

# OLD CAHOKIA

A NARRATIVE AND DOCUMENTS  
ILLUSTRATING THE FIRST  
CENTURY OF ITS HISTORY



# CARTE DE LA LOUISIANE ET DU COURS DU MISSISSIPPI



Les Indes de la région des Indes  
 les Espagnols y ont établi  
 un fort de guerre & de port d'armes  
 pour servir de magasin de  
 poudre & de munitions de  
 guerre & de commerce de  
 l'Espagne de son pays  
 de l'Inde qui y est en  
 grand nombre

NOUVEAU  
 MEXIQUE

NOUVELLE  
 BISCAYE

**GOLFE DU**

Explication des lettres  
 A l'habitation des Indes  
 B l'habitation des Espagnols  
 C l'habitation des Français  
 D l'habitation des Anglais  
 E l'habitation des Hollandais  
 F l'habitation des Portugais  
 G l'habitation des Russes  
 H l'habitation des Suédois  
 I l'habitation des Danois  
 K l'habitation des Prussiens  
 L l'habitation des Autrichiens  
 M l'habitation des Turcs  
 N l'habitation des Perses  
 O l'habitation des Arabes  
 P l'habitation des Indes  
 Q l'habitation des Chinois  
 R l'habitation des Japonais  
 S l'habitation des Portugais  
 T l'habitation des Français  
 U l'habitation des Anglais  
 V l'habitation des Hollandais  
 W l'habitation des Portugais  
 X l'habitation des Français  
 Y l'habitation des Anglais  
 Z l'habitation des Hollandais

un grand nombre de Memoires entr'autres sur ceux de M<sup>le</sup> le Marq<sup>ue</sup> P<sup>er</sup> Guillaume Delisle de L'Academie Royale des Sciences



**SIQUE**  
A PARIS  
L'Auteur 45<sup>e</sup> Delisle  
Croy de l'Horloge  
Privilège du Roy le 17<sup>me</sup> 1728  
L'Échelle de six lieues terrestres  
La Haye chez la Citoyenne de Beauvais

**MER DU NORD**

**CARTE PARTICULIERE DES ENBOUCHURES DE LA RIVIERE ST. LOUIS ET DE LA MISSOURI**





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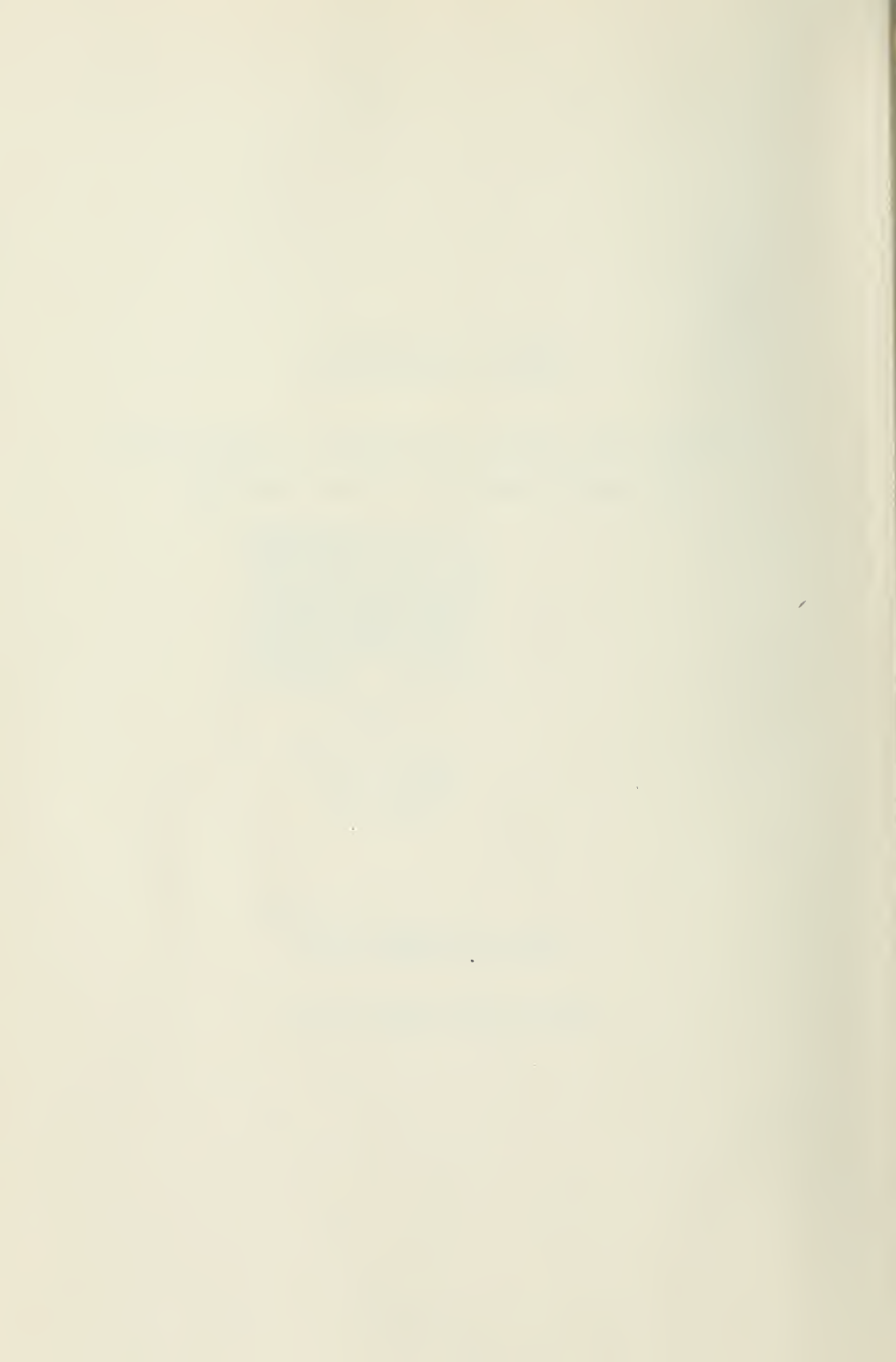
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# OLD CAHOKIA

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PUBLICATION No. 1

JOSEPH DESLOGE FUND





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Cahokia in Winter

From J. C. Wild, *Valley of the Mississippi*, illustrated



# OLD CAHOKIA

A NARRATIVE AND DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING  
THE FIRST CENTURY OF ITS HISTORY

*Edited By*

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

*With*

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY, S. J.

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CHARLES VAN RAVENSWAAY

IRVING DILLIARD

ST. LOUIS

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SITTNER

To

CHARLES E. PETERSON

*who thought of it*

and

JOSEPH DESLOGE

*who made it possible*

In this Summary of the ...



## PREFACE

Except for Alvord's volume of *Cahokia Records* published by the Illinois State Historical Library in 1907 the ancient village of Cahokia has received little recognition as a frontier settlement. Fort Chartres as a military center and Kaskaskia as the principal town of the Illinois Country have attracted interest to the detriment of Cahokia. Yet this place had a special character and importance of its own both as the first of all the settlements of the Mississippi Valley to become permanent and as the northernmost of that group of Illinois Country villages which formed the first nucleus of civilization in the heart of the great valley.

The present volume is intended to focus attention on Cahokia in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding. In it a selection of documents hitherto unpublished, unavailable in English, or otherwise inaccessible illustrate the first century of the town's history—the period in which its population and nature were largely French, though its people lived successively under the French, British, Virginian, and North West Territorial governments.

The introductory narrative by the editor-in-chief gives some account of the people of Cahokia and the growth of the village. Since the village grew up around a mission, it is appropriate to present in the second chapter a group of documents concerned with the founding of the Tamaroa Mission and the history of the church during the eighteenth century. This material has been prepared by Joseph P. Donnelly, S. J., Associate Professor of History at St. Louis University. The third chapter consists of twenty-four representative legal documents which throw interesting light on daily life in the little town. Rose Josephine Boylan of the Illinois Bar has brought her special knowledge to bear in editing these documents. Next is a chapter of business correspondence. Brenda R. Giesecker, Librarian and Archivist of the Missouri Historical Society, has edited a group of more than thirty letters by Charles Gratiot which are typical of the activities of a frontier enterpriser. George Rogers Clark brought Cahokia into the Revolutionary War in the summer of 1778: Charles van Ravenswaay, Director of the Missouri Historical Society, has had the difficult assignment of straightening out the confused history of affairs at Fort Bowman and has in the process edited a number of letters written from that fort in 1780. The life of a place is often well and interestingly illuminated by a glance at the death records: Father Donnelly has therefore edited a ten-year section of the extant burial records of the Holy Family Church. Although the establishment of the Trappists in the early nineteenth century was not actually in Cahokia, it is always associated in the public mind with the village; it was thought worth-

while to include a group of letters written by the Trappist superior to the Bishop of Quebec, a personal friend. This material has been translated and edited by Father Donnelly. For the closing chapter Irving Dilliard, of the editorial staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and a past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, has chosen from the Illinois Supreme Court Reports the record of two cases which, though they were decided in the mid-nineteenth century, yet illustrate phases of life in the eighteenth century village.

The editors wish to express their gratitude to those persons and organizations who have generously granted permission to print and in some instances actually have supplied copies of documents in their possession: the Abbe Arthur Maheux, Archivist, and the Seminary of Quebec (Laval University); Mr. Charles E. Peterson and the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, National Park Service; the Most Reverend Albert R. Zuroweste, Bishop of Belleville; Father Joseph H. Mueller, Pastor of the Holy Family Parish of Cahokia; Miss Margaret C. Norton, Archivist, and the Illinois State Library; Mr. Charles van Ravenswaay, Director, and the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Mr. Paul M. Angle, Director, and the Chicago Historical Society; the Virginia Historical Society; Mr. Clarence E. Miller, Librarian, and the Mercantile Library of St. Louis; Mr. Stratford Lee Morton of St. Louis.

The editors are, of course, indebted to many other persons for assistance, advice, and special courtesies: Mr. Jay Monaghan, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society; Miss Helene Rogers, Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library; the Reverend Morris F. Driscoll of Belleville; Dr. John T. Murphy, Librarian of the East St. Louis Public Library, and his staff; Mr. E. P. Griffin, Superintendent of the East St. Louis Park District, and his staff; the Honorable Quinten E. Spivey, Judge of the Probate Court, and Messrs. Bert Allison, Clerk of the Probate Court, Walter G. Flannigen, County Recorder, and Charles G. Becker, Clerk of the Circuit Court, with their staffs (all of Belleville, Illinois); Miss Joyce Hope Miller; Dr. L. G. Osborn, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, East St. Louis; Mr. B. C. McCurdy, civil engineer, of Belleville; the Honorable Edward F. Bareis, Judge of the Circuit Court, East St. Louis, and Messrs. Horace J. Eggmann, Jr., Robert J. Harding, Philip G. Listeman, Josiah Whitnel, R. V. Gustin, and Mrs. Gertrude G. Huitt, all of the East St. Louis Bar.

Above all, the editors appreciate the support and encouragement of Mr. Joseph Desloge of St. Louis whose generosity and whose deep interest in the history of the French in the Mississippi Valley has made possible the publication of this volume.

St. Louis

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

23 March 1949

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# CHAPTER I

## CAHOKIA AND ITS PEOPLE

By JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

The wilderness stretched for a thousand miles, two thousand miles, east and south and southwest. Frenchmen from Canada had moved west over the Great Lakes to the headwaters of the Mississippi and its most northern tributaries, but no white man had yet penetrated the heart of the great valley, none had ventured south on the river to return and tell about it. The muddy, turbulent, untamed river, its beautiful bluffs and rich prairie lands beyond remained unseen, unsearched, unknown until two small bark canoes left the newly-founded mission of St. Ignace at Michillimackinac on 17 May 1673.

Captain Louis Jolliet, chosen by the governor at Quebec to explore the water road, his friend Jacques Marquette, Jesuit missionary, and five *voyageurs* moved boldly down Green Bay and up the Fox River, over the portage and down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. The end of June found them at the mouth of the Missouri, where Father Marquette wrote down in his journal a vivid description of the piasa bird which for more than a century and a half was to be a familiar landmark for river travelers. At the Arkansas the explorers turned back, retraced their way as far as the Illinois River, and thence to Lake Michigan and the straits of Mackinac.

From this year on Frenchmen of Canada roamed the waters of the great valley. When Marquette on his second trip south in 1674 wintered at the Chicago River portage, he found Pierre Moreau *dit* La Toupine and a French surgeon (who came to attend him in his illness) established in an Illinois village fifty miles away.<sup>1</sup> Little positive knowledge has been found of the courageous and adventurous men who ranged the woods and waters of the Illinois and the Mississippi—and even the Missouri—for a perilous and exciting

<sup>1</sup> Marquette, "Journal, 1674-1675," in Louise Phelps Kellogg (editor), *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699* (New York, Scribners, 1917), 266-267.

livelihood during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but traces of them are to be seen in the records and accounts of that period. Official (though not always favorable) recognition of their existence came with the explorations of La Salle and Tonti. The fort-trading posts built on the concessions granted those leaders were the first establishments of record. Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock, Fort Crèvecoeur below Lake Peoria, and the new Fort St. Louis not far from the location of Crèvecoeur were attempts to develop the rich trade possibilities with the Illinois tribes. At the last of these posts the first village of Peoria (Pimitoui) grew up, but it endured no more than a few years. For a time it was the center for those *coureurs de bois* frowned upon by government for their daring and independence and vigorously complained about by concessionnaires as cutting in on the profits of their royally authorized commerce.

From the evidence now available it is not possible to estimate the numbers of such men in the Illinois Country<sup>2</sup> at that time or even to ascertain the names of most of them. Some had come out with La Salle and Tonti as soldiers or *engagés*: others had made their way to the west as independent and unlicensed rivals who ranged the country as they chose and took their profit in spite of the government at Quebec. By the sixteen nineties, if not earlier, these bold fellows were active on the Missouri. Father Gravier, from his mission among the Kaskaskia on the Upper Illinois River, reported to his superiors that in May, 1693, two Frenchmen had accompanied a group of Kaskaskia who had gone "to seek the alliance of the Missouris and the Osages. These french merchants, with the view of carrying on an advantageous trade with those tribes, made proposals of peace to them."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In the broader sense the Illinois Country (*aux Illinois* or *des Illinois*) was the whole territory ranged over by all branches of the Illinois tribe. In reference to regions actually occupied by whites the term was applied in the seventeenth century to the area along the Illinois River and the missions, posts, and villages established here. With the founding of Cahokia and Kaskaskia and the abandonment of the earlier localities, the Illinois Country "moved" to the seventy-mile stretch of lands on the Mississippi which after 1765 became popularly known as the American Bottom. During the French domination the west bank of the river was also part of the Illinois Country.

<sup>3</sup> *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, 72 volumes, Cleveland, Burrows Brothers, 1900), LXIV, 161.



At the close of the century and in the opening years of the next increasing numbers of wandering Canadians were mentioned in official reports. The journal of Iberville recorded the arrival at the Gulf on 4 July 1699 of fourteen men accompanying Montigny and another missionary priest.<sup>4</sup> In the middle of the following February the same official reported the arrival of Tonti with eight men and noted that he had left fourteen others with their baggage at Bayogoulas (one hundred and seventy-five miles from the Gulf). These men, we are told, for the most part were inhabitants of the Illinois and Tamaroa who had come down to see what advantageous employment might be offered them. Two months later all but four of them were once more headed upriver to hunt buffalo for their southern employers.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Relation of Pénicaud, when Le Sueur in June, 1700, reached a little saline river some eight leagues below the Meramec he found a French settlement ("établissement de François") at this spot to which the French and the Illinois Indians were accustomed to go for salt.<sup>6</sup> The presence and activity of numerous Canadians in the Illinois Country is again illustrated in a letter from Iberville to the Minister of the Marine, written 15 February 1703, in which the governor of Louisiana repeated a story that had come to him in a letter from the priests at Tamaroa: some twenty Canadians had left that place to go up the Missouri River with the intention of discovering a route and establishing commercial contact with Mexico as well as finding the mines of which the Indians had spoken.<sup>7</sup>

In September a year later Iberville reported that there were one hundred and ten Canadians on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers who were roaming the heart of the continent in bands of seven or eight—this figure included the men who were with Juchereau at his establishment at the mouth of the Ohio.<sup>8</sup> April,

<sup>4</sup> Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (6 volumes, Paris, Jouast, 1788-1886) IV, 398.

<sup>5</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, IV, 364, 376, 404, 422.

<sup>6</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, V, 407. It was not, however, a permanent settlement.

<sup>7</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, IV, 630; VI, 180.

<sup>8</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, VI, 80.

1706, saw the arrival from the upper portion of the Mississippi of fifty men who intended to settle in Louisiana; two of these had been in the party that had ventured up the Missouri "near the Spanish mines" several years earlier.<sup>9</sup>



It was from these restless adventurers that the French villages in the Illinois Country were to draw their early population. The first activities of the trader-explorers and the missionaries on the Illinois River resulted in no permanent establishment, but they provided the link with Canada that led to the founding of Cahokia in 1699 and of Kaskaskia in 1703.<sup>10</sup> The beginning of the actual settlements grew out of the desire of the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec to have a share in missionary activities in the Mississippi Valley. The Jesuits were already well established at Chicago and on the Illinois River. Their mission at Pimitoui (the second Fort St. Louis, or Peoria) in the sixteen nineties was taking on the

<sup>9</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, VI, 181-182.

<sup>10</sup> For general accounts of the French in the Mississippi Valley and the Illinois Country consult J. H. Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans* (Belleville, Ill., Buechler, 1929) and Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Springfield, The Illinois Centennial Commission, 1920). The best and most detailed story of the founding of Cahokia is Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., "New Light on Old Cahokia," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IX (October, 1928), 99-146, for this period consult also Edward Joseph Fortier, "The Establishment of the Tamarois Mission," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1908), 233-239. The years of British dominion were brilliantly analyzed by Clarence E. Carter in *The Illinois Country, 1763-1774* (Washington, American Historical Association, 1910) and for the period from the Revolution to 1790 by Clarence W. Alvord in his one hundred and fifty page introduction to the *Cahokia Records, 1778-1790* (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1907). The most comprehensive study of Cahokia is Charles E. Peterson's "Notes on Old Cahokia," *The French American Review*, I (July-September, 1948), 184-225; it is being reprinted with some additions in the *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, XLII (March, June, September, 1949). For an interesting brief account of the Illinois Country villages see Joseph M. Carrière's "Life and Customs in the French Villages of the Old Illinois (1763-1939)," in *Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1939, 34-47. An excellent study of life in another village during the French period is Natalia M. Belting's *Kaskaskia under the French Regime* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1948). Much material about Cahokia is to be found in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, especially volumes II, V, VIII, X, XI, XVI and XIX. A history of the Holy Family parish has just been completed by the Reverend Joseph P. Donnelly, S. J.

air of a permanent establishment, and they were exploring the possibilities of instituting another among the Tamaroa. Father Julien Binneteau in the summer or early autumn of 1698 had visited that tribe on the Mississippi River. In January he wrote from his mission an interesting description of the Illinois Country based on what he had seen among the Tamaroa as well as around the Jesuit stations on the Upper Illinois and at Chicago.

