge and experience dictates.

All of which I communicate to Your Excellency in order to inform you of the state of this province and the news from its neighboring colonies of Pensacola and Mobile.

May God protect your worthy person the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 8, 1770.*

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

PIERNAS TO UNZAGA

July 8, 1770 ¹¹⁶

MY DEAR SIR: In accordance with the decree published for the justification and declaration which must be made of the Indian slaves, I send to Your Lordship copies of the declarations made by the inhabitants of the two towns of St. Louis and Ste. Geneviève of the Indian slaves who are in their possession, with all the conditions prescribed in the proclamation, so that Your Lordship may have knowledge of the matter and make such use of them as is required.

Our Lord keep the life of Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *July 8, 1770.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most devoted subject and servant,

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

DECLARATIONS RECEIVED BY PEDRO PIERNAS CONCERNING INDIAN
SLAVES AT ST. LOUIS*July 12, 1770*¹¹⁷

Declaration made by the private residents of St. Louis of the Illinois, who have red Indian slaves, giving their name, age, and cost.

TO WIT

The Sieur Labuxiere

On July 3, 1770, the Sieur Labuxiere appeared at the government house at St. Louis, in compliance to orders which we have had published, and has certified to having a savage woman named Louison, about twenty-four years of age, not baptized, who cost him eight hundred and ten livres in silver. The said affidavit he affirms is sincere and truthful. He has signed on the said day and year. Signed, LABUXIERE.

Of the same day.

Hubert

The Sieur Hubert, merchant of St. Louis, has appeared and declared himself to be possessor of a savage named Joseph, baptised, about twenty-five years of age, who cost him twenty-four hundred livres in silver. He affirms this declaration to be truthful and sincere, and has signed on the stated day and year. Signed, HUBERT.

Of the same day.

Dubreuil

On the stated day, the Sieur Dubreuil, merchant of St. Louis, appeared certifying that he was the possessor of a savage girl named Jeanette, not baptised, about fifteen years old, who cost him the sum of one thousand livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is sincere and truthful, and has signed before us. Signed, DUBREUIL.

Of the same day.

Doriocourt

The Sieur Dubreuil, merchant of St. Louis, appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage woman named Rose, belonging to the estate of the deceased Sieur Doriocourt, whom he is taking down to New Orleans to be delivered to the heir. The said slave, about thirty-five years old, cost the deceased Sieur Doriocourt, the sum of eight hundred livres. He affirms his declaration to be truthful and has signed, DUBREUIL.

Of the same day.

The Sieur Duralde

The Sieur Miloney Duralde, in the name of, and as the testamentary executor of the late Sieur Valeau, has certified that he has

¹¹⁷ BL, (French).

in his possession, belonging to the estate of the said deceased, a savage woman, named Susanne, about twenty-eight years old, baptised, who cost twelve hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is sincere and truthfu^l and has signed with us. Signed, MILONEY DURALDE.

Of the same day.

Taillon

Joseph Taillon, resident, has appeared and certified that he possesses a savage woman named Marie Louise, baptised, aged about thirty-five, born in Illinois, who cost him fifteen hundred livres in silver, and has two children, boys, baptised, one aged thirteen and the other eleven, whom the said Taillon estimates at two thousand livres in silver. In addition he owned another savage girl, Marie Roze, baptised, about eleven years old, who cost him four hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful and has made his cross, not knowing how to write.

Of July 3.

Rondeau, called Langlois

The Sieur Alexandre Langlois called Rondeau, has appeared and declared that he was the possessor of an Indian girl, named Josephte, between fifteen and sixteen years old, not baptised, who cost the sum of eight hundred livres, which declaration he affirms is truthful and sincere and has made his cross not knowing how to sign.

Of the same day.

Marchetand

François Marchetand declared that he was the possessor of a savage about thirteen years old, named Pierre, not baptised, who cost him six hundred livres in furs. This declaration he affirms to be truthful and has signed, MARCHETAND.

Of the same day.

Dame Choutaud

Dame Choutaud appeared, and certified that she possessed two savage girls, one about sixteen years old, the other thirteen, named Thérèse and Manon, baptised, who cost her each, one thousand livres in silver. This declaration she affirms is truthful and sincere, and has signed, MARIE CHOUTAUD.

Of the same day.

Pouré, called Beausoleil

Eugene Pouré called Beausoleil appeared and declared that he possessed a savage girl named Rozete, about sixteen years of age, not baptised, who cost twelve hundred livres in silver; a savage, named Jacob, not baptised, who cost him one thousand livres in silver, a savage girl named Angelique, baptised, who cost eight hundred

livres; and a savage named François, about twelve years of age, baptised, who cost seven hundred livres. This declaration he asserts is truthful and has signed, POURÉ.

Of the same day.

Baguette

Jean Bte. Langevin, called Baguette, appeared, and declared that he was the possessor of a savage, not baptised, called Hypolite, about seventeen years of age, who cost him fourteen hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms to be truthful and not knowing how to sign made a cross, as the ordinary mark.

Of the same day.

Bonvarlet

Lambert Bonvarlet appeared, and declared that he was the possessor of a savage girl, not baptised, named Madeleine, aged about twelve, who cost eight hundred livres in silver, and made his cross not knowing how to sign.

Of the same day.

Nicolas Boyer

Nicolas Boyer appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage girl, named Marie Jeanne, baptised, about twelve years old, who cost nine hundred and sixty-four livres in silver. He avers this declaration true and sincere and signed, NICOLAS BOYER.

Of the same day.

La Deroute

Michel Rolet called La Deroute, has appeared and declared that he owned a savage girl named Rozette, about nine years old, not baptized, who cost five hundred livres in silver. This declaration he asserts is truthful and signed before us.

Of July 3.

Carier

Charles Carier, resident, appeared and declared that he possessed a savage girl named Angelique, not baptised, aged about thirteen, who cost him seven hundred livres in silver. He has made a cross, not knowing how to sign.

Of the same day.

Dufresne

Louis Dufresne, voyageur, appeared and declared that he possessed a savage about seven years old, named Pierrot, not baptised, who cost four hundred livres in silver, and a savage girl named Marie about eight years of age, not baptized, who cost him four hundred livres in silver. This declaration he asserts is truthful and has signed, LOUIS DUFRESNE.

Of the same day.

Martigny

The Sieur Martigny appeared and declared himself to be the possessor of a savage woman named Lizette, baptised, about thirty-five years old, who cost fourteen hundred livres in silver, and who has two children one of whom is a girl, of about six, named Elizabet, baptised, whom he estimates at eight hundred livres in silver, and a boy of about four named Joseph, baptised, whom he estimated at six hundred livres in silver. This declaration he asserts is truthful. In addition he declares that he has a savage named Batiste, about fifteen years of age, baptised, who cost one thousand livres in furs, and has signed, MARTIGNY.

Of the same day.

The widow Dodier

The widow Dodier appeared and declared that she was the possessor of a savage girl named Françoise, about fifteen years of age, baptised, who cost one thousand livres in silver, and a savage girl named Louison of about twelve years of age, baptised, who cost eight hundred livres in silver. This declaration she asserts is truthful, and her son-in-law, the Sieur Côté, signed for the appearer, CÔTÉ.

Of the same day.

The Voyageur Lamy

Michel Lamy, voyageur, appeared and declared that he possessed a savage woman named Ursule, baptised, about twenty-three years of age, who cost him twenty-four hundred livres in silver, a savage named Jacob, baptised, about thirty years of age, who cost him two thousand livres in silver; an Indian girl named Catherine, twelve years old, not baptised, who cost him five hundred livres in silver; and a savage girl named Charlote, not baptised, about nine years old, who cost him two hundred livres in furs, which amount to four hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and has signed, LAMY.

Of the same day.

Bizet

Guillaume Bizet, a merchant, appeared and declared that he possessed an Indian named Jacob, not baptised, about fifteen years of age, who cost him eight hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and signed before us, BIZET.

Of the same day.

Buet

René Buet appeared, and declared that he possessed a savage woman named Lizette, about forty years of age, baptised, who cost

two thousand livres in silver, and her child named Pierrot, baptised, about fifteen years of age, who cost twelve hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and made his cross, not knowing how to sign.

Of July 3.

Bissonnet

Louis Bissonnet appeared, and declared that he possessed a savage named Joseph, about fourteen years old, not baptised, who cost him six hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and signed with a cross, his usual mark.

Of the same day.

Falardeau

Joseph Falardeau appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage girl named Charlotte, ten or eleven years of age, not baptised, who cost him five hundred livres in furs, and made a cross, not knowing how to sign.

Of the same day.

Labadie

Silvestre Labadie, voyageur, appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage girl named Marie, of about thirteen years, not baptised, who cost him twelve hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful and signed, LABADIE.

Of the same day.

Montardy

Pierre Montardy, merchant, appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage girl named Angelique, not baptised, about twelve years of age, who cost him nine hundred livres in silver, which declaration he affirms truthful, and signed before us. In addition he owned a savage named Jacob, about twelve years of age, not baptised, who cost him twelve hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and has signed, MONTARDY.

Of the same day.

Marié

Alexis Marié, resident, appeared, and declared that he was the possessor of a small savage named Castor, not baptised, about eight years of age, who cost five hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and has signed, MARIÉ.

Of the same day.

Barssalou

Gerard Barssalou, resident, appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage girl, about eight or nine years of age, named Fanchon, not baptised, who cost six hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and has made his cross, not knowing how to write.

Of the same day.

Jean Salé

Jean Salé, resident of St. Louis, appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage named Louis, about thirteen years of age, not baptised, who cost twelve hundred livres in silver, and a savage girl about thirteen years old, named Jeanette, not baptised, who cost him one thousand livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and made his cross, not knowing how to sign.

Of the same day.

Monsieur de St. Ange

Monsieur de St. Ange, a retired captain residing at this post, appeared and declared that he possessed a savage named François, baptised, about twenty-eight years of age, and a savage woman named Lizette, about forty years of age, a little savage named Jean Baptiste, about eleven years old, and another little savage named Louis, about three months old, all baptised. The said François cost six hundred livres, Lizette a like sum of six hundred livres, the said Jean Baptiste four hundred livres, and Louis the child, son of Lizette, the sum of one hundred and fifty livres.

In addition he declared that he owned a savage woman named Angelique, not baptised, about thirty years of age, who cost six hundred livres, and a little savage named Ignace, not baptised, age eight to nine years, who cost six hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms to be truthful and has signed, Sr. ANGE.

Of July 3.

Monsieur La Clede

Monsieur La Clede Ligest, merchant, appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage woman named Lizette, and her male child, named Paul. This Lizette is about twenty-seven years old and her child five or six months old. Both are baptised. She alone without the child cost twenty-six hundred livres. In addition he owned another savage woman named Françoise, about twenty-four years of age, baptised, with her two boys, both baptised, the one named Louis, about five years of age, and the other named [torn] about three months old. The said Françoise cost with her first child the sum of three thousand one hundred and fifty livres in silver. This declaration is sincere. In addition he owned a savage named Cupidon, baptised, about twenty-two years old, who cost him sixteen hundred livres in silver, which is all the Indian slaves that he has, and has signed, LA CLEDE LIGUEST.

Of the same day.

The Sieur Berard

The Sieur Berard appeared and declared that he possessed a little savage named Leveillé, aged between twelve and thirteen, not bap-

tised, who cost the sum of six hundred livres in silver. This declaration is truthful and he has signed, **BERARD**.

Of the same day.

La Brosse

Joseph La Brosse appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage girl named Angelique about thirteen years old, baptised, who cost him seven hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and has signed, **JOSEPH LABROSSE**.

Of the same day.

Belisle.

Jean Bte. Belisle declared that he was the possessor of a savage named Jean Baptiste, about eleven years of age, not baptised, who cost him nine hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and has signed, **BELISLE**.

Of July 5.

Volsay

Monsieur De Volsay, retired officer of the troops of His Most Christian Majesty, appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage girl named Thérèse, about twelve years old, baptised, who cost him eight hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and has signed, **VOLSAY**.

Of July 5.

Nicolas Barsalou

Nicolas Barsalou appeared and declared that he possessed a savage woman named Marion, about thirty years of age, not baptised, who cost him six hundred livres in silver; another savage girl named Catot, about twelve years of age, not baptised, who cost him eight hundred livres in silver; another savage girl named Lizette about eleven years of age, who cost him six hundred livres in silver; and another savage girl named Peronelle, about six years old, not baptised, who cost him five hundred livres in silver. This declaration he affirms is truthful, and has made a cross not knowing how to sign.

Of July 9, 1770.

Desnoyer

Veronique Desnoyer appeared and declared that she was the possessor of an Indian half-breed, named Joseph, about thirteen years old, baptised, who cost her one thousand livres in silver. This declaration she affirms is truthful, and made a cross not knowing how to sign.

Of July 12.

Trudeau

Laurant Trudeau appeared and declared that he was the possessor of a savage named Jacob, about twelve years of age, not baptised,

who cost him six hundred livres, and a savage girl named Charlotte, about twelve years of age, not baptised, who also cost him the sum of six hundred livres, and he has signed, LAURANT TRUDEAU.

Copy conforming to the original which is in my possession at St. Louis, July 12, 1770.

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

DURNFORD TO O'REILLY
[1770] ¹¹⁸

(Copy)

No. 5.

SIR: It gives me great pleasure to have news of Your Excellency before your departure from Louisiana, and to be so assured of your good wishes. I shall do everything in my power to maintain the harmony existing between the subjects of both crowns, and I shall co-operate with Colonel Don Luis de Unzaga, Your Excellency's successor, toward that laudable end insofar as I am able.

I give Your Excellency my most sincere thanks for the professions of friendship that you make toward the subjects of the King, my master, and in particular for the justice done to the British merchants who were trading in that colony before Your Excellency's arrival there, and to whom were owed large sums.

Mr. Evan Jones described to me in terms of the greatest appreciation the favors that he had received from Your Excellency in the transaction of his business in New Orleans, and if he could do so on this occasion, I am sure that he would express his recognition of how much he owes to Your Excellency. I beg Your Excellency to permit me to assure you of my gratitude for the promise that Your Excellency makes to extend to him your favor in the future.

The copy of the orders that Your Excellency has given to the various posts of the province under your command and which you have been pleased to send me, is a special proof of your good wishes.

Whenever the King, my master, gives me orders to establish a post in his territories on the Mississippi I shall not fail to imitate and follow such a good example as the one that Your Excellency gives me.

I should regret it greatly if this letter should not reach Your Excellency before your return to Spain, so that you may receive my deep thanks for your generous promises on behalf of those who were driven from Natchez by a band of Choctaw Indians and wished to settle in the territories of the King, your master.

I hope that this will not affect in any way the other settlements on the river, as, according to advices that I received two weeks ago from that tribe, all of them were in a state of the greatest tranquility.

This leads one to believe that this disorder was caused by brandy, and that the ones who imbibed are to blame for this occurrence.

The day after the arrival of Señor Jargio, I dispatched a messenger to the Choctaw nation to get more detailed news of this event. I shall await his return before making a decision.

As I shall soon lose the nearness of Your Excellency whose way of thinking is so similar to my own, I confess that it fills me with satisfaction to learn from Colonel Don Luis de Unzaga of his great desire of following in the footsteps of Your Excellency, which will be to the mutual advantage of the governments in our charge.

I beg Your Excellency in all sincerity to accept my thanks for your kind letter. I wish Your Excellency a happy voyage to Spain, and that Your Excellency will believe me to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient and grateful servant,

ELIAS DURNFORD

Most Excellent Señor DON ALEXANDRO O'REILLY.

BUCARELI TO ARRIAGA

August 17, 1770 ¹¹⁹

No. 1508.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: By one of the vessels proceeding from New Orleans, which has just entered this port, Don Luis de Unzaga writes me as per the enclosed copy of his letter, regarding the English having reinforced their garrison at Pensacola. He also gives his views on the part he should play in case of a war in which he is attacked. I have thought this worthy of being brought to the attention of His Majesty so that in view of all this, he may determine what is to his royal pleasure.

Meanwhile, I intend to reply to Don Luis Unzaga only *that he should always keep himself informed on the actual number of troops garrisoning Pensacola and those stationed by the English in the posts on the frontier, giving me prompt advice of everything. I am telling him that we are at peace with the English, and that during this, or even when some break occurs, he should follow the instructions left him by Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly, choosing the course which his military experience leads him to judge most advisable for the benefit of the service, the honor of our arms, and the security of the country entrusted to him.*

I doubt that the English have three battalions in Pensacola, or even that their colonies are so tranquil; but if both of these things are true, we may be sure that it can only be for a definite purpose in case of a break, and that, if it is their plan to seize the province.

¹¹⁹ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-7.

it will be very difficult to prevent it. The troops of this island will have enough to do to defend Havana, and it should not be exposed by the uncertain success of sending assistance. Even though aid should arrive in time and delay the operations there, it would facilitate those which the English would attempt as being more useful.

I am of the opinion that the posts of Louisiana only serve to indicate the frontier of the King's dominions there, to prevent the English from extending theirs during peace, and as a sure signal for the declaration of war when they try to force them.

This refers only to the defensive, because when it is a question of war in which we must play a part, it must depend on prior regulations and special orders of the King covering the case.

I beg Your Excellency to report all this to His Majesty. Meanwhile, I shall continue seeking information and keeping watch on the movements of the English, despite the difficulty of obtaining news and its slight reliability when obtained.

May God protect Your Excellency the many years I desire.

HAVANA, *August 17, 1770.*

Your most humble and excellent servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*August 25, 1770*¹²⁰

No. 37.

We are fearful that perhaps the English will declare war on us, and on this matter Don Alexandro O'Reilly will write to Your Excellency. It is the will of the King that Your Excellency should conform to the instructions which this general may give you. I inform Your Excellency of this at the order of His Majesty, praying God to protect you many years.

SAN ILDEFONSO, *August 25, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*August 25, 1770*¹²¹

No. 41.

The court of France, moved by the urgent petitions addressed to it by the relatives of the criminals involved in the rebellion in

¹²⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹²¹ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

your province and condemned to imprisonment in the fortresses of Havana, has commended them, through the Señor Duc de Choiseul, to the compassion of the King. His Majesty, desiring to manifest to the Most Christian King the regard which he has for any suggestion of his, has seen fit to grant all of them their liberty and to order that the governor of Havana be instructed to send them to Santo Domingo by the first vessel sailing for Puerto Rico, or in any other which they themselves may hire at their own expense, in case they do not wish to wait until there is one for Puerto Rico. He is to warn them before they leave never to enter again the domains of His Majesty under penalty of death. I am notifying the said governor of the order for his compliance therewith and am giving Your Lordship this advice for your information.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years, as I desire.

SAN ILDEFONSO, August 25, 1770.

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

September 22, 1770 ¹²²

No. 42.

Following His Most Christian Majesty's cession of the province of Louisiana to the King, His Majesty decided that this new dominion should be kept separate from his others in America. For this reason and because it was considered that for the coinage the *real de vellón* was more suitable for that province than the *livre tournois* and other moneys formerly used, it was commanded that accounts should be kept and settlements and payments made in *reales de vellón*.

As a result of the expedition which Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly made to that province to quiet and put down the uprising which had broken out there, it became a dependency of the captaincy general of the island of Cuba. Therefore, in view of its present condition, it is considered advisable to establish in that province a system uniform with that followed in Havana. Consequently, the King has decided that in the governmental offices of Louisiana settlements and payments shall be made, and money used and counted in the same way as in Havana. This letter is in reply to a representation made to Don Alexandro O'Reilly by *Contador* Don Esteban Gayarré, of which Gayarré sent me a copy

¹²² AGI, PC, leg. 174.

on May 1st, this year. I advise Your Excellency of this for your information and compliance therewith in those governmental offices.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN ILDEFONSO, *September 22, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON LOUIS DE UNZAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

September 22, 1770 ¹²³

No. 43.

In consequence of the King's having permitted the return to Spain of Don Esteban Gayarré, *contador* of that province, His Majesty has seen fit to appoint to serve in that post Don Antonio de Aguiar, official of the *contaduría* of the army of Havana, with the enjoyment of the salary of 1,600 pesos which was assigned to this post in the regulation established by Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly. This salary is to begin to run from the day on which he takes charge. He is to fill this post of *contador* subject to the orders of Your Excellency, in whom are combined the powers of intendant. He is to observe exactly and punctually the said regulation, as well as the general and particular instructions left by the said lieutenant general, until the King commands otherwise. I advise Your Excellency of this so that, as soon as said Aguiar presents himself with the notification which I am sending him, which will serve him as his appointment, you may put him in charge of said *contaduría* and have him paid the corresponding salary.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN ILDEFONSO, *September 22, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

O'REILLY TO GRIMALDI

September 30, 1770 ¹²⁴

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Under date of the 26th instant, Your Excellency is pleased to command me at the order of the King to give my ideas and opinions on the attached letter from the governor of Havana, together with the one enclosed from the governor of Louisiana.

¹²³ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹²⁴ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-7.

Before my departure from Louisiana I had various advices from the English colonies, reporting the reinforcement of the garrison of Pensacola with two battalions of infantry, in addition to the one already there. These are for the purpose of garrisoning all their posts, particularly that of Natchez, eighty leagues up river from New Orleans, where they were attacked by the Indians during my time.

It is the object of the English during times of peace to subdue the Choctaw Indians, who number some five or six thousand warriors and are very turbulent, thereby assuring all the trade in peltry which is very profitable to them, and facilitating for their boats the navigation of the river as far as Illinois. It is also their object in times of war to conquer Louisiana, if there are not equal forces there, to interrupt communication between New Orleans and Ylinueses, and carry on themselves all that trade in peltry along the Ohio, commonly called there *Belle Rivière*, by which they now send many goods from New York.

I consider it difficult to defeat the object they pursue in times of peace, on account of the advantages they have in the lower cost of their freights and goods. Regarding the one they have in time of war, I do not think that, without greater forces from here, we can hope to resist 1500 men of veteran troops and more than 7000 Indian combatants of the Choctaw nation, together with other friendly nations whom they have there always ready to march in the hope of loot.

They are also in the position to go up the river with two or three frigates-of-war at the same time that they are able to transport the men they want by way of the lakes and land them two leagues from the capital itself.

In order to make a good defense in case of war with the English, it will be necessary to send there two more battalions of veteran troops, arm and pay a thousand militiamen, and make good use of the Indian tribes living in the territory of the King who are friendly to us. All this would entail considerable expense.

I consider Louisiana very useful and desirable for the King to have, for the reason that it assures his realms on that side indisputable boundaries which in time of peace prevent any advance by another nation. It keeps illicit traders away from the whole frontier of Mexico, and makes impossible the influence which they might secure over the many Indians on the frontier of Mexico, who, led by them and well supplied with powder and ball, would in time do us much more harm than they can at present.

Since I have been in Louisiana and have made the Indians on that frontier realize the good treatment they are receiving and have let them know that they would be denied powder, ball, and all assistance

if they harmed the subjects of the King, great tranquility has been secured.

I repeat my idea that Louisiana does not merit defense in time of war, and that its fate will be determined in times of peace. If the King had there the troops necessary for its defense, the English would withdraw theirs in order to employ them where they could do us the most damage, without our being able afterwards to employ against them the forces we had there, on account of the lack of people in Florida and the distance from their other colonies. Therefore, I think that the governor of Louisiana should be instructed to obtain frequent news of what is occurring in Pensacola and Mobile (which will be very easy for him.)

He should report everything to the governor of Havana, and when he has good reason to fear hostilities, put on pay militia companies to the number of 700, and form a separate company of fifty hunters as a light troop.

He should maintain two light and good vessels on the lakes and another at the mouth of the Mississippi to advise him promptly of the enemy.

He should immediately begin to do all he can to open a road to Bayagula, and, when attacked by superior forces, retire with all his troops to Opelousas, where he will find meat and other provisions, the production of which he should immediately begin to encourage, as we agreed upon before my departure.

From Opelousas the governor will be able to protect the presidios of Mexico on that frontier, and approach it as near as he thinks advisable.

The governor justly fears that the enemy may cut him off from the Opelousas road by coming down from their posts of Natchez and Manchac to occupy the crossing. It seems to me that this can be prevented by stationing a detachment at the angle where the Bayagula empties into the Mississippi River; and for this he can make use of the militia companies which he has on pay, together with some veteran officers and a small detachment and some cannon.

The detachment at Arkansas, aided by the Indians of the vicinity, can always defend itself and, when necessary, retire to Natchitoches.

The detachment at Ylinueses can likewise retire to the Indians of the Missouri, whose friendship the captain commandant was strongly instructed to gain by good treatment in everything and punctuality in making presents.

Even though there be no doubt about the arrival of the troops at Pensacola, as advised by the governor, it cannot be thought due to any warlike purpose, because we know for certain of their peaceful

intentions prior to the incident at Malvinas, and that the news of it could not have reached them before those measures.

There should be sent from Coruña and Cadiz, as available, a hundred good soldiers for the complement of the battalion of Louisiana and to furnish the militia with sergeants and corporals.

There should also be sent 800 guns and bayonets, and 1500 cartridge boxes, with an equal number of cartridge belts, as cartridge boxes have not been distributed to the militia, nor is there any store of arms left there. I so reported in my official letter No. 34, which I wrote to Your Excellency from Louisiana, asking for this number of arms, as being necessary.

This is all that occurs to me on the subject dealt with in the attached letters, which I return to Your Excellency.

May Our Lord preserve and bless Your Excellency's precious life many years. Your most attentive servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

MADRID, *September 30, 1770.*

ALEXANDRO O'REILLY (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*October 24, 1770*¹²⁵

No. 47.

In a letter written from that capital by Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly under date of March 1, this year, he reported having formed, in that colony, twelve companies of militia, three of them in the capital and nine in its districts. He sent a list of all the officers appointed and proposed that they be given commissions by the King, like those held by the militia officers of Havana and Puerto Rico. As His Majesty has agreed to this, they are being prepared and I shall forward them to Your Lordship as soon as they are ready.

He likewise proposed that Adjutant Major Don Carlos Luis Boucher de Grand-Pré be given the salary of forty pesos *fuertes* per month as from the 1st of December, last year, 1769; the second adjutant of the militia of that city, Don Nicolas Lorenzo Lasisse, twenty pesos *fuertes* per month as from the 1st of January, of this year; and the second adjutant of the two companies formed on the German Coast, Don Nicolas Longueval, at the rate of one hundred pesos *fuertes* per year as from the 1st of February, this year. His Majesty has also agreed to this assignment of salaries from the days

¹²⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

indicated. All of this I advise Your Lordship so that they may be paid by the treasury there, if it is not already done, and so that from now on they may be given the allowance to which they are entitled.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years, as I desire.

SAN LORENZO EL REAL, *October 24, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*October 24, 1770*¹²⁶

No. 48.

In a letter dated last December 1, Lieutenant General Don Alexandro O'Reilly gave an account of various matters relative to that colony, and among them he reported having named as lieutenant governor of the post of Natchitoches, Don Atanasio de Mézières, former captain in the service of France. He explained his reasons for this choice, the advantages he expected from it, and that he had fixed his salary at 30 pesos per month. His Majesty has deigned to approve this appointment and I so inform you.

I pray that God will protect you the many years I desire.

SAN LORENZO EL REAL, *October 24, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*October 26, 1770*¹²⁷

No. 34.

(Copy)

The King, having been informed of the events leading up to the arrest of Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro Gerardo de Villemont, now deceased, who met his end in Louisiana, finds no reason for depriving him of the salary due him to the day of his decease inasmuch as the fight he had was in self-defense. The attack was not justified nor was any sentence passed which should deprive him of his salary up to the day of his death. It should be delivered to whoever is the legitimate party to receive it, and in order that the revenue of that province may meet this extraordinary expense, His Majesty desires that half be paid in the coming year, 1771 and the other half in 1772. I am giving this same instruction to the intendant of

¹²⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹²⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

Havana, and am advising Your Excellency for your information and compliance in the part affecting you.

SAN ILDEFONSO, *October 26, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI.

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*November 24, 1770*¹²⁸

No. 50.

Your Excellency will advise the cabildo of your city that its petition, requesting permission to export the tobacco of that province to the French Cape in exchange for Negroes, is in the hands of Señor Don Julian de Arriaga, and that the decision of the King on this matter will be communicated to it by him.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN LORENZO, *November 24, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

GRIMALDI TO UNZAGA

*November 24, 1770*¹²⁹

No. 51.

As your province has been added to the other dominions of His Majesty in America, and as its affairs for this reason have a direct relation with those of the Indies generally, particularly with those of the island of Cuba on account of the greater frequency of the reciprocal commerce, and because of the court of appeals which is to be established in Havana, His Majesty has decided that it is indispensable that everything be handled and managed by the ministry of the Indies. Consequently, I have turned over all the papers relative to your province to Señor Don Julian de Arriaga, through whom Your Lordship will henceforth receive the orders which His Majesty may see fit to despatch for it. Likewise Your Lordship, as well as the inhabitants there, shall address to him all advices, petitions, and appeals which may arise.

Notwithstanding this change, I shall not forget the affection with which I have looked after the interests of your province and its inhabitants, and I shall always try to co-operate and with my influence

¹²⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹²⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

to promote whatever may be conducive to its development, prosperity, and best interests. Señor Don Julian de Arriaga will do the same. Your Lordship may assure your *ayuntamiento* and each one of its members, so that they may inform the other inhabitants, that whatsoever be the hand through which the King may despatch matters affecting them, they will find in His Majesty all the favor and protection permitted by circumstances and the general system of affairs.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN LORENZO, *November 24, 1770.*

EL MARQUÉS DE GRIMALDI (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

BUCARELI TO ARRIAGA

December 12, 1770 ¹³⁰

No. 1645.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In compliance with the order of the King, communicated by the Señor Marqués de Grimaldi under date of August 25, last, the six prisoners of the uprising in Louisiana who were being held in Morro Castle here have been set at liberty and have been embarked on the brigantine of the *Asiento de Negros* ¹³¹ which set sail on the 4th instant. They are being sent to Puerto Rico, so that from there they may be transported to the Island of Santo Domingo, in conformity with the stipulations of the said order. I inform Your Excellency of this, as I do of everything which occurs here.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

HAVANA, *December 12, 1770.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble and grateful servant kisses Your Excellency's hands.

ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA (Rubric)

UNZAGA TO PIERNAS ¹³²

I acknowledge receipt of yours of May 25, last year, advising of your arrival at the town of St. Geneviève, where you were received

¹³⁰ AGI, Aud. SD, 80-1-9.

¹³¹ Apparently a reference to the *asiento* granted by the Spanish government to an organization known as Aguirre, Arístegui, and Company. This company established a Puerto Rican entrepôt for the trade early in 1768 and continued operation until 1772 when it became bankrupt. See James Ferguson King, "Evolution of the Free Slave Trade Principle," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII (1942), 40-41.

¹³² AGI, PC, leg. 81.

as lieutenant governor in conformity with the commission issued by my most excellent predecessor which you carried, and that, in compliance with his orders you recognized as deputy and magistrate Don François Vallé, captain of the militia company organized in said town, and delivered to its officers their respective commissions.

You also advise that on the 14th you left for St. Louis, where you arrived on the 18th, taking the command of that place, which was previously held by M. St. Ange. You said that you were sending me this news in order not to miss the opportunity of a pirogue which was coming down the river, and promised to report more formally later.

You also report in the abovementioned letter the death of a soldier, Luis Dubur, forty leagues above Arkansas. In the letter which you wrote from that post on April 9, of the same year, you report that Lieutenant Don Joseph Orieta had remained there with six Spanish soldiers and that you took the same number from those who were already there, delivering to its commandant, M. Desmazelières, the fifteen uniforms belonging to that garrison.

In another of June 14, the same year, you sent me the rolls of the two militia companies organized in the towns of St. Louis and Ste. Geneviève, ranging in age from fifteen to fifty years, and reported on their state of discipline.

Under date of the 18th of the same month and year you inform me of the publication in that jurisdiction of the ordinances issued by my most excellent predecessor and given to you for this purpose.

Under date of the 24th of the same month and year you report that you have stationed Lieutenant Don Luis Vilard, a corporal and seven soldiers of the troop under your command at Ste. Geneviève, and a sergeant and six soldiers at the fort of Missouri. You state that you had taken possession of the same with the formality of an inventory of everything you found (copy of which you enclose), and instructed everyone in what he should observe relative to the orders given to you.

In another letter of the 27th of the same month and year you report the flight of the storekeeper, and the inventory made of his property and that belonging to the King of France.

Under date of July 2nd of the said year you report that various inhabitants of that town had engaged to buy Indians and even had advanced money. As a result they had acquired fourteen, and you ask what you should do about this matter.

On the 6th of the said month and year you advise that, as article 18 of your instructions provides that you should reduce the high rent of 480 pesos for the houses serving as quarters for the troops to a more reasonable figure, you have agreed with M. Laclede on 300 pesos

per year from May 20, 1770, on. As the same thing was instructed with regard to the town of Ste. Geneviève, you have reduced the rent to sixty pesos which I infer is also from the said 20th of May on.

In one of July 7th of the same year, referring to my decree of February 21st of the same year, in favor of Ana Testas against M. Robinet, a merchant of Ste. Geneviève, you report the various creditors of this individual, his situation, and the steps taken in the matter.

In another of the 8th of the same month and year you send copies of the declarations made by the inhabitants of St. Louis and Ste. Geneviève regarding the Indian slaves they possess.

You advise under date of the 12th of same month and year that in compliance with article 24 of your instructions you called the citizens of Ste. Geneviève together and they agreed to make a jail at their own expense as soon as they gathered the harvest and that you would then summon those of St. Louis for the same purpose, flattering yourself that this would have the same happy success.

On the 14th of the said month you send me various papers and documents, which I have received, together with the passport which you gave to the master of the boat of M. Laclede, and a statement of the bales of pelts which he carried.

Also under date of the 28th of the same month and year, you advise that M. Pero is coming down to this town with his *bateau* laden with peltry, and that there is no other news than the unofficial information which you have received that the flight of the storekeeper was occasioned by a letter written from this capital, warning him that the order for his arrest was on the way up. You also report what should be done regarding the papers on this individual, etc.

In reply to all these communications, I approve everything you have done as being in conformity with the instructions issued by Señor O'Reilly for the establishment of that post. I add the following instructions for the continuation of your command and in answer to your questions: You should send me a copy of the inventory of equipment and supplies at the fort of the Missouri. You should handle the matter of the storekeeper as I have instructed you in my letter of September 1 of last year, that is, that you sell his effects and send the proceeds to this capital, together with those which cannot be sold, and all the papers inventoried. The fourteen Indians bought by the inhabitants of St. Louis, even after the publication of the ordinance, may be kept by their owners as slaves, but not sold pending the decision of His Majesty. You shall instruct them, as well as all others in that jurisdiction, not to buy any Indians henceforth nor subject them to slavery. The rents of the houses serving as quarters for the troops at St. Louis and Ste. Geneviève may be

paid as you have stipulated at the rate of 300 pesos for the former and sixty for the latter annually, as I am instructing you in a separate letter.

Regarding Robinet, you will observe what I have decided in the instruction which I have sent you, pertaining to what you should do in this matter. The Indian slaves in all that district shall remain in possession of their owners, but not be sold, pending the decision of the King, as provided by the ordinance on the subject. All the passports which you give to the masters of the bateaux which come down to this capital shall describe the goods which they carry, as you have begun to do with those which have come down subsequent to the instruction which prescribes this indispensable requirement. Regarding the matter of the storekeeper, I repeat my order of September 1st, adding that, if among his papers there was found the letter of which you were informed, I shall punish its author, but I believe that said letter is a fiction or fancy which has been concocted in a fruitless effort to excuse the bad conduct of said storekeeper, since nobody in this world desires to do anything except to excuse and justify himself.

[Without date or signature]

CROIX TO UNZAGA

April 3, 1771 ¹³³

I have noted what Your Lordship states under date of January 5, last, regarding the conduct of the lieutenant of the presidio of Los Adaes, and the reverend president of the missions of the province of Texas toward the lieutenant governor of Nachitoches, Don Atanasio de Mézières, of the province under the command of Your Lordship. I have given the necessary order to the Colonel Baron de Ripperda to the end that he may calm the spirits of his subordinates, and see that the satisfaction due the said Mézières is given him. I trust Your Lordship will practice the same diligence toward him in order that, with honorable forgetfulness of the former ill-feeling, their friendship may be firm and mutual. Thus the new vassals of the King may not have the least complaint or unpleasantness that may occasion other difficulties.

God keep Your Lordship many years. Mexico, *April 3, 1771*.

EL MARQUÉS DE CROIX (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

¹³³ AGI, PC, leg. 149-1.

ARRIAGA TO UNZAGA

*May 20, 1771*¹³⁴

No. 53.

Informed by your letter of last January 15th and by the accompanying report, both relative to an account of the money you had expended in the purchase of tobacco for New Spain from the ten thousand pesos remitted to Your Lordship for that purpose by the viceroy of that realm, His Majesty, the King, has approved the permit you gave for the export of the said tobacco.

It is his royal will that henceforth you furnish the said viceroy with all the allotments which he may request and which the crop of that colony may provide.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *May 20, 1771.*

EL BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*May 20, 1771*¹³⁵

No. 55.

Although Your Lordship has already been advised not to permit any commerce whatever between your province and El Guarico or any other foreign port, the King commands me to instruct Your Lordship again to exercise the greatest vigilance and care, so that in no way may the absolute prohibition of commerce which His Majesty desires your province to observe with all foreign dominions be contravened.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *May 20, 1771.*

EL BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

SEÑOR GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

ARRIAGA TO UNZAGA

*June 20, 1771*¹³⁶

No. 60.

His Majesty approves the measures which Your Lordship, in your letter of March 22, this year, reports having taken in view of the fear of some break with the English, of which Your Lordship

¹³⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹³⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹³⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

was advised. He approves of the fact that you have continued to improve the roads leading from that town to Opelousas and Atakapas, and have ordered a map made which you promise to send. Finally he approves your maintenance with the governors of the neighboring provinces the mutual harmony which you say exists.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *June 20, 1771.*

EL BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

ARRIAGA TO UNZAGA

*June 20, 1771*¹³⁷

No. 63.

The King has taken note of the petition which Your Lordship, in your letter of 22d of March, this year, has forwarded from the Ursuline nuns of your city, requesting that they be given funds for the construction of a church for their convent. He understands that the origin of the petition arises from their having been promised by Don Antonio de Ulloa, during the time of his governorship, that he would request that sufficient funds for it be set aside from the temporalities of the regulars expelled from Havana. His Majesty is aware that these nuns have a chapel very adequate for their small needs since the inhabitants have a commodious parochial church. This was constructed during the governorship of Don Alexandro O'Reilly, following the separation of ecclesiastics in most churches which made spiritual ministration to the public difficult. Therefore, His Majesty commands me to inform Your Lordship that he does not consent to this petition.

May God protect Your Excellency many years.

ARANJUEZ, *June 20, 1771.*

BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

ARRIAGA TO UNZAGA

*June 20, 1771*¹³⁸

No. 58.

The King does not consent to the petition of that cabildo to permit it to export the tobacco of that province to the French Cape in

¹³⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹³⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

exchange for Negroes because His Majesty perceives serious objections to permitting any trade or commerce with El Guarico or any other foreign port (the sole means of avoiding illegal imports), and because the said province is greatly benefited by the commerce which it is permitted with Havana. The benefits are much more now than before coming under its dominion. I advise Your Lordship of this at his royal order.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *June 20, 1771.*

EL BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

CENSUS OF LOUISIANA,
September 2, 1771¹²⁰

	Whites		Free Negroes		Free mulattoes		Negro slaves		Mulatto slaves		Indian slaves		Total
	Male of all ages	Female of all ages	Male of all ages	Female of all ages	Male of all ages	Female of all ages	Male of all ages	Female of all ages	Male of all ages	Female of all ages	Male of all ages	Female of all ages	
In accordance with the Registers for the year 1769, included among the papers submitted by His Excellency, Señor O'Reilly.													
In the city of New Orleans	1,034	769	5	26	27	41	431	548	118	130	19	42	3,190
Both banks down stream	229	200	13	23	13	9	812	764	24	8	2	1	2,094
Coast of Ateneas	704	584	4	2	0	2	408	291	15	14	5	7	2,016
Coast of Acadians	288	218	0	0	0	0	20	16	0	0	0	0	522
Punta Cortada	284	264	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	545
Natchitoches and Rapide	291	227	0	0	0	0	174	136	11	7	14	22	882
In accordance with the registers submitted to Your Lordship in 1771 by the commandants.													
Atacapas and Opelusas	255	189	0	0	0	0	96	59	13	11	3	5	631
Coast of Yberville	154	123	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	277
Arcanzas	32	30	0	0	0	0	9	7	0	0	0	0	78
{Pueblo of San Luis	251	122	0	0	0	0	74	50	0	0	0	0	497
{Ditto of Santa Genoveva	212	120	0	0	0	0	166	107	0	0	0	0	605
	3,714	2,826	22	51	40	52	2,190	1,978	181	170	43	77	11,344

Résumé

3,190 Males of all classes.
5,154 Females of same.

11,344

NOTE.—It is estimated that from this total 250 persons of all classes and ages have left this province since September 14, when the census was begun.
NEW ORLEANS, September 2, 1771.

¹²⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 2357.

DE MÉZIÈRES TO UNZAGA

*November 1, 1771*¹⁴⁰*To the Governor General.*

SIR: I have the honor to submit to Your Lordship the inclosed agreements that have been made here with the Taovaya captains who come as deputies and intermediaries for their ally, the Comanche tribe. They declare that this tribe will be eternally grateful for securing the desired peace for which they have come to sue so earnestly and from so far away. Thus peace will be established on a firm basis (according to the magnanimous and kindly plans of Your Lordship and of the Baron de Ripperda) in this jurisdiction and the neighboring province of Texas.

May God guard the important life of Your Lordship many happy years as I incessantly pray.

FORT OF SAN JUAN BAUTISTA DE NATCHITOCHEs, *November 1, 1771.*

Señor Governor General, your most humble servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

ATHAN¹⁰. DE MÉZIÈRES (Rubric)

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*January 12, 1772*¹⁴¹

No. 73.

I am sending to Your Lordship at the decree of the King six copies of the Royal Pragmatic Sanction which he ordered issued, prohibiting the entry into and use in the dominions of His Majesty of cotton textiles of foreign manufacture, or those with mixture thereof, under the provisions and penalties prescribed therein, in order that Your Lordship may have this published in that government and brought to the notice of all, so that they may not plead ignorance.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

EL PARDO, *January 12, 1772.*

EL BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*January 14, 1772*¹⁴²

No. 72.

It has been decided by the King that, in case any English war vessel attempts to engage in smuggling in those dominions or in

¹⁴⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 2357.

¹⁴¹ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁴² AGI, PC, leg. 174.

any other activity which is not hostile but only of a nature not agreeable to us, the commander of the vessel shall be instructed in writing to desist, and an effort made to learn the name of the vessel and of the captain. Our commandants are under the obligation of reporting everything and of avoiding the seizure of the vessel or any other act which may result in hostilities. No foreign vessel, either war or merchant, shall be permitted to enter any port of His Majesty. However, if urgent necessity obliges a vessel to make a port, in no case shall any member of the crew be allowed to land, nor to inspect or examine the condition of the port and its fortifications. The greatest effort is to be exerted in capturing smugglers and inflicting on them the most severe and prompt punishments permitted by the laws, even though they be members of the crew of an English war vessel or officers thereof. In case of the use of violence or force in landing contraband, if the English are the first aggressors, the instruction to avoid encounters given above does not apply, as it is proper to defend one's self and to employ force against the one who begins the violence. I advise Your Lordship of this at the order of His Majesty, so that you may see to it that all of this resolution is duly complied with in the district of that government.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

EL PARDO, *January 14, 1772.*

EL BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*February 5, 1772*¹⁴³

No. 75.

Experience has shown that the weight and size of the chests in which are placed the petitions, letters, and documents which are sent from those dominions to this court and its tribunals, delay their receipt, due to the difficulty of transporting them from La Coruña. This can be remedied, and the increased cost eliminated which such a practice entails on the postal revenues, by sending said official letters in covers wrapped in strong paper or in oilcloth, using boxes (and these light and of regular size), only when necessary, as it is important for said revenues that the chests and mail bags be of the proper kind for their best interests. The King desires that Your Lordship should take the necessary measures, so that the method described may be adopted with official correspondence as far as possible.

May God protect you many years.

EL PARDO, *February 5, 1772.*

EL BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

¹⁴³ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

BILL OF LADING, NEW ORLEANS TO STE. GENEVIÈVE

*March 18, 1772*¹⁴⁴

I certify that I received from you, Monsieur François Murfy, in my boat, for transportation to the Illinois, village of Misere, the following merchandise marked and numbered as in the margin. To wit:

M R	Five hogsheads of dry goods
d°.N°.1a 2	Two bales of the same
M R	
A	Two hogsheads of liquor
M R	Two hogsheads of the same
M R	
S	Five hogsheads of the same with iron bands.
M R	Thirty barrels of the same
M R	
B	Five barrels of the same
M R	Three barrels of sugar
W M	One small box
I R	One of the same
M R	Two of the same
I R	One iron coffeepot

All of this merchandise I undertake to deliver to the Illinois, village of Misere, as being the product of the English factories, to Messrs. Muray and Ramsay or to their account, without the risk of any damage or accident. In consideration whereof the said Messrs. Muray and Ramsay shall pay me for the freight of the said merchandise, which has been estimated at twenty-eight and a half hogsheads at the rate of thirty piastres per hogshead, the sum of eight hundred and fifty-five piastres in beaver or deer skins on the basis of the price they are worth in silver at the said Illinois, running no risks of accident or damage except through my own fault. I have signed three of the said bills of lading, one fulfilled, the others of no value.

NEW ORLEANS, *the 18th of March, 1772.*

Signed, averring that he is

P. SECOND

Collated on the original which has been presented to us by Monsieur Braune, clerk of Messrs. Muray and Ramsay.

TESTIMONY OF PABLO SECOND

*June 1, 1772*¹⁴⁵

I, Don Pedro Piernas, captain of infantry and lieutenant governor of the establishments of Ylinois and its dependencies, to-day, June 1,

¹⁴⁴ BL. (French).

¹⁴⁵ BL.

1772, have received information given by Don Luis Villar, lieutenant of the battalion of Louisiana and commandant of Ste. Geneviève, of the detention of the goods named in the bond of Monsieur Segon enclosed herewith, and transported in his boat to the aforesaid post of Ste. Geneviève, belonging to Messrs. Muray and Ramisay, merchants of the English district. In consequence of the letter received from Mr. Hamilton, commandant of Fort de Chartres, and of that of Mr. Muray, resident there, in which they state that the aforesaid goods came with knowledge of Don Luis de Unzaga, governor general of this colony, by petition of Mr. Ramisay, made by him in New Orleans, I have caused to appear before me Señor Pablo Segon, in order to inform myself of the truth, and in accordance with his declaration to take such steps as are required. In my presence at the post on the said day, month, and year, and before two witnesses, Don Antonio de Oro, sub-lieutenant of this garrison, and Sergeant Augustin Vincent of the same, being interrogated he replied in the following terms:

FIRST QUESTION. Does he promise God and the King to speak the truth in whatever he may be asked, what is his age, and is he Apostolic Roman Catholic?

ANSWER. He swears and promises to speak the truth in whatever he may be asked; he is Apostolic Roman Catholic; and he is thirty-two years of age.

QUESTION. Is it true that he took from New Orleans to the post of Ste. Geneviève in his boat the goods contained in the bond which has been presented to him belonging to the English merchants named Ramisay and Muray?

ANSWER. It is true that he carried the goods covered by his bond, which he acknowledges as correct.

QUESTION. From whom did he receive the goods mentioned which he transported from New Orleans?

ANSWER. He received them from Señor Francisco Murfi, a merchant living in New Orleans, to deliver them in Ste. Geneviève at the disposition and order of Messrs. Muray and Ramisay, merchants and contractors to the troops of Fort de Chartres in the English district.

QUESTION. Are the aforesaid goods comprised in the statement of cargo which he presented to the governor general of the colony before his departure?

ANSWER. The said goods are comprised in statement mentioned above signed by the said governor.

QUESTION. Had he loaded the said goods with the knowledge of the governor, and had he obtained permission to carry them to a destination in the English district?

ANSWER. He said nothing to the governor nor did the latter inti-

mate to him any knowledge of the destination of the said goods, but he asserts that Mr. Ramisay communicated to him, before turning over the goods, that he had solicited permission from the governor to transport them to the English district as soon as he should arrive at Ste. Geneviève. He also asserts that the governor had granted it, since goods were necessary for the troops of the garrison of Fort de Chartres, and in virtue of a letter written by Mr. Wilkins, commandant of the said fort, for this purpose, which the said Mr. Ramisay had delivered to the governor on his arrival at New Orleans.

QUESTION. Had Mr. Ramisay shown to the witness the permission which he had obtained from the governor?

ANSWER. Mr. Ramisay did not show to the witness the permission in writing, but he did assure him that the governor had granted it to him verbally, and with this understanding he did not give any notice to the governor of the transport of the goods, nor did he make any distinction of them in the general statement of his cargo, and he took the goods on board as freight, with the sole obligation of transporting them and delivering them to Ste. Geneviève at the disposition and order of the two merchants named Messrs. Muray and Ramisay.

QUESTION. To whom did he deliver the said goods in Ste. Geneviève?

ANSWER. On his arrival at the said post he delivered them to Monsieur Datchurut, a merchant of that place, on an order which the latter presented from Mr. Muray for this purpose; and in virtue of it Segond had made the delivery, in accordance with his contract, of all the goods contained in the order.

QUESTION. Did he know whether Monsieur Datchurut had delivered or transported the goods mentioned to the English district or had put them in the possession of Mr. Muray as they were directed to him?

ANSWER. He knows that the goods spoken of remained in the house of Monsieur Datchurut, and that the latter was awaiting permission to deliver them to Mr. Muray; because, when Lieutenant Don Luis Villar was informed of their being sent, he had ordered him to keep them until he could inform the commandant of St. Louis, Don Pedro Piernas, of the arrival of the goods, and ascertain whether he ought to permit their transportation to the English district. The witness believes he has already informed the commandant.

QUESTION. Has he anything to add to or take from his declaration (it having been read to him), and is it the same as he gave?

ANSWER. He has nothing to add to or take from it, and it is the same as he gave under the oath taken.

In certification of this he signed it on the aforesaid day, month,

and year before me and in the presence of the witnesses named, who signed it with me at St. Louis of Ylinois on June 1, 1772.

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric).

P. SEGOND (Rubric),

AUGUSTIN NICHOLAS VINCENT (Rubric).

ANTONIO DE ORO (Rubric).

ROUQUIÈRE TO PIERNAS

*June 14, 1772*¹⁴⁶

SIR: When those gentlemen made their wintering expedition to St. Louis my affairs called me to this village. As I knew nothing definite except through mere suspicion, I did not dare take the liberty of informing you of the conduct of the nation of this village.

I hope, Sir, that you will be so kind as to let me give you a few details about it.

Upon my arrival here, I learned that they had killed and robbed three Frenchmen and taken two prisoners. They killed one of them near Natchitoches. You will permit me to tell you that I do not know the names of the two others who were killed on the river of the Arkansas. The first was Doget, who resided at the post of Arkansas. His son and one other young man were made prisoners. They served as slaves to the murderer during the whole trip. He hoped that in his village he could trade one and keep the other. The murderer arrived here in presence of half the village with the two prisoners, one with his hair done and the other with his undone. He took them to his house and kept them as slaves for three days, having them serve him, without a single chief opposing it. Although I was the only trader here, I could not spare myself from saying to the chiefs: "How is it possible for you to allow Frenchmen to be slaves in your village?"

They replied: "Be quiet. We shall go and get them tonight, and if he resists in order to obtain merchandise we shall take them by force." Toward nine or ten o'clock in the evening they gathered and took them away from the murderer and placed them in the care of a headman until the arrival of those gentlemen. The murderer, seeing himself deprived of all his hopes, and seeing all the chiefs withdrawn each one to his house, sent for the little one under the pretext of speaking to him. When he once had him in his house he would not give him up, saying that he had received nothing and that he wanted to keep him as a slave. The headman that same night reported to the chiefs and in the morning a hundred and fifty of them met. They obtained the prisoner by demanding him and they put

¹⁴⁶ BL, (French).

him back with his friend. As soon as they were freed the chief raised his flag. When these gentlemen arrived they were turned over to us without its having cost us anything. The intention of the murderer was to keep the little one by all means. He even wanted to go to the post of Arkansas to arrange his affair, but not one of his people wanted to go there, saying that there was only the road to the Illinois.

In the beginning of April a band left here to wage war against the Black Pawnees. They came back with two French scalps.

Several days after the arrival of the party, the chief of the party sent for all of us to tell us that it was a mistake, that when they were near the Pawnee village they saw two men whom they pursued and killed, believing them to be Pawnees and not Frenchmen, and that they had not left with the purpose of killing any of the latter.

I make so bold as to assure you, Sir, that as for us, not a single trader up to now has any cause for complaint in the village. We have traded at our will and without any difficulty. I have the honor of being, Sir, with a most perfect consideration, your most humble and devoted servant

ROUQUIÈRE (Rubric).

At the village of the Great Osages, *June 14, 1772.*

[Addressed:]

M. DON PIERNAS, commandant for the King at St. Louis.

CLERMOND TO PIERNAS

*June 14, 1772*¹⁴⁷

MY FATHER: I desire with all my heart to come to see you but I am afraid of the heat and of the nations which are around your village.

I am remaining with the Frenchmen whom you were good enough to give us for our village. They could not come down at this time because our river is almost dry. I am staying with them until they go down and I shall travel with them.

We beg you be good enough to command the nations of the Mississippi when they come to see you, to be peaceful, as we desire to keep your road open so as to come to tell you exactly the good and the evil that is going on in our village.

I am your faithful and devoted son.

CLERMOND, *chief of the village.*

At the village of the Great Osages, *June 14, 1772.*

[Addressed:]

To M. DON PEDRO PIERNAS, captain of infantry, lieutenant governor of the establishments of Illinois at St. Louis.

¹⁴⁷ BL. (French).

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*June 29, 1772*¹⁴⁸

No. 93.

The King has taken note of the representation of the governor of Havana, which contained a copy of what Your Lordship had reported to him under date of February 27, last, with regard to the energy displayed by the English in the establishment which they have begun at the post of Natchez and in the other establishment at the place called Baton Rouge, forty leagues from that capital, facing the Kingdom of Mexico, with nothing intervening between except the Mississippi River. Although they are making these establishments in the district ceded to the English, His Majesty considers that it is not to the advantage of the royal interests to have these so close to our territory. Therefore, he orders me to instruct Your Lordship to keep yourself well-informed of everything they do in these two places and the immediate vicinity, continuing to report thereon and taking such prompt action as the nature of their operations demands. I communicate this to Your Lordship at his royal order for compliance therewith, and to inform you that under this date I am similarly advising the said governor.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *June 29, 1772.*

EL BAILIO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

SEÑOR GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

PIERNAS TO UNZAGA

*July 4, 1772*¹⁴⁹

MY DEAR SIR: The result of the information from Your Lordship bearing on the cruelty and evil inclinations of the Great Osage nation, and the ill-treatment received from them by the hunters on the banks of the Arkansas and St. Francis rivers, caused me, when it came down, to take the aforesaid nation to task as it merited. A complaint so just demanded satisfaction. I formally remonstrated with them for their lack of co-operation, their hostile attitude, overbearing procedure, and their failure to keep peace or submit to reason. I am advising Your Lordship so that you may take the steps to correct such conduct and make the necessary provisions so that the traders of this post may have with them harmonious relations, proper treatment, and fairness in their commercial dealings.

There is but one part of the nation which makes an effort to with-

¹⁴⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁴⁹ BL.

draw from the rest. This part commits all the depredations which Your Lordship communicates to me. It is proved by the letters which I remit to Your Lordship. One is from the principal chief of this nation, and the other, from one of the traders who is there himself. Both these have been written to me. The two boys therein mentioned have been sent to me in charge of a trader who came down last month. I take occasion to send them to the commandant of Arkansas so that they may be delivered over to their relatives, who reside in the aforesaid place. Your Lordship will be duly informed of their arrival.

One part of the families of this Great Osage nation some time ago withdrew in order to establish itself at a long way off on the Missouri. From this part, there was formed the nation which to-day is known under the name of Little Osage. This is one of the most restless, most inclined to thievery, and most evil-intentioned of all the nations. The Little Osages, with the Missouri tribe, their ally and neighbor, to whom they have similar characteristics, have at all times given the commandants plenty to do. These have made allowances, have suffered, and have overlooked their impertinences in the past. To-day they find themselves being imposed upon. Having accustomed the Indians to privileges, it is extremely difficult to reduce them to reason. Long before my arrival, the English made efforts to attract them for their commercial ends, rewarding them lavishly, and giving them a flag which they raised over their village. I learned of this from M. St. Ange.

They have been permitted to assume undue importance, and having the advantage of being in close proximity to the English nation, have always shown themselves daring and insolent. Up to the present time this, of course, has represented no greater harm than the stealing of horses from these posts, and the forcing of contributions from traders who pass through the aforesaid nations in order to traffic with the other more interior nations of the Missouri River. On account of these things and their recognized perfidy, they are found at war with all the other tribes on this continent, who long for their destruction. Their tranquillity cannot be assured unless an example be made of them which will act as a deterrant to other tribes who might be inclined to imitate them. Were we to tolerate their traditional haughtiness and continued extortions, it would be to maintain them in the belief that they inspire fear and their insolence would reach even greater heights. These two nations of the Little Osages and the Misouris are the least numerous of all and the easiest to reduce by means of extermination.

May God preserve you many years. ST. LOUIS, *July 4, 1772.*

Your faithful servant kisses the hands of Your Lordship.

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric).

To Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

PIERNAS TO UNZAGA

*July 30, 1772*¹⁵⁴

MY DEAR SIR: When I returned to this post from that of Ste. Geneviève, in order to hold a council with the two parties of Indians of the Little Osage and Missouri nations, as I have already written to Your Lordship, I found on my arrival that the two parties had returned to their villages very much grieved for what they had done because of an encounter with a party of the Sotoux and Putatami nations which was pursuing them. The latter, having learned of the attack committed by the Little Osages and the Missouris against our fort and their disorderly entrance into the town of St. Louis, showed themselves to be resentful. To prove their loyalty and good will toward us, they resolved to avenge this daring act the same as though they themselves were at war with them. In order to accomplish this and cause the Little Osages and Missouris to realize the respect which they owe (so they say) to the territory of their Spanish father, the aforesaid party remained in the outskirts of the town without committing the slightest depredation, awaiting an opportunity to attain the desired end.

They carried out their plan by means of a surprise, for, the principal chief of the nation of Little Osages and his second in authority having gone out for a walk were attacked by the aforesaid party and killed. The rest of the nation immediately sallied forth from the town to avenge the death of their two chiefs, but they were repulsed by the attacking party and forced to take refuge in the town. One of them lost an arm, and from the wound he runs a risk of losing his life. If this should happen, it would redound to the good of his nation and to ours, for he is the most insolent one and the instigator of their aggressions. After this occurrence the rest took the occasion to set out on the return to their village, expressing a desire for Spanish protection since it had succeeded in freeing them from their enemies. They were made to understand that without our friendship they would all have perished, as was in fact the case, for the opposing party was restrained by consideration and respect for us from doing them any more harm than they had already received. The incident I believe will serve them as a warning.

The party of Missouris on the day before this episode was so unregenerate as to send some thirty of their Indians to steal more horses from the inhabitants of St. Geneviève and the settlements of the English district. In order to accomplish their purpose they stole some pirogues from this post. When the theft was learned,

hands were laid on the chief of the party who had remained in this post with six Indians. Being charged with this new act, he tried to excuse himself with pretexts which proved him to have been an accomplice: and as such he is the one who inspires the Missouri nation to bad behavior. It is he who has incited the party, and he is the one who planted the English flag, as I have communicated to Your Lordship. He is the most insolent of them all and, without the knowledge of the principal chief of his nation, he came with his followers to attack us. I caused him to be made prisoner, and I have him secured in irons in order to compel the nation to surrender all the horses and pirogues which it has stolen and to conduct itself in the peaceful way that is required. If it does not do so, I have threatened to send him and all those imitating him to Your Lordship so that you may put them where they will pay for their lack of loyalty and for their boldness.

Of the thirty who went down to steal the horses, one was caught in an English settlement, and they have him also a prisoner, having punished him and beaten him thoroughly with sticks while he was being taken there. At Ste. Geneviève the inhabitants, on seeing the Indians, compelled them to desist from their undertaking, to abandon the horses which they had already caught, and to return to their village, hotly pursued. One of them, companion of the chief held as a prisoner, and as insolent as he, who returned to inform him of the ill success of the undertaking, was also arrested and is now secured by a pair of irons. They are both in great fear of what I have told them to the effect that, when their nation comes, in order to make them understand that I do not fear them, I shall cause them to be embarked in their sight and conducted to the presence of Your Lordship, to be punished by perpetual banishment. I believe this demonstration will make an impression on them and may serve to hold their pride in check. But notwithstanding that an example of this kind, if carried out, would perhaps produce more effect on the nations than anything else, I shall not put it into execution until I shall have received the sanction of Your Lordship.

May Our Lord preserve Your Lordship many years.

St. Louis, *July 30, 1772.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most faithful and devoted servant,

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

PIERNAS TO UNZAGA

*August 1, 1772*¹⁵¹

MY DEAR SIR: The enclosed declaration will inform Your Lordship of what occurred in the matter of the goods belonging to English merchants carried by Mr. Segond in his boat. Following instructions, I have prevented the exportation of these goods to the English district until Your Lordship is informed of it, and until I am assured that the necessary permission has been obtained or, at least, until the aforesaid Muray and Ramsay deposit the amount of their value and give a bond secured in this district equal to the value of the said goods. This will avoid the loss or deterioration which these goods might suffer by their being held pending the advices of Your Lordship as to their transference. I feel assured that by this means no one will suffer any injury and they will be secured for the King in case the declaration does not turn out to be true.

As Your Lordship has told me of the departure of a boat loaded with goods in charge of Pedro Perigar, with two negro slaves belonging to him, I must inform you that the boat has not arrived at this post. Before it reached the post of Ste. Geneviève, it crossed to the town of Oka in the English district and there discharged its merchandise which belonged to an Englishman named Morgan who came up in the said boat.

The boat of Mr. Segond is going down to that capital, and with it the instrument case number 247 for trepanning, which I delivered to Segond to take to Your Lordship in obedience to your directions.

Heaven guard the life of Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *August 1, 1772*.

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most faithful servant,

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

[Note] Replied that there is no necessity to make provision.

GAGE TO UNGAZA

*August 3, 1772*¹⁵²

NEW YORK *August 3^d: 1772*.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your Excellency's Letter of the 19th. May from New Orleans on the Subject of the many fraudulent Practices of Mr. Blouin, who resided Several Years on the Mississippi. The said Mr. Blouin has been rambling about in these Coun-

¹⁵¹ BL.

¹⁵² AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

try's a considerable time, making Complaints of many Oppressions he underwent at the Illinois, and of injustice done him at New Orleans by Monsieur Aubry.— He Appears with the Aid of his Lawyer Clajon to be forming a great many Projects, and its reported that he engaged the Inhabitants of the Illinois to support him with Money in the Prosecution of some of his Schemes, but that they have at length discovered that they have been deceived. A German, by Name Witmar arrived lately from the Illinois and arrested him for a Debt, and I delivered to said Witmar a Letter he brought me with Papers inclosed from Mess^rs. Tournier et S^t. Pr' at New Orleans concerning the fraudulent Dealings with Monsieur Viviat and his Associate Blouin, in order to lay the same before the Councilors at Law; tho' I apprehend not much can be done therein at this Place.

Your Excellency will perceive from what I have wrote that I am too well acquainted with the Character of Monsieur Blouin, to give Credit to all his Assertions, or to be deceived by his Projects.

I return your Excellency my sincere Thanks for the Account you have been pleased to give me of Monsieur Blouin and your Excellency will permit me to assure you of my Inclination at all Times to obey your Commands, and to desire you would employ me in any Services, that I can render you in this part of America.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's Most Obedient, and most humble Servant.

THO^S. GAGE

His Excellency DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA, Governor General for his Catholick Majesty of the Province of Louisiana.

RIPPERDA TO UNZAGA

September 9, 1772 ¹⁵³

MY DEAR SIR: I have received information that in a place on the long coast where this province in my charge borders on the Gulf of Mexico (not very far distant from Opelousas and still less from Atakapas) Englishmen have been seen carrying on trade with the Indians; and as some one has said, they were cutting timbers for houses. There was, however, a difference of opinion as to whether it was at the mouth of the Trinidad River (from which the presidio of Orcoquiza was removed almost two years ago, this presidio of San Antonio de Bexar being re-enforced with its thirty soldiers), or at that of San Jazinto, which is not even a day's journey from the first named to the west, or at that of Los Brazos, three day's distant from the aforesaid Orcoquiza or Trinidad River, in the same direc-

¹⁵³ BL.

tion. In case it should be true, I am inclined to believe that the English are at the last-named place, partly because it is the most concealed, where the two branches form an island, and partly because the one to the west has good anchorage for ships (according to the reports of the few who have seen it).

Since such information must not be disregarded, even though not well-founded, and though the place is about two hundred leagues from here, an officer and twenty-five soldiers are provisioning themselves for the purpose of making the necessary reconnaissance. They have orders to expel the English or drive them out in case they resist, that is, if they can overpower them. If not, I shall gather together what I can get here to go and endeavor to expel them. In that case, if it should be necessary, I ask Your Lordship at this time to assist me with such forces as you can, and also to give an order to the lieutenant governor of Natchitoches, so that (being the nearest by land) he may make available this aid for me, should I find myself compelled to ask for it. In that case, utilizing every moment and starting on the march with whatever I may be able to gather up (even if little and bad), I shall despatch a messenger to ask for the abovementioned assistance at the place designated. I do not doubt that I shall receive it, in view of its great interest for the service of God and King, and also of the well-known zeal of Your Lordship in everything that conduces to the discharge of your important duties. I beg you to be pleased to give me an immediate reply. The three soldiers who set out to-day in haste for this purpose have orders to await it at Los Adaes.

I repeat to Your Lordship my desires to serve and please you, and also that our Lord may preserve your valued life many years.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR, *September 9, 1772.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most attentive and devoted servant,

BARON DE RIPPERDA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

BUCARELI TO UNZAGA

September 26, 1772 ¹⁵⁴

MY DEAR SIR: By the letter of Your Lordship of July eleventh, last, I am informed of the receipt of the one hundred and twenty thousand pesos, which is the allowance for that province. This was taken by the King's brigantine, the *San Juan Nepomuceno*, in money

¹⁵⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 149-1.

of the new issue, and was in charge of the Lieutenant of Ship Don Antonio Ocarol.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

MEXICO, *September 26, 1772.*

Your most attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA, New Orleans.

DE LA PEÑA TO UNZAGA

December 30, 1772 ¹⁵⁵

Señor Governor General.

MY DEAR SIR: I bring to Your Lordship's attention that I have received the sixth deserter who was found at the mission of the Ayz. He was not delivered on the first requisition by Señor Gonzales because the necessary instrument for the *caución juratoria* had not been sent as was ordered in his decision by the Reverend Father Santa María; but after I asked for him a second time, accompanying my request with the required document, there was no delay whatever in sending him. Mr. de Mézières has taken charge of this criminal, in view of my severe illness, and I believe will send him to appear before Your Lordship upon this occasion.

The deserter informed me that he belongs to the artillery company of Havana, and Señor Gonzales did not wish to deliver him until his registration or a copy thereof is presented. This request comes from the deserter himself, who, being an artful person, apprehends that, if he presents himself without the document which ought to accompany him, he would fare worse. Since he was a deserter under the charge of Señor Gonzales both would be responsible if he did not have it.

Our Lord guard the life of Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCES, *December 30, 1772.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most faithful servant.

JPH. DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

Señor DON DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

DE LA PEÑA TO UNZAGA

January 18, 1773 ¹⁵⁶

Señor Governor General.

No. 1.

MY DEAR SIR: I bring to Your Lordship's attention that the Cancis or Apaches (by another name), accompanied by another allied

¹⁵⁵ BL.

¹⁵⁶ BL.

nation, are preparing to fall upon the Aynais, where the blow by Captain Vigotes was given, in order to avenge the deaths of their envoys. Up to the present time the reports are vague, and I shall not be certain of them until there is renewed confirmation.

Regarding the nations of the adjoining province, they are at present very quiet, and of those in our district I have nothing new to say.

As to the authority which you cite me in your last letter requesting that its contents be put into execution, I have been relieved of the necessity of carrying out the measures by the agreement (although it has not been presented to me) previously made by the parties between themselves, the debt being paid and the creditor satisfied.

Our Lord guard the life of Your Lordship many happy years.
NATCHITOCHES, *January 18, 1773.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most devoted servant and subject.

JPH. DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

DE LA PEÑA TO UNZAGA

*January 18, 1773*¹⁵⁷

Señor Governor General.

No. 2.

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your last letter relative to my health since my leaving Los Adays for this post, I have to tell you first, that the fever attacked me while I was putting into effect the measures regarding the deserters whom I have sent to you; second, that I had the fever daily until the first day of the present year, and after that it came on every other day. I do not believe that this affliction will leave me as readily as I hope unless it is made possible for me to obtain the most proper remedy.

In consequence of this, I expect that Your Lordship in your kindness will be charitable to me by permitting me to go down to that capital, with the object of recuperating my health before it becomes worse. For almost four months it has afflicted me greatly, causing me grave physical harm in all respects.

Our Lord guard the life of Your Lordship many happy years.
NATCHITOCHES, *January 18, 1773.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most faithful servant and subject.

JPH. DE LA PEÑA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

[*Draft of Unzaga's reply to the preceding letters:*]

I answer your letters of the 30th of December of last year and the 18th of January of the current year by saying that the deserter Antonio Giron arrived and has received the same sentence as the six previously sent by going to serve in the regular regiment of Havana for six years.

Ramon Benero, who, you inform me, is a deserter from the royal artillery corps and claimed by the lieutenant of Adaiys, repeats his petition to be sent there, and, if he should be reclaimed, you will inform me so that I may take the necessary measures.

I have received the news about the Apaches, and I await the outcome if it turns out to be true. I am also waiting to hear whether you have reconciled the parties of the commission which I gave you so that the debtor shall pay the creditor.

I am sorry to hear of your illness, but, although I desire your improvement, I cannot at present consent to your being relieved because I believe the lieutenant governor is coming down to this capital. However, if he does not do it and you continue in broken health, I shall attend to your just petition.

May our Lord guard you etc.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 8, 1773.*

Señor DON JOSEPH DE LA PEÑA.

GAGE TO UNZAGA

February 20, 1773 ¹⁵⁸

NEW YORK *February 20th 1773.*

SIR: I have had the honor to receive Your Excellency's Letter of the 28th. of October, in which Your Excellency gives me a strong Testimony of a virtuous and benevolent Heart from the Anxiety you express to Vindicate the Character of an Officer of Rank, and exculpate him from the Malevolent Accusations of an Evil Minded Person. I have Information of many Instances of Your Excellency's Goodness and Politeness to the Subjects of his Britannick Majesty who have had Occasion to go into the Province of Louisiana, for which Your Excellency will permit me to return you my most unfeigned Thanks.

The King My Master having been pleased to grant my Request for Leave of Absence to settle the Affairs of my Family, I take this Opportunity to bid Your Excellency Farewell, and offer My wishes for Your Prosperity and Happyness and to assure Your Excellency that I shall with great Pleasure obey any Commands you shall honor me with in England.

¹⁵⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

I have the honor to be with great Respect and Esteem.

Sir Your Excellency's Most Obedient and most humble Servant

THO. GAGE

His Excellency, SEN^r. DON LUIS DE UNZAGA & AMEZAGA, Governor General for his Catholick Majesty of the Province of Louisiana.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*March 10, 1773*¹⁵⁹

From Your Lordship's letter of the 24th of October, last year, His Majesty notes that you add to what you had previously stated in yours of the 2nd and 14th of the same month, relative to the expedition which was being prepared in New York, and which you had understood to be of only two regiments for the Danish islands. However, you state that having given up this enterprise, they had directed it toward pacifying the islands of San Vicente and Tabago.

May God guard you many years.

EL PARDO, 10 of March, 1773.

DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

PIERNAS TO UNZAGA

*April 12, 1773*¹⁶⁰

MY DEAR SIR: As a result of Your Lordship's letter of the 27th of last August, relative to the management and most convenient procedure with regard to the restless and evil-intentioned savage Indians and, likewise taking into consideration the critical circumstances therein indicated, I have given orders that no trader accustomed to deal with the Little Osages and Missouris shall carry on trade with them until such time as I shall have definite proof of their peacefulness and submission. Realizing that this is the only method to-day which might bring them to reason and oblige them to beg for the aid our friendship affords, I have recourse to it, with this end in view, as well as to avoid the risks resulting from their evil disposition in threatened thefts and murders. Their intention being to rob and kill the traders who might go up to the other Missouri tribes, it appeared to me that the deprivation of arms and ammunition would be very much to the point in order to check the aforesaid nations.

To this end, I had prohibited commercial intercourse with them and feel confident that the desired effect might have been realized

¹⁵⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁶⁰ BL.

had not a trader from the English district stealthily introduced himself into their midst. He was cognizant of the defensive measures in this post, but impelled by covetousness, and ignoring the havoc which it wrought among the dwellers in these parts, he committed the black deed of entering the Missouri River by night. He went up with two boats laden with merchandise for trading and munitions of war to the Little Osages and Missouri tribes, just at the moment that the latter found themselves in the need of having to solicit our help because of the attack threatening from the other nations, our allies, who were just then making preparations to curb them.

The arrival of the aforementioned trader induced them to change their plans and desist from their intention to go down and give the necessary satisfaction for their insults. Finding themselves well-supplied by him with all requisite arms and ammunition wherewith to defend themselves and continue their raids, they returned with the said trader to the village to continue their trading, thereby placing themselves in a position to resist the invasions of their enemies and frustrate all the effect of the preparations which had been made. They seemed confident they could get along very well without our aid and assistance. According to the declarations received, which under separate cover I forward to Your Lordship, the aforesaid trader was successful in making them believe in him, inspiring in them sentiments totally in opposition to the maxims of Christianity, and impressing upon them the benevolent character of his government.

In such a situation, I clearly observed that delay was unwarranted, and considered the measures to be applied. Taking advantage of several indications which led me to infer the place, although remote, and wishing to assure myself of its correctness, I took it upon myself to organize and place under arms a body of volunteers of the country, with the avowed intention of investigating and giving punishment to the aforementioned transgressor and his followers, should there be verification of the suspicion directed against him, and should his well-known character and ambitious desires be equal to making further attempts along these lines, as I had been forewarned.

Upon the expeditious carrying out of the provisions of the plan depended the success of the enterprise. The primary object of the instructions of Your Lordship was never overlooked. This had to do with the expenses incurred, the possible lack of available men and [torn]. The successful result was effected as planned without its costing either the King or any private individual one single maravedi.

Considering the uncertain value of the merchandise and furs

of the aforesaid trader, I proposed that someone at his own risk and on his own account standing the expense of foodstuffs, ammunitions of war, boats, and of other necessary things indispensable for the expedition and the maintenance of a body of forty volunteers, all inhabitants of this post, might undertake the expedition with the end which I had in view. Two persons who lived here offered themselves, accepting in every way the proposition made them. The cost was a voluntary matter as was also the risk involved and there was to be no idea of reimbursement from the royal treasury for the expenses of the enterprise. With such assurance, I immediately caused to be armed two [torn] pirogues and sent out the detachment in them well-munitioned and supplied with provisions for a period of two months. The party was capable, by reason of number and strength, of overcoming all opposition. The expedition was placed under the command of Don Pierre Laclede, the principal and first founder of this settlement. I selected Don Pierre for this commission because of the confidence merited by him, his reliability, and his punctuality in complying with instructions that might lead to a successful outcome. I remit the instructions to Your Lordship so that you may know them. Laclede's reliability and prudence have been the sole motives in his selection since they serve as an example to the other inhabitants who might prefer their own interests [torn].

Seeing him in readiness and in command of the expedition in such a difficult and critical moment, and feeling his help was a matter of urgency in order to aid him in his labors, no one could excuse himself under this or that pretext. The effect desired was accomplished because all those selected presented themselves willingly and with the best of disposition to follow him. This willingness was increased and rendered more effective by granting them one half of everything captured, should it be accomplished. The compensation was offered as an added inducement and with the consent of two boat owners [torn] in order to urge and stimulate them in compliance with their duty. All this brought about the anticipated success. It will be more extensively outlined to Your Lordship in the official report which contains all the steps taken in the aforesaid expedition on the Missouri River, and of which I enclose herewith a copy. It includes all the articles taken from Juan María Ducharme, prime instigator and leader of the intruders. He is sole proprietor of all the merchandise and furs noted therein which are the product of the illegitimate trade which he carried on with the aforementioned nations during his stay there contrary to all law.

I am likewise directing to Your Lordship the general and detailed inventory taken at this post upon the return of the expedition. This

includes all that was captured, belonging to the aforementioned contraband trader, as well as the distribution and apportionment of the material among the two persons who fitted out the expedition and the individual men of the company, as had been promised and agreed with them.

Both parties have been completely compensated, and the King has been saved from the slightest expense. Furthermore, the example set has caused a halt among the other traders of the English who, without it, perchance might endeavor to imitate the audacity of the aforesaid Ducharme. His pernicious daring would have impeded the reduction of these nations, making us the target of their perfidy. If they found themselves assisted and supplied by the English, it would make them independent and fan their insolence and abuse, which is now [torn] checked because they were deprived of the accustomed and expected aid. Ducharme had gone down there accompanied by an Indian from the Little Osage nation. He was in his company at the time of the landing of our detachment, and the discharge of firearms and guns carried by the expedition was such that, conquered by fear, and without even awaiting the result of the struggle, he deserted the spot, and returned in haste to his village.

The fear and terror which he felt was communicated to the rest of his nation and other allies, since they were persuaded that there was a whole fleet coming up to destroy them. The news, exaggerated by their fear, was passed on to the Missouri nation. This I learned from another trader who stopped there as he was coming from the Kansas, totally ignorant of what had occurred in these places. He stated that the chief and others were disposed to come down to implore clemency, and to offer satisfaction for the theft of horses which they had already rounded up to return, and, that if it were not done quickly, it was because of the fear of the other nations, our friends, who were seeking to pursue them. Immediately upon their retiring, they would come to solicit the liberty of their two prisoners whom I still hold, and thus increase their friendship by means of a submission and peace which will be permanent. I believe their disposition to be sincere because of the excellent reception accorded this trader.

This nation had indicated that it would seek to get possession of two of our men in order to keep them as hostages, thereby obliging us to deliver their two. Not only have they not attempted to do this, although they might freely have done so with the trader, but they kept him there, and for three days which he voluntarily spent in their village, made him presents, and not the slightest harm was done him, nor were the furs which he carried taken from him.

All this he himself confirmed to me on the 8th of this month, when he arrived at this post. He also added that he had been escorted a certain distance until they felt he was safe, and had passed the village of the Little Osages, in order to prevent his being insulted or robbed should the latter still persist in their evil intention.

I feel persuaded that, with the expedition and the capture of the trader, of which they are not ignorant, with the submission of the Missouris and of the Great Osages who came to deliver to me the chief of the band who committed the murders on the banks of the Arkansas (whom I hold as a prisoner as I have already informed Your Lordship), and with the frequent assaults from the other nations who, taking sides with us, have offered to harass them and endeavor to destroy them, the nation of the Little Osages will be reduced to submission. I am sure they will, as in the case of the others, come submissively and peacefully to ask for mercy and the indispensable aid of our protection. I therefore expect a favorable termination of the affair without any shedding of blood or expense to the royal treasury. The tranquility and the course of commerce which safeguards the maintenance of these settlements will then be re-established.

May our Lord preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.
St. Louis, April 12th, 1773.

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

To Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*May 15, 1773*¹⁶¹

No. 122.

The King has taken note from Your Lordship's letter of January 28, last, of the discovery of a mine two hundred and fifty leagues from your capital in territory under its jurisdiction. You stated that you were unable to ascertain its nature, but it appeared to be of silver, and you had informed the viceroy of New Spain thereof, so that he might send experts from the mines in Coahuila. You also explained that you had detached a corporal and some soldiers to guard the mine and prevent the English from taking it.

His Majesty approves this action and awaits Your Lordship's advices on the results of the examination.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *May 15, 1773.*

DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

¹⁶¹ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*July 16, 1773*¹⁶²

No. 133.

Don Daniel Mosnier, merchant of La Rochelle, has made representations that there is owed to him by Don Martín Navarro, treasurer of your province, twenty-nine thousand eight hundred eighty-one reales and twenty-six maravedis, which he received on deposit when Don Pedro Poupet was made a prisoner of state. The effects which were found in his house were confiscated. Among them was included this sum. He requests the return thereof but does not give any other proof than his simple statement. His Majesty commands that Your Lordship send information on this matter.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

MADRID, *July 16, 1773.*

DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

SEÑOR GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*August 9, 1773*¹⁶³

No. 134.

The King has approved the reply made by the viceroy of New Spain to the representation made to him by Your Lordship that he should send you experts to examine and open the mine discovered in your province. He, far from agreeing, was of the opinion that under no consideration should this operation be put into effect on account of the difficulties which would result therefrom. For this reason His Majesty desires Your Lordship to conform therewith, observing caution and prudence in the orders which your zeal may dictate, so as to prevent the neighboring English from entering to work it in violation of the frontier.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN ILDEFONSO, *August 9, 1773.*

DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

SEÑOR GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

PASSPORT GIVEN TO TRADERS OF THE OTO NATION

*September 11, 1773*¹⁶⁴

(Copy)

DON PEDRO PIERNAS, lieutenant governor of the settlements and dependencies of the Illinois:

¹⁶² AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁶³ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁶⁴ BL, (French).

The Sieurs Chauvin and Lajoie are permitted to go to trade with the Hotos nation with Pierre Lange, Nicolas Saint Pierre, Joseph Cadien, Jean Lamontagne, and Baptiste Mary, their employees. They shall do it peaceably, without giving cause to the savages to complain of their methods. In order to forestall any complaint on their part, the Indians shall agree upon and establish a price with the traders for each kind of merchandise which will be destined for their nation. This price must be equitable, and applied without cheating or dissimulation.

The traders are forbidden to sell, loan, give, or intrust to any of the Frenchmen who have remained and are at the present time in the nations, any kind of trading merchandise or goods, no matter of what nature, for trading purposes, and not even for their own personal use. On the contrary, they are commanded to force these Frenchmen, in our name, and by virtue of this deprivation, to return with them. They are expressly commanded to return to this post with all their employees without exception in the month of July the next year, 1774, at the latest, whether they have finished their trading or not. They shall not leave any kind of goods either in this nation or in any others, or on the way, or still less in the hands of any Frenchmen under any pretext whatever, under pain of being severely punished according to the circumstances and necessities of the case.

They shall not trade with any other nation except the one with which they are licensed to trade, and they shall not take any goods over and above the quantity which is allotted to them. They shall watch over the conduct of their employees, and if any one of the men happens to fail in his conduct and causes trouble in the nation, and also if they should hear of any statements made by the savages which would be to our disadvantage, they shall give us a full account of it upon their return. They are granted eight or ten jugs of brandy which are solely meant for the indispensable needs of their crew and not at all for trading purposes. They shall pass by Fort Missouri to have this passport viséed.

Given at St. Louis on the *11th of September, 1773.*

PEDRO PIERNAS

It was presented in this fort September 14, 1773.

JUAN OLIVIER

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*September 18, 1773*¹⁶⁵

No. 141.

[Copy]

Reference is made to the balance of seventeen thousand, three hundred and sixty-one reales and twenty-three maravedis of silver which Your Lordship reports in yours of May 17, last, as having been shown outstanding against His Most Christian Majesty by the audit of the accounts of the storekeeper at Ylinueses. This sum was for the goods covered by the accounts assumed as outstanding by the Conde de O'Reilly at the time of his taking possession of that colony. His Majesty has decided to pay this debt as Your Lordship proposes, and for this purpose Your Lordship will issue the proper orders to the royal officials there and note the same on the accounts settled during the time of said Conde de O'Reilly.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN ILDEFONSO, *September 18, 1773.*

(Rubric of Arriaga)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*February 3, 1774*¹⁶⁶

No. 150.

The King approves the decision which Your Lordship reports in your letter of 27th of August, last, that you had made pursuant to royal order of the 21st of May, to detach from the mission of Capuchin *religiosos* of that province Padre Fraile Hilario Genoveaux, and appoint him curate of the parish of Los Ylinueses, five hundred leagues distant from the capital. This measure will prevent his disagreements with his colleagues.

EL PARDO, *February 3, 1774.*

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*March 8, 1774*¹⁶⁷

No. 151.

Notwithstanding what Your Lordship wrote me on August 27, last, the King on the ninth of the same month, advised the viceroy of

¹⁶⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁶⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁶⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

New Spain of the approval of his well-founded reasons, which I have communicated to Your Lordship, why under no circumstances would he consent to examine, open, or work the mine, said to be of silver, discovered two hundred and fifty leagues from your capital, and why Your Lordship should not persist in your intention to do so. The mine should not be opened in order that the English may not seize possession of it. Such a step could not be remedied inasmuch as we do not know what they might do in such a remote place where it is impossible to maintain soldiers to guard it. There are also other reasons given for the decision. His Majesty commands me to instruct Your Lordship to desist from this enterprise, and to announce publicly that it is not a silver mine, and not worth working. However, every year Your Lordship should send someone to that place who is acquainted with its location. It is not probable that the English will have any pretext to cross over to the other side of the Mississippi River (the boundary recognized by them) thereby violating the treaty. This they certainly will not do without some great inducement.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

EL PARDO, *March 8, 1774.*

DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

SEÑOR GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

VALDELLANO TO GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*March 18, 1774*¹⁶⁸

In the letter of October 12 of last year, the Reverend Bishop of Cuba, Don Santiago Joseph de Chavarria, mentioned within another letter of September 7, a copy of which he enclosed, that the Spanish Capuchins assigned for the care of souls in this province advised him that the French clergy had the intention of secretly disposing of the house and property belonging to the mission under their care and then returning to their province in Champagne. Although Your Lordship is distrustful of these maneuvers, as they had been tried previously, and has probably taken the necessary precautions to prevent any surprise in this regard, it seemed well to communicate this information to you. In a letter of October 4, he gave an account to His Majesty of all that was being done in compliance with his orders and of the efforts made to prevent anything which could damage his royal service and interests.

When the matter was refused to the council and laid before the *fiscal*, it was decided, along with other affairs, to charge Your Lordship (as I do now) to be vigilant in the matter mentioned, and in

¹⁶⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

regard to any intention connected with it. It informs you that in this province nothing can be done by the French without the express permission of His Catholic Majesty and orders of this tribunal, to whom Your Lordship should give an account of the affair and explain whether the matter of which the bishop spoke is true.

May God keep Your Lordship the many years I desire.

MADRID, *March 18, 1774.*

EL CONDE DE VALDELLANO (Rubric)

The Governor of Louisiana.

ARRIAGA TO UNZAGA

*May 30, 1774*¹⁶⁹

No. 159.

In your letter of the 18th of last October you reported the clandestine communication existing between the English traders and various nations of savages in the wilderness of that province and against which your measures have not sufficed. To remedy this the King has determined that you are to give orders to Don Atanasio Mézières, lieutenant governor of Natchitoches, to stop it, and make such arrangements as may be dictated by your experience, situation, and practical knowledge of the country.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *May 30, 1774.*

DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

CENSUS OF NEGRO AND MULATTO SLAVES AT NATCHITOCHES

*September 26, 1774.*¹⁷⁰

Post of Natchitoches, 1774.

Number of Negroes and Mulattoes of both sexes and all ages in this post on the 26th day of September, in view of which, the citizens have been taxed at the rate of eight *reales de vellón* for each one of their slaves, in conformity with the order of the governor general to his lieutenant in said jurisdiction under date of June 17, this year.

¹⁶⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁷⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 189-1.

Names of those paying	Negroes		Mulattoes		Total No.	Reales de Vellón
	Males	Females	Males	Females		
Don Luis Borme	1	1	0	0	2	16
Don Pedro Dupain	0	1	0	0	0	8
Don Juan Baptista Trichele	8	3	1	0	12	96
Don Remigio Poisot	13	9	2	1	25	200
Don Luis de Sn. Denis	9	2	0	0	11	88
Dofia Maria de Sn. Denis	3	4	1	1	9	72
Madame Le Doux	1	2	0	0	3	24
Don Antonio Charbonet	3	3	0	0	6	48
Don Juan Baptista Roujot	0	1	0	0	1	8
Don Sn. Yago de la Chaise	1	2	0	0	4	32
Pedro Dartigaux	2	1	0	0	3	24
Juan Baptista Prudhomme	8	3	0	0	11	88
Estevan Gagnier	2	1	0	0	3	24
Henrique Trichele	6	4	2	4	16	128
Manuel Trichele	1	2	0	0	3	24
Pedro Sorel	2	1	0	0	3	24
Juan Piseros	2	3	0	0	5	40
Claudio Mercier	3	1	1	0	5	40
Pedro Villard	0	1	0	0	1	8
Alexis Grappe	13	7	2	0	22	176
Pablo Laffite	0	1	0	0	1	8
Francisco Vasseur	2	0	0	0	2	16
Pedro Valentin	2	1	0	0	3	24
Juan Baptista Davion	3	2	0	0	4	32
Domingo Montéche	5	5	0	0	10	80
Juan Lambre	8	5	1	0	14	112
Gaspard Derbonne	1	0	0	0	1	8
Juan Baptista La Berry	6	3	3	3	15	120
Diego Lambre	10	7	0	2	19	152
Bartholomeo Rachal	1	1	0	0	2	16
Pedro Badin	2	3	0	0	5	40
Widow Buart	8	13	0	1	22	176
Pedro Bailliot	3	3	0	0	6	48
Luis Tobart	1	0	0	0	1	8
Marin Grillet	2	1	0	0	3	24
Juan Baptista Brevol	1	1	0	0	2	16
Juan Baptista Dubois	2	1	0	0	3	24
Joseph Duprez	4	3	1	0	8	64
Juan Baptista Duprez	5	3	1	0	9	72
Athanazio Poisot	1	1	0	0	2	16
Remigio Poisot Jr.	2	2	0	0	4	32
Pedro Derbonne	6	10	1	1	18	144
George Le Cler	1	1	0	0	2	16
Luis Buart	1	0	0	0	1	8
Jeannis	0	1	0	0	1	8
Pedro Metoyer	0	0	3	1	4	32
Don Sn. Yago Fazende	2	1	1	0	4	32
Don Luis Le Court	2	0	0	0	2	16
Luis Rachal	1	3	0	0	4	32
Juan Baptista Le Conte	3	0	0	2	5	40
	162	124	21	16	323	2,584

Having assessed a tax on all slaves both negroes and mulattoes, at the rate of eight *reales de vellón* per head in satisfaction of the deaths of four of their race, and as the number of registered slaves in this jurisdiction is three hundred and twenty-three (as is certified by the

attached list), the aforesaid tax amounts to 2,584 *reales de vellón* which have been collected and are being remitted.

PETITION OF WILLIAM GRANT TO GOVERNOR CHESTER

*February 20, 1775*¹⁷¹

To His Excellency Peter Chester Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of West Florida &c.—
The petition of William Grant a Reduced Lieutenant of the Royal Regiment of Artillery
Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner obtained a warrant of Survey on the Sixth Day of July 1774 for Five hundred acres of Land—That the time limited for a return thereof is now elapsed—

Your Petitioner therefore prays for a renewal of the said Warrant for the aforesaid Tract

of Five hundred acres situated North and by East about nine miles from the Junction of the Rivers Amit and Ibberville Butting and Bounding on all sides by vacant Land—

And your Petitioner as in Duty Bound shall ever pray &c.

WILLIAM GRANT by
EVAN JONES his Atty.

Pensacola 1775

[On outside of the document:]

20th February 1775

Petition of Wm. Grant for a renewal of a War^t. of Survey for 500 Acres Old Warrant dated the 6th July 1774.

JUDICE TO UNZAGA

*March 23, 1775*¹⁷²

MY LORD: Several savages of the Octchianja nation who have their village in the district of the Opelousas, have just arrived at my house this morning, and after their customary ceremonies, they told me that they were coming to town for the express purpose of begging you, My Lord, to give them a chief for their nation since theirs died five years ago. They say that since that time they have not dared to come and see Your Lordship, in view of the fact that part of their people have withdrawn to the English, and that perhaps you would not have looked upon them favorably. They have prayed me to write to you in order to inform Your Lordship of their desire.

¹⁷¹ BL, (English).

¹⁷² BL, (French).

I have the honor of being with a very deep respect, My Lord, your most humble and obedient servant,

LOUIS JUDICE

At LA FOURCHE DES CHETIMACHAS, *the 23rd of March 1775.*

ARRIAGA TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

April 7, 1775 ¹⁷³

No. 180.

The King has taken note of the occurrence in connection with the Indian of the Pascagoula tribe, who Your Lordship reported, under date of November 28, last, had received a commission as captain and a medal such as the English are accustomed to distribute as presents in order to win the other savages over to their side. He has also noted that Your Lordship had given him another one for the second chief and honored him with an effigy of His Majesty. Your Lordship's action is approved and for similar cases or those in which you consider it advisable to distribute other medals, I enclose six silver ones, three with the original of this royal order and the others with the duplicate.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *April 7, 1775.*

DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA (Rubric)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

ACOSTA TO UNZAGA

April 26, 1775 ¹⁷⁴

Señor Governor General.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to advise Your Lordship that yesterday there passed through this post for the village of the Alibamones, in English territory, four Indians of the Choctaw nation. They carried their baggage and arms with them, which inclines me to the belief that they intend to spend some time in that region. I beg to reiterate to Your Lordship the petition made to you under date of the 24th of this month, and also to call attention to the condition in which this fort finds itself after the hurricane which took place on the 16th of the present month, so that, cognizant of all matters, you may order that which is most convenient.

¹⁷³ AGI, PC, leg. 174.

¹⁷⁴ BL.

I am at the service of Your Lordship, whose life I beg God to preserve for the years that I desire.

MANCHAK, *April 26, 1775.*

Your respectful servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

TOMÁS DE ACOSTA (Rubric)

To Señor DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

ACOSTA TO UNZAGA

April 30, 1775 ¹⁷⁵

Señor Governor General.

MY DEAR SIR: The chief of the Pascagulas, passing through here, told me with an interpreter, that upon passing by the village of the Umás, they called him, and that when he did not wish to stop, they fired upon him; and one of the balls passed through the blanket worn by an Indian woman who came with him. I wish to advise Your Lordship of this, as well as of the fact that I have written to Monsieur Judice relative to the affair.

An Indian named Francisco of the Tinza nation, quite civilized for his kind, and settled on some land near to this post, told me yesterday that some of the same Umás were getting ready to make war against the nation of the region, and that one of this nation had so told him. I also wish to inform Your Lordship of this.

I wish to know what I am to do in case one of the enemy nations should attack the Indians of this district, and especially should the latter find themselves in this post, whether by chance or having come expressly with the intention of obtaining our help. I trust I shall merit the orders of Your Lordship, so that in no way nor at any time shall I fail in their compliance.

I am reproducing for Your Lordship (and pardon me that I do so) not only the situation of this post, but also I am submitting the proposal that you send eight or ten men from the battalion, and among them two carpenters with their tools. I feel assured that it will not cost a maravedi to the King, and that in four or five months the fort will be constructed in this place, and this detachment will feel sheltered. When the work is finished, I shall send back the men. Your Lordship may well understand that with the seven men I have, none being skilled in carpentry, it is impossible to expect them to do it and also work in the mess, procure the wood that is required for it, and for the fire which is kept up all night by the sentinel. Maintaining the fire is to serve the double purpose of signaling to those who might pass and of letting the Indians realize that no vigilance is spared, and that it has always been

the custom. I believe I should be lacking in the compliance to my obligation, were I not to acquaint Your Lordship with the aforesaid, and wishing always and upon every occasion to comply, I cannot omit this information.

Until I shall have secured the acceptance of all herein proposed, I beg of Our Lord that you may be spared to me in perfect health for many years.

MANCHAK, *April 30, 1775.*

Your respectful subject and servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

TOMÁS DE ACOSTA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

NATIONS OF THE MISSOURI

*May 19, 1775*¹⁷⁶

List of the nations with which we are accustomed to trade in pelts in the dependency of the Missouri River, with the enumeration of the number of traders who can go to each one, and the quantity of merchandise which experience has taught to be sufficient for the best success of said commerce.

Names of the nations	Number of Traders	Quantity of Goods— Value in pounds of furs
Maha	2	5,000
Panis Maha	1	1,800
Panis	1	1,200
Hotos	2	4,000
Cance (not able to enter)	2	7,500
Little Osages (forbidden)	2	7,200
Missouris (destroyed)	2	4,000
Republic (not able to enter)	1	3,000
Great Osages (forbidden)	7	15,000
Total in furs		48,700

NOTE.—The 48,700 pounds of value in fur make, according to the exchange of the country, 97,400 in money, and if the commerce begun with the Ricarra nation upon the said river is undertaken, it is possible to send one trader with one thousand pounds in order to promote trade in that nation.

St. Louis, *May 19, 1775.*

The trading of brandy must not be permitted among said nations as it is pernicious and does not aid the peace and public welfare.

Dated as above.

PEDRO PIERNAS (Rubric)

¹⁷⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 2358

CRUZAT TO UNZAGA

*March 18, 1776*¹⁷⁷

MY DEAR SIR: The nations of the Little Osages and the Missouris, this winter, have behaved and conducted themselves much better towards the traders, who, consequently, have returned with the utmost satisfaction and profit. I was informed by a trader who had just come from the Great Osages that the latter, too, are behaving themselves and that the traders hope to come out in their commerce with them with the same success as the ones before them did. The Kansas nation, whose speeches have caused the delay and the return of the traders who were going to it and the other nations situated farther up, has not given me any satisfaction as yet. I only know from a party of the Missouris which is here now in this town that the great chief of the Kansas nation will arrive shortly with the chief of the aforementioned Missouris. I have every reason to believe that everything will turn out satisfactorily.

A few days ago, the principal chiefs of the Little Osages were here to see me and, although I presented them with a much better gift than had been designated for them or that which is usually given in consideration of their good behavior, I think that they both left somewhat disappointed, each thinking that he had deserved a medal. This last circumstance embarrassed me so that I did not dare give them what they expected until I had communicated the details to you. Although each of the chiefs has his own particular merit, the second in rank is a man very highly respected among his followers and the traders assure me that his band surpasses that of the chief who is first in rank. I was further told that they are very jealous of each other, continually vying with each other, and that both work very hard but merely with the hope of winning the medal. According to the custom already established, it is more usual to give the medal to the first in rank and there is really no reason why he should be denied it. In giving it to both of them there would arise the inconvenience of the second chiefs of the other nations having reason to expect the same. Depriving the second of the medal and giving it only to the first, I would have as a result of his displeasure, censure, and jealousy, the stealing of horses from the inhabitants of the neighboring towns, and the insulting of the traders. That is why I have refrained from offending either of them. It is well to know that the second chief mentioned has already been honored by my predecessor, Don Pedro Piernas, with a coat and hat, presumably on account of his power and influence among his people. However, not content with this decoration, he aspires after the other, the medal. To avoid all this trouble

¹⁷⁷ BL. This is a transcript obtained by Alphonse Pinart from the Papeles de Cuba before these documents were removed from Havana.

and act with more certainty, I told them that I would consult you and that they should await your decision. Then everything would be arranged satisfactorily for all of us. Having explained the situation to Your Lordship, I beg of you to tell me whether it would be more convenient to decorate each with a medal subordinating the second chief to the first or to give it only to the first.

God guard Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINEUSES, *March 18, 1776.*

FRANCISCO CRUZAT

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA.

UNZAGA TO ARRIAGA

*April 27, 1776*¹⁷⁸

No. 154.

Most Excellent Sir.

SIR: As I deem it indispensable that a military commandant be appointed for the Acadian Coast, extending from fifteen to thirty-five leagues from this capital, I am moved to make a proposal of definite interest to the royal service which will result in great advantages to the arms of His Majesty, should it meet with his royal approval.

This Coast was settled by people who fled from their native Acadia for the sake of their religion. They were located at the expense of His Majesty in the settlements which they now occupy in this province. It is flourishing in industry and agriculture, but above all in its large number of robust young men, from whom could be formed six companies of militia, most useful in the cases for which this plan is proposed. In event of any declaration of war with the English, they would be the first barrier against the enemy, either going to the aid of the fort of Manchac or being used for any other purposes of the services once they learn subordination and discipline from a military chief by being instructed in military evolutions. This could be done Sundays and feast days as with the two German companies, so that it may not interfere with their work.

For this purpose, officers would be assigned to them, and these would also serve to guard against the natural captiousness of this militia, which should be kept at some useful occupation on the days when they drop their daily work on their farms. This very fact will put a stop to their intercourse with the English, from whom they are separated only by the boundary channel on one side, and on the other by the width of this river.

For each of these companies a sergeant and a corporal of this battalion would be taken from those entitled to some rest, with

¹⁷⁸ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-11.

which they would be recompensed as retired soldiers. This would result not only in the instruction of the companies in the discipline of the service, but also in our language which necessity and intercourse would make them understand.

If Your Excellency, in view of these reasons, should consider them to have the weight which I give to them, and if you should care to proceed with the appointment of a commander, I can do no less than propose to you as the best person, brevet captain and second adjutant of this post Don Luis Antonio Andry, who, besides having acquired the experience in the service of France and Spain shown by the attached statement, has in addition personal merits, talents, and a knowledge of mathematics. He is the only one here grounded in this science, which he has employed and still employs to the benefit of the service. These qualities make him worthy of the post of commander of the said militia companies, with a salary of sixty pesos monthly, the same as enjoyed by the commander of the two German companies, should the King be graciously pleased to allot it to him.

May Our Lord preserve the valuable person of Your Excellency the many years that he can.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 27, 1776.*

Your most humble servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

TORRE TO BUCARELI

*May 2, 1776*¹⁷⁹

Confidential

No. 24.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Your Excellency will no doubt be advised by this mail of the prudent concern caused the court by the considerable forces which England is dispatching to American waters for the purpose of subjugating her colonies of the north. It is advisable that Your Excellency should know that measures are being taken in this port to investigate the operations of the English forces and to communicate information to the places where it is considered advisable to have news of them. I inform Your Excellency that not only will an attempt be made to obtain this information in the colonies themselves, but also that cruisers will be stationed at the principal places through which shipping passes from North America

¹⁷⁹ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

to our settlements, in order to observe and watch the English vessels passing through, and to communicate the information which they observe, sending it preferably to that port or province which is considered most interested. A frigate which will be stationed between Cape San Antonio and the Sound of Campeche will take with it a small boat, so that in case it sights any English squadron entering the Gulf of Mexico, or receives such news from any vessel, it may report this at one and the same time to both Vera Cruz and this port.

All of which I report confidentially to Your Excellency for your guidance, and I shall not fail to communicate subsequent news without loss of time, when the nature thereof so demands.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency the many years I desire.
HAVANA, *May 2, 1776.*

Most Excellent Sir, I kiss Your Lordship's hands.

EL MARQUÉS DE LA TORRE (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILIO FREY DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA.

GÁLVEZ TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*May 21, 1776*¹⁸⁰

No. 220.

I particularly charge Your Lordship by order of the King to endeavor to encourage the planting of tobacco in that province with the view of supplying the government monopoly in New Spain. Toward that end Your Lordship will make contracts with the planters of that colony who need help. The tobacco of that province is of excellent quality and very much to the liking of the consumers in all the provinces of the said kingdom.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ARANJUEZ, *May 21, 1776.*

JPH. DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

Señor GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA.

UNZAGA TO GÁLVEZ

*June 19, 1776*¹⁸¹

No. 160.

Illustrious Sir.

SIR: In accordance with royal order of February 28, of the current year I am directed to investigate with all care and secrecy not only the success of the English troops and of their revolting colonies,

¹⁸⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 176.

¹⁸¹ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-11.

but also the intentions of both parties, making use of any means at my disposal.

The latest news that has arrived here by the various English vessels which navigate this river to their establishments is questionable, as the royalists and rebels report the news according to their feelings. I understand, however, that the armed forces of the King of England number more than eighty men of war of fifty to sixteen guns and twenty-five thousand men. Since the affair at Boston, the English have blockaded their ports and taken twenty vessels, among them twelve from Georgia, loaded with rice, which they sent to that place. They burned the others. A frigate which sailed along the coast took two brigantines, one from Carolina and the other from Tortuga. The rebels took Montreal and raised the siege of Quebec with the loss of a thousand men and the commanding general. On the 30th of March of this year seven vessels, the largest of thirty-two guns, arrived at Providence Island, but Mr. Brown, the governor, having advance notice of the expedition, sent what powder he had there to San Agustín in Florida. However, he could not prevent them taking him and his secretary prisoners nor prevent them from taking the guns, cannon, ball, supplies, and ammunition which they found and sent to South Carolina. According to the last news from Pensacola they are fortifying themselves awaiting these same seven vessels with two more which had come to attack them because an English frigate of war of sixteen guns had entered this harbor and taken nine vessels belonging to the rebels. This frigate sailed the seventh of this month to that port in order to aid it. Nevertheless, I am not entirely at ease about the circumstances since I am inclined to doubt the security of the present situation. I do not discount the possibility that the two sides may unite and surprise the dominions of some of the other powers of Europe in order to indemnify their costs and damages or for the attainment of other designs which I shall try to ascertain by all means possible.

I have sent a trustworthy man to Pensacola and I am now making ready a ship of an inhabitant of the English district to sail to Philadelphia, on the pretext of bringing flour under a passport to Cadiz. The ship will have a Spanish crew, for if at his arrival at those coasts he encounters a war vessel, he can excuse himself as having been blown off his course. He will instruct the Spanish captain as to the time necessary to complete the mission and the course he will follow. I am certain that the captain will keep it a secret and I flatter myself that nobody will penetrate it, not even the owner of the vessel. He is convinced that the shipping of said flour is for relieving the need of the people.

I shall not be able to let you know the result of this expedition until the beginning of next year as the boat mentioned will not depart for some time because the harshness of the winters in that area will force the ships of Great Britain to take refuge in the harbors of which they are masters.

May God protect Your Lordship the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 19, 1776.*

Most Excellent Sir, your very obedient and faithful servant kisses your hand.

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ.

UNZAGA TO NAVARRO

*September 20, 1776*¹⁸²

I transmit to you the attached order and two receipts from Mr. Gibson, agent for the colony of Virginia, to whom there were delivered by my order one hundred quintals of powder from the royal stores of this place as it was to the advantage of the service of His Majesty. The value of the powder is one thousand eight hundred and fifty pesos, and was provided as follows: ten quintals of good quality at forty pesos, ten of medium quality at twenty-five, and the eighty remaining of inferior quality at fifteen. The amount has been taken care of for the time being by the aforesaid two receipts or letters of credit payable in the city of Cadiz. I have given an account of this matter to the superior government for the necessary approval. In the meantime, in order that the keeper of the magazine may not be inconvenienced in the least, you shall offer no objections, and shall approve the account he presents in which he charges the said number of quintals to Gibson until the royal decision of his Majesty is received.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 20, 1776.*

LUIS DE UNZAGA (Rubric)

SEÑOR MARTÍN NAVARRO.

SPANISH LOAN TO VIRGINIA

*September 21, 1776*¹⁸³

I The Subscribers' Agent for the Colony of Virginia being legally appointed by the Grand Council of the Said Colony do hereby engage that the Said Grand Council of Virginia shall by the first conveyance

¹⁸² AGI, PC, leg. 573.

¹⁸³ AGI, PC, leg. 573 (English).

after a duplicate of these presents gets to their hands Remit or cause to be remitted to Cadiz the Sum of One Thousand Eight Hundred & Fifty Spanish mill'd Dollars which Sum shall be paid into the Royal Treasury at Cadiz aforesaid for the sole use of His Excellency Brigadier General Don Lewes Unzaga y Amenzaga Governor and Commander in chief of His Catholic Majesty's province of Louisiana, &c, &c, Being for value received of him His Excellency aforesaid, & for the True performance of the within mention'd Covenant I do hereby Bind the Grand Council of the Colony of Virginia one of the thirteen united Colonies of America,—

In Testimony whereof I have Sealed & Subscribed three Instruments of Writing all of this Tenor & Date the whole of which three Instruments are to be rendered Void by the remittance of the Sum of Eighteen Hund^d. & Fifty Spanish milled Dollars as within mentioned Done at New Orleans this 21.st day of Septem^r, 1776.

GEO. GIBSON Capt, 1.st Virg^a. Reg^t,
in the american Service and
Agent for the Colony of Virginia

CRUZAT TO UNZAGA

November 21, 1776 ¹⁸⁴

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The traders of Missouri left this town for their destinations on the third of September and, although the Little Osage and Kansas tribes were not very friendly, I have been informed by various soldiers and by letters from the traders themselves that all of them reached their destinations and that never before had they been so well-received by the savages as this year. The latter are well-satisfied and quite peaceful, and for this reason they assure me that trade will be highly profitable. My only regret is that all of the traders whom I had planned to send could not go as I had intended, and that some of them could not even complete their stocks of goods on account of the total lack of them in this town. Had it not been for Perrault, who brought up a considerable quantity, the Missouri would have been only half supplied.

The Sioux nation, located on the Mississippi, which, as I reported to Your Lordship last year, was very angry because of the deaths of five chiefs who had come down to see us and ask for the medal which had been granted them. The bad opinion the Sioux had gained of the traders who accompanied them when they returned to their nation has been changed because I have had two letters from the son of the head chief of the nation, who died on the same occasion, in which he asked me to send him a trader. On being assured of the foregoing,

¹⁸⁴ BL. A Pinart transcript.

I consented to his request and sent them one with two thousand pounds of merchandise. He left here about the middle of August and returned on the sixth of this month, having done a good business. He assured me that the whole nation was quite peaceful and that it desires our friendship. This is all that I can inform Your Lordship on this matter.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 21, 1776.*

FRANCISCO CRUZAT

SEÑOR DON LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

*March 21, 1777*¹⁸⁵

No. 24.

Illustrious Sir.

MY DEAR SIR: Lieutenant General Conde de O'Reilly, in the creation of the positions in this province which are shown in the regulation of the appointments, nominated Mr. St. Ange to assist the lieutenant governor of the establishments of YlinueSES with his advice in the management and government of the Indians because he had a perfect knowledge of them. His salary was thirty-one pesos per month, but the said Mr. St. Ange having died and it being the first duty of my position to procure the best service for His Majesty, I have selected the retired captain of infantry, formerly of the French service, Don Pedro Francisco Volsay who, during the long time of twenty-five years that he was in the garrison at that place, has acquired great esteem and prestige among the aforesaid Indians, and has made himself greatly respected by them. He may occupy this position and with the same salary as given in the said regulation and he may enjoy it from the day he took possession, with the responsibility to return the amounts received if his nomination is not approved by His Majesty. All of this I relate to Your Eminence in order that by bringing it to your notice you may decide what would be more to his royal pleasure.

May God guard Your Eminence many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 21, 1777.*

Your obedient servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

¹⁸⁵ AGI, And. SD, 86-6-11.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

Most Illustrious Señor DON JOSEPH DE GÁLVEZ.

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE TOBACCO TRADE IN LOUISIANA

June 15, 1777 ¹⁸⁶*Price Fixed for Louisiana Tobacco, and the Conditions to be Observed
By the Inhabitants.*

First: That tobacco shall be received in this city, either in rolls or in bundles, no earlier than the month of January.

2nd. The inhabitants will be required to bring their tobacco into the city in barrels averaging one hundred fifty pounds gross.

3rd. The barrels (which must be made of dry wood, to prevent the risk of the tobacco being spoiled by the humidity of the wood itself) will be furnished by the inhabitants who will see to it that the outsides of the bottoms are polished, and that several holes are bored so as to prevent fermentation.

4th. The tare of the barrels shall be indicated on one of the ends, and each inhabitant shall write in fairly large letters on the same ends: "Tobacco from such and such a place, grown by so and so, in such and such a year."

5th. There shall be delivered at the storehouse only the tobacco of the first and second cuttings, which each inhabitant shall perform with great care, giving special attention to the second cutting.

6th. The tobacco in bundles and rolls must be of good quality, and great care should be exerted to prevent any other kind from being employed in the barrels or in the rolls.

7th. The posts of Natchitoches, Attakapas, and Opelousas may make all their tobacco into rolls in order to avoid the costs of transporting tobacco in bundles, and all the inhabitants shall tie to each roll a printed slip of paper sent for that purpose. These papers will be distributed to them by their respective commandants, in accordance with the number of rolls each shall have. The inhabitants will be obliged to report to their commandants the number of arpents to be used in growing tobacco, and the area must be measured very accurately.

8th. The inhabitants may add to their crop the tobacco privately grown by their Negroes. They shall have it put in rolls in their own presence, in order to guarantee the quality of the tobacco for which the masters will be responsible since it will be received only under their names.

¹⁸⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 1232 (Printed in French).

9th. The tobacco in rolls from Natchitoches, Attakapas, and Opelousas will sell in this city at the rate of ten sols a pound, after being examined and accepted by the experts. The residents of those places will be exempt from the expense of barrels.

10th. All the inhabitants along the river shall make their tobacco into bundles except those who cannot afford the expense. They shall report this fact to their commandant who shall authorize them to roll their tobacco.

11th. Tobacco in bundles shall be paid for at the rate of seven sols a pound. All the inhabitants along the river shall furnish at their own expense barrels for their crops, whether they make rolls or bundles.

12th. The rolls must be very firm, and the barrels generally well-pressed so as to contain as much tobacco as possible.

13th. The inhabitants must be made aware that the tobacco will be closely inspected, so that they cannot be too careful about seeing that there is not a single leaf in the barrels that does not come up to standard. If any one should commit the least fraud, his trial will be all the more severe since his penalty will be proportioned to the wrong he will have done to a crop as important to the entire colony as this one.

14th. The inhabitants will be free to sell in the country, for the consumption of the Negroes and the Indians, all the tobacco of the third cuttings, as well as the leaves of the first and second cuttings that have holes or rust.

15th. Tobacco shall be accepted only with a passport in which the commandant of the district shall mark the approximate quantity, and attest that it has been grown on the land of the inhabitant whose name it bears, in order to prevent any fraud from being committed by persons who are not as interested as the inhabitants in the success of this crop.

16th. No person shall sell his tobacco of the first and second cutting without the express permission of the government.

17th. The bark that is commonly used to tie the tobacco together must be very thin and in one single strip. It must go around the roll six times in the Natchitoches manner, and must weigh one-half ounce only. This weight will be discounted, and the experts will watch this point very closely.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 15, 1777.*

Signed BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ

From the press of Antoine Boudousquie, Printer of the King and the Cabildo, 1777.

PROCLAMATION FIXING PRICES

*July 15, 1777*¹⁸⁷

DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ, colonel of the armies of His Majesty, intendant and governor general *par interim* of the province of Louisiana, etc.

Preoccupied with all things which tend to provide for the greater advantage of the inhabitants and farmers of this province, we have until now tolerated much higher prices for the farm products and food supplies than that specified in the price list ordained by His Excellency, Count O'Reilly, under date of 7th of September, 1769, and followed under the government of Unzaga, our predecessor. It is not only because of the abuses committed by the monopolies which increase every day, and the excessive and usurious prices at which they sell the food supplies and farm products to this province, but more because of the complaint of the public in general that the high cost curtails subsistence, that we are obliged to put in force the said price list, and ordain its execution in all its terms. We make an exception only of oil and fat which we stipulate shall be sold at the rate of fifty sols per jar. In the same manner thrashed rice is fixed at the rate of four and a half piastres a barrel. In consequence, we have ordained and shall ordain that the said price list shall become effective in all its terms from this date with the exception of the abovementioned items. It prohibits and forbids all persons of whatever state and circumstances to violate it under any pretext whatsoever, under penalty of confiscation of food supplies and farm products which they might sell at higher prices than the fixed price, and such penalty as we judge suitable for the first offense. In case of a repetition of the offense a person is to be prosecuted as a violator under the rigor of the laws.

Meanwhile all inhabitants who shall have rice to sell are granted the right to dispose of as much as possible during the period of eight days, counting from this date. After this time expires they shall be held for its sale in conformity with the said price list. The price list likewise prohibits and forbids all merchants of food supplies, poultry, and grains to sell entirely wholesale, until after the public has time to stock up. In case the supply wagon arrives after eleven o'clock they cannot sell wholesale until after five o'clock in the evening, under the penalty above stated. Finally, in order that no person ignore it, and since we find that the said price list which has been abused for so long may have been mislaid, we have ordained that it shall be published again and posted prominently with the

¹⁸⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 1232 (Printed in French).

present ones at all the customary places in this city. Duplicate copies shall be sent to the various commandants of the province so that they may make every effort to see that it is complied with.

Executed at the Government House at NEW ORLEANS.

July 15, 1777.

Signed BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ

By order of His Excellency, *signed* Juan Baptista Garic, Notary of the Government.

Price List

Fresh beef, the pound	6 sols 3 d.
Fresh pork, ditto	6 sols 3 d.
Rendered lard	12 sols 6 d.
Quarter mutton	3 liv. 2 s. 6 d.
Quarter lamb	1 liv. 5 s.
Hen	1 liv. 5 s.
Capon	1 liv. 17 s. 6 d.
Big hens and pullets	12 s. 6 d.
Pair of grain fed pullets	18 s. 9 d.
Dozen eggs	12 s. 6 d.
Turkey hen, 18 mo. old	3 liv. 15 s.
Year old turkey hen and old turkey hen	2 liv 10 s.
Young turkey	1 liv. 17 s. 6 d.
Jar of milk to November 1st	12 s. 6 d.
After Nov. 1st, to end of March	18 s. 9 d.
A pound of fresh butter	1 liv 5 s.
Jar of lard	2 liv 10 s.
Jar of bear grease	2 liv 10 s.
A pound of veal	8 s.
A quarter of young venison	1 liv 17 s. 6 d.
A quarter of old venison	2 liv. 10 s.
1 quarter of unhulled rice	6 liv 5 s.
1 quarter of hulled rice	22 liv 10 s.
Red and white apalachian beans	6 liv 5 s.
Barrel of whole corn	6 liv 5 s.
Barrel of ground corn	2 liv. 10 s.
Barrel of dry kidney-beans	15 liv.
Jar of lentils	1 liv 5 s.
Barrel of English peas and beans	10 liv.
Pair of pigeons	18 s. 9 d.
French domestic duck	1 liv 5 s.
Mallard duck	1 liv. 11 s. 3 d.
Wild game meat, the pound	5 s.
Wild beef tongue	1 liv. 17 s. 6 d.
Pound of ordinary fish like meuil, casseburgos, etc.	5 s.
Pound of choice fish like bass, red fish etc.	6 s. 3 d.
Barrel of sweet-potatoes	3 liv. 2 s. 6 d.
Cord of wood, taken from the levee	18 liv. 15 s.
Cord of drift wood, ash, oak, etc.	7 liv 10 s.
Cord of drift wood, all kinds of wood	6 liv. 5 s.

Price List

French wild duck	1 liv. 5 sols
Other wild ducks	18 s. 9 d.
Teal duck	6 s. 3 d.
Two water-hens for one teal duck	
Cartage charges in the city	18 s. 9 d.

I, Jean Baptiste Garic, government notary, resident of this city of New Orleans, certify and state that the order and price list above mentioned has been read and proclaimed in all the customary places in this city by Nicolas Jourdain, town crier, and it has been prominently posted at the principal gateway and other public and customary places of the city of New Orleans, the 15th of July 1777.

Signed J. BAPTISTE GARIC.

Duplicate copy collated with the original of the above date and year.