I am at present spending the winter with a portion of our savages who are scattered about. I have recently been with the Tamarois, to visit a band of them on the bank of one of the largest rivers in the world—which, for this reason, we call the Missisipi or 'the great river.' More than seven hundred leagues of it have been found to be navigable, without discovering its source. I am to return to the Illinois of Tamaroa in the spring. There is a very great difference between this climate and that of Québec,—where the cold lasts a long time, and a great quantity of snow falls; whereas here, as a rule, the snow remains but a very short time. We have hardly felt the cold during the whole of this month of January. Vines climb all around the trees, up to their tops; the grapes are wild, and are not nearly as good as those of France. There are an infinite number of nut- and plum-trees of various kinds; also some small apples. We find here two other kinds of fruit trees that are not known in France; they are Assimines and Piakimines.<sup>11</sup> Their fruit is good. We in this country go without all our other delicious fruits of France. Game is plentiful, such as ducks, geese, bustards, swans, cranes, Turkeys. Ox, bear, and deer furnish the substantial meats that we eat in the game country. The ox of these regions is of a blackish brown, and is the animal called 'buffalo' in Europe; it has a large hump on the nape of the neck, and very thick hair, like the wool of our sheep in France; this makes good bed-coverings. We also see other animals, such as wildcats, lynxes, and tree-rats;<sup>12</sup> the female of the latter carries her young in a sort of pouch under her belly.

The life led by our savages is as follows. They start on their hunt about the end of September. All walk, or proceed in pirogues, to the wintering-place. From there the most active men, women, and girls go into the interior, to seek the ox; this animal is dangerous, and boldly rushes at him who attacks it, especially when wounded; it snorts furiously, and its glaring eyes are terrible. When

<sup>11</sup> Papaws and persimmons.

<sup>12</sup> Opossums. The French text reads: *rats de bois*.

the savages have killed one, they remove the flesh, especially that from the ribs, and divide it in halves. This meat is afterward spread for some time on a wooden grating, three or four feet high, under which a bright fire is kept up; it is then rolled; and, dried in this manner, it keeps for a long time without becoming tainted. These pieces are called the tenderloins, and are in great demand in the village when the hunters return. This hunt ends about Christmas. The savages come back loaded with these tenderloins, and it is wonderful what heavy loads the men and women carry on the march. The remainder of the time until the month of march is passed in the winter quarters, where the women are continually occupied. The men go, from time to time, to hunt for deer or bear, and spend the rest of the time in gaming, dancing, singing *partisque fruuntur*. They are all gentlemen, the sole occupation of whose lives consists in hunting, in fishing, and in war.

The life that the savages lead in the village is about the same as that in their winter quarters. The women alone till the soil, and sow; they do this carefully, and consequently the corn is very fine and abundant. The idleness of the men is the cause of all their debauchery, and of their aversion to the christian religion. Balls are held here, as in France; while in a cabin the dancers move about to the cadence of a kind of drum, you hear, on the other hand, some old woman singing.

I am almost forgetting to tell you of our gardens. One of their finest ornaments is what we call the watermelon, which grows to an extraordinary size. It has a very sweet taste, and differs from our melons because it does not turn yellow. These melons are eaten without salt, and are harmless even when eaten in quantities.<sup>13</sup>

Binneteau had but just reached home again at Chicago when a party of three missionary priests arrived there from Canada on 21 October 1698. Messrs. de Montigny, Davion, and St. Cosme from the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec were on the tour which was to result in the founding of Cahokia, the first permanent settlement in the Mississippi Valley. At the supplication of the Seminary for an opportunity to share in the missionary work among the Indians, the Bishop of Quebec had on 1 May 1698 granted to this organization the right to establish missions on both banks of the Mississippi River for its entire length. Further letters patent issued on 14 July 1698 specifically assigned to the Gentlemen of the Seminary the Tamaroa Mission a few miles south of the confluence of

<sup>13</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 71-75.

the Missouri. In furtherance of this enterprise the Reverend Francois Jolliet de Montigny was chosen Superior of the expedition, and Jean Francois Buisson de St. Cosme and Antoine Davion (priests), and Thaumur dit La Source (a layman) were named to accompany him. In the comparatively large and well-organized party that left Quebec on 16 July were included three lay-assistants and two black-smiths in addition to *voyageurs*.<sup>14</sup>

Henri de Tonti was their guide and friend in the western country. They reached the Jesuit Mission of St. Ignace in the second week of September. On leaving that place the party consisted of eight canoes: their own three, Tonti's, and four belonging to the Sieur de Vincennes, who was going on a trading voyage to the Miami. They passed slowly down the west shore of Lake Michigan to arrive at the Chicago Mission on 21 October where they met the Jesuit Fathers Pinet and Binneteau. On the twenty-ninth the Seminary priests were once more on their way. For a time the party was divided; St. Cosme's section reached the abandoned Starved Rock fort on the fifteenth of November and four days later arrived at Pimitoui where they added to their party a Frenchman who had lived three years with the Arkansas. On leaving the mission ("the finest that the Reverend Jesuit Fathers have up here"), the party consisted of two canoes belonging to the Seminary (part of their supplies they had left at Chicago), Tonti's, and one other "belonging to five young voyageurs who were glad to accompany us, partly on account of Monsieur de Tonty, who is universally beloved by all the voyageurs, and partly also to see the country."<sup>15</sup> This was the twenty-second of November.

On the sixth of December the travelers were floating on the Mississippi and came the same day to the mouth of the Missouri, saw the piasa bird "now nearly effaced," and camped among Cahokia Indians. The following day about noon they reached the Tamaroa, who, having molested some of Tonti's men the year before, were fearful of consequences. The travelers were asked to visit the village, but, St. Cosme wrote,

<sup>14</sup> For them see "Memorandum of Engagees . . . 1699" in Chapter II.

<sup>15</sup> Letter of St. Cosme, Arkansas Country, 2 January 1699, in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 351.

we did not go, because we wished to prepare for the feast of the Conception. We camped on the other side of the river on the right bank. Monsieur de Tonty went to the village, and after re-assuring them to some extent, he brought the chief, who begged us to go and see him in his village. We promised to do so and on the following day, the feast of the Conception, after saying our masses, we went with Monsieur de Tonty and seven of our men well armed. They came to meet us and led us to the chief's cabin. All the women and children were there, and no sooner had we entered the cabin than the young men and the women broke away a portion of it to see us. They had never seen black gowns, except for a few days Reverend Father Gravier, who had made a journey to their country. They gave us food and we gave them a small present, as we had done to the Kaouchias . . . The Tamarois were encamped on an island about [blank in ms.] lower than the village, probably in order to obtain wood more easily than in their village,<sup>16</sup> which is on the edge of a prairie and some distance away, probably through fear of their enemies. We were unable to ascertain whether they were very numerous; there seemed to be a great many of them, although the majority of their people were away hunting. There would be enough for a rather fine mission, by bringing to it the Kaouchias, who live quite near, and the Mechigamias, who live a little lower down the Micissipi, and who are said to be pretty numerous. We did not see them because they had gone into the interior to hunt. The three villages speak the Illinois languages."<sup>17</sup>

On this same day the Seminary party proceeded south to continue its survey of possible mission sites. The new year found them at the Arkansas where on 2 January 1699 St. Cosme wrote the famous travel letter from which this outline of the trip has been taken.

Late in January the priest-explorers, who had ventured down almost as far as the Natchez, started on the return trip, Davion being left among the Tonicas. The chronicler now is Thaumur. At Tamaroa in March St. Cosme waited while Montigny and Thaumur went up to Chicago to bring back Brother Alexander and the supplies that had been stored there for the winter. "There are as many people [Indians] at the Tamarois as at Kebeq," Thaumur wrote. "It is the largest village that we have seen. There are about 300

<sup>16</sup> The Indians apparently were camped on what soon was called Holy Family Island and later Cahokia Island, and the travelers were presumably on the site of St. Louis.

<sup>17</sup> *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 355-356.

cabins there." On Easter Monday Montigny's party left Chicago with the baggage for Tamaroa and the lower missions; thirty strong, it must have included a number of wandering traders who were anxious to see what kind of business might be done at this new location.<sup>18</sup>

In the meantime St. Cosme had kept busy. Left with two workmen at Tamaroa early in March he had started building. When Montigny arrived on 14 May he found that a presbytery had been built and that the timbers for the chapel had been cut. The chapel, Montigny wrote to Bishop St. Vallier a few months later, soon "being finished, we planted a cross, with the greatest possible ceremony. All the Indians were in attendance."<sup>19</sup> Soon after this ceremony Montigny left the Tamaroa (22 May) to take up residence among the Taensa Indians. With the completion of the chapel and the raising of the cross sometime in the week of 14-22 May 1699, the Mission of the Holy Family of the Tamaroa was formally established.

At this time there were about two thousand Indians in the mission area. The eldest of these, but not the most numerous, were the Tamaroa, who made up about one-third of the group. Their cousins the Cahokias, nearly twice as many, apparently had easily been persuaded to move down from their old village a few leagues to the north. Besides these there were some Metchigamias and a handful of Peorias, as well as a large number of Missouris who were then visitors to the Tamaroa.<sup>20</sup> From the missionary point of view there could hardly be a more profitable location, and one can see, too, why traders would be interested in the new establishment.

The struggle between the Seminary and the Society of Jesus was not settled by the founding of the Tamaroa Mission. Actually Father Binneteau had arrived with M. de Montigny on 14 May

<sup>18</sup> "Letter of Mr. Thaumur de la Source" (Chicago, about Easter, 1699) in John Gilmary Shea, *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi* (Albany, 1861), 83-85. This was not the Reverend Dominic Thaumur (who came somewhat later to the Illinois Country) but a layman who was probably a relation.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted by Garraghan in "New Light on Old Cahokia," 109.

<sup>20</sup> So Father Bergier wrote to the Bishop of Quebec in February, 1700; quoted in Fortier, "The Establishment of the Tamarois Mission," 236.

1699 to be the resident missionary of his order. St. Cosme was understandably annoyed but, to preserve a unified front to the Indians, allowed the Jesuit to conduct services in his chapel. The latter could not have stayed very long, however, for he accompanied the Indians on their summer buffalo hunt, and in the winter he went up to Peoria, where he died on Christmas Day 1699.

Now other Seminarians arrived to assist St. Cosme. Marc Bergier came as vicar-general for the Mississippi Valley in place of Montigny and was to remain as missionary at Tamaroa after the departure of St. Cosme not many months later. To replace Binneteau came Father Pinet from Peoria. So for several years the rival organizations maintained representatives at this controversial and strategic spot. Pinet had the advantage of longer service among the Indians of this region: he knew the language. Bergier wrote that the Jesuits had a dictionary and grammar of the Tamaroa language. Not being able to talk with the Indians, Bergier had to confine his ministrations to the French of the village.<sup>21</sup>

Another threat to the young mission and village lay in the new settlement of the Kaskaskias who had moved in 1700 from the Illinois River to a location opposite Tamaroa (that is, near the southern limits of present St. Louis). The Jesuits served these Kaskaskias, and M. Bergier saw in their presence across the river a plan to lure the Tamaroa to the other side. Not only had the chief of the Tamaroa and a few of his people already gone there, he wrote in April, 1701, but nearly all the French had gone over, too. "The Land of Life" the Kaskaskia called their new village.<sup>22</sup>

Before many months had passed Bergier had sufficiently qualified himself in the speech of the Tamaroa and announced that he was going to take over the pastoral care of the Indians. Father Pinet gave no ground. For a time two rival churches called the Indians to morning and evening services. The controversy, of course,

<sup>21</sup> The information in this paragraph and the next is from extracts of Bergier's correspondence supplied me by the Abbé Arthur Maheux, Archivist of the Seminary of Quebec (Laval University) and from Garraghan's "New Light on Old Cahokia."

<sup>22</sup> For this settlement see Garraghan, "The First Settlement on the Site of St. Louis," in his *Chapters in Frontier History* (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1934), 73-84; and Laurence J. Kenny, S. J. in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, I (April, 1919), 151-156..



had been carried to the highest authority for settlement: Versailles decreed in June, 1701, that the Seminary of Foreign Missions alone was to be established among the Tamaroas, but in those days of slow communication it was a full year before the news reached the Illinois country and the Seminary Priests found themselves in full enjoyment of the mission they had founded. There was nothing for Father Pinet to do but move across to the right bank of the river in June, 1702, where he died on the first of August, his funeral service conducted by Father Bergier. In the next spring the Kaskaskia moved once more, this time to the river which took their name, and since the Jesuits went with them, the settlement at the Des Peres no longer existed to rival Cahokia.

Except for that of priests and commandants personal history during the early decades of Cahokia remains vague. The names and numbers of its people are chiefly unknown and uncertain, for the parish records were burned when the church was destroyed in 1783 and the civil records for the period of French domination have almost all disappeared. Many of the first men there, no doubt, were frontier roughs who could not get along in the Canadian towns or restless fellows who were always in search of exciting adventures. Such must have been the twenty who journeyed up the Missouri River in 1702 in search of the Spanish mines. A more stable sort were the merchant-traders who hoped to build fortunes in the fur trade; when these settled down, a village took on some air of permanence. The firm establishment of the mission in a location so advantageous for trading purposes formed a nucleus for the anonymous floating population that had steadily been increasing since the days of Jolliet and Marquette, and the settlement of Cahokia quickly assumed an importance as a frontier outpost that it was to keep until the founding of St. Louis in 1764.

Cahokia as a village must have been co-eval with the mission. Certainly when Le Sueur, on his way from the Gulf to look for copper mines in Minnesota, landed at the place on 25 June 1700, the reception he met must have made this settlement a thousand miles from nowhere seem a lively little town. The Frenchmen who

lived there, Pénicaud set down in his *Relation*, greeted Le Sueur with a volley, for many of them had known him earlier in Canada. For his part the leader of the expedition, who to the surprise of the Indians had approached the landing place under sail, replied with a salute from his cannon. When the travelers landed, more than thirty Canadian merchants who had come down on fur trade business pressed forward to greet him. Of the residents Pénicaud recorded the names of the Seminary priests, Bergier, Bouteville, and St. Cosme, and the Jesuits Pinet and Binneteau. From among the other residents living there Le Sueur was able to find five replacements for four of his men who wished to quit the expedition. Of the five the only one named in the record was Chapongas, who was to serve the party as interpreter, for "he spoke well the languages of all the tribes."<sup>23</sup>

The rough and independent character of the earliest settlers shows in the occasional references to them in official documents. In 1708 Bienville sent a representative up to the Illinois country because rumors had reached Louisiana that the Canadian-French there were stirring up the Indians to an inter-tribal war. He strictly forbade the Canadians and Indians at Cahokia from going to war and asked the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions to warn Mobile (then the capital of Louisiana) if the Canadians again began to excite war among the Indians.<sup>24</sup>

Seven years later a letter from a Canadian official to the French minister reported that news had come down to Montreal from Michillimackinac

that about 100 Frenchmen, who secretly went up to Michilimakinak two years ago, after consuming the wares of the merchants who had equipped them, went to the Thamarois on the Mississippi river, where 47 were already established. He reports that they are living there at their ease; as grain thrives in that region they have built a mill, and have a great many cattle. They get as many savage slaves as they wish, on the River of the Missouri, whom they use to cultivate their land; and they sell these to the English of Carolina, with whom they trade. This settlement is a dangerous one, serving as a retreat for the lawless men both of this Colony and of Louisiana.

<sup>23</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, V, 408-409.

<sup>24</sup> Pénicaud's *Relation* in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, V, 476-477.

But as we see no possibility of preventing it, we believe, Monseigneur, that we might render it useful for the service of the King and of the Colony by sending there a dozen Soldiers, Commanded by an officer, who could build a fort there, and gradually establish order among those Frenchmen. With them he would be able to oppose the building of forts by the English, and all the enterprises carried on by them in that territory, which has been considered as French since the founding of the Colony. As it is only about sixty Leagues from the Thamarois post to that of ouabache,<sup>25</sup> the French in either could, in case of need, come to the help of the other.<sup>26</sup>

It is more than possible that the "Thamarois" named in this letter of 1715 stood for the Illinois Country rather than merely Cahokia. Certainly if these hundred French went to the Tamaroa settlement they could not have stayed long. The forty-seven "already established" there likewise constitute a mystery, unless the writer had in mind Kaskaskia as well. No evidence has turned up to show that the permanent population of Cahokia in these first decades ever amounted to more than a handful. When Charlevoix, for example, stopped for a night at Cahokia (10 October 1720), he did not find the settlement imposing:

The same Day we went to lay in a Village of the *Caoquias*, and the *Tamarouas*: These are two Nations of Illinois, which are united, and who do not together make a very numerous Village. It is situated on a little River, which comes from the East, and which has no Water but in the Spring Season; so that we were forced to walk a good half League to the Cabins. I was surprised that they had chosen such an inconvenient Situation, as they might have found a much better; but they told me that the *Mississippi* washed the Foot of the Village when it was built, and that in three Years it had lost half a League of Ground, and that they were thinking of looking out for another Settlement.<sup>27</sup>

Nor was Diron d'Artaguiette much better impressed three years later. As he approached on 6 June 1723 he saw some traders crossing the river and presumed that they were going to visit the Missouri Indians. At Cahokia Diron found a "wretched fort of piles" under the command of Jean Groston de St. Ange, who had

<sup>25</sup> That is, the Ohio (near its mouth).

<sup>26</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI, 331-332.

<sup>27</sup> *Letters to the Dutchess of Lesdiguières; giving an account of a Voyage to Canada, and Travels through that vast country and Louisiana* (London, 1763), 291.

six soldiers for a garrison. The only other buildings mentioned by the inspector were the church and the house of Mr. Mercier, the priest of the Foreign Missions. The Indian village was then about one-eighth of a league higher up.<sup>28</sup> Diron was interested in the regulation of Indian affairs, Charlevoix in the state of the missions—neither found the French settlement worthy of comment. And a few months later Bourgmond, on his way to establish Fort Orleans on the Missouri, reinforced his party at Cahokia by adding to it the garrison of the “poor little fort”: he took away with him not merely young Louis St. Ange and the six soldiers but the missionary Mercier as well.<sup>29</sup> This surely must have been the lowest point in the early history of Cahokia.

The first official estimate of population at Cahokia was made by Diron d'Artaguiette in his census of the Illinois Country in 1723. He credited the village with seven *habitants*, one white laborer, one married woman, and three children, whereas Kaskaskia then had one hundred and ninety-six inhabitants and the new village of Fort Chartres one hundred and twenty-six.<sup>30</sup> Since no mention was made of the clerics, it is clear that this was a census of the French village which did not include any persons attached to the mission. Such figures, moreover, included only permanent inhabitants, not the traveling merchants who came down seasonally from Canada in considerable numbers, nor the traders who ventured out over all the rivers among the Indians, so that on occasion at least Cahokia must have presented a much livelier appearance than a permanent population of twelve would permit.

Another census made 1 January 1732 is even more unsatisfactory. It listed only the “Mission de Cahouquias” without mention or indication of the French village. Of persons it named Messrs.

<sup>28</sup> Newton D. Mereness (editor), *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, Macmillan, 1916), 80-81. It is clear from several references by D'Artaguiette that the elder St. Ange was then commanding at Cahokia and that the son was serving in a lesser capacity of some sort.

<sup>29</sup> Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort Orleans (1673-1728)* (Paris, Champion 1925), 82. Although the elder St. Ange served later at Fort Orleans, it was Louis who accompanied Bourgmond at this time.

<sup>30</sup> Natalia M. Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1948), 13.

Mercier and Courier, priests, Le Mieux, lay brother, and Le Flament, *engagé*. In addition three *habitants* were recorded (Louis Gaut, Capucin, and La Source) but without details as to their families, if any.<sup>31</sup> A letter from Mercier about this time (3 August 1732) again suggests that as a town Cahokia hardly existed: "If only twenty families would come down from Canada, that would start a parish. More than two hundred *habitants* could be wonderfully placed, and in a very short time they could live as comfortably as they do in Canada."<sup>32</sup>

In 1722 Boisbriant, Commandant of the Illinois Country (now officially a part of Louisiana), and La Loëre des Ursins, representing the Royal Company of the Indies, granted to the missionaries at Tamaroa a tract of land four leagues square.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps this large grant which began a quarter of a league above the Cahokia River and ran south along the Mississippi was the foundation of the fortune of the mission and the misfortune of the French village. It provided the mission with a sufficient area for the development of considerable enterprise. But it by no means encouraged free men to settle. After all, to build and farm on the land of another and pay him rent seemed unreasonable in the face of the great extent of rich wilderness.

It is possible that by a decade later the priests were beginning to recognize this fact. Father Mercier, summarizing much local history for Governor Vaudreuil of Canada in 1743, emphasized the fact that after the grant of 1722 the mission had "made great disbursements to establish firmly the little French village of Kaokias." In 1731 the mission bought from the Indians a tract of land thirty *arpents* wide by ten deep on which it wished to locate settlers and gave "tracts of land gratuitously to all."<sup>34</sup>

Certainly in 1735 for the first time the village of Cahokia and

<sup>31</sup> Library of Congress transcript, Paris Documents, Colonies, G 1, 464.

<sup>32</sup> Schlarman, *From Quebec to New Orleans*, 290.

<sup>33</sup> This document is printed in Chapter II.

<sup>34</sup> This letter is printed in Chapter II. The *arpent* as a linear measure was about 192 English feet; as a square measure about .85 acre. Common-field grants in the Illinois villages were made in long strips one or more arpents wide by forty or more deep (the depth was often determined by a natural boundary such as the bluffs behind Cahokia). Settlers were generally allotted strips in several locations rather than a single block of farm land.

its surroundings take on clear outlines in a most interesting report that the priests Mercier and Courrier sent back to their headquarters. At last we can see—literally as well as verbally, for plan of the settlement was an important part of the document—both the French and the Indian villages lying hidden from the main channel of the Mississippi by the island of the Holy Family (later to be known as Cahokia Island and eventually to become part of the Illinois shore). The three little rivers of the neighborhood, the waterfall, the bridge over the stream to the next prairie are carefully and clearly described. The difficulties in locating and constructing mills for effective operation is contrasted with what looks to the writers like a reasonable solution of the problem. The layout of the mission buildings enables us to picture their orchard and garden and slave cabins and barns.

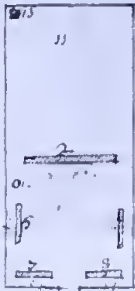
But this *explication du plan* does more than picture the mission: in it we find precise information about the French village. The text of the document and the plan itself show that seven *habitants* had houses in the village: Louis Gault, Blondin, Robillard, La Source, Rolet, Francois Mercier, and Pichard.<sup>35</sup> Other houses were occupied by M. de Montchervaux, the commandant, by Jean Messuy (?), and by Abraham and Pitre, these not being designated as *habitants*. In the area that had been bought from the Indians in 1731 common fields had been laid off: four strips three *arpents* wide, running the full depth of the tract, had been given (by warranty deed, apparently) to Pichard, Blondin, Gault, and La Source, probably in that order counting from the village. Next came a strip of six *arpents* which was reserved to the mission. Then three more tracts of three *arpents* belonged to Rolet, Francois Mercier, and Robillard “who is the farthest away.” The priests and the last three *habitants*, it seems, were able to sow wheat only in the upper or farther portion of their fields because the Indians had not yet moved entirely away from the ground they had sold. It is interesting to read that the settlers “absolutely insisted that their lands begin at the little river that separates the island from this prairie and that they must be

<sup>35</sup> Garraghan, Schlarman, and others have given this name as *Richard*. However, in the *Explication du plan* as well as in the legend on the plan itself, the name is clearly written Pichard.



# PLAN DE LA SEIGNEURIE ET ÉTABLISSEMENT DE LA MISSION DES TAMAROIS.

Barrage de la Mission



ÉCHELLE DE DEMIE LIEUE

Plan pour la Carte

1. Village Sauvage de K. L. L.
2. Maison de l'Anglais et l'abbat
3. Maison de B. L. L.
4. Maison de K. L. L.
5. Maison de L. L. L.
6. Maison de L. L. L.
7. Maison de L. L. L.
8. Maison de L. L. L.
9. L'eglise
10. Maison de la famille de L. L. L.
11. Maison des M. L. L.
12. Maison de L. L. L.
13. Maison de L. L. L.
14. Maison de L. L. L.
15. Maison de L. L. L.
16. Maison de L. L. L.
17. Maison de L. L. L.
18. Maison de L. L. L.
19. Maison de L. L. L.
20. Maison de L. L. L.
21. Maison de L. L. L.
22. Maison de L. L. L.
23. Maison de L. L. L.
24. Maison de L. L. L.
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29. Maison de L. L. L.
30. Maison de L. L. L.
31. Maison de L. L. L.
32. Maison de L. L. L.

- Plan pour la Carte
1. Maison de L. L. L.
  2. Maison de L. L. L.
  3. Maison de L. L. L.
  4. Maison de L. L. L.
  5. Maison de L. L. L.
  6. Maison de L. L. L.
  7. Maison de L. L. L.
  8. Maison de L. L. L.
  9. Maison de L. L. L.
  10. Maison de L. L. L.
  11. Maison de L. L. L.
  12. Maison de L. L. L.
  13. Maison de L. L. L.



granted in depth to the bluffs, as they have been granted" everywhere else in the Illinois. "We could not refuse them, not only so that we would not live alone at this mission, which would not be expedient for us, but also not to give occasion of crying out against us, which would not have failed to happen." The village at this time consisted of at least ten houses, not counting that of the commandant or the fort or the mission buildings—a little place but one with definite character and being.

One other comment of particular interest in this report on the state of their mission and its village is the reference to the new fort of stone which the crown had planned for the Illinois Country. Fort Chartres, built of wood, was in no imposing condition. Though two decades were to pass before the stone fort would actually replace it, its location was already under active consideration. "The former village of the Kaskaskias [that is, the west bank of the Mississippi, just north of the Des Peres] is rightly considered a very advantageous spot," the priests wrote and then summed up all the good reasons for such choice. Home officials, however, were eventually to determine on rebuilding at the old location, a singularly unsatisfactory one for a fort, and the value of the western bank was to wait for recognition by the appreciative mind of Pierre LaClède.<sup>36</sup>

Life at Cahokia continued in this double pattern. The mission priests as "lords" of the seigniory had their troubles. Grants of lands to induce settlers to stay with them. The building of a water mill (which they did not need themselves) at a cost of over four thousand francs only to find that after all the water supply was too slight and too uncertain. The building of a wind mill (another thousand crowns) and the hiring of a miller at the rate of four thousand pounds of flour a year and then not taking in enough grist to pay the miller. Troubles with the Indians, the giving of many presents to induce them to move farther away that there might be fewer quarrels between them and the French of the village. But their life was not too difficult, too bare. The priests' house was eighty-four feet long; they had a family of Indian slaves and two

<sup>36</sup> This document is printed in Chapter II.

families of black slaves as well as four other Negroes. Something of the way they lived may be divined from the lists of goods that were received during the seventeen twenties. It was not rich living, perhaps, but one judges it was rather comfortable wilderness style. Most interesting of their possessions to us today were the books. A library of eighty or ninety volumes—even though it was strictly professional—was worthy of note in that frontier country.<sup>37</sup>

Of the way the settlers lived at this time there are neither documents nor travelers' descriptions to tell us. Every man farmed, of course, everyone had some cattle and hogs and his own fruit. Grapes and nuts were to be had for the taking. Probably every man was a bit of a fur trader and Indian trader. The Illinois Country shipped much flour and other provisions to lower Louisiana during these decades, and always during this time furs were the principal business.<sup>38</sup> Whether they could read and write, what household furniture they had, how they amused themselves, we have no documents left to tell us: probably they were much like their Canadian ancestors, much like the Cahokians of the late eighteenth century. War touched them occasionally, but the records of it are slight. Even as early as 1700 the Sioux raided the Cahokia Indians and killed a slave belonging to a Frenchman.<sup>39</sup> The village as the northernmost settlement of the Middle Valley had its share in the Fox War, and in 1736 Montchervaux led fourteen Frenchmen and one hundred and thirty Indians from Cahokia southward to the Chickasaw campaign. Luckily for them, they were late to battle and lived to return home.<sup>40</sup>

By 1752 Cahokia had grown considerably. The census taken in that year by Macarty, commandant of the Illinois Country, was probably incomplete, for it ought to contain names which do not

<sup>37</sup> See the Mercier Letter of 1743 and the "Explanation of the Plan of the Mission" and the "Lists of Goods received at the Mission in 1718-1725 and 1730" in Chapter II, below.

<sup>38</sup> For some account of conditions of trade in the Illinois Country and of the fur trade in the Mississippi Valley between 1700 and 1765 see N. M. Miller Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Regime* (New York, Columbia University, 1916), 288-303; 335-366.

<sup>39</sup> Fortier, "The Establishment of the Tamarois Mission," 237. At this date the Sioux were still on the Upper Mississippi.

<sup>40</sup> *Mississippi Provincial Archives* (Jackson, Mississippi Historical Society, 1927), I, 313.

appear, but it did report a total of one hundred and thirty-six persons—which may have been a tripling of population since 1735. Now there were eighteen men, thirteen women, one widow, three boys of military age, sixteen boys over twelve years, six marriageable girls, seventeen girls over twelve years, fifteen volunteers, eleven Negroes, six Negresses, four Negro boys, three Negro girls, eleven male savages, and twelve female savages (these in the last two categories, like the Negroes, being slaves). This count did not include, of course, the military stationed at the Cahokia fort, nor did it include the Superior of the mission.<sup>41</sup>

Among names already familiar to us as residents of Cahokia we note first of all Father Jean B. Mercier, still Superior of the mission (he died the next year, 1753). Next comes "le Sieur Mercisé," apparently regarded by the census taker as the chief personage of the village, for only he is designated with the *mister*. This seems without doubt to be Francois Mercier; as a blacksmith he would be a person of considerable importance in a frontier village. Louis Geau is the same one whose name in 1732 appeared as Gaut and three years later as Gault. Capucin may be the man of that name who lived in Cahokia in 1732 (in 1740, Miss Belting says, he lived at the village of Fort Chartres). None of the other names given in the 1732 census or noted by Mercier on his 1735 *Plan* appeared in this 1752 roll of names; presumably they had either died or moved to another of the French villages in the Illinois Country.

The sixteen heads of families whose names have not previously appeared in this narrative were Jacques Martin, who had married Catherine Noizet *dit* L'Abbé; he bought land from Francois Mercier in Cahokia Prairie in 1747; at this time they had two children born in Cahokia. Rotiseur, probably Antoine Rotiseur, a *voyageur*. Jacques Barrois, a son of Jean Baptiste Barrois, royal notary of the Illinois; Jacques married Susanne Baron at Cahokia in 1747. The widow Lajoy, *nee* Pancrassé; widow first of Joseph Brault *dit*

<sup>41</sup> Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime*, 39. The classification for the sixteen boys and the seventeen girls on the original document in the London Public Record Office is written *au dess*, which may as well be the abbreviation for *under* as for *over* and would more reasonably be rendered *under* in this context. The word *volontaires* would seem to apply to a class of men who did not share in the commons and common fields.

Pominville whom she had married at Cahokia in 1743, she married secondly Bernard Bouillon *dit* Lajoy in 1746 and had one daughter by him living in 1752; shortly after this census she took her third husband, Roy, by whom she had five children. Paul Poupart *dit* Lafleur, who had married at Cahokia in 1749 Françoise Santorum. Jean Roy *dit* Lapensé, who took for second wife in 1752 the widow Lajoy. Pierre Dumont *dit* Laviolette, who married Agnes Marthe Clement at Kaskaskia in 1747; a daughter was born in Cahokia in 1751, and the wife died there later that year. Joseph Marcheteau *dit* Noyers whose daughters Jeanne (1747), Elisabeth (1752), and Marie Joseph (1759) were married in Cahokia; Marcheteau apparently came to Cahokia sometime after 1744. Charles Amador Routier, mason, married at Cahokia (1747) Jeanne Marcheteau; at the time of the census they had two children. Pierre Locat, who married Marie Chevalier. Nicolas Marechal married Jeanne Illeret of Fort Chartres village; four of their nine children were born in Cahokia between 1745 and 1751. A man named Peltie. A man named Placit. Joseph Dorion, who married Marie Anne Padoka at Cahokia in 1749. A man named Alarie. Jean Andreau *dit* St. Jean, who married Marie Louise ..... at Cahokia in 1749.<sup>42</sup>

A visitor's impression of the Illinois Country about this time will fill out a little the picture we have formed of Cahokia. The Jesuit Father Vivier in November 1750 wrote:

The soil is fertile, and vegetables of all kinds would grow in it almost as well as in France, if they were cultivated with care. Nevertheless wheat, as a rule, yields only from five to eightfold; but it must be observed that the lands are tilled in a very careless manner, and that they have never been manured during the thirty years which they have been cultivated. This poor success in growing wheat is due still more to the heavy fogs and too sudden heats. But, on the other hand, maize—which in France is called Turkish corn—grows marvelously; it yields more than a thousandfold; it is the food of domestic cattle, of the slaves, and of most of the natives of the country, who eat it as a treat. The country produces three times as much food as can be consumed in it. Nowhere is game more abundant; from mid-October to the end of March the people

<sup>42</sup> Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime*, 116-119. Miss Belting has assembled much interesting data about these people.

live almost entirely on game, especially on the wild ox [buffalo] and deer.

The horned cattle have multiplied exceedingly; most of them cost nothing, either for care or for food. The working animals graze on a vast common around the village; others, in much larger numbers, which are intended for breeding, are shut up throughout the year on a peninsula over ten leagues [sic] in extent, formed by the Mississippi and the river of the Tamarouas [Holy Family Island had been used as commons by the Cahokians for more than thirty years]. These animals, which are seldom approached, have become almost wild, and artifice must be employed in order to catch them. If a habitant needs a pair of oxen, he goes to the peninsula. When he sees a bull large enough to be trained, he throws a handful of salt to him, and stretches out a long rope with a noose at the end; then he lies down. The animal which is eager for the salt, draws near; as soon as its foot is in the noose the man on the watch pulls the rope, and the bull is captured. The same is done for horses, calves, and colts; this is all that it costs to get a pair of oxen or of horses. Moreover, these animals are not subject to any diseases; they live a long time, and, as a rule, die only of old age.

. . . There is not, in all America, any special officer who has such a province as has he who commands for the King among the Illinois . . . the finest country in the world.<sup>43</sup>

## II

With the Peace of Paris in 1763 life began to change greatly for the people of Cahokia: St. Louis, founded the next year on Spanish territory, was to become the commercial center of the Illinois Country; and the Americans were to begin the mighty sweep westward that would absorb or isolate the earlier settlers. In the remaining decades of the eighteenth century Cahokia would pass through its most exciting and difficult years only to find itself out-paced by the newer town across the river.

Between Macarty's census in 1752 and the actual transfer to Great Britain thirteen years later the population of the village had doubled or trebled. No accurate count of inhabitants for that period exists, but comments by several British officers and officials give us some idea of the size of the place. Captain Thomas Stirling, to whom St. Ange surrendered Fort Chartres on 10 October 1765,

<sup>43</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 219-223.

wrote to General Gage about two months later: "I have not been able to get an Exact Account of the Number of the Inhabitants, as there is always many of them at N Orleans, trading with the Indians, or Hunting, which they go to as regularly as the Savages." His estimate for Cahokia was "about Forty" families. Apparently this represented some decline, for he reported that when this country "was Ceded to us, many Familys went away for fear of the English, and want of Troops to protect them from the Indians." The new settlement of St. Louis had now fifty families almost entirely drawn from the old Illinois towns, he declared, and Ste. Genevieve had suddenly grown about as large as St. Louis.<sup>44</sup> It had been difficult to hold the French inhabitants of the ceded territory:

Mr Ne[y]on who commanded before Mr St Ange was very Active in Enticing the Inhabitants of this Side, to go over to the other, I wrote Your Excellency that few or none had given in their Names, to go away, which made me hope they intended staying, but I have found since that, that was only a blind, for many of them drove off their Cattle in the night and carried off their Effects and grain, which I did everything in my power to prevent, but as I was not in a condition to send partys to the two Ferrys of Caho and Cas-kaskias . . . a good deal of Cattle and some Grain has been carried off, and if the gentlest methods are not used with those that Stay, who are the best, we shall lose them, too.<sup>45</sup>

In August 1766 Captain Harry Gordon, accompanied by Lieutenant Philip Pittman and Ensign Thomas Hutchins, reached the Illinois Country, and each of them has left his own account of Cahokia, which they first saw on 29 August. Gordon noted that "Here are 43 Familyes of French who live well, & so might three Times the number as there is a great Quantity of arable clear Land of the best Soil near it." When he visited St. Ange in St. Louis the next day, the English captain discovered in Pierre LaCledé a threat to the prosperity of Cahokia: this enterprising merchant, he found, "takes so good Measures" that the great part of the trade that ought to go to the English Illinois was being brought to him.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The Macarty census gave Ste. Genevieve in 1752 a population of twenty-four.

<sup>45</sup> *Illinois Historical Collections*, XI, 125.

<sup>46</sup> *Illinois Historical Collections*, XI, 299-300.

The description of Cahokia by Hutchins is a bit more specific. He reported that the town had "50 houses, many of them well built, and 300 inhabitants, possessing 80 negroes, and large stocks of black Cattle, Swine, &c."<sup>47</sup>

The most lengthy of these three accounts was that published by Pittman a few years later:

The village of Sainte Famille de Kaoquias is generally reckoned fifteen leagues from Fort Chartres, and six leagues below the mouth of the river Missouri; it stands near the side of the Mississippi, and is masked from the river by an island of two leagues long; the village is opposite the center of this island; it is long and straggling, being three quarters of a mile from one end to the other; it contains forty-five dwelling-houses, and a church near its center. The situation is not well chosen, as in the floods it is generally overflowed two or three feet. This was the first settlement on the river Mississippi. The land was purchased of the savages by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada, and then resided there leaving their children to succeed them. The inhabitants of this place depend more on hunting, and their Indian trade, than on agriculture, as they scarcely raise corn enough for their own consumption: they have a great deal of poultry and good stocks of horned cattle. The mission of St. Sulpice had a very fine plantation here, and an excellent house built on it; they sold this estate, and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman who chose to remain under the English government. They also disposed of thirty negroes and a good stock of cattle to different people in the country, and returned to France in the year 1764. What is called the fort is a small house standing in the center of the village; it differs in nothing from the other houses except in being one of the poorest; it was formerly enclosed with high pallsades, but these were torn down and burnt. Indeed a fort at this place could be of but little use.<sup>48</sup>



The first consequence to the Cahokians of the French defeat in America was the sale of the mission property. Father Forget du Verger, then vicar-general, fearful of what would happen when the terrible English arrived, sold at auction on 5 November 1763 both

<sup>47</sup> *Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina* (reprinted from the original edition of 1778 and edited by F. C. Hicks, Cleveland, Burdette Brothers, 1904), 109.