HENRY TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*October 20, 1777*¹⁸⁸

WILLIAMSBURG, *October 20th, 1777*

SIR: I humbly conceive that it is an object worthy the attention of Your Excellency and of the Ministers of Spain, although the grandeur of your nation does not depend on Commerce, to secure the Trade at least of the Southern States of America, and thereby deprive their ancient and natural enemy the English of all those vast supplies of Naval Stores, and many other Articles which have enabled them to become so powerful on the Seas; Immense Quantities of Hemp, Flax, Skins, Furs, Beef, Pork, Flower, Staves, Shingles &c the produce of our back country might be easily carried down the Mississippi to New Orleans, which place if it were made a free Port, would be resorted to by the French, and Dutch, who might take off the Tobacco and other Articles, which Spain would not want for her own consumption. Indeed if you were once more in possession of the two Floridas, you might enjoy a great part of the Trade of our Northern States. If your Excellency should think it would be worthy the attention of your Court to cultivate a correspondence with these States through the Mississippi, we would establish a post at the mouth of the Ohio, to facilitate the necessary intercourse between us. I have ordered our agent at St. Domingo to apply for some of the Stores, which by your kind assistance we understand are lodged at New Orleans for our use. We have not received your Excellency's letter on this subject, but are informed by the President of the Congress that such Letter had been delivered to the Committee of

¹⁸⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

Congress. I shall also order a Boat down the Mississippi, for the remainder of the Stores at New Orleans, by which I shall do myself the honor to write more fully to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Your Excellency's most obed^t. humble Servant.

PATRICK HENRY
Governor of Virginia.

REPORTS FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ¹⁸⁹

Extract from the Virginia Gazette of October 31, 1777.

Postscript to a letter from the administrator of posts at Fredericksburg, dated the 28th of said month.

"After having written you, the post arrived and Mr. Bayton writes me in his note of the 21st instant, which was sent by special delivery, that General Washington is in possession of Philadelphia. I offer you my congratulations on this news."

Extract from a letter from a Member of Congress, dated Yorktown, Pennsylvania, October 24.

General Howe is now fleeing precipitately from Philadelphia, crossing the Schuylkill River, with our army pursuing him vigorously.

A letter of October 30 from the agent of the Congress in Virginia, states that General Gates has taken the following prisoners:

- 1 Lieutenant General
- 2 Major Generals
- 7 Brigadier Generals.
- 2 English gentlemen
- 1 Irish gentleman
- 5 Members of the House of Commons
- 5 thousand soldiers
- 15 thousand guns
- 40 cannon of all calibres, stores, baggage, etc. etc.

The same letter repeats that General Howe has crossed the Schuylkill River and is retreating to the place where the squadron lies, and that General Washington is in possession of Philadelphia.

(A rubric)

PROCLAMATION CONCERNING LOUISIANA COMMERCE

November 21, 1777 ¹⁹⁰

DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ, colonel in his Majesty's armies, intendant, inspector, and temporary governor general of the province of Louisiana, &c.

¹⁸⁹ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

¹⁹⁰ BL, (Printed in French).

Know ye all, that His Majesty, whom God keep, having been pleased to show this province the desire which he has for its prosperity, by granting to the inhabitants the privilege of selling their goods and products for money or bills of exchange to the French vessels which may come from the American islands, has again sent us his orders, dated March 10 last, whereby he enjoins us to inform the said inhabitants, that for the sake of their greater advancement, and to augment their property by increasing agriculture, he is willing in his royal clemency to permit them to receive Negroes in payment for the said goods, independently [torn]... will be offered. In pursuance whereof, we inform the inhabitants and settlers of this province, that henceforward they may sell their goods and products to the French vessels and receive in payment Negroes from the cargo, or money or bills of exchange at their discretion, without being accused of violating the laws of the kingdom concerning illegal trading. However, it should not be understood that we are deviating from the prohibition in our ordinance published on April 13, last, concerning the importation from the American islands to this province of half-breed or quarter-breed Negroes. On the contrary we mean and command that it be executed in full, under the penalties provided. The present permission which his Majesty deigns to accord refers only to full-blooded or three-quarter Negroes.

And so that no person may remain ignorant of this, we have commanded and do command that the present order be read and published to the sound of the military drum, and posted in all the usual places of this city.

Given at our Government House at New Orleans, the 21st of November 1777. *Signed* BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ. And lower, by command of His Lordship, *signed* JUAN BAPTISTA GARIC, *government scribe*.

We, Jean Baptiste Garic, government clerk, residing in this city of New Orleans, certify and attest that this proclamation has been read and published in all the customary places of this city by Nicolas Jourdain, public crier, to the sound of the military drum and accompanied by a detachment of grenadiers and sergeants of the Battalion of Louisiana, and was immediately posted in the square, at the door of the principal building and at the other public and usual places of this city of New Orleans, on November 21, 1777. Signed JEAN BAPTISTE GARIC.

This copy is collated with and conforms to the original which remains in the office of the government notary.

At NEW ORLEANS, the 21 November 1777:

From the print shop of Antoine Boudousquie, Printer to the King and the Cabildo, 1777.

GÁLVEZ TO GRAND-PRÉ

*December 7, 1777*¹⁹¹

With M. Dubertrand I send 276 pesos which will cover your salary and the pay of the detachment under your charge for the months of November and December current, as shown by the enclosed account. You will inform me of its receipt at the first opportunity.

On another occasion there will be remitted to you the goods for the Tonica Indians which you discuss in your last letter.

May God guard you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 7, 1777.*

BERNARD DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON CARLOS GRAND-PRÉ.

REPORTS CONCERNING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

*December 22, 1777*¹⁹²

(Copy)

GUARICO, *December 22, 1777.*

On November 27, there arrived here a frigate 52 days out of Samaló, which left the convoy of the troops at the Island of La Madera. It was carrying 350 artillerymen.

On the 29th, an armed brigantine, which made the passage from Charleston here in 17 days, brought the news that General Howe still remained in the same position he was in after the battle of the 14th of September, without having been able to embark a single soldier of the six or seven [thousand] remaining to him. The admiral, his brother, in the efforts he made with his squadron and convoy to aid him, had lost eight or ten ships, both war and merchant, some sunk by the chevaux-de-frise, as well as by fire from the shore batteries defending them. The batteries likewise set fire to others. However, this general persists in refusing to surrender, except after a battle. To this General Washington will not commit himself on account of his humanity in not wishing to shed blood and because he is convinced that, as soon as the Delaware River freezes over where the squadron lies, the lack of provisions from which the English are suffering will bring them to reason in the same way as it did with General Burgoyne.

On December 13, there arrived two frigates, one from Havre de Grace and the other from Nantes, with no special news.

On the 4th, three frigates arrived, two from Marseilles and the other from Bordeaux. Of the former, one touched at Cadiz, but reports nothing in particular. There also arrived a sloop and a

¹⁹¹ AGI, PC, leg. 2358.

¹⁹² AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

*guairo*¹⁹³ from Virginia which confirmed verbally the statements made in the extracts from the gazette of that place which I enclose. They added only that before their departure they heard it generally said that more than two thousand prisoners of the army of General Howe had been taken on its precipitate retreat, and that he was being vigorously pursued.

On the 6th there arrived five frigates with troops, convoyed by the frigate-of-war *La Inconstante*, which had left in Guadalupe and Martinique the men destined for those posts.

On the 7th six frigates, also with troops, and convoyed by the frigate-of-war *La Desdeñosa*, arrived after having touched at the same ports as the preceding ones, and for the same purpose. These are still here in the port of El Guarico and its jurisdiction, as shown by the attached list, together with six large frigates-of-war.

On this same day there also arrived a brigantine from New Orleans without news.

On the 11th there arrived a sloop from Virginia, a schooner from Boston, and a brigantine from Nantes. The first brings the news that General Howe has been trapped by the army of General Washington which has taken some two thousand prisoners, and that it is believed that the whole army will be taken, because of the critical situation in which the English will find themselves. The second reports that General Burgoyne, with all his officers and army, was still in Boston in compliance with the terms of surrender. The third reports nothing special.

On the 12th there arrived the frigate *Santa Barbara*, of the *Asiento de Negrees* of Havana, from which port it sailed on the 11th of November, carrying seventy thousand pesos for the purchase of slaves. There also arrived the King's sloop *El Pilar*, under command of Ensign of Frigate Don Sebastian Furnariz, which also sailed from the same port on the 10th of September, coming by way of the old channel where it suffered cruel weather. It reports that while at El Mulo a Spanish launch arrived which left Havana on the 27th of November, and it was learned from it that a frigate of the said *Asiento de Negrees* had arrived at that port, and that another one had been lost in the said old channel. The sloop *El Pilar* came only for the purpose of bringing Don Josef de Acosta.

On the 13th a *guairo* arrived which had made the passage from Virginia to this port in eleven days. It brought the news that the army of General Howe, on its retreat and in the two engagements it had with General Washington, lost, including dead, wounded, and prisoners, about 700 men. The report was, that seeing himself entirely surrounded and his communications with the squadron of

¹⁹³ A small two-masted craft

the admiral, his brother, cut, General Howe wrote to General Washington offering, in the name of His Britannic Majesty, to suspend hostilities for three years, provided that he be permitted to proceed with his army to New York. General Washington, according to the report, replied that with regard to the person of His Excellency, he might go in all safety whenever he pleased, but that his army must remain prisoners of war and that the suspension of hostilities must be for ten years. He stated he would not give ear to any other propositions. Up to the time of the departure of the above mentioned vessel, nothing had been heard about the results of this proposition.

On the 14th there arrived a frigate from Bordeaux, bringing no news except that it had encountered off Monte de Plata an English frigate-of-war, which, after firing several cannon shots at it, boarded it and insulted its flag and captain by taking him on board her as prisoner for more than 24 hours. For this reason the frigate *La Tersicon y Renomé* sailed that day and the *Indiscreta* had already done so. The *Desdeñosa* sailed the next day.

On the 15th a frigate from La Rochelle arrived bringing 300 recruits and reporting that as many more are to follow.

On the 19th a *guairo* which in nine days (an unbelievable thing) had made the passage from Virginia here, confirmed all previous reports, and added that the royalists, having assembled all the troops they had in Rhode Island, Long Island, and other places, together with those from the squadrons, totaling more than four thousand men, tried to attack the forts defending the chevaux-de-frise. However, General Washington, learning of this, reinforced them with more troops and sent one of his generals to defend them with more than six thousand men. Although the royalists attacked them, they accomplished nothing but the loss of more than 1,600 men, and when this came to the knowledge of General Greene, who was lurking with his troops in the neighborhood of Rhode Island, he took advantage of the withdrawal from that place to attack and take possession of it. This left General Howe in the most unfortunate position, and awaiting replies from the Congress to his proposals.

On the 21st there arrived the frigate *Minerva* which left Havana on November 23. It reported the loss of the frigate *Trinidad*, and the repairing of the sloop *La Amistad*.

(Rubric)

CHESTER TO GÁLVEZ

*January, 1778*¹⁹⁴PENSACOLA *January 1778.*

SIR: I am very happy to learn by Your Excellency's esteemed favour of the 4th Ultimo, that the Sloop with the Flour is safe returned to New Orleans; and I must beg leave to repeat my best thanks for Your friendly intentions manifested upon that occasion, as also to assure you, that I am truly sensible of Your sincere good will, to afford me, at all times every assistance in your power.

The two fugitive Negroes which you were pleased to send round to me, have been delivered to Captain Lloyd, and Mr. Strother. These Gentlemen have a grateful sense of Your Excellency's politeness and generosity to them—and I am to thank You for your kind attention to the interests of His Majesty's subjects in my Government—an attention, which be assured, I shall ever exert my self to repay.

By the Vessel which carries this Letter, Your Excellency will receive a Fugitive Slave, who hath been lately secured in this Town; and who is said to be the property of an Inhabitant of Your Province, whose name I have not been able to learn.—I am therefore to request that Your Excellency will be pleased to deliver the said Slave to his Owner, if resident in Your Colony; otherwise to return him by the first opportunity to Me.

I am further to acquaint Your Excellency that about five months agoe Three Slaves (One of whom is the property of James O'Neil and the other two of James Kirk, both Inhabitants of this Town) ran away from their said Masters and I have lately been informed they were apprehended in Your Government, and are now in custody at New Orleans. Should therefore, my information be true—I am to request that Your Excellency will be pleased to give the necessary Orders for having them sent round by the first vessel to Pensacola—that they may be restored to their respective Owners, who will thankfully pay all expenses incurred on their account—and that the Negroes may be the better known—I herewith inclose their descriptions.

I flatter myself that Your Excellency will rest assured, that I shall be happy at all times to receive Your Commands—and to convince You, by every means in my power the great truth and regard, with which I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant

PETER CHESTER

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, Governor of Louisiana.

¹⁹⁴ BL, (English).

HENRY TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

*January 14, 1778*¹⁹⁵WILLIAMSBURG VIRG^a. Jan^y 14th 1778

SIR: I have taken the Liberty to trouble your Excellency with several Letters lately which went by Sea And considering how Liable our Vessels are to be taken by the British Cruizers, and that the Intercourse with New Orleans was precarious in that Rout, I informed your Excellency that I should send a Messenger to wait on you by way of the Mississippi. Colonel David Rogers will have the honour to wait on you with this, & to receive such Commands as your Excellency may please to have on that River, which by opening an easy and safe communication with the Gulph of Mexico invites to that Intercourse & correspondence between the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty & the good people of this Commonwealth which I flatter myself may be managed to the Advantage of both. An Infant State engaged in a formidable War, procuring with difficulty many Articles necessary for maintaining it with vigor, must feel considerable Distresses. These Virginia feels; but thanks to Heaven they are not greater than her Courage to encounter them. Her own internal Resources, aided by perseverance have removed some of them, while others have been alleviated by the friendly Interposition of the Spanish & French Nations, and signal Successes have in many Instances crowned the American Arms.

Sensible of the Value of that Friendship which your Nation hath tendered to Virginia & of the Favours received from you, I am anxious to make the best Returns in my power—

No. 1 { I beg your Excellency to consider whether the annexing West Florida to the American Confederation will not greatly distress the English West India Settlements, & hinder the progress of their Rivalship to Spain. I'm told they get supplies of Lumber & some provisions & other things from Mississippi. These the Americans can easily stop if it would be acceptable to your Nation.

No. 2 { I have thought it necessary, for securing the Intercourse with New Orleans, to build a Fort some where near the Mouth of Ohio (But that shall depend upon what your Excellency shall please to write me on the Subject.) The inland Navigation of Mississippi & Ohio, altho at present subject to many Inconveniences, has this great Advantage that British Cruizers cannot infest it. Our Trade by Sea is very much distressed by them, which occasions the want of Woollens, particularly Blankets, Linens, & Military Stores. In order to supply these, Colonel Rogers will receive from your Excellency such goods

¹⁹⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English). Compare with letter in *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, (3 vols., Richmond, 1926-29), I, 227-229.

as you may please to send by him & which in your Letters to Congress were said to be lodged at New Orleans for this State.

The Operations of the War with England have been carried on to great Extent, insomuch that the expences of it are become heavy. This induces me to ask of your Excellency whether it would be possible for you to furnish this State with a Sum of Money on Loan, suppose One hundred & fifty thousand Pistoles or what other Sum? Whether this Sum would be most conveniently advanced at New Orleans, the Havanah, Cadiz, or what other place?

No. 3 { Your Excellency will naturally enquire what I have to give in Exchange for these Advances? I answer the Gratitude of this Free & Independent Country, the Trade in any, or all of its valuable productions, & the Friendship of its warlike Inhabitants (at present I know not upon which of these things you set the greatest value. But they are tendered to you & you will have a Right to chuse that which is most acceptable to your Excellency & the Spanish Nation.)

I beg leave to refer you to Colonel Rogers for the explanation of any matters you may wish to know concerning this Commonwealth & the progress of the War. He is a Gentleman in whom your Excellency may place Confidence. He will be able to give satisfaction in many particulars which cannot fall within the Compass of a Letter.

I must entreat your Excellency's peculiar Favor & protection to this Gentleman, and that in his progress Homewards he may meet with every assistance which his Situation & Circumstances may require.

Six hundred thousand people of all Ages are Subjects of this Commonwealth, a very small proportion of our Country is, as yet, Cultivated, & we have more Land than can be settled for many Ages to come. Our Manufacturers are yet in their Infancy, but Agriculture hath flourished to great Extent & enables us to spare Commodities of great Value and Variety.

For an Inumeration of these Commodities I must refer to my former Letters. I wish that such of them may be selected by your Excellency in Return for the goods & the Money I ask on Loan, as may best suit with your Occasions, & that I may have the earliest Information on the Subject. With Sentiments of the most perfect Esteem & Regards, I have the Honor to be Sir

Your Excellencys most obedient & very humble Servant

P. HENRY

I desire it may be remembered that I directed this Letter to be translated into French & have Signed it & Col^o. Rogers will deliver it to his Excellency the Spanish Governor. But inasmuch as the French Language is not accurately understood by many person here, the said

Translation is imperfect, & particularly in the parts marked N°. 1 N°. 2 & N°. 3, where the Sense is omitted in the French Letter. But This Letter written in the English Language on this paper, I send as authentic, & that on which I rely, & will consider as containing the sense & meaning of the Executive Power of Virginia. Done at Williamsburgh aforesaid

P. HENRY

RUTLEDGE TO GÁLVEZ

*January 23, 1778*¹⁹⁶

CHARLES TOWN S^c. CAROLINA *Janry 23^d 1778*

SIR: The Gentleman who will deliver this Letter having informed me that, you profess great Friendship for the united States of America, & express a Desire to render Service to any of them, & such Disposition having indeed been manifested, not only by the Court, but the People, of Spain, I am therefore induced to write to you on the Subject.

It appears to me, that a Trade, with the Creek & Cherokee Indians, may be carried on, with greater Safety, (whilst the Spanish French & British Nations continue at Peace with each other,) thro' the Channel of orleans, than directly to & from this State, in which I have the Honour to preside— I wish, then to know, from you, whether, it is consistent with your Police & Regulations, to permit the Establishment, & Residence of an American House & Agent, at New-orleans, for the purpose of carrying on this Trade, by importing Foreign Goods; necessary for it, into Orleans, & exporting, the Returns from thence, on Account of the Congress, of this State, or, of private Persons, licensed by them, or me, assuring myself that, if it is, such Permission will be readily granted—

I have the Honour to be with great Respect Sir

Y^r. most obed^t. h^{ble} Serv^t.

J. RUTLEDGE

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

EXTENSION OF FREE TRADE UNDER CHARLES III

*February 2, 1778*¹⁹⁷

ROYAL DECREE

IN WHICH HIS MAJESTY HAS RESOLVED

to make more extensive the concession of free trade included in the decree of the 16th of October, 1765. Instructions of the same date,

¹⁹⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

¹⁹⁷ BL.

and other later decisions, which only included the islands of Barlovento and provinces of Campeche, Santa Marta, and Río del Hacha, but which now include that of Buenos Ayres, with importation through it to the other provinces of South America, and extend to the other authorized ports on the coast of Chile, Perú, etc.

Issued on the second of February, 1778.

BY ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY

In Madrid: By Juan de San Martín, printer for the Secretaryship of State, and the general Offices of the Indies. Year 1778.

Moved by the paternal love which all my vassals of Spain and America merit from me, and in view of the fact that, since the colony of Sacramento on the Plata River no longer exists, the principal motive for the prohibitive measures relative to commerce of these kingdoms with those of Perú through the province of Buenos Ayres no longer exists, I have resolved to make more extensive the concession of free trade, contained in my royal decree of the 16th of October, 1765, including instructions of the same date, and other later decisions. These only included the islands of Barlovento and provinces of Campeche, Santa Marta, and Río del Hacha, and take in now that of Buenos Ayres with importation through it to the other provinces of South America, and extend to the other authorized ports on the coasts of Chile and Perú. Thus the conditions of those privileges will be improved, and will react to the universal benefit of my dominions, under the following rules and articles.

I

All my subjects in Spain may transport or remit through the commission men and agents, according to the Laws of the Indies, the products, goods, and merchandise of these kingdoms, and also foreign goods legitimately introduced therein (except wines and liquors of the aforesaid foreign importations which are always to be strictly prohibited) with the exemptions which I have already granted to them from the duties of Palmeo, tonnage, San Telmo, foreign goods, registration, inspection of hulls, equipments, licenses to sail, and all other expenses accruing from the plan of the year 1720, and the regulations then in use. There is to be paid only at the time of shipment at the respective customhouses of the peninsula three percent of the price of the goods and products of Spanish origin, and seven percent on foreign importations over and above the duty paid at the time of their introduction into these my dominions. These foreign goods must never be, nor ought they to be confused with the goods and manufactures of Spain, nor be substituted for them, under

the penalty that both shall be confiscated, and the guilty participants shall incur the loss of position and other punishments incident to the defrauding of my royal revenues.

II

Other similar duties of three and seven percent will be exacted at the time of landing at Buenos Ayres, and other ports of Perú, Chile, Santa Marta, Hacha, and islands of Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad as an aid to my beloved vassals, Spaniards and Americans.

III

In order to facilitate the shipments of my subjects and their cargoes, a passport and a royal patent such as are wont to be issued by your office and the corresponding permits of the administrators of my customhouses will suffice, with the obligation of documents in return, according to Article VII of this my royal decree, to show the routes and point of landing of all or part of the merchandise, and the arrival of the vessel either at its destination, or some other place, due to the accidents of the weather.

IV

After the verification of the duties at the time of shipment at the authorized ports of Spain, the administrators at the customhouses shall send signed memoranda of the cargoes, with complete separation of native and foreign goods, to the inspectors in charge of the vessels sailing for the ports of the Indies; and these officials in turn are to direct them to you, so that the necessary information and instructions may be despatched to America by your department.

V

The ships destined for this commerce are to be outfitted and definitely to set sail from the ports of Seville, Cadiz, Málaga, Alicante, Cartagena, Barcelona, Santander, Coruña, and Gijón on the continent; from Palma and Santa Cruz de Tenerife in so far as the islands of Mallorca and the Canaries are concerned, according to their particular concessions.

VI

All cargo on the aforesaid vessels of free commerce, upon their departure from the ports of Spain, the Canary Islands, and Mallorca, as well as upon their return from the ports of America, must be

exactly and formally registered in the respective customhouses, or royal treasuries, under penalty of seizure because of the mere fact of not being contained in the permits or registries.

VII

If on account of weather or lack of speed it may be more to the interests of the owners or shippers of marketable goods to vary their destination in the Indies, they may do so with the same papers if it be to ports comprised in this concession. Note should be made at the end of the permits, furnished at the customhouses of Spain, of the change of route and the reason, and whether the duties are paid on that portion of the goods discharged at the first port of arrival of the vessel. No new charges are to be made on those which continue on to another port, except in case products or merchandise of the country are taken on in the port where a stop is made or where the vessel may land. Let it be distinctly understood, that, if through unforeseen accidents, the ships of this free trade should arrive at other ports not authorized for it, their unloading shall be prohibited, as well as the sale of their cargoes, nor shall any goods or merchandise be received thereon.

VIII

Between the provinces and islands included within this concession my subjects may carry on trade with the respective goods and merchandise under these same regulations.

IX

The moneys and other registered goods brought by the merchant ships upon their return from the ports of America, shall for the present pay upon their departure therefrom and upon their entrance into Spanish ports the duties outlined in the Laws of the Indies. The commerce of Louisiana is subject to its special concession.

X

The judges of Spain and the Indies, the administrators of customhouses, royal officials, and other employees in charge of my revenue, are not to solicit or receive any payment, fee, or gratuity from the owners of the vessels, their captains, and the receivers of the goods and merchandise for any papers of registration, and for their preparation and prompt despatch excepting only the cost of the paper and expense of recording, and the aid of the notaries at the ports of the Indies in accordance with the new tariff of duties which I have

ordered made. Let it be well understood by all that anything done to the contrary will incur my royal displeasure and other punishments corresponding to the circumstances of the case; rather do I order that they protect them and give all the help they may require. You will bear this in mind, issuing orders in the part under your charge for its strict observance; and to the same end, you are to forward copies of this my royal decree to the ministry of the treasury who likewise will see to its fulfillment, and to the necessary tribunals and judges, so that all my vassals of these dominions and those of the Indies may know of it. Signed by the royal hand of His Majesty in El Pardo, on the second day of February 1778.

To Don Joseph de Gálvez. It is a copy of the original which His Majesty has directed to me.

MARÍA BENANCIA TO THE GOVERNOR

*February 27, 1778*¹⁹⁸

E COR RUS, *February 27, 78.*

GOVERNOR INSPECTOR GENERAL: The genuine charity that all who are under your command recognize in Your Lordship causes us to solicit from you, who are the most kind father of all, that you look upon us with merciful eyes—upon me, María Benancia, a native of Santa Fé, Kingdom of Mexico, who, with my four daughters, was taken captive on the third day of June of 1778¹⁹⁹ by the nation named Quman Ches.²⁰⁰ I was sold to the Panis nation together with three daughters. One was left in the Quman Ches nation, making four. After having been one year in the Panis nation I met Andrés Labonharda who promised to gain my freedom by marrying me. I consented provided that he were man enough to support me and keep me in the state which God and the Church order. At the present time I see that he cannot support me, because he has difficulty enough to support himself. Everything he makes he spends for drink, for he is a great drunkard. I have found a man who can keep me in the state of life which God and the Church command.

At present the aforesaid Lavonhard is raising difficulties, and trying to turn her head the other way and take her to the forest and sell her, for double the price which she cost him. Now the aforesaid woman says he is unable to support her, and that it exasperates her to have to pay him the amount which she cost him, for she served him during the time he had her, but that if Your Lord-

¹⁹⁸ BL.

¹⁹⁹ The writer of the letter made an error in the date.

²⁰⁰ Comanches.

ship will grant her permission to marry the man to whom she is promised, the aforesaid man obligates himself to pay whatever sum Your Lordship may name. We await your kind orders.

I should rather prefer to be in the hands of the enemies than to continue in his power. While in the Rivera he beat me, telling me that I was not his wife. He said that I was his slave, that I had cost him his good money and that he could do whatever he pleased. I shall not tire you further, and may heaven preserve you the years desired is the wish of your humble servant.

MARÍA BENANCIA.

NAVARRO TO BUCARELI

*March 4, 1778*²⁰¹

Confidential.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In your confidential letter of January 27, last, Your Excellency was pleased to report the prudent precaution which you had taken of postponing the shipment of the one million, seven hundred thousand pesos on the frigates *La Dorada* and *Santa Marta*, intended for this year's allotments, until Your Excellency is informed by me as to whether or not the reasons which led to the dispatch of the squadron from this port to meet the merchant fleet now give rise to any suspicion of risk in remitting these funds under the protection of only the two frigates.

In order to reply to Your Excellency in the manner that the importance of this matter demands, I have conferred with the commandant general of this squadron and the intendants of navy and royal exchequer. I find that the reasons which caused the squadron to sail to meet the merchant fleet no longer exist, as there has been no further news that English war vessels have entered the Gulf, nor that there are any of these vessels at Pensacola. Since neither the orders of the court nor the operations of the British forces directed against the colonists give rise to any fears which might hinder the safe voyage of the said two frigates, we have concluded that Your Excellency may well dispatch them at once with the aforementioned funds.

It has also been decided that it will be very advisable, if Your Excellency is able to send the total of the allotments by the same two frigates so as to receive them here in advance, because, on account of the footing on which this squadron now exists, after the departure of the merchant fleet, there will be no ship suitable for carrying them in May.

²⁰¹ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

The two merchant ships are being convoyed by two warships and the funds and goods are distributed among the four vessels. There are two frigates more, so that this squadron has left only four ships, of which Señor Don Juan Bap.^{1a} Bonet says he cannot spare any, because of instructions he has from the court. The frigates *Santa Marta*, *La Dorotea*, and *La Agueda* are the only ones left. The first must proceed to its destination, Cartagena, to take the allotment for Cumaná, another must take those for Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, and the other is to remain here for any eventualities that may occur.

With this information, Your Excellency may decide what your well-known prudence considers most advisable for the good of the service.

May our Lord keep you the many years that I desire.

HAVANA, *March 4, 1778.*

Most Excellent Sir, Your hand is kissed by your most attentive servant.

DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILIO FREY DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA.

GÁLVEZ TO VILLIERS

*March 5, 1778*²⁰²

I received the communication of the 25th of last month from which I learned of the arrival at that place of Mr. Willing with a party of Americans after having captured the English post of Concordia. I trust in your zeal and prudence in knowing what measures to take to prevent the attacks of the Chickasaw Indians, on account of the aid you gave those Americans.

As soon as I see Francisco Farg Jones and Antonio Generaces, I shall punish them because they misused the passport that you gave them in that they were dealing with the foreigners, thus betraying the confidence you had in them.

God guard Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 5, 1778.*

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ

Señor DON BALTASAR DE VILLIERS.

²⁰² BL. A Pinart transcript marked Arch. Gl. Cuba, Flor. Occ. 1-1217.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS BY POLLOCK

1778²⁰⁸*Extract of a Letter to Congress dated 6th March 1778*

I have del^d. Your Letters to the Gov^r. and am now getting them translated properly. But as this Vessell is just going off I have read them over and Communicated the Contents to him which he is well pleased with & still disposed to serve you, therefore rest assured everything You desire shall be put in execution immed^y, as the Gov^r. has promised to assisst me with some Cash tho' he has not as yet rec^d. any order for so doing

Extract from a Letter Dated 7th. May 1778

Though I am now dispatching the Bateau Speed well under the Care of Mons^r. Conand & goes regularly cleared under Spa. Colours for the Illinois Country, yet as exasperated are they upon this River & at Pensacola that it is a doubt with me whether they will not stop her above & perhaps take her tho' Spa. property, as the Gov^r. of Pensacola & the Cap^{tns}. of the two Sloops which went away from here a few days ago, threaten Vengeance against the Gov^r. for not Delivering up every American here with all the prizes taken &^{ca}-& say they will make Reprizal on this Town which in all probability will be the means of bringing on further Ceremonies betwixt the Courts of Spain & Great Britain tho' People in general think this will not happen as they suppose the Latter have enough upon Hand already, However I cannot conclude this important Subject without giving the greatest applause to Gov^r. Galvez for his noble Spirit & behaviour on the Occasion, for, tho' he had no Batteries erected, or even Men to defend the place against the Two Sloops of War, and at sametime a Small Sloop with a Hundred Men in the Lakes all coming against him with Demands & Threats, yet in this Situation he laughed at their Haughtiness and despised their attempts, and in short they returned as they came, but as I have good reason to suppose they are not yet satisfied & only wait for more force. In gratitude to this Gov^r. I think you should lose no time in sending a sufficient number of Troops to guard the River above, & if possible to spare a sufficient number to take Pensacola and then You are sure of all the Indians & perhaps afterwards become a Valluable Conquest

Extract of a Letter dated 6 July 1778

In my last Letters I mentioned the Threats & Demands that the People from Pensacola were making daily on Gov^r. Galvez here

²⁰⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

for the Protection he had as openly shewn to the Americans since the Arrival of Cap^t. Willing's party in this Country, by receiving our Prizes, suffering us to fit out Armed Vessells &^{ca} from this place against them, and at a time when they assert, that the Court of Spain & Great Britain are upon the best Terms & a solid Peace & Tranquillity & in consequence tell him, they will represent his unparalleled Conduct in the strongest Terms to the Court of Great Britain, who they are assured will demand satisfaction of the Court of Spain & have him bro^t. to a severe Account for his Transactions, tho' he is in little dread of the former, yet it gives him some uneasiness on Account of the latter as there is no account here of War being declared or even that the Court of Spain have acknowledged our Independancy, he may therefore be liable to Censure from his own Court for acting as publicly in our favor, & contrary to the opinion of his Council here, however in hopes of a speedy Rupture with Great Britain, & an everlasting Alliance with the States, he remains fully satisfied with what he has done, & is always ready to contribute his services towards the Cause & will be happy in giving You farther proofs of it if You should happen to send an Expedition against Pensacola—

POLLOCK TO GÁLVEZ

1778²⁰⁴

SIR: Having received from the honorable Congress representing the thirteen united provinces and the independent State of North America a commission to act as their agent in the dominions of His Catholic Majesty in Louisiana, I beg Your Lordship's permission to announce this to you.

The friendship, which I desire to be permanent, existing between His Catholic Majesty and the states for whom I act, encourages me to hope for Your Lordship's protection in the discharge of the task that has been entrusted to me.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

OLIVER POLLOCK.

To His Lordship Señor Don Bernardo de Gálvez, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Louisiana.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS TO LEYBA FROM GÁLVEZ

March 9, 1778²⁰⁵

Special instructions to be observed by Captain Don Fernando de Leyba, appointed to be lieutenant governor of the settlements in

²⁰⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

²⁰⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 2358.

Ylinueuses, dependent upon this province of Louisiana under my command.

1. He shall try to induce the settlers to devote themselves to the sowing and cultivation of hemp and flax, explaining to them the great benefits which this will bring them, inasmuch as His Majesty declares by his royal orders that these two commodities will be free from all export and import duties into the ports of Spain. He shall advise the said settlers that I have proposed to the King that he furnish them Negro slaves in order to develop more quickly the crops abovementioned, but that pending receipt of the royal decision, they should make a start with these crops, in order to have sufficient seed.

2. *Confidential.* He shall make every effort to win the good will of all the Indian tribes, not only those in the territory of His Majesty, but also those under the jurisdiction of the English. He shall use for this purpose all the tact and good treatment possible in order to attract them to our dominions, but in such a manner as not to compromise himself, in order to avoid complaints on the part of England.

3. *Confidential.* Acadians or Apostolic Roman Catholics in English territory, and Irish, Canadians, and Germans should be aided with great zeal in increasing the population of the posts entrusted to him. In order to attract settlers even from Canada, he shall inform them that all families wishing to settle in our dominions will enjoy the protection of His Majesty, be given lands, and provided with the tools necessary to cultivate them, together with rations monthly until they have gathered their first harvest after their arrival. He shall advise them that I have made representations to His Majesty, asking whether this assistance will be given free, or whether under the obligation of repaying it when their circumstances so permit. This will be done in conformity with the attached regulations and the persons who have furnished the said tools and rations given a certificate specifying the quantity of each article and its value. It shall be the duty of said lieutenant governor to send to this government, at least at the end of each year, an exact account of the number of new subjects (of His Majesty), including those to whom tools and provisions have been given up to the date thereof, for comparison with the certificates which have been paid by this royal treasury. In order that this post may proceed with the clarity required to make this account or abovementioned report demanded of it, he shall keep a book in which he will enter the name of each individual, showing each family separately, and with columns for the tools distributed, and for the months in which they receive rations. He is charged with handling

this matter, so important as regards our people, with all the care which his prudence may dictate.

4. *Confidential*. He shall endeavor to learn all the news occurring in the English part (of Illinois), concerning the war of this power with the colonists, the situation of both parties and their plans so as not to allow himself to be surprised in case of any unforeseen design. If there is any news of importance, he shall communicate it to me promptly, after first assuring himself of its truth, in order not to incur useless expense to the royal exchequer.

5. *Confidential*. If he should have correspondence with any American chief of the American provinces, he shall observe the greatest secrecy, and report same to me; and in case he should receive letters for me, he shall send them to me by the first opportunity or by a special courier if so instructed.

6. As it may happen that subjects of his Britannic Majesty or of the united provinces may arrive to ask him for sanctuary in our territory in order to save themselves and their property from their respective enemies, he shall grant this to both parties without distinction, not permitting them to be violated or outraged in any way, because, as they are under the flag of His Majesty, they should enjoy the same protection as his own subjects.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 9, 1778*.

[Draft by BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ]

WILLING TO GÁLVEZ

March 24, 1778 ²⁰⁶

SIR: I am exceedingly sorry to find myself under a necessity of troubling Your Excellency with a Reply to the Letter of the 19th. Instant with which you have honoured me. My duty impells me to it I therefore hope You will be pleased to reconsider the Cases of the several Claimants of the Prizes N^o. 2, 3 & 5.

N^o. 2 is a Vessell belonging to British Subjects, on her Voyage to the West Indies laden with Articles absolutely necessary for the Enemies of the States I have the Honor to serve— She was seized, and made Prize without the least Alarm or Insult given to any of his Catholick Majesty's Subjects She was on float in the River Mississippi the Navigation whereof is equally free to British as Spanish Subjects and the American Independant States claim by the Laws of Nations a right to pursue take and seize the Persons and property of all British Subjects wherever they can possess themselves of either not in the particular protection or ports of any Nation Neutral in the present War. The Vessell in question was not in Spanish port

²⁰⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

or protection. The Court of Vice Admiralty of Pensacola adjudged in the Case of American Vessells taken in the River Mississippi That the Capture so made came under the Denomination as that of Prizes made on the high Seas. By the same Rule I claim as a Lawfull Prize the Vessell and Cargo in question. If notwithstanding Your Excellency is not of oppinion that this prize is Legaly made, I hope You will suffer the Vessel and Cargo to be sold, and the proceeds to be sequestred in Your Treasury untill a future determination by the Court of Spain and Congress.

The Boat or prize N^o. 3. tho' lastly taken below English Manchack was in fact in the actual possession of Lieutenant McIntyre an Officer under my Command at Manchack in the British Territories Stolen off in the Night by Mr. Shakespear contrary to his Faith pledged, and I cannot help thinking that I have a right even to demand the Boat and Goods that were on board her as a property belonging to and stolen from me, supposing even the late Owner had actually applied for and received the protection of a Neutral power. But this last was by no means the case. The Boat was on float tho' fastened to a Log of Wood near the Shore on the River Mississippi the Possessor having neither demanded nor obtained your protection at that time. These matters considered (of which further proof may be made) I hope the Boat & Cargo will be adjudged lawfull prize

With respect to the Boats or prize N^o. 5 I have in a former letter to Your Excellency given a true State of their Capture. I chased them upon the River Mississippi about five Leagues above Spanish Aux Arcs. One of the Boats was Boarded and Taken upon the River, The Other chased & Boarded The Instant She touched the land on the Spanish side of the Mississippi. Both were brought to the English side But upon Application made I permitted them to deliver at the Spanish Aux Arcs a quantity of Flour for the use of his Catholic Majesty's Troops. As I observed before they traded to a British post, supplied the Enemies of the States of America, had on board the Goods received in return thereof, and had neither Passport, Permission nor protection as I presume to hope from any Officer of the Court of Spain for such Illicit Trade. I therefore must take the Liberty to esteem the Seizure of both these Boats as consonant to the Universal Custom of all Civilized Nations, and that they will be adjudged as Lawfull Prize accordingly

I have the Honor to be with Respect,

Sir Your Most Obedient & Most H^{ble} Servant

JA^s. WILLING

Captⁿ in the Service of the Indep^t.

United States of America.

NEW ORLEANS 24th. March 1778

WILLING TO GÁLVEZ

*April 1, 1778*²⁰⁷NEW ORLEANS *April 1, 1778*

SIR: I am inexpressibly sorry that any Act of mine should be the means of giving your Excellency the least displeasure; I am conscious of the rectitude of my intentions however I may have error'd without designing the most remote Approach to any disrespect to your Person or Authority, both which I hold in the greatest esteem and deference—

By what I can understand by the Translations I have been able to obtain of the Letter of the 27th. Ult^o. which you did me the honor to write, Your Excellency has been informed That I affixed Proclamations in the Publick parts of this City &c. Permit me Sir to assure you that I set up a Notice in writing within side the House wherein I lodged by Your Excellency's permission and in no other place whatever; This House I Esteemed my Quarters under the protection of your Government—

This Sir I thought the least offensive method of requesting such Brittish Subjects as were by me made Prisoners of War to the American Arms, to repair onboard the Prize Ship Rebecca when I should grant them Permission in writing with full assurance to remain unmolested by any American Officer or Soldier upon their pledging their Honor that they would surrender themselves when thereunto required upon any future Cartel and as those Gentlemen could not or would not have any opportunity of being acquainted with my desire, if the same had not been made known to them in this City, I hoped, that such Notice as I gave them was the least likely to give Offence to your Excellency and might have answered the desired purpose; But as it had an effect I did not foresee, I take this opportunity to begg Your Excellency to be assured; That I am exceedingly sorry, any Act of mine should give you the least degree of disgust or Offence and shall in future take particular care that I shall myself and all Officers and Soldiers under my Command be particularly cautious of avoiding whatever may possibly be esteemed disagreeable to your Excellency or prejudicial to any of his Catholick Majesty's Subjects under your Government—

I have the honor to be with Respect

Your most obedient h^{be} Serv^t.

JA^s. WILLING*Captⁿ. in the Service of the Ind^t.**United States of America.*

²⁰⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

WILLING TO GÁLVEZ

*April 5, 1778*²⁰⁸

SIR: I am extremely sorry that I should in any Case differ in Opinion from your Excellency, But I cannot help thinking that the prizes No. 2, 3 & 5 do not come within the same line with those others already delivered up at your Desire; And must yet take the liberty of insisting upon the right the Troops or Naval Powers of the American States have to seize and, take the Persons and Property of all British Subjects upon any part of the River Mississippi from its source to the Sea in like manner as upon the high Seas provided the same is not on shore upon His Catholic Majesty's Territorys or under the Guns and protection of any Fort in Your Excellencys Government, Neither of which was the Case of either of these prizes

The prizes in question are now in your Power and under your Authority; But I apprehend I cannot be answerable to My Masters the Honorable Congress for the Restitution of these Prizes if your Excellency does not think proper to give me a positive Order in writing for so doing; I shall at the same time expect that you will be pleased to enforce A restitution of those Negroes part of the Captures I legally made that are now onboard of a British Ship of War off this City Which Negroes were part of the property I had here and to which you accorded protection as well as any other Property that may in future be taken or received onboard of any Brittish Ships in like manner Which your Excellency was pleased to promise upon my delivering up a Negroe belonging to a Brittish Subject that had come onboard the Prize Ship Rebecca in this Port—I have the honor to be

SIR

Your most Obedient & most humble Servant

JA^s. WILLING

*Captⁿ In the Service of the Indep^t
United States of America.*

NEW ORLEANS 5th. *April 1778*

To His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ

WILLING TO GÁLVEZ

*April 13, 1778*²⁰⁹*April 13th. 1778—*

SIR: With respect to what Your Excellency mentions in your Letter of the 6th Instant touching the seizure of the Persons and effects of a William Eason and the Person of Archibald Crawford,

²⁰⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).²⁰⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

Permit me Sir to assure you that the Information you had regarding both is totally false. The truth is that Eason was taken upon the English Shore Six or Seven Leagues above the Natchez on his way to the English Arkansaws with certain Merchandize partly for Sale and partly to be given to such Indians as would take Arms against the Americans; That he was employ'd by Mr. Harry Stuart a Deputy Superintendant in Indian Affairs for His Brittanick Majesty for this notable purpose, as well as to debauch and bring over the Arkansaw Indians to the English Side. This Sir pretty clearly appears from an intercepted Letter from Eason to Stuart, a Translation of which I herewith transmitt for Your Excellencys consideration and the Originall shall be produced whenever you shall please to require it— I shall make no Comment upon the Letter in question, leaving it to your superior Judgement to determine how far this Fellow merits passports or other Indulgence—

He pretends to being a Spanish Subject, but at Pensacola he very lately had a Grant of Lands in consideration of his Services in his Indian Transactions: All and more than I have said of this Fellow may be farther proven by the Testimony of Men of integrity and reputation not to be justly brought in Comparison with this base Fellow; Whatever he may have informed you he shewed no passport whatsoever to Lieutenant McIntyre the Officer who made him Prisoner; But permit me Sir to suppose that he had One in the common form; In this case Sir give me leave to ask, Would your Excellency grant passports to any persons (to serve by way of protection) who should carry supplys of Arms, Ammunition, or other Merchandize for the use of the Enemys of the American States; I should certainly expect your Excellencys Answer in the Negative—

As to Archibald Crawford he was made prisoner onboard the Armed Ship Rebecca at English Manchac, was suffered to go at large as a Prisoner of War upon Parole, and afterwards was stopped upon the River by Lieutenant Harrison an Officer under my Command and who is now upon Duty up the River; But so far was he from being deficient in paying due deference and respect to your Excellencys passports, that he knew Crawford to have been prisoner of War upon Parole, he yet set him at liberty upon his producing your passport agreeable to the Orders he had received from me respecting all such Cases—

I have the honor to be with great Respect

Sir

Your most Obedient and very humble Servant—

JAS. WILLING

Captⁿ.

GÁLVEZ TO NAVARRO

*April 14, 1778*²¹⁰*Confidential*

[Copy]

MY VERY DEAR SIR: According to various secret reports which I have received from different persons, it appears that the English are planning an attack on this city for its having given asylum to the Americans and their prizes. Although the reception given the said Americans is the same as practiced in the ports of Europe and the islands of America, against which the said English have taken no vengeance whatever, they will perhaps dare to do so here, seeing it undefended. Such a proceeding would not be at all prudent, the more so as it does not seem that they are in a position to seek a war. However, the appearances agree with the reports, as there are already two frigates in front of this city, and, according to reports, two or three others are yet to come, of which, one is thought to be at the mouth of this river. It is said to have 32 guns, and this artillery must be passed by any other ship entering there. If this is so, these two frigates can have no other object than this place, as they have no reason to go up to Manchak, Natchez, or the other English settlements, nor anything to gain, because there is nobody there.

The officer in command of these frigates is said to be a brutal man, capable of committing any act, without regard for the consequences. His intention appears to be to demand of me the prizes of the Americans and their persons, particularly the commander and officers of his party, and unless I agree to this, to fire on the city and destroy it. It is clear, and Your Lordship will recognize this, that I cannot accede to such a demand (which has already been made of me by the governor of Pensacola in a letter which I have just received). It is also evident that I should be, as I am, determined to defend these Americans and their prizes, and to employ in that purpose all the forces I have, although very few, because the King would certainly not approve of my allowing them to violate with impunity the asylum sought by the said Americans in his royal name, and naturally granted them under this same protection. However, it is physically almost impossible for me to undertake much defense with few more than 200 men. Of those almost all are overdue for discharge, and entitled to retirement allowances. There are only four artillerymen, even those being separated, one on detachment and three at this post. Consequently, it is indispensable that Your Lordship should aid me with some companies or pickets from your regiments and some artillerymen, that

²¹⁰ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

is, in regard to land forces. Also in regard to sea forces, it is necessary for Your Lordship to ask the commandant general of that department to send me three or four war vessels, light and manageable in this river, so that, with this aid, my efforts may not be fruitless, and so that, in case of attack, the arms of the King may maintain their honor and advantage.

I do not believe it necessary for me to point out to Your Lordship the promptness with which these reinforcements should arrive (whatever Your Lordship may send me), because it is my plan to prolong the negotiations and avail myself of all means possible to gain time.

Despite my well-founded fears, I still do not believe that the English will dare to attack me, but at the same time, one should not trust in a nation which has given proofs of the little scrupulousness in keeping faith, when such is their whim.

The location of this post is the most unusual and critical it could possibly be. It is open and is the only frontier that Spain has with the English. If war were declared, it would be more secure than now, because then its defenses would begin at La Baliza, but, as it is not declared, I cannot prevent them from anchoring at the very levee or mole. This disadvantage is like my having the point of a sword at my breast, waiting for the enemy to lunge and run me through before I am permitted to draw my own blade. Finally, I shall omit no effort or precaution that can contribute to the best defense of this province which the King has intrusted to me. Give me, Your Lordship, with the greatest promptness, what aid you can, but at the same time do not be concerned, because, as I have said, I shall yield in nothing that would prejudice the honor of the nation.

May God protect Your Excellency the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 14, 1778*.

Your most humble and attentive servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ

SEÑOR DON DIEGO JOSEF NAVARRO.

MORGAN TO GÁLVEZ

*April 26, 1778*²¹¹

FORT PITT, *April 26, 1778*

SIR: On the 24th of February, I had the honor of receiving Your Lordship's letter, dated August 9, last, and I immediately forwarded to Congress by special messenger what Your Lordship sent

²¹¹ AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

me, as I have not the good fortune to understand the Spanish language. Unfortunately, to date, it has been impossible to find any member of that body or any other person able and worthy of being entrusted with its translation, for which reason His Excellency, the President, commands me to present his respects to Your Lordship, regretting this unfortunate occurrence, but explaining that he himself will have the honor of writing to Your Lordship as soon as he succeeds in having the letter translated.

When Your Lordship has occasion to write to Congress or to favor me similarly again, I should appreciate it if you would be so kind as to do so in English or French, so that we may not again find ourselves in such a predicament. As Congress has not yet found anybody who can translate your last favor, I beg Your Lordship please to send a duplicate in English or French by the first opportunity. We shall regard it as a particular favor and a very special courtesy on the part of Your Lordship.

This letter is being sent by the boats which are going down the river to join Captain Willing, and as I think that Your Lordship would not be adverse to being informed of the principal events of the war since my letter of April, 1777, and the present status of our cause, I take the liberty of giving you a short account of them.

I mentioned in my letter of April 22, last, that General Howe with his British army and auxiliaries were then in Brunswick. General Washington with his American troops seized the strong defensive positions in that vicinity, and will not abandon them. General Howe, not being able to attack him with any certainty of success, retired on the first of July to Staten Island on the seacoast, where he received English reinforcements and set sail with a fleet of 260 ships, including war vessels and transports, to attack Philadelphia from the other side. At the end of August he disembarked 19,600 men at the head of Chesapeake Bay, twenty-eight leagues from that city, and set out on the march towards it, arriving at the end of September, but not without having been constantly harried and his numbers diminished about a thousand by frequent attacks. Evacuating the city, General Washington fortified himself in adjacent positions, from which it was impossible for General Howe to dislodge him without heavy losses.

Our small fleet opposed the British one on the Delaware River and burned several of their war vessels, among others the *Augusta* of sixty-four guns and a frigate of thirty, which were blown up on the same day, October 24. Nevertheless, the superior forces prevailed at last, and although General Howe was cut off in Philadelphia and his provisions exhausted, he was relieved by the British fleet in the middle of November. This was due to carelessness on our part in

not having fortified a particular channel of the river, which up to that time had never been considered navigable, even for the smallest vessels. We recognized our error too late, as General Howe would have been obliged to surrender with his entire army within a few weeks or make a dangerous and disastrous retreat. However, he spent the winter in Philadelphia, and General Washington occupied the highlands and strong positions around the city so as to prevent the British troops from receiving fresh provisions or forage from anywhere but Europe. In this position the two armies now remain, without a foot of American soil, other than that occupied by the British troops, being under the dominion of England.

We have been more fortunate in Canada. Our General St. Clair, judging that Ticonderoga could not resist General Burgoyne who was advancing to attack it with ten thousand men and heavy artillery, abandoned that fortress on July 5, and withdrew to the vicinity of Albany. General Burgoyne followed him, sending out large detachments to lay waste the country, but these were totally routed by the militia and he lost in various actions and encounters two thousand men, dead and prisoners. However, General Burgoyne kept on advancing. On the 19th of September, thirty miles from Albany, he was attacked by General Gates at the head of our militia. The battle was hard-fought and bloody, ending at the close of the day with both sides claiming the victory. On October 7, the two armies encountered each other on the same field where they had fought on the 19th of September. A general action took place, which was likewise hard-fought, with the death of many soldiers on both sides. Nevertheless, General Gates forced the British troops and their auxiliaries to abandon eight brass cannon, which he captured, as well as their hospital and 500 prisoners. This number plus those taken prisoner and killed in the battle of the 19th totalled two thousand, so that there remained to fight General Gates no more than six thousand. These were, indeed, veteran troops, officered by eight generals of experience, who decided to retire again to Canada; but General Gates, anticipating this, had occupied all the passes, so that on the thirteenth he had them totally surrounded. This resulted in a parley, and on the sixteenth General Burgoyne surrendered with all his army, artillery, arms, and provisions to General Gates, and they are now prisoners in Boston. The total of those now in our hands amounts to eleven thousand, eight hundred men.

Our small fleet continues to be successful on the sea, and our army is in such shape that General Howe, reduced at present to 12,000 men by losses in the frequent encounters, will be obliged to confine himself to his quarters until he receives large reinforcements. It is said that Lord Townsend or General Lord Amherst is to take over

the command in America for the next campaign, with more than thirty thousand additional troops. If this be true, our liberty will be much more creditable for us with his defeat.

If I can in the future contribute to the pleasure of Your Lordship with my reports, I shall try to give myself that honor.

I am with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE MORGAN.

To His Excellency Don Bernardo de Gálvez, Governor General of Louisiana.

GÁLVEZ TO NAVARRO

April 27, 1778 ²¹²

Confidential Copy.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The report that an English frigate of thirty-two guns had entered the mouth of this river, as I advised Your Lordship under date of the 14th instant, has been proved unfounded. Nevertheless I still am left with the same suspicions which I reported to Your Lordship, because the reasons for my uneasiness are constantly increasing as I find myself blockaded by the same two frigates, a little less than cannon shot from this post, and by two privateers in my rear. The audacity of one of these even went so far that it fired upon a small Spanish sloop on Lake Pontchartrain, where it was out of range of, but in sight of a small and poorly equipped fort we have there. It caused the sloop to run aground on our own shore, and then continued to fire on her.

The aforesaid frigates have maintained silence and none of their officers has come ashore, except messengers with letters for me, bringing replies or making their unjustifiable proposals. The operations of the said privateers have been hostile. Conversations have been held on board by the commanders of said ships (of which I have definite knowledge through the means I employed to obtain the same) threatening to bombard this post as soon as the reinforcements which they expect arrive, unless I surrender to them the frigate *Rebecca*, captured by the Americans, together with the leaders of the latter (to which demands I cannot accede). All these things are reasons justifying the caution which I must exercise in order not to permit them to commit any disgraceful action against the territory entrusted to my care.

In order to prevent these incidents, I again remind Your Lordship that the troops which I have at this post, exposed on all sides, number no more than two hundred men, most of them worn out from

²¹² AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

service, one artillery officer, and four artillerymen. This small number will doubtless impel Your Lordship to hasten the dispatch of the aid which I have asked of you. With it, and the few militiamen I can raise, I shall be in a position to make an honorable defense. This is of interest to the honor of our arms, as it assures a bulwark for the whole kingdom of Mexico, which the King perhaps believes secure by being under the protection and forces of the post commanded by Your Lordship. Without such recourse I see all the measures I plan to take made impossible by lack of men.

To the number of land troops I need, which should be as many as Your Lordship can spare me without causing too great a shortage at your post, I hope Your Lordship will add a company or picket of dragoons, as these are absolutely indispensable to me in the present circumstances.

I am continually constructing some batteries to fortify the town on its river side. To serve these I am organizing a militia artillery company, but even with the greatest efforts it can scarcely be trained to do so. This one defense, together with that of the King's brigantine *Santa Teresa*, to which I have added four guns in addition to the eight it already had, is the only resistance I can offer at present in case of attack.

I hope that, when my reasons are weighed together with the urgent need in which Your Lordship must see me, you will not delay a moment in sending me this requested assistance. I beg you not to doubt that the few forces I have will be employed with the honor and zeal with which we are all inspired when the glory of our sovereign and his arms are concerned.

May God protect Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 27, 1778.*

Your most humble and attentive servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ

SEÑOR DON DIEGO JOSEF NAVARRO.

NAVARRO (Rubric)

POLLOCK TO GÁLVEZ

May 2, 1778 ²¹³

SIR: In the instructions given to me by Congress I am informed that I am to receive from Your Excellency the advance necessary to enable me to continue the operations which I must carry out in the execution of their orders; but it will be entirely impossible for me to complete what has already been begun, as well as to continue with

²¹³ AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

the rest which is planned for the service of the States of America, if Your Excellency does not condescend to make me some advances of money on behalf of these States. I have good reason to believe that the Congress has already established its credit with the Court of Spain, but I doubt not that Your Excellency is better informed on this than I can pretend to be. Only the greater maritime power of the British has prevented the shipment of American products here, more than enough to supply all the needs which might arise here, but I am quite certain, according to the information received, that a considerable quantity of flour was being prepared to be brought here by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers with this sole object in view.

And I beg Your Excellency to rest assured that I shall economize as much as possible in any request of this kind which I may make. Be assured that under the present circumstances your compliance is very essential, and for it the States of America will remain under the greatest obligation. I have the honor to be with all the respect due Your Excellency, your most obedient and humble servant.

OLIVER POLLOCK,

Agent of the United and Independent States

NEW ORLEANS, *May 2, 1778.*

To His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CALVERT TO POLLOCK

*May 4, 1778*²¹⁴

SIR: After having written Your Honor yesterday afternoon from on board a French brigantine outside Baliza, I was informed by the commandant there that a sloop from Pensacola had entered the river a short time before by the northeast pass. I immediately followed and overtook it about one league up river. This sloop belongs to Mr. Jones of El Amit and has a passport from the governor, with a translation of the same in English, from which I understand that it is not good beyond the Bayou St. Jean and that river. In any event, as it does not extend any protection for entering the Mississippi River, I consider it to be a good and legal prize of war. Nevertheless, as I do not want to do anything in the slightest degree contrary to Your Excellency's wishes, I have decided to put on it a copy of my letters patent, and to allow it to proceed to New Orleans with the passport which it has from His Excellency. While on board I ascertained its destination, inasmuch as it may be set at liberty if His Excellency so orders, or condemned as a lawful prize. I note according to its passport that its crew consists of only four men, in-

²¹⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

cluding Negroes. Having found one of the latter aboard I sent him with one white man on board the privateer to replace the two whom I gave them from the crew of the latter for the trip up the river. This was necessary on account of their shortage of men. The sloop was not detained by me an instant, but on the contrary I ordered them to try to go up as quickly as possible, for which purpose I had two of my men put on board her. They have orders to present themselves to Your Honor, who will act as you think best.

This letter is being despatched by the boat of the commander, and the prize will follow as soon as the wind permits.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH CALVERT.

BALIZA, *May 4, 1778.*

To Mr. Oliver Pollock.

GÁLVEZ TO HENRY

May 6, 1778 ²¹⁵

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have received Your Lordship's two letters of October 18 and 20, last year. In reply I have to inform you that the goods which I had accumulated in this city for the service of the States have been shipped, as Your Lordship will note from the enclosed copy, No. 1, of the letter which I wrote at the time of shipment to Messrs. Robert Morris and William Smith, superintendent general of commerce of the colonies.

From the copy referred to, Your Lordship will also note the reasons why I cannot agree to the proposal of commerce which Your Lordship desires between the States and this province, but which I should be glad to see established, as it would be advantageous to both nations.

I enclose for Your Lordship a copy, No. 2, of the letter which I am writing to Messrs. Morris and Smith, so that they may know the critical situation in which I find myself among my neighbors for having admitted into this province under my command, Captain Willing and his party and the prizes he has taken from the English.

I also enclose another copy, No. 3, to inform you how I am helping Mr. Pollock, agent of the colonies, with money for the maintenance of Captain Willing's party, even though I do not know whether my Court will approve of it.

I give Your Lordship due thanks for the sentiments with which you express your appreciation for the reception given in the name of the States and Government of Virginia to Captain Gibson and for the stock of goods which could be furnished him at that time,

²¹⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

and I assure Your Lordship that I shall not spare any effort or trouble which may redound to the benefit of those colonies, on account of the particular affection I have for them.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years.

May 6, 1778.

[Draft by BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ]

SEÑOR DON PATRICK HENRY, Governor of Virginia.

DECLARATION OF STEPHEN SHAKESPEAR

May 6, 1778 ²¹⁶

The Examination of Stephen Shakespear late of Manchack in the Province of West Florida merchant taken on oath at Pensacola this Sixth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Seventy eight.

This Examinant saith that the Ship Rebecca lading at Manchack having been seized by a Party of Rebels on Monday the Twenty third day of February last past this Deponent had a Batteau belonging to himself laden with Sundry Goods and early in the morning of the next day he dropped down the River Mississippi in his Batteau about seven leagues below Manchac That having heard that the said Ship Rebecca had fallen down the river about a League below Manchack and was on the Western shore of that River this Deponent left his Batteau in the Charge of one Frederick Spell and on Wednesday the twenty fifth of February set off for Manchack where he arrived the next day and having laden two Canoes with Goods sent them from Manchack on the Twenty seventh and the next day having obtained a Spanish Pasport from the Commandant of the Spanish Fort at Manchac he set out for his Batteau which the next day he found aground where he had left her on the second of March he got the Batteau afloat and fastened her to the Others by the head and stern: that on or about Ten oclocke at night of Next day one Joseph Calvert and two Men with arms came by land and Seized his Batteau fastened as aforesaid to the Spanish Shore as this Deponent was Informed by the said Frederick Spell and one Simon Richards: That the said Joseph Calvert on the morning of the said Second of March passed by the Batteau on horse back and was going up the River as far as Baton Rouge as he told this Deponent: That the said Joseph Calvert as this Deponent hath heard and verily believes hath resided in the Province of Louisana ever since the month of August one thousand and seven hundred and seventy six and that during that Period he hath not been out of

²¹⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

the said Province of Louisiana. That in the Evening of the fifth of March this Deponent arrived at New Orleans and found his Batteau and the goods in her made fast to the Levee and was told by the said Joseph Calvert that he had taken the said Batteau Thus on the Seventh of March this Deponent waited upon the Governor of New Orleans who directed him to draw up a Petition which he did and presented it to the Governor who as the Interpreter informed this Deponent had appointed the Lieutenant Governor Chief Justice and Contador Commissioners to try the point whether the said Batteau was a lawfull Prize or not That on or about the Tenth of March this Deponent was Examined at the Government house before the Lieutenant Governor, Chief Justice and Contador as he believes (he knows the Lieutenant Governor and Contador but does not know the Chief Justice) that James Willing and Oliver Pollock were present at this Deponents Examination—That on or about the Thirty First Day of March he went to the Government House with the Interpreter and was Informed by the Lieutenant Governor that the matter had been decided in his favour and an order would be given for the delivering of this property to him. That on or about the fourth of April last the Interpreter informed this Deponent this Property would be delivered up whenever he pleased, upon which he went to the said Oliver Pollock who said he could not then deliver anything as it was too late and appointed this Deponent to call at sun rise on the monday following That on the monday following the said Oliver Pollock told this Deponent that he must Speak to the Governor before anything could be delivered up after which every thing would be delivered up but to the very great Surprize of this Deponent the said Oliver Pollock the next day told him that nothing would be delivered up till the Captain of His Majestys Ship (then at New Orleans had given up all the American Negroes then on Board his Ship) meaning such negroes as had been taken by and had escaped from the Rebels) that on or about the Tenth of April last this Deponent having been informed that he might have his property again he went to the said Oliver Pollock who delivered sundry things and paid him for others but declared he could be accountable only for such things as were mentioned in a list which he Showed this Deponent and which he said was wrote by the said Joseph Calvert and had been delivered to him by the said Joseph Calvert as a list of the things taken in the said Batteau: a Copy of which All this Deponent took and is herewith annexed marked with the Letter (A)—That on or about the fifteenth of april last this Deponent went to the Lieutenant Governor with the said Frederick Spell who declared to the Lieutenant Governor that he assisted in loading the said Batteau and came Down with her to New Orleans

—Where the whole of the goods laden on board were unladen and put into Carts belonging to the said Oliver Pollock and carried away but where he could not tell That the Lieutenant Governor Promised this Deponent another hearing of his Case That in the afternoon of the said fifteenth of April the annexed paper Marked with the Letter (B) and stuck up by a Spanish officer in M^{rs} Ogilvies Tavern—That at the time appointed this Deponent went to the Government House where an Oath was Tendered to each Individual written both in French and English. That at the time of the oath being Tendered the Governor pulled out his Watch, and told those present that he would give them half an hour to consider whether they would take the oath or not and that such as refused to take it must leave New Orleans the next day by Twelve oclocke; and that as he was determined to observe a Strict neutrality between the two Parties the same oath should be tendered the americans the next day. That the next day Friday the Seventeenth of april at noon this Deponent left New orleans as he did not Choose to take the said Oath but he did not hear nor does he know whether such oath was Tendered to the Rebels or not That during a great part of the time this Deponent was at New Orleans a Publick Guard house was allowed the Rebels in that Town and Centinels posted at the Door thereof and this Deponent hath been Credibly informed by many Gentlemen and he easily believes it to be true that the Rebels have actually confined and detained British Subjects in Irons in the said Guard House and afterwards by Force carried them in Irons on Board the Ship Rebecca laying before New Orleans

STEPHEN SHAKSPEAR

Taken & Sworn at Pensacola This 6th. of May 1778

Before me (Signed) E. R. WEGG Atty Gen^l.

The abovementioned Stephen Shakspear being again Sworn on the holy Evangelists farther saith that the paper hereunto annexed marked with the Letter (C) contains a true account of the Several Goods laden on Board the Batteau within mentioned belonging to him this Deponent, with their values as also the Several Goods delivered and paid for by the within named Oliver Pollock with their Values; as also of the deficiencies in the said Goods with their Values: the said deficiencies amounting to the sum of four thousand and eighty eight Dollars and three Reals

STEPHEN SHAKSPEAR

Sworn the 6th. May 1778 before me

E. R. WEGG Atty Gen^l.

PENSACOLA 25th. May 1778

I Certify this to be a true Copy of the Original Examination for E. R. WEGG Atty Gen^l.

R. WEAM

(Copy)

(A) Referred to in the annexed affidavit

SIR: Underneath you have a mem^o. of Sundries taken on b^d. a Boat Six Leagues below Manchack which is said was the property of M^r. Shakspear and that he bro^t. them from Manchack after that place was taken. you will please to dispose of them with the Batteau to the best advantage for others & Sir

Your Humble Serv^t.

JOSEPH CALVERT

NEW ORLEANS, *March 9th. 1778*

To M^r. OLIVER POLLOCK

615 Skins Deer	1 Pair Brass 1 p ^r . Wooden Scales
41 Bundles Worsted & thread Stockings	1 Empty Case
1 p ^r . Cottons	5 Inkstands 1 Pewter Cup
2 Kegs with Gunpowder	1 Desk 1 Trunk
3 Scale Beams	1 Watch
1 Box Soap	22 p ^r . Silk Ferreting
200W ^t Indigo or thereabout	2 p ^r . Bla :Ribbon
21 Cotton Counterpanes	6 leather Pocket Books
13 p ^r . Dimety	Some medicines
1 p ^r . Carpeting	60 Shirts and Trowsers
5 Carpets	1 Remnant of Cotton
2 Bundles Womens Cloaths	2 Remnants Dimothy
ab ^t . 60 w ^t . Beavour	3 Inkstands
2 Baskets Silver Buckles	1 p ^r . Silk ferret
2 Remnents Dimety	2 Pocket Books

NAVARRO TO BUCARELI

May 14, 1778 ²¹⁷

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VENERATED COUNTRYMAN AND FRIEND: I cannot now reply to Your Excellency's esteemed and friendly letter of March 27, because the events of the last two days have been very important. Yesterday the aid which I am sending to Louisiana sailed and the ships were out of sight by half past two in the afternoon. They would have departed four days earlier but for the tardy measures of the navy, which did not have the King's packet-boat in condition to sail.

I beg Your Excellency most humbly to do everything possible to send conscripts as well as the allotment, since I am greatly in need of them.

²¹⁷ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

I am entirely at Your Excellency's command.

Your most humble countryman and servant kisses your hand.

DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor BAILLO FREY DON ANTONIO BUCARELLI.

I enclose some news I have received from Jamaica. (Rubric)

HAVANA, May 14, 1778.

Copy of a letter written by the captain of a French frigate-of-war named *La Inconstante*, just arrived from the port of Jamaica on February 15th of this year, to Baron de Cadinan, colonel in chief of the regiment of Dijon and major general of the troops and militia of the Windward Islands.

The English are generally unprovided with everything, and were it not for aid brought by a merchant fleet, escorted by a frigate and three small corvettes, totaling thirty vessels, I believe they would be reduced to the deepest misery. They brought only provisions and 200 recruits and, on board the frigate, Madam Parker, wife of the new admiral. He is expected from day to day.

Six hundred regular troops compose the forces of this island, against which I shall protect myself with the aid of seventy ships and all the troops which Santo Domingo can furnish me, and all within one month, because they have only one poor ship, which must return to Europe, and four or five armed frigates. All their war vessels are in other ports.

I have observed that they fear some invasion on our part. However, due to the courtesy of the admiral's orders, I have been well-treated all during my stay here, excepting the first day. As they must send a frigate to El Guarico, and as I shall not be able to be there, I should like to have them treated with the greatest courtesy. Therefore, I charge you so to indicate to M. de Lillencourt, so that they may be permitted to go freely all over the city, as I do in Kingston.

News from Jamaica received from the master of a fishing boat which, as a result of a storm, arrived at that island from Cuba.

He says that he arrived at the port of Lucía forty leagues from Kingston, after losing his vessel, and was taken to the latter port, where he learned there were one *manual* or ship of sixty guns, two frigates of twenty-four, a very few small vessels, and about eighteen privateers. The garrison consisted of 400 or 500 regular troops and two thousand urban militia, composed of English merchants and Indians.

He learned that at the end of December, last, there arrived a flotilla from Bristol of forty merchant vessels, convoyed by two

ships of seventy guns, and four frigates of eighteen and twenty. On April 6, last, there entered that port from London thirty-three merchant vessels, escorted by two ships of sixty guns and four frigates of eighteen and twenty. Near the Windward Islands, they encountered two armed American frigates which they commanded to surrender, and when these did not obey, they sank them. There also arrived on various days nine merchant vessels, which, together with those of the same kind mentioned above, are armed with cannon, although many are of wood. He heard that there had entered the ports of that island various others and that the cargoes of all these vessels were composed of few goods, but many provisions and staves.

On the 14th of said April, he made his departure in a boat he had bought and, coasting along the south of Jamaica, he noted in the port of Norfi, fifteen leagues from Kingston, where vessels returning to Europe gather, that there were about seventy laden with goods of the country.

HAVANA, *May 9, 1778.*

NAVARRO (Rubric).

WILLING TO GÁLVEZ

May 24, 1778 ²¹⁸

May it please Your Excellency

It is with the utmost mortification I inform your Excellency that the sudden and unexpected appearance of the Enemy in the Lakes has in a great measure frustrated my Intentions. I expected to have had possession of Manchac it is now Ten days since; but the unsettled State of my Mens Accounts and the discontent which it occasion'd prevented my moving as expeditiously as I could have wish'd. However I have the honour to inform you that every thing is ready, and myself as well as my Officers should be sorry to see the Enemy Fortify themselves so advantageously, could they by any means prevent it.— C^t Rumsey Esq^r. reports to me, that he conceives a party may yet get up time enough to open the Levy, drown the Country fell some trees in the Baiu and by Burning and destroying the Buildings and other materials, put a stop to their Operations untill such Time as sickness or y^e arrival of a Reinforcement might effectively prevent their fixing themselves Solidly However I submit the whole to your Excellencys Superior Judgement fully convinc'd that you have the Honour & Interest of the States (my

²¹⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

Masters) Service as much at Hart as him Who has the Honour to
Subscribe himself with all Respect

Your Excellencys

Most Obed most devoted Humble Servant

J^A^S. WILLING

Cap^t. in the Service of the Indep^t.

United States of America.

Sor Excellence DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ

ORLEANS *May 24, 1778*

BUCARELI TO GÁLVEZ

*May 27, 1778*²¹⁹

No. 3810.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In reply to what I wrote to the governor of Louisiana on the 26th of September last, regarding the shipment of tobacco from that province for the monopoly of this kingdom, and the remittance that I was making of 60,000 pesos requested by him in payment, concerning which I rendered account to Your Excellency in letter No. 3325, he solicited an additional 60,000 pesos on the estimate that the present and next year's crops, which he had contracted for, should yield one million pounds, or slightly more.

Following the report of the *dirección*, I authorized the remittance to royal officials of Vera Cruz, of 50,000 pesos, to be registered as destined for Louisiana on the frigate *Santa Leocadia*. I trust that this amount will come with the rest of the allotments for Havana in the same way as the 60,000 pesos were handled, inasmuch as the continuation of this method met with the approval of the governor of Louisiana, to whom I gave due advice of this arrangement.

With matters at this stage, I have just received a letter from the governor himself, in which he announces that he has made a shipment of 29,488 rolls of tobacco by the brigantine *Jesús, María y Joseph*. He requests that I withhold the second remittance of 60,000 pesos, inasmuch as, after covering all charges on the shipment of tobacco which he was forwarding, there remained a balance in that treasury of 47,440 pesos, 5 reales, and 17¾ maravedis, to be applied to the payment of the next crop, since the yield had not equalled their expectations and plans.

As the 50,000 pesos were in Vera Cruz ready to be sent to their destination, I have notified those royal officials to withhold the remittance, since it is not now required in Louisiana.

²¹⁹ AGI, Aud. Mexico, 89-4-13.

The brigantine abovementioned is conveying Don Antonio Le Blanc, who is being sent by the governor of Louisiana to the rappee factory. Regarding the arrangements I have made for his transportation to this capital and the rest of the instructions given for the receipt of this tobacco and payment of freights, Your Excellency will learn from the enclosed copy of my reply to the same governor. I trust that Your Excellency will kindly give His Majesty a full report.

May the Lord protect Your Excellency for many years.

MEXICO, 27th of May 1778.

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Excellency.

B^o FR. DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

(*Accompanying the foregoing*)

(Copy)

DEAR SIR: Subsequent to my advice to the *dirección del tabaco* in view of Your Lordship's letter of the 1st of the present month and documents attached, it has given the necessary order to the factor of the revenue tax in Vera Cruz for the receipt, subject to requirements of weight and grades, of the 29,488 rolls of tobacco shipped by Your Lordship in the brigantine *Jesús, María y Joseph*, whose captain and master is Don Miguel Iznardi. The instructions are that it is all to be consigned to this capital including the 12 barrels and 12 cases as they came, and also the remainder loose in bales made of grass matting and protected with burlaps. Of the latter only three bales are to be sent to Orizaba covering the three different grades of Pointe Coupée, Rapide, and Natchitoches, so that after the general inspector has taken due note for necessary purposes, they may be sent to the cigar factory of that plant, saving the screenings for that of the rappee.

The factor has likewise arranged for the payment to the said captain and master of 1,613 pesos on which he adjusted the freight, receiving the tobacco by rolls, according to his contract.

On arrival at this capital the tobacco will be examined by the same *dirección* to determine in which manner it arrives in the best condition, and to decide whether in future shipments the bunches should be barrelled or shipped in bulk. I shall advise Your Lordship about this in due time.

Meanwhile, I pass on to Your Lordship the desire of the *dirección* that a portion be sent in bundles so as to make tests in the cigar

factory to see whether it can be taken care of advantageously at its lowest price. This was stated in the report, a copy of which I sent to Your Lordship with my letter of the 26th of April, last.

From the enclosed certified copy of the settlement by the general auditor of revenues, it appears that the 119,406 net French pounds are equivalent to 127,366 pounds 6 $\frac{2}{5}$ ounces Castilian charging the former the 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ percent, provided for in draft No. 3 which Your Lordship encloses (giving a difference of 426 pounds 10 $\frac{10}{16}$ ounces). On this basis the Castilian pound is equivalent to 10 $\frac{11}{16}$ grains including all charges at Vera Cruz. Although the shrinkage in transit will have to be deducted when it is known, it never as a rule amounts to one real per pound. The advantageous price assures the interest of the royal treasury, and its desire that the 700,000 pounds annually, will be supplied. However, Your Lordship doubts being able to ship this amount even during next year for the vital reasons which you explain. This decrease is prudently guarded against by a corresponding increase in the crops of the same year in the towns of Córdoba and Orizaba.

Your Lordship states that there remained in coin in your royal treasury to be applied to the payment of the next crop, 47,440 pesos, 5 reales, 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ maravedis, the balance of the 60,000 pesos which I arranged to be remitted to Your Lordship for this purpose. In your letter of the 12th of last April, Your Lordship advised me of having received this sum but asked me for the present not to make further remittances of funds. Consequently I have ordered the suspension of the 50,000 pesos which, under date of 26th of April last, I had informed Your Lordship I was planning to remit. For this purpose it was already in Vera Cruz awaiting the vessel that I advised Your Lordship was to convey it to Havana, as was done in the case of the 60,000 pesos.

I informed the governor of Vera Cruz of the measures taken for the receipt of the tobacco and payment of freights to the captain of the said brigantine that conveyed it. He asked my decision about the matter in view of the letter he received from Your Lordship, a copy of which he forwarded to me. Your Lordship also advised me of it in yours. I have ordered that Don Antonio Le Blanc, whom Your Lordship sent on the same brigantine by virtue of my request on behalf of the rappee factory to be established here, shall be provided convenient transportation, if not already arranged, to this capital, and assisted with whatever he requires and desires. On his arrival we shall talk personally with him regarding the salary he will be assigned. One third of it will be deducted and left as security to be applied to the reimbursement of the 3,500 pesos which Your Lordship made him supply from existing revenue funds.

This is all I can say for the present in reply to Your Lordship regarding the matters mentioned in your letter. I shall attend Le Blanc, as Your Lordship recommends, in all he solicits if it is within my power, so as to have the satisfaction of pleasing Your Lordship as I desire.

God guard Your Lordship for many years.

MEXICO, *27th of May 1778*.

Your most attentive and faithful servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

B^o FREY DON ANTONIO BUCARELI Y URSUA

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

The above is a true copy of the official letter sent to the Governor of Louisiana, which I attest.

MEXICO, *27th of May, 1778*.

MELCHOR DE PERAMAS (Rubric)

WILLING TO POLLOCK

May 30, 1778 ²²⁰

NEW ORLEANS *30th May 1778*

[Copy]

SIR: I address you in this manner not only to prevent any Verbal altercation but as a method the most fitting both the Circumstance, and the Command I have the honor to hold in the States Service— In the first place to Begin with my Instructions; the following Extracts will serve to specify their Tenour— After being ordered to make prize of all British Property on the Mississippi River I was instructed to apply to the Governor of this Province for Liberty to make Sale of them. That obtained I am again Instructed to pay One moiety of the Net proceeds into Your hands as Agent for the Congress— Now Sir how differently these matters have been conducted, you are better acquainted with than myself, But it is my Business at present to Insist upon a total change of Procedure—

My Men and Officers are discontented, myself displeased and the Governor himself highly dissatisfied with Your Conduct and what is of the most serious consequence My Men are deserting and the American *Bank* as it is termed is become proverbially Ridiculous In a word the Service suffers and our Enemys rejoice— This therefore is to *insist* that you forthwith make out all your accounts so that the one half belonging to me and the Men be instantly divided and that you have the Ballance that is due on that Score ready to pay into my Hands on Monday or Tuesday next; Free of other charge or Commission than those of the Vendue Master.

²²⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

As to Mr. Goadings attempt to their Accounts it must ever prove abortive, unless the Cash is ready to pay the Ballance that is due, this being done I am well convinced there will be no further discontent and that the Men will chearfully return to their Duty—I need say no more than that the Service and honor of the States requires your immediate compliyance, and that every ill effect which may arise, will be entirely owing to your Neglect— I have kept a Copy of this to lay before The Congress and Governour if needfull.

I am Sir

Your mo: h^{ble} Serv^t

(Signed) JAMES WILLING
*Captain in Service of the
United Indep^t. States of America*

BARKER TO GÁLVEZ

*May 30, 1778*²²¹

MANCHAC, *May 30, 1778*

SIR: I have the honor to command a considerable detachment of British troops sent from Pensacola to establish a post at this place as a result of the plundering perpetrated by some miscreants, subjects in rebellion against His Britanic Majesty on the Mississippi River. Finding that the robberies and destruction they have committed are much greater than was reported in Pensacola, particularly the theft and destruction of cattle, I take the liberty of asking Your Excellency please to permit the Spanish subjects under your jurisdiction to sell livestock and other fresh provisions (as we have enough salt ones) to the garrison under my command. This favor I doubt not but that Your Excellency will grant in view of the good harmony existing between the courts of Spain and Great Britain.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

WILLIAM BARKER
Captain Commanding in Manchac

To His Excellency Don Bernardo de Gálvez, Governor of Louisiana.

POLLOCK TO WILLING

*May 31, 1778*²²²

NEW ORLEANS 31st May 1778

[Copy]

SIR: In Answer to Your very Extraordinary and unexpected Letter of Yesterday which I believe you had given yourself a moment Re-

²²¹ AGI, PC, leg. 2370.

²²² AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

fection you would never have sign'd, But in Case You should continue in opinion of your present Sentiments, Those Gentlemen whom you threaten and have already charged my Character, shall in a full and clear Exposition of Facts be convinced that You have grossly misrepresented matters—the Accounts shall be drawn out as You desire and had You settled the valuation of the Ship every thing would been closed before—How far you have conducted yourself agreeable to your Instructions I leave to your own Reflections. The Prize Goods You put voluntarily into my hands and desired me to purchase Merchandise for the amount of Your part to be sent up to Fort Pitt for your benefit I have speculated accordingly; till I found your Departure from here was uncertain; The dissatisfaction of Your Men and Officers, It cannot possibly be that I am Cause off: I have furnished You with every thing You demanded and supported a number of Men at no Small Expence, and at same time obliged to advance Heavy Sums of Money to Bateau Men and others to carry up the States Goods, and yet under these circumstances, you are not ignorant of the large quantities forwarded far beyond the funds in my hands, which I have chearfully run myself in debt for, and for which I am not afraid of being rewarded by My Masters the Hon.^{ble} Congress whom you make a pretence of laying your unsupportable Grievances before; In order to throw the Odium upon me; as to the Governor I believe he is displeased But whether at my Conduct or Your Military Manouvers he is the best Judge—

Before I conclude let me Councill you to be more cautious whom you touch as some how or other the Enemy is acquainted with all Your proceedings

I am Sir

Your most Obed^t Servant

(Signed) O^{LR}. POLLOCK

JAMES WILLING Esq^r. Captain in the Service of the American States.

WILLING TO GÁLVEZ

*June 1, 1778*²²³

NEW ORLEANS 1st. *June 1778*

SIR: It grieves me to be under the necessity of Troubling Your Excellency On any account. But, as what I have to say at present, Concerns the States I have the Honor to serve As well as the Interest of My Men and Officers, I flatter myself you will Treat it with your accustomed Patience and Politeness. Facts, that Speak for them—

²²³ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

selves need no embellishment of Language, the following are so obvious, that I have not the least doubt but it will prove a matter of Amazement to Your Excellency how any Person assuming to himself the Name of *Gentleman* should attempt to support or apologize for an Act of so *Atrocious* and *Ungratefull* a nature as is that of which I have to accuse a Mr. Watts—

When this Gentlemans Slaves were seized for the use of the American States by Order of their Agent, the Officer who commanded the Detachment; from motives of humanity suffered him to remain with Four Negroe Men; to assist him in rowing down his Family to Orleans for which I have his Receipt to produce— As a further proof of my Attention to the Misfortunes of his Family I purchased Four others such as Mr. Watts pointed out to be delivered here on the same Terms as those which the whole should be sold for, Nay it was my Intention not to have troubled him for immediate payment untill Urged by his perfidious and Ungentlemanlike Behaviour. These Four I delivered to him myself, And in the account sent him charg'd only 225 Dollars—*Seraba* was a Negroe purchased by Lieut. George and is evident since Was enticed away by him and kept concealed. For notwithstanding He declared upon His Word of Honor he knew nothing about him, He was discover'd in the most shameful and Ridiculous Disguise going up with him in the same Boat this Afternoon. Senegal another which makes the 10 in Number, Husband of One of the Women, He desired one to send to him which I did about an Hour after the delivery of the others— But upon his Honour again which I humbly conceive is not much to be depended on He declares he never received him However I am perfectly convinced nay have the justest Reason to imagine that he put him On-board one of the English Frigates with the First Four; This Gentleman is now about quitting Your Territorys to join his former Friends and settle on his own Plantation where the Royalists are about fortifying themselves, and I am persuaded intended to Cheat me out of the whole notwithstanding his Boasted Honour Nay he even threatened me and said he was protected by Your Excellencys Pass in the Act, which Declaration I am convinced is equally falacious with all his other assertions. I therefore hope Your Excellency will Comprehend thoroughly the State of the matter and Render me such Justice in Behalf of the Congress as is due to the Cause, and is consistent with that Honor and Integrity for which you are so eminently Conspicuous and which I am persuaded be it what it may it will be highly approved of by the States my Masters. With Respect to the Price I submit it to Your Excellencys Judgment, But humbly pray

he may not depart without returning the aforesaid Ten Negroes or their Value— I have the honor to be with the most profound Respect
Sir

Your most devoted and Obligated humble Servant

JAS. WILLING *Captⁿ*.

N. B. besides the above mentioned Negroes these Three Slaves were left with M^r. Watts—Daphne, Amy, & Phileasia,

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

*June 9, 1778*²²⁴

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I refer to the royal order of the 20th of January last, in which Your Excellency advises me that the King desires me to aid the commandant general of the Provincias Internas, Don Teodoro de Croix, in the war which he is waging against the Apaches on the frontiers of the provinces adjoining this colony, with the help of friendly northern Indian nations and that of the commandant of Natchitoches. I am advised that I should employ in this all those efforts and measures which may be possible, but without weakening the forces and posts under my command. In reply I must inform Your Excellency that in consequence of a dispatch which I received from said Don Teodoro de Croix, I ordered the commandant of Natchitoches, Don Atanasio de Mézières, to proceed to San Antonio de Bexar, as the former requested of me, to aid him in the expedition which he was undertaking, but without soliciting the aid of Indians. However, whenever he does so, I shall try to provide it with all speed possible, issuing for this purpose the proper orders to the said de Mézières so that he may assemble as many as he can and proceed to the place of meeting indicated by the aforementioned commandant general.

Recently I received another dispatch from the latter under date of the sixth of January last, in which he requests me to proceed with a body of hunters to assist him in the aforementioned project, to which I could not assent; firstly, on account of not having the order of His Majesty to absent myself from this jurisdiction and finding myself highly embarrassed by the revolutions which occurred in this province between the Americans and English, as I reported to Your Excellency; and secondly, because the few hunters who are in this province are very useful for its subsistence, because of the buffalo meat, bear grease, and tallow with which they supply it, as well as the

²²⁴ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-11.

skins which they get from the trade they carry on with the Indians. It is not possible to count on these people in any emergency, inasmuch as they do not stay in this city longer than the short time it takes for their sales and purchases. Upon finishing, they lay in their supplies and start out on another trip, during which they live with the Indians for years at a time. All of which I report to Your Excellency so that you may be pleased to bring it to the attention of His Majesty.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, 9th of June, 1778.

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses your hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

POLLOCK TO GÁLVEZ

June 16, 1778²²⁵

NEW ORLEANS 16th. June 1778

SIR: The fortune of War having thrown a small Detachment of American Troops into your Government, to whom your Excellency has been pleased to grant all the Hospitality becoming the Greatness of your Prince, and your own Goodness,

I am highly sensible notwithstanding, that their tarry here, must be disagreeable to your Excellency, and the Inhabitants of this Province; as well on account of the critical situation of publick Affairs, as that of the present scarcity of all kind of provisions, particularly Bread; which your own Subjects cannot procure: which gives me great pain to experience. Yet we are (in this situation) unfortunately surrounded by our Enemies, and should we attempt to proceed up the River, we have nothing to expect but the inhuman Barbarity which is generally committed by those Savages whom Britain is basely reduced to employ against us. Therefore I have in vain applied to procure Merchant Ships to transport this Detachment home to our Colonies by Sea under Spanish or French Colours, but as I find this impracticable I must now in the Name of my Masters The Honorable The Congress apply to your Excellency to grant me permission to put our own Ship in order for Defense, so that I may embark all the Officers and Men belonging to said Detachment, as soon as possible for our Colonies, by which Your Excellency and your inhabitants will be releived from any farther

²²⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

inconveniences that may arise in your present alarming Situation, and at same time be Gratefully acknowledged by,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and very Humble Servant
OLR. POLLOCK

Agent for the United Independent States of America.

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

POLLOCK AND PICKLES TO GÁLVEZ

June 18, 1778 ²²⁶

NEW ORLEANS 18 June 1778

SIR: I am honored with Your favor of Yesterday, in answer to mine of the 16th. Instant.

And as Your Excellency is good enough to grant a conditional Permission, to fit out the Ship, named the Morris, in order to carry the American Party from this place to the Continent.

Captain William Pickles the Commander of the said Vessel, does hereby join with me, in giving our Word of Honor, and every thing that is sacred, to Your Excellency, that we have no other Design, or Intention, and that we will strictly comply with the Contents of your Letter, & the Conditions therein mentioned; which favor will be acknowledged by the United Independent States of America, as also by,—

Sir

Your Most Obedient & Very Humble Servant

OLR. POLLOCK

WM. PICKLES

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

BARKER TO GÁLVEZ

June 22, 1778 ²²⁷

SIR: I have the honor of your Excellency's Letter of the 9th. instant in answer to mine of the 6th by Captain M^cIntosh.

Though I never could entertain a Doubt but that you would pay proper attention to the Accusations against M^r. Harte it gives me great Satisfaction to find that you are taking immediate Measures for that purpose; and as soon as I am informed that the Offender John Harte is in New Orleans to stand his Tryal, I shall send either one or (if necessary) both Gentlemen (whose Affidavits I have transmitted to your Excellency) personally to appear, and give their Evi-

²²⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

²²⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

dence against such an Offender whose Crimes (as an Incendiary) would condemn him by the British Laws to immediate death.—

The said Harte has repeatedly boasted with much Satisfaction before your Commanding Officer and others at Point Coupée of the depredations he has committed, saying that had an order to do it from one Oliver Pollock and a man of the name of Pickles, residing in New Orleans which must (in my opinion) shew a Contempt to all Government.—

That I should prefix twenty four hours for your Excellency's Answer, You cannot think strange whilst that rebellious Banditti is permitted to keep Guards and muster their men in your Town and other parts of your Government.

If I had had the least Doubt that your Excellency would not have taken immediate Notice of the Accusations made against the said Harte; I should have thought an hour's delay would be improper to risk, as others might follow the Example of that daring rascal, and then return to the Spanish side, as a Cover for their Villainies.—

By the latter part of your Excellency's Letter (if rightly understood by me) I must suppose You to have misapprehended my meaning, for I could not from your known Character as a Gentleman mistake myself so much as to require anything that you could not with honor grant to me.—

I have the honor to return my Thanks to your Excellency, for the Favors granted in your Letter of the 4th. instant, and shall take particular Care that your Indulgence shall not be abused and am with the greatest Respect.

Your Excellency's Most Obedient & very humble Servant

WILL: BARKER

*Captain in his Britannic Majestys
Service Commanding the Fort Manchac*

MANCHAC 22nd June 1778.

P. S. Captain Miller, who will have the honor to deliver this to your Excellency, goes down on his ordinary business, will wait on you on his leaving Town—

His Excellency DON BERNARDO GALVEZ.

CENSUS OF NEW ORLEANS

*June, 1778²²⁸**Census of the city of New Orleans as of the month of June, 1778.*

Recapitulation of the 68 blocks forming the city of New Orleans.

	Males			Total of males	Females			Total of fe- males	Total of both sexes— General total
	1—Age from birth to 13th year	2—Age from 13 years to 49 years	3—Age from 49 years to old age		1 Age	2 Age	3 Age		
Whites	253	475	101	829	254	397	72	723	1,552
Freemen of mixed blood..	53	40	93	63	90	2	155	248
Free Negroes...	9	13	6	28	8	46	23	77	105
Slaves of mixed blood	72	33	1	106	52	53	2	107	213
Negro slaves ...	98	315	43	456	87	363	35	485	941
Total ...	485	876	151	1,512	464	949	134	1,547	3,059
Census of last year, 1777, amounted to .	455	720	155	1,330	483	863	133	1,479	2,809
Difference from last year.....	30 More	156 More	4 Less	182 More	19 Less	86 More	1 More	68 More	250 More

There are 302 militiamen.

A. That in this number of 250 persons above that of last year in the city, there are 118 male whites and 91 female whites, and [torn]. This census shows 302 militiamen in town—the last showed only 136. There is an increase of 196 persons.

MCGILLIVRAY TO GÁLVEZ

*July 3, 1778²²⁹**May it please your Excellency*

SIR: There is no doubt, but that your Excellency, a Gentleman so much respected for politeness & a willingness to oblige, will permit the Bearer, Doctor Dallas (not long since from Jamaica) to stay some time at New Orleans to settle some private Business.

He is a Gentleman of an undoubted good character, who intended to settle upon this River & for that purpose, but, in an unlucky hour, sent a number of Slaves & goods of various kinds before him, which he lost by a Seizure made some time ago. As his Case may be really thought hard, no doubt it will be an inducement to your Excellency, to shew him all favour imaginable.

Mr. Graham, an Officer in his Majesty's Service, goes down with Mr. Dallas, and Mr. Gordon, an Evidence among many, that may be had, against one Hart, who is not worthy the name of Man,

²²⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 191 (French).²²⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

having descended to the Lowest meannesses of Villainy, & will, I hope, meet with that doom, which your Excellency wou'd wish inflicted upon all such.

Captain Barker writes you fully on this head.

I have the honour to be y.^r most Obed.^t

JOHN MCGILLIVRAY

L. C. Commanding at Manchac

MANSHAC 3^d July 1778

DALLAS TO MCGILLIVRAY

*July 3, 1778*²³⁰

SIR: Having lately traveled over the District of Natchez and been at pains to collect every Information which might in any Measure tend to the publick Interest, I now think it a duty incumbent on me to lay the same before you as Commanding Officer of his Majestys Troops here, in order that you may the better be enabled to persue such steps as may appear most Conducive to promote the publick service, and as I have no sinister or interested Views in my representation (farther than becomes an Individual who wishes well to his country), I flatter myself its authenticity will not be doubted and that you will pardon the Liberty which I now take upon me in addressing you on such a Subject.—

It is with particular pleasure I inform you that the People in general express the most grateful Sense of the Measures which you persued whilst amongst them, to restore Harmony, Order, and Security to that lately distracted Settlement, they cannot help however regretting that the publick service has rendered it necessary for you to quit them so soon, and to leave their Country in such an unprotected and defenceless Situation—

I beg Leave to assure you from the best Information which I could gather upon the spot, that the whole Number of Men in the Settlement Capable to bear Arms, do not exceed at present fifty including the Rangers left at the Fort under the Command of Capt. Jackson, and I verily believe that were twenty Men properly Conducted to invade the Settlement (which from the Number of Expresses sent up the River by Willing, and the bad Inclinations of many of the Hunters there is great reason to expect may be the Case,) they might take Possession of the Fort, and again distress that late flourishing Country, and this Assertion will not appear extraordinary when you consider the *total Want of Discipline* which at present prevails, and the little Harmony and Confidence in each other which unhappily reigns too much among the People.—

²³⁰ BL, (English).

It appears to me to be extremely unfortunate that a proper Post of Regular Troops is not established in that Settlement, under the Command of an experienced Officer who by his good Conduct would conciliate the Affections of the People and give a Firmness and a Stability to the Settlement, as well as to Conduct the Publick Works now carrying on at the Fort (at a seemingly very great Expence to Government,) and which I am afraid for want of a proper Engineer, will not at last answer the purposes which might naturally be expected, where so much money is likely to be expended.—

The Appointment of Mr. Hutchins to a Command in your Regiment seems to create great uneasiness amongst the People as they alledge (but with what Justice I know not) that he allows his private Resentments too far to influence his publick Conduct, in so much that many of the best Settlers have told me that in the Event of his getting the Command there, they must abandon the Settlement from their knowledge of the unrelentless perseverance with which he will persecute them if in power.

It is with much Concern that I have lately heard of the Insinuations, which have been thrown out against the Loyalty of Mr. Hiorn who as far as I can learn from the People and my own knowledge of that Gentleman's principals are void of Foundation as I have been universally told that he has proved himself one of the greatest Friends which the Settlement has had and from his Influence with Willing has in a great Measure been the means of preventing the Ruin of the Inhabitants, as well as an Active and vigilant Majistrate, but of this you will be able to judge having been in that Country so lately yourself.—

As from the Conduct of the Spanish Governor, there are many Reasons to dread a Rupture with the Court of Spain perhaps nothing could more effectually secure the Settlements upon this River, as well as anoy our Enemies than a few properly constructed Gallies, advantagiously situated up the River Mississippi as they could at all Times promote the service in whatever Quarter they might be most necessary as well as prevent any Desent of the Rebels from above, which from many Circumstances, there is great reason to dread; Four Tradesmen who were sent up to repair Mr. Blommorts Mill have deserted, and as I traced them to Point Couppee, I think it almost certain that they are gone to give Intelligence to Willing's Party, and their being suspicious Charactors renders this Supposition by no means improbable, it therefore become more necessary that a speedy Reinforcement should be sent to reinforce the Post at the Natchez, before any attempts can be made against it.—

In passing through the Chactaws it gave me great Pleasure to find that Mr. Charles Stuart had by his prudent Conduct brought that Tribe to such a good Way of thinking, that altho' they Complained of the seasons being sickly, they were nevertheless willing to turn out to a Man, did the publick Service require their Aid, and they also declared that in future they would no longer persist in their Visits to Orleans as they found that part of their Conduct to be disagreeable to their beloved Man at Pensacola; Whose Charactor I cannot help respecting for his Activity in promoting the Welfare of the Province.—

As I set out tomorrow for Orleans, and have but little Time to write, I therefore beg you'll excuse this hasty Production and that you'll believe me at all times to be with respect and Esteem Sir Your most ob.^t & very hum.^e serv^t

JAMES DALLAS

MANSHAC 3^d July, 1778.

Coll.^e JOHN MCGILLIVRAY.

BLOMMART TO MCGILLIVRAY

July 6, 1778 ²³¹

SIR: This morning Mons^r Menard left this on his way from the Arcansaws to Orleans—he informs us that a Party of the Rebels commanded by a Cap^t. Conner from Fort Pitt with two Barges & 22 Men & a Serjent arivd there Expecting to meet with M^r. Willing or at least his Orders as pr. Appointment but on hearing Our Numbers & Warlike preparations they have pushed back & its more then likely they are gone to Join a Cap^t. Linn who was to have sett off with a Party of men to reduce the Illinious a few days After his departure— M^r Menard informs me that this Leader of Rebellis was mett by 22 Pirogues & two Barges full of Savages below the Mouth of the Ohio. that they wanted him to goe on shore to them but that he declined their Invitation—I am not clear that for the Above reasons that they dare Venture up again & should they be mett by our Deserters or any one who can give them an Acct. of our Week situation they may be bold Enough to once more force their way down to Join Willing.

We are doing the needfull to the Publick Works as you Ordered we have one Bastion Compleeted two Carages have the Guns Mounted the Gate Framed & going on as fast as our Week situation will permitt. I long to hear from you its now 17 days Since you left this

²³¹ BL, (English).

I hope you will fav^r. us with some News from you—I beg leave to refer you to Cap^t Jackson meanwhile I am Sir

Your most Respectfull Humb^le Ser^t.

J. J. BLOMMART (Rubric).

NATCHEZ the 6th July 1778

Colonell JOHN MCGILLIVREY.

[Addressed:]

On His Majes^s. Service

Colonell JOHN MCGILLIVREY

Commander in Chief at Manshac.

HARRISON TO POLLOCK

July 7, 1778 ²³²

OLIVER POLLOCK Esq^r.

NEW ORLEANS 7th. July 1778

(Copy)

SIR: Mr. Robinson has shewn me a very affecting Letter, on a Subject of the most extraordinary nature, addressed to him here, from my Uncle Captain Phillip Barbour in the Goal at Pensacola, the 11th. ult^o.—

You are acquainted Sir that as he was not permitted to sell his Corn here, and that You would not allow him to send it to Pensacola. You agreed that he might ship it to the West Indies in order to obtain a Market, and thereby enable him to discharge a Debt he owed Mess^{rs}. Morgan & Mather of this place. Upon which He and the said Morgan & Mather Chartered a Vessell for Barbados, and dispatched her with the said Corn on board.—

But it now appears by the abovementioned Letter, that a most Villainous and Treacherous Scheme has been put in execution by said Morgan & Mather, not only to send said Corn to Pensacola (by private Order given to the Captain) but also to betray into the Hands of his Enemies a Gentleman entirely innocent, and who in every part of his Conduct respecting public Affairs *particularly*, has acted with the greatest Prudence, and Integrity.—

I must therefore request you Sir, as Agent for the Hon^{ble}. The Continental Congress of America, in whose Service I have the honor to be, that You will make enquiry into the Nature of and Circumstances attending this *black* Affair, and know if his Excellency Governour Galvez, permits any of his Subjects, or any British Subject under his Protection, to order a french Vessell cleared out of this

²³² AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

Port for the West Indies, to enter into Pensacola, entirely to the prejudice, and hurt of the States of America; and in a *base* manner to betray into the Hands of His Enemies, a Gentleman whose Character is unsullied, and generally esteemed.—

His Sufferings now in goal at Pensacola, tho' of the most distressing nature, is not as much the Object of Enquiry at present, but Satisfaction from the Authors of his Calamities I pray for. Inclosed I send You his Letter for Your better Government, and must once more beg Your Attention to my Request. I am

Sir

Your Very Hble. Serv^t.

(Signed) RICHARD HARRISON

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

July 11, 1778 ²³³

ST. LOUIS, *July 11, 1778*

No. 171.

Señor Governor General

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST HONORED SIR: The only diversion of Don Joseph Piernas during the voyage was gambling at dice with the sailors of the boats, and in order that I should not hear the racket, they used to go off in the woods, from whence my ensign would come back, sometimes with his face swollen, and at others, all covered with dirt and limping. As soon as I ascertained who had the dice, I seized them and threw them away, and this put an end to the fighting and wagering of trousers and shirts.

When Don Joseph Piernas passed through Manchac he made friends with a merchant of the English part named Mr. Filpatris, who, not knowing the bad character of this man, entrusted him with a draft for 329 pesos and 6 reales on M. Dubroll, a resident of this post, in order that he might collect the amount and remit same to him as promptly as possible. He kept the draft in his possession less than four days, selling it on the boat for the price of five kegs of rum and a barrel of gun powder, but later, having arranged a more profitable sale, he tried to break the first one. This resulted in an argument and the affair came to my notice. I was not surprised (considering who was involved) and was glad to know about it, because the owner of the draft is a foreigner, while the man who won his confidence was a Spanish officer. I immediately settled all the trouble and took possession of the draft. I am writing Mr. Filpatris by this opportunity that it is in my hands and that he will be paid as promptly as possible.

²³³ AGI. PC. leg. 1.

Piernas has been telling everybody that, on account of my little ability and lack of experience in the government of this post, Your Lordship had appointed him to be my adviser or counsellor. I have not paid the slightest attention to this nor to other things of the same kind which have come to my notice, partly because I consider him not the kind of man to be able to discredit me, and partly because his deceit is manifest, as everyone sees the contempt with which I treat him.

I remain with all respect at the orders of Your Lordship and pray God to preserve your life for many years.

My very dear Sir, your affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

[Draft in margin, first and second page]

I was greatly pleased to learn of your safe arrival at your destination after a 93 days' voyage, as you report in your letter of July 11, and that four days later you took over your command with the proper formalities, causing great rejoicing among those settlers. This gives me great pleasure and I shall await the reports which you promise to send me next winter.

Don Francisco Cruzat has delivered the two swivel guns and you have done well to keep the flag.

The said Cruzat has been paid the 1,752 pesos advanced during the first six months of this year, upon presenting the certificate which you had given him.

From your other letter of the same date I take note of all you say regarding the conduct of Piernas, and I greatly approve of the way you comported yourself with him, as well as the action you took in connection with the obligation given him by Fitzpatris for collection.

August 31, '78.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

July 11, 1778 ²³⁴

No. 173

ST. LOUIS, *July 11, 1778.*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: Having been told by M. Maxent shortly before my departure from your city that I would find at this post a year's supply of presents for the Indians, I re-

²³⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

quested Don Francisco Cruzat to deliver them to me. To this he replied that he had not received these presents; but that it was true that last year M. Pedro Lacted came to him and asked to be given some merchandise in payment for one year's presents for the Indians which Your Lordship had commanded him to advance at this post. He said he did not comply since the presents were few and of poor quality. I report this to Your Lordship for your information.

I remain with all respect at the orders of Your Lordship, praying God to preserve your life many years.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

POLLOCK TO GÁLVEZ

*July 20, 1778*²³⁵

NEW ORLEANS 20th July 1778.

SIR: After the restitution of M^r. Ross's Vessell and Cargo agreeable to Your Order which was sometime ago taken as a Prize by Captain Calvert. M^r. Ross has been pleased to make further Demands [torn] as detention of his Vessell and a number of Articles which he very unjustly pretends were taken or rather missing out of the Vessel, and in short runs up an Account against its Captors for upwards of a thousand Dollars which Account tho' quite absurd I have at the desire of Lieutenant Governour Boulogny submitted to be examined into by Mess^{rs}. [torn] and Beauregard, and upon their bringing Calvert & M^r. Ross before them, they find it too Delicate a matter for them to determine. In consequence of which I now beg leave to acquaint Your Excellency, that I do not by any means conceive that the Captors are by any means liable for such Demands though Your Excellency has been pleased to deem all the Prizes made by us from the British, from the Entrance of the River to Manchac Illegal, and obliged us make Restitution thereof; as we are [now] doing by our [torn] . . . I am convinced will [torn] . . . until full Restitution [torn] by Great Britain for the Vessels seized on this River belonging to the United Independent States. From these Circumstances it is to be hoped Your Excellency will allow there was a foundation for our Proceedings in making Retaliation upon them which causes a Right and the Law says in the Courts of Admiralty of all Civilized Nations, that, when there is a Cause or even Suspicion for Seizure, no Damages are to be paid by the Captors duly authorized for so doing.

²³⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English)

And as I humbly conceive Your Excellency will allow there has been sufficient Cause for our Seizing and detaining the Different Prizes *given up* I hope Your Excellency will in future take no Cognizance thereof whatever.

I beg Your Excellency will hand me an Answer to my two last Letters I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Your Excell^y's Most Obedient and Very humble Servant

OLR. POLLOCK *Agent*

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

LEBYA TO GÁLVEZ

July 21, 1778 ²³⁶

ST. LOUIS, *July 21, 1778*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: The following Indian nations have come to welcome me: the Kickapoos, Sacs, Mahas, Mascutens, Missouris, Great and Little Osages. According to reports I have received, about a dozen more are still to come. Some nations have sent me word that they will leave their dogs to guard their villages, that is, that they will come with their wives and children. The Missouri nation has done this and has been here for two weeks, eating us out of house and home. There are only two ways of treating these people, either run them out with guns or feed them. For the former they give no cause, nor have we the forces to do so. I am following the latter, although I have found in the archives a regulation or statement drawn up by Don Pedro Piernas of January 4, '71, concerning the rations of bread which are to be given to the Indians during the year. However, those times were very different from the present. The war with the English is causing a great number of Indian tribes to go from one side to the other without knowing which side to take; or, more certainly, terrified by the Bostoneses, and in order to escape their anxieties for a few days, they come to this post under the pretext of asking for advice on their troubles, and consume many rations of bread. These were not distributed in the year '71 because of the absence of any such reason. Since my arrival here, the fewest that have been distributed in one day is fifty rations, and there have been days when it was two hundred. Each nation which arrives, even though a foreign one, must be given not only bread but also a present. We are using for these, (and they are not sufficient) goods which were intended for some tribes which did not come to get them. I advise Your Lordship of this matter so that you may

²³⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 2358.

tell me whether my certificate for the total of the rations which have been distributed to the Indians will be honored by your treasury in favor of the purveyor or only the number specified in the above-mentioned order of '71 that is, 1,072 rations.

I remain with all respect at the orders of Your Lordship and pray God to preserve your life for many years.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses your hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

July 21, 1778 ²³⁷

ST. LOUIS, July 21, 1778.

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: At the beginning of August next, traders will leave this post for the nations of the Missouri. I have divided this commerce up into small shares, thereby filling many needs. The details of this (which I shall send to Your Lordship this winter) appear to have greatly pleased the public, with the exception of those who, although not totally deprived of a share, expected a larger one.

I beg Your Lordship please to send me four or six medals for the Indians, as I have already distributed the two that Don Francisco Cruzat gave me, one to the second chief of the Great Osages, and the other to the first chief of the Little Osages. It is necessary to give one to the second chief of the Little Osages, not only because he was promised one by my predecessors, but also because he is an Indian much beloved by his people. I have told him in full council that he may come here in November to get it, and that I shall give it to him without fail. The other medals are to be kept on hand to be given out if some good Indian has to be rewarded or some bad one cajoled.

The settlers here are now harvesting their wheat, which by divine mercy is most abundant. The same is expected of the corn crop.

I remain with all respect at the orders of Your Lordship and pray God to preserve your life many years.

Your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

²³⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 2358.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*July 25, 1778*²³⁸

No. 189.

ST. LOUIS, *July 25, 1778.**Señor Governor General.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: Under the date of the 11th of this month I advised Your Lordship that next year's presents for the Indians have not been received by me. Now I have to report that of those for this year I have received only a small part of that which M. Maxent put on board my boat. He assured me that the rest would be delivered by M. Laclede. However, as he has not done so, and as the visits of the Indians and the gifts I have to distribute are very numerous, I advise Your Lordship of this, as well as of the action I have taken in order not to make the Indians discontented, which is that of ordering the merchants of this post to provide me with what may be needed for such presents. It has not yet been necessary to put the order into execution, but I know that they are taking it with very bad grace on account of the scarcity and costliness of their merchandise this year. I therefore beg Your Lordship, in order that I may return to them the goods they may supply, to direct M. Maxent to send me the rest of the presents for the current year, which are at that place in his charge in three large cases.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God preserve your life many years.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

POLLOCK TO GÁLVEZ

*August 5, 1778*²³⁹*New Orleans, 5 August 1778.*

SIR: I am absolutely under the necessity of applying to your Excellency for Two Thousand Dollars more, as Mons^r. Fagot who is arrived from the Illinois with different Bills of Exchange drawn on me by the Commanding Officer there, obliges me to pay him part of said Bills, which with other unexpected advances lays me under this Obligation.

I have the Honor to be with Respect—

Your Excellency's Most Obed^t. & Most Hle. Servant

OLR. POLLOCK

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ

²³⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 1.²³⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

BLOMMART TO MCGILLIVRAY

August 5, 1778 ²⁴⁰

Colonell JOHN MCGILLIVREY

Dr. Sir: Your esteemed fav^{rs} by Capt Calvert & Mons^r. Mason I duly Rec^d. & have fully Noted the Contents; the Barge Auning & with about 16 Gallons of Taffee I Rec^d. from Lieut. Carter the latter have appropriated where most needfull—Agreeable to your Recommendation Monsieur Mason has been Rec^d. with all the Friendship & Hospitality w^{ch}. layed in our Power and as I find him a person suiting our purpose would with submission lay down the following Plan—The Rebels have beyond a doubt possessed themselves of the Illinois, a Fertill & Extensive Country that has Cost Government many Thousands w^{ch}. Posestion must be Allow^d. is the Key of the Mississippi and the Waters Adjacent so that while the War Continues we must look upon ourselves lyable to their imbarisments—no time is therefore to be lost to fall on a method by w^{ch}. we may be apprised of their intentions.

Mons^r. Mason to whom alone I have spoak on the subject is a fitt Person to send to the Arcansaws If he could procure a Spanish Pass and be faseliated with a small Cargoe to take a Power of Attorney from me to settle with Mons^r. DeVilliers, there to Remain & hold himself in Readiness to give us inteligence of the Enimys Approch should you adopt the Plan no time is to be lost.

I am much disappointed for want of the Iron & Cordage w^{ch}. I begged might be sent us by first Opportunity I hope those Articles are to be had, Col^l. Hutchins ariv^d here the 18th Ultimo has Vizited the Fort & much Approves of our Works Except that we have no Bastions or Flankers w^{ch}. we are now bussy in preparing; we have the three largest Guns Completely Mounted Fronting the River have Drild out & proved the 4 Pounder w^{ch}. lay under the Fort & gott it on the Ramparts preparing to mount. The Gates are up & I will venture to say will meet with your approbation being well fixed & Formidable the Powder House almost finished as is also all the Ramparts. P. Alston is Expected down in a few days with Timber and Plank w^{ch}. is much Wanting I hope you will bring us Guns shott & Ammunition & as Cattle gitt scarce a quantity of salt Provisions to hold out a Sheige would be Necessary—I only wait your arivell to sett off for Pensacola did I imagine my Barge was wanting would have sent her to you Cap^t. Jackson sett off for Pensacola a few days since Cap^t. Lyman Commands everything seems to goe on as well as can be Expected should M^r. Mason stand in Need of Money I will Hon^r. his Draft for ps. 100 to inable him to putt his Plan of going to

²⁴⁰ BL., (English).

the Arcansaws in Execution—I hope this will meet you preparing to sett off & that I shall shortly personally assure you how much I am D^r Sir

Your most assur^d. & most Respectfull Hum^{le} Serv^t.

J. J. BLOMMART (Rubric).

N B My Mother who enjoys a perfect Health desires to be particularly Remembered—

NATCHEZ the 5th Aug^t. 1778.

Colonell JOHN MCGILLIVREY.

[Addressed:]

On His Majes^{es}. Service

Colonell JOHN MCGILLIVREY, *Commander in chief at Manchao Fav^d. by Mons^r. Mason*

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

August 6, 1778 ²⁴¹

Señor Governor General

ST. LOUIS, August 6, 1778.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: I could send Your Lordship a report similar to the attached one made against Don Joseph Piernas every day of the year and on some days more. But as my tasks are many, and those of Your Lordship much more, and as it is not proper for me to spend my time in writing, or to make Your Lordship waste yours in reading, I shall send only this one, in order to let Your Lordship know that there is no hope of improvement in this man. Therefore, I beg you earnestly to take him away from my side and by so doing Your Lordship will not only please me, but also all the other settlers who have been insulted and badly counselled every day by the said Don Joseph Piernas.

I remain with all respect at the orders of Your Lordship and pray God to preserve your life many years.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

[Draft of reply in margin of first page.]

From your letter of August 6, and the enclosed report I note with much displeasure the conduct of Don Joseph Piernas and the lack of any hope of improvement in him. As I note from the said documents that M. Sarpy had demanded an apology from him for not having

²⁴¹ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

acknowledged his salute, you shall make the said Piernas give him due satisfaction for having insulted him.

I return the memorial of Juan La Rue which you send me in another letter of the same date, with the corresponding decree in which I grant him the favor he requests. September 2, '78.

GEORGE TO GÁLVEZ

*August 14, 1778*²⁴²

NEW ORLEANS, 14th Aug^t. 1778.

SIR: Captain James Willing having committed to my Care, and put under my Command a Detachment of American Troops which he formerly Commanded (now under Your Excely's Protection) in order that I may proceed with them immediately Home; and as it is impracticable to proceed up the River Mississippi *from here* the Party being so few in number and surrounded by our Enemies on all Sides, I find myself under the necessity of begging Your Excellency's Permission to march the said Party through your Territories by way of Appelousaa & Nacetosh to their own Country, Which favor will be gratefully acknowledged by the United States of America, & much oblige—

Your Excellency's Most Obedient & most Hum^l Serv^t.

ROBT. GEORGE

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

GEORGE AND HARRISON TO GÁLVEZ

*August 18, 1778*²⁴³

NEW ORLEANS, 18 August 1778.

SIR: I had the Honor of receiving Your's of this Date, accompanied with Your Excellency's Permission to march my Party of Men through Your Territories on condition that I shall not attack any part of the British Dominions, or their Subjects or Property on my Route

As I am perfectly satisfied with Your Excellency's Duty towards Your own Prince in keeping up the good Understanding and Friendship & Neutrality subsisting between the Courts of Spain & Great Britain joined with my sincere intention of passing through Your Territories fully determined not to molest either British, or any other Subject whatsoever untill I arrive at our own Territories for the true performance of which, the Officer who goes Second in Command does hereby join with me in giving our Oath & Sacred Word of Honor to

²⁴² AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

²⁴³ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

duly & faithfully comply with this Engagement & in returning Your Excell^y our most sincere thanks for all favors You have hitherto been pleased to confer upon us, at sametime assure You we are with all due Respect.

Your Excellency's Most Obedient and Most Hum^l. Servants.

ROBT. GEORGE
R. G. HARRISON

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

BARKER TO GÁLVEZ

*August 25, 1778*²⁴⁴

MANCHAC, 25th. August 1778.

SIR: Lieutenant Moore, (who will have the honor of delivering your Excellency this Letter,) is the Person mentioned with Mr. Gordon in the Affidavit against Hart, and who I am informed (by Mr. Graham) you think necessary should appear, his being absent upon duty, and not returning till a day or two ago, prevented my sending him sooner.

I hope your Excellency will now be able to pass your final Sentence in this Affair, and that you will be pleased to acquaint me with the Result.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient humble Servant.

WILL: BARKER
*Captain in the 16th Reg^t Commanding
the Garrison of Manchac*

POLLOCK TO GÁLVEZ

*August 29, 1778*²⁴⁵

NEW ORLEANS, 29th. Aug^t. 1778.

SIR: Your former proceedings with respect to the Neutrality which you obliged the American Party to keep up on this River towards the English I presume is a sufficient appology for my troubling You with this Letter

In consequence I beg leave to acquaint Your Excellency, that a Captain Graham a British Officer, has taken a Negro Boy named Wilks belonging to me, which Slave I purchased, & paid Mr. David Williams for five Years ago, and have had him in my possession, till the 26th. of last month, at which time I am informed that the said Officer, did enveigle him from this Town, and receive him on board his Bateau up at the Point, about two Miles above this place

²⁴⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

²⁴⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

carried him away & has him now in possession at Manchack; in consequence I hope Your Excellency will desire that the said Graham may be ordered to return the Negro Boy in question to the place from whence he so unjustly & fraudulently carried him off, and such other Steps taken as Your Excellency may judge proper for such a presumptuous Act.

I have the Honor to be—Your Excellency's Most Obed^t. & most Humble Servant

OLR. POLLOCK

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

GÁLVEZ TO LEYBA

*September 2, 1778*²⁴⁶

No. 213.

I note from your letter of July 27, that you have divided up the commerce with the Indians into small shares, the traders having departed at the beginning of this month, and that this has filled many needs, details of which you promise to send me next winter.

I send you two large medals for the principal chiefs and shall send you small ones for secondary chiefs when they reach me, recommending that you give the former only to the principal chiefs.

I greatly rejoice over the abundance of the harvest.

I fear that you will have frequent visits from the Indian tribes during the war between Great Britain and her colonies and that they will consume many rations, as you state in another letter of the same date. But I must tell you that I have no authority to increase the number of 1,072 rations, which you found stipulated in the papers left by Don Pedro Piernas, because it is the same as stipulated in the regulation of the obligations of this province. For this reason you will try to prevent their exceeding this number, as with proper management you can see that they do not stay more than three or four days, and not two weeks as I note the Missouri nation has done.

May God preserve you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 2, 1778*.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

Señor DON FERNANDO DE LEYBA

CROIX TO GÁLVEZ

*September 11, 1778*²⁴⁷

MY DEAR SIR: Let Your Lordship be advised by the enclosed copy of the decision made by the governor of Texas, and also of

²⁴⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

²⁴⁷ BL.

the reasons for such action. The inhabitants of that province who may carry on commerce with the friendly nations to the north, are to acknowledge their subordination to that government, and no commerce of any kind is to be carried on without his expressed approval.

Although this solicitude appears just to me, I have done nothing except to make suggestions to the aforesaid governor, requesting that he take care of the inhabitants, as subjects of His Majesty, zealously supervising their conduct and seeing to it that justice shall be administered against any one who may commit any excess or punishable crime. I make this known to Your Lordship so that, taking advantage of your decision, measures may be devised in order to avoid the injuries which perhaps might be occasioned by the unrestricted trade of some men who, distant from their chiefs, live constantly among barbarians.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

CHIHUAHUA, 11th of September, 1778.

Your most attentive servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

EL CAV. DE CROIX (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO GÁLVEZ

BARKER TO MCGILLIVRAY

*September 12, 1778*²⁴⁸

MANCHAC, *September 12th 1778.*

SIR: I most heartily congratulate You upon the happy Seizure of the Illinois Boats you mention, as the detection of the Letters found in them will entirely put it out of the Spanish Governor's Power to plead that just, and honorable Neutrality, which he so much boasted of observing; and will warrant any Trouble, or Search, We may think proper to make on any Spanish Boats; with, or without their Colours passing this river.