<sup>48</sup> *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (edited by F. W. Hodder, Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 92-93.

the mission real estate and a dozen of its negro slaves.<sup>49</sup> At this time the Seminary property consisted of "a stone house and other buildings; and likewise a plantation divided into court, garden, and orchard measuring about three hundred and fifty feet in length and nine hundred in depth . . . likewise a water mill for grinding corn and a plank mill with all its machinery and utensils situated on the little Cahokia River."<sup>50</sup> The mission then also owned thirty-one Indian and Negro slaves. In addition to the twelve Negroes sold to Jean Baptiste Lagrange and Pierre Etienne Marafret Layssard, Forget gave two others to his successor Father Luc Collet; of the remaining seventeen slaves some Forget set free, others he gave away.<sup>51</sup>

It is little wonder that the parishioners were upset. Forget's "haughtiness in his way of acting," the late commandant of Cahokia wrote, "has exasperated everybody . . . he has acted like a man having the most despotic powers. He has bartered all the properties among others the properties of the parsonage, the land of which had been granted by the king to provide for the wants of the priest of this parish, in consequence of which the inhabitants to the number of over sixty important families had built on this land a comfortable and spacious building."

The inhabitants had tried to block the sale. Six days before the auction they had protested, though in vain, to Bobé Desclau-seaux, acting judge at Kaskaskia.<sup>52</sup> Failure at this time, however, did not end the struggle for the property. From the original purchaser, Lagrange, the real estate passed on 4 June 1765 to a man named Jautard. Writing to Bishop Briand in June, 1768, the Jesuit

<sup>49</sup> The documents will be found in Chapter II.

<sup>50</sup> *Illinois Historical Collections*, X, 48. This, however, did not include the fief of four leagues, which reverted to the public domain and part of which at least was recognized as the commons of Cahokia. See Clarence E. Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, II (Washington, 1934), 327-328; III (Washington, 1934), 297-301.

<sup>51</sup> P. F. de Volsay to [the Bishop of Quebec?], New Orleans, 25 January 1764 (transcript in archives of the Bishop of Belleville). According to Captain Stirling (writing to Gage 15 December 1765) Forget gave three negroes their freedom (*Illinois Historical Collections* XI, 126).

<sup>52</sup> *Illinois Historical Collections*, X, 45.



Father Meurin (the one S. J. who survived the expulsion and was now priest of the Cahokia parish) reported what steps he had taken with Forbes, British commandant of the district, to prevent resale by Jautard to an unnamed Englishman; the best he could obtain from Forbes was an injunction against sale until Meurin could procure confirmation of his status as vicar-general.<sup>53</sup>

In the meantime the property, neglected because of its clouded title, was rapidly decaying. In October, 1769, Father Gibault, who had recently come from Canada to assist Meurin in the Illinois, wrote Bishop Briand that "that mission formerly so flourishing is nothing any more—not a slave; the mills are in ruins, the milldams have been carried away by the waters, the barns have fallen, the orchard for lack of a fence has been destroyed by animals, which have eaten the bark off the trees clear to the sap—in a word only the four walls of the house are left, for the roof and the floors are not worth anything."<sup>54</sup>

So matters stood until 1786. Jautard as absentee owner still had the property on his hands. The parishioners, uncertain where they stood, were afraid to move. But one day Augustin Dubuque appeared with a power of attorney from Jautard in Montreal to take possession of the property. In some manner the difficult question of ownership was submitted to arbitrators who, to the complete surprise of Dubuque, decided in favor of the parish.<sup>55</sup> Soon after this episode Father de St. Pierre, who had just come to Cahokia as parish priest in April, brought to the attention of the church wardens a power of attorney given by the Seminary of Quebec to Gibault but never used by him. Acting on this power they caused annulment of the legal proceedings by which the property had been sold. Although all else was dissipated, the ground and the four walls that remained of the presbytery were once more the uncontested property of the parish.<sup>56</sup>

The people of Cahokia now showed an active interest in their church. They set about building a new presbytery in 1787, and

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 302-303.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 614-615.

<sup>55</sup> *Cahokia Records*, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II), 497-509.

<sup>56</sup> See letter of Deputies and Church Wardens to the Seminary of Quebec, 6 June 1787, in Chapter II.

on the ruined foundation of Forget's stone house they began a church to replace that burnt down in 1783. The latter operation must have progressed slowly, for in 1798 it seems not yet finished. "At this time the church was nearly complete, the priest's house [was] a large building in tolerable condition, with a good well and stable."<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, the next year saw the completion and dedication of the new church which was to serve the parish for more than eighty years and which remains today as one of the oldest buildings standing in the Mississippi Valley.



The history of Cahokia in the late eighteenth century has been told in detail by Alvord in the introduction to the *Cahokia Records*. Only a few high lights will be given here. Shortly after taking possession of Fort Chartres, the British appeared at Cahokia. A succession of not very sympathetic commandants in the district did not increase the happiness of the townspeople, and for some years at least families kept on moving across the river to St. Louis. Civil government, promised by the Quebec Act of 1774, had not yet become a reality when the American Revolution broke out. In this period the defeated and lonely Pontiac died—murdered on the main street of the town, in front of the store of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, in April 1769.<sup>58</sup>

The old French fort had fallen into decay even before the British had arrived in the Illinois Country. It was superseded apparently by the stone presbytery that Forget had almost completed before he sold the mission property in November, 1763, a structure which Meurin on 11 June 1768 described as "some sixty odd feet [in length], the roof of which is not even finished." Gibault, in October of the following year, wrote that Colonel Wilkins would never permit him to rent the building, giving as his reason "that he was keeping it to make a barracks." It seems certain that this building was converted into a fort by the British and later was

<sup>57</sup> So wrote J. G. Shea in the *The Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll* (New York, Shea, 1888), 483. His remarks apparently were based on a letter from N. Jarrot and others to Bishop Carroll, 15 September 1798.

<sup>58</sup> Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947), 309-314.

occupied by the Americans in the same manner, for the deputies and church wardens, writing to the Seminary of Quebec on 6 June 1787, referred to the dilapidations caused by the British and the American troops while they were using it as quarters. When once more in possession of the parish, Forget's presbytery, having served as a British fort and as the American Fort Bowman, renewed its ecclesiastical career by serving as the foundation for the new church begun in 1787 and finished twelve years later.<sup>59</sup>

Little more than a decade had passed and the Cahokians had only begun to be reconciled to British rule when the American colonies rebelled and George Rogers Clark conceived his brilliant plan for taking the back country from the English. Kaskaskia was taken, and on 6 July 1778 Joseph Bowman appeared and demanded that Cahokia surrender to the Virginians. But let Clark relate this episode:

I ordered Majr Bowman to mount his company and part of another and a few Inhabitants to inform their Friends what had happened on Horses to be procured from the Town [Kaskaskia] and proceed without delay and if possible get possession of Kohos befor the Insuing morning . . . Numbers of the Gent<sup>n</sup> came and informed me that they were sensible of the design that the Troops ware much fatiegued that they hoped I would not take it amiss at their offering themselves to Execute what ever I should wish done at Kohos that the people were their friends and relations and would follow their Example . . . I informed them that I made no doubt that Majr Bowman would be fond of their company and that as many as chuse it might go . . . in the Eavinging the Majr set out with a Troop but little Inferiour to the one we had Marched into the Countrey<sup>60</sup> the French being commanded by their former militia officircers these new Friends of ours was so Elated at thought of the Parade they ware to make at Kohas that they ware too much Ingaged in Equiping themselves to appear to the best advantage that it was night before the party Moved and the distance 20 Leagues that it was late in the Morning of the 6th before they Reach Kohokia detaining every person they Met with they got into the borders of the Town before they ware discovered the Inhabitants was at first much allarmed at being

<sup>59</sup> *Illinois Historical Collections*, XI, 244; XVI, 313, 615; and the letter of the Church-Wardens to the Seminary of Quebec, 1787, in Chapter II.

<sup>60</sup> Clark had 175 men for his invasion of the Illinois. Bowman (then captain) had thirty Americans for the march to Cahokia; apparently more than one hundred Kaskaskians were riding with him.

thus suddenly visited by strangers in a Hostile appearance and ordered to surrender the Town even by their Friends and Relations but as the confusion among the Women Children appeared greater than they expected from the cry of the big Knife being in Town they Amedately assumed and gave the people a detail of what happened at Kaskaskias the Majr informed them not to be alarmed that although Resistance at present was out of the question he would convince them that he would prever their friendship than otherways that he was authorized to inform them that they ware at Liberty to become Free americans as their Friends at Kaskaskias had or that did not chuse it might move out of the Cuntrey except those that had been ingaged in Inciting the Indians to war Liberty and Freedom & hozaing for the Americans rang thugh the whole Town the Kaskaskias Gent<sup>n</sup> dispersed among their Friends in a few hours the whole was Imicably arranged and Majr Bowman snugly Quartered in the old British Fort some Individuals said that the Town was given up too tamely, but little attention was paid to them a considerable number of Indians that was then incampt in the Neighborhood as this was a principal post of Trade amediately fled . . . by the 8th Majr Bowman got every [thing] settled agrable to our wishes. the whole of the Inhabitants took the oath of allegiance chearfully he set about Repairing the Fort and Regulating the internal Police of the place &c<sup>61</sup>

Clark, anxious to consolidate his conquest, took advantage of the fact that the people of the Illinois Country had been living under military rule: he determined to make them "feell the blessings Enjoyed by an American Citizen," a course which he soon discovered enabled him "to support from their own choice almost a supream authority over them." He set up a local civil government, the first of its kind in the Mississippi Valley. "I caused a Court of sivil Judicature to be Established at Kahos Elected by the people Majr Bowman to the supprise of the people held a pole for a Majestacy [magistracy] and was Elected and acted as Judge of the Court the policy of Mr Bowman holding a pole is easily perseived."<sup>62</sup>

Between the first appearance of the Virginians and the establishment of civil government every day at Cahokia was a day of excitement. Clark himself came up to the village in August and for five weeks he stayed there supervising the affairs.<sup>63</sup> When military matters were arranged to his satisfaction—the old companies of militia

<sup>61</sup> "Memoir" in *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 232-234.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 235. The record of this court from October 1778 to April 1790 fills 447 pages (text and translation) of the *Cahokia Records*.

had now become American companies—he turned his attention to Indian affairs. “The French Gent<sup>n</sup> at the different posts that we now had possession Ingaged warmly in our Interest they appeared [to] Vie with each other in promoting the business and through the Means of their Correspondence Trading among the Indians and otherways in a short time the Indians of Vareous Tribes Inhabiting this Region at Illinois in great numbers came to Kohokias in order to make peace with us . . . those treaties commending last of augt . . . continued between three and four weeks.” Clark made great preparations for the talks. He was fully aware of the significance of the Indians coming in from more than five hundred miles away to seek for peace with the Americans and conducted his negotiations with great dignity and solemnity and with notable success. “So great was our Interest among the Indians about this time that Governor Hamilton on his Expedition against St Vincent with all his Influence could Raise not more than four or five Hundred Indians to accompany him.”

The most striking event of this time of bustle and excitement was the Indian attempt to kidnap Clark. A party from the north, on the promise of a great reward for the capture of the Big Knife leader, had come down with others on the pretence of making peace. They lodged in Thomas Brady’s yard about a hundred yards from Clark’s quarters and spent several days in reconnoitering.

they had observed the House I lodged in very Quiet of Nights and had supposed the Guards to be but few . . . some of them was to cross the [Cahokia] River fire their Guns opposite to their Quarters on which they ware to attempt to get in under the protection of the Quarter Guard as flying from other Indians their Enemies that had fired on them across the River if they suckceeded to Butcher the Guard and Carry myself off a few nights after ther arrival they made the attempt at one o’clock having two much to think to sleep much I happened to be awake at the time the allarm was given they war amediately at the yard gate when the sentinell presenting his piece being a light night they saw the Guard peraded front of the Door More numerous perhaps than they expected they took a by way and got into their Quarters the

<sup>69</sup> For this visit of Clark to Cahokia see his letter to Mason, 19 November 1779, and his “Memoir” in James A. James (editor) *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781* (Illinois Historical Collections, VIII), 123-129, 239-260.

whole Town was now under arms they guard was possitive it was those Indians they were amediately examined Said it was their Enamies that had fired on them cross the Creek that they wanted to get under the protection of the Guard but was not permitted and made the best of their way back to defend themselves but some of the French Gent<sup>n</sup> being better acquainted [with] them than the rest insisted that it was them that give the allarm sent for a candle and discovered that Leggens and Moquesons of the fellows that crossed the River quite wet and muddy.

The chiefs of the offending party Clark had thrown in irons. The next night to show his indifference to danger the colonel stayed in his lodging seemingly without a guard but with the garrison under arms and fifty men "conceiled in a Parlour adjoining," and to make the greater show of it he "assembled a Number of Gentlemen & Ladies, and danced nearly the whole night." Finally he had the prisoners brought into a council and after much haughty talk allowed himself to be persuaded to be reconciled.<sup>64</sup>

Two years later came a season of both defensive and offensive actions.<sup>65</sup> As early as 11 April 1780 Cahokia deputed Charles Gratiot to seek aid from Clark in defending the village against British and Indian forces operating from Michillimackinac. "We are on the eve of being attacked in our village by considerable parties of savages and will not be able to work at the cultivation of our fields, if we do not have prompt succor." The blow fell simultaneously on St. Louis and Cahokia on the twenty-sixth of May and both attacks were repulsed, though with loss. Two weeks later a force of three hundred and fifty Americans and Illinois French (including one hundred from St. Louis) under command of Colonel Montgomery penetrated the Indian country as far as Rock River; unable to establish contact with the enemy they destroyed some Indian villages and left warning of more severe action in the future. Throughout the summer joint patrols of St. Louis and Cahokia militia watched the waterways from the north.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-128, 248-252.

<sup>65</sup> Some documents illustrating affairs at Fort Bowman in 1780 are printed below in Chapter V.

<sup>66</sup> *Cahokia Records (Illinois Historical Collections, II)*, 531. The most detailed account of this attack is that of A. P. Nasatir in "The Anglo-Spanish

In the early fall Cahokians were thrilled by the appearance among them of Augustin Mottin de la Balme, who unofficially represented to them the France to whom they had once belonged. This man, for a time in 1777 inspector-general of cavalry in the Revolutionary army, had come west planning an expedition against Detroit, and he had little difficulty in raising a number of volunteers in Kaskaskia and Cahokia. He left Cahokia on the third of October with forty-one men and fifteen days later moved out of Ouiatanon on the Wabash with a force of one hundred and three. Four days later they took the Miami town where they remained nearly two weeks. Having waited in vain for the remainder of the troops he had expected, he withdrew some distance from Miami and soon after was attacked in the night. He himself and a number of others were killed, and many were carried prisoners to Detroit. One other phase of this campaign particularly affected Cahokia: Colonel de la Balme detached a party of Cahokians under Hamelin and Brady against St. Joseph in Michigan. This force succeeded in capturing and sacking the town but was overtaken and defeated by the British and Indians near the Calumet River on the fifth of December. Of the Cahokians four were killed, two wounded, seven taken prisoner—only four escaped to return home.<sup>67</sup>

The fiasco of Mottin de la Balme and the losses suffered by the detachment under Hamelin and Brady made the Cahokians eager for revenge. Although Spanish official documents treated the second expedition against St. Joseph as a purely Spanish action, Alvord contended reasonably that it was inspired by Cahokia, for it was under way almost immediately after the news of the disaster at Calumet River had reached Cahokia. That village raised a company of twenty volunteers and appealed for aid to Cruzat at St. Louis, who furnished thirty militia under Eugene

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Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783," *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, XXI (October, 1928), 291-358. See also Nasatir's "St. Louis during the British Attack of 1780," *New Spain and the West*, I, 242-261.

<sup>67</sup> For this man consult index to *Kaskaskia Records* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, V); *Cahokia Records*, lxxxix-xciv; C. M. Burton, "Augustin Mottin de la Balme," *Transactions*, Illinois State Historical Society, 1909, 104-135

Pourré dit Beausoleil. Accompanied by two hundred Indians, the expedition set out on 2 January 1781 and took the British outpost on the twelfth of February without the loss of a man. The party then returned home in triumph.<sup>68</sup>



The unhappy condition of the French villages in the 1780's is an old story. The County of Illinois was set up by Virginia on 9 December 1778 and John Todd appointed county lieutenant. He arrived the following May and struggled for months to establish a fair and reasonable procedure. At Cahokia he appointed Francois Trottier commandant of militia (which was attached to the civil, not the military, side of the government) and named as captains of companies Michel Beaulieu and Pierre Godin.<sup>69</sup> The civil court founded by Clark and Bowman was continued. But depreciated currency, the unpaid debts of Virginia, wild land speculation, and violent differences between civil and military officials, as well as between the French and American parties, resulted in conditions of life that were greatly discouraging. As Alvord has said, the people of Illinois

had at first rejoiced that at last the liberty which had been the subject of their dreams was to be enjoyed. There followed a few months of peace under Clark's mild rule, when the French actually stripped themselves of their property to supply the troops with necessities and to further the cause which they had adopted. Then the anxious days came when the vandalism of the troops and the doubt about payment for their goods made them less jubilant. They received Todd with his civil government as a prophet of a new era. Todd had failed and had handed them over to the military, and Montgomery had succeeded in so thoroughly cowing them, that their power of opposition was weak. De

<sup>68</sup> Consult Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country," 343-351; C. W. Alvord, "The Conquest of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781," *Missouri Historical Review*, II (1907-08), 195-210; F. J. Teggart, "The Capture of St. Joseph," *Ibid.*, V (1910-11), 214-228.

<sup>69</sup> No rolls are available to show who served in these military activities. Possibly the earliest list of Cahokians in the American time is that of heads of families in Cahokia and its environs in 1783, sworn to by Jean Baptiste Dubuque, Jean Baptiste Saucier, and Charles Ducharme in 1797 (Edward G. Mason, *Early Chicago and Illinois* [*Chicago Historical Society Collections*, IV], 204-206. It names one hundred persons including several widows and possibly half a dozen Americans.



la Balme had aroused them by the new born hope of once more coming under the dominion of France, and he too had failed; but their pride in the name of Frenchmen had been awakened and from that hour their opposition to the Virginians was more forceful . . . but the long struggle against poverty and tyranny was telling on their courage . . . <sup>70</sup>

It was even possible, Alvord thought, that with little more provocation they might have welcomed the return of the English.

Such conditions after the close of the war did grow worse, until a virtual state of anarchy developed at Kaskaskia. Cahokia fared somewhat better than the official seat of government, for the population remained almost without exception French so that one chief cause of friction was absent. The court there functioned efficiently; its authority was respected and its decisions were enforced even on the Americans of the Grand Ruisseau settlement which lay within its jurisdiction. Its democratic effectiveness was preserved by annual election of judges. Alvord likened it in its official isolation to the ancient city-states. Dependent upon itself, it managed to thrive and grow as Kaskaskia declined. In 1787 the town had two hundred and thirty-nine male inhabitants, according to the census made for General Harmar, whereas Kaskaskia had only one hundred and ninety-one "old men and young."<sup>71</sup> Total population would certainly have been more than double these figures. Three years later the town carried on its militia rolls (1 August 1790) three companies numbering two hundred men and officers, of whom seven only were Americans—such strength would suggest a population of three to four times as many people.<sup>72</sup> The census of 1800 credited Cahokia with seven

<sup>70</sup> *Cahokia Records*, civ. For a detailed statement of their point of view see "Memorial of the Inhabitants of Cahos to Col. de la Balme, 21 September 1780," *Ibid.*, 535-552, and "Memorial of the Inhabitants of Illinois to the Commissioners of Virginia, Kaskaskia, 1 March 1783," *Kaskaskia Records*, 329-340.