I have great reason to suppose from his behavior in Hart's Affairs, and the Tenor of his Conduct, relative to the Rebels; and our Officers sent to him on Business; that he is, a Man of no Integrity, and solely in their Interest; and hope You will be able to prevail on Governor Chester, to represent him in his true light, to our Government; and that He will send me full Orders, to retaliate; and I will forfeit my Life, if I do not most amply, for the Insults offered, since I came here.

The Advice Boat, (Smith) is not returned since You left this, otherwise would have sent him immediately to Pensacola, with your Advices; therefore suppose, You will be there, before any Accounts from me.

²⁴⁸ BL, (English).

An Advice boat from Fort Pitt, to Willing; came here last night, but as they had stopped the Evening before at M^{rs}. M^c.Intosh's She sent a Canoe express with an account of her coming down, which arrived here before her, in consequence of which I sent a Boat to the Spanish Side, to waylay her, but so Cautious were they that they landed some distance above the Point opposite Shakespear's and let their Canoe drift down, which was taken up by my boat: They got down by Land, below our Fort. The Commanding Officer (who they say is a Colonel) and two or three of the Men Crossed over to Fitzpatrick's where they have been all day.

I have sent bye M^{rs}. M^c.Intosh's Messenger (who saw the Rebels at her house, and can be positive to their Chief) an account of this matter to Captain Fergusson, (who is about Ten or Twelve Leagues below, on his return) in hopes He may be able to catch them (nine in Number) as I believe He will not stand much on Ceremony, having sent him your Dispatches; by which He will very *readily* judge what Compliment is due the Spaniards in this part of the World.

We hear by a Man just arrived from Point Coupée that they mentioned there, that a great number of Americans are coming down, if true; what is to become of the Garrison of Manchac? We will do the most We can, as there is no retreat.

Our Men since you left us, have but one Night in bed; therefore, You may judge of our Duty; & how necessary it is to be reinforced here.

I am with the greatest Esteem for Colonel M^c.Gillivray His Most Obed^t. humble serv^t.

WILL: BARKER

Capt. 16th foot Commanding at Manchac.

P. S. I enquired about the Salt you mentioned and Capt. M^cIntosh informs me, that he sent to engage it, so suppose he will write to you concerning it.—Excuse the badness of the Paper as I really have no better.

WILLING TO GÁLVEZ

October 7, 1778 ²⁴⁹

May it please Your Excellency

I have the Honor to represent to Your Excellency that in the Month of February last, on my Route to this Place I was inform'd that a Monsieur Rapico who was a British Subject Trading with the States Enemy and supplying them with necessaries for the support of an unnatural War against America, was coming down the River; In

²⁴⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

consequence I left a Party of Men who took him and his Cargoe, he after this got a Spanish protection and Flag, and upon my arrival here, You claimed not only his Person but the Property, and I was obliged agreeable to the Laws of Nations to deliver him and it up. Upon the same footing and in behalf of the United States, I demand Monsieur Lefont who was an American Subject, but afterwards went over an obtained protection from His Catholick Majestys Commandant at the Illinois, together with permission to come with Mons^r. Dalcharets Boats to New Orleans; He contrary to the Faith of Nations as appears by the Treaty of Peace was seized and taken out of a Spanish Batteau regularly Despatched and Navigated by Spaniards and French Men Spanish Subjects by the British Officers and their Crew at Natchez and he sent as I am informed to Pensacola as a *Rebel & Traitor* as Your Kingdom is at present in a State of Neutrality with respect to the present War, and knowing from experience Your Unexampled Justice to all Mankind think it my duty to lay before You the present Case being assured that you'll demand and persist on the same Justice from the British that seizes or Insults your Flag in all cases whatsoever as You have demanded of Me in part of the United States, Wishing you may continue to flourish in all Your undertakings in this Quarter and Happyness in the World of Spiritts—I am with Respect

Your Excellency's most Obedient and most humble Servant

JAS. WILLING

*Captⁿ. in the Service of the United
Independent States.*

NEW ORLEANS, 7^t. October 1778.

His Excell^y. DON BERNARD DE GALVEZ.

McGILLIVRAY TO GÁLVEZ ²⁵⁰

May it Please your Excellency

Your letter addressed to Colonel Hutchins is received; but cannot be answerd at present as Col. Hutchins is not here; he is expected daily & no doubt will answer it. I found it open, as it had been recd at Manshac by the Commanding Officer there. A Gentleman in your Character, I am sorry to think should act with so much partiality in favour of a Band of Robbers & permit them to stay within your Territories, when you force British Subjects to take the Oaths of Allegiance to the Crown of Spain.

Did you not mean entirely to distress his Britannic Majesties Subjects you certainly woud have made the Robbers have taken the same Oath. If your are sincere in the Neutrality and did not act with par-

²⁵⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

tiality Mr. Willing & his Party must have taken the Oath of Allegiance, which the British Subjects took under the same Circumstances & are of course became Spanish Subjects agreeable to the Tender of that Oath. I wonder much that a Gentleman of your Power who calls himself a good Christian should have so little feeling that your heart wou'd not bleed for the Distresses of those unhappy People, who so much suffer it by Willing, who durst not have done so much had he not Run sensible of the Protection he shou'd receive from you. If the Court of Spain mean to make War with the Court of Great Britain, I cou'd wish it wou'd be done fairly; but not that a War shou'd arise from the Distresses of a few Subjects your Neighbours who have so heartily advanced the Prosperity of y^r. Colony.

I have the honeur to be y^r Excellency's most Ob^t.

JOHN MCGILLIVRAY
Commanding at Natches

LAURENS TO NAVARRO

*October 27, 1778*²⁵¹

PHILADELPHIA, 27th October 1778.

SIR: Your Excellency's Letter of the 11th March last address'd to Congress in favor of Don Juan De Miralles, I had the honor of presenting to the House—the particular Affection which you were pleased to express therein for Don Juan has been justified by his Honorable Deportment during his residence in these States.

It cannot but be pleasing to your friendship to be told that the influence which Your Excellency's Recommendation naturally conveys, has, in this instance, been rendered little necessary by the Claims of the personal merit of Don Juan.

The United States of North America desire Peace and harmony with other Nations and they particularly consider the prospect of a friendly intercourse between the Subjects of His Catholic Majesty and their own Inhabitants as a great Branch of their future felicity.

The Kind Prayer which you have made for our preservation we beg leave to retort in sentiments of the utmost cordiality.

I have the honor to be With the highest Esteem & Respect

Sir

Your Excellency's Obedient & Most humble Servant.

HENRY A. LAURENS
President of Congress.

HIS Excellency DON D. J. NAVARRO
Governor & Captain-General of
Cuba &c &c &c Havana

²⁵¹ AGI, PC, leg. 1301 (English).

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*November 16, 1778*²⁵²

No. 252.

ST. LOUIS, *November 16, 1778.**Señor Governor General.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: The constant rains which fell while these settlers were harvesting has caused the loss of half of the wheat. This, in conjunction with the many soldiers on the other side, has made bread and other provisions dear, although we had expected them to be abundant and cheap this year.

I remain with all respect at the orders of Your Lordship, and pray God to preserve your very important life many years.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*November 16, 1778*²⁵³ST. LOUIS, *November 16, 1778.**Señor Governor General.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: The Missouri River is the main feature of this district. On its banks and on those of the rivers emptying into it are settled all the Indian nations who carry on the commerce of this place. Because of this, it is of the greatest importance to guard its entrance. For this purpose, there is situated on it (number 4) the fort, (only in name) of San Carlos, with a garrison of six men and a corporal. The lowness of its situation, and a beach in the form of a semi-circle of one-half league in width, covered with trees which time has formed in front of the aforesaid fort, are impediments to the observation from it of the boats which enter and leave the aforesaid Missouri. Because of this fact, and because of the ruined condition in which the fort is, one may consider it as useless.

The best site in all this territory which is available for establishing a fort and near to it a great settlement is the one named Aguas Frias on the height of *Del Monte de Pudra* (number 11), which is precipitous on the side of the river, and elevated above it twelve paces with two zigzag ascents situated on the sides. The lieutenant governor of this district could be established in the aforesaid fort

²⁵² AGI, PC, leg. 1.²⁵³ BL.

with a garrison of two hundred men, distributed in the following fashion: Twenty-five in Miseria, an equal number at this post, and twenty at the entrance of the Mua River, eighty leagues distant from this pueblo going up the Mississippi. In that place it would be necessary to construct a small fort enclosed with a stockade, and some building for the shelter of the garrison. The principal object of this detachment would be to impede the entrance which the English make through the aforementioned Mua River in order to carry on trade with our Indian nations situated to the north, from whom they annually bring out furs to the value of fifteen to twenty thousand pesos.

There follow from this two no less serious disadvantages in addition to the aforementioned one of not closing this entrance. First, all the aforementioned Indian nations are devoted to the English. Second, through these Indians the English succeed in introducing their trade among the nations settled on the Missouri, a matter which, if totally accomplished, as they did part of last year, would reduce this settlement to the greatest misery. Furthermore, from the aforesaid settlement, a cruise could be made one or two hundred leagues further up the river where equal or greater contraband trade is carried on. The repeated seizure of contraband goods would check them and cause them to realize that this is not their home. To-day they come in, judge this place theirs, or believe that it has no owner. But for all of this, forces would be required capable of checking the attacks which all of the bandits who participate in the said commerce might attempt in spite of our just procedure.

Returning to the matter of distribution of the garrison, I say that the one hundred and thirty men remaining with the lieutenant governor should be stationed in a stone fort in the place mentioned. The fort need not be of the strong and expensive type constructed in Europe. The wall should rather be similar to that of the barracks in this place, with embrasures for a battery and a bank behind the parapet five feet in height. Such a work, in my opinion, would not represent a very great cost as there is stone easily available. The cost would be materially reduced if three or four soldiers who are masons were available. The fort would serve, first, to guard the entrance to the Missouri; secondly, to render aid to the post which might have need of it. To this end, and to be able to relieve the garrisons, it would be necessary to have two or three small boats.

The fact alone of transferring the commander of this district, the fort, and garrison to the site in question, would act as an inducement, so that from this town, from that of Miseria, and from the English district, there would come various inhabitants who would settle in the neighborhood. It would not be difficult to have families come from

Canada, for I have been informed by some merchants who have just arrived that there are many who are desirous of leaving the clamor of war. They would join our ranks. If their poverty were such that they would not have means of undertaking the journey, I believe there would be many who would come if offered assistance.

The map of this district which I forward to Your Lordship has not been drawn with the semicircle and the circumferentor. However, from what I have seen of the land and the river, as well as from information received from the most expert and able voyageurs in this country, I dare to assert that were it to be checked with the said instruments, there would not be found any great discrepancy either in the courses of the rivers, or the situation of the places. In addition to this we had to confront the difficulty of mapping a territory unknown to us. Nevertheless, the measurements are exact. Your Lordship receives with the plan my good will and my limited ability, ever disposed to comply with anything that Your Lordship may deign to demand of me in this or any other matter.

The plan and the explanation thereof are in French because of my poor writing and since there is not at this post anyone who can write Spanish even moderately well, unless it be a soldier, of whose services I have not availed myself because of the many errors which he makes.

I remain with all respect obedient to the orders of Your Lordship and beg that God may preserve your very important life the many years which I desire.

My dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*November 16, 1778*²⁵⁴

No. 255.

ST. LOUIS, *November 16, 1778.*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: There is not a foot of soil in this country which is not suitable for all kinds of crops, and there are many square leagues of beautiful meadows on these heights; but the settlers are interested only in trading with the Indians and neglect their farming. All are, or wish to be merchants. This has the following results:

1. There is always a scarcity of food at this post.

²⁵⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

2. The classes of people are so mixed up that one cannot tell who is a farmer and who is a merchant.

3. The person in command of this post (and even sometimes Your Lordship) is so overwhelmed with requests for permits for the Missouri that, as it is impossible to satisfy them all, it is impossible not to make some enemies.

The way to bring these people back to reason, so that everyone will attend to his business and the country flourish, is for Your Lordship to lend your assistance. Self-interest is the motive force in all men. These people are interested in commerce and not in farming because the latter gives them little or no gain, while the former supports them and even makes them rich. This same reason would incline them to farming if the flour which could be made here were disposed of in this very post. It could be in the following manner: Supposing that there were at this post a garrison of eight hundred men and that these lands supplied their bread, this troop, at the rate of a pound and a half daily, would consume per year 1,200 barrels of flour of 300 pounds each. Estimating the price of the flour at twelve pesos, the cost of the barrel at one, and the freight at two, the total income for this post would amount to 18,000 pesos annually. It must be understood that in order to interest these settlers, it would be necessary for this amount to be paid directly to the people themselves, so that they would receive it as they delivered the flour. The reason is that its delivery to this post would entail more expense to them, partly because most of the settlers have no connections whatever here, and partly because of the risks there would be in connection with the persons whom they appoint as their agents. I firmly believe that, if this is done, the population would increase greatly and before long the sowing of hemp could be contemplated. Although this was already proposed to these settlers by my predecessor, and readily agreed to by everyone with the promise to set to work doing it, they have now entirely forgotten. Since one of the things which attracted them to the idea was that perhaps they would be advanced Negroes, they are all awaiting this aid before beginning. However, in my plan about the flour, there is no necessity of making loans, as the settlers will be able to put themselves in a position to undertake this sowing of hemp or any other crop suited to the colony which might be useful to them.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your important life the years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

(Draft accompanying the foregoing)

I have taken note of all you write in your letter of November 16th last about the assistance and means which it would be advisable for me to lend for the purpose of encouraging the cultivation of those beautiful prairies by the sowing of flax, hemp, and wheat, to which those settlers would devote themselves, so that the classes of people could again be distinguished, as at present they are all confused and everyone wants to be a merchant on account of the profits he could make in trading, while none can be expected from farming without the said help. I ought to tell you I have made representations to the court that for the realization of the royal intentions in the development of flax and hemp (which crops, the lands of Ylinueses would produce very well), and in view of the poverty of these settlers, it would be advisable for the King to advance them Negroes as they requested, and as your predecessor informed me. His Excellency the Minister replied in a royal order that, having informed the King of all this, he would take the best and most opportune measures for sending Negroes. For this reason it is necessary to await them. You will make known to those settlers these good intentions of our sovereign so that, in view of them, they may proceed to get ready for this raising of flax and hemp, which promises them profitable results, and, if possible, to undertake it even before the arrival of the slaves promised by His Majesty. I must add that I cannot forecast the price of flour, as this is susceptible, like all other things, to variations according to circumstances. Moreover, I do not see that what you propose would stimulate those settlers to cultivate the soil, when it is the same as has been practiced for a long time here, in that whatever arrived was sold at this capital. *January 13, 1779.*

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

November 16, 1778 ²⁵⁵

No. 253.

Señor Governor General.

ST. LOUIS, *November 16, 1778.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: I have installed the new sub-lieutenant of militia, Don Benito Vasquez, in his post. After I had done so, M. Mutardi, the sergeant of the same company, came to me and asked me to request Your Lordship to permit his discharge. As his request seemed to me to be inopportune, I asked what reasons he had for so doing. He replied that he had served many years as a sergeant of the veteran troops of France, and that since the establishment of the Spaniards in this colony, he had served in

²⁵⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

the same rank in the militia of this post. He said that he believed he had always served with merit, but that as the sub-lieutenancy of his post had been given to Don Benito Vasquez (who had no other merits than that of having been a private soldier and a servant of Don Pedro Piernas), he wished to be given his discharge from the company. I afterwards learned that there were others who had their eyes on this post, but I have pacified them all, telling them not to lose hope, because as the number of militiamen in this company was very large, I would propose to Your Lordship, that, if such were agreeable to you, it should be divided into two companies. In this case there would be three posts to fill, nominations for which I shall send to Your Lordship, if you approve of this being done.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders, and pray God to preserve your life many years.

My very dear Sir, your most faithful servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

NAVARRO TO BUCARELI

*December 6, 1778*²⁵⁶

No. 45.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have just received from Philadelphia from reliable and trustworthy sources the following advices:

Under date of September 21st, the British army in New York and vicinity, composed of fifteen thousand men, more or less, under the command of General Clinton, and the squadron of sixteen ships and ten frigates under Admiral Gambier, successor to Lord Howe, appeared to be intending to evacuate that place and its port, as it was known that they had embarked their artillery, munitions of war, and the baggage, but that the true destination of these troops and of the squadron was uncertain. Some persons thought that the intention was to disembark them in New England to attack Boston, or to reinforce the ports of Halifax and Quebec. Others thought that they were going to guard and reinforce the English Windward Islands, principally Jamaica, or to attack some of the Spanish or French possessions. It is said that the French squadron under the command of Comte d'Estaing, consisting of twelve ships and four frigates was still in Boston, repairing the damage it had suffered in a heavy storm.

Under date of October 24, they confirm these reports, adding that

²⁵⁶ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

at the beginning of October, 3,000 men had sailed for Jamaica, and that they vouched for the truth of the embarkation of troops in New York, especially 6,000 men, whose clothing had had the woollen linings removed.

Separately from these advices, it has been learned by way of the French colony of the Island of Santo Domingo that on the 13th of last month, there arrived at the port of El Mulo an American schooner, ten days out of Philadelphia, with the news that on the 20th of October, 140 transports had sailed from New York with troops and war equipment. Also General Clinton, convoyed by the squadron commanded by Lord Howe, left the port of New York entirely abandoned, but without his destination having been learned.

I advise Your Excellency of all this for your guidance and warning, to which end I shall continue to notify you of all events which may be reported, so that we may all be mutually informed of the operations of the English in the present state of affairs.

May God protect Your Excellency the many years that I desire.
HAVANA, *December 6, 1778.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive and humble servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*December 9, 1778*²⁵⁷

ST. LOUIS, *December 9, 1778.*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: The fact that various settlers have complained to me that vegetables and fruits have been stolen from their gardens, cattle from their corrals, and boats from the banks of the river, has obliged me, in order to stop this (long standing) disorder, to place a pillory with collar in front of my house, with the determination to expose to public shame anyone caught in such crimes. Furthermore, a patrol is being sent out every night with proper orders. Perhaps these precautions or the threat of punishment alone will be sufficient to restrain the miscreants, as nobody has complained to me since they have been taken.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders, and pray God to spare your important life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

²⁵⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 2358.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*December 9, 1778*²⁵⁸*Señor Governor General.*ST. LOUIS, *December 9, 1778.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: The traders who went to the Hotas tribe last year seized, at the order of M. Francisco Cruzat, from two Englishmen who had gone into the said tribe, one thousand, four hundred and seventy-three pounds of deer skins which they had collected, and brought them to this post. The culprits fled, but I brought suit against them for this deed, and as they were convicted of contrabanding, I passed sentence that these skins should be divided into three parts, one for the King, another for the court costs, and the other for the denunciators. The part belonging to the King I have spent for a boat and a pirogue for the use of this detachment.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your very important life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*December 9, 1778*²⁵⁹

No. 257.

*Señor Governor General.*ST. LOUIS, *December 9, 1778.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: M. Perro has handed me a cover containing ten letters from Your Lordship, nine dated September 2, and the other August 31. The cover was open, this having been done in Natchez. I presume that Your Lordship has already been informed of this.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your important life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

[In the margin]:

P. S. I have not received the two large medals mentioned by Your Lordship; and I beg you please to send me a pair of small ones, as they are the ones I have promised.

²⁵⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 2358.²⁵⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*December 9, 1778*²⁶⁰*Señor Governor General.*ST. LOUIS, *December 9, 1778.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: A hunter named Lucas David, who left this post with a passport from Don Francisco Cruzat, dated May 31, of this year, has been inhumanly murdered at the mouth of the Mua River by the Sios Indians, one of our nations of the north, and as if their deed were some trifling matter, they have sent me word that they are coming to visit me in the spring. I shall receive them as they deserve, if my powers are equal to my desires. This is a nation (of six or eight thousand men) much addicted to these deeds and it pays no attention to warnings. Nevertheless, if I had even a fair-sized garrison, I believe that I could put this territory in such a condition that the hunters and travelers would not be victims of those savages.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your valuable life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

P. S. Although the Virginia gazettes contain nothing special, I send them to Your Lordship, in case more recent ones have not reached your city.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*December 9, 1778*²⁶¹*Señor Governor General.*ST. LOUIS, *December 9, 1778.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: The troops of this detachment are so well clad that the most poorly dressed has a dozen shirts, an equal number of stockings and a proportionate number of shoes, breeches, etc. All of them prefer to buy personally the goods they need. They can purchase them here for cash more cheaply than in your city, and always to their taste, having them made up by the tradesmen here. All this is to beg Your Lordship (at the behest of said troop) not to send them their clothing allowance in goods but in cash.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your important life the many years I desire.

²⁶⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 2358.²⁶¹ AGI, PC, leg. 2358.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

COLLELL TO GÁLVEZ

*December, 1778*²⁶²

Señor Governor General.

VILLA DE GÁLVEZ, *December, 1778.*

MY DEAR SIR: I notify Your Lordship that on the 12th of the current month Simon Richar, a German, came here to settle with his wife, one son, and two daughters. He told me that Your Lordship had allowed him four arpents square of land, the same four he marked out a half league distant from the town.

On the 19th of same month Felipe Torgesu, a single man, a carpenter by trade, came and asked me to allow him a piece of ground. I gave him letter *b*, number 3, on condition that he build his house within six months and that, should he depart before two years, he will leave his house and ground to the benefit of the King. He agreed to this proposition. Likewise the lot *b* of block number 4 has been assigned to Mr. Jons. These people have come after the departure of Your Lordship.

I remit to Your Lordship a statement giving the settlers who reside in the town, the slaves and cattle they possess, what they have sown, the lots assigned in the town and the habitations of which the plans lack the approval of Your Lordship in order that they may be valid.

I have received of Mr. Magsan 40 hinges, 39 flints, 10 hooks, 8 tamperers, 4 locks with their keys, two kegs, half a box and a bag of nails, 4 barrels of wheat, 3 of barley, one of oranges, a box of hemp seed, another of flax. Everything remains under my care, with the exception of what is marked down in the statement as given to the settlers.

Twenty-five thousand nails are needed for the roof of the barracks and the kitchen. They should be the size of the sample which the sergeant brings. Those sent by Mr. Magsan are said to be useless because they are so large that they will break all the tiles.

I beg Your Lordship to send me an instruction book that I may not err in anything which is required of me.

For the present there has been no complaint among the settlers and the troops, and I hope that it will be the same in the future. I have allowed to the troops for a garden, the land in which they are working, as Your Lordship ordered me. I beg Your Lordship, if you agree to

²⁶² AGI, PC, leg. 2351.

it, to leave me with this detachment. I shall remain content and extremely grateful. In this case I ask Your Lordship to advance me my pay for the whole year and to give it to the sergeant so that I may buy all the necessities for my support. I hope to receive this favor from Your Lordship while asking God to guard the life of Your Lordship many years.

I kiss the hand of Your Lordship.

Your devoted subject and servant,

FRANC^O. COLLELL (Rubric).

DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

GÁLVEZ TO LEYBA

January 13, 1779 ²⁶³

[Draft]

I am answering your letter of November 16th last, in which you give me an account of the uselessness of Fort San Carlos at the entrance of the Missouri River, and of the disadvantageous site in which it is. You propose that it be placed in the district named Aguas Frias, adding likewise that it would be convenient to establish another fort at the entrance of the Mua River because of the advantages which you say would result from both. For this garrison and that of the other posts there would be needed two hundred men who would be divided in the manner you mention. I must inform you that I am lacking in the power to make such extraordinary outlays from the royal treasury. You are not ignorant of the fact that the funds available for this province are reduced to the salaries of the employees and daily pay of the troops. There must likewise be added to this difficulty the fact that the garrison of this colony is already insufficient to assign two hundred men to those settlements. I am therefore unable to consent to your proposal, but I shall communicate it to His Majesty in order that he may determine what is his pleasure. In the meantime, I would suggest to you that you endeavor to prevent the entrance of the English into the aforesaid rivers, and see that they do not win over our Indians. This matter is expressly charged in the instructions carried by Your Lordship.

I received the plan which you have forwarded, and by it will have information of those settlements. I thank you a thousand times.

January 13, 1779.

GÁLVEZ TO LEYBA

*January 13, 1779*²⁶⁴

No. 273

[Draft]

In view of the repeated advices given me by the commandant of Arkansas of the murders and robberies which our hunters are continually suffering on that river from the Osage Indians, I must ask you to consult secretly with some of those inhabitants as to the best means to prevent such atrocities. It is not right that the said Osage tribe should receive such a great favor as the present which is annually distributed among them in the name of the King, and then, in return, commit atrocities against his subjects. I charge you to lose no time in a matter which merits such great consideration.

January 13, 1779.

SEÑOR DON FERNANDO LEYBA.

GÁLVEZ TO LEYBA

*January 13, 1779*²⁶⁵

No. 272.

Having received the large medals which I requested from the court to distinguish the principal chiefs of the Indians from the secondary ones, I send the two I promised you in my letter of September 2, last. May God preserve you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 13, 1779.*

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON FERNANDO DE LEYBA

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

*January 15, 1779*²⁶⁶

No. 226.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I enclose for your Excellency a copy of the letter which I have received from Lieutenant D. Raymundo Dubreuil, commandant of our post of San Gabriel de Manchak. From this letter Your Excellency will note the news, which he tells me he has learned from the English commander of Manchak, relative to the disposition of the English to construct forts on this Mississippi River, and to garrison them with a considerable number of troops. Although this news has come directly from Pensacola I, however, do not con-

²⁶⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 1.²⁶⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 1.²⁶⁶ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-11.

sider it very reliable; but if perchance it is confirmed, I shall be on the look-out in order to advise Your Excellency of whatever occurs.

May God protect Your Excellency for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, 15th of January, 1779.

Most Excellent Sir, your most faithful servant kisses your hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

(Accompanying the foregoing)

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I inform Your Lordship that the governor of Pensacola has received orders to make a chain of forts and batteries all along the banks of the Mississippi River which belong to the English, to construct galleys, and make levees and landing places everywhere. Colonel Dickson becomes governor of this part of Louisiana. They are going to begin shortly in this post of Manchak and at Baton Rouge, two brick forts with quarters in them which can hold three hundred men each as a garrison. Three hundred men destined for Pensacola have already arrived with five frigates. A portion of the force is awaiting the rest, with a general as the governor of Pensacola who set sail the same day as those who have arrived. There are also eleven thousand Hessian volunteers who must have already disembarked in America. This is what I can recall of the letter from the governor of Pensacola to the commandant of Manchak. There has also arrived the confirmation of the alliance of Spain and England.

There are gazettes which carry much news and, if I can get a copy of them, I shall send them to Your Excellency.

May God protect you for many years.

Your most faithful servant kisses your hand.

MANCHACK, December 31, 1778.

RAYMUNDO DUBREUIL.

This is a copy of the original, which is in this government secretariat in my charge.

NEW ORLEANS, January 5, 1779.

JOSEPH FOUCHER (Rubric).

COLLELL TO GÁLVEZ

January 15, 1779²⁸⁷

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I received Your Lordship's letter dated December 31. It arrived in my hands on the 12th of January, and

²⁸⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 2351.

I am informed of its contents and am carrying out the orders which you give me in it.

Because the inhabitant Fitzpatrick has gone to Pensacola and has stopped building the four houses which he had promised to do for Your Lordship, it has become necessary for me to make use of the residents. Mr. Gre obligated himself to build one; Mr. Genaro Nikolson another; Mr. Huescat another; and Meo Gre, Jr., another. These men obligate themselves to construct the houses some time during this month, as Your Lordship informs me the said Fitzpatrick had agreed to do. These houses they will place on plots Nos. 3 and 4, letters *d* and *e* of both, because they consider these lands to be the best in the town, as they are situated in the center on the first street that is to be built in it, of which I have taken the measurements.

For the purpose of lodging the families (thinking they would come before), I had retained the house of Mr. Huescat, that of Luis Deves, and that of Mr. Gulvi, capable of lodging 30 individuals. I still retain these houses for this purpose, except that of Mr. Gre, who had promised me he would live with his family in the dwelling while ours was being built.

It is essential that the families coming to this place shall bring the necessary provisions for their support, for here there are none, nor are there any axes, picks, hoes, spades, or machetes for cutting the cane, nor grindstones for grinding their tools.

In order to establish these families I have looked for a piece of land half a league distant from this place, below it, capable of accommodating the 150 families or more, with the convenience of a small stream which enters it from the Amit River, the water of which is very good. In case Your Lordship does not find this ground suitable, because it is somewhat apart, they may be placed next to the town at such distances as Your Lordship may think proper.

I have hired two Negroes to clear the ground chosen for the building of the four houses, and to make ditches all around it to drain off the waters whose overflow (in these as well as the other houses in the town) settles on that ground [torn] the house of Mr. Gre [torn] which it has in its circumference.

The kitchen is finished, and I have put a tablet on it (which cost ten pesos) stating that it may serve as a storehouse in which to deposit the provisions which the families may bring with them for their sustenance. In the meantime I hope that Your Lordship will order me to construct another of stakes, the cost of which would be much less and would afford the same service. The wood for my

house and the barracks is all cut and ready for the erection of the said building, which will be finished within a short time.

In my anxiety to carry out Your Lordship's wish that the inhabitants shall plant as much grain as they can, and as they have not much land cleared for the purpose, I have granted to Mr. Gre and Luis Deves (up to the month of July) the plots Nos. 19 and 20, on which they have sowed two barrels of wheat and half a barrel of barley. In this way the clearing of the plots and the providing of grain for next year's sowing is taken care of. The wheat which was sowed in the month of December is more than half a handsbreadth high.

The inhabitants of this place, in order to demonstrate the love and kindness which they feel for the Spanish nation, have begged me to give a Spanish name to each one of their dwellings. I granted their wish and gave them the following names:

<i>Dwellings</i>	<i>Names I gave them</i>	<i>In whose honor they were named</i>
That of Luis Deves.....	La Carlota	In honor of the King, Our Lord, may God preserve him.
" of Leandro Deves	La Antonia	For the Prince of Asturias, Don Antonio.
" of Mr. Wet	La Luisa	For the Princess of ditto, Doña Luisa.
" of Mr. Moris	La Joaquina ...	For the Infanta Doña Joaquina, daughter of the aforesaid.
" of Mr. Bernat.....	La Mariquita ..	For María, daughter of the said Infanta.
" of Mr. Quenti.....	La Gabriela ...	For the Infante, Don Gabriel.
" of Mr. Reeli.....	La Pascuala ...	For the Infante, Don Pascual.
" of Mr. Gulvi	La María	For the Infanta, Doña María.
" of Mr. Guillermo....	La Jaymissa....	For the Infante, Don Jayme.
" of Mr. Nikolson.....	La Josefa	[torn]
" of Mr. Gre.....	La Bernardina..	For Don Bernardo de Gálvez, Governor General of Louisiana.
" of Mr. Huescat.....	La Martina.....	For Don Martín Navarro, Auditor of Louisiana.
" of Genaro Nikolson...	La Magsan	For Mr. Magsan, Captain of the Army.
" of Mr. Escot.....	La Miró	For Don Estevan Miró, Major of the Battalion of Louisiana.
" of Mr. Reynals.....	La Mosun	For Don Martín Mosun, Captain of Spain.
" of Mr. Paquer.....	La Navas.....	For Don Manuel de Navas, Captain of the same.
" of Mr. Simon	La Ylaria	For Don Ylario Estenos, Captain of Havana.

By wish of the inhabitants they gave to that of Meo Gre, the name of La Catalana, for their Señor Commandant Francisco Collell, sub-lieutenant of Louisiana.²⁶⁸

Nothing in the above is valid without your approval, to which I defer and shall always defer. In the meantime I am praying God to preserve the life of Your Lordship for many years.

TOWN OF GÁLVEZ, *January 15, 1779.*

Your most attentive vassal and servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

FRANC^O. COLLELL (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

January 15, 1779 ²⁶⁹

No. 228.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I told Your Excellency under date of the 24th of October, last year, of the faint hopes I had that Captain Don Luis Andry had not suffered the fatal misfortune of having been lost, in view of the long time which had elapsed since his departure from this post, without my having had the slightest news from his destination, nor from his stopping place. Now, to my greatest regret, I have been informed by the post commandants of Natchitoches and Atacapas, Don Atanasio de Mézières and Don Alexandro Declouet, that in the neighborhood of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, there have been found the remains of a schooner which was lost at that place. These commandants had been informed at the same time that the Indian savages of that coast had destroyed the crew of said vessel, consisting of fourteen persons. The signs are all very indicative that it was Andry who has suffered this sad misfortune, not only as this was the number composing his crew, but also because the description of the lost boat likewise agrees with the one which carried Andry.

In view of this lamentable situation which is now indubitable, it remains only for me to present to Your Excellency as strongly as possible the request that you be pleased to turn the merciful heart of our sovereign to the relief of this afflicted family which, while weeping for the loss of a father and a son, doubts whether it can console itself, considering the disastrous or horrible fate suffered by those unfortunates.

The deep insight of Your Excellency will know how to appreciate

²⁶⁸ For a detailed account of the founding of the settlement, consult V. M. Scramuzza, "Galvestown, a Spanish Settlement of Colonial Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1930), 553-609.

²⁶⁹ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-11.

what must be their sorrow, and also how great the distress of a large family whose only means of support was centered in the head of it; and so I repeat to Your Excellency my humble entreaties that through your intercession they may receive from the royal mercy the consolations which their sad condition so justly deserves.

May God protect Your Excellency's life for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 15, 1779.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble and faithful servant kisses your hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

January 15, 1779 ²⁷⁰

No. 233.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I have now returned to this capital from the journey I made, as I reported to Your Excellency in despatch of the 9th of November, last year, to inspect the most advantageous lands on which the families of settlers should be established. I must inform Your Excellency that I have selected from among the various places which I have inspected, with all the reflection demanded by an object of this kind, a site on high ground near the confluence of the Amit and Yverville rivers, unknown until now by the people of the country. It was discovered accidentally by the English and Americans who fled to the dominions of His Majesty in the recent revolution, where they formed a small settlement to which they gave the name of Galveston (Villa de Gálvez) requesting me not to change its name inasmuch as having found this refuge during the time of my command, they wished this name to be an indication of the time of its founding.

The advantages offered by this settlement are many, the principal ones being the following: It is near this capital, not more than thirty leagues distant. It is possible to go there either by land or by water, which circumstance is very convenient for the transportation of goods; it is within the very island of New Orleans in the lake region where up to now we have not had any settlement, and for this reason all the island is exposed to being surprised by the Indians or by the English, who on this side could approach the capital without being detected. It is the only passage by water that these English have to go from Pensacola to Manchak or Natchez and, except through

here or by the Mississippi, they must go through almost impassable forests. Finally, these lands are the only high ones on the island and are free from inundation. Consequently these lands are capable of other and better crops than those that are flooded and are situated where there are sanguine hopes that the crops of wheat will do well. This grain is unsuccessful up to now in other places despite the efforts made. I shall continue to endeavor to introduce this crop which is of prime necessity.

The unfortunate death of Captain Luis Andry, the only person there was in this country well-qualified to draw up plans accurately, makes it very difficult for me to fulfill the promises that I have made about this matter. The plan of Galveston and its neighborhood is now being drawn up by Don Josef Briones, *pilotin del rey*. When it is completed, I shall send it to Your Excellency, so that you may have a clear idea of this settlement, and subsequently I shall also give Your Excellency news of the families who have been able to settle there. For this purpose I am at present dispatching them as rapidly as possible in order that the planting season may not be over, and that the new settlers may have a harvest this year.

I desire that everything should be approved by His Majesty and by Your Excellency, and that Our Lord will preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *15th of January, 1779*.

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ.

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

January 15, 1779^m

No. 227

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The interpreter for the nation of Arkansas Indians has made a representation to me that the 120 pesos annually, which are assigned to him by the regulation governing the obligations of this province, are not sufficient for his subsistence. This is due to the expense necessarily caused him by lodging in his house various Indians (when they visit that commandant). Consequently, I have increased the pay by four pesos additional allowance per month which he began to enjoy from the first of April of last year.

I inform Your Excellency of this so that you may please bring it to the attention of His Majesty, and seek his royal approval.

May God protect Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 15, 1779.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most faithful and humble servant kisses your hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

January 15, 1779 ²⁷²

No. 235.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The commandant of Arkansas has represented how useful it would be to have an armorer to take care of the arms of the troops garrisoning the post under his command, and repair those of the Indians there. Consequently I have decided to accede to this request, assigning the pay of 108 pesos per year to the individual who was appointed for this post and who began the enjoyment thereof from the first of April of last year. I inform Your Excellency of this and request that you seek His Majesty's approval.

May God protect Your Excellency's life the many years I desire.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 15, 1779.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most faithful and humble servant kisses your hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

January 15, 1779 ²⁷³

No. 234.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Representations have been made to me by the interpreter of the Indian tribes pertaining to the post of Natchitoches, that the small pay of 50 pesos annually, which is assigned to him in the regulation covering the obligations of this province, does not suffice for his subsistence on account of the expense necessarily caused him by lodging these Indians in his house. Consequently, I have granted him 46 pesos additional pay.

I report this to Your Excellency in order that you may bring it to the attention of His Majesty and request his royal approval.

²⁷² AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-11.

²⁷³ AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-11.

May God protect you for many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 15, 1779.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble and faithful servant kisses your hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

GÁLVEZ TO LEYBA

January 30, 1779 ²⁷⁴

No. 278.

As a result of the insults which have been offered to various settlers of this province traveling down the river by the English posts, and of the complaints which I have made to the commanders of the latter about this matter, we have agreed that in order to avoid these, all boats of subjects of His Majesty which have to pass by the said posts shall carry a flag with the cross of Burgundy. They will be distinguished by it and recognized as Spanish, and pass freely without any trouble or insult whatever. I inform you of this so that you may order that all boats, barges, or large pirogues manned by at least six men (as the small ones with less men are excluded from this agreement) carry a flag with the cross of Burgundy. These can easily be made with a little vermillion and a white cloth.

May our Lord preserve you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 30, 1779.*

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Señor DON FERNANDO DE LEYBA.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

February 5, 1779 ²⁷⁵

No. 281.

ST. LOUIS, YLINEUSES, *February 5, 1779.*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: The chiefs of our nations of Indians are very urgently asking me for flags. I have told them that I would bring their requests to the attention of Your Lordship. I consider this to be just for the reason that, since our establishment in this colony, only once have they been provided with them. As it is their custom to have the flag always flying above the cabin of the head chief, there are tribes which have only a flag

²⁷⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

²⁷⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

pole and on it usually some rag full of holes and patches. Four or five would be sufficient for the present.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your important life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

P. S. [In the margin of the first page].

In my previous letters I have begged Your Lordship to send me some small medals for the secondary chiefs, and I now renew my request.

[Draft]

In view of the request which these nations of Indians have made to you and which you communicate to me in your letter of February 5, I send you six flags, to be distributed as needed.

March 23.

GÁLVEZ TO LEYBA

*March 9, 1779*²⁷⁶

No. 295.

From your letter of December 9, last year, I have noted that the soldier, Francisco Coté, to whom leave had been granted, returned to join his company on October first, and that Juan Olivier has taken his leave.

From another of same date I also note that at the representations of the settlers regarding thefts of cattle from their corrals, of vegetables and fruit from their gardens, and of pirogues from the bank of the river, you have placed a pillory with an iron collar in front of your house to expose those to shame who commit these crimes, and that every night a patrol goes out to stop this disorder. I must tell you that as this punishment is too terrible for such a minor offense you should exact only a payment by the delinquents for the damage done. This I am convinced will be sufficient to stop them without need of resorting to the collar which must be used only for grave deeds or crimes.

May God preserve you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 9, 1779.*

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Señor DON FERNANDO DE LEYBA.

ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF A SPANISH SCHOONER BY INDIANS AT
THE BAY OF ESPÍRITU SANTO*March 20, 1779*²⁷⁷

Extract concerning the catastrophe which occurred on the northern coast to a schooner of His Majesty, that had sailed from the port of New Orleans in order to map and draw plans of the port of San Bernardo and Matagorda, and the motive for the assassination perpetrated at the bay of Espíritu Santo by the Karankawa Indians and the fugitive Indians of the mission of Rosario who had found refuge among them, stating the origin and primary cause of the whole affair.

During the night of the thirteenth of July of the preceding year of 1778, the Indians from the mission of Rosario on the bay of Espíritu Santo fled, aided by the Karankawas who inhabit the islands and coasts of the north. The prime instigator of this evil was an Indian named Joseph María (who, because his mother was not able to continue with the speed which he desired, killed her with a spear thrust), urged on by a brother of his named Joseph Luis and another one named Antonio (who are the ones now imprisoned in the presidio of La Bahía), and also another brother named Matheo. Joining the aforementioned Karankawas, they began to commit various hostilities in the neighborhood of the aforementioned presidio.

Colonel Baron de Ripperda, governor of this province, desiring to stop such grievous wrongs, pardoned the fugitives on condition that they return to their mission, making exception of Joseph María and Matheo considering that they were the chief evil-doers in the aforesaid flight. With such a motive, and with the solicitude and intercession on the part of the Right Reverend Fray Joaquín de Escobar, minister of the aforesaid mission, they were successful in having some of the fugitive Indians return. To accomplish this no diligence was spared. For this purpose the aforesaid priest returned to the coast about the month of February of this year in order to complete the gathering of some of the Indians who were dispersed on the coast and allied with the Karankawas, among whom there were two named Patricio and Joaquín.

The said priest knowing that Joseph María and Matheo had in their power a young Christian who had been saved from the wreck of a boat which had sunk on that coast, endeavored to see them. This he accomplished, and asked for the aforesaid youth, who was given up freely and brought to the presidio of La Bahía. From him has been learned the pitiful tale of the vessel which was ship-

wrecked on the coast. Everything was verified by the commandant of the aforesaid presidio, Joseph Santoxa, who told me of the matter on the 13th of February. I, therefore, ordered that the young man be summoned before me in order to obtain his formal declaration. This was accomplished on the 12th of March of the present year.

Swearing under oath, he said his name was Thomas de la Cruz, an Indian, native of the town of Nisamal in the province of Yucatán, thirty leagues from the port of Campeche. He stated that he was twenty years of age, and a sailor; that he had come from Campeche to Vera Cruz, and from that port to Havana, from which he went on to that of New Orleans, where there was one of his Majesty's schooners about to sail to explore the sea-coasts of the north, in particular the region of San Bernardo. He took a place in it, and in his opinion, the party left about the month of December, 1777. It reconnoitered the aforementioned port of San Bernardo, and made a map. Then, finding that provisions had run out, the party was obliged to go to the port of Matagorda. When they arrived there, they found that there were people on the coast. The captain ordered that five sailors land, and among them was one named Christóbal Gómez, who had been an enlisted soldier at the presidio of La Bahía. He said that he knew many of the Indians at that point, and that it would be an easy matter to provide themselves at that ranchería with all they needed and then pass on to the presidio if it were necessary. The captain agreed, and therefore they landed with all their arms.

The captain, observing that three or four days had passed and the men did not return, ordered shots fired, and the flag run up. Thereupon two Indians appeared who began to speak in Spanish, saying that they were soldiers at the presidio of La Bahía, and that their commandant had placed them there in order to give advices of any news that might occur on that coast. When the captain heard this, he ordered that two sailors leave in a boat to bring the men, which in fact they did. Brought to his presence they said that one was named Joseph María and the other Matheo, and they offered him meat, and impressed upon him the need of great care as the Indians of that coast were very bad, and he might run great risk.

The captain, noting such courtesy, availed himself of them in order that they might endeavor to seek out the five missing men. He also ordered the meat to be brought, all of which the aforementioned men promised to do. Thus they embarked on a boat with three sailors, who never appeared again. However, Joseph María and his companion returned, pretending that they had made arrangements to search for the five men. They stated that these men were

probably wandering through the forest, and that the other three would remain on land caring for the meat which was to be brought. All this was nothing more than a scheme on the part of the two aforesaid Indians, Joseph María and Matheo, in order to reduce the numbers of the crew and cause delay until the other Indians, their companions, should arrive and thus carry out their intentions on the premeditated day, which in fact they did.

The Indians came aboard where there were no other people besides the captain, his son, the second captain, a coast pilot, and another sailor, with the aforesaid Thomas de la Cruz. The last named was in the hold, from where he heard the shots with which they killed the others. He hid among some sacks of provisions and thus saved his life; for after the awful massacre had taken place the Indians came down, and found the said Joseph María with the referred-to Thomas de la Cruz. Joseph María took him by the hand, and told him not to fear, and saved his life, for when they went on deck the other Indians tried to kill him; but he defended him, and held him as his captive. Thomas de la Cruz served him from the 20th of March of the preceding year, when this misfortune happened, until the month of February of this year, when he was delivered to the Very Reverend Father Joaquín de Escobar, minister of the mission of Rosario.

After dancing over the dead bodies, the Indians took all the clothes of the captain and the sailors and threw the bodies into the water. They took on land the six swivel guns that the schooner had, two barrels of powder of a quintal each, three boxes of gun shot, eleven guns bearing the mark of the King and even a greater number which the captain and the crew had for their personal use. The Indians took all the foodstuffs and set fire to the vessel, taking also with them two large canoes which were used by the crew. All of this they divided later among the Karankawa Indians of the coast and the apostates of the mission of Rosario, of whom the aforementioned Joseph María, Matheo, Patricio, and Joaquín returned to the mission.

The principal instigators were Joseph María and Matheo. They were the ones who deceived with such cunning and audacity the captain of the aforesaid schooner, whose crew consisted of the said captain named Don Luis Landrin, a second captain and a pilot, a boatswain, a coast pilot, eleven sailors, and a boy, son of the captain. The boatswain was one of the five mariners who first landed, and all of this happened because of the excess goodness and confidence of the aforesaid captain, and because he permitted them to enter his cabin and the hold of the ship where he had the guns with which they killed the crew, thus taking possession with great ease.

After this deed, Joseph María induced the Karankawas and his companions to go to the environs of Villa de Camargo, where they stole a great part of the horses and flocks of sheep.

The Karankawas in their full strength are fifty to sixty souls, and the apostates of the mission of Rosario are very few because they are again being brought to the mission. The Karankawas most of the time live in some islands that front the coast and because of that they have many canoes which they use. They have damaged many of the firearms which they took from the vessel because they do not know how to use them, breaking them on tree trunks in the forest and ruining them. The sailor Thomas de la Cruz remains in this royal presidio but desires to return to the town of New Orleans. All this account has been deduced from documents, numbers 6, 7, and 8, which are being forwarded to the commandant general in letter number 34, under date of 14th of March, so that informed of the matter, he may make such provisions as may appear most appropriate.

BEXAR, *March 20, 1779.*

DOM^o. CABELLO (Rubric).

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE KARANKAWAS

[1779] ²⁷⁸

The construction of the eight large canoes on the Guadalupe River, which is distant twenty-five to thirty leagues to the west from the Bay of San Bernardo, for the transportation of twenty-five armed men from the coast to the islands is fruitless. The aforesaid canoes cannot navigate through this place, for when the tide is low, a great part of the lake is dry and there are innumerable oyster beds. All these islands are liable to be overflowed and they are without trees. That of San Luis, which is the largest, is probably eighteen leagues long, and excessively barren, but it has many lakes. It would be impossible for anyone to find refuge on it, because it has no trees which could serve as shelter. The possibility of the Indians hiding there is even less, and for this reason no men are needed to drive them out. The greatest difficulty to the settlement of the islands is the absence of fresh water, and of wells. I walked around the greatest part of them making excavations of about six feet but could not find any. Consequently, although the Indians are wont to go to them, it is in small numbers and only for a few hours to fish because there is no game.

For these reasons and the impossibilities which the Commandant Don Domingo Cabello mentions, it appears to me at the present

moment far more advisable and less expensive to form the expedition from this town with boats of small draft. Well-equipped and traveling along the rivers Chafalaya, Mermentao, and Carcasit, they can approach within forty-five leagues of the Bay of San Bernardo. There are some twenty leagues of bad coast line, but one can always get through. In addition to this, there is the possibility of providing for the necessary foodstuffs through Opelusas which is three days' journey from Mermentao.

Likewise in the Atacapas and the Opelusas, boats and pirogues are found or could be effectively constructed, and there are suitable persons able to manage them and trained to this sort of work. There could even be found a proper number of armed men, accustomed to the hunt.

As to the season best adapted for this expedition, the best time is from April to the end of July because from August on the hurricanes and bad weather begin.

The place best suited for the rendezvous appears to me to be to the east of the Trinidad or Orcoquisas River, where all our men could be placed under shelter with a small breastwork. Furthermore, at this place there are open roads to Los Adaes, Natchitoches, and Opelusas, through which they may be supplied what they need. It is distant only thirty leagues from the Bay of San Bernardo, and from the shore side of the islands the trip could be made with ease and without risk, facilitating easy and rapid communication with this town, a thing of great importance.

PEOPLE OF STE. GENEVIÈVE TO LEYBA

March 28, 1779 ²⁷⁹

TO MONSIEUR DON FERNANDO DE LEYBA, CAPTAIN OF THE INFANTRY REGIMENT OF LOUISIANA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE WESTERN PART OF THE ILLINOIS, AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE SAME PART.

SIR: The undersigned, inhabitants of the post of Ste. Geneviève, take the liberty of appealing to you in the critical situation in which they find themselves placed, on account of the thefts of the Petits Os and Missouri savages. For the last seven or eight years these tribes have come each year to the outlying areas of the post and have stolen the horses of the inhabitants, who have borne these losses as well as it has been possible for them, hoping that, if their chiefs so recommended, these tribes would remain quiet.

But the said undersigned persons now find themselves totally deprived of horses because of the repeated thefts of the said nations which have again lately taken from them about twenty horses, two

²⁷⁹ BL, (French).

of which were stolen from a stable. Far from noticing any change to their advantage, they fear with reason that they will be unable, through lack of horses, to grind their wheat and accomplish their other labors. Consequently, the petitioners have recourse to you, Sir, so that it may please you to interpose your authority and take the necessary steps to stop the plundering of these nations, and they shall not cease to say prayers for your prosperity and safe-keeping.

At STE. GENEVIÈVE, *28th of March, 1779.*

Mark of DÉGIRE LAROZE, *fiis* X, Mark of PIERE ROÿ X,
Mark of STE. AU BIEN X, Mark of BOUCHÉ X,

LOUIS LACROIX

Mark of DÉROUSÉLE X, Mark of BAPTISTE LACROIX X,
Mark of GORVO X, Mark of VERNON X,
Mark of FOIS. JOÏEUSE X, Mark of AUGUSTIN X,
Mark of LANGELLIER X, Mark of L. COURTOIS X,
Mark of SIMONAU X, Mark of P. CHAUVIN X,
Mark of JAQUE COURTOIS X, Mark of AT. AUBUCHON X,

COLA BOUPÉ

Mark of B. MORNEAU X, Mark of FOIS. LACROIX X,
Mark of CONSTANS X, Mark of DANTOISNE RENO X,

VERSAILLES, REGIS LASOURCE,

FRCO. VALLE, *fiis*, HIPPOLITE ROBERT,
Mark of BOÏÉ, *père* X, Mark of FRANCE X,
L'AULBÉ (Rubric), P. CERRE (Rubric),
GANON, FOIS. GUÉLLE,
PIERR OBUCHON, DELVUE (Rubric),
Mark of ROUSIER X, Mark of BAPTISTE BEQUÉTÉ X,
Mark of MOZELE X, Mark of COTÉ X,
Mark of GUSTIEN AUBUCHON X, Mark of DEJAC BILLRON X,
Mark of ESTIESN LIÉVREMON X, Mark of LOÛIS BALDUC X,
PLACET, ANTOINE DUCLOS,
Mark of BERNÏÉE X,
PRATTE (Rubric).

PANIS TO GÁLVEZ

April 29, 1779 ²⁸⁰

(Copy)

Señor Governor.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In view of the tasks which Your Lordship has entrusted to my care, and in order to justify the confidence with which you have honored me, I have to inform you that the port and

²⁸⁰ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

stronghold of Pensacola, the arrogant guardian of the Gulf of Mexico, ceded to the English by the recent treaty of peace, is the best refuge they have for their ships and the key to these seas. There they not only can defend and maintain respect for their dominions, but also harass our shipping and attack the realms of our sovereign. With good reason the English in their writings glory in its possession, because in addition to its size, protected from all winds, it is the best port known in all this Gulf. It has at its entrance a depth of four fathoms, gradually increasing to about eight in its inner reaches. Its settlement, almost on the seashore, which is very sandy, is composed of some one hundred or more houses, all constructed of wood, the greater part of them of only one story, inhabited by about two hundred residents. This is not counting the itinerant traders who reside there, the number of whom increases or decreases slightly according to the condition of their business. In an emergency, by calling up the few men who live on the nearby farms and the negroes employed in farming and the domestic service of their masters, they can raise an armed force of five hundred men of both classes. With this number and assuming that the garrison has been reinforced on account of the present fears, as the British court is resolved to defend this port at any cost, it will probably be defended by three or four thousand men. On this supposition and because it has no fortifications other than the irregular quadrangle formed of square posts, six to nine inches thick and about ten feet high, it would not be difficult to attack and capture it with one division of six ships of the line and as many more frigates, some mortar boats and sundry armed sloops or schooners. These would, at the same time, serve as transports for landing seven thousand troops. The sloops or schooners, escorted by some frigates, with three thousand men of selected light troops, should in advance steer a course for the Río de los Perdidos, which is between Mobile and Pensacola, some five leagues from the latter. They could enter its mouth and, penetrating without opposition as far as the house of the pilot there, could disembark the men, who would set out on the march. It would be somewhat difficult for about three leagues, as there is nothing but a path winding through the pines, bayous, and marshes. Farther on, the woods become thinner and the road more passable and solid. They should proceed in three divisions, somewhat separated, but in sight of each other, in order to lend each other a hand in case of necessity.

At the entrance of the port, opposite the island of Santa Rosa, there is a detachment commanded by a captain, protected by a wooden blockhouse, like those at the four corners of the post's fort, with windows serving as gun ports and loop-holes for muskets. After dislodging this guard, the forces should disembark at the foot of

the farm of Mr. Snell and, gaining the height from which it would naturally be defended by its servants and negroes, the troops could continue by a wagon road for about one-fourth league to the first houses, which extend irregularly to the fort. The companies of grenadiers should attack the battery, recently built of brush and sand, on this side, while the three thousand men from the land side would assault another facing them, making use of the cannon of the batteries themselves, while the guns of the ships silence the fire from the breastwork and batteries defending the side facing the sea, all likewise constructed of sand and brush. They should open as many breaches in the stockade as they think sufficient to wreck it and enfilade the parade ground. The quarters of the troops, two stories high, the adjoining house, originally intended for the governor but which now serves as an artillery store, and the four block houses at the corners of the fort, all constructed of wood, are the first objects which present themselves to view and the easiest to destroy and render useless with bombs. Because of their weakness, the breastwork, its battery, and the faces of the corners, as well as those works recently thrown up on account of the fear of attack, will hardly resist the first few cannon shots as it is certain that the force of those which hit them will make them fall. There are now in Pensacola seven cannon of 32 calibre and ten of 24. The others surmounting the enclosure and bastions, numbering fifty or sixty pieces, together with a few mortars, are not much defense on account of their short range, all of them being naval guns.

My desire has always been, and still is, to discharge all the tasks which Your Lordship is pleased to entrust to me. If I have succeeded in this one, I owe it entirely to Your Lordship, as your talents, ideas, and instructions have inspired and guided me. Believe, Your Lordship, in my sincere good will and deep loyalty to do everything possible in the service of my Monarch and Master and of Your Lordship.

May Our Lord guard Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 29, 1779.*

Señor Governor, your most humble and loyal servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

JACINTO PANIS.

SEÑOR GOVERNOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

NAVARRO TO ROYAL AUDIENCIA OF MEXICO

May 29, 1779 ²⁸¹

No. 65.

(*Confidential*)

²⁸¹ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

Continuing the personal and confidential correspondence which I was carrying on with the deceased Most Excellent Señor Viceroy for the purpose of communicating all the news I receive of the operations of the English, French, and the American colonists on this continent, I send Your Highnesses herewith a summary of what I have just received from Philadelphia. In my opinion, it deserves Your Highnesses' attention and is for your guidance.

May Our Lord protect Your Highnesses the many years that I desire.

HAVANA, *May 29, 1779.*

I kiss the hands of Your Highnesses.

DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric).

Señores REGENTE and OIDORES of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico

News received recently from Philadelphia from a wholly reliable source.

It has been learned that fourteen ships of thirty guns, with two thousand troops under the command of General Clinton, who were trying to make a landing on the coast of New England have been lost on Long Island. This accident obliged the general to return to that port without having accomplished anything.

A vessel from Martinique brought news of the arrival there on February 18th of the French squadron under command of Comte de Grasse, composed of four ships of the line and three transports. With these reinforcements, the squadron of Comte d'Estaing now consists of sixteen of the former and several frigates-of-war.

Also an English squadron has arrived at the Island of Santa Lucía to reinforce that of Admiral Byron, which now consists of twenty-six ships, nineteen of seventy to ninety guns, two of fifty and five of forty-four. Despite the strength of this squadron, the Comte d'Estaing set sail with his on March 23, as also did Admiral Byron. They sighted each other, but made no movement to attack, and returned to their respective ports. Byron's squadron suffered greatly from the maladies infesting the Island of Santa Lucía. The French squadron on the contrary is in better condition.

It was reported that Congress intends to withdraw the three commissioners it has in France, but there are opinions to the contrary. More troops are said to be embarking in New York, destined for the English islands or to reinforce those now in Georgia, where they have had some encounters with the colonists, but without anything worthy of note having occurred.

It is said that an American frigate captured three English privateers. Three other frigates which were cruising along the coast of Virginia captured an English privateer schooner, whose captain gave them various news, in view of which they sailed until they encountered a convoy taking provisions to Georgia, and proceeding in two divisions. Not being able to attack both of them at the same time, they attacked only one. It was composed of seven ships, one of twenty guns, another of sixteen, one schooner of eight, and four brigantines. They captured all of them and took them to Boston, together with their passengers and cargoes, consisting of barrels of flour and salt meat, equipment, clothing, arms and saddles for a complete regiment of cavalry, together with various officers, chaplains, and merchants.

Finally, it was reported that Congress had decided to send to Spain a minister plenipotentiary to His Majesty, with proposals to cede to the King all the inner part of the province of Louisiana, which they have conquered from the English, and to arrange for giving support to the Spaniards with three thousand troops in the taking of Pensacola and Florida, in exchange for financial assistance.

HAVANA, *May 29, 1779.*

(Rubric).

COLLELL TO GÁLVEZ

June 15, 1779 ²⁸²

Señor the Governor General.

MY DEAR SIR: On the 14th of this month the schooner of His Majesty under the command of Captain Don Josef Briones arrived here. I received from him the much appreciated letter of Your Lordship of May 24. I also received the two cannon of four with their carriages, the sixty muskets, and other war materiel that Your Lordship was so good to send for the defense of this place or town and to arm the militia company which is to be formed as you ordered. The latter I shall do next Sunday. I shall fill the said company, for the present, only with Spaniards and Frenchmen, of whom there are sufficient to utilize the guns I received. I am not sending to Your Lordship the recommendation for their officers until I have informed myself about them and learned which ones can occupy the said ranks because of their distinction and character.

In regard to the English settlers, if Your Lordship agrees, another company of thirty-three men, who are experienced in arms and in going into the woods, can be formed in case the need calls for it. In this company there can be Captain Jaume Nikolson, Lieutenant

²⁸² AGI, PC, leg. 2351.

Genaro Nikolson, and Second Lieutenant Meo Gre, because they are the most honorable men among them, First Sergeant Mr. Escot, and Corporals Mr. Jorge Quenti, and Luis Devez. These will be sufficient to command said company until the number increases.

Enclosed I send Your Lordship the report of the families who have come to this new settlement since January 19, 1779, which was the last date until today that a report was sent. In it are noted on the margin the deaths and at the foot the births. This can serve as an indication of the high and low which occurred in the time mentioned.

By my agent Don Josef Romagosa I send Your Lordship the account of the amounts of money I have received and the payments I made out of these. As indicated by both reports, the balance results in a credit of 59 reales which remains under my care as Your Lordship will see in the papers I send. I hope that this will have Your Lordship's satisfaction and acceptance.

I notify Your Lordship that on the tenth of the current month the settler Meo Gre lent a boat to an English settler named Mr. Be. When the latter passed by the post of the English to return to his plantation he was detained by the commandant of said post who recognized that the boat belonged to said Gre, and took it. He gave as a reason that the owner was a rebel against his Brittanic Majesty. When this came to my knowledge, I wrote to the said commandant, reclaiming the boat, and telling him that Gre was a subject of His Catholic Majesty. He answered me what Your Lordship will see in his letter, which I am forwarding. Not knowing whether Your Lordship will approve that I take reprisal, I shall not do so till I know what Your Lordship will decide.

Mr. Huescat died on the second of the current month. He left in his will one slave to his wife together with the household goods, and another one to his daughter. There remain six slaves, three horses, and some hogs. They should be sold at public auction in order to satisfy his debts which are many and much entangled. For this reason I ordered his executors to post a notice so that the public may know that within eight days all the creditors of the deceased must assemble here to put in their claims. I have decided to have the auction this week, and allow six months' time to those who buy anything at it. This decision I communicate to Your Lordship. If there is anything against the provisions, I should appreciate having it made known to me in order to remedy it instantly.

The surgeon Don Antonio Demar, who up to now has given proof of his ability, by his zeal, and the correctness with which he has assisted the sick people, begs Your Lordship kindly to grant him some salary sufficient to keep himself and to pay for his work.

The English doctor who aided the sick until the arrival of this one charged 128 pesos for the medicine and the work he did, as is stated in the report he presented to me. I am not paying him till Your Lordship approves it.

The settlers are still sowing and I believe that what I promised Your Lordship will be attained, namely, that all will have a crop. There are 42 houses built in the town and only three needed to enclose the square fully are lacking and they will be finished this week. There are twelve people sick with fever but no one is seriously ill. I believe that in the future more sickness will be felt unless care is taken to put on the roofs as quickly as possible, in order that they may be protected a little. I cannot put the hospital in use till some of the house is roofed.

It is certain I was told that after six months stay here I should be relieved. It caused me some perturbation not to be relieved of the command, and not to know the reason. I thought that I may have fallen from grace with Your Lordship, a thing which would worry me greatly. I consider, however, that these may be groundless ideas that I formed in my mind for which I beg Your Lordship to forgive me. Your Lordship's letter has dissuaded me so much by its words that I believe that, if all my determination had not been long employed for Your Lordship, it would make a very great change in me. As proof of this I beg Your Lordship to command me with assurance of satisfaction in whatever your pleasure will be.

May God guard the life of Your Lordship many years.

VILLA DE GÁLVEZ, June 15, 1779.

Your affectionate subject and true servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRANCº. COLLELL (Rubric).

DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

COLLELL TO GÁLVEZ

June 27, 1779 ²⁸³

First militia company of the town of Gálvez.

Report giving the names which constitute said company, formed at the order of Don Bernardo de Gálvez, governor and intendant in-spector general of this province on June 16, 1779.

Captain, Don	Another 2d Jph. Pereira.....p.
Lt. Dn Agustin Brounet.....p. ²⁸⁴	Corp. 1st Francº Pena.....p.
2d. Lt. Dn Antonio Díaz.....p.	Another 1st Luis Rivera.....p.
Sergt. 1st. Francº Monson.....p.	Another 1st Juan Medero.....p.
Another 2d Agustin Pinto.....p.	Another 1st Bartolome Hernandez...p.

²⁸³ AGI, PC, leg. 2351.

²⁸⁴ Already in the service, and present.

Corp. 2d Bartolome Diaz.....p.	Juan de Barrion.....p.
Another 2d Ramon Lopez.....p.	Sebastian Pereira.....p.
Another 2d. Juan Ant° Martin.....p.	Juan Suares.....p.
Another 2d. Domingo Garzia.....p.	Miguel Martin.....p.
Antonio Montesinos.....p.	Juan Medina.....p.
Josef Quintero.....p.	Juan Ant° Sanches.....p.
Josef Morales, 1st.....p.	Salbador Milan.....p.
Josef Rodriguez Fomes.....p.	Josef Espino.....p.
Agustin Capitan.....p.	Franc° Suarez.....p.
Domingo Acosta.....p.	Pedro Barrero.....p.
Franc° Toledo.....p.	Jph. Charnero.....p.
Josef Martin.....p.	Juan Hernandez.....p.
Ygnacio Ramires.....p.	Alonso Serdena.....p.
Juan Sanches Melian.....p.	Manuel Garzia.....p.
Josef Perez.....p.	Bizente Sardina.....p.
Franc° Rodriguez.....p.	Thomas Collado.....p.
Juan Gonzalez Siverio.....p.	Josef Morales, 2nd.....p.
Diego Morales.....p.	Josef Bermudes.....p.
Xptobal Mesa.....p.	Josef Antonio Rodrigues.....p.
Antonio Alonso.....p.	Josef Antonio Gonzales.....p.
Fillerno Chocho.....p.	Pedro Martin.....p.
Felipe Romero.....p.	Nicolas Hernandez.....p.
Franco Herrera.....p.	Sebastian de Nis.....p.
Matheo Rodriguez.....p.	Josef Anguel.....p.
Mathias Martin.....p.	Xpotbal Bentura.....p.
Josef Pereira Sanches.....p.	Josef Tilano.....p.
	Antonio Santos.....p.

Total:

Resumé

Officers 2

Sergeants 3

Corporals 8

Soldiers 49

Total 62

VILLA DE GÁLVEZ, *June 27, 1779.*

FRANCº. COLLELL (Rubric).

AUDIENCIA TO NAVARRO

*June 28, 1779*²⁸⁵*No. 11.**(Confidential)*

Important and worthy of being known by this government are the reports from the foreign colonies, contained in the summary which Your Lordship is pleased to enclose in your letter of May 29th, last. After giving Your Lordship proper thanks for the care you have

²⁸⁵ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

taken in communicating them, the Royal Audiencia can do no less than inform you that it hopes you will continue to report all the news which comes to Your Lordship's attention in order that this may be used as judgment dictates, and the necessary precautions and measures taken.

May God etc.

MEXICO, *June 28, 1779.*

SEÑOR DON DIEGO NAVARRO.

DALLING TO GÁLVEZ

June 29, 1779 ²⁸⁸

JAMAICA, *29th June 1779.*

SIR: With no less surprize than concern, Your Excellency may rest assured, have I been informed by James Constant Captain of a Spanish Schooner called the Charlotte, bound from New Orleans to S^t. Domingo, that he had been in open Violation of the faith of Nations Captured by a privateer from this port.

Such insolence, or rather such piracy, I have not lost a moment, after due information, to reprobate in the severest manner; sorry am I, Sir, that the delinquent has not fallen into my hands, for had it been the case your Excellency may rest assured, I should have taken such exemplary satisfaction, as would in future intimidate any miscreant from attempting such daring insolence, equally disgraceful to humanity, as it may be injurious to the good faith that subsists between our Courts.

The Court of Vice Admiralty immediately took cognizance of the Affair, and after a candid and impartial trial acquitted the Vessel and found costs for your Captain; and the Attorney General of our Island has received instructions from me to sue for the Bond the delinquent was obliged to give at the time I granted him a Commission, which I hope hereafter will so far terrify other privateers that they will give over such practices, equally subversive of the good faith that ought to subsist between nations in friendship, as they are dishonorable to the perpetrators.

I take this early oppotunity, Sir, to inform you of the decision of our Courts, as well likewise to assure your Excellency, that, during my administration, I shall be ever disposed to protect the rights and interests of his Catholick Majesty's Subjects, and take exemplary Justice on all persons who shall in future dare to perpetrate such atrocious villanies.

I have the honor to be with great respect—your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble Servant

JOHN DALLING

²⁸⁸ BL, (English).

(Attached to preceding document)

STATE OF THE SPANISH SCHOONER CHARLOTTA
IN THE COURT OF VICE ADMIRALTY

JAMAICA, April 7th, 1779.

Mess^{rs}. Dick Milligan agents for y^e Owners of The Brig Sir Will^m. Erskine a Letter of Marque The Commission granted at New York.

John Hamilton is appointed Captain by y^e above Owners who sent into the Port of Kingston a Schooner call'd Le Charlotta whereof Jacques Constant was master. She was Libel'd on y^e 7th of April as French Property; to this Libel a claim was put in; & June 22^d it came to a Trial; on full Evidence the Vessel & Cargoe were acquitted & Restored to the Claimants, & full Costs out of Purse decreed to be paid by y^e Captors. Some Dollars & Tabaccoe not claimed in y^e original Claim is now demanded by Jacques Constant as his Property; & he is admitted by y^e Court, to come in & establish his right.

GÁLVEZ TO GÁLVEZ

July 3, 1779²⁸⁷

No. 303

(Confidential)

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Under date of June 9th of last year I reported to Your Excellency that there were then assembled at the English post of Natchez one thousand men, whites and Indians, and at that of Manchak two hundred, with the idea of opposing the Americans.

I also informed Your Excellency under dates of February 5th and 25th, last, of the coming of 225 more to said post, due to the arrival at Pensacola of the troops under the command of General Campbell; and now there have just arrived at Manchak 400 more men, and, according to the advice given me by our commandant, the English expect 300 more of the Waldeck Regiment.

With these reinforcements, the number of troops which the English have at this post now amounts to more than one thousand men, veterans of the campaigns they have made against the Americans, without including in this number the other thousand or more, above-mentioned, which can easily return to join these, as they will prove in due time.

They give us as a pretext for these movements of troops that a large number of colonists are shortly to descend upon their settlements; but it is evident to me that this approach of the Americans is a pure supposition of the English, who perhaps have no other object than that of reuniting their forces on the river in order to be in a better position to attack us at the first advice of a rupture.

²⁸⁷ AGI, Aud. SD, 87-3-10.

The forces that I have to garrison this post consist of two hundred men of the pickets of Havana, and three hundred of the battalion, of which, although complete, the other members are detached in the many posts which they have to cover. In addition to this, the major part of the said three hundred men is composed of the latest recruits from the islands and Mexico who do not yet know either the handling of arms or the evolutions.

As to the militias, although I am certain of their good will, Your Excellency knows very well that one cannot count much on them, because, as war is not their profession, they do not wage it with enthusiasm. Besides, they always have in mind, in view of the danger, the consideration of their families, and this increases the risks for them.

Notwithstanding this situation, I am under the necessity of making use of all the means and measures afforded by this province. I have issued confidential orders to the commandants of our establishments, charging them very strictly to maintain the greatest vigilance and to send me immediately a report of all the individuals who, in their respective jurisdictions, are in a position to take up arms and leave their homes and families with the least prejudice to the latter if the occasion demands it.

This news I report to Your Excellency so that by considering the difference between the forces that I have and those of the English, you may please bring it to the attention of His Majesty, assuring him that, in any case, I shall display the zeal and affection deserved of me by the colony whose preservation he has been pleased to entrust to me.

May Our Lord protect the life of Your Excellency for many years.
NEW ORLEANS, *July 3, 1779.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble and faithful servant kisses your hand.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

LEBYA TO GÁLVEZ

*July 13, 1779*²⁸⁸

No. 332.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *July 13, 1779.*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: There have arrived at this post from your city five boats, all loaded with rum, sugar, and coffee, which for these people are the world, the flesh, and the devil. But even if such goods were not articles of vice, Sir, they

²⁸⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

would be worse than useless at this time, because there is no merchandise to furnish the Indian tribes, neither are there any furs, which are their money, coming into this town. Two boats are still to come. If these arrive as poorly stocked as the others, I do not believe the results will be happy. It is indispensable that our Indian tribes be provided with their accustomed goods. There are not enough in this post to supply the smallest of them. Even when we take to their villages what they need, Sir, they find reasons to make threats. If nothing is sent to them, as now will be the case because there are none, they will come furiously to this town to learn the reason for the lack of goods. On learning this, it is inevitable that they will turn their backs disdainfully on us and go to trade with the English (whose traders, even without this reason, make of our tribes a source of wealth). This will result in two disadvantages: no furs will come into our territory and the Indians will be won over to the English trade, which is certainly more profitable to them than ours. In order to see whether I could remedy this I sent some merchants to the other side to get goods for the Indians, but the English traders, from whom nothing is hidden and who see our need, asked such exorbitant prices that only a person who wanted to ruin himself would accept them. Their intention is to give the blow which I am trying to prevent, and for success in averting it I shall omit no measures which may occur to me, and shall inform Your Lordship of the results.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your very important life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

July 13, 1779 ²⁸⁹

No. 331.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *July 13, 1779.*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: By virtue of the authority which Your Lordship was pleased to grant me in your letter of January 13, to form two militia companies from the one here, this has been done, although the newly created one is of cavalry. At the present it consists of forty-eight mounted men, three sergeants, and three officers. The number will be larger when some youths

²⁸⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

who wish to enlist get horses. The infantry company remains on the footing of one hundred and seventy-six men. I do not send Your Lordship the rolls of both of these on account of the promptness with which M. Borgas is dispatching his boat. The officers whom I have appointed for the cavalry company and who have been installed in the name of Your Lordship are as follows: Captain, Don Eugenio Purré, former lieutenant of infantry of this town; lieutenant, the resident Don Luis Chevalier; sub-lieutenant, the resident Don Carlos Tallon. In the infantry company, Don Benito Vasquez has been promoted from sub-lieutenant to lieutenant of same, and to this vacancy, the sergeant of the same company, Don Pedro Montardy. These five promoted officers hope to have the honor of receiving their commissions from Your Lordship.

The uniform of the cavalry company is coat and breeches, red; cuffs, waistcoat, lapel and collar, blue; buttons, gilt.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders, and pray God to preserve your important life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

P. S. A road has been constructed from this town to Ste. Geneviève, from which will result to the district under my command the following benefits: To be able to help that town with the new cavalry company if necessary; to have communication with it all the year round. This formerly was lacking during the winter, as the great mass of ice which comes down the river (when it is not entirely frozen over), prevents not only navigation from this town to that one, but also crossing to Cao. The renting of horses and of caleches formerly practiced on the other side by the people of my district in order to come and go by land to the said town of Ste. Geneviève, will remain in this district under my command.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*July 13, 1779*²⁹⁰

No. 330.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *July 13, 1779.*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: Don Joseph Piernas was in this town for about a year. His scandalous conduct and irregular mode of life, together with the demands of some parents that I find some way to stop the ruin of their children, which they considered

²⁹⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

inevitable with such bad company, obliged me to send him to Ste. Geneviève, where his conduct is as explained by the enclosed letters from Don Francisco Cartabona.

For my part, I renew my request that Your Lordship remove him from this post if possible.

I remain with the greatest respect at Your Lordship's orders, and pray God to preserve your very important life for the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric)

Señor Don Bernardo de Gálvez.

[Draft in the margin].

In reply to your three letters of July 13 last, I shall say that I note from those enclosed from Don Francisco Cartabona the bad conduct of Sub-lieutenant Piernas, but I cannot remove him as you ask, at the request made to you by some parents, because, recognizing his incorrigible behavior, I sent him to your detachment to see if he would improve; but before his departure I had him make a memorial to the King asking for his retirement. I have already dispatched this and am expecting an answer any day.

Having taken note of what you tell me regarding the cargo carried by the five boats which arrived, I shall take steps to have the owners carry goods suitable for trading (if these are to be had here), in order to avoid the unhappy consequences which you state would be caused by the lack of them.

I am very gratified at the forming of the cavalry company, and approve of its uniform. I cannot send now the five officers' commissions you request, on account of the prompt departure of the boat.

I likewise approve and thank you for the road which has been made from your settlement to Ste. Geneviève, from which results not only the advantage of communication through our own territory, but also the fact that help can be sent there in case of need.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 6, 1779.*

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

July 13, 1779 ²⁹¹

No. 329.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *July 13, 1779.*

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: Some fifty American deserters, turbulent and lawless fellows, who were in Ste. Geneviève, were greatly troubling that town, eating without paying, and going

out to assassinate any countryman or soldier from the other side whom they might find wandering around. I saw that this might expose me to some very disagreeable predicament, as some day, pursued by their enemies, they might engage in combat in my district. In that case we should find ourselves obliged to defend a gang of criminals and forced to demand satisfaction from the United States. I have therefore ordered them to return to their own side, which they immediately did.

I remain with all respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your important life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CABELLO TO GÁLVEZ

*July 24, 1779*²⁹²

MY DEAR SIR: By my orders the Reverend Father Fray Joaquín de Escobar, teacher of the mission of Rosario, at the presidio of Espíritu Santo, at the beginning of the month of February of this present year, went to the north coast in pursuit of some Indian fugitives from his mission, whom he found established among the Karankawas who live on the said coast and neighboring islands. Having gathered together some of them, he brought with him a captive whom he was able to rescue from the power of an Indian of his mission called Joseph María, who, because he had been the moving factor in the uprising and flight of his companions, the padre did not dare to bring, knowing the punishment to which he was condemned. This captive is an Indian of the province of Campeche, who was a sailor in a schooner under the command of Captain Don Luis Landrin, who, by order of Your Lordship, had gone to explore the coast mentioned and several ports on it.

He dropped anchor in Matagorda Bay below the presidio of the bay of Espíritu Santo and about eighteen leagues from it. The Karankawa Indians, and the fugitives from the mission of El Rosario killed the captain and crew of the said boat, with the exception of the aforesaid sailor called Thomas de la Cruz, who was made captive by Joseph María, one of the aforesaid apostates, and by whom he was delivered to Padre Escobar. The father, having learned of the disaster which had happened to the aforesaid boat, informed me of it, together with the commandant of that presidio. Consequently, I ordered the said captive to appear before me, and after taking his

²⁹² BL. A Pinart transcript.

declaration in the necessary legal manner, I sent it to my commandant general on the 14th of March of the present year, so that he might decide upon it according to his pleasure.

In an official letter to my commandant general I suggested that the only way to punish this wickedness, and in particular that of Joseph María and Matheo, would be by Your Lordship's despatching another ship to this coast, seeing that the maps made of the ports had been lost. Upon its arrival at Matagorda Bay it would be natural that the said Indians might come aboard, as they would, and then the crew, being well-prepared, could arrest them, and in particular Joseph María and Matheo. In order that I may give a report of this affair to Your Lordship, and a description of these perfidious apostates, I am, as opportunity permitted, sending the sailor Thomas de la Cruz to Your Lordship, since he begged to be sent back to that destination.

But also in this affair, among the many and incredible troubles suffered, is that of the delay of replies to the official letters sent to the superior government. Another is that my commandant general has not replied to me. Nevertheless, I have not for this reason been willing to fail to place in the hands of Your Lordship the account of the disastrous occurrence to that ship, its crew, and goods. The said descriptions and the person of the aforesaid Thomas de la Cruz I have sent by Francisco García, so that Your Lordship, with your great understanding, may make such use of them as you may see fit for the service of the King our master; and through your own many powers you may take such steps as you think best to remedy this state of insecurity. I am left in the painful condition of being only a witness of the outrages committed here, for I lack the powers and forces with which to punish such evil deeds as that which just occurred.

On the night of the 25th ultimo, at one o'clock, the Karankawa Indians surprised the aforesaid mission of Rosario, being guided by the apostate refugees from it who are living among them. They carried off 22 Indians of both sexes and all ages. After information had been given to the commandant of the presidio, he left immediately with 17 soldiers of that troop, 20 citizens of the presidio, and 20 Indians from another mission, who were all he could collect. Overtaking the Indians at break of day, they were ambushed in a thicket on the opposite side of a river. From there they poured upon the party such a hot fire that one soldier was killed and some were badly wounded. It was impossible for them to ford the river, as the enemy concealed themselves so completely in the thick woods that they could not be seen. Consequently the soldiers were compelled to return to their presidio. I have wished to inform Your Lordship of that matter because of the importance it may have.

In the mail of this month I shall forward information, together with the letters that you have sent me, to my commandant general, hoping that what he may decide will have some effect on this matter. I remain in all at the disposition of Your Lordship.

I beg our Lord, etc.—

BEXAR, *July 24, 1779.*

DOM^o CABELLO.

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

NAVARRO TO AUDIENCIA

July 29, 1779 ²⁹³

No. 72.

(Confidential)

I realize that Your Highnesses must have special orders from His Majesty, relative to what should be sent from your Kingdom to this post under the present circumstances arising from a declaration of war upon Great Britain. Nevertheless, I consider it my duty not to fail to inform Your Highnesses of what I have been instructed by confidential royal orders of May 19 and 24, last, so that, in view of everything, Your Highnesses may be pleased to issue the strictest orders to the effect that I be supplied abundantly with everything, especially funds, without limitation to allotments. As Your Highnesses will understand, it is not possible to get along with these allotments when I am instructed to supply everything, without sparing expense. Therefore, it is clear that there must necessarily be an extraordinary amount here for present expenses, as well as those which may be incurred by the other places which I must take care of.

I am ordered to supply whatever may be needed by the president of Guatemala, the governor of Louisiana, and by those of the various other provinces in these dominions, but especially the two first named. They have been advised, as have the others, to ask me for what they need. I am told that the Señor Viceroy of your kingdom has been instructed to send this post all the artillery cast in the temporary foundry ordered established at Vera Cruz or in its vicinity, and all the powder made in its factory, inasmuch as this place is to be considered to some extent the general depot of military supplies. From it distribution is to be made to the other posts of the said dominions, according to their importance and needs, not losing sight of the fact that this post is the most important place in America.

With this information, Your Highnesses' sagacity will recognize that my action in asking you for abundant shipments of provisions, powder, conscripts (which are notably lacking), and funds is for no other purpose than the best service of His Majesty, the honor of his

²⁹³ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

arms, and the glory of the state. Consequently Your Highnesses will deign to hasten your measures to the utmost, so that no time may be lost.

I shall endeavor not to lose any time in sending to the governor of Vera Cruz all the useless bronze artillery or that of irregular calibres which is of no use in this post, so that it may be recast into regular types. I am so ordered by the said confidential letter of May 24.

May God protect Your Highnesses many years.

HAVANA, *July 29, 1779.*

I kiss the hands of Your Highnesses.

DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric).

Señores REGENTE and OIDORES of the Royal Governing Audiencia of Mexico.

VICEROY OF MEXICO TO NAVARRO

*August 27, 1779*²⁹⁴

No. 8.

(Confidential).

MY VERY DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of Your Lordship's confidential letter of July 29, last, in which you set forth to the royal administrative audiencia your most urgent requirements on account of the present state of war and your need of abundant supplies, especially funds, for the requirements, not only of your post, but also of Louisiana and other posts here in America which Your Lordship has to supply.

In prompt compliance with everything ordered for these important objects by His Majesty, the royal administrative audiencia immediately took the most vigorous and opportune measures to prepare with the greatest promptness possible the supplies which should be sent to you.

These measures, together with those which I have energetically taken, have already prepared the shipments to such an extent, even in the short time between the 12th instant, when news of the war was received, and the present date, that two-thirds of the flour and dried vegetables required by the intendants of army and navy for those purposes have already been purchased and are en route or in Vera Cruz for shipment.

Eight hundred thousand pesos have been dispatched to the port of Vera Cruz to be transported in different ships to your island thus dividing the risks. Three hundred thousand are for Louisiana, and five hundred thousand, half and half, for the requirements of your post and the navy.

²⁹⁴ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

Besides these funds, the vessels carrying them will also take all the flour and dried vegetables that can be loaded on them without too much delay at the said port. Although orders have been issued that they be manned and armed for war as well as can be done there, the administrator of royal exchequer, Don Pedro Antonio Cosío, has also been instructed to advise the intendant of the army that it is indispensable, in order to avoid the risks existing at the present time, for some ships to come to meet them. All the powder possible will also be sent, even though Campeche is also being sent five hundred quintals. From now on the shipments of this item will be large, as I have ordered everything possible done, not only that the work be carried forward energetically but also that a new powder factory be started, in addition to the one already in existence.

With regard to the conscripts, I have ordered Vera Cruz to send all they can now, two-thirds for this place and one-third for the navy.

The frigates chartered for these purposes, on the account of the King, are named *La Galga*, *San Cristóbal*, and *La Caraqueña*. Although the contracts for these had already been made with all the proper conditions, they were strongly opposed to sailing immediately, not wishing to do so until the middle of October, next, justly fearing the dangers of the equinox. Neither the present circumstances nor my desire of aiding your post with all possible speed permit delay because of these difficulties. Therefore, I have instructed the governor and administrator of royal exchequer there to have them loaded and made ready without a moment's delay, and directed to sail immediately, overcoming any opposition by increasing the payment. If this is not sufficient, he is to insure the ships at the expense of the royal exchequer.

All these measures will show Your Lordship how much attention I have given to the aid which is to be sent you, how much has been done to prepare the various shipments, make them large, and to have this first one now being prepared shipped with the greatest promptness. My vigilance in these commendable objects is and will be very great, and I desire that Your Lordship know this so that you may carry out your projects and measures with the least difficulty, all to the end that our forces may co-operate to gratify the desires of His Majesty and glorify his royal name. Your Lordship will see how advisable it is for this purpose for you, in conjunction with the commander of the squadron, to see to it that the ships which come for the various shipments be of the proper strength and able to transport them with all possible security and protection.

May our Lord protect Your Lordship many years.

MEXICO, August 27, 1779.

Your most attentive and dependable servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

[Unsigned Copy].

Señor DON DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO.

GÁLVEZ TO NAVARRO

August 29, 1779 ²⁹⁵

(Confidential copy)

The King has decided that the principal objective of his arms in America during the war with the English is to drive them from the Gulf of Mexico and the banks of the Mississippi, where their settlements are so prejudicial to our commerce, as well as to the security of our richest possessions. The present conditions in Europe favor the success of this important enterprise. Great Britain, weakened by her enormous losses, pressed by superior forces in both hemispheres, abandoned by other nations, who for a long time have been irritated by her odious dominance, and on the point of having her own island invaded by a French army of more than forty thousand men, will find herself unable to resist our efforts if we act with prudence and energy. To await aid from Spain would endanger the success of an operation in which speed is so essential, and perhaps the delay would lose the propitious moment for executing it. Therefore, His Majesty desires that an expedition be organized without delay, composed of whatever land and sea forces it is possible to assemble in those dominions, and that an attack be made on Mobile and Pensacola, the keys to the Gulf of Mexico, sending detachments before or afterwards to attack and clear the English from the banks of the Mississippi, which should be considered as the bulwark of the vast empire of New Spain.

For this purpose Your Excellency will send all the troops you can spare from the garrison of your island, and the same will be done by the viceroy of Mexico. Both of you shall agree on the number of men each is to contribute and conform with the plan and opinion of the governor of Louisiana, who is informed of the position and forces of the enemy. In any event, it will be necessary to assemble four or five thousand men, including three hundred dragoons, or an even larger number of troops, in order not to fail in a stroke of such importance. Although the English have no strong fortifications at Pensacola, but only some wooden batteries, it is probable that they have greatly reinforced the garrison of that post, knowing its importance and fearing our attacks.

The troops sent by Your Excellency should be of selected men as

²⁹⁵ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

far as possible, commanded by officers of talent and energy, of which none shall be above the rank of colonel. Each battalion will take with it two bronze campaign guns and a full supply of proper stores, munitions, and provisions, so that they will lack nothing they need to operate effectively.

The King desires that the commander-in-chief of this expedition shall be Brigadier Don Bernardo de Gálvez, proprietary governor of Louisiana. He has had the foresight to map the area and acquire a practical knowledge of that country. He maintains agents among the enemy, is informed of the diversions which are to be made at the same time in Georgia by the troops of the United States of America, and has gained the friendship of the Choctaws and other tribes of Indians, who would side with the English if they saw at the head of this enterprise another and unknown leader. Finally his effective measures, plus perhaps a happy combination of events, have won him credit among the members of the American Congress and have spread respect for his name among the English settlements in the vicinity of Louisiana. His great knowledge of war and his reputation among the enemy has determined His Majesty to select the said governor, giving him preference over other officials of greater experience and doubtless more suitable for any other enterprise than this one.

The operations of the land troops will be supported by a squadron of a strength proportionate to the important object to which it is destined. On this matter, the Señor Marqués Gonzales de Castejón is giving the proper orders to the commandant of that department, and Your Excellency, together with the viceroy of New Spain and the governor of Louisiana will agree with him and with the chief who goes in command of the squadron, on the number of warships to be taken, the method of transporting the troops with safety, the point of meeting of the convoy from your island with the one from Vera Cruz, the place where the landing is to be made, the timing of the attacks, and all else conducive to the success of the enterprise.

At the same time that the land and sea attacks on Pensacola and Mobile are made, troops of the United States to the number of three thousand men will invest St. Augustine, Florida, and perhaps they will make another diversion along the upper reaches of the Mississippi. This is promised by the Congress in exchange for some sums which are to be given them as payment for their expenses. Don Juan de Miralles, who resides in those states, upon receipt of the advice which I am sending him through Your Excellency, will arrange the manner, time and places for making their attacks, so that the expeditions may be well co-ordinated.

I inform Your Excellency that the court of France has just re-

peated to the governors of its islands and to the chiefs of its squadrons in those seas orders to co-operate in the defense of our possessions and assist with their land and seas forces any enterprises we may undertake against the English settlements. In view of this, if the troops which can be assembled from your island and from New Spain without leaving either place undefended are not sufficient for the conquest of Pensacola and Mobile, Your Excellency will ask the governor of the French part of the island of Santo Domingo for the number of men necessary, and these will go to complete the expedition or be left to garrison your island, whichever Your Excellency thinks most advisable.

The success of this enterprise depends in a great measure upon the enemy's being unaware of it until the moment of its execution. So, Your Excellency shall preserve profound secrecy about this, and take effective measures for the embarkation of the troops and equipment, pretending an objective other than the real one, for example, that of attacking Jamaica. You shall come to an agreement with your chief of navy, the viceroy of Mexico, and the governor of Louisiana, and send to the latter all the aid he needs that you can spare him. The King trusts that you will make all the efforts, inspired in you by your love for the royal service and your country, to assure the splendor of the Spanish arms in an enterprise which is of the greatest importance.

May God protect Your Excellency many years.

SAN ILDEFONSO, *August 29, 1779.*

JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

Señor Governor of Havana.

NAVARRO (Rubric).

RELEASE OF SPANISH VESSELS SEIZED BY THE BRITISH

September 18, 1779 ²⁹⁶

Whereas in Pursuance of his Majesty's Orders for making Reprizals upon the Vessels and Goods belonging to the King of *Spain*, or his Subjects, in consequence of the Hostile Declarations of that Court, several *Spanish* Vessels have been seized in the different Ports of this Island, as well by the Officers of his Majesty's Ships of War stationed here, as by the Naval-Officer or his Deputies, and were subject to a legal Condemnation in course. The Necessity of preventing the Conveyance of any Intelligence to our avowed Enemies at that Juncture, authorized the Detention of those Vessels at all Events: But the Glory of our Sovereign calling upon us to illustrate his disinterested Justice and Magnanimity, we have taken into Con-

²⁹⁶ BL, (Printed in English). A Spanish translation is in AGI, Guerra, 1780, Bx. 24.

sideration the Hardships incurred by those Persons who came here to Trade with us upon the Faith and Confidence of Treaties, or have been detained in our Ports from the peculiar Circumstances of the Times, and have given Orders for the Release and Discharge of all *Spanish* Vessels and Cargoes which have been seized and detained as above, permitting their several Masters and Crews to take charge of, and return with them to their respective Ports, without Trouble or Molestation; for which Purpose, we have granted to them the necessary Protections: And the several Officers of his Majesty's Ships, as well as those of the Customs and Naval-Officer, are hereby ordered to deliver up all *Spanish* Vessels which have been seized as above, and permit them to sail with their Cargoes on TUESDAY the FIFTH day of OCTOBER, or as soon afterwards as possible, giving them all necessary Assistance, that their several Owners, Masters and Crews, may return impressed with that Respect for our Generosity and Justice, which it becomes a great Nation to manifest, even to it's Enemies.

GIVEN under our Hands, this 18th Day of September, 1779.

P. PARKER.

JOHN DALLING.

COLLELL TO GÁLVEZ

*September 26, 1779*²⁹⁷

Señor Governor General.

MY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: I received Your Lordship's letter of the 26th instant, in which you notify me of the victory you had over the English of which I never was in doubt. The actions of Your Lordship have given to the world so many proofs of your courage and prudence that we could with reason expect what has happened against the enemies. This victory should be placed in history among those of the first rank. It is a phenomenon, because it has been said of other generals that they won various victories but have sacrificed many men, but Your Lordship with the loss of only one man has obtained the surrender of 400 and the advantageous result of the evacuation of Natchez.

All the people of this town have celebrated this victory with great demonstrations of joy to congratulate Your Lordship, and I also congratulate you with all my heart. My only regret is that the inhabitants here do not have that which is necessary in order to honor the victory with illuminations.

I have regretted very much that I cannot see Your Lordship but I realize the obstacles which prevented this desire.

²⁹⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 2351.

I thank Your Lordship for what you said about my small successes and I wish that other greater ones will occur in order that I may more actively demonstrate to Your Lordship the love and zeal I have in the service of the King and Your Lordship.

I know very well that this town is the only place left where the English might enter. Therefore I have taken precautions to finish the fort and to investigate to see by which way they can enter by land because I believe that our privateers will watch the way by water. Captain Arno departed from this town (in the small schooner which I sent to fetch corn and rice) on the 20th of this month provided with food for eight days and with the necessary arms, instead of the large schooner which Briones commanded. He had armed one of the prize schooners, which he found more suitable.

Captain Don Ramón de Llanes will leave here tomorrow, which he was unable to do previously, as he was sick. He takes with him some prisoners who are ill. The inventories of the prizes I remit to Your Lordship herewith. I decided not to send anything until I have some definite news of the English corsair, or until Your Lordship decided differently. I have not taken inventory of the contents of the closed boxes as I did not wish to open them.

I have sent two pirogues this morning to transport the soldiers Your Lordship sent me as reinforcements, but I am very short on munitions, and in case of attack I shall not have enough to keep firing for half an hour. I beg Your Lordship therefore to send me some quantity of powder, musket ball, and swivel guns.

I shall notify Your Lordship whether it is true that the English have a road which passes in front of this fort to Nitalbeni.

I do not believe it but from the habitation of Christi to Natalbeni it is certain that there is one. In order to come to this district they have to cross two leagues over the lake, where, if Your Lordship agrees to it, a detachment of four men can be placed to watch and give notice here in case there is anything new.

This is all I have to communicate to Your Lordship, and in the meantime I await your kind orders and remain praying God to spare your life the years of my desire.

VILLA DE GÁLVEZ, *September 26, 1779.*

Your Lordship's very humble and affectionate subject and servant
kisses your hand.

FRANCº. COLLELL (Rubric).

DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

NAVARRO TO MAYORGA

*October 21, 1779*²⁹⁸*(Confidential)**Most Excellent Sir.*

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Continuing to give Your Excellency such news received here as deserves your attention, I must report having learned from the captain of a Spanish schooner, who was permitted to leave Jamaica on the 8th of this month and arrived on the south coast of this island on the 14th, that on the said 8th there remained in the port of Kingston (principal one of Jamaica) only two English frigates-of-war. The four ships of Admiral Byron's squadron which, as a result of the engagement with Comte d'Estaing's returned there badly damaged, have been repaired and, together with the eight which were there, set sail, destination unknown. An Italian living in Jamaica had confided to the said captain that all the British forces were returning to Europe for the defense of their menaced capital and that the Jamaicans, fearing that Comte d'Estaing planned to attack them, had called all their militia to arms. However, as he had given up this idea, they had dismissed them, but continued training them in the use of arms. Finally, he reported that up to the day of his departure no Spanish prizes had entered the said port of Kingston but there were many French ones.

I send Your Excellency herewith a copy of the proclamation published by the governor of Jamaica, printed in the Spanish language, permitting the free departure for their destinations of some Spanish vessels which were being held there. Your Excellency will note that he does not state their character, from which we may infer that they are in clandestine trade, with the exception of the one which brought this news. This one had gone there, with a passport from me, on business of the *Asiento de Negros*.

May Our Lord protect Your Excellency many years.

HAVANA, *October 21, 1779.*

Most Excellent Sir, your humble servant kisses your hand.

DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON MARTÍN DE MAYORGA.

²⁹⁸ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*October 28, 1779*²⁹⁹

No. 367.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *October 28, 1779.**Señor Governor General.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: I have permitted five traders of this post to bring in some goods from the other side. This has remedied our lack of goods with which to supply our Indian tribes; but inasmuch as they have bought them dearly, I have been obliged to permit them to take them to the tribes themselves. For this reason I have not, as last year, made a wide distribution of permits, but, as between two evils, I think I have chosen the lesser.

I remain with the greatest respect at Your Lordship's orders, and pray God to preserve your very important life the many years I desire.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

LEYBA TO GÁLVEZ

*October 28, 1779*³⁰⁰

No. 365.

ST. LOUIS, YLINUESES, *October 28, 1779.**Señor Governor General.*

MY VERY DEAR AND MOST ESTEEMED SIR: M. Maxent has not sent the presents for the Indians this year. I have distributed all those I had on hand. Therefore there remains nothing of this kind for next year.

I remain with the greatest respect at Your Lordship's orders and pray God to preserve your life many years.

My very dear Sir, your most affectionate servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

[Draft]

By the first opportunity there will be sent to you by Mme. Maxent (her husband being absent on the expedition to Pensacola) the presents for the Indians of your post, which you say in your letter of October 28, 1779, to the governor general are needed for 1780.

May our Lord etc.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 19, 1780.*

Señor DON FERNANDO LEYBA.

²⁹⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 1.³⁰⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 1.

JEFFERSON TO GÁLVEZ

*November 8, 1779*³⁰¹WMSBURG, in VIRGINIA, *Nov^r. 8th 1779*

SIR/

By Mr. Lindsay who was sent from our County of Illinois on the Mississippi, to New Orleans and lately arrived here on his return by the way of Havannah, we hear that Col^o. Rogers had left New Orleans and proceeded up the Mississippi. We are anxiously expecting by him your Excellency's answer to the Letters of 14th. January 1778 by Col^o. Rogers and January 26th 1778 by Cap^t. Young from Governor Henry to whom I have had the honour of Succeeding on his resignation. the accession of his most Catholic Majesty since the date of these Letters to the hostilities carrying on by the confederated powers of France and North America, against Great Britain, thereby adding to their Efforts the weight of your powerful & wealthy empire, has given us all the certainty of a happy issue to the present contest of which human events will admit.— Our vicinity to the State over which you immediately preside, the direct Channel of commerce by the river Mississippi, the nature of those Commodities with which we can reciprocally furnish each other, point out the advantages which may result from a close connection and correspondence, for which on our part the best foundations are laid by a grateful sense of the favours we have received at your hands. Notwithstanding the pressure of the present War on our people they are lately beginning to extend their Settlements rapidly on the waters of the Mississippi and we have reason to believe that on this particularly and the branches immediately communicating with it there will in the course of another year be such a number of Settlers as to render their Commerce an object worth your notice from New Orleans alone can they be tolerably supplied with necessaries of European manufacture, and thither they will send in exchange, Staves & peltry immediately & flour, pork and Beef as soon as they shall have somewhat opened their Lands. For their protection from the Indians we are obliged to send and Station among them a considerable armed force, the providing of which with Clothing & the friendly Indians with necessaries, becomes a matter of great difficulty with us for the smaller forces have hitherto kept up at Kaskaskia on the Mississippi, we have contracted a considerable Debt at New Orleans with Mr. Pollock, besides what is due to your State for the supplies they have generously furnished, and a number of bills from Col^o. Clarke now lying under protest in New Orleans. We learn by Mr. Lindsay that Mr. Pollock is likely to be greatly distressed if we do not immediately make him remittances. The most

³⁰¹ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English). See also *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*, II, 59–61.

unfavourable harvest ever known since the settlement of this Country has put it out of our power to send flour obliging us for our own Subsistence to purchase it from the neighboring States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to whom we have ever til this year furnished large quantities. The want of Salt disables us from preparing Beef and Pork for your Market. in this situation of things we cannot but contemplate the distress of that Gentleman brought on him by services rendered us, with the utmost concern. We are endeavouring by remittances of Tobacco to establish a fund in France to which we may apply to a certain extent; but the Casualties to which those Tobaccos are liable in their transportation render this dependence less certain than we could wish for Mr. Pollock's relief and besides that we have very extensive occasion for them— Young as we are in Trade and manufactures, and engaged in war with a Nation whose power on the Sea has been such as to intercept a great proportion of the Supplies we have attempted to import from Europe, you will not wonder to hear that we find great difficulties in procuring either money or commodities to answer the calls for our Armies and therefore that it would be a circumstance of great relief to us if we could leave our deposits in France for the Calls of that part of our State which lies on the Atlantic & procure a suspension of the demands from your quarter for supplies to our Western forces one two or three years or such longer time as could be obtained. With this view Governor Henry in his letters of January 14 & 26, 1778 solicited from your Nation a Loan of Money, which your Excellency was so kind as to undertake to communicate to your Court. The success of this application we expect to learn by Col^o. Rogers, and should not, til then, have troubled you on the same Subject had we not heard of Mr. Pollocks distress, as we flatter ourselves that that application through the intervention of your Excellency may have been successful and that you may be authorized to advance for us some loans in money. I take the liberty of soliciting you in such case to advance for us to Mr. Pollock 65,814 $\frac{5}{8}$ Dollars. encompassed as we are with difficulties we may fail in doing as much as our gratitude would prompt us to in speedily replacing these aids, but most assuredly nothing in that way within our power will be left undone. Our particular prospects for doing it, and the time it may take to accomplish the whole shall be the subject of another Letter as soon as I shall have the honor to learn from you whether we can be supplied and to what extent. By Col^o. Rogers I hope also to learn your Excellency's Sentiments on the other proposition in the same letters for the establishment of corresponding posts on your side and ours of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Ohio for the promotion of commerce between us.—

After returning our most cordial thanks to your Excellency for the friendly disposition you have personally shown to us, and assuring you of our profound respect and esteem beg leave to subscribe myself
Your Excellency's Most Obed^t. & Very h^{ble} Servant

TH. JEFFERSON

Duplicate

NAVARRO TO MAYORGA

December 23, 1779 ^{301A}

No. 86.

(Confidential)

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: From the attached copy of the confidential royal order of August 29, last, which I just received, Your Excellency will see the decision of His Majesty that the principal objectives of his arms in these dominions is to drive the English from the Gulf of Mexico and the banks of the Mississippi, and the methods by which the court considers this enterprise attainable.

This matter has been discussed by the commander of the squadron and myself. In view of the present state of affairs and the news received in this part of His Majesty's dominions, we find that it is impossible to co-operate fully with the enterprise of Your Excellency, the governor of Louisiana, and the commandant general of El Guarico, unless its execution is deferred considerably. The reasons are that the season is advanced and the contingencies of the sea do not permit the promptness demanded by what is contemplated by the said royal order. Therefore I shall inform Your Excellency of what has been planned and decided should be done by the commander of this squadron, the governor of Louisiana, and myself in compliance with the original order of May 24.

In view of this order, it was decided to make a direct attack on Pensacola, for which it was planned to assist Don Bernardo de Gálvez with 3,500 men from here, sending him an officer of Engineers, so that he might consult with him, as one fully acquainted with the plan. The latter should then return to this post with all the information and other arrangements made for the success of the enterprise.

This engineer proceeded to New Orleans and on his arrival there learned the happy news that the governor had taken the posts held by the English on the Mississippi, with the success and ease which Your Excellency will have noted from the summary which I sent you.

After he had attained this first objective, Don Bernardo de Gálvez changed the plan of investing Pensacola which he had communicated to me. He explained how well prepared the English were there with

additional batteries of large and unusual calibres such as we did not have. This made the project impossible, and it was concluded that the most advisable thing would be to take Mobile which supplies Pensacola with the greater part of its requirements. Once the former is captured, Louisiana and the territory acquired would be secure, and from there it would be possible to proceed against Pensacola, fully informed of conditions.

The engineer returned with this news and it was discussed. A decision was made to prepare immediately 1,200 troops and 200 workers, supply train, equipment, and munitions, and to send them to Mobile, so that the governor of Louisiana, gathering all the forces he could in the province, might fall on that place without loss of time.

Everything was made ready, and the said governor was so advised. Had it not been for the weather's being unfavorable for good sailing, the convoy would have already left this port. In order better to assure success and cut off all aid from there, one war ship, two frigates, and one war packet were dispatched to cruise off Pensacola and Mobile. These vessels have now safely returned, with the exception of the last. It was somewhat damaged, but is to be repaired immediately so as not to miss the first good weather presenting itself.

As the enterprise against Pensacola will certainly be more practicable once Mobile is taken, I have written to Don Bernardo de Gálvez to advise me what number of troops and supply train he will need for it, in order to continue his operations until the wishes of the King are realized. Once the present expedition has set out, there will be no cessation of the work here of preparing another 1,500 men and all the equipment possible. Of course, a very considerable shortage in the defenses of Havana will be caused, both by these troops and the others that are being sent him, should the enemy attempt to invade it.

In order to prevent this as far as possible, it is of the greatest importance that Your Excellency send to Vera Cruz a fully equipped veteran regiment, so that, on advice of this, ships may be dispatched from here to bring it to this place. Here this regiment will never be superfluous, provided that Your Excellency can spare it, for the reason that this port and post is considered the general depot of this continent, and best able to supply the various dominions of His Majesty on it and the adjacent islands.

In regard to the measure of having recourse to the French colony of the Island of Santo Domingo for supplies, as indicated by the said royal order of August 29, Your Excellency will already have recognized that it is remote and the passage so difficult that, even if its captain general could spare troops, he lacks the warships to convoy them. He has even asked me for some to guard its coast, but I have been unable to give them to him because this squadron has only two

warships and six frigates in condition to set to sea, while two of the latter must be sent to Cartagena, according to a recent order received by Señor Don Juan Bautista Bonet.

In view of this and the news of the misfortune of Comte d'Estaing in having been compelled to abandon the conquest of Georgia, retreat from Savannah, and set sail for an unknown destination, Your Excellency can well imagine the anxiety which that French colony must feel. Consequently, in order to undertake the capture of Pensacola, we can count only on what the King has here and in Louisiana and what Your Excellency can spare, directing your efforts, without loss of time, to preventing the enemy from bringing up superior forces to frustrate the plan agreed upon with the governor of Louisiana.

In the foregoing it seems to me that I have explained to Your Excellency everything necessary for your proper information in such an important situation as that in which we find ourselves of being able to give to the King the glorious day to which his most benign heart aspires.

May Our Lord guard Your Excellency for many years.

HAVANA, *December 23, 1779.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble and attentive servant kisses your hand.

DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric).

Most Excellent Señor DON MARTÍN DE MAYORGA.

INSTRUCTIONS OF GÁLVEZ TO MIRÓ

*December 31, 1779*³⁰²

No. 10.

Instruction which I, Brigadier Don Bernardo de Gálvez, give to Colonel Don Estevan Miró, for compliance therewith in the various commissions which are the object of his mission.

He shall leave here tomorrow, January 1, 1780, on the flag of truce brigantine *Las Dos Hermanas*, bound for Jamaica, without the knowledge of anyone but the captain, who has already been advised. He shall make it clear to the latter how important it is for the service of the King that the voyage be made with the greatest speed.

He shall pass through the sound at latitude 25 degrees, 30 minutes, to see if he can find the King's ships, and if he does so, he shall inform their commander of the reason for his voyage, so that he may, for his part, contribute to the good success of the measures being taken. He shall continue on without the least delay to Havana, in which port he shall recommend that the brigantine, captain, and crew, be delayed as little as possible. He shall request of that governor the

³⁰² AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-7.

aid of 2,000 men, to arrive at Mobile and Pensacola by the middle of February at the latest.

He shall tell him that this aid will be of no use unless it is accompanied by provisions for another two months for the 3,000 men which we shall have in Mobile, as the English have withdrawn all the inhabitants, and if the troops lack these provisions, they cannot subsist, and some will have to return to this colony, and the others to Havana, without effecting the capture of Pensacola.

He shall explain that, if we do not seize this place immediately, the conquest of Mobile will be useless because, as no other forces can be left there than the garrison of its fort, it is probable that the English will return to recapture it since they are close by while our forces are remote.

If Mobile is lost, this province runs a great risk because, if the Indians see us retreat one step backwards, they will turn coat, as they have done with the English, and they will move against this colony. This will result in trouble enough to cause its loss.

If, despite these important considerations, this aid is denied because the situation in Havana does not permit its being given, he shall advise me immediately of this impossibility so that I may take action in time.

If such occurs, I should still be sent provisions, unless in Havana also there are not enough to keep them from starving. Then we shall both suffer the same fate together.

If they absolutely refuse the aid of troops for the reason that they cannot complete the number of 2,000 men, he shall explain that 1,500 will be acceptable, if that can be done, or even 1,300, if no other recourse remains.

As they may also give as a reason for denying this aid the condition that it must be with the greatest promptness, a somewhat longer time may be given, but on two other indispensable conditions: first, increasing provisions according to the delay, and second, giving us prompt information of this for our guidance.

In case the delay is due to artillery equipment, it may be stipulated that this may follow later, as operations will be begun with that which is available there.

An extra large number of bombs and mortars should be sent, as these will be most effective in Pensacola, where everything is of wood; likewise siege guns, combustibles, and grenades. Those which are not used will be returned.

He shall see the commandants of each department, and inform himself as to which one is best fitted to aid me.

He shall try to see that salt is taken so that salt meat can be made in the country.

He shall particularly ask for the regiment of Navarra, and shall tell its colonel the reasons why I do not write to him, as well as the bishop, the Countess de Macuriges, and others who have been writing to me.

He shall propose the most opportune means of removing the English prisoners from here, leaving me only the Germans, if necessary.

He shall have sent the goods mentioned in the note to be given him by Don Martín Navarro, as well as the one I have given him.

He shall say that Colonel Gonzales is to go with the brigantine, and that it is to convoy me.

The captain of the vessel and the party interested in it shall be paid for all the detentions and delays which may be occasioned by this mission.

He shall remain in Havana the least time possible, but shall not return without bringing me definite information on the state in which things are, and upon the success of his mission.

If, on account of the time spent in carrying this out, he thinks that I may already be in Pensacola, he shall approach that port, making the signals of identification agreed upon by the war-vessels of the Department of Havana, asking the general of marine there for these in case he comes in a private or merchant vessel.

He shall do the same on passing Mobile, and only in case of not finding us in said ports shall he proceed to La Baliza. It shall be understood that whether he approaches Pensacola rests with his own discretion, taking into consideration the time spent in Havana and the speed of the vessel on which he returns, with the understanding that a Dutch flag and a red pennant, either on the Punta de Santa Rosa or on the Barrancas Coloradas, will be a signal that we have already landed.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 31, 1779.*

NOTE. That the brigantine *El Kaulican* is to accompany us to Mobile for the reason that, as a frigate, a brigantine, and a sloop are cruising off La Baliza, we might suffer misfortune if we sail with only the *Volante*.

NAVARRO TO MAYORGA

February 7, 1780 ³⁰³

No. 90.

Most Excellent Sir.

(Confidential)

MY VERY DEAR SIR: By the mail boat which sailed from this port on December 26, last, I wrote to Your Excellency what the

³⁰³ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

commandant general of this squadron and I had planned in order to comply with the King's orders relative to undertaking the conquest of Mobile and Pensacola, and what had been done in order to effect this, as Your Excellency will have seen from my dispatch of the 23rd of the said month, No. 86, duplicate of which I now enclose.

From the same dispatch Your Excellency will have noted my request that you be pleased to have a veteran regiment in Vera Cruz fully equipped, so that it could come to this post. The forces of this class are being taken from this post which, on account of its importance, should always be in the most secure state of defense. I promised to send ships which would be able to bring them.

The adverse weather which has been prevailing has not permitted the departure of the convoy and transports of the 1,412 men for Mobile. The governor of Louisiana was advised of these preparations and informed that, after the departure of these troops, more would be prepared if he requested them in order to continue the conquest of Pensacola. But the convoy did not arrive, the season was advancing and, according to the advices he had, he was to undertake the conquest of Pensacola, first taking by main force the batteries located by the enemy to prevent entry into the bay. Therefore he sent to me Lieutenant Colonel Don Esteban Miró, who arrived at this port on the 12th of last month, with the request that I send him promptly whatever increase of forces I could over the said number of 1,412, as well as equipment and provisions in abundance.

As spring approaches we lack information as to the whereabouts of the squadron of Comte d'Estaing. Some reports say it is in Europe and others in Martinique. If the former is true, the English may be planning to abandon New York, as they did Rhode Island, assemble in their Windward Islands and, protected by their squadron (of whose conditions and location we are ignorant), fall on this place, thinking it to be without most of its forces. Consequently, I drew up a statement showing clearly the number of troops that could be withdrawn for a few months for the said conquest.

In view of this and what was discussed and considered in various conferences by Señor Bonet and myself, we agreed on what Your Excellency will see from the attached document which is a copy of the original. This plan entails the necessity of chartering armed merchant vessels to go to Vera Cruz to get the said regiment, as well as the powder, flour, etc. which Your Excellency has had prepared to send to this post, with instructions that on their return they should set a course for the latitude of 25 or 30 leagues in the western quadrant of the Sound to the south of Pensacola, as explained by the said copy of the agreement. I gave the necessary

instructions to the quartermaster general, who is now engaged in chartering the frigates *El Príncipe Carlos* and *La Galga*, recently returned from Vera Cruz. With these two and those named *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* and *Santa Rosalía* which are returning to the said port of Vera Cruz on their own affairs, as well as some other small vessels which Your Excellency can have chartered there, according to what you see fit to send, it seems to me that all that is desirable and advisable can be carried out.

The last ones to sail will carry the signals of identity which the said copy says would be given them by the *comandante general de marina*. I seize this opportunity of the departure of the frigate *Santa Rosalía*, whose owner and captain is Don Joseph Antonio Flaquer, to inform Your Excellency of all this. I trust that, in your constant vigilance and particular love of the good of the service, the state, and the glory of our arms, Your Excellency will be pleased to contribute with your customary zeal to the success of all that His Majesty desires, as shown in his royal orders, especially that of December 29, copy of which I enclosed for Your Excellency in my said dispatch of December 23, No. 86.

At the same time as the departure of this vessel, the war ships are sailing for Mobile and Louisiana to support that governor in case he has begun his siege. It is probable that the *comandante general de marina*, who has to make this decision, will hasten the departure of the rest of the expedition, whenever the weather permits, as all the troops are on board ship, the first since December 18th, and the last which have been added, since the beginning of this month.

May Our Lord guard Your Excellency many years.

HAVANA, February 7, 1780.

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses your hand.

DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON MARTÍN DE MAYORGA.

(Attached to the foregoing)

Agreement of the Most Excellent Señores Don Diego Joseph Navarro, governor and captain general of the island of Cuba and post of Havana, and Don Juan Baptista Bonet, commandant general of the squadron stationed there, drawn up in consequence of the arrival of Don Estevan Miró, brevet lieutenant colonel and major of the fixed battalion of Louisiana, who was deputed by his governor, and arrived at this port on the 24th of this month, as stated in dispatch of the same date:

The said governor had received by hand of Colonel Don Geronimo Giron the letter which the latter had brought from the governor and

captain general. It advised him what had been done at this post for the prompt dispatch of 1,200 troops and 200 laborers for artillery and fortification work, together with the corresponding equipment, munitions, and provisions, so that, together with the forces assembled in that province, he might undertake the conquest of Mobile. The letter stated that, after the departure of this convoy, the work of preparing troops, train, etc., intended for the enterprise against Pensacola would be continued, so that they could be dispatched when requested by Don Bernardo de Gálvez from Mobile. Consequently the latter decided to send Miró to explain that it was desirable that the said increase of forces, train, and munitions should be dispatched immediately in as large numbers as possible, with provisions for four months, and supplies of salt to make salt meat from the cattle found in Mobile, and that subsequently a vessel should be sent every fifteen days or every month with provisions for the replenishment of those consumed by the expedition. Finally he explained that the troops of the reinforcements should include the infantry regiment of Navarra.

The governor and captain general, and the commandant general of the squadron have taken note of these points and other reasons inserted by Don Estevan Miró in the abovementioned dispatch. In view of the repeated orders of His Majesty, instructing them to co-operate in these enterprises without leaving this city and island undefended, as well as the fact that Señor Don Juan Baptista Bonet had embarked on board the warships 308 militiamen in place of an equal number of veterans who had been performing this service, the governor and captain general presented in one of the various conferences held on this matter a detailed statement of the veteran troops and militia that could be assembled. He proposed to retain half of each for the defense of Havana, its forts, etc. and showed that only 567 men of the infantry regiment of Navarra could be added to the number of 1,412 which included troops, the artillery and fortification laborers and had been all ready for the expedition since the beginning of December, but because of adverse weather had not sailed.

On this basis it was decided that the equipment should be increased by four guns of 24 calibre, two hundred bombs, two siege guns, together with the corresponding train, eighty infantry tents, twenty cavalry tents, and five tents for arms. The commandant of the squadron directed that everything should be transported on warships, not only to effect the earliest possible departure of the expedition but also to save the royal exchequer the expense of merchant vessels which might have to be chartered for this purpose.

The said Don Estevan Miró added verbally that he thought his governor was already en route to Mobile with 908 men of veteran

troops, and 500 men of white and colored militia, Indians, and everything he had prepared. He stated that according to the instructions given him on his departure from La Baliza, it was one of his tasks to explain the necessity of sending to Mobile warships able to enter its bay and support Gálvez, but despatching one to Baliza with news of the ones which were being sent to Mobile, in case the governor had not already sailed. This vessel at the same time should bring Second Engineer Don Francisco Xavier de Navas who is informed about everything done here. The commandant general of the squadron decided that this ship should be His Majesty's brigantine *El Renombrado*, selected and ready to sail since the first of December for this very purpose. The others were the frigate *El Chambequín Cayman*, the packet *San Pío*, and the brigantine *Santa Teresa*. The whole expedition would sail from this port, taking advantage of the first good weather presenting itself.

The said two, the captain general and the *comandante de marina*, consider, on the one hand, that it is not possible to take from this garrison a larger number of troops than those being sent to Brigadier Don Bernardo de Gálvez, without disregarding His Majesty's orders. On the other, they have to consider the taking of Mobile. Its garrison is reduced to only 100 men, as Don Estevan Miró has stated, without hope of aid from the citizens who, not wishing to take up arms, have fled to the woods or have been imprisoned by the English, their property confiscated and taken to Pensacola. Moreover Mobile has received no aid nor does it appear that it is garrisoned by more than one thousand five hundred men, including militia. An attack on it must begin with the batteries of Las Coloradas, taking them in the rear, in order to clear the entrance to the bay, and for this operation of assault there is no need of all the combined forces of the expeditions from Havana and Louisiana. Yet without this success the enterprise is impracticable, as the warships and the convoy cannot enter the said bay. But, once Las Coloradas is taken, such entry is possible, and consequently once the ships are anchored in the bay, it will be possible to disembark the rest of the troops, train, and equipment without trouble or risk, and to besiege the post and set it on fire with red hot shot, bombs, and fireballs until it surrenders. The said señores therefore consider that the departure of the present expedition from Havana should be undertaken. It should proceed to Mobile, as already agreed, so that the governor of Louisiana may use it as he thinks best in view of the circumstances in which he finds himself, and the news and positive information that he has or may receive. Once the conquest is completed, he should lose no time returning as many of the troops as possible to Havana in order to put it in a good state of defense, in case the enemy, freed

by some eventuality affecting the squadron of Comte d'Estaing, should decide to attack it. As yet no help has arrived at Pensacola, but he has at his disposal the Yuchi Indians, as is believed from their promises and the advice given them in advance to place themselves under the orders of the said governor. Therefore it is so decided and agreed. Furthermore His Majesty orders the viceroy of Mexico in royal order of August 29, that he assist with what forces he can spare for these conquests, and that armed merchant vessels be chartered and dispatched to Vera Cruz without loss of time to get the veteran infantry regiment which His Excellency was asked on December 23, to have ready and fully equipped at that port. At the same time these vessels will bring all the powder they can carry, as the squadron is already short of it, while this city has little more than half of its allotment. They will also bring all the flour, dried vegetables, etc. that can be loaded on them for the general depot and the requirements of Havana. These vessels on their return from Vera Cruz are to steer a course to the latitude of 25 to 30 leagues in the western quadrant south of Pensacola until they meet the squadron. They shall identify themselves by means of the signals which will be given them by the *comandante general de marina*, in order that Brigadier Don Bernardo de Gálvez, having ascertained what they are carrying, may take what he needs, both of troops and provisions, and then send the said vessels with the remainder to Havana, escorted by one or more warships. In witness whereof, they signed it.