<sup>71</sup> This list, with most names identified, is printed in *Cahokia Records*, 624-632.

<sup>72</sup> For the rolls of these companies see Mason, *Early Chicago and Illinois*, 216-220. For other lists of inhabitants of Cahokia and Prairie du Pont see the 1790 census reports forwarded to Washington by Governor St. Clair (Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, II, 259-261, and the lengthy letter from St. Clair to Antoine Girardin, 29 May 1790, listing many land claims for him to survey (*Ibid.*, 263-274).

hundred and nineteen people and Kaskaskia with only four hundred sixty-seven.<sup>73</sup>

The passage of the Ordinance of 1787 setting up the Northwest Territory carried promise of better times, but St. Clair, appointed governor the following year, did not reach the Mississippi for two years more.<sup>74</sup> Even when St. Clair County was established in 1790 with Kaskaskia as seat of government, Cahokia retained its independence and its own courts.<sup>75</sup> When an officious judge came to Kaskaskia four years later and interfered with the autonomy of Cahokia, Governor St. Clair cut off Randolph County so that the village became in 1795 the actual seat of St. Clair County.<sup>76</sup> It continued to assert its individuality and independence until the increase of American population brought about removal of county government to Belleville in 1814.

Thereafter, shorn of its public importance and overshadowed by the growth of St. Louis, Cahokia remained a quiet little French village where occasional travelers paused to savor a way of life that seemed strange in the midst of the bustling Americans who had overrun the old Illinois Country. "The people still speak the French language," James Stuart noted in 1830. "They lead an indolent life in this fine climate. They can support themselves by working two or three days in the week. They dance and fiddle during the rest of it."<sup>77</sup>

### III

The political, military, or ecclesiastical record of a place forms only part of its history—a report on its relations with the outside world, a summary account of its official existence. Equally important and often more interesting is the human story found in the daily lives of the people who live there, who create the town.

<sup>73</sup> Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, 407.

<sup>74</sup> For his impressions see St. Clair to the President, Cahokia, 1 May 1790, and St. Clair to the Secretary of State, 10 February 1791, in Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, II, 244-248, 323-337. This and the following volume in this series contain many documents which bear on the history of Cahokia.

<sup>75</sup> Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, III, 301-303.

<sup>76</sup> Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, 405-406.

<sup>77</sup> *Three Years in North America* (Edinburgh, 1833), II, 314.

What went on in Cahokia in those days? How did the people behave—or misbehave? Some more intimate glimpses into local affairs we must have if Cahokia is to come alive, if we are to see that eighteenth century place not as an embalmed “historic” spot but as a village of breathing people.<sup>78</sup>

The usual sources for a glance into private and personal affairs do not exist. We have no newspapers for these years, no stock of private correspondence, no lengthy diaries by Cahokians or detailed descriptions by visitors. But the Cahokia Court records form a lively and vivid report of village affairs for the dozen years following Clark’s conquest. When we read its many pages we discover that Cahokians were not better than people elsewhere nor worse. Sometimes they behaved in a petty fashion, they quarreled, they gossiped, they went to law unnecessarily. Not everyone was eager to pay his debts, partners disagreed in business, land titles could be disputed. In fact, they were quite as human and alive as we are today.<sup>79</sup>

There was, for instance, the matter of Jean Racette’s leg. Racette (*dit Parisien*) suffered an accident while at the house of Charles Gratiot, and the latter had Dr. Reynal over from St. Louis to amputate the crushed leg. Promptly the surgeon presented a bill for three hundred *livres* to Gratiot, who refused to pay it, for he denied all responsibility: merely as a sympathetic bystander he had sent for the doctor in order “to relieve an unfortunate man.” Thereupon, Reynal brought suit in November, 1779, but the court on hearing Gratiot’s defense postponed decision pending the return of Racette, who was then absent from the neighbor-

<sup>78</sup> Since this is an introductory sketch and not a full length history of Cahokia, many phases of life there are passed over with little or no mention. The reader is particularly referred to Peterson’s “Notes on Old Cahokia” and Belting’s *Kaskaskia under the French Regime* for many interesting details of life at Cahokia and its sister settlement. Peterson is especially important on the subjects of lands and housing. Much that was typical of the daily life of the place will be found illustrated in the marriage contracts, inventories, sales records, and other legal documents that Miss Boylan has edited for Chapter III of this book. An excellent impression of the merchant-trader’s life will be derived from Mrs. Giesecker’s presentation (Chapter IV) of David Gratiot’s letters during his years at Cahokia.

<sup>79</sup> Alvord published the register of the court in the *Cahokia Records*; see note 62 above.

hood. Possibly the surgeon collected from his patient, for there is no further mention of the case.<sup>80</sup>

Jean was not the only member of his family to figure in the court record at this time. Earlier in the fall Augustin Racette forced Antoine Harmand *dit* Sansfacon into court to "prove to him that he is a rascal and his wife a thief, as he has been accused and called" by Sansfacon and his wife. The defendant in turn accused Racette of coming to his house to assault him. Witnesses brought out at the trial that Mme. Racette had called Mme. Sansfacon a thief to which the latter replied that she "had never stolen lard [pork] from the Lacroix' house." Further compliments were exchanged; Racette called Sansfacon a *jean-fesse* and his wife a strumpet. No doubt the half dozen witnesses had some amusement from the case, but the court was disgusted. It dismissed the suit as "a disgraceful and shameful thing" and condemned the plaintiff to pay all special costs. One result was that Sansfacon immediately sued Racette for a debt of twenty-seven *livres* and won.<sup>81</sup>

The case of Bergeron vs Tabeau contained its hint of scandal. Alexis Tabeau, it seems, had by an act of donation conveyed all his goods to Baptiste Bergeron in return for board, lodging, and so forth for the remainder of his life. After three months the defendant left the plaintiff's house without notice, and Bergeron thereupon sued to make him keep the deed of gift in force or to pay him a compensation. In court Tabeau declared that he had left Bergeron's "to avoid any future disagreeable accidents, because the plaintiff tried his hardest to extend his excessive licentiousness and subornation to the defendant's wife." Either Bergeron had a bad reputation or Tabeau presented convincing evidence, for the court found in favor of the defendant, annulling the donation, allowing him to remove all his possessions from the Bergeron house, and ordering his late host to pay three months board, lodging, and washing for Tabeau at the rate of thirty-five *livres* a month, as well as to pay all costs.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *Cahokia Records*, 26-31.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-27.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-83.

The penchant of Catherine Pencrasse for endangering her virtue must have been the subject of lively gossip in the village. On 14 July 1789 Jean Baptiste Labecasse was brought into court in irons to answer her accusation of rape. According to her story he had asked if she would like to go out in the woods mulberry picking with his wife. On her assenting he took her on his horse, crossed the Prairie du Pont bridge, followed the old road a little way, and then turned off into the woods. When she asked where he was taking her, he stopped and said, "Get down! I must enjoy you." She, however, refused to consent. He then threw her to the ground in spite of all her resistance and violated her. Afterwards he brought her back as far as the bridge. In defense Labecasse admitted taking her out to the woods and making the proposal to her, but declared that when he found her unwilling he had brought her back to the bridge and left her.

Catherine would have sounded convincing had it not been recalled that two years earlier she had "exposed herself to being forced by the said Labecasse" and that consequently she had "again voluntarily exposed herself to the undertaking of the said Labecasse by having accepted the invitation to go berrying." In fact, she had "not avoided or kept out of the way of the danger of which she complains, but on the contrary she gave occasion to it." The court was strong in disapproval. It nonsuited both parties and imposed "silence in regard to the pretended violation." Labecasse was forbidden "to make an attempt on the chastity of the said Pencrasse in the future" and was sentenced to be kept in irons for forty-eight hours on bread and water. The costs were to be divided.<sup>83</sup>

The most violent and unpleasant fellow to appear in the court records of this period was undoubtedly Alexis Brisson. In September, 1780, he brought Auguste Angers into court for having said he was responsible for the death of a man named Dubois. Statements made by witnesses at the hearing were strong enough to convince the court that the plaintiff should be arrested and held in prison to await trial by jury, but a week later the jury decided that the proof was insufficient to condemn Brisson "on any count

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 394-397.

whatsoever." Eight years later, however, Brisson was a fugitive from justice. On 10 July 1788, enraged by gossip concerning his wife, he made an attack on the widow Henson, kicked her, hit her with a chair, and dragged her to the woodpile. He was preparing to kill her there when Jean Baptiste Lacroix interfered. All this time Madame Brisson urged her husband on to greater violence. The preliminary investigation led to a court order for the arrest of Brisson, and Trottier, commandant of militia, was authorized to shoot him if he resisted. Brisson apparently escaped to the Spanish side, and Madame Brisson managed to get several horses and other moveable property across the river before the officials could prevent it.<sup>84</sup>

The most lurid episode in the history of Cahokia was that of the poisonings in the winter of 1778-1779. The first hint in available records of this terrible affair lies in a deposition made by Bernard Gibkins, physician, at St. Louis on the twenty-ninth of December. At three o'clock that afternoon, acting on an order from Fernando de Leyba, he had gone to examine a Negro belonging to Marie Laurent: "I perceived that the sickness by which he was attacked proceeded from a violent poison. His body was in convulsions and his limbs rigid on account of the corrosive poison." Before his death this man apparently made an accusation against Baptiste Bastein, a Negro belonging to one of the Sauciers, for on the last day of the year this Baptiste was interrogated by the court at Cahokia concerning the death of the St. Louis Negro. The two men had disagreed over a woman, but Baptiste denied having given him any food or drink, except a glass of wine at his master's house. The disposition of the case is not shown.

Nearly six months later the record of the Cahokia court was spread with depositions and interrogations which show the extent of the crimes of two Negroes, Manuel and Moreau. It becomes evident that Moreau had poisoned the slave of the Laurents in jealousy over Mr. Martin's Negress Janette. It developed also that this Moreau had, in return for a favor to be granted by Mr. Nicolle's Negress, given her some medicine to make her mistress

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-67, 70-73, 334-339.

gentle and also had given some to her husband to use on his master. The Nicolles died of this treatment; their slaves, however, were reported to have insisted that they had not asked Moreau to make them die but only to make them a little gentler. When Moreau "asked the negress to grant what she had promised . . . she replied that he was too old and that she did not wish to." Moreau then said: "You find me too old, and well shall you repent of it." Soon after he poisoned her and her husband.

Though Moreau seems to have been more active in administering the poison, Manuel was the medicine-chief. The latter was accused by one witness of desiring to poison Mr. Martin and his wife, but their lives were saved when a Negro of theirs named Guanga, by threat of exposing the two, forced them "to dig up a poison which they had buried under the threshold of the door." There seems to be in this last statement a hint of magic, which is reinforced by the testimony of the Negro Sasa, who had made a strange discovery when he had stopped in at the popular Janette's for a pipeful of tobacco. She told him that he would find some at the head of her bed. When he looked there he "found a horn in which there was boiling blood; and as he was surprised, he had asked the negress what it was . . . the negress told him not to touch that, and that it was Manuel who had given it to her to put her master and mistress to death." On the basis of the evidence collected at Cahokia the Negroes were tried at Kaskaskia and sentenced to be hanged on 16 June 1779.<sup>85</sup>

But comparatively few cases that came before the court at Cahokia were concerned with rape or murder. Much more common were the damage suits that resulted from inadequate fencing. All farm stock ran at large on the commons. The common fields—the lands under cultivation—were protected by a community fence, each property owner being responsible for the section on his land. Damages were assessed against anyone through whose fence animals could pass, not against the owner of the animals. In May,

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5, 12-21. Some writers have held that these Negroes were persecuted for witchcraft. It is obvious that Manuel was making use of primitive magic, but that did not give him "witch" status in the eyes of the whites. The two were sentenced to death on sufficient and satisfactory evidence of murder.

1780, for instance, Louis Pillet sued Baptiste Saucier for six *minots* of wheat which had been eaten by pigs which passed through Saucier's fence. The latter's defense was that the wrong had been done at a time before he bought the field. The case was continued but presently was decided in favor of the plaintiff.<sup>86</sup>

A variant on such a suit was the matter of Louis Trottier's pig. In March, 1782, Trottier sued Jean Baptiste Lacroix for the value of a pig killed in the fields. Beaulieu, after an official inspection of the fence, made deposition that, though he found stakes broken in Trottier's and Lepage's fences, no animals had passed through, whereas there was a break in Lacroix's fence and with two other witnesses he had seen animals passing through. Apparently the matter was not satisfactorily concluded at this time, for in November Trottier again brought suit and this time the defendant was condemned to give him a similar pig or to pay him an equivalent sum.<sup>87</sup>

Another phase of this common field problem is illustrated in a second suit brought by Trottier the same day, this time against Baptiste Saucier. The latter's Negro was watchman at the gate, and Saucier consequently could be held responsible for any laxity on the part of the slave. The defendant declared that the "said pig profitted by the moment that the negro had opened the gate for a cart" and that the man, as well as the son of Joseph Maisonville, had done his best "to hinder the said pig from passing." A witness certified that the children of Mme. Trottier had joined in trying to turn the pig back until their mother had been heard to call them away, saying the sow would return in the evening. The court decided that what had happened could not have been foreseen and that Madame Trottier should not have called her children back; the plaintiff therefore was condemned to lose his pig.<sup>88</sup>

More than one suit was concerned with the payment of the costs of cures performed by persons who were certainly not professional medical men. An interesting example of this is the action

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-47. Some of the typical regulations for such community fencing are presented in Chapter III below.

<sup>87</sup> *Cahokia Records*, 122-125.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 138-141.



brought by Isaac Levy against Michel Buteau. Levy had agreed to cure the defendant of a certain ailment for four hundred *livres*, but though the latter assured the plaintiff that he no longer felt any symptoms of the disease he refused to pay the fee. In court Buteau declared that he was not cured, that he had only felt some relief from the first treatments, and that Levy had ceased attending him. The court decided that Levy must continue treating Buteau until he should be cured, on the condition that the sick man act according to his orders and do nothing to counteract the medicines administered; otherwise the defendant was to be relieved of attending Buteau and the fee would be forfeit to him.

In a little more than two weeks Levy had Buteau back in court, ready to prove that his patient was not following medical instructions as ordered. He had given Buteau sixty pills with instructions to take seven the first day and to increase the dose by one each day until all were taken. When Levy spoke to him the next day, Buteau said that he had taken none of the pills, that he believed the children had lost them. A day later Levy returned with fifteen more pills. Now the patient changed his story and said that he had taken all those pills which before he had said the children had lost. It was a lie, Levy declared, for that large a dose was enough to kill him. Buteau now told the court another story: since the medicine did not cure him as quickly as he wished, he had taken all the pills in two days. But Levy had witnesses to produce, and Buteau was condemned to pay the entire fee as well as costs and Levy was relieved of further attendance.<sup>89</sup>

On one occasion in 1780 Ignace Chatigny, smarting from an experience in the court, declared that "all the magistrates were fools." Haled before the justices on complaint of Francois Saucier clerk of court, he admitted his statement and for contempt of court was sentenced to a week in jail and a fine of fifty *livres*. Perhaps Chatigny had an acid pleasure in recalling this nine years later when Saucier was sentenced to twenty-four hours in jail and a fine of six *piastres* for "thoughtless talk made publicly . . . while under the influence of drink, wherein he insulted several persons

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 112-115, 118-119.

by challenging them and using improper expressions, and for his refusal to obey the guard who had an order to arrest him."<sup>90</sup>

Local excitement of another sort entirely is to be read in the litigation over the estate of Augustin Dubuque in 1787. He had been living in the house of Pierre Lafleur when a barrel of powder belonging to Dubuque blew up. Not only was he killed and the house destroyed, but Lafleur and his wife were badly injured, as well as Tom Brady, who lost the clothes from his back in addition to sustaining numerous injuries. It took many sessions of the court to arrive at a fair settlement for all concerned, including the widow of Dubuque, who was then in Canada.<sup>91</sup>

Another interesting glimpse of local activities we find in the action of the court on 8 March 1782 granting the petition of Jean Baptiste Lacroix for a permit to trade with the Indians. The conditions were that the meats, tallow, bear's oil, and deerskins received in trade must be offered for sale to the inhabitants of Cahokia at prices fixed by the court and that no liquor should be served to Indians who might come to his house to trade. Prices fixed at this time were: oil at three *livres* ten *sols*, tallow at one *livre* ten *sols*, spare ribs at seven *livres* ten *sols*, deer meat at ten *livres*, smoked hides at five *livres*. He must not have found the business very satisfactory, for on the twelfth of November he resigned the privilege.<sup>92</sup>

On this same day Isaac Levy and Tom Brady asked and were granted the permit Lacroix had surrendered. The court took advantage of the occasion to restate its views on the subject of liquor for the Indians:

The Court has forbidden and does forbid very expressly all persons, of whatever quality and condition they may be, to give any intoxicating drink, even a draught, to the savages under pretext of social visit, of acquaintance, by way of trade or otherwise, either on their arrival or their departure, on pain of three hundred *livres* fine and confiscation of the business they have made, and of greater punishment in case of second offense; in regard to which the savages shall be believed on their affidavit without need of

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-65, 396-399.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 308-313.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-127, 212-215.

greater proof, and the savages shall be held until they have made their affidavit. We reserve, however, to M. Trottier, commandant of this village, the liberty to give some with prudence and moderation, when the savages shall come to see him either for holding councils or on other occasions when a commandant cannot dispense therewith, as it is customary.<sup>93</sup>

Although relations with officials and with individuals at St. Louis were generally good, occasionally trouble arose. There was, for instance, the raid Jacques Clamorgan made in 1789 on Daniel McElduff of Kaskaskia, a case which was tried in Cahokia because at this time there was no court in the other town. McElduff had arranged with Clamorgan's approval to sell to M. Dubreuil of St. Louis two Negroes, two Negresses, and two children for eighteen hundred *piastres*, half of which sum was to be paid to Clamorgan as an installment on the American's debt and the balance to be paid to McElduff. In pursuance of this plan the latter sent across to Francois Vallé at Ste. Genevieve all but a Negress who was in childbed. Clamorgan, however, did not keep the agreement; instead he obtained a writ of seizure from the commandant and took possession of the Negroes. But the greatest offence was still to come. On the night of the twelfth of May Clamorgan crossed the river with two slaves, broke into McElduff's house, and carried away the Negress and her child by force. In the face of this evidence the court issued an order to "apprehend and arrest the body and person of M. Clamorgan wherever he can be found in this land and American dependency" to answer the charges against him.<sup>94</sup>

An affair of more lively interest to Cahokians was the appearance in January, 1790, of Jean Marie Pepin from the western bank of the river after he had been prohibited from entering Illinois without special permission. From the comment of one of the witnesses apparently he had a grievance against the court for some unspecified decision against him and had returned to hold a private assembly of citizens to whom he wanted to present a petition for relief against the sentence of the court. The court dealt vigorously with him:

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 384-387.