HAVANA, *January 31, 1780.*

DON DIEGO JOSEF NAVARRO
DON JUAN BAPTISTA BONET
(Rubric).

VILLIERS TO GÁLVEZ

February 27, 1780 ³⁰⁴

ARKANSAS. *27 February, 1780*

SIR: One Andres La Bombard, a voyageur, had freed from captivity among the Panis the woman who is presenting this petition to you. She admits that she promised to marry this man if he would take her out of slavery, but she has been so ill-treated by him, and she has noted so many bad qualities in him, that she would rather go back to her former servitude than to suffer the pain of marrying a man with whom she could not live. She is none the less grateful to him for the service which he has rendered her, and she is in despair because she is not in a position to repay him what

³⁰⁴ BL, (French).

she has cost him, a matter of 100 piasters. I am obliged to state that this *La Bombard* is a scapegrace and that she would be very unhappy with him.

I have the honor of being with deepest respect, Sir, your humblest and most obedient servant,

BALTHAZAR DE VILLIERS (Rubric).

To M. DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

NAVARRO TO MAYORGA

March 5, 1780³⁰⁵

No. 95.

(Confidential)

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: From my confidential dispatch of February 7, No. 90, which, with others, was carried by the private frigate *Santa Rosalia*, whose owner is Don Josef Antonio Flaquer, Your Excellency will have noted all that had occurred up to that time in connection with the departure of the present expedition and other general news received here.

Since that time there has occurred as regards the former, the embarkation of the troops on the 15th of the said month. They remained on board until the 26th of the same, when as a result of a heavy storm on the night of the 22nd and part of the day of the 23rd, the *comandante general de marina* ordered them ashore until an opportune time for their departure. Thinking that it might be this morning, on account of the continued good weather, they are returning on board today.

The merchant frigates *El Príncipe Carlos* and *La Galga* have been chartered to go to Vera Cruz for the purposes which I explained to Your Excellency in my said dispatch of the 7th ultimo. I wished them to set sail under the escort of the expedition as far as the place where they should separate, as is being done by the vessel named *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* or *El Diamante*, which is carrying my letters to Your Excellency with instructions to throw them into the sea in any event which may give rise to the fear that they might fall into the hands of the enemy. However, they cannot leave now for lack of men but their captains think they can procure them by the time the convoy sails, and I shall try to assist so that they may not be delayed.

I had planned to send my letters by one of the said ships, *Príncipe* or *Galga*, but as I do not wish to leave Your Excellency without proper knowledge of everything occurring here, I am entrusting them to the *Diamante* and shall send duplicates by the former, unless

³⁰⁵ AGI, Guerra, 1780, Ex. 24.

the mail from Spain arrives first (this is giving us no little concern as we have had no news from those dominions since that brought by the vessel which left there September 28) and the correspondence is dispatched by the revenue office.

In regard to news of the French and English squadrons, there is no change from what I have informed Your Excellency, as the same doubts persist. But with regard to the movement of British troops in these dominions, I have just learned from a dispatch sent me by the general of the American troops in South Carolina that six thousand men have left New York. Part of them are already at the mouth of the Savannah River but the real destination of the others was unknown. Ten thousand men remained in New York for its defense. Opposing them was General Washington with fifteen thousand after he had reinforced Carolina with four thousand.

This is all that occurs to me to report to Your Excellency that would be of interest to you.

May Our Lord protect Your Excellency for many years.

HAVANA, *March 5, 1780.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble servant kisses your hand.

DON DIEGO JOSEPH NAVARRO (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON MARTÍN DE MAYORGA.

GÁLVEZ TO JEFFERSON

1780³⁰⁶

[Draft]

MY DEAR SIR: I have had the honor of receiving Your Honor's favor, dated at Williamsburg, November 8, 1779. It has given me particular satisfaction to learn from it that Your Honor has succeeded to that governorship by designation of your predecessor, Mr. Henry. I flatter myself no less with the well-founded hopes that Your Honor entertains of seeing soon terminated the present troubles with England by means of the powerful influence of France, with whom the power of the King, my master, has opportunely aligned itself. I note with particular satisfaction the exact measures and solid foundations for population and commerce beginning to be made by the State of Virginia. However, as my nation has been engaged in a costly war, and as this province is one of the most exposed, having the enemy at its doors, the immense and innumerable expenses occasioned to the crown in this country by the two expeditions which I have just happily completed, do not permit me to make the slightest advance of money to relieve Your Honor and this province of the embarrassment caused by the situation of Mr. Oliver Pollock.

From the duplicate and triplicate of the reply carried by Colonel

Rogers, who had the misfortune to be killed on the way by the Indians, Your Honor will have been informed of the steps I have taken and what I have written to the court upon the matter. The present state of the war has naturally been the cause of its not having yet replied. As soon as I receive a reply I shall communicate it to you through the said Mr. Oliver Pollock.

I hope Your Honor will give me opportunities of showing the perfect consideration with which I desire to please you, so far as lies within my power.

May God etc.

DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO MIRÓ

*April 25, 1780*³⁰⁷

Copy of the letter of the commandant of Natchez.

MY DEAR SIR: I have had the pleasure of receiving, through Don Carlos de Grand-Pré, the gratifying news of the taking of Mobile, which he tells me you had communicated to him. At the same time an Englishman arrived from the Choctaw nation with the same information and also news that the Indians of that nation had robbed the families who went from here to Tombeché, Mobile, and Pensacola. It seems that they had killed some of them. These reports have made such an impression that those who were to have gone are now working their lands, and those who had started are returning, some of them having already arrived. Not having any hope of retiring to the Chickasaw nation, because they had been assured by the English merchants that our flag had been raised in that nation, and not knowing where to go, they have decided to return.

The benevolence of our governor toward the English militia who were in the fort of Mobile, which was divulged by the Englishman who came here from the Choctaw nation, appears to have satisfied the citizens, for the Englishman referred to says the people of Mobile and Tombeché, and the merchants of the nations are well pleased, and give our governor the praises that he deserves. . . .

On the 23rd, nine American families arrived with passports from the commandant of Arkansas. It is now more than two months since they had departed from the two Carolinas, but they have nothing to report except that they were attacked on the Ohio River by a party of Cherokee and Shawnee Indians. In the attack the Americans lost forty persons. They come with the intention of settling here, to which I have consented.

FORT PANMURE, *April 25, 1780.*

[DELAVILLEBEUVRE]

³⁰⁷ BL. A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba, Fl. Occ. 3-1219.

FRASER TO DELAVILLEBEUVRE

*April 26, 1780*³⁰⁸

DEAR SIR—

YASSOU 26th April, 1780.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Mr. Swanson McMain with 5 ships more with goods likewise 5 frigates and 2 74-gun ships are arrived at Pensacola likewise G^l. Clintone expected daily from Savanna with troops from whence he set of a long time agoe. We had at Pensacola before the arrival of these shipping 1500 troops with 1500 Indians so that if Governor Galvez does go their I hope he will meet with a warm reception. We understand that he sailed for their about 7 days ago but it is supposed he will go back to Orleans & not attempt Pensacola at all. All this news came up to the Tombegbe river by Joel Walker who came to see his Unkle Capt^a. Walker who was wounded at Mobile. I hope you will make yourself easier in your situation as I hope everything will turn out for the better.

I am dear Sir Your Most humble Serv^t.ALEX^R. FRASER

DON JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE,

*Captain of The Infantry Regiment of Louisiana and
Commandant of the Fort of Panmure.*

I certify on my word of honor that the above copy is exactly like the original which was obtained by me and copied by me at this fort on the 25th of June, 1780.

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric).

MENARD TO VILLIERS

*May 29, 1780*³⁰⁹

TO MONSIEUR DON BALTHAZAR DE VILLIERS, CAPTAIN COMMANDING
THE POST OF ARKANSAS, CIVIL AND MILITARY JUDGE
OF THE DEPENDENCIES.

SIR: François Menard replies to the summons sent to him on the 29th of May, last, by Antoine Bouquet on your behalf in pursuance of the complaint made by one Zabulon Matheo, an Anglo-American, which states that Jacques Mongrain had told him that Menard had stolen from him and Joseph Tessier, his two associates, about seven hundred pounds of tallow. The aforesaid Zabulon Matheo says that he was in partnership with them and asks for one-third of the tallow which the said Jacques Mongrain gave to me as payment and brought to me himself, paying me one-half of what he owed me. If it is owed to him, let him go to one of his partners who is here, Joseph

³⁰⁸ BL, (English). A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba, Fl. Occ. 2-1218.³⁰⁹ BL, (French).

Tessier, and let him deal with him, as Jacques Mongrain is dead. When I received this tallow as one-half payment, I told the late Jacques Mongrain to see to it that I was paid before he arrived at the aforesaid post, as I assured him that he would not be in a position to pay me once he got to the post because, for the last three years, the merchants have been unable to get anything out of their catch.

This word "restitution" which the Englishman uses in his petition hurts me. Why should I pay back to a thief what Jacques Mongrain gave to me in payment and delivered to my door? The style of the Englishman's secretary might have been more polite. Only a vulgar person uses these expressions. Not so very long ago there arrived an Englishman or a German with a boat loaded with tallow which he had stolen. This can be proved by many people, and their proofs and affidavits are in proper hands, and will appear some day. This same Englishman, some time later, brought a lot of cotton cloth. On both trips he was quite well received and was openly admitted to the stores. At present he is at the post undisturbed. All this causes me to take precautions. I am telling all my voyageurs to see to it that I get paid before they arrive at this post. I implore your justice and I ask that the Englishman Zabulon be punished for using such indiscreet expressions as "making restitution."

MENARD (Rubric).

Presented by me, Antoine Bouquet, in the presence of a witness.

ARKANSAS, 29 May 1780.

To Pass on; ARKANSAS, 29 May 1780.

VILLIERS (Rubric).

DELAVILLEBREUVE TO GÁLVEZ

*June 24, 1780*³¹⁰

MY DEAR SIR: Juan B^a. Barker, German by nation, has just arrived. He comes with two other men from the post of Cascasia and Caxa to Pointe Coupée with the intention of establishing himself there. He brings the news that 19 days ago from today 1200 Indians of various nations of the Strait, together with some 50 Canadians and 35 Englishmen, painted like the Indians, attacked the post of Paincourt at a time when its inhabitants were away at their farms. He said that in this attack there were 63 on our side dead, wounded, or prisoners, of all sexes, colors, and ages. Of the enemy it is only known that, while those Indians were taking the scalps of some inhabitants, they were frightened by a cannon shot and immediately ran away with the plunder. The commandant of the aforesaid post wrote to Colonel Clark who hastened to his aid with 500 men. Having

³¹⁰ BL. A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba, Fl. Occ. 2-1218.

arrived a little after dawn, he pursued the enemy and caused them to take flight. It is believed that the enemy will probably make another attempt next month.

He also states that Lieutenant Colonel Montgomery has gone up with 300 men to the place called La Pradería de los Robles 250 leagues distant from Illinois, and that they keep constantly 60 horses for scouting duty. . . .

It is said here that a man named Huper, formerly an inhabitant of this district who absented himself secretly (when the other citizens there became suspicious of him) has a commission as captain, signed by General Campbell, for the purpose of raising in Tombecbé and its vicinity a company to attack this district. It is reported that his route was by way of the mountains which pass between the Choc-taws and Chickasaws, and although I do not know from where the news came, I copy it here for Your Excellency.

May Our Lord preserve you many years.

FORT PANMURE, *June 24, 1780.*

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE

Sr. D^a. Ber^{do}. DE GÁLVEZ.

VILLIERS TO GÁLVEZ

*June 25, 1780*³¹¹

POST OF CHARLES III OF ARKANSAS,

June 25, 1780.

SIR: It is a rule in this post that the last person to equip a hunter should, upon the latter's return, have first claim on him for repayment. The associates, Jaques Mongrin and Joseph Tessier, owed to their last outfitter last year about 400 piastres; yet one Menard, before their departure, had caused them to agree that before arriving at the post they should reserve from their produce 700 livres of tallow to settle drinking debts. This took place in March last.

Having been apprised of this by one Zabulon Mateo, one of their associates who was claiming a third of it, I took steps upon my authority and caused to be withdrawn from the stores of the said Menard that amount of tallow which he is known to have received in a clandestine manner and even to have supplied the means to get it. The seizure was made in favor of the persons to whom the hunters are indebted. I believe myself authorized to do this by virtue of an ordinance, the articles of which I have sent you, Sir, in my letter of February 25, and which the said Menard himself invoked when it was favorable to him. This caused the seizure of 2500 livres of tallow from Raymond Vaissiere's pirogue in favor of Menard and 1900 livres in favor of others.

³¹¹ BL, (French).

Now the duplicity of this man is remarkable in that he knows how to claim the protection of the laws or ignore them according to his interests. He himself is low enough to admit this fact in his petitions. Therefore, in pursuance of this ordinance, it would seem very equitable that the total debt of over 400 piastres owed by Joseph Tessier and Jaques Mongrin be paid by the said Menard, provided, Sir, that you approve it. This deserved pecuniary penalty would be all the more justified since this man has been several times in opposition to the just orders of my last two predecessors, who in a case such as this one added to many others should have sent him to you with a fine recommendation. It is in this fashion, Sir, that this man has amassed some property and become arrogant, having at all times traded illegally. He has always eluded the vigilance of the commandants by having merchandise brought in surreptitiously by the rivers, by receiving on the quiet payments which were legitimately due to others, or by causing the hunters to get drunk, making them gamble and by this means getting hold of their cargos, or having them do errands for his own profit.

Such are the conduct and the character of the man I am complaining about and who feels sure that his half-brother Mr. Ruby (who knows him as well as I do), will speak on his behalf to you, Sir. He also trusts to the protection of several other persons, as if anybody's solicitations were capable of causing you to commit an injustice. Such is this man who in one petition states that he has received nothing from the hunters for the last three years. His imposture is proved by the abstract that I have made and which is included in the statement I am sending with this, without mentioning the amounts he may have embezzled, although this is his sole occupation.

Is there anything more infamous than the advice which he himself has confessed in a petition to have given to the hunters for the purpose of evading the law? Last year I had paid him about 200 piastres for one Jean Bte. Imbaut who now owes me about 600 piastres. What does Menard, as great a rascal as this other man, do? He has an understanding with him to receive the product of the hunt, unknown to me and to my detriment, and this would have happened had I not been warned. All that I have had the honor of telling you is nothing in comparison to what I have heard, but of which I have no proof. He supports at his house most of the time a band of vagabonds and people of his ilk who protect him by testifying according to his directions. His conversation is always evil and he disregards my orders to such an extreme that last month he went so far as to induce some people who were living with him to refuse to march with a detachment that I had ordered them to join. If I am to be blamed, Sir, it is for not having sent him to you then. I

fined him last year for giving brandy to the savages, and he should have been fined a hundred times.

I must admit that my leniency has increased the impudence of these people. When I received your letter of April 10, 1779, Sir, I was so assured of my innocence that I read it publicly. I thereby committed a great imprudence for I should have foreseen that all that gang residing in my dependency would go hence to have recourse to your justice whether they deserved it or not, and seek through specious reasons to evade the order which I have thought necessary to establish here, and that is doubtless what has caused Menard to challenge my orders when I made him surrender the tallow. With regard to him I now ask your justice.

The fear I had, Sir, of being taken by you for a vain person and for one who wished to impress you, has always prevented me from attracting your notice to the pains and the care I have taken in the establishment of this post, besides the expenses I have incurred, but I am forced to do it by the circumstances. And why should I blush to tell you that I have encouraged agriculture, that I have attracted husbandmen here, and that I expect more? I have made advances to them, I have taken care of them; even now I am still feeding the families of the unfortunate hunters who, having been robbed by the Osages cannot hunt, nor pay, and have no means of subsistence.

While I should be helped in an act which is humane, I find myself opposed by the man I am complaining of. He does exactly that which is most certain of discouraging and rendering desperate these miserable people. He has been so low and so unworthy as to go into their houses to take their concubines away from them, and from a sexagenarian man and woman he has taken their bed cover and a mosquito net of coarse cloth. This has caused a complaint that I have countersigned in conformity with the sentiments which I know you entertain and which should inspire similar ones in any officer vested with your authority and thus honored by you with your confidence. To deserve it even more, if possible, I watch myself with the most scrupulous attention in order to cause no criticism in my conduct of the administration of this post. I had first started legal proceedings in connection with what I mentioned in this letter, but I felt that in miserable posts like this one it was better to avoid chicanery as much as possible. Besides, Sir, I am sparing you a lot of correspondence which would tire you and would end nowhere. Even this letter is too long.

Finally, in order not to waste any more moments which are precious to you I close by urging you earnestly that, if any complaint is made against me, you should order me to inform you of its motive, and not to spare me if, through my own fault, I am in the wrong.

On the other hand I also urge you to punish severely the slanderers who by creating a fuss about minor interests are persuaded that by making a large noise they can escape punishment justly deserved for more important reasons.

I have the honor of being with respect, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

BALTHAZAR DE VILLIERS

To MR. DON BERNARD DE GÁLVEZ.

JUZAN TO GÁLVEZ

*July 11, 1780*³¹²

MY LORD: I must inform you that it is true that a detachment of troops composed of one hundred men has come out of Pensacola and has come to the Perdido River but they have gone back. To oppose the raids of the Talapoosas, there is at present a guard of sixty militiamen, all of whom have taken the oath of fidelity to His Catholic Majesty. The general threatens to take all inhabitants by force to Pensacola. He is calling all the nations and is loading them with goods, making them promise to come within three months to form an army with the Chickasaws and four nations from the north which are due at any time to receive their instructions. At the end of that time he plans to attack Mobile and chase us out, and then the English will go to take New Orleans. I have all this information from the savages, from whom I understand also that they have had a two-day feast at Pensacola because the English have taken two French generals, and they have illuminated the whole city.

Just as I am writing to you a party of Choctaws is arriving from Pensacola. They tell me that the feast I mentioned took place in celebration of the capture of Charleston, and all the Spaniards, French, and Americans are dead. They say also that they have seen four vessels entering which the English have taken from us, and that they have seen five chiefs arrive by boat. They also state that many troops were arriving at the Perdido River and that many had already got there with a quantity of horses. They said that they thought it was for the purpose of making a fort, but that I should always be on my guard because I was to be attacked.

I must inform you that my son is at Pensacola. I imagine that he must have been attracted by some great promise made to him on the part of the general. It is surprising to see the goods which the English are giving to the savages. However, I do not think that they will succeed in attracting all the Choctaws for several have told me

³¹² BL, (French).

that it was only necessity and nothing else that made them go to secure things from the English. I hope that they think so.

My messenger has just arrived from up the river. He tells me that Colbert is coming with a party of Chickasaws. This is all that he has been able to learn from the savages whom he has met. I have heard no other news today.

I have the honor of being, with profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and obedient servant,

P. JUZAN (Rubric)

AT THE POINT, *11 July 1780.*

DURNFORD TO GÁLVEZ

*July 12, 1780*³¹³

SIR: I beg leave to ask of Your Excellency the Following Favor, That if I should find it more convenient to return to Great Brittain in a Flag of Truce, to sail about the end of September next from this River; and to take me and my Family on board at pensacola; if I should have it in my power on my arrival at pensacola to Obtain a Flag of Truce from thence, to This place; will Your Excellency grant me permission to dispose of the said vessel to a Spanish subject on His and my Account and permit said Vessel to load in this River in the same manner as the other two Vessels now here, carrying Flags of Truce have done; and to proceed to England with a Flag of Truce as speedily as possible with safety. If this Favor can be granted me by Your Excellency it will do an Essential service to Him, who hath the Honor to Acknowledge Himself

Your Excellency's most Obedient and most Obliged humble servant

ELIAS DURNFORD

NEW ORLEANS, *12th July 1780.*

His Excellency GENERAL DE GÁLVEZ.

POLLOCK TO GÁLVEZ

*July 25, 1780*³¹⁴

NEW ORLEANS *25th, July 1780*

SIR: I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency, that in Consequence of the protection Granted to the American Troops at the Illinois by your Commanding officer there, that severall of Col^o. Clarks Reg^t. has deserted to your side and as the continuance of this Dissertion may be attended with worst of Consequences (as it is only practiced

³¹³ BL, (English).

³¹⁴ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

by those that are Disaffected to the general Cause) both to his Catholic Majesty and the United States of America I hope your Excellency will give orders contrary to such protection, & deliver up such as have or may hereafter desert, which will totally prevent this dangerous practice.

I have the Honor to be with all due Respect

Your Excellencys

Most Obedient

& Most humb^{le} Servant

OL^R. POLLOCK

His Excellency

DON BERNARDO GÁLVEZ.

BLOMMART'S NOTE TO POLLOCK

*August 5, 1780*³¹⁵

In all the Month of January next I promise to pay Oliver Pollock Esq^r or Order the Sum of Four Hundred & thirty two Dollars two & one half Ryalls Value Rec^d in New Orleans this 5th Augst 1780 I say with lawful interest—p^s. 432. .21½.

J. BLOMMART (Rubric)

GIL YBARVO TO GÁLVEZ

*August 5, 1780*³¹⁶

Señor Governor General.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Although Señor Pedro Piernas, former commandant of this place, gave Gil Morin permission to settle at the post of Natchitoches, it is to be hoped that Your Lordship will order said permission withdrawn, and command said individual to return to his domicile in his own jurisdiction. He was licensed by this troop for the purpose of being permitted to bring from San Antonio some cattle, horses, and other goods that he had, on the condition that he establish himself in this small settlement.

Due to the scarcity of food that formerly existed in this town, he and other individuals were permitted to go to the post of Natchitoches in search of food which they needed for their families. Because of this I found it necessary to send two dispatches to Mr. Borme, commandant of said post, to have all the people from this jurisdiction who were in the one under his command return to this settlement. He ordered the others to return, but this individual he allowed to go to the capital in quest of the permission, which he obtained. This small settlement was established at the order of the

³¹⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

³¹⁶ AGI, PC, leg. 70.

Most Excellent Señor Viceroy and legalized by the Señor Com-mandant General, who ordered the magistrates thereof most strictly that no one from this settlement should be permitted to go and settle in the province of Louisiana, as Your Lordship will see, if you care to have me send you a copy of this order.

I have thought it well to make this request of Your Lordship, so that this disobedient man may not remain settled in that post at his own free will. I desire to prevent this abuse by the others, which in imitation thereof they may desire, as well as the lack of respect which should be paid to justice.

This favor is especially to be hoped for from Your Lordship, for whom I pray God to preserve the years which my affection desires for you.

NACOGDOCHES, *August 5, 1780.*

Your most faithful servant kisses your hand.

ANTONIO GIL YBARVO (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

POLLOCK TO PIERNAS

*September 5, 1780*³¹⁷

SIR:

NEW ORLEANS 5th. *Sept.* 1780.

By the misfortune of the late Hurricane, in which my Batoe (commanded by Mon^r. Motard) was Overset at P^t. Coupee and lost greatest part of Cargoe, particularly a quantity of Gun powder, I had on board belonging to the United States, for the use of the different Posts at the Illinois country, in this situation, I am under the necessity of applying to your Honor for one thousand W^t. being indispensably necessary to replace the Loss for the use of said Posts, by return of the Batoe, which I hope to dispatch again in three days

I must also beg the favour of your honor for one Swivell & fifty fathoms of four inch Good New Rope for the use of the Batoe, which I cannot possibly procure without your assistance

I have the Honor to be with all due Respect

SIR

Your Most Obed^t.

Humble Servant

OL^R. POLLOCK

His Honor

DN. PEDRO PIERNAS.

³¹⁷ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

PIERNAS TO GIL YBARVO

*September 11, 1780*³¹⁸

[Copy]

MY VERY DEAR SIR: Being in charge of this province, due to the absence of the Señor Governor General, I received yours of August 5th, this year, in which you request said Señor to withdraw the permission given by me to the said Gil Morin to settle in the post of Natchitoches. Having taken note of the sound reasons on which you base your request, I am writing under today's date to the commandant, Don Esteban de Vaugine, so that he may take the proper measures in order that this individual may return to Nacogdoches. I shall appreciate it, however, if you will be good enough to overlook this fault and not punish said Morin in any way because of it.

It will give me great pleasure to know that this poor unfortunate has been well received by you. With this occasion I repeat that I am at your orders etc.—

May God, etc.—*September 11, 1780.*

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO GIL YBARVO.

MAYORGA TO GÁLVEZ³¹⁹*October 4, 1780.*

No. 694

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The governor of the province of Louisiana sent to Vera Cruz by His Majesty's sloop *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* and other private vessels three hundred and thirty English prisoners, including ten officers, whom he held as a result of the surrender of their forts to our nation, after permitting those who were Catholics and voluntarily wished to take our side to join the fixed regiment there.

I know that this chief found himself under the necessity of taking this step for various just reasons, and that only the consideration of how troublesome it would be for him to keep them, on account of the difficulties which the proximity of the enemy would have made greater at every step, compelled him to get rid of them.

I leave it to the wise understanding of Your Excellency to realize how my cares were increased when I received news of the arrival of these prisoners at Vera Cruz, where Your Excellency knows better than anyone else the lack of facilities for keeping them secure. These reasons and those which Your Excellency will see set forth in this letter are the ones which led me to send them to Havana.

It is certain that, although they were under arrest, it would have

³¹⁸ AGI, PC, leg. 70.³¹⁹ AGI, Indiferente General, 146-2-7.

been necessary to assign a corresponding number of veteran troops to guard them, and this would have resulted in a lack of men for the defense of the port and its coasts which demand so much attention in the critical circumstances of the present war. It would have been even less prudent, indeed, to lodge them in the castle of San Juan de Ulúa because they would acquire a knowledge of its situation, etc., resulting in harm to us, since it is the only defense of the port and the city.

Finally, Most Excellent Sir, neither did it seem proper to intern them in the Kingdom, because this would increase the manifest inconveniences. Although I considered everything seriously, as it was a matter of importance on account of its delicate nature, I did not wish to make a decision on it until I had studied it carefully.

For this reason I asked for the opinion of the royal council and Inspector Don Pascual de Cisneros. Both were unanimously of the opinion that the best thing was to send the prisoners to Havana. An added reason was that it was more than certain that, as soon as the English learned of their presence in this Kingdom, they would send vessels here under the pretext of exchanging prisoners, but principally for the purpose of informing themselves of our condition and forces.

Having been assured by that conclusion that my first idea was what should be done, I instructed the ministry of Vera Cruz to proceed with the plan and this was actually done, using the xebec-of-war *El Cayman*, which was there at the time, and the ships which came under charter from New Orleans. These sailed with the prisoners on August 26, last, for Havana, to whose governor I sent proper advice of everything.

While they were in Vera Cruz, the soldiers were given two reales daily and the officers one peso for their subsistence, and were treated with the greatest courtesy and attention.

All of which I report to Your Excellency, and hope that, if this action meets with your approval, you will please inform His Majesty and request his sovereign sanction thereof.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency the many years I desire.

MEXICO, *October 4, 1780.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most humble and faithful servant kisses your hand.

MARTÍN DE MAYORGA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

(*Accompanying the foregoing*)

To the viceroy of New Spain, informing him that the King has approved his having sent to Havana the English prisoners brought

to Vera Cruz by the sloop *El Cayman* at the order of the governor of Louisiana, and the daily allowances which he assigned to their maintenance.

Having informed His Majesty of the reasons which moved Your Excellency to send to Havana the English prisoners brought to Vera Cruz by order of the governor of Louisiana, and of the daily allowances which Your Excellency assigned to the officers and men during their stay in the latter port, he has seen fit to approve this, and I so advise Your Excellency for your information.

God, etc.

EL PARDO, *February 17, 1781.*

SEÑOR VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN.

GIL YBARVO TO PIERNAS

*October 12, 1780*²²⁰

MY DEAR SIR: I have the satisfaction of having received Your Lordship's letter of the 11th of September, by which I notice that you have conceded to me the person of Gilmorin who, at Your Lordship's order, was delivered to me by the commandant of Nachitos. I thank Your Lordship, and offer myself for whatever you might order. I have also given up four Frenchmen who for eight years have resided in my district, where they had married and become residents. Their commandant at Nachitos requested them of me, and my desire is to maintain the best harmony in everything.

Sir, will you pardon any inconvenience I may have caused by asking for Gilmorin? I continue to rely upon your goodness, for I am requesting that Your Lordship instruct the commandant of Opelousas to cause a few families to return. They, with my permission, went out in search of supplies, but have been set against me in the aforesaid post through the evil counsel of some individual.

Sir, believe me, I only ask their return because of the following: First, it is in conformity to the orders under which I act. Second, my post is new and very sparse in population to be among so many Indians. Therefore, I expect with your kind help to succeed in getting them back. I have taken Gilmorin in like my son and I promise to do the same with the rest.

May our Lord protect the life of Your Lordship the many years which I desire for you.

NACHITOS, *12th of October, 1780.*

Your most attentive and grateful servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

ANTONIO GIL YBARVO (Rubric)

GOVERNOR PEDRO PIERNAS.

CABELLO TO VAUGINE

*October 31, 1780*³²¹

MY DEAR AND MOST RESPECTED SIR: I have reflected upon what Your Lordship intimates in your letter of September 6th last, relative to the complaints regarding some of the nations of friendly Indians in this province. I note that, because of the stubbornness and great numbers of the Comanches who commit hostilities in these territories, it may be that they have been joined by some Indians of that district. I think that the best methods of remedying such evils ought to be considered. Encouragement has already been given to Don Joseph María Armant to open and establish the commerce which I mentioned to Your Lordship in my letter of the 15th of October, in order that their pacification might prove attractive, and that my good intentions shall be carried out. In addition, I have now ordered that the captain of militia, Don Nicolas de la Mathe, shall go to those nations with two good interpreters of all those languages, and that he shall convince them how greatly I esteem them and how I desire to preserve the peace which my predecessor, Colonel Baron de Ripperda, established with them. The activity, zeal, and good character which are apparent in the aforesaid Nicolas de la Mathe, make possible the success of this enterprise.

I am thoroughly familiar with the character and inclinations of these Indians, and I am convinced that good reasoning with them does not suffice, unless at the same time they are given presents and other inducements. I have, therefore, arranged that he take them some little present which he brought here in order to make friends of the nations that Lieutenant Colonel Don Athanasio de Mézières did not win over when he was in those parts last year. I now find it not advisable to venture forth because of the risks incident to the condition in which the Comanches are at present. I am therefore writing to Josef María Armant so that he may supply the necessary things which I have listed, and to Don Nicolas de la Mathe, in the belief that the former, knowing I shall pay at his demand, will immediately supply him the necessaries and render me an account.

For the better accomplishment of this matter, which is so greatly to the interest of the service of the King, our master, in the preservation of these dominions, and the welfare of this province, I avail myself of the favor which the generosity of Your Excellency has offered. I therefore request that you bring your influence to bear on Joseph María Armant so that he may supply quickly these aids to the aforementioned La Mathe who will write you on this matter. At the same time Your Excellency can make available to the afore-

mentioned La Mathe all else that may be requisite to the discharge of his commission and the matter which I have entrusted to his care. Through this procedure I expect to extricate myself from the difficulties into which the peculiar system under which I operate has plunged me.

I have advised my commandant general of all these arrangements, and have directed to him the advice which Your Excellency recommends. I have manifested to him at the same time, the courtesy and kindness which I have received from Your Lordship and of which I wish to avail myself on this occasion for the better accomplishment and successful termination of the expedition of Don Nicolas de la Mathe. I am also going to write to Don Bernardo de Gálvez relative to the many offers which he has made to me whenever I should find myself in situations of this nature. I reiterate my gratitude and desire to serve you, and beg that God may preserve your life many years. San Antonio de Bejar, October 31, 1780. Your most obedient servant kisses your hands.

Signed DOM. CABELLO

Sñr. DON ESTEBAN DE VOGINE

I certify that the letter above is copied word for word from the original which remains with me.

At the FORT OF THE NATCHITOCES, 23rd of February, 1781.

VAUGINE (Rubric)

GIL YBARVO TO GÁLVEZ

*November 1, 1780*³²²

Señor Governor Don Bernardo Gálvez.

MY VERY DEAR AND ESTEEMED SIR: The particular affection which I owe you obliges me to inform Your Lordship of the embarrassment in which I find myself with regard to the nations of this district under my command because of their dissatisfaction concerning the promise made them by Lieutenant Colonel Don Atanasio de Mézières in the treaty of peace. He said they would be given an annual present, a trader in every village, and a table of prices for every chief in which would be shown the price that he should pay the trader for his goods and the trader should give for his skins, for skins are used by these Indians as pay. This lasted for some time, and during this time the merchandise was easily available and the skins brought good prices. Nevertheless, the high Indian price list ruined their traders and suppliers. At the present time the business is so terrible that the promises to the Indians have been withdrawn. As they are a people who are not satisfied except with gifts, they are

³²² AGI, PC, leg. 70.

at this time angry with the French and Spaniards. They complain that we are two nations and, although they have been informed to the contrary, they do not understand it in any other way. They are destroying at every step my flags, staff of command, and medals, saying that they cannot live on the luster of these. Their irritation increases when they see Don Atanasio de Mézières pass among the tribes with various loads of goods and give these to the Tancague and Taguacana nations. The others are becoming jealous of them, especially the Taguallas, who are the most numerous and daring and who have some connection with the Comanches. For this reason, it is necessary to pay particular attention to this nation. I, for my part, at the expense of my limited funds, am supporting them until my governor gives the most prompt assistance on this matter, as I have informed him. At present the tribes are so insolent that they have sent me word that, if within four months we do not fulfill what was promised them by said Don Atanasio de Mézières, they will consider us as enemies. All of this I reported to my governor and to the commandant of Natchitoches, Don Estevan Vaugine. Furthermore, as the case was so urgent, I went personally to Natchitoches to see said Señor, who is concerned with the Indians and their complaints the same as I am. Consequently, my dear Sir, we are in this matter between the sword and the wall, unless God provides prompt relief.

All of this I particularly beg Your Lordship to bring to the attention of my chief, so that these matters which demand attention may not slumber. In case of an attack all that I can do (as I have few men, without arms or munitions, in the midst of the tribes, and with news that there are now coming down from the north I do not know what white people to trade with them) is to cross my hands. Although I have reported all this to my immediate chief, the latter passes it all on to the commandancy and the assistance may come too late in case of urgency. This news and bad tidings I communicate to you as you are my benefactor. Placing all I own at Your Lordship's disposal, I remain here in Natchitoches, praying His Divine Majesty to preserve Your Lordship's important life the many years I desire.

NATCHITOCHES, *November 1, 1780.*

Your Lordship's hands are kissed by your most faithful servant.

ANTONIO GIL YBARVO (Rubric)

CHIEF OF THE TAOVAYAS TO GÁLVEZ

*November 4, 1780*³²³

Words of the Great Chief of the Village of the Taovayas addressed to their father Don Bernardo de Gálvez.

MY FATHER: It so happened that I had gone from my village to work the animals in order to feed our families. Your child, whom you have sent, has come to our village. I have received him with open arms. He announced to me on your behalf that he was coming to search for the Spaniards who are living in my village. Immediately I turned over to him five of them who came from the Allitane who happen to be our neighbors, but who shed our blood and steal our horses daily.

As they belong to your children, the Spaniards, I shall fulfill and adhere to any demand which you might make.

I find myself much too embarrassed to be able to go to see you. On the other hand the road from your village to mine is too obstructed to enable me to go and taste of your drink and tobacco. The Osages are continually killing us and stealing our horses, as well as those of the other nations.

My father, I hope I shall not be deceived by you as I have been by Monsieur de Mézière during the trip he made me take to San Antonio.

My father, we are deprived of everything, and have neither hatchets, nor picks, nor rifles, nor powder, nor bullets with which to defend ourselves from our enemies.

My father, what few rifles, hatchets, and picks we do have are all worn out and cannot be used. I pray you to grant me a blacksmith.

My father, I end by offering you my hand, as do all the people of my village.

QUI TE SAIN

*Chief of the village of the Taovayas**This 4th of November, 1780.*

DODGE TO CRUZAT

*November 11, 1780*³²⁴

SIR: I have the honor of addressing to you herewith talks from savages of the Wabash which I have taken from the hands of Mr. Chapeau. I do not wish to allow those who are not authorized to confer with them to take such liberties. If everybody indiscriminately is entitled to give or receive their messages, neither His Catholic Majesty nor the United States need appoint agents.

³²³ BL, (French).³²⁴ BL, (French).

It appears from Mr. Chapeau's report that the French of St. Vincennes and the savages want help to avenge the death of Colonel Labalme. As for us, we are determined not to heed them, in view of the promise of allegiance which the inhabitants have made (by request) to the King of France thinking thereby to evade the government of America, of which they are beyond doubt the subjects by conquest.

They have wanted to listen to a man who was a total stranger to them, and who, in order to make his own way, had no compunctions about sacrificing them. It is they who (according to appearances) have induced the savages to take the step which they are taking today. Rest assured, Sir, that we shall always be glad to co-operate with you in everything connected with the common cause, and to keep you in touch with all developments of this question.

I have the honor of being with respect, your most humble and obedient servant,

JNO. DODGE, Agent of the State of Virginia.

KASKASKIAS, *November 11, 1780.*

To M. CRUZAT, Esq., Commandant of Saint Louis.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

November 12, 1780 ³²⁵

MY DEAR SIR: Upon my arrival at this place, Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona advised me of an incident during his period of command involving the Indian named La Balafre, principal chief of the nation of Little Osages.

This nation came with the abovementioned chief to this town on the 28th of June of the present year, under the pretext that it desired to be forgiven for the thefts of horses which it continually made in these settlements. As the chief who wanted to prove his repentance was being received, it was learned that at that very instant some of the inhabitants' horses were being stolen, and the aforesaid La Balafre himself had on that very day stolen from different inhabitants in their own homes some silver service and other things. The provisional commandant took the precaution of arresting the brazen chief when he saw the insolence and daring which he manifested in coming to solicit clemency and pardon for the crimes of his nation.

A few days after his imprisonment he tried to escape, assaulting the sentinel and seeking a way to disarm him in spite of the vigilance of the guard who, with considerable difficulty, arrested him on the street. His intention was to kill some of the soldiers and make his

escape. This was verified by the fury, wrath, and blind animosity with which he opposed his arrest. He intended to disarm some soldier, but did not succeed.

He was kept imprisoned forty days, supplied with all necessities, even treated much more humanely than he deserved, and when least expected, cruelty found lodgment in his perverse heart. While he was peacefully staying in the quarters assigned to him with his wife, who had been permitted to keep him company, he took the knife of his wife and fondling her with honeyed words, induced her to lie down next to him. Scarcely had this poor woman placed herself at his side, when he gave her a great blow with his knee on her chest. The poor unfortunate was left as if in a faint, and he then wounded her with three dagger thrusts, two in the throat and one in the chest. Immediately he laid hold of an old stock of a musket and with this he tried to hit over the head the soldier Domingo Alonso who was prostrate in bed, ill and without strength. The shouts of the troops in the barracks caused the other troops who were in the patio to assemble. Various inhabitants bear witness to his furious delirium. It became impossible to lay hold of him without injuring him because he was like a mad dog, foaming at the mouth. With the greatest barbarity he attacked anybody who came near to him, like a desperate person who looks not to his life. Finally it was possible to tie him, although he was a man of superior strength.

From the time of his last arrest until six days later when he died, he refused food and drink, uttering a thousand oaths, making great threats in the name of his nation, and injuring his face and all his body by striking himself against the floor and wall. This caused his death, as Your Lordship may well imagine, more than any mistreatment which he received. His wife died on the third day after receiving her wounds, although all necessary care was administered to her by the surgeon, as is well known.

This happening, which in the eyes of every reasonable and civilized man would indispose the heart against its author, might perchance have moved the Little Osage nation to come and obtain revenge for the death of their chief, to which he himself contributed, and to assassinate miserably some of these poor inhabitants and steal their horses, the principal means of their livelihood. However, a few days after my arrival at this town when the nation referred to came to see me, I treated them with kindness and made presents to them as usual. In doing this I took into consideration the critical situation in which these settlements find themselves and the necessity which I have of using the Little Osages, with our other allied nations, to repress and punish the Kansas nation. As Your Lordship knows, the last mentioned has already committed some murders on the Missouri

River, assassinating and burning seven hunters who were hunting on that river, of which I inform Your Lordship as is my duty.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 12, 1780.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

November 12, 1780 ³²⁶

No. 2.

MY DEAR SIR: In my letter of the 29th of September last, I advised Your Lordship that Monsieur De la Balme was ready to start out for the Strait with an expedition from the American district. This man, apparently well-informed and at all events capable, so it seems, started on his march on the fifth of this month with fifty volunteers, inhabitants of the American district, with the purpose of going to Vermellon, a place which is on the banks of the Mis, where reside a nation of Indians and some English merchants. He planned to wait there for two hundred Frenchmen from Post Vincennes who are to join his party. All of them, under his orders, in addition to the Indians he has gathered together for that purpose, are to direct themselves to Los Vyas, a small village situated on the aforesaid banks of the Mis, where there is only English commerce. The English there have three or four hundred pounds of merchandise, and according to information, his idea is to take possession of it and then pass on to the Strait.

I fail to conjecture how the aforementioned Monsieur De la Balme arrived in this country without letters from the Congress or from Fort Pitt which is located on the upper part of the Ohio River, where there is a commandant and a commissary who have full information as to the Americans who are here. It is my belief that, if he had brought the letters, Colonel Montgomery would have notified me of it, as he did of the character and disposition of the man. Of this I have already advised Your Lordship, suggesting that you put into effect the project of taking the Strait without more equipment or other munitions of war than two pounds of gun powder and a corresponding amount of shot, carried by and furnished to each one of the volunteers, as well as provisions for forty days.

This officer, if he is only fortunate enough to capture the merchandise of Los Vyas as he intends to do, will use it to wage war and distribute it among the Indians, or he might join forces with

some strong party of Americans who perhaps would be coming from the aforementioned Fort Pitt. In my opinion, he may thus make himself master of the Strait. I have heard it said the two forts of that settlement were in an excellent state of defense. Notwithstanding that fact, I have received news that the inhabitants, maltreated by the English, desire to see in their country either our flag or that of the French, in order to shake off the yoke that oppresses them. They themselves are turning against our enemies, who treat them like slaves, forcing them to carry loads of earth upon their backs for the fortifications they endeavor to complete.

Notwithstanding the manner in which Monsieur De la Balme has spoken to the Indians in the presence of Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona, and upon all other occasions in favor of our nation and that of the French, urging the savages not to abandon the protection we offered them and that they should endeavor to harass the enemies as much as possible, I have no assurance that his intentions are altogether as favorable to us as he would wish to have it appear on the surface. I have therefore never had much confidence in him and shall always keep an alert eye on all movements of the aforesaid M. De la Balme, until I shall have been assured of the honesty of his operations, of which I shall give exact information to Your Lordship.

May God preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 12, 1780.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

*November 13, 1780*³²⁷

No. 6.

MY DEAR SIR: Jacob Poric, a Canadian merchant, set out from the city of Montreal on the 27th day of last June, and arrived at the post of the Mis on the 3rd of last September, with much merchandise. He brought the news that the French, on the 6th day of June, without any opposition, landed with twenty thousand men under the orders of Mr. Duchafau on the St. Lawrence River below Quebec, capital of Canada, with the purpose of laying siege to this city.

A merchant of Post Vincennes, named La Yoneza, who arrived from Virginia on the 23rd of August, asserts that Mr. Duchafau passed last winter with his squadron on the coasts of New England.

A Canadian, by the name of St. Michel, who escaped from Michilimackinac on the 24th of September, and arrived at this town on

the 25th of October, states that there had been some dissension between the commanders of the party, composed of fifteen hundred men, which was to have marched against us last summer. These dissensions and the courageous resistance made against Langlade by the Indians El Heturno and Naquihuen were responsible for the abandonment of the plan they had made to attack us at the time of the corn harvest. However, there are still two hundred Canadians in the aforesaid Michillimackinac ready and willing to undertake a new enterprise against these settlements, as they anticipate doing next spring.

This deserter asserts that there are still sixty men of the regular troops in the aforementioned settlement, and that the English are constructing a new fort in the island of Bois Blanc which is not far distant from the old fort of Michillimackinac, where they find themselves out of provisions because supplies have not yet arrived from Detroit.

The same St. Michel states that the Iroquois Indians, who started out from Quebec last spring in order to reconnoitre up to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, were almost all destroyed by a large body of troops who wore white blouses with red collars and trimmings. This is the statement made by the few Iroquois Indians who escaped the attack. The information finds confirmation in that given by Jacob Poiric. From the uniform, one conjectures that the troops could only be French or American, as the English are not accustomed to wear white uniforms.

There is news that one of our greatest enemies, who last winter, through persuasion and large presents, excited the nations of the Indians of the Mississippi to come and commit murders with the cruelty which is their custom, is finding lodgement in the extreme northern part of the river, fully supplied with merchandise. His purpose is to incite the nations of the north and cause them to execute with excessive fury their barbarous hostility against these settlements next year.

I have certain information that a merchant from Montreal, named Duguet, has arrived with much merchandise at the post of Saint Joseph, situated on the banks of the Illinois, belonging to the jurisdiction of Detroit, with the sole motive of exciting the Pu nation and all the others in the neighborhood against these settlements. All the information I receive I send to Your Lordship as I receive it.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 13, 1780.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

*November 14, 1780*³²⁸

No. 1.

MY DEAR SIR: Through the Renard Indians and the chief Naquihuen who are in this town, I have learned that a great number of Indians of different nations and even of the same nations who came to attack us last spring, are now getting ready to come next spring with the idea of soliciting our clemency and alliance. In order to receive them and make them presents, I shall have great need of merchandise, particularly gun powder, cloth, blankets, brandy, guns, vermillion, and other indispensably necessary articles that are desired by the Indians. All of this I make known to Your Lordship.

To purchase goods here, as I have found myself obliged to do, would create a far greater expense for the royal treasury than their receipt from that city. This will be noted in the general account which I shall forward with details of what I have caused to be brought here as well as that which I have purchased for the aforesaid purpose.

May God preserve the life of your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 14, 1780.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric).

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

*November 14, 1780*³²⁹

No. 4.

MY DEAR SIR: There arrived yesterday at this post the man named Antayá, one of the men assigned with Mr. Boucher de Monbreun to accompany a party of Indians of the Renard nation, and some of their principal chiefs, who are coming to request that they be received under the protection of the Spanish flag, and that they be treated as our allies and friends. It is true that some of them permitted themselves to be won over last spring by the English but the great body of the nation has maintained itself neutral, and always with the idea of not separating itself from our friendship.

The advantages resulting to these settlements in obtaining the good friendship of the aforesaid Renard nation obliged me, because of many essential motives, to send the aforementioned Antayá two hundred and fifty leagues from this town to the most northern part of the Mississippi where the said nation resides, in order to force them to take one side or the other. I have the satisfaction of saying

³²⁸ BL.³²⁹ BL.

that they have preferred our alliance, and have closed their ears to the persuasions of our enemies, who invariably excite them with the same force as they use in inspiring them against us.

The aforementioned Antayá has brought me the news that the English were employed constantly in taking provisions and munitions of war to a place called the Bay two hundred and fifty leagues from Michillimackinac and from Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, with the idea of making an expedition against these settlements this spring.

The continued visits which I receive from the nations of Indians most of the time even prevent me from sleeping the requisite hours. The indispensable and intricate negotiations of a government which were left in a most disordered condition because of the death of Don Fernando de Leyba do not permit me to acquaint Your Lordship with the many other matters which I shall place before you by means of the bateaux which are preparing to go down about this time.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 14, 1780.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

November 14, 1780 ³³⁰

No. 7.

MY DEAR SIR: Irrespective of the appearances that we shall not be molested this winter by the enemies, and despite the fact that we have reduced the number of employees for the daily service of this town to one hundred men as I have already advised Your Lordship under this same date, I find myself obliged to maintain Mr. Buche de Monbreun on the Mississippi with the Sac nation, forty leagues from this said post, with a detachment of forty militiamen; and Mr. Maye with a detachment of twelve, on the bank of the Illinois. This is necessary not only so that both may observe the movements of the enemy, but also in order to win the affection of the nations, bring the undecided ones to our friendship, and maintain those who are our allies in the condition necessary for the preservation of these settlements.

May God preserve your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 14, 1780.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric).

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

November 21, 1780 ³³¹

No. 3.

MY DEAR SIR: After the mail had been forwarded, the fatal and sad news for all of us in these settlements arrived to-day of the destruction of the military detachment of Mr. de la Balme. This incident becomes even more painful when we consider that the consequences thereof will make themselves felt in all the Illinois, as the inhuman enemies who wish to overpower us will not forget to spur on the Indians with this example of success, promising them greater returns in the future.

Mr. de la Balme arrived with a detachment of one hundred Frenchmen made up of volunteers from the towns of Oka, Okoa, and Post Vincennes, and some Indians of the Mis. He captured an English merchant and took possession of a well-stocked warehouse filled with merchandise that the English had there in order to support their friendly nations and incite them against us. After having remained in that post for a period of eleven days, this officer set out from the Mis with his party and a hundred horses laden with the aforementioned merchandise, with the intention of returning to Illinois. He was attacked at dawn, one day after his departure, by six hundred men of the Shawnee, Loup, and Mis nations who killed thirty-one of his men, and set to rout all the remainder of his detachment. Mr. de la Balme himself perished in this unfortunate attack, thus filling all these settlements and Post Vincennes with general anxiety.

This information which I received very soon after the disaster compels me to forward it to Your Lordship with the greatest possible haste so that you may recognize the situation in which I find myself and the strong possibility and likelihood that I shall be attacked next year by our tenacious and barbarous enemies.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *November 21, 1780.*

Your most affectionate servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

ACT OF POSSESSION OF EAST BANK OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER NORTH OF
THE DISTRICT OF NATCHEZ.

*November 22, 1780.*³³²

Don Balthazar de Villiers, captain of the Louisiana regiment, political and military commandant of Fort Carlos III of Arkansas and its dependencies.

On this the 22nd day of the month of November, 1780, in the name of the King of Spain, Don Carlos III (may God keep him), we have taken possession of the left bank of the Mississippi River opposite the Arkansas, White, and St. Francis rivers, as far as the boundary of the district of Natchez, to be the dependencies and come within the jurisdiction of this post. Being at the place formerly known as Concorda, we have inclosed this document together with His Majesty's royal coat of arms in a tin box and have buried it fifty paces from the river at a depth of one and one-half feet at the base of a two-armed tree called *copalme* bearing old marks and having three new forks. It is located in front of the said river to the east of that place.

The following have signed their names:

ANSELMO BILLET

ESTEVAN GOODING

PEDRO THEMINES

LUIS PATIN

J^N B^A ANDUEZA

LORENZO QUINO.

Done in the abovementioned place and date.

ETIENNE GOODING

ANSELME BILLET

PIERRE THEMINES

LOUIS PATTINS

J^N B^A ANDUEZA

Mark of LORENZO QUINO

BALTHAZAR DE VILLIERS

MIRÓ (Rubric)

INDIAN CHIEFS TO CRUZAT

*1780*³³³

STATEMENTS OF VARIOUS INDIAN CHIEFS, TO-WIT:

TALK OF LOUTARDE, CHIEF OF THE OUYA.

My French and Spanish father, listen to me: We have lost our father today. Please be assured that we have had no part in this dark deed. We are still following the path traced by our former fathers. They are dead, but they told us always to be united, and their spirit still lives, so that we are still following the same path. Our eyes are filled with tears at the sight of these troubled times, and we do not cease mourning over the loss of our father. Most of us are young

³³² BL. A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba Fl. Occ. 2-1218.

³³³ BL, (French).

and hare-brained, but we are still doing as our father told us to do. We are staying united with the French. Our French and Spanish father, we beg you to take pity on our wives and children. We are on the point of dying of hunger and poverty. We have seen our father for but a little, and then he disappeared. This afflicts us greatly. His death is due in reality to those who claimed to be his children. This is all that I have to say to you, my French and Spanish father. I beg you to take pity on our wives and children, and give us all life.

TALK OF LA MINE DE PLOMB, THE YOUNGER, REPLACING THE LATE LANETTE.

My French and Spanish father: I am still a young foolish one. I have never yet spoken but listen to me.

I am the last one of the family. All our ancestors have died. I am blind today. The skies are dark. Formerly they were clear. I hope that you will make them light for us again. I beg you, my father, to take care of our wives and children. My father and my grandfather are dead. Here is their heart which I am holding in my hands. It is my father the Frenchman who hung the collar upon their necks. I am holding it firmly without letting it go. The Englishman has never been my father. I have never wanted to be on his side in the past, and I do not want to be so in the future either.

TALK OF LA JAMBE CROCHE, CHIEF OF THE OUYA.

My French and Spanish father, listen to me: You are not without knowing that I have fought twice for the interests of my father, the Frenchman, once at Carillon, the other time at Niagara, with Mr. de Villiers and Mr. Aubry. The Englishman was victorious and I was obliged to call him my father for a moment as he was the stronger one at the time. All the principal Frenchmen are witnesses to this and have seen me in action. We have done nothing but catch a glimpse of our father for an instant and then we lost him almost immediately. I am coming to you, my French and Spanish father, so that you may take pity on our wives and children. I cannot tell you any more in order to prove to you my sincere faithfulness. The people from the lakes keep threatening us because we are defending your interests.

TALK OF THE KICKAPOO.

My French, Spanish, and American father: I cannot prove a greater fidelity to you, my French, Spanish, and American father except by recalling the life of our old chiefs who took up arms against their relatives, the Renards, for the sake of their father the Frenchman, who is still in our hearts. That is why, my father, we are begging you to help us. In the past our hands have not been dipped in the blood of the French. They are all in a position to render us this justice. Our old chiefs have always told us never to

let go of the Frenchman's hand, and that they would take pity on us. I am not speaking to you with sugared words. The Master of Life hears us, and we wish never to fail in our duty towards him. This is all that I have to say to you, my French, Spanish, and American father.

To MONSIEUR CROUSATTE, commandant for His Most Christian Majesty at Saint Louis.

EXAMINATION OF LEFÈVRE

December 14, 1780 ³³⁴

Sworn Statement made by one Antoine Lefèvre, called Chapeau, who arrived at this post of St. Louis of the Illinois, today, the fourteenth of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty, to Don Francisco Cruzat, brevet lieutenant colonel of infantry, commander-in-chief and lieutenant governor of the western part and district of the Illinois, in the presence of Messieurs Don Francisco Cartabona, Don Diego Blanco, Don Benito Basquez, officers of this garrison, and the merchants of the said post, Sieurs Auguste Chouteau, and Jean Baptiste Sarpy, all witnesses called for this purpose.

Questioned. . . Whether he promises to God and to the King to tell the truth in everything that would be asked of him.

Answered. . . That he swears and promises it.

Questioned. . . What is his name and his country?

Answered. . . That his name is Antoine Lefevre, called Chapeau, and that he was born in Canada.

Questioned. . . What is his religion?

Answered. . . That he professes the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith.

Questioned. . . What is his profession?

Answered. . . That he is an armorer.

Questioned. . . What is his place of residence?

Answered. . . That he lives at Post Vincennes, of which he is an inhabitant.

Questioned. . . What has he come to do in this post of St. Louis, and what day did he arrive here?

Answered. . . That he arrived today, and that the purpose of his trip is to bring a letter which the inhabitants of the post Vincennes were addressing to Monsieur Don Francisco Cruzat, commander of the Spanish part of the Illinois, as well as four written messages and six collars sent to this said commander by the Ouyatanon and Kickapoo nations.

Questioned. . . Of what nature were the collars, why were they sent, and what had he done with them since he had not remitted them?

³³⁴ BL, (French).

Answered. . . That there were five of them, each with four strands of blue and white porcelain, the sixth of heavy white pewter, for the purpose of begging the help of the Spanish commander. Having arrived at the Kaskaskias, a post on the American bank of the Illinois, towards sunset on the fifth of the current month, he was called the day after, the sixth of the current month, to Mr. Bentley's house. Having gone there he found Mr. Dodge, agent of the State of Virginia, accompanied by Mr. Bentley and Mr. Dejean. Mr. Dodge told him he was informed that he was taking messages and collars from the Wabash nations. Having replied that he was bringing them to the Spanish commander, Mr. Dodge retorted that he gave him only two hours to bring them to him, and that if he should refuse to obey him, he would find them. Whereupon the deponent went to his house to fetch the messages and the collars and gave them to Mr. Dodge. After he had turned them over to him, Mr. Dodge asked him when he expected to leave for St. Louis. The deponent said, as soon as the weather was favorable. Then Mr. Dodge said to him, "You will come and see me on the eve of your departure and I shall give you a letter for the Spanish commander." On the day of his departure he went to get this letter from him, as well as the collars and the messages. Whereupon Mr. Dodge gave him a letter, saying that the messages were inclosed in it, but that he was keeping the collars and that he need not worry about them, since he would arrange everything. Whereupon the deponent left to go to this post of St. Louis where, upon his arrival, he gave to Monsieur Don Francisco Cruzat the letter of the aforesaid Mr. Dodge as well as the one he had been entrusted with by the inhabitants of Post Vincennes.

Questioned. . . As to whether he had anything to add or to withdraw from the deposition he had just made and which had just been read to him.

Answered. . . That he had nothing to add to or withdraw from the said declaration which he had carefully listened to, that it contained the truth, and that he persists in it. In proof thereof he signed with us, aforesaid lieutenant governor and the witnesses named above, at St. Louis of the Illinois the same day, month and year as above.

ANTOYNE LEFEVRE, *d'i* CHAPEAU,

SILVIO FRAN^{co}. DE CARTABONA (Rubric),

DIEGO BLANCO (Rubric), BENITO VASQUEZ (Rubric),

AUG^{te}. CHOUTEAU (Rubric), SARPY (Rubric),

FRAN^{co}. CRUZAT (Rubric).

CRUZAT TO DODGE

December 15, 1780 ³³⁵

Answer to the following letter made by M. Don Cruzat, commandant-in-chief of the western part of the Illinois, on the 15th of December, 1780.

SIR: I have received your letter dated on the 11th of this month and I cannot refrain from expressing to you my surprise, in view of the harmony which exists between Spain and the United States of America, at seeing that, against all rules of alliance and mutual interest between two nations united by the same purpose, you have, Sir, kept collars which were not addressed to you, and which you were not to deem suspicious since they were meant for me. I do not know whether your rights extend so far but, whatever your powers may be, I shall never believe that you are authorized to violate the rights of allied nations which you are bound to respect as well as I, being that we are members of these nations.

In consequence I ask you, Sir, in the name of the King of Spain, my master, for the six collars sent to me by the Houyatanon and Kickapoo nations through Mr. Chapeau, which you have forced him to give you, and which he has done without resistance, in view of the authority you assumed over him. The intention of the Spanish government is not to alter in any way the alliance that it has contracted with the aforesaid United States of America, which I believe must share the same sentiments, and I hope that you will not delay in sending me the said collars.

I have the honor of being with consideration, your most humble and obedient servant.

FCO. CRUZAT

At ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS, *December 15, 1780.*

CRUZAT TO ROGERS

December 15, 1780 ³³⁶

Copy of the letter written to Mr. Roger, commanding the eastern part of the Illinois, by M. Don Francisco Cruzat the 15th of December 1780.

SIR: It having come to my knowledge that you are the commander-in-chief of the American bank of the Illinois, I inform you that Mr. Dodge has taken from one Chapeau six collars that he was

³³⁵ BL, (French). A copy of Cruzat's reply to a letter by Dodge. Cruzat attached this copy to Dodge's letter when he sent it to New Orleans.

³³⁶ BL, (French).

bringing me from the Huyatanon and Kickapoo nations, and that after examining four written messages that the said nations were sending me, Mr. Dodge sent them to me by the same man, and kept the aforesaid collars. This conduct on Mr. Dodge's part might arouse the nations against us, which would not be beneficial to us. The alliance which exists between Spain and the United States makes their interests reciprocal and the cause becomes a common one.

I hope, Sir, that in order to fulfill and maintain between us the plan of alliance set down by the Court of Spain and the Congress of the United States of America, you will cause to be returned to me the aforesaid collars which Mr. Dodge has seized contrary to all regularity and good harmony which I believe (as being something sacred) should never be violated by private persons to the detriment of united nations of which they are subjects.

I have the honor of being, with consideration, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

FCO. CRUZAT

PEOPLE OF VINCENNES TO CRUZAT

1780³³⁷

To Mr. Crousatte Esq., Commander in Chief of the Spanish troops in the department of the Illinois at St. Louis &a. &a. &a.

ENTREATING MOST HUMBLY: The inhabitants of the post of Ste. Vincennes and the Ouyas have the honor of stating to you most respectfully that, as good French citizens, allies of the court of Spain and of North America, they are exposed to all sorts of dangers with regard to the nations of the Miami and beyond. These nations have not ceased during the whole of last summer to give us trouble and raise scalps in our villages and prevent us daily from attending to our labors and ordinary tasks, as is shown in this last affair in which the French have been very badly treated by them. All this is caused by the poverty and indigence which reign in our villages, since we have not wherewith to satisfy the nations, and to procure the necessities of life and clothing. If hereafter the people cannot find the means of getting powder, lead, and goods, they will be forced necessarily to abandon the post of Ste. Vincennes as the Ouya have done, since it is close to all the barbaric nations who have declared themselves entirely against the French and their allies. The latter have done so because of the request and the gifts of the English who caused them to ruin us.

For these reasons the suppliants have recourse to you, Sir, so that you may be pleased to grant them whatever aid you may desire to accord them, either munitions of war, goods, or even by advising

³³⁷ BL, (French).

them and giving the means of avoiding the dangers with which they are threatened. Their gratitude will be boundless and they will never stop praying for the conservation of your precious days.

DAGENET, BOSSERON, F. BOSSERON, J. BTE. HUBERDEAU, CHALLONE, Mark of PIER (X), JEAN BAPTISTE GODFROY, COURNOYE, PIERRE MARIEVE, N. DEVROT, L. FOUCHE, JOSEPH STE. MARIE, ST. MARIT, ETIENNE S. MARRI, PIERRE GAMELIN, BERDNEAR ETIENÉ, GUILHOME PAYETE, CHAPAU, interpreter, PIERE KIERRÉ, captain, JEAN BAPTISTE MÉHIET, L. E. DUME, ENTOUENNE RICHAUVILLE, PHILLIBERT, J. B. ST. AUBIN, PERRET, JACQUES GODFROY, P. BARRON, LAMOUREUE.

CRUZAT TO THE PEOPLE OF VINCENNES

*December 15, 1780*³³⁸

[Copy]

Answer made by Monsieur Don Francisco Cruzat to the united request sent to him by the inhabitants of the post Vincennes.

GENTLEMEN: As soon as I had received your petition, my heart was moved with great sadness at the sight of the woeful and critical situation in which you find yourselves. It touches me much more because humanity pleads in your favor and appeals to all men who are mindful of the obvious dangers threatening their fellow-men. You must, therefore, Gentlemen, imagine the emotion of my soul at the sight of the misfortunes which threaten you and whose dire and obvious effects torture my mind most cruelly. I should wish, Gentlemen, to be able to divert the storm, helping you in every way possible to me, as I desire nothing better than to aid by all sorts of equitable means those who are bereaved.

But considering, as I do, that you are subjects of the United States of America by right of conquest, I can do nothing without the participation and the consent of the officers of those said states, which are the allies of Spain and France. Consequently, Gentlemen, you should address yourselves to those who are in the Illinois so that with these acting in accord and unison with me, we may help you in your necessity. I promise you that I shall use all my power to better your situation and to prove to you that the King of Spain, my most respectable master, observing towards his allies the sacred laws of alliance, protects and favors them with the most generous humanity.

I have the honor of being, Gentlemen, with the greatest possible consideration, your most humble and obedient servant.

FCO. CRUZAT

At St. LOUIS OF THE ILLINOIS, *15th of December 1780.*

³³⁸ BL, (French).

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

December 18, 1780 ³³⁹

MY DEAR SIR: The condition in which I found the Ylineuses upon my arrival at this town of St. Louis, so different from what it had been in other times, caused me to reflect seriously upon devising an expedient which, in addition to being easy and economical for the royal treasury, might place in greater security the lives and goods of these unfortunate inhabitants, so extremely afflicted in the last catastrophe which they have suffered. Consequently, I went there to examine the situation of the town for myself, accompanied by the most experienced persons of the country. Taking a bird's eye view of its position, I resolved, because of the following motives, to fortify it as I am going to outline to Your Lordship.

The manner in which the Indians of the north make war is, in comparison to all other barbarous nations, the most fierce and cruel imaginable. Everybody recognizes that humanity, respect for the rights of people, honor, or any of the other virtues which characterize men, have had no lodgment in the hearts of the peoples of whom I treat. The war they wage is a faithful picture of their barbarity and wild inclinations. No other laws govern them except the taking of man, woman, or child (which to them is the same) by surprise, for they hide behind a tree, or amidst the brush in order to take their lives, killing them cruelly by blows of a tomahawk or a knife. At other times crawling along the ground they creep up to a poor victim who is off his guard and then shoot him. It is a cause of wonder to see with what speed and destructive enthusiasm they heap their fury upon the poor victim when they see him fall to earth. The air rings with their shouts and cries of joy and the very resounding echo repeats the inhumanity of their deed and pierces the heart of the unfortunate who falls into their hands. As soon as they have laid hands on him they lift off the top of the scalp and, cutting the body into a thousand pieces, like ravenous tigers, they quench the violent fire which spurs them on by drinking the blood of the one they have just sacrificed.

Nothing I have said is comparable to the sufferings of a prisoner when his fateful destiny allows him to fall into the power of so fearful and tenacious enemies; for they burn the victim, who is tied to a post, or in a square, while they administer the most terrible torment and commit the blackest and most wicked atrocity that one could imagine. They make the prisoner eat pieces of his own body and cause him for a period of two or three days the most awful sufferings that could be conceived. It might be observed in passing

that the women of the Indians are the most excited against the unfortunate prisoners, for they find amusement in seeing them tormented and they themselves invent the most horrible and inhuman martyrdom.

The Indians are never sufficiently courageous to attack a fort, trench, settlement, or party, unless their number be double that of their enemy. Their first attack, accompanied with weird cries, is so violent that, unless they are put to rout with an active and determined resistance, it becomes a difficult matter to combat the fury which sets them in motion. When this is abated, they are no longer men, but are like women, faint, and breathless. Having taken all these reflections into consideration, let us examine the other motives which have urged me to act.

1. Were a fort to be erected, it would not be sufficiently large to contain all the families, munitions of war, and provisions for their sustenance and defense.

2. Water would always be lacking, an indispensable necessity, for it would not be possible to sink wells, as the base on which this town is situated is rocky.

3. Were I to enclose myself with my meager number of troops in the fort, it would mean depriving the inhabitants of the protection which our Catholic sovereign (may God protect him) so kindly granted to his beloved subjects.

4. Wherever the fort may be made, it could never defend both extremities of the town because of its great extent. This is also the case with the royal tower of San Carlos which, although situated in the center of the line at the rear of the referred to town, is only able with its great height to protect the country in that part, but not at the extremes.

5. Were a fort to be erected at La Granja, the promontory of land made by nature half a cannon's shot from the town, there would result the same disadvantage as from this one. Therefore, an entrance into it would be a simple matter, should the enemies attempt it. Once penetrating therein they would reduce everything with fire and blood, as they are wont to do when they are conquerors, without respecting, as I have already said, the rights of humanity, or any other right which civilized nations hold sacred. These things we have already experienced in the fatal and awful disaster of the twenty-sixth of last May, as Your Lordship already knows.

6. Were trenches to be made (for I found that those which the inhabitants had themselves made temporarily were rendered useless every day because of the rains and lack of cohesiveness of the soil in this country) it is evident that they would be insufficient to resist an assault, and it would be impossible to man them with the few people I have.

7. Were I to make four towers as my predecessor Don Fernando de Leyba had projected, there would result greater inconveniences, and the enemies might with ease introduce themselves on a dark night into the town and thus take possession of it.

All these measures, and others that I omit, have been considered. The forces available to me are meager. I receive continued advices from every place of the preparations which, from the beginning of last summer, are being made by the English. They are calling together their friendly nations of Indians by means of lavish and continued presents, and all the other means which they make use of to carry into effect the premeditated enterprise of attacking us next spring with far greater vigor than they did this year. I therefore feel obliged (considering the charge that might be placed against me were I not to apply the greatest zeal and most efficacious means at my command, and all the means conducive to the preservation of the country confided to my care) to fortify the town all around with a stockade of ten feet in height, and six inches thick. The only part not to have it will be that fronting the river, for here it is fortified by nature. This royal work I have already begun, and expect to have completed before the coming of our enemies.

I am sending the plan to Your Lordship by Don Agustin Choteau, the person commissioned by me to take charge of the referred-to fortification. Your Lordship will note that when this fort is completed and supplied with a sufficient quantity of munitions of war, which I now lack for the firing of the cannon I have, and with guns, even though the number of my troops and militia be small, should I not succeed in preserving the country, I shall at least have the satisfaction of having defended it with the last drop of my blood. I have confidence in the courage and fidelity of all those who accompany me. They will follow my example, and sacrifice their lives, even to the point of losing them in the defense, for the honor and glory of the arms of our Catholic Sovereign, whom I trust the God of hosts will ever protect, in recognition of the justice of our cause. I feel confident and am persuaded that the provisions which I have made and now communicate to you will be acceptable to Your Lordship as the only remedy to keep us, if possible, from the perverse designs of our enemies, and cause their hopes to flee.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *December 18, 1780.*

Your most devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{co}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

December 18, 1780 ³⁴⁰

MY DEAR SIR: I am communicating to Your Lordship how the inhabitants of the post Vincennes sent me a petition through Antonio Lefebre, *dit* Chapeau, which I remit to you. In this petition they beg for my aid in the sad and sorrowful situation in which they find themselves. I have answered them, as is indicated by the reply which Your Lordship will find on the back of the referred-to petition. I trust this will be to the pleasure of Your Lordship, for it is not possible for me to take definitive measures.

The same Antonio Lefebre was entrusted to deliver to me four talks in writing and six collars which were sent me by the chiefs of the Huyatanon and Kickapoo nations, who have always been loyal friends of the French and of us. However, going through Oca, town of the American district, Mr. Dodge who, it is said, is an agent of the states of Virginia, took from this man the writings and the collars referred to. Despite the representation made by him, Dodge responded only by giving him a letter to me. This I have received, and in it have found the talks of the Indians mentioned above. The aforesaid agent kept the six collars which were directed to me.

This irregular procedure, in addition perhaps to prejudicing the nations who keep me ever on guard, is contrary to the understanding and good harmony which I have always observed wherever possible toward the Americans. I have therefore replied (writing on the same matter to Captain Rogers, military commandant of the Americans in the eastern section of the Illinois) to the letter of the agent Dodge, requesting from both in the name of our Catholic sovereign the six aforesaid collars in order to be able to answer the nations, and not to lose my rights nor give them again an occasion to act in a manner opposed to that which I employ with them. Since I have not yet had a reply to my letters nor received the collars, I am herewith remitting to Your Lordship all the original documents bearing on this matter in order that you may take the steps you may consider best. I am also retaining a copy of everything including the declaration of the aforementioned Chapeau, which I have taken for purposes of greater justification.

With reference to the petition of the inhabitants of the post Vincennes and of the continued petitions of the Indians, Your Lordship may infer the sad and deplorable situation in which these find themselves as well as all the French villages in these parts. Lacking all the most indispensable things for their sustenance and defence, they find themselves obliged to come continually to this town of St. Louis.

Although I observe the greatest economy in the presents which I give to the Indians, I am put to considerable, although necessary, expense. I trust Your Lordship will not disapprove in view of the indispensable necessity which confronts me because of the continued coming of Indians who daily arrive to implore our assistance, since they are without traders and do not possess any other aid than that of their good and true Spanish father. As far as the Americans are concerned, they seem in their manner of treating the Indians and in their coldness toward us, more neutral in the cause which ought to be a common one for the allies. May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *December 18, 1780.*

Your devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

DODGE TO CRUZAT

December 25, 1780 ³⁴¹

SIR: I have received your honored communication dated the 15th of the present month which has surprised me a good deal, seeing that you are ignorant of our constitutions and that you believe that anybody has the right to mix in affairs of state.

I take the liberty of telling you the contrary with certainty, and that Mr. Chapeau is a subject of the state of Virginia, which has seen fit to appoint me in order to handle that affair, and I shall permit nobody to do it as long as I shall retain my commission. Far be it from me to do anything which might harm or spoil our alliance. I desire always to act in good union and intelligence with you, affairs being handled as they should be.

I have the honor of informing you also that it is not customary for the savages to hold conferences nor to send messages with or through persons who are not authorized to take them and, if anything to the contrary occurs, it is in contravention to the rules laid down by the powers. I shall always maintain this, knowing my orders and instructions very well. If I had had the design of concealing the said messages which were addressed to you and to me, I would have had Mr. Chapeau seized and sent as a prisoner to Williamsburg. Out of consideration for you alone I have permitted him to resume his journey, a favor which he did not deserve.

I am not ignorant of the state of the people from whom these messages come. They are the subjects of the state of Virginia which

³⁴¹ BL, (French).

I have the honor of serving, and despite the fact that they have signed and promised allegiance to the King of France, who has no authority, possessions, nor subjects in this country, I think that it will not be necessary to convince you that they do not know the submission they ought to give since they have taken the oath of fidelity. I shall not be surprised if, despite this oath and promise they made to the King of France, they should ask you for shelter on your lands, and should offer to swear allegiance to you, in view of the mistake they have made and their fear of the royalists.

The aforesaid Chapeau told me that the savages were coming with one of our interpreters whom I had intended to entrust with the strands and collars for delivery to you. I am still of the same mind. I am expecting them daily, having nobody else to whom I could entrust them, or who would be entitled to carry them. As for the authority I have, and as for what I have done, those who have given me my powers shall be the judges of my conduct, as I have no accounts to give except to them.

I have the honor of being with respect, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

JN^O. DODGE

KASKASKIAS *the 25th of December 1780*

To MONSIEUR CRUZAT, Esquire, Commandant

[Addressed:]

To MONSIEUR CRUSAT, Commandant for His Catholic Majesty, at St. Louis.

MALLIET TO CRUZAT

*January 9, 1781*³⁴²

SIR: I have the honor of presenting you my humblest respects and compliments and of informing you of the news which has arrived lately and which is true. Augustin Rok, my brother-in-law, arrived here the 6th of the current month, having departed from the Bay to come back to his family and his country. He left Montreal the 5th of May, last, where he had been taken prisoner. He left Michillimakinac on the 19th of October, with much difficulty and trouble at the hands of the English, to go to spend the winter at the Bay. He has most generously abandoned his property and his interests, and has many times risked his life to escape from the enemies and come back to his true country. He arrived at my house without mishap after a long journey on foot in a very bad season.

Here is the news, Sir, which he has the honor of imparting to you: Several worthy persons have learned from a reliable source

³⁴² BL, (French).

that thirty English merchant vessels had been captured last summer by a French fleet at the entrance to the St. Lawrence River, and it is very certain that no English ship has arrived during all this summer. Canada is absolutely devoid of merchandise.

There are almost no Frenchmen any more at Michillimakinac. The English garrison stationed there has about sixty men. The largest number of the French have gone down to Montreal some way or other in spite of the commandant, having secretly learned the news of the French fleet on the St. Lawrence River. Two traders, Sieurs Gaffé and Grignon, are spending the winter at the Bay.

Sieurs Marchessaux, Dubuc, and Esse, who are now employed to arouse the savage nations, are wintering upon the upper Wisconsin. Sieur Esse had gone in November to join Sieur Volk on the upper Mississippi among the Sioux, in order to form with him a large party of savages for the purpose of attacking the Illinois early in the spring. On the southern side of Lake Michigan at Fort St. Joseph there are Sieur Dugué, captain, Rheille, lieutenant, and Campion, ensign, with large amounts of merchandise. They are employed for the war. At the Grande Rivière, as well as at Kicanamaso, Sieurs Démouchel, Bourassa, Joseph Clermont, three of the Chaboillé men, Amelin, Tabeau, Hurtebise, and Michel Augé are spending the winter. They have with them a large quantity of merchandise.

The savage nations from Milwaukee to here, with whom I have been able to speak, are favorably disposed to us. The Puants and the Sioux are the ones most interested in supporting the English. No warlike movement or preparation has taken place at Michillimakinac this summer. The English have not enough men, but they are doing everything in their power to stir up all the savage tribes and cause them to lay waste the Illinois villages. La Feuille, the great chief of the Sioux, has boasted of taking St. Louis. This party will come, I believe, by the Mississippi.

There, Sir, is what he has the honor of stating to you. He prays you to excuse him for not coming in person to communicate this news to you, but the fatigue he has suffered during a most painful journey prevents him from doing so for the present. He begs you to believe that this news, which he has the honor of giving to you, is absolutely certain.

I thank you most humbly for the powder which you have been so good as to send to me. Unfortunately, I have lost it all in a shipwreck which my two men have suffered. As they were coming up a high wind which caught them on the water sank their boat. I am leaving with Monsieur Beausoleille and all my men. I have had much trouble in having one or two of the men stay here with my brother-in-law in order to let me know anything that may happen

here. I am even obliged to command one to bring you this letter, so much true zeal do they have for the service of the King and their country. I beg you to be kind to this man. If you would be so good as to send me several pounds of powder, it would be a very great help for those whom I am leaving here.

I am, Sir, with respect, your humblest and most faithful servant,
MALLIET.

9th of January 1781, at La Mauvaise Terre on the Illinois River.

P. S. If you have any good news to send me, you may make it known to my brother-in-law Rok just as you would to myself. Will you be so kind as to impart it by word of mouth to the bearer of the present letter, because no one remaining here is able to read.

To Mr. DON FRANCISCO CRUZAT, lieutenant governor of the western part of the Illinois at St. Louis.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

January 10, 1781 ³⁴³

MY DEAR SIR: On the 26th of last month the Chief El Heturno arrived, bringing me news of the destruction (by a party of Canadians from the Strait under the leadership of a certain Dequente) of a detachment of seventeen Frenchmen who had set out nearly three months ago from the village of Kao for the purpose of going to take possession of the Fort of St. Joseph, situated in the English dependency fifty-five leagues from the bank of the river. At the fort are four persons commissioned by the English, with seventeen men and a considerable quantity of all sorts of merchandise, which they use only to purchase maize and different sorts of provisions from the neighboring Indians, in order to collect in the fort a store of supplies for the expeditions which they are planning against us. In addition to this, they excite and urge the abovementioned Indian nations to commit in their hostilities their customary cruelties, of which we have had bitter experiences.

The urging of the Indian Heturno, both on his own account and in behalf of Naquiguen, both chiefs being already known to Your Lordship, that I should make an expedition against the English of the Fort of St. Joseph, together with the reasons which I shall state to Your Lordship and which I believe to be well-founded, compelled me to arrange for the departure from this town as quickly as possible, on the first of this current month, a detachment of sixty volunteers under the orders of the Captain of Militia Don Eugenio Puré, a person skilled in war and accustomed to waging it in these countries. He, together with the two chiefs mentioned, El Heturno

and Naquiguen, and several others from the bank of the Illinois who take their nations with them, form a force sufficient to send to St. Joseph to endeavor to destroy everything that the enemy has in it. If these stores should remain in the hands of the English, they would be of assistance in furthering their hostile plans. I believe that the measures I have taken will be effective in realizing our hopes. Indeed, it has been indispensable for me to take this step, as I am going to tell Your Lordship.

FIRST. For me not to have consented to the petition of El Heturno and Naquiguen would have been to demonstrate to them our weakness and to make evident to them our inadequate forces; and perhaps, if they had learned of these facts, it might have been sufficient reason for them to change sides, notwithstanding the evident signs of friendship which they have given us; for the Indians are in the habit of following the strongest one; and the English would not have failed to take advantage of this event, nor would we have escaped experiencing the fatal results of the unfriendliness and inconsistency of the two chiefs referred to.

SECOND. To go to St. Joseph and seize the fort, the English commissioners, the merchandise, and the provisions would have the effect of terrorizing the surrounding nations. It would take from them those who are inciting them to evil acts, and would deprive them of powder and merchandise given to them by the English for hunting and making war upon us. By this means both the destruction of the fort and the supply of provisions in it would be accomplished. Even though the English might not be prevented entirely from carrying out their intentions, it would cut off their resources in part and lessen their hopes of having in that place a store of provisions with which to supply those who may attempt to come by that way to attack us this spring.

By permitting El Heturno and Naquiguen to go to make war and giving them forces against our enemies we shall succeed in turning our allied nations against those who are opposed to us; and since both sides are bent on sacrificing themselves mutually, it will compel our Indian allies to be loyal during the war because they will have need of our help to defend themselves. The enemy will not then be able to attack us so easily on account of the opposition and resistance which they will meet from the Indians friendly to us.

With the savages it is always necessary, in order to preserve oneself from their destructive inclinations, to keep them occupied by bringing about disagreements among them, and causing them to war among themselves. This has always been experienced in these countries and every day it is proved more and more. These reasons, and many others which Your Lordship may think of, compelled me to

take the unavoidable step of sending the detachment referred to with the Indians who asked for and were enthusiastic for this expedition. I gave them everything necessary for the success I desire. I am sure that everything that I have done in connection with this affair will meet with Your Lordship's approval.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *January 10, 1781.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most faithful servant,

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO GÁLVEZ

January 18, 1781 ³⁴⁴

MY DEAR SIR: I remit to Your Lordship the enclosed letter from Mayet, commandant of the detachment of militia of this town which I have stationed on the bank of the Illinois. Your Lordship will see the efforts made by our enemies, the merchandise they expend, and the means by which they endeavor to win over the Indians and accomplish their ends. I believe it will not be disagreeable to Your Lordship to have information concerning Canada should it perhaps not have reached that capital.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *January 18, 1781.*

Your most devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

Señor DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

MIRÓ TO GIL YBARVO

January 26, 1781 ³⁴⁵

[Draft]

MY VERY DEAR SIR: The families of this district who are settled in the post of Opelousas will return to their own district as soon as possible. To this end I am today giving the corresponding orders to that commandant, advising you for your information and guidance.

As my governor general has not yet returned, you should not be surprised at not having a reply to the letter addressed by you to His Lordship. I shall give it to him immediately upon his return.

I give you a thousand thanks for the good offices which have been extended to the end that the said Morin should succeed in his enter-

³⁴⁴ BL.

³⁴⁵ AGI, PC, leg. 70.

prise, and I wish you all prosperity, praying Our Lord to preserve your life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 26, 1781.*

SEÑOR DON ANTONIO GIL YBARVO.

SPANISH ACT OF POSSESSION FOR THE VALLEYS OF THE
ST. JOSEPH AND ILLINOIS RIVERS ³⁴⁶

February 12, 1781.

Today, the twelfth of February of the year seventeen hundred and eighty-one, we, Don Eugene Pouré, captain of one of the militia companies of Illinois and commander of the detachment destined for St. Joseph by order of Monsieur Don Francisco Cruzat, brevet lieutenant colonel of infantry, commander-in-chief and lieutenant governor of the western part and district of the Illinois, to-wit:

Make it known to posterity and to whomsoever shall see these presents, that in virtue of the war declared between the most high, most august, and most powerful monarch and my sovereign, Charles III, invincible King of Spain (whom God keep), and George III, King of Great Britain, I have entered by force this very day, month, and year, despite our enemies (whom I have taken prisoners of war) with a detachment of 120 men into the post of St. Joseph of the English possession situated on the right bank of the river by the same name which flows into Lake Michigan.

In consequence whereof, applying the right of reprisal and of conquest, with my whole detachment under arms and the royal standard planted in the middle of the square where is located the English fort which the Indians inhabit, in the presence of Don Charles Tayon, second lieutenant of militia, Don Louis Chevallier, interpreter of the detachment, and Louis Honoré and Joseph Labuxiere, sergeants of militia of the same, I annex and join to the domain of His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, my master, henceforward and forever, this post of St. Joseph and its dependencies, with the river of this name, and the river of the Illinois which flows into the Mississippi twelve leagues away from the Illinois. In order that this act of possession (drawn up in the French language, Spanish not being as yet generally used in the province of Louisiana) may be authentic, we sign it with the persons named above at the post of St. Joseph on the same day, month, and year as above.

L. CHEVALLIER,

CHARLE TAYON (Rubric),

LOUIS HONORÉ (Rubric)

JOSEPH LABUXIERE (Rubric)

EUGENE POURÉ (Rubric)

³⁴⁶ BL, (French).

JUZAN TO EZPELETA

*February 19, 1781*³⁴⁷

(Copy)

MR LORD: I have been requested by the savages and great chiefs of the Choctaw nation to inform you of what they want to do. That is why I am repeating their words literally here below, so that you may be pleased to give me your orders with regard to this matter.

1....They ask that you allow them to dance the calumet tomorrow, and to strike the stake, as the English Indians do at Pensacola. They want to show them thereby that they are men and that they are not afraid.

2....Since this is sowing time, and since they do not desire to waste their next year's crop, they would like to know whether their good father Gálvez and the expedition are near, because, if they arrive within a month, they would not leave but would have patience until then.

3....They ask that the Talapoosa prisoner be released, and say that, if in the future the Talapoosas attack the white men, they would declare war on them, whereas, if the aforesaid prisoner be sent back, all the Pensacola Indians would return to their villages.

4....They ask that after Pensacola is taken the Choctaw Indians who have sided with the English receive neither medals nor any other gratification unless they give up the heads of the white men they have killed.

5....They say that it is quite a sore point with them to see their great chief, Don Ezpeleta, scorning them to the extent of not having invited them to his table once since their arrival. This is an honor which they had always received from Monsieur de Vaudreuil and the other governors of New Orleans, as well as from their good father Gálvez. Therefore, as faithful subjects of His Catholic Majesty, they request that eleven of their principal men be granted this honor, and that a cow be prepared and served to all the warriors in sign of friendship.

You will command whatever it may please you that I answer them.

I have the honor of being with a profound respect and submission, My Lord, your most devoted and faithful subject,

JUZAN (Rubric).

*MOBILE, February 19, 1781.*³⁴⁷ BL, (French).

EZPELETA TO JUZAN

February 19, 1781 ³⁴⁸

(Reply)

1st. They may dance the calumet whenever they wish, as they say the Indians of Pensacola have done, but I should desire more evident proof of their courage, fidelity, and friendship. This they may do by compelling the Indian nations, who have treacherously declared war against us without any motive, to give us suitable satisfaction and restore to us the Spanish and the French prisoners who are in the hands of the Chickasaws, for they offered to send them if we were to set Turnbull free.

2nd. The arrival of our great chief depends on the weather, and therefore I cannot give a positive answer in the matter, but if the Choctaws, my friends, desire to follow my opinion, they may proceed immediately to do their sowing. The eleven great chiefs may remain here to give their hands to our chief as soon as he arrives, which probably will be the following month.

3rd. The Talapoosa prisoner shall not be set free until his other companion, who was sent with the Choctaws to take a message to the Talapoosa nation, presents himself for arrest as he offered, and until his nation gives the corresponding satisfaction for having declared war without any motive. Their continuance or non-continuance therein interests us very little and still less does it interest us if they retire or remain in Pensacola. The Spaniards desire and have solicited the friendship of the Indians, not through fear, but because of their natural inclination to peace. They wish to comply with the orders of their King in maintaining peace with all the Indians, and doing them all the good possible. This has been carried out on our part, but once war has been declared, the arms shall not leave our hands until they shall have given us full and adequate satisfaction for the insult and the disdain of our friendship.

4th. This demand is so just that I do not doubt that our great chief will confirm it in every particular, and in this firm belief, I give my word of honor from now that it will be done as they ask it.

5th. The chief of Mobile has given to the Choctaw chiefs, who have come here to present themselves to him, many and repeated proofs of his friendship and appreciation, notwithstanding that they came without having before given definite and unequivocal proof that they will not be accomplices in the assassinations made amongst us by those of their nation which they as good friends should have prevented or remedied. The word given by our great chief that they should remain quiet and not involve themselves in the war

of the whites means that they should not be the first aggressors; but once they saw that the red men, won over and accompanied by the English, had attacked us, burning and destroying our possessions, the Choctaws, our friends, should have prevented it or immediately declared war against them. The eating at the same table with the Choctaw chiefs, which among the Spaniards is the last and greatest proof of friendship, I reserve until such time as they shall on their part give us definite and unmistakable proof of their friendship, treating our friends as their friends, and our enemies as their enemies, so that both nations shall consider themselves from now on as one, both for peace and for war. Under these conditions they may immediately count upon the friendship, alliance, and protection of the Spaniards in all affairs, and consequently call upon me whenever it shall be useful and to their greatest pleasure. They may be assured that it will not be lacking to them once offered.

MOBILE, *February 19, 1781.*

JOSEF DE EZPELETA.

REPORT OF TROOPS USED IN THE PENSACOLA EXPEDITION

February 28, 1781 ³⁴⁹

Report of the officers and troops under the command of Don Cayetano de Salla, lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Soria, who left this place for the expedition against Pensacola, and the statement of those present and those sick.

Regiments	PRESENT							HOSPITAL				Total of Troops	Staff	
	Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Sergeants	Drummers	Fifers	Corporals	Soldiers	Ensigns	Sergeants	Corporals			Soldiers
Of the King-----	2	2	3	4	5	—	18	92	—	1	1	11	132	<i>Regiment of Soria</i>
Of the Prince-----	1	1	1	1	1	—	5	48	—	1	1	3	60	Lieutenant Colonel
Of Soria-----	2	2	1	3	2	—	5	90	—	1	1	7	109	Don Cay ^{to} . de Salla
Of Guadalajara-----	1	—	—	1	1	—	5	41	1	—	—	6	55	Adjutant Major
Of Spain-----	1	—	1	1	1	—	5	51	—	1	6	60	Don Juan Barrache	
Of Aragon-----	—	1	1	2	1	—	4	42	—	1	—	6	55	
Of Navarra-----	5	4	4	12	9	—	25	232	—	—	—	3	281	
Of volunteers of Cataluña-----	1	—	1	2	—	—	3	79	—	—	2	7	93	<i>Battalion of Mulattos</i>
Of the regular of Havana-----	1	1	1	1	1	—	6	50	—	—	—	1	59	Adjutant Major
Of Louisiana-----	2	3	5	5	3	—	12	105	—	—	—	—	125	Don José Lunsano
Of the dragoons of America-----	1	1	1	1	1	—	5	47	—	—	—	3	57	Adjutant José Arazil
Of the dragoons of Louisiana-----	1	1	1	2	1	—	4	33	—	—	—	—	40	<i>Battalion of Blacks</i>
Mulatto grenadiers and scouts-----	2	2	1	5	3	—	16	96	—	—	—	10	130	Adjutant Major
The same, blacks-----	2	2	1	5	2	1	14	105	—	—	2	5	134	Don Zam ^a . Ferrer
Totals-----	22	20	22	46	31	1	127	1111	1	4	8	68	1400	6

³⁴⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 83. In this document there are some mathematical errors.

NOTE: There are not included in this statement 4 men of the Royal Artillery Corps, 25 dragoons of America, 11 carbineers, 32 militiamen, 90 free mulattos and blacks, and 75 Negro slaves who have gone by way of the lake, totaling 237. Added to the general statement these make a total of 1,637 men.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 28, 1781.*

MARTÍN NAVARRO (Rubric)

STATISTICS ON THE PENSACOLA EXPEDITION

*February 28, 1781*³⁵⁰

Report indicating the number of ships making up this expedition, captains in command, officers, and troops they have on board, and also the foodstuffs they have taken on for a period of ninety days, with a statement of what they are. Rations consist of twelve ounces of biscuit, eight of rice, beans, etc., and the amount of meat and cod-fish prescribed by ordinance.

³⁵⁰ AGI, PC, leg. 83.

Names of Ships	Names of the Captains	Regiments to which troops belong	Total troops	Number of officers	Biscuit	Meat	Bacon	Rice	Ordinary Potage	Cod-fish	Oil	Vinegar	Salt
Packetboat of King, <i>Sn. Gil</i> -----	d. Juan Aguirre-----	Of Soria-----	55	2	2475	825	3093½	550	1100	258	6	1	celamines 6
Sloop, id., <i>El Carmen</i> -----	d. Migl. Zapayn-----	Do-----	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Settee, <i>S. Rosalia</i> -----	d. Jose Gatell-----	Do-----	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Polacre, <i>S. Miguel</i> -----	d. Juan Forrodona-----	Spanish 20, Havana 60-----	80	4	5400	2000	600	1200	2400	500	16	1	6
Settee, <i>Sn. Francisco de Paula</i> -----	d. Pablo Vidal-----	Guad ^a 55, Aragon 55-----	110	3	7425	2750	825	1650	3300	687½	16	1	6
Frigate, <i>N.S. de la Luz</i> -----	d. Juan Alayon-----	Of Navarra-----	120	5	8700	3000	900	1800	3600	750	16	1½	6
Settee, <i>N.S. del Carmen</i> -----	d. Jayme Fornells-----	Of Navarra-----	108	4	6952½	2575	772½	1545	3090	643½	16	1	6
Frigate, <i>N.S. de la Merced</i> -----	d. Ben ^o Gamindez-----	Of the hospital-----	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Frigate, <i>N.S. de la Merced</i> -----	d. Jayme Carnesoltes-----	Negroes from Havana-----	150	6	10125	3750	1125	2250	4500	937½	16	2	6
Brig, <i>La Concepc^a & S. Eulalia</i> -----	d. Max ^o Forrodona-----	Antillanos-----	6	1	405	150	44½	90	180	37½	8	1	6
Polacre, <i>S. Francisco de Paula</i> -----	d. Juan Bayl-----	Luy ^a 46, Drag ^a of Id. 41-----	87	8	5872½	2175	652½	1305	2610	543½	14	1	6
Settee, <i>N.S. de la Merced</i> -----	d. Antonio Mora-----	Fixed of Luy ^a -----	80	5	5400	2000	600	1200	2400	500	14	1	6
Polacre, <i>S. José</i> -----	d. Antonio Ramon-----	Nav ^a 60, Drag ^a de Am ^a 32-----	92	4	6135	2300	690	1380	2760	575	14	1	6
Settee, <i>S. Rosalia</i> -----	d. Pedro Gatell-----	Principe, 60, Spanish 40-----	100	4	6750	2500	750	1500	3000	625	14	1	6
Brig, <i>S. Juan Baptista</i> -----	d. Francisco Badillo-----	Pardos of Havana-----	140	6	9450	3500	1050	2100	4200	875	14	2	6
Frigate, <i>N.S. de la Paz</i> -----	d. Juan Barrosa-----	Of the King-----	142	7	9585	3550	1065	2130	4260	887½	14	1	6
Packetboat, <i>El Rosario</i> -----	d. José Maristany-----	Volunteers from Catalufia-----	94	2	6345	2350	705	1410	2820	587½	14	1	6
Settee, <i>S. Francisco de Paula</i> -----	d. Pedro Escardo-----	Of Soria-----	54	5	3045	1350	405	810	1620	337½	8	1	6
Sloop, <i>La Maria</i> -----	d. Antonio Arnaud-----	Do-----	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Schooner, <i>Lasaly</i> -----	d. Juan Racheo-----	Do-----	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals-----	20	-----	1413	66	94065	34775	10494½	20920	41840	8745½	200	17½	90

NOTE: That in addition to the 135,520 rations detailed in this report, a two months' supply of foodstuffs was given by the royal stores on the same basis as for the troops of the expedition, to the packetboat of war, *San Gil*, for its crew and the fifty-five soldiers it is carrying from the Regiment of Soria. This ration was likewise given for the same length of time to the sloop *Carmen*. Not included in the report are the diet rations for those who might be taken sick on the frigate *San Juan Baptista*, designated as hospital.

Rations were also given to the militia for the voyage being made by way of the lake to Mobile. To this post are sent such foodstuffs as the vessels are permitted to carry because of the shallow water of the bars.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 28, 1781.*

MARTÍN NAVARRO (Rubric)

JACOB WINFREE'S COMMISSION

March 17, 1781 ³⁵¹

By Major General John Campbell Commanding
His Majesty's Forces in West Florida &c. &c—
To Jacob Winfree Esqr.

Being informed that the Inhabitants of the Natchez who preserve a Spirit of Loyalty to their Rightful Sovereign and retain an Attachment to the happy free and glorious Constitution of Great Britain are foully—grievously and Tyrannically used by the Despotism of Spain—and Reposing especial Confidence and Trust in your Courage, Influence and Abilities, to relieve them from such Slavish oppression—I do therefore by virtue of the Authority and command to me entrusted by my Sovereign—hereby constitute and appoint you a Captain or Leader of such Volunteer Inhabitants as you can procure to serve under your Command who prefer the British Government to Tyrannick despotism and Rule and are willing to risk their Lives for the Attainment thereof and you and all those who shall put themselves under Your Command are directed and required to Act in arms against the Spaniards and against all and every His Catholic Majesty's enemies according to the Rules and Practice of War—and for so doing this shall be to you and them sufficient Warrant and Authority.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Pensacola in the Province of West Florida this seventeenth day of March 1781.

By M. G. Campbell's Command
JAMES CAMPBELL SEC^y

JOHN CAMPBELL
M G

³⁵¹ AGI, PC, leg. 114 (English).

ORDERS ISSUED TO THE INHABITANTS OF BATON ROUGE

May 2, 1781 ³⁵²

We, Captain of the Infantry Regiment of Louisiana, Civil and Military Commandant of the fort of Baton Rouge:

1. Command all the inhabitants of the district to turn in a list of their slaves, negroes, negresses, children, etc.

2. Each resident shall give me the names of the whites who are working for him either for wages or on a share basis.

3. Each resident shall deposit with me all the powder, ammunition, guns which he has in his house, receiving only enough for his needs.

4. All the inhabitants shall freely agree to send to the fort all their foods, corn, rice, and beans, keeping only enough for a month's subsistence for their negroes and themselves.

5. All the pirogues and boats shall be at my wharf, except for one which can carry only two or three men.

6. We forbid all inhabitants to gather and to communicate with one another. They shall remain at home until new orders are given, unless it is for the purpose and reason of coming to the fort because of necessity. Only one or two may come at a time to speak to me.

The lieutenant of militia, Mr. Desroches Loger, is commanded to examine all the negroes, summoning them and having them appear with all the whites residing in each house. He shall observe everything that will take place and make a written note of everything that is turned over to him, and of what is missing in view of my last year's census.

He will investigate a boat with eight negroes and one white man which passed by the Bayou of the Ecores without stopping at this post.

May 2, 1781.

FAVROT.

Each inhabitant is ordered to declare to us if there are at night any enemies, either foreigners or Indians, and to inform us within a quarter of an hour under pain of being treated as accomplices to treason.

FAVROT.

GRAND-PRÉ TO PIERNAS

May 7, 1781 ³⁵³POINT COUPÉE, *evening of May 7, 1781.*

SIR: I am sending you hurriedly a courier to inform you that the post of Natchez was taken Friday, 4th of this month, according to the

³⁵² BL, (French). A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba Fl. Occ. 2-1218.

³⁵³ BL, (French). A Pinart transcript marked AG Cuba Fl. Occ. 2-1218.

report of Gray, an Englishman who was taken prisoner there and who was going down to Galveston where he has his domicile. He was arrested and brought here by several men from the guard which I keep posted ten leagues from Natchez at a place called La Roche à Davion. The said guard is strengthened by the reinforcements of 40 men I have just sent there to observe the movements of the enemy and report to me about them as well as to attack their convoys, if, as I am also informed, they are going to commit hostilities against this post. The aforesaid Englishman states that the English are 400 in number and that, as for the Indians, he was unable to estimate their numbers. But those of our men who were in Mr. Blommart's camp told me also that there might be about 300 Choctaws.

The same Englishman says further that in view of the capitulation, the commandant of the post, Mr. Delavillebeuvre, as well as his troops were to be sent back to the capital, New Orleans, and that they were to leave Saturday, 5th of this month.

As only twelve hours' quick travel are required to get from Natchez to Pointe Coupée, if they sent Mr. Delavillebeuvre back, he would already have arrived here. Also, if they really think of coming to attack this post I do not believe that they will decide to send him back before this expedition. For all these reasons I decided to send you the aforesaid Englishman with the courier, Mr. Julien Poydras.

I have no doubts as to the taking or surrender of Fort Natchez because the men of the guard of La Roche à Davion tell me that they have not heard any cannon shots nor even any gun fire.

I immediately sent out some trustworthy white men and some Indians to approach the fort of the post as near as possible and to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy and to give me a speedy report on it.

I have received through Mr. Fournois the orders you are giving me while I am to be in charge of this expedition. I shall carry them out at this time, if you deem it suitable to reconquer the said fort of Natchez, as I am sure that all those rebels cannot be very well provided with ammunition of war [illegible]. If the forces are insufficient to oppose the enemy, I shall conform to the orders you are giving me for the rendezvous at the fort of Baton Rouge.

As I am unable under the present circumstances to detach anybody whomsoever from this place, I am writing to Mr. Favrot to beg him to send a detachment of 40 militiamen to the Bayou des Ecors, several hours' distance below the fort of this post, in order to defend this important passage through which the enemy might come. I have the honor of informing you of this because I can only make requests to the commandants of the neighboring forts and cannot give any orders as circumstances arise, not even in the gravest emergencies.

I have requested Mr. Declouet, whom I have warned of the enemy's movement to keep 200 men ready in case of need.

I am having made as much flour as possible for my needs, and for those of the detachment that I have sent to La Roche à Davion and for a certain number of Indians whom I have caused to come from Rapides and who are at my disposal. . . .

CHARLES DE GRAND-PRÉ

Mr. PEDRO PIERNAS.

CAMPBELL TO GÁLVEZ

May 19, 1781 ³⁵⁴

From my Quarters at PENSACOLA the 19th. May 1781.

SIR: Pursuant to the Stipulation in the 22d Article of the Capitulation of Fort George &ca., my wishes are, to send off an Aid de Camp as soon as possible with Dispatches to the Right Honble Lord George Germain, His Britannick Majesty's principal Secretary of State for America, and to His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton Knight of the most Hon.^{ble} Order of the Bath, General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America &c^a.—and finding that Lieutenant Bard of the 60th Regiment of Foot has obtained Permission from your Excellency for a Sloop (his Property) to proceed to Charlestown in South Carolina; But for the Navigation of which Vessel, he has only one Man called The Master and a Boy—I therefore propose to your Excellency, that Permission be granted to my Aid de Camp Lieu^t. Gordon of the 16th. Regim^t. of Foot and his Servant to proceed in said Vessel with Dispatches as above Represented an Object of my Wishes; And that Eight Sea Men and two Boys of the Naval Prisoners on the Surrender of Fort George the 10th instant be also permitted to go on Board said Vessel, to assist in the Navigation of her to said Port of Charlestown in South Carolina, where they are to remain Prisoners of War to Spain untill exchanged, in Conformity to the said Capitulation of Fort George—And that said Aid De Camp, his Servant said eight Seamen & two Boys may be victualled (for the Purpose of making said Voyage for the Space of one month or thirty Days; And [that] proper Passports and Protection be made out for all of them accord[ingly and] more especially for said Lieutenant Gordon to enable him to proceed not [only] to Charlestown without being subject to be stopped, searched, or the Dispatches he carries being taken from him, opened, or examined upon any Pretext, or for any Cause whatsoever, by any Person or Persons, Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels whatever of Spain or

³⁵⁴ BL, (English).

her Allies, not only in his Passage to Charlestown, but also in his further Voyage or Voyages, (thence to New York with the Dispatches to the Commander in Chief, or afterward to England with the Dispatches to Lord George Germain.)

Captain Deans Commanding officer of the British Sea Men requests to have Permission of sending also by Lt. Gordon Official Returns and Reports to the Lords Commissioners of the British Admiralty, and to the Admiral under whose orders he was on this Station—Lieut. Colonel De Horn makes the same Request in Regard to sending Reports &c^a. to the Prince of Waldeck—

I have the Honor to be, Sir, Your Excellencys most obed^t. and most humble Serv^t.

JOHN CAMPBELL

MG

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GALVEZ &c^a.

THE ENGLISH SEEK REFUGE IN THE CHICKASAW COUNTRY

June 17, 1781 ³⁵⁵

BOYOPEU, *June 17th, 1781*

I, Desire to be Remember^d. to you and your Family and I desire you would not go to any Parts but Meet at the first Blufs the first day of September If you Possibly can for I am Bound now for the Chickasaw Nation If you do not come by that time I shall come for you for the Country is so Confused that it is not Possible for any Body to live in it best part of the District will go of, my Old father in law and Mother in law is going along with me William Jenkins and Samuel Reiner is going the same way if so be you think proper to let your People know of it and come along with you I and my family desires to be remember^d. to you and your Family—

JAME STEELMAN.

CITATION OF SANTIAGO, A NEGRO SLAVE

July 1, 1781 ³⁵⁶

Don Bernardo de Gálvez, knight pensionary of the royal and distinguished Spanish order of Charles III, major general of the royal armies, governor, superintendent, inspector and commandant general of this province of Louisiana and its conquests, etc.

I hereby certify that Santiago, Negro slave of Mr. Dingerard, residing on the German coast, employed in the siege and conquest

³⁵⁵ BL, (English).

³⁵⁶ BL.

of Pensacola, has complied with his obligation with great zeal and punctuality, manifesting in the expeditions, attacks and defense, a decided interest in the royal service. In order that upon all occasions evidence may be available, I hereby give him this document, signed by me and bearing the seal of my arms, and countersigned by the provisional secretary of this government. Given at New Orleans on the first day of July, 1781.

BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ (Rubric).

By order of his Excellency.

MAN^L. ANDRÉS LÓPEZ DE ARMESTRO (Rubric).

VILLIERS TO GÁLVEZ

July 11, 1781 ³⁵⁷

POST CHARLES III OF ARKANSAS *July 11, 1781*

SIR: I am sending back the messenger La Prose whom M. MIRÓ despatched to me by way of the Ouachita on the 22nd of May, last. He is accompanied by four Arkansas whom I am allowing to do down at the request of the great chief Angaskha who is sending you a calumet in congratulation for the conquest of Pensacola. You will also be much pleased to receive from him news of the Illinois and to learn that everything is quiet there. I have received this news the 5th of this month by a pirogue loaded with food that Don Francisco Cruzat sent me, and it was high time for this because my garrison had only enough for three days. The inhabitants had been out of food for a long time, and I had to help them all. On the same day I was vexed to see my couriers, whom I had sent to the Illinois on the 22nd of June, return. However, on the 7th of this month, having joined all the packets together, I sent out two Arkansas and two Kaskaskias. The latter came in the food pirogue and assured me that they had to go by land to the Illinois in fifteen days. This pirogue went back also at the same time, and I sent to the commandant of that place a copy of the letter from the government which informs me of the capture of Pensacola.

On the second of this month there arrived at this post four Americans and the son of my interpreter, who had been held as a prisoner with his father at Natchez. They had left there sixteen days ago. The Americans were former residents of this post and I knew them. Upon their arrival they turned over to me several letters from the rebels and requested me to open them. The one which I include here comes from one Stilman who knows particularly well all the environs of this post. He and several of these bandit chiefs having fled to the Chickasaws have sworn an oath between

³⁵⁷ BL, (French).

themselves to spare nothing to capture my post. Of this, one of the Americans present here has been a witness.

The very next day all the inhabitants gathered to point out to me that it would be well to build a fort capable of holding their families in case of a raid by the Chickasaws joined to the bandits living with them, and they offered to make the stakes for the stockade themselves. I have taken advantage of their good will, since I also deemed that this was a good chance to construct a fort in this post which will cost the King little and will last long. It is made of red oak stakes thirteen feet high, with diameters of 10 to 15 or 16 inches, split in two and reinforced inside by similar stakes to a height of six feet and a *banquette* of two feet. Thus I have built a reinforced stockade around all the necessary places, including a house 45 feet long and 15 feet wide, and a storehouse, both serving to lodge my troops, and around several smaller buildings, all of them built at my own expense when I arrived here. The openings for the cannon and swivel guns are covered with sliding panels which are bullet-proof.

Although I am quite sick, as I spare myself little, I hope that within twelve days the King will have here a solid post capable of resisting anything which may come to attack it without cannon. I even doubt whether they can take us without making a breach. I have not dared to undertake to make a moat, which is really quite necessary, for fear of increasing the expense. After having been refused the sum of forty piastres by M. Piernas for the purpose of paying for a pirogue, I should have undertaken no work of any kind had not the inhabitants helped me.

Several of the returned hunters, together with my soldiers, gives me about 70 men, but my principal guard consists of Indian scouts behind the post towards the White River. I have abandoned the little post because I thought it was too exposed, but I had not neglected to take measures to stop every boat coming from the Illinois until the return of my first messenger who arrived the third of this month.

I had at first planned to send some Arkansas to the Chickasaws. But after conferring about it with the great chief Angaskha, he was able to tell me, rather subtly, that I ought to know that he had never refused me anything, but that to be sending people so often to that nation would be an indication that they feared them, which is far from being the case. I quite agreed with him and did not mention it to him any more. However, yesterday he told me that as soon as the party which went to Natchez came back, we would see what to do. I shall never cease, Sir, recommending to you this brave and faithful nation, and above all that you should send a commission of

great chief and a standard with the coat of arms to this Chief Anga-slkha who is most useful to me. Kindly refer, Sir, to my letter of June 18, last.

I am also very much satisfied with my garrison. Sergeants, corporals, and soldiers are all busy working in spite of the heat. Their pay is not sufficient for their food and still less for their upkeep. That is why I take the liberty of recommending them to you. Anga-slkha is also requesting a gorget.

I am sending back to the regiment the soldier of the 2nd company of the first battalion, Manuel Matu, who is suffering from a fistula incurable in this country, where he has performed no services since he has been here.

May I make so bold as to hope that, although far away and thus unable to take advantage of opportunities to distinguish myself, I shall do nothing to prejudice my advancement. I am as confident as a good officer should be who is so fortunate as to serve under so distinguished a general as yourself, Sir.

I have the honor of being, with deep respect, Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant.

BALTHAZAR DE VILLIERS (Rubric)

M. DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ.

CRUZAT TO MIRÓ

August 6, 1781 ³⁵⁸

MY DEAR SIR: Don Eugenio Purré, the captain of the second company of militia, Don Carlos Tayon, sub-lieutenant of the same company, and Don Luis Chevalier, a person versed in the languages of the Indians and selected by myself as interpreter of the expedition, accompanied by the great chiefs Heturno and Naquiguen, set out from this town of St. Louis of Ylinueses on the second of January of the present year with St. Joseph as their destination, as I wrote to the governor on the tenth of the same month and year. With Purré was a detachment of sixty-five militiamen, and sixty Indians of the Ottawa, Sotu, and Potawatomi nations who joined the aforementioned captain on the bank of the Illinois. He followed the route in pirogues along this bank and arrived the twentieth of the same month with all his expedition, despite the cold, ice and snow, and after many difficulties, at a place called Los Pes, eighty leagues from the said town of St. Louis. There he found it impossible to continue his route by water for the river was not navigable since it was entirely frozen over, and being under the necessity of accomplishing his undertaking, he continued his march to St. Joseph by land.

Neither the impossibility of each man carrying upon his back a sufficient quantity of supplies for a march of one hundred and thirty leagues, nor many other difficulties which presented themselves, were able, even in such bitter weather, to restrain the ardor, activity, courage, and zeal of the commander and his men. They were resolved to accomplish their purpose at all costs. Therefore, Don Eugenio Purré gave to each man in his detachment the food and ammunition which he could carry, hid the boats and the remaining provisions for their return, and started on the march the twenty-first of the same month of January with all his company. He took five horses laden with munitions which might be needed, and the merchandise necessary to pacify and win over, if possible, our enemy nations which would undoubtedly be encountered enroute, and also to keep content any neutral nations he might meet.

After a period of twenty days, experiencing all imaginable suffering from cold, danger, and hunger, our detachment finally arrived two leagues from St. Joseph, where it made camp at nightfall. The commander immediately sent a young Potawatomi Indian called Lajes, who was very prudent and intelligent, to St. Joseph. He was instructed to notify the Indians of his nation who might be in that post in the pay of the English to whom they were much attached, to guard the merchants there and to remain neutral and quiet in their cabins. No harm would come to them, although they were our enemies and it was not yet three months since they had aided our enemies in the destruction of a detachment of Illinois, and taken ten Frenchmen prisoners from the village of Cao, as I have already written to the governor.

Our envoy assured the aforementioned savages of the humane treatment, gentleness, and kind manner in which the Spaniards always act. Moreover, he promised that half the booty which would be taken would be given to them. This contributed more than anything else to induce them to promise whatever was desired since material profit is their primary motive. The Indian envoy returned that same night to render an account of his negotiation to the aforementioned commander, who immediately made preparations to resist the 200 Indians who were at St. Joseph should they fail to carry out their promises and become traitors.

On the following day, the 12th of February, at seven o'clock in the morning, the entire detachment crossed with the greatest possible speed and courage the ice on the St. Joseph River, on whose opposite shore is situated the post of the same name. The detachment occupied that post before the enemy had time to take up arms. They made prisoner a man named Duguiet and seven recruits who were found with him. An English flag which they had was taken and the afore-

mentioned Don Eugenio Purré delivered it to me upon his arrival. He also placed the eight prisoners referred to under proper custody, and prevented, not without considerable labor and with the aid of Don Carlos Tayon and Don Luis Chevalier, our Indians from taking the lives of the conquered, as they are barbarously accustomed to do.

Having taken the most prudent precautions for the security of his camp, he distributed among the Indians of his party and those who lived at St. Joseph all the merchandise that he had found in order to fulfill the promise he had made them. The amount was considerable although the exact quantity could not be verified. The aforesaid captain would not permit any of his militiamen to have a share in the slightest thing. Three hundred sacks of maize, a quantity of fat and other diverse provisions were either distributed, ruined, or destroyed. These supplies had been stored there by the enemy, doubtless for some expedition which they planned against us, according to information secured which I have communicated to the governor.

After the merchandise was thus disposed of, the entire detachment departed from St. Joseph twenty-four hours after its arrival at that place. During all that time the Spanish flag was flying. The detachment returned to this place on the 6th of last March with the aforementioned prisoners, who remain here under guard as I have already informed Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro Piernas. They have not been sent to the capital because there has been no opportunity to do so.

On our side there were no dead or wounded. Only two men of the enemy tried to escape, and they were overtaken and killed by our Indians.

Not only has the happy outcome of this expedition been accomplished, and the supplies and merchandise of the enemy at St. Joseph destroyed, but also the nations of those districts who are our enemies, have been intimidated and obliged by this event to maintain themselves neutral, as they manifest themselves, and as they promised to Captain Don Eugenio Purré. This man I particularly recommend to Your Lordship for his intelligence, loyalty, zeal, prudence, courage, and all those qualities desirable in a good officer, with which he has distinguished himself during his commission. As is generally known, his military acumen and the rapidity of his marches are responsible for the satisfactory withdrawal which was accomplished without any loss of lives in the midst of an excessive number of Indian enemies.

According to the general impression and the information of the same commander, who praises the intrepid valor of his men in all the dangers to which they were subjected, Don Carlos Tayon, the

sub-lieutenant, and Don Luis Chevalier, the interpreter of the expedition, acted with such outstanding zeal, courage, and honor, in aiding the commander, that they contributed to the satisfactory accomplishment of our enterprise. In view of their unusual merit, I recommend them to Your Excellency so that it may be transmitted to the governor and recognition for their services may be made.

The great chiefs El Heturno and Naquiguen, and all the Indians of their nations who went on the expedition, behaved so well that they gave further evidence of their friendly inclination toward the Spaniards, and showed themselves worthy of the confidence which they desire shall be placed in their affection and sincerity. This is the reason why I have always treated them and received them as they deserve and as the conditions of the time require.

The Indian Lajes, of the Potawatomi nation, who so excellently undertook the negotiation with the savages at St. Joseph and during the entire march of the detachment, I have made a great chief both to reward him for his merit and to stimulate the other Indians, by his example, to be loyal and useful whenever we employ them.

I remit herewith a document which the commander Don Eugenio Purré delivered to me upon his arrival. It was drawn up in St. Joseph to authenticate the legality of taking possession of that place and its dependencies by right of conquest, as well as the bank of the Illinois. I am sending this to Your Lordship for your information.

May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *August 6, 1781.*

Your most devoted servant kisses the hand of Your Lordship.

FRAN^{CO}. CRUZAT (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

HANCOCK TO GÁLVEZ

*August 15, 1781*³⁵⁹

Sir

BOSTON *August 15th. 1781*

The Bearer M^r. Edward Church is an American, a Friend to his Country, and a Merchant of good Reputation in this place, he goes to New Orleans to inform himself whether a Commercial Intercourse may not be Establish'd between the Two Countries to reciprocal Advantage— If the Plan should meet your Excellency's Approbation, I take the Liberty to Recommend M^r. Church to your Notice, he is Connected here with Gentlemen of Property and of long Establish'd Reputation & Character, and I flatter myself you will find this Gentle-

³⁵⁹ AGI, PC, leg. 2370 (English).

man not unworthy your Protection, and one who will be far from making an ill use of your Indulgencies—

I have the honor to be with all possible Respect, Sir Your Excellency's Most obed^t. hum^e Serv^t.

JOHN HANCOCK

To His Excellency DON GÁLVEZ, Governor of New Orleans—

NAVARRO TO GÁLVEZ.

September 10, 1781 ³⁶⁰

No. 83.

Most Excellent Sir.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: At the order of the field marshall commander general of this province and of the army of operations, dated July 15, a company of forty men, German deserters, has been recruited in the city of Pensacola to serve in the province during the war, under the command of the American lieutenant, Winter Lacount Canon. It was necessary to clothe and equip them the same as the other troops of the army, and they are now receiving their pay and daily allowances on the same footing. This expense is being added to the extraordinary ones not included in the increase of the allotment of the province. I report this to Your Excellency for your information.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency's life many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 10, 1781.*

Most Excellent Sir, your most attentive servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

MARTÍN NAVARRO (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON JOSEF DE GÁLVEZ.

CAMPBELL TO GÁLVEZ

November 29, 1781 ³⁶¹

JAMAICA 29th. November 1781

Sir,

Permit me to trouble Your Excellency in regard to two Captains, two Lieutenants, one Store Keeper, one Serjeant, and several privates taken at the Natchez Fort on the Mississippi, by part of His Catholic Majesty's Troops.

I am informed that the harsh treatment which Captain Blommart, head of this party, had met with; so unusual under Your Excellency's command, has arisen from the neutrality which he had infringed; a circumstance, I have reason to believe, originated from intemperate

³⁶⁰ AGI, Aud. SD, 87-3-10.

³⁶¹ BL, (English).

zeal and indiscretion in him, & his perfect ignorance of the customary Laws of Nations.

From such persuasions I am led to solicit Your Excellency's forgiveness to those unfortunate men; whose close confinement since the period of their capitulation, will I hope in the breast of a General of your humanity, if not expiate in some measure palliate their offense.

As I apply to Your Excellency on this occasion in the light of an obligation to be conferred on me; I shall be happy hereafter to shew on my part, an equal readiness to comply with any similar request of yours to this Government, where I have the honor to preside. In the mean time Officers & men of the like rank will be returned from hence for Captain Blommart and his party, should Your Excellency accede to their being exchanged as Prisoners of War.

I have the honor to be with great respect, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

ARCH^D. CAMPBELL

His Excellency DON BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ Governor & Commander in Chief of Louisiana &c^a. &c^a. &c^a.

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