The Court having carefully deliberated declared the said M. Pepin a disturber of the public peace in this village, caught and convicted of having wished to excite a sedition against the Court; and he has held in this said village discourses against it, leading to menaces, defiance and outrage on its authority, and other injurious talk; for reparation of which the said Court condemns him to be held in prison in irons under the custody of the bailiff, two militia-men and an officer of militia for five days; at the end of which time he shall be placed outside of the prison and conducted by the guard to the Mississippi, and commanded to cross to the Spanish part and never to reappear in this village and the dependencies of this district, without a permission of the commandant of this post or of a magistrate, on pain of corporal punishment. We condemn him furthermore in all the cost of the special session, which the Court fixes at the sum of four hundred and forty *livres* in money according to the account drawn up, which he shall pay before leaving prison, for which there will be execution by privilege and notwithstanding all representations.<sup>95</sup>

A cause of some pain to Cahokia was the secession of Prairie du Pont. In 1764 Antoine Girardin had bought from the mission its mill-plantation at this place. For a number of years apparently he was content to farm the property, but it becomes clear in 1780 that he had developed other plans. On the twenty-third of April the court listened to a petition from the inhabitants of Cahokia protesting against Girardin's conceding land because it was injuring the town. Furthermore, he had not the right to form a village and particularly to concede lands that had been reserved, they declared, for the use of Cahokia. The petition was granted and Girardin called on to show right to concede or desist. Nothing more appears in the record until 11 June 1783. By that time Girardin evidently had won, for the court issued an ordinance describing the limits of Prairie du Pont and providing for the allotment of fields and the reservation for commons. Nevertheless, though Prairie du Pont might consider itself a separate village, it remained a dependency of Cahokia and still subject to the judg-

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 436-441. Alvord in a note suggests that this case might represent an indirect attempt by the Spanish authorities to undermine the power of the Cahokia court. If so, it is amusing to think that this Pepin was apparently the same one who in 1796 would cause the Spanish officials such unhappiness as a leader of the *Sans Culottes* in St. Louis.

ments and regulations of its court. This condition is clearly shown by a decree of the court, on petition of Girardin, that each inhabitant should build his fence between this date (29 January 1784) and the end of April.<sup>96</sup>



To round out these impressions of old Cahokia let us see how the place and its people looked to John Reynolds, who came to the Illinois country as a boy in 1800, set up a law office in Cahokia in 1814, married a widow there in 1817, and enjoyed many years of close contact with the French villagers.<sup>97</sup> The French houses, he wrote in his *Pioneer History of Illinois*,

. . . were generally one story high, and made of wood. Some few were built of stone . . . These houses were formed of large posts or timbers; the posts being set three or four feet apart in many of them. In others the posts were closer together, and the intervals filled up with mortar made of common clay and cut straw . . . Over the whole wall, outside and inside, it was generally white washed with fine white lime, so that these houses presented a clean, neat appearance. The other class of houses having the posts farther apart, the spaces were filled up with puncheons. The posts were gutted for the puncheons to fit in. These houses were used for stables, barns, &c., &c. Some dwelling houses and the stables and barns were made of longer post set in the ground, instead of a sill as was used in the other houses. These posts were of cedar or other durable wood. The small houses attached to the residence were generally set with the posts in the ground. The covering of the houses, stables, &c., was generally of straw, or long grass cut in the prairie. These thatched roofs looked well, and lasted longer than shingles. They were made steep and neat. All the houses, almost, had galleries all around them. The posts of the gallery were generally of cedar or mulberry.

The floors of the galleries, as well as the floors of the houses, were made of puncheons, as sawed boards were scarce. The roofs of the dwelling house were uniform and peculiar. They were

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 88-89, 564-567, 156-159. The first census to list the inhabitants of the new village separately seems to be that inclosed in St. Clair's report of 10 February 1791 (Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, II, 260-261). It presents twenty-seven heads of families, six widows, and seventeen "bachelors keeping house"—all apparently old Cahokia names.

<sup>97</sup> Reynolds' two books, *The Pioneer History of Illinois . . . to Eighteen Hundred and Eighteen* (Belleville, 1852) and *My Own Times, embracing also, the History of My Life* (Illinois [Town?], 1855), are the work of an

made of rafters and lath for sheeting. These roofs had no gable ends perpendicular, but were shingled on the ends as well as the sides. The ends sloped considerably towards the centre of the building, so that the shingles would lie on the lath. No nails were used to fasten the shingles to the lath. Holes were bored in the shingles and pegs put in them. With these pegs the shingles were hung on the lath, and the holes and pegs covered so completely that no one would know at a distance that the shingles were not nailed on. The outside course of shingles was generally nailed, and then one course bound another, until the whole roof was solid and good; never leaking one drop. The shingles were generally made of white oak, and lasted many years.<sup>98</sup>

In such houses Cahokians lived simply and comfortably. The town was laid out in blocks of three hundred feet, each divided into four lots. Each lot in the early days was surrounded by a fence of heavy pickets set two feet in the ground and reaching about five feet above. Outbuildings, a well, a neat garden generally filled up the lot.<sup>99</sup>

The farm lands, of course, lay entirely outside the village. Grants in the common fields during the French period were normally made one or two *arpents* in width and—so the inhabitants claimed—from the river to the bluffs. In practice they ran eighty or more *arpents* in depth. One common fence protected these plowlands from the horses, cattle, and hogs that otherwise ranged freely. Each owner maintained the section of fence at the end

old man, repetitious, awkward, and ungrammatical. They are frequently erroneous in matters of fact, as reminiscences are likely to be. Yet they are of real value, for they preserve the impressions of a sympathetic outsider who over a long period had many intimate contacts with the French of the Illinois Country. No complete study of the early villages could depend on Reynolds alone, but it is to Reynolds we must turn for a firsthand impression of what Cahokia was like at the turn of the century. I have therefore chosen to use him without pretending that this is a final critical word on the subject.

<sup>98</sup> Pp. 50-51. This is a general description. Some houses, of course, must have been considerably more imposing than others. When the Canadian Perrault was in Cahokia in 1783 he mentioned that Trottier (then commandant) was "grandly housed" and received a party of Indians in "a great furnished hall where a large Crowd came to see them in the evening" (*Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVII, 517). Probably the finest house in Cahokia at the beginning of the nineteenth century was that of Nicholas Jarrot. Fortunately it still exists and was restored about 1944 by Guy Study of St. Louis for Oliver L. Parks.

<sup>99</sup> Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 55.

of his fields and was responsible also for a suitable portion of the long stretch on the side boundaries. "A large gate was erected in the fence near the village, and a keeper was stationed at it, to permit the farmers and others to enter the field and return at pleasure. In the fall, when the corn and other crops were gathered, the gate was thrown open, and the stock took possession of the field during the winter."<sup>100</sup>

When Reynolds first knew the Illinois Country the people had "a strong predeliction for the blue color." Both male and female wore blue kerchiefs on the head. Hats were seldom used: in the winter a "capot made of white blanket was the universal dress for the laboring class." The cap attached to the coat was raised over the head in cold weather. Pantaloons for the men were commonly of a coarse blue cloth in the summer and of buckskin in the winter. All the French, but particularly the women, "caught up the French fashions from New Orleans and Paris, and with a singular avidity adopted them to the full extent of their means and talents . . . both sexes were always provided with something tasty and neat for the church and ball room."<sup>101</sup>

Sunday, as elsewhere in the French colonies, was a day of pleasure. Reynolds declared that he did not believe there was "a more devout people than the primitive French. With sentiments of true piety it afforded them the utmost happiness to attend the church and perform their devotions." But after mass was over "they enjoyed the rest of the day in amusements, merriment, and recreation. Dancing, training the militia, house raising, and similar performances, were in pioneer times indulged in by the French on the Sabbath. Public sales of land and other property in early times was held by the French at the church doors on Sunday after the service was closed. I have seen the young folks dancing on a Sunday evening under the shade of the trees, on the grass, with as much gentility and decorum as if the dance had been on any other day of the week. The old people were frequently seated around and enjoying the amusement with decided approbation."<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-32.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-52.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 52; *My Own Times*, 81.

The great amusement of the young was dancing, and Sunday offered the best opportunity for parties. "It is astonishing the excitement and animation that is experienced in a French ball room. The old and young, the rich and poor, all meet together in good feeling, and mingle together with their hearts overflowing with the exstacies of merriment . . . In the ball room much order and decorum are observed. Two aged discreet persons are chosen, who are called Provosts; one to select the ladies for the dance, and the other for the gentlemen, so that each one dances in proper turn. It is in this manner that these innocent and merry people spend much of their nights in winter. The old people regulate all; the time to retire and the time to meet again."<sup>103</sup>

The season from New Years to Lent was the liveliest part of the year. On New Year's Eve "the ancient custom was for the young men . . . to disguise themselves in old clothes, as beggars, and go around the village in the several houses, where they knew they would be well received. They enter the houses dancing what they call the *Gionie*, which is a friendly request for them to meet and have a ball to dance away the old year." They beg the food for refreshments. The first of the balls was held on Twelfth Night and was known as the *bal des rois*. Four beans were baked in a cake, it was divided among the men, and the lucky four were named as the "kings" who would give the next ball. They thereupon chose each a queen and made her a suitable present. Before the close of the next party the queens would choose a new set of kings who would choose their queens—and so the town was assured of a series of balls lasting until the last day of carnival.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 52-53. Perrault (1783) wrote: "The bridge [of ice] before St. Louis held an entire month, which gave the Créoles and the Spanish [i. e., the St. Louisans] the pleasure of visiting. That year there were a number of gentlemen from montréal, who had a store at Caos . . . They did but little business, because they arrived too late, but in revenge they were well amused. For the Créoles are in general indolent and love the dance more than any other people." (*Michigan Historical Collections*, XXXVII, 516).

<sup>104</sup> Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 52-53. For *bal des rois* and *gionie* (more commonly, *guignolée*) see my *Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850* (St. Louis, Washington University Studies, 1941), 18-19, 84-85. In a complaint against Father Huet de la Valinière by the people of Kaskaskia in 1787 mention was made that "it was customary for a great



To illustrate the contagion for dancing Reynolds related an anecdote about a man named Atchison who established a store at Cahokia about 1800. In 1807 the Reverend Benjamin Young, a Methodist circuit rider, preached at his store to a very small congregation. Atchison made excuses for the French not attending. But for his own part, he said, " 'he would walk, on Sunday, miles thro' briars and Hell, to hear such a sermon as that ye preached; but these d—d French love dancing better than preaching. An' Misther Young, could ye not stay with us to-night, and go to the ball this evening?'"<sup>105</sup>

One other custom might be mentioned here, for Reynolds must have experienced it himself. The charivari<sup>106</sup> he described as a merry rural serenade, sustained by all sorts of loud and discordant noises. The chirivaris party was composed of old and young, and was generally conducted by some orderly and aged man . . . They used bells, horns, drums, pans, tin kettles, whistles, and all such articles as would make loud harsh sounds. This French organized chirivaris was such a merry, noisy uproar that it would make a monk laugh, if he heard it.

The proper French custom was, that if persons married, of the same condition, there was no chirivaris; . . . but when a widower . . . married a lady who was never before bound in wedlock, then in such cases, the chirivaris was invoked with all its merriment. And the same with a widow, who . . . married a man whose lot had heretofore been celibacy . . .

Generally amongst the French, the married parties were as willing as the others for the sport, and were prepared to extend some civilities to the good humored crowd. Thus frequently the case ended in the best of feeling. But when the married folks were refractory, the chirivaris was kept up for a succession of nights, until they yielded to the custom. As the farce proceeded, if the married folks were *sour*, the serenading crowd had the privilege to hint, in a mild manner, first at the character of the bride, and then at that of the bridegroom. These hints generally closed

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number of the Inhabitants to meet together on the last three days of Carnival in the house of Mme. Brazeau, who was us'd once every year to convene her numerous family in order to be merry together" *Kaskaskia Records*, 579).

<sup>105</sup> Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 131.

<sup>106</sup> Consult my *Glossary of Mississippi Valley French*, 48.

<sup>107</sup> Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 145-146.

the scene in good humor. When the noise was made in the crowd, some one would cry out at the top of his voice, 'chirivaris! chirivaris!' and some other in the party would sing out '*per [sic] qui*'—'for whom!' The answer to this question gave rise to hint at the female and her character. At times, the bridegroom, also, was charged with things he would not like.

This was the *dernier resort*. When this, or other means, produced some kindness or civility, then the whole farce ended . . . <sup>107</sup>

In general Reynolds gives us an impression of these people much like that of other American observers: agreeable, happy, indolent, taking much pleasure in daily life and without great concern for the future. "The masses of the French are unambitious of wealth or office . . . They do not trouble themselves with that restless ambition to obtain wealth and power that frequently renders the American population extremely unhappy . . . they enjoy more of the calm of life, and indulge more in the social enjoyments, which I think makes them a happier people than the Americans; but not so energetic."<sup>108</sup>

Although such an attitude and behavior might characterize most of the villagers, it by no means was true of all. Even though Cahokia had lost some of its most promising citizens, such as Charles Gratiot, comparatively well to do people like the Trottiers, the Sauciers, and J. B. LaCroix through the last two decades of the century played leading parts in the affairs of the town, serving as judges in the court and as officers of militia, as well as figuring largely in the economic life of the place. And other men of equal quality were attracted to settle there.

Gratiot, who had come down first as a trader from Montreal, lived only three years in the town and so, though he was a man of importance in those years of the American conquest, he had no permanent effect upon Cahokia. Reynolds, who must have become acquainted with him at St. Louis during his last years, had great admiration for him. He declared that "the support of [Clark's] army fell on Gratiot, Vigo, and other such choice spirits. If these supplies were not given by Gratiot and others, the great and glorious campaign of Clark must have failed . . . the generous

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

heart of Gratiot hesitated not a moment, and he . . . paid to the citizens, and became accountable to them . . . for supplies for the American army . . . He was frank, open, and candid, in all his transactions . . . moral and exemplary in his deportment; and although he was never a member of any church, yet his conduct was approved by the wise and good of all denominations."<sup>109</sup>

The first Saucier in this neighborhood, the builder of the new Fort Chartres, settled about 1760 and left three sons: Jean Baptiste, Francois, and Mathieu. The last two of these founded the village of Portage des Sioux in Missouri about 1798, but for a quarter of a century before that all three were among the leading citizens of Cahokia. Daughters of Francois Saucier married Pierre Menard, James and Jesse Morrison of Kaskaskia, and Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis.<sup>110</sup>

One strong-minded lady made herself a place in the annals of Cahokia. Mme. Beaulieu, whose husband Michel Beaulieu dit Palmier was a leading citizen until his death in 1780, became "director-general in moral and medical matters," said Reynolds. She was long accustomed to speak out for herself. For years she had a maple sugar plantation which she had acquired from the Cahokia mission. One day in 1786 when she went out to it with her workmen, Antoine Girardin forbade her to enter it. In the legal tustle that followed, Girardin said that the court had granted him the concession when she had refused to show her deeds in court three years earlier. The lady must finally have consented to show her papers, for the court now threw up its hands and decided that the new, expected government (St. Clair's) must settle that difficult question. Mme. Beaulieu died at the age of eighty-four in 1826, "lamented by all classes."<sup>111</sup>

Among the late comers to Cahokia was Jean Francois Perry or Perrey, who came from Lyons to Illinois about 1792. Well educated in law in France, he came out west as a merchant and maintained a store in Cahokia, though he lived in Prairie du Pont

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 256-258. For Gratiot's years at Cahokia see Chapter IV below.

<sup>110</sup> Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 239-240.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 293; *Cahokia Records*, 222-229. See also Adeline Palmier Wagoner, "Madame Beaulieu; a Colonial Dame," *Missouri Historical Collections* IV (1914), 315-322.

and built a mill on that creek. He married a daughter of J. B. Saucier in 1794. Reynolds remembered him as "a plain, unostentatious man [who] lived and dressed in true Republican style." He served for years as a judge of Common Pleas as well as in other offices. He lived in the Cahokia district until his death in 1812.<sup>112</sup>

Another person of importance in Cahokia in the last years of the century was Jean DuMoulin, who came from Switzerland via Canada. The Cahokia court register shows that he was living in the village as early as January, 1785. He served the district as a judge of the court and as lieutenant-colonel commandant of militia. A man of "large, portly, and elegant figure," he "took great pride in his appearance on parade days." Unmarried, he lived and practised law in Cahokia until his death in 1808.<sup>113</sup>

One more name ought certainly to be mentioned: Nicolas Jarrot, who left France about 1790, settled at Cahokia in 1794, and died there in 1823. Arriving a poor man, "by his talents and energy, in a few years he acquired an immense fortune." It was not in his nature to be idle, Reynolds noted. "His very composition was activity and energy. All the repose, or leisure he desired to take, was enough to recruit his physical strength, that he might enjoy the luxury of activity, and his incessant application to business. His pleasure, his happiness, and his *summum bonum*, was an indefatigable industry." He began as an Indian trader and also kept a small retail store in Cahokia, but he made his wealth through real estate. He had a mania, Reynolds wrote, for mills, and spent much money and strength on a water mill on Cahokia Creek only to be beaten in the end by sand, swamps, and sickness. A major in the militia, and judge of the county court, Jarrot gave as much time to public affairs as any other man of his day. He married twice: first to a Barbau of Prairie du Rocher, and second to a Beauvais of Ste. Genevieve. His house in Cahokia, begun in 1799 and completed in 1806, was "one of the first and finest

<sup>112</sup> Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 240-242. Consult also Francis S. Philbrick, *The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XXI) cclvii-cclviii.

<sup>113</sup> Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 173-175; *Cahokia Records*, 217; Philbrick, *Laws of Indiana Territory*, cclvi-cclvii.

brick houses in the country." This residence remains today one of the few relics of eighteenth century Cahokia (the others being the Saucier house, known and preserved as the Cahokia Court-house, and the old wooden church now being restored).<sup>114</sup>



A farewell glimpse of old Cahokia through the eyes of the artist J. C. Wild and his editor Thomas in 1842:<sup>115</sup>

The lapse of nearly two centuries<sup>116</sup> has not entirely destroyed the original impress upon this people of the manners, customs, and language of old France . . . If there be any considerable deviation worthy of remark, it will be found in the additional gravity which frequent perils, great hardships, and their insulated situation might conspire to produce . . . In the early periods of their settlement, exposure to wild beast, *pain court*, and the close vicinage to hostile or any tribes of Indians in superior numbers could not fail to try even the habitual *legerte* of the early French colonists.

With all these qualifications and abatements which truth exacts, there is left a sufficiently close resemblance to the French character. Gay, *debonnaire*, disposed to make the most of existence, the French in every clime have been found to assimilate not only to the *human* nature around them, converting in a very short time, savages into free and easy companions, but such is the happy organization of their minds, that they sympathize with nature in her other exterior manifestations, partake freely of the sweet libations she pours out

<sup>114</sup> Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 175-179; Philbrick, *Laws on Indiana Territory*, cclix-cclx; Margaret E. Babb, "The Mansion House of Cahokia and its Builder—Nicholas Jarrot," *Transactions, Illinois State Historical Society*, 1924, pp. 78-93; Guy Study, "Oliver Parks Restores the Jarrot Mansion at Cahokia," *Illinois State Historical Society Journal*, XXXVIII (1945), 351-353.

<sup>115</sup> The history of Wild and Thomas' *Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated* (St. Louis, 1841-42) will be found in my forthcoming account of J. C. Wild in *Antiques Magazine*. L. F. Thomas was editor for most of the numbers of this work; his brother J. E. for the last two or three. Part 7, in which the account of Cahokia appeared, is one of two issues which bear no title page in extant copies; it is uncertain therefore which of the brothers was responsible for the letterpress. Since the accompanying view by Wild is a winter scene, possibly the account should be dated early in 1842—it was officially the January number but did not appear until March or April. A facsimile edition of this rare publication was issued in 1948 by Joseph Garnier of St. Louis.

<sup>116</sup> Wild and Thomas thought Cahokia had been founded about 1683.

in flowers, plants and trees, and contrive even in the minds of pestiferous and life destroying *miasma*, whether within the tropics under the equator, or exposed to the *malaria* of the North American alluvial tracts, to disarm the sting and extract the sweets of their position. Gaiety, cheerfulness, and spirits impart strength to the mind, and a carefully selected diet gives strength to the body; these appear to be the distinguishing characteristics of the French in every land, and they engraft upon these another—they delight much in amusements, which unbrace [relax] the mind and keep the circulation of the blood unimpeded . . .

This village is seen to very great advantage at the spring of the year when a stranger fond of rural enjoyments might pass his time very agreeably, the Mississippi river, always a noble object, being distant only a very short drive.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>117</sup> *Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated*, 103-106. At this time Cahokia had a courthouse, a post office, a Catholic church, three taverns, five or six groceries, one general store, and sixty to seventy houses.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FOUNDING OF THE HOLY FAMILY MISSION AND ITS HISTORY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: DOCUMENTS

*Edited by* JOSEPH P. DONNELLY, S. J. \*

In this volume of documents, published to help commemorate the two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the village of Cahokia, it is only proper that there should be a portion of the work which is devoted exclusively to the ecclesiastical life of the place. This is all the more true because Cahokia began as a mission effort and continued as such for at least the first fifty years of its existence. When the settlement ceased to serve as a mission center, the village which grew up around the church naturally drifted into the customary French arrangement of the parish which was the focal point of town life. Not only socially, but also legally the parish had existence under the guise of an ecclesiastical unit. For according to declaration by the crown of France, the law which governed the Mississippi Valley under the French Regime was that of the communes of Paris according to which people were classified for legal purposes according to the ecclesiastical parishes to which they belonged. Thus it is that in reality documents of the character which are presented concerning the ecclesiastical life of Cahokia are, practically speaking, the more important material from which the history of the village emerges.

By way of a brief summary of the church life of Cahokia, it may be indicated that the key documents printed are those which tell the basic story of the religious life of the place. Cahokia's beginning is really in the letters patent from the Bishop of Quebec, written in 1698, whereby the priests of the Seminary of Quebec were empowered to establish a mission center on the site which Cahokia occupies. For a few years after 1699 there was a discus-

\* Material edited by Father Donnelly is published with permission of his ecclesiastical superiors.

sion between the Jesuits and the Seminary priests concerning which group should have jurisdiction over the place. After this controversy was settled, the priests of the Seminary found it necessary to petition the various private and official authorities who controlled Cahokia to grant promised subsidies in order to continue the work. In 1724 the mission received a grant of four square leagues of land which the priests of the Seminary were free to sell in parcels or use for raising agricultural produce as a means of supporting the mission. Even this seemingly generous grant did not solve the financial problems which pressed the missionaries. Those very generous priests, while contributing funds from their private resources, complained in a memorial that the government was not offering the aid which had been promised. After some sixty years of struggle, the missionaries from the Seminary of Quebec abandoned the work in protest against the treatment which the French government meted out to their fellow missionaries, the Jesuits.

The townfolk of Cahokia, on losing their spiritual shepherds, promptly petitioned the Bishop of Quebec for a pastor, offering to support the parish themselves and to care for the needs of their pastor. Through several years of the critical period of the parish's history the parishioners showed their innate appreciation of things spiritual by their persistence in striving to keep the parish church alive among them. Finally, after many trials and much sacrifice, the parish could boast a new and quite grand church, dedicated in 1799. On that occasion all former parish regulations were revised to meet the new day of American life.

In summary, the above describes the contents of the documents which are here included. It is evident that the reader may, by glancing through, watch the slow, but constant growth of Cahokia from a little mission outpost to a typical French parish which in turn is Americanized. The documents are of interest not only locally but are quite unique as a collection of primary sources which exemplify the religious life of the French in the Mississippi Valley.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The originals of all documents in this chapter are in French. Photostats of those credited to the Seminary of Quebec, with the exception of the "Explanation of the Plan and Settlement of . . . Tamaroa," were lent by the National Park Service. The Belleville documents are transcripts made in 1874, collated and certified by the assistant proctor of the Seminary, for the prosecution of a land-claim growing from the Boisbriant grant in 1722.



LETTERS PATENT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE  
MISSION TO THE TAMAROA, 1698.<sup>2</sup>

*John Baptist, by the Grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of Quebec in New France, to All to Whom These Present Letters Shall Come, Greetings and Apostolic Benediction.*

Though by Our Letters Patent of the first day of May sixteen hundred and ninety-eight, We have granted to the Superior and Directors of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions of Quebec ample power to establish themselves and to found missions among all the nations which are on both sides of the Mississippi River as well as all the length of this river and on all the rivers which flow into it and communicate with the said places; nevertheless, since they have represented to Us that other missionaries, not of their body, might come, claiming, perhaps in virtue of Letters Patent heretofore granted them by Us, conferring exclusive right to establish and found missions among the savages called Tamaroa, who are between the Illinois and the Arkansas, a situation which would cause great difficulty to the Superior and the Directors of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions of Quebec; considering that the location of the above named Tamaroa is as it were the key and necessary passage-way to the nations beyond; hence to facilitate the effort of the said Seminary of the Foreign Missions it is important that they be able to establish a residence and found a mission among the Tamaroa, We, desiring to eliminate any obstacle to the highly praiseworthy enterprise which the said Superior and Directors of the aforementioned Seminary have of spreading the Faith to the above-mentioned countries, have permitted and do permit by these presents to send their missionaries among the said savages, called Tamaroa, and to found there such establishments, residences and missions as they shall judge suitable.

We further confirm by these presents that all the powers, faculties, and permissions granted to the said Superior and Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec by Our said Letters Patent of the first of May of the present year, and generally all that which is contained in the said patents.

Given at Quebec this fourteenth day of July, sixteen hundred and ninety-eight, under our seal and that of Our secretary, and sealed with the seal of Our arms and signed, John, Bishop of Quebec, and lower by my aforementioned lord, Lacolumbiere, priest, and sealed with the seal of the arms of the said Lord Bishop.

<sup>2</sup> Missions No. 54, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec.

Compared with the original in the paper, this made at once, returned by Us, Notary, Depository of Records of the King in His city and Protonotary of Quebec in New France, subscribed this twentieth day of September, sixteen hundred and ninety-eight.

GENAPLE

John Bochart, Knight, Lord of Champigny, Noroy, Veuneuil and other places, Councillor of the King in His Councils and His Intendent of Justice, Police and Finance in Canada.

We certify to whom it may concern that Genaple, who compared the letters patent heretofore transcribed by a Royal Notary at Quebec, that faith is to be attached to the deeds which he passes. In testimony of which we have signed these presents and have affixed the seal of our arms, countersigned by one of our secretaries in our residence at Quebec, this twenty-second day of September sixteen hundred and ninety-eight.

BOCHART CHAMPIGNY

By Monseigneur

André

TONTY TO BISHOP ST. VALLIER <sup>3</sup>

Michillimackinac, 14 July 1699.

Monseigneur:

I do myself the honor of sending you a letter with the people whom M. Montigny<sup>4</sup> has ordered to go down to you. Since I last wrote there has arisen some difficulty between M. Montigny and the Reverend Jesuit Fathers concerning the mission at Tamaroa. I feel obliged to inform Your Excellency about what took place, not about the difference of opinion, of which you are aware, but regarding their departure. M. Montigny left here on May 6th and Reverend Father Binneteau on the 8th [each] to go to Tamaroa to establish a mission. While the decision is pending whether the Reverend Jesuit Fathers or M. St. Côme is to have the place, M. St. Côme built [a mission] there. The Reverend Jesuits hold that the mission is theirs. [A dispute] will have a very bad effect on the savages who are clever enough to seize the advantage when they perceive that the French are at odds among themselves. I am sure that M. St. Côme, who is expecting M. Montigny, will be very surprised at the arrival of Father Binneteau at Tamaroa.

Since Your Excellency is probably not aware of the status of these nations, I am writing in an effort to inform you. The Tamaroa as well as the Cahokia belong to the Illinois nation. Some of them

<sup>3</sup> This document from the Archives of the Seminary of Quebec bears the number 49 but no subject classification.

<sup>4</sup> Father Montigny and the other priests mentioned are identified in "Memorial Regarding the Establishment of the Tamaroa Mission," below.

are settled with the Illinois at Fort St. Louis, while others are situated about twelve leagues below the mouth of the Illinois on the Mississippi River, on the left bank about ninety leagues below Fort St. Louis. When I was at the Fort, I tried, unsuccessfully, to attract them to settle there [i. e., at the Fort]; but they frequently drifted away. The Reverend Fathers used the opportunity [of their presence near the Fort] to instruct them and baptize their children before they went away. In the past there was no mission in their village. Father Marquette passed there on his voyage. Father Gravier went there, but was obliged to leave because the people listened to evil talk from the savages at our Fort. Fearing for his life, the Father took refuge at the Fort while I was in the north during the past winter.

Father Binneteau, who came after us, found a hunting village of the Cahokia at the mouth of the Illinois where he established a mission and then ascended the river in search of the Illinois. This, Your Excellency, is a true statement of what the Reverend Fathers have done regarding that nation. When we came down the Mississippi we found the Cahokia and Tamaroa very anxious to have Black Robes to instruct them. I did what I could to have them accept those [i. e., Missionaries of the Seminary of Quebec] whom I had the honor of accompanying. When I came back up the river, as when Messrs. Montigny and St. Côme did also, they begged that one of the two should remain to instruct them. When M. Montigny assigned M. St. Côme their joy was unbounded.

It is certainly to the glory of God that the two [groups of] missionaries should cooperate. [But] when Father Gravier learned how matters stood, he left Michillimackinac to go to that quarter. Even so I am sure that M. St. Côme will find enough of work until Your Excellency has decided in favor of one or the other. As for the Illinois missions, may God heap His blessings on them and may the decisions be to His honor and glory forever.

Some savages arrived here from Montreal bringing news that M. le Comte [Frontenac] has died and that M. le Callier has been appointed to his office. Since savages are usually not truthful and are apt to say anything, I have decided to write to no one except Your Excellency until we receive news. But I felt that I should offer the above information asking you to keep secret what I have given myself the honor of writing and of favoring me with your

continued protection and of believing me, with respectful submission,  
Monseigneur,

Your Excellency's humble and very obedient servant  
H. TONTY.<sup>5</sup>

MEMORANDUM OF ENGAGEES AND THEIR WAGES FOR A PARTY  
WHICH LEFT MONTREAL FOR THE GULF COAST, 1699.<sup>6</sup>

On leaving Montreal we had twelve men to wit:  
Lorenger, Rouillard, Fezeret, Guilbaut, to whom nothing was given.  
Huneau, 500 *livres* per year  
Charbonneau, 500 *livres* per year  
Perrot, 500 *livres* per year  
Rochon, 200 *livres* the first year and 300 *livres* the following years  
St. Martin, 150 *livres*  
La Source, 150 *livres*, the whole in Canadian money  
Charles, subsistence  
Brother Alexandre, nothing  
At Michilimakinak, Rouillard, Lorenger, Fezeret and Guilbaut quit  
us and Nirgue joined us, to whom 60 Canadian crowns were  
given the first year, which amounts to 135 *livres* in French  
money. The following year he should receive 60 crowns in  
French money.<sup>7</sup>  
At the Illinois de Launay joined us, to whom we gave 400 *livres* in  
French money.  
I had paid one year to La Source at his departure. There was still  
due him four months . . . 57 *livres* in French money.  
To de Launay, there was due nine months . . . 300 *livres* in French  
money  
To Bourbonnois, eight months . . . 200 *livres* in Canadian money  
besides a great coat, 30 *livres*; a pair of mittens, 10 *livres* in  
French money.  
We owe no more except to Rochon since the 15th of July, 1699,  
300 *livres* per year in Canadian money. To Le Beuf since Janu-  
ary 1699, 200 *livres* in Canadian money. To Levesque since 20  
August 1699, 60 crowns in French money. Of that he received

<sup>5</sup> For an excellent account of this man consult Edmund Robert Murphy, *Henry de Tonty, Fur Trader of the Mississippi*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (for the Institut Français de Washington), 1941.

<sup>6</sup> Missions 107 No. 1, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec.

<sup>7</sup> For practical purposes the *livre* can be thought of as worth twenty cents; the crown (*ecu*) sixty. In that day, of course, such sums had far greater purchasing power than today. For a brief discussion of money terms and values see John Francis McDermott, *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French* (St. Louis, Washington University Studies, 1941), 94-95; for detailed information consult Adam Shortt, *Documents relatifs à la Monnaie, au change et aux Finances du Canada sous le Régime Français*, 2 volumes, Ottawa, 1925.

19 *livres*, 10 *sols* in French money. To Nirgue since 15 September 1698, 60 crowns in Canadian money the first year; and the next two years, 60 crowns in French money. Of that he has received 106 *livres* in French money, besides 36 *livres* and 12 *sols*. Further, we owe Michel Ako some vermilion, two muskets and about 200 *livres*. But he owes us 300 *livres*. To LaSource 10 pounds of vermilion, 21 pounds of powder, 5 pounds of glass trinkets, 2 dozen pocket knives. Further, to Nirgue, 100 *livres* for powder and 200 *livres* which he lent to pay our contract employees. Further to M. d'Hyberville<sup>8</sup>

At the Arkansas Huneau left us as did Charbonneau and Perrot; and Bourbonnois joined to whom we gave 350 *livres*. Also Le Beuf to whom we gave 150 *livres* in French money. On returning from our voyage to the sea St. Martin, La Source, and Brother Alexandre left us. We took on L'evesque to whom we gave 60 crowns in French money. At the moment we have only Rochon and Le Beuf who are at Tamaroa with M. de St. Côme, l'Evesque who is at Tonicas with M. Davion and Nirgue, whom I have left at Natchez during my absence.

For the six months which Perrot and Charbonneau and Huneau were with us, it did not cost over 300 *livres* in Canadian money for all three because I had advanced them the rest before our departure. I also advanced wages for St. Martin, thus it was not necessary to expend [money] for him.

LETTERS PATENT ISSUED BY BISHOP ST. VALLIER,  
QUEBEC, 6 OCTOBER 1717<sup>9</sup>

*We, John, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of Quebec in New France, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting and blessing in Our Lord.*

Although by Our Letters Patent of 14 July 1698 We have granted to the Superior and Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec a special power to send missionaries among the Tamaroa Indians and to make such residences, settlements, and missions as they would judge suitable, considering that the places where the said Tamaroa Indians live are the key so to speak and the necessary passage to the tribes farther in the interior and so

<sup>8</sup> The sentence breaks off here so that one does not know what is for the attention of Iberville or has been received from him.

<sup>9</sup> Collated transcript, Archives of the Bishop of Belleville.

make access easy to them, now M. Varlet, Our Vicar-general of missionaries to the Tamaroa Indians, having represented to us that before he can arrive at the said mission a considerable time will have passed without the Seminary of Quebec being able to send any missionaries to fill the place of M. Bergier who died there while laboring for the conversion of the said Indians, he fears that Our said Letters Patent of 14 July 1698 may be regarded as expired and that missionaries of some other order may pretend to dispute the possession of the said seminary; he has [therefore] begged Us to give him new letters patent confirmatory of those preceding ones of the said month and year.

We, wishing to favor the zeal of the said Seminary for the conversion of the infidels, and having regard for the representations that have been made to Us by M. Varlet, have authorized and do authorize the said Superior and Directors of the said Seminary of Quebec to continue their missions among the Tamaroa, confirming by these patents those which we sent to them the 14th of July 1698 as well as those of the first day of May in the same year 1698 by which We granted to the said Superior and Directors full power to settle themselves and form missions among all the tribes who are on both sides of the river Mississippi and all the length of this river and of its tributaries, confirming moreover the contents of the said letters, revoking by these patents all other letters and powers we may have granted to others, if any such are found contrary to these presents. We reserving the power, when the said missionaries of the Foreign Missions of Quebec abandon the said place, to give the said Mission of the Tamaroas to whom We think fit in order that the souls do not remain abandoned.

Given at Quebec under Our hand and that of Our secretary, and sealed with the seal of Our arms this sixth day of October seventeen hundred and seventeen.

(Signed) JOHN BISHOP OF QUEBEC

and below by Monsignor Armand and sealed with the seal of his arms.

Collated by the undersigned royal notary of the provostship of Quebec with the original presented to him and immediately returned with these presents. At Quebec this nineteenth October seventeen hundred and seventeen.

DU BREUIL

Michel Bégon, Chevalier and Seigneur in Picardie, Merbelin, and other places, Counselor of the King in his Councils and in the *Parlement* of Metz, Intendant of Justice, police, and finances in New France, do certify to all to whom these presents appertain that

du Breuil who has collated the above document is a royal notary in the Town and Provostship of Quebec, that full faith is given to the deeds collated and compared by him. In testimony whereof we have signed these presents and thereto attached the seal of our arms and caused the same to be countersigned by one of our secretaries at our residence at Quebec this nineteenth October seventeen hundred seventeen.

Bégon  
Barbet

GRANT BY BOISBRIANT (1722) OF FOUR LEAGUES "EN QUARRE"  
TO THE MISSIONARIES OF THE TAMAROA.<sup>10</sup>

We, Pierre Dugué de Boisbriant, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, first Lieutenant of the King in the Province of Louisiana, Commandant of the Illinois country, and Marc Antoine de la Loëre des Ursins, Principal Commissary of the Royal Company of the Indies at the said place.

Upon the request of the Honorable Missionaries of the Cahokias and the Tamaroa that they be granted a piece of land four leagues in a square in fee simple, with the adjoining islands, beginning a quarter of a league above the little river of the Cahokias, located above the village of the Savages, and returning towards Fort de Chartres, following the length and course of the Mississippi, being in depth . . . <sup>11</sup>

In consequence of our power, we have granted the said piece of land to the Honorable Missionaries of the Cahokias and Tamaroa in fee simple, on which they can from this day forward work clear, and sow while awaiting the grant in due form, which will be sent from France by the Honorable General Directors of the Royal Company of the Indies. At Fort de Chartres this twenty-second of June, seventeen hundred and twenty-two.

We, the undersigned, certify the present copy of the deed of grant agrees with the original. At the Tamaroa, the twenty-seventh of May, seventeen hundred and thirty-two . . . Thaumure

P. PERTHIAS.

<sup>10</sup> Number 30, (no subject classification), Archives of the Seminary of Quebec.

<sup>11</sup> The paragraph ends with leaders in this fashion.

MEMORIAL OF GOODS RECEIVED BY THE TAMAROA MISSION  
FROM MESSRS. VARLET AND DAVION, 1718-1724.<sup>12</sup>

On 5 November 1718 M. Pottier, inhabitant of Kaskaskia, returned the following goods which were left by M. Varlet among the Illinois and those which were sent to him while on his way to Canada, to wit:

One barrel of powder weighing ninety-one pounds  
 One barrel of fifteen pounds of vermilion  
 Three pounds of vermilion  
 Two muskets with long, slender barrels  
 Four large pocket knives  
 One dozen and a half butcher knives  
 Sixteen mattocks with long, slender handles  
 Ten small axes  
 Two medium sized  
 Four heavier  
 Four pounds of aniline glass beads  
 One dozen and a half of trinkets  
 Six dozen bells, medium and small  
 Four dozen steels for striking fire  
 Two pair of scissors, long and narrow  
 Twelve pounds of steel  
 Five yards of Rouen linen, flowered  
 Thirteen yards of scarlet cloth  
 Thirteen and a half yards of dark blue frieze  
 Six pieces of about six to seven yards of Breton linen  
 Two yards of damaged cloth  
 Two yards of thin stuff called Everlasting  
 Eight pounds of red chalk  
 Three dozen small mirrors in a box

CLOTHING AND LINEN

Two cassocks  
 Three pairs of yarn socks  
 One pair of hob-nailed shoes  
 One small packet of black thread, silk, and thread lace  
 A small quantity of starch  
 Two cakes of soap  
 One trunk  
 Six new shirts five old  
 Seven pairs drawers [?]  
 Three small shrouds

<sup>12</sup> Missions No. 105-b, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec.



One handkerchief of linen, one table cloth and eleven napkins  
 Two bonnet headdresses  
 One smoothing iron  
 Nineteen collar-bands in the Oratorian style

## ORNAMENTS AND LINENS OF THE CHURCH

Chasuble, stole and manipule in Spanish style  
 One burse, not matching, one antependium  
 One pair of cruets, an iron for making hosts  
 One copper handbell, one other small bell

BOOKS<sup>13</sup>

*Asceticism of St. Basil*  
*Seven Sacerdotal Triumphs*  
*Tradition of the Church on Penance* returned to M. Davion  
 [word illegible]  
*Abridgment of John Chrysostom* 2 vol.  
*Christian Instructions*, one volume returned to M. Davion  
 The first seven volumes of the *Morals of Grenoble*  
 The ninth volume of *Essays on Morals*  
 The *Ritual of Quebec*  
*Roman Antiphonary*  
*Pastoral of Gregory*

## UTENSILS

One large boiler  
 One stewpan  
 Two old kettles  
 One old coffeepot  
 One chisel of sorts  
 One gouge and one cross-cut chisel  
 Two flat bolts, one pruning hook  
 One pair of hinges  
 One axe in bad condition  
 One hammer in bad condition, one boat hook  
 One auger, one cellaret of which there is lacking one flask  
 One tube of holy oil

<sup>13</sup> Apparently this first lot of books was the gift of Father Varlet; the other books named in this document were from Father Davion. For an account of Davion's library (of which this gift represented only a portion) see Arthur Maheux, "La Bibliothèque du Missionnaire Davion au dix-huitième Siècle," *Le Canada Français*, XXVII (Mars, 1940), 650-661. It will be interesting to compare with this first library brought to Cahokia the list of books owned by Father Gibault in 1786 (*Kaskaskia Records*, 545) and at his death in New Madrid, 1802 (John Francis McDermott, "The Library of Father Gibault," *Mid-America*, XVII [October, 1935], 273-275).

- One spade  
 Eighty-six livres which M. Davion has received  
 Twenty-four pounds of lead which M. Huvé received.  
 1722 Received from M. Davion by the Company boat, to wit:  
 One chasuble, stole, manipule, veil, and burse, one ciborium  
 of the late M. Bergier.  
 One silver monstrance of the same  
 Four copper candlesticks of the same  
 One cross of copper and censor of copper of the same

## BOOKS

- Lives of the Saints* in two volumes  
*Scholastic Theology* of Gonet 17 volumes  
*Works of Bl. John of the Cross*  
 Those of St. Teresa  
*Meditations* of Beuvelet  
*Christian Instructions* volumes 1, 2, 4, and 5.  
 The 2nd and 8th volumes of the *Moral Theology* of Grenoble  
*The Guide of Sinners*  
*Sermons* of Boigillot 8 volumes  
*The Particular Judgment* 2 volumes.  
*Concordance of the Bible*  
 Bonal 2 volumes  
*Treatise of Piety* 2nd and 3rd volumes  
*Catechism of Montpellier* 2 volumes

## ORNAMENTS OF THE CHURCH

- One black chasuble, stole and manipule  
 One old alb. One old surplice  
 One cincture. Two old amices  
 Two altar cloths. Two old palls  
 One copper lamp from the mission of the Tonicas. This belonged to the late M. Bergier's church. Two candlesticks of copper with the Holy Water font crushed under the ruins of the Church of Massacre.  
 Also received in the same year, 1722, from M. Davion *Lives of the Saints* by Father Giry two volumes  
*Christian Reflections for every Day of the Year* by Father Crosset, Jesuit, the first volume only.  
 A small book of the *Imitation of Christ* in French  
 The first volume of the *Memorial of the Christian Life* by Father Louis of Granada  
 Nine quires of paper. Some ointment and some digestive lozenges.

- 1723 (23 April) We have received from M. Davion:  
 One small old French-Latin Dictionary  
 One do still older Latin-French  
 Two old horse pistols and one pair of candle snuffers
- 1724 We have received from M. Davion:  
 Rev. Father Cornelius a Lapide's *Commentary of the Four Gospels* in folio  
*Christian Instructions* third volume in quarto  
 Jansen, *On the Gospels* in quarto  
*Sermons for the Sundays and Holydays of the Year* in quarto  
 by the late M. Ant. Godeau, Bishop of Venee  
 Bellarmine *On The Psalms* in quarto  
 Sermons of Father Bourdaloue, i. e. *Lent* 1st volume and  
 3rd (another edition) *Panegyrics* 2 volumes. *First* and  
*Second Mysteries* volume 2.  
*Lent* by Father Bourree, Priest of the Oratory.  
*Symbolism of Nicole*, two volumes 1st and 2nd  
*The Sacraments*, two volumes 1st and 2nd  
*Instructions Theological and Moral on Sunday Prayers* by  
 the same M. Nicole  
*Essays on Morals* volumes 5th and 9th

In the month of August of the same year we received from M. Davion in silver plate:

- One chalice with its paten  
 One ciborium and one monstrance which have a common base  
 One other small ciborium  
 Another very small ciborium  
 Two cruets, also of silver, without their tray  
 Also six or seven earthenware cups, only one of which arrived intact, and a goblet of earthenware  
 Eighteen jugs of "eau de vie" and as many of wine  
 Three muskets whose bayonets were broken on the trip  
 About fifteen hanks of rope about an inch thick  
 Nine assorted files with a whetstone  
 Four pounds of steel  
 One plane and its iron parts, with the blade of a cross-cut chisel  
 One pound of pepper  
 Two yellow copper bowls  
 Sixty-one pounds of powder and seven pounds of lead  
 One dozen butcher knives  
 Twenty yards of imitation gold lace

Three pieces of thread lace, which have not been returned to  
us

One small vice

One saw blade

Four small tin measures

Besides this, on another occasion we received from M. Davion  
a chest or small coffer in which we found

Six or seven pounds of roughly melted [illgible]

Four pounds of old spoiled chocolate

Four shrouds more than half worn out

One old surplice with long sleeves made of batiste

Two pounds of cotten

One alarm with its weights and counter weights

About nine or ten pounds of soap.

Four dozen pocket knives

Seven tin spoons, six do

Three platters, six plates, one bowl and an old porringer, all of  
tin

One old barber's mug of tin, completely perforated.

#### BOOKS

St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa* in folio

Layman's *Moral Theology* in fol.

The Old and New *Ritual* according to the usage of the Dio-  
cese of Quebec together with its *Catechism*.

*Christian Ethics Based on the Love of God* drawn from the  
writings of Augustine

Also, one bell weighing thirty pounds

One anvil weighing 223 pounds

One old kettle of red copper, of five or six pints capacity,  
perforated.

#### MEMORIAL REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TAMAROA MISSION, 1699-1724 <sup>14</sup>

In the years 1698 and 1699 the Seminary of the Foreign Mis-  
sions of Quebec sent three missionaries, namely, Messrs. de Mont-  
tigny,<sup>15</sup> Davion<sup>16</sup> and St. Côme<sup>17</sup> [to locate] in the upper  
Mississippi [country] below the mouth of the Missouri River.  
[They were directed to establish themselves] beyond the [territory  
of the] Illinois [Indian tribes] in order to avoid any complaint from

<sup>14</sup> Polygraph IX No. 26, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec.

the Jesuits, who might be inclined to object that the missions conducted by that Order were being invaded. The Seminary of Quebec expended between twenty and twenty five thousand *livres* to equip the missionaries, for wages and rations of the boatmen, and to support the missionaries for several years. M. de Montigny, who is still living at the Seminary in Paris, can testify to all this. The Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions of Paris, on learning of the expedition, sent through the courtesy of M. d'Iberville,<sup>18</sup> at the end of 1698, between a thousand and twelve hundred *livres* of clothing, linens and other provisions to assist the missionaries in their work.

A second expedition was dispatched from Quebec in 1700, consisting of M. Foucault,<sup>19</sup> a priest from Paris and M. de Bouteville,<sup>20</sup> a priest from Canada. This effort again cost the Seminary of Quebec about ten thousand *livres*. Finally, in 1703, the Seminary sent out M. Bergier,<sup>21</sup> a priest of the Diocese of Vienne in Dauphin, and of the city of Thain on the Rhone. He went by the same route to the Mississippi [country]. On this venture the Seminary expended about two thousand crowns.

M. de St. Côme settled among the Tamaroa, M. Montigny among the Natchez, M. Davion among the Tonicas, and M. de St. Côme with a tribe still lower down the river [towards the sea]. All of these nations along the Mississippi had not been evangelized

<sup>18</sup> François Jolliet de Montigny (1669-1742) was born in Paris. He was ordained by Bishop St. Vallier in 1693 and served as vicar-general for the Diocese from 1694 to 1697. He was appointed Superior of the expedition dispatched by the Seminary of Quebec in 1698. He remained on this enterprise until 1702 when he returned to France where he died in 1742. Cf. L. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire general du Canada*, (Ottawa, 1931), II, 299.

<sup>19</sup> Antoine Davion had been working in the missions in Canada since 1690. Cf. L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, (New York, 1917), 338.

<sup>20</sup> Jean François Busson de St. Cosme was born in Canada in 1667 and ordained in 1690. He may have spent some time in Acadia doing mission work before 1698 when he went with the missionaries in 1699 to the Mississippi River country. He was murdered in 1706. His younger brother, Michel, came out in 1700, though not yet a priest. Michel was ordained in 1704 but probably did not return to the missions. He died in 1712. Cf. "Les Bussons de Saint-Cosme, Pretres" *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXX (1924), 195-198.

<sup>21</sup> Jacques Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, brother of Bienville, founder of New Orleans.

<sup>19</sup> Father Nicholas Foucault was murdered in 1702.

<sup>20</sup> There seems to be no information available about Father Bouteville.

<sup>21</sup> Marc Bergier reported of himself that he was a priest, a Doctor of Laws born in Vienne, and that he was about 32 years old in 1699. He died at Cahokia in 1707. Cf. "New Light on Old Cahokia," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, XI (1928-29), 114.

by the Jesuits. That Order found it difficult enough to supply missionaries for all the Indians between Quebec and the Illinois country as well as other missions in the north. M. de St. Valier,<sup>22</sup> Bishop of Quebec, and M. de Frontenac, Governor General of Canada, had [therefore] authorized the Missionaries of the Foreign Missions to establish themselves in those places.

It would seem that having expended so much effort no one would wish to interfere with the Missionaries of the Seminary of Quebec. Yet, Father Lamberville,<sup>23</sup> Procurator of the Jesuits in Canada, so importuned Father de la Chaise<sup>24</sup> that he named M. the Archbishop of Auch, M. the Bishop of Chartres, and M. de Vintimive, then Bishop of Marseilles, present Archbishop of Paris, as members of a royal commission to examine the facts and to determine whether the Missionaries of Quebec should enter this mission field and whether they were impairing [the work] of any of the Jesuit missions. The focal point of the problem was the mission among the Tamaroa, which the Jesuits maintained to be a dependency of their territory of the Illinois.

At one of these gatherings held at the residence of the Archbishop of Auch, the Bishop of Marseilles, now Archbishop of Paris, asked the Sieur Tremblay,<sup>25</sup> who was there with Father Lamberville, whether the location in question might have gold or silver mines or deposits of precious stones. The Sieur Tremblay replied that the only riches to be won were sufferings. As a matter of fact Messrs. Foucaut and St. Côme lost their lives in this mission. M. Bergier wore himself out there, dying the death worthy of a missionary. Messrs. de Montigny and Davion have often been in danger of losing their lives.

Displeased with these mission establishments on the Mississippi, the Jesuits sent one of their number, Father du Ru<sup>26</sup> with M.

<sup>22</sup> Jean-Baptiste de la Croix-Cheviere de St. Vallier, former chaplain to Louis XIV, was appointed in 1688 to succeed to the episcopacy of Quebec.

<sup>23</sup> Jean de Lamberville was born at Rouen in 1633. He became a Jesuit in 1656 and was sent to Canada in 1669. He became a renowned Indian diplomat, especially in his relations with the Iroquois, among whom he worked until 1692. He was then recalled to France to act as Procurator for the Missions of New France.

<sup>24</sup> Pere le Chaise was Confessor to Louis XIV.

<sup>25</sup> Jean Henri Tremblay (1665-1747) was affiliated with the Seminary of the Foreign Mission of Paris. He came to Canada in 1687 but soon returned to Paris where he was made Procurator of the organization. Cf. Le Jeune, *op. cit.*, II, 735.

<sup>26</sup> Paul du Ru, a Jesuit who was sent to the missions in Louisiana in 1699 until his recall in 1702. Cf. R. L. Butler, ed. *Journal of Paul du Ru*, (Chicago, 1934).

d'Iberville in 1700. Father de Limoges<sup>27</sup> located at Mobile in 1703 where the French had started a colony. However, M. de Comte de Pontchartrain<sup>28</sup> did not think it wise to have missionaries of different Orders working in the same territory. He, therefore, influenced Father Gouge,<sup>29</sup> Procurator of the Missions to the Islands to cause Father de Limoges to retire on condition that the Jesuits would have Cow Island and Santo Domingo as their field. These areas were taken from the Capuchins in order that the Jesuits might have them. In 1704 Messrs. de la Vente and Huvé,<sup>30</sup> both sent by the Seminary of the Foreign Missions of Paris, were established at Mobile to replace Father de Limoges. This expedition was launched at the expense of six thousand *livres*. Again, in 1705 the same organization dispatched M. le Maire<sup>31</sup> who came in the ship commanded by M. d'Iberville who was on his way to attack the island of Nieve. In this venture the Seminary of the Foreign Mission of Paris expended more than five thousand *livres*, a great part of which was lost during the encounter with the English.

Louis XIV, of glorious memory, at the end of 1703 granted to the Foreign Missions of Quebec an order for three thousand *livres* on his royal treasury for the support of the Indian missions which they had established along the Mississippi. At the end of 1704 His Majesty again granted a similar order for fifteen hundred *livres* to support a pastor and a vicar among the Indians as well as for the French on the lower Mississippi. These two grants were donated annually until 1717. But payment was made in paper money or treasury notes and the largest amount was tendered in bank notes in 1720. Probably not more than a thousand crowns in actual money was received from all the grants. In spite of this, it was necessary to meet bills in actual cash for all the expeditions

<sup>27</sup> Joseph Limoges whom the Jesuit superiors sent to New France in 1698 and assigned to work among the Indians near the mouth of the Red River. He was recalled in 1702. Cf. R. G. Thwaites, ed. *Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 266.

<sup>28</sup> Pontchartrain, as Minister of the Marine, exercised great influence in shaping France's colonial policies.

<sup>29</sup> Father Gouge had been Pontchartrain's professor of mathematics. Cf. C. Rochemonteix, *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siecle*, (Paris, 1906) III, 578.

<sup>30</sup> Henri Roulleaux de Vente was from the Seminary of the Foreign Missions of Paris. He was sent to Mobile in 1704. Because he was not too well liked by Bienville he was recalled in 1710. Thwaites, *op cit.*, LXVI, 342. Alexandre Huvé was sent to assist de Vente. He was not a well man but he stayed in America until 1727. Thwaites, *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Father Le Maire seems to have come to Louisiana on the urging of a wealthy friend. He did not stay long. Thwaites, *ibid.*

made between 1705 and 1724 in which year the Missionaries of the Foreign Mission gave up the field.

Little protection was offered [to the Missionaries of the Seminary of Quebec] in all the good they desired to accomplish. The Sieur de la Vente was recalled. They have never been able to obtain funds to build rectories and churches (at Mobile they built at their own expense) or for decorations and lighting [such as are usually given to missionaries]. On the contrary they have carried on divine services at their own expense. They were even refused chalices and church ornaments which were always granted to other missionaries. These obstacles did not prevent them from sending M. Varlet,<sup>32</sup> Doctor of the Sorbonne, in 1711 or 1712, to replace M. Bergier who died among the Tamaroa. When he realized the need for more missionaries, he induced the Seminary of Quebec, early in 1718, to send Messrs. Calvarin, Thaumur, and Mercier.<sup>33</sup> The three priests, who came by land, supplied the missionary needs of the Tamaroa and planned to evangelize the Indians of the Missouri [country]. They arrived among the Tamaroa in 1719. This venture cost the Seminary of Quebec more than ten thousand *livres*. M. Varlet was ordered to return to France.

The Letters Patent of the Company of the Indies placed on that organization the obligation of supporting missionaries, both those who served the Indians and those who cared for the French in the lower Mississippi [country]. The Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions several times during 1718 and 1719 petitioned the Directors of the Company for the fees due the missionaries to the Indians and to the French. His Majesty annually assigned a sum of three thousand *livres* to the Indian Missionaries and a sum of fifteen hundred *livres* to those who worked among the French. The Honorable Directors, whom M. Varlet visited personally after his consecration as Bishop of Babylon, made similar promises, but not even a *sou* was ever paid. And this, despite the fact that the Company [spent a great deal of money to transport] thousands of miserable [wretches] to the country where they died of hunger. It was Messrs. Davion, Le Maire, and Huvé who succored these poor people, administering the sacraments to them and endangering their

<sup>32</sup> Dominique-Marie Varlet came to Canada in 1712, under the auspices of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions of Paris. He was at once dispatched as Superior and Vicar-General of the Tamaroa mission. He was recalled to France in 1719 and consecrated Coadjutor Bishop of Babylon. Almost immediately he became involved with the Jansenists of Holland whither he went and where he was to die. Cf. *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, III (1897), 18-22.

<sup>33</sup> Thaumur's full name was Thaumur de la Source. Mercier served at Cahokia until his death in 1753.



very lives to help them. In spite of all this, the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions never received a *sou* of revenue. This is why they refrained from continuing to send missionaries to the country. It also explains why the Company [of the Indies] encouraged the Capuchins to undertake the field as the priests of the Foreign Missions were withdrawn.

M. Raudot, Director of the Company [of the Indies] was presented a memorandum in 1723 or 1724, requesting six hundred *livres* for each year of service given by Messrs. Davion, Le Maire, and Huvé up to the time they were recalled. A similar request was made for the services of Messrs. Calvarin, Thaumur, and Mercier, who were among the Tamaroa, the first of these until his death, and the others up to the date of the memorandum. M. Raudot was inclined to authorize payment of three thousand *livres* to the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions. He also favored sending a memorandum to Louisiana requiring information as to the time of departure for France of Messrs. Davion, Huvé, and Le Maire so that it might be determined what sum was due them. Similar data was to be asked of authorities at Fort de Chartres about the length of service of Messrs. Calvarin, Thaumur, and Mercier among the Tamaroa and whether they had received anything from the Company. The rest of the Directors, however, were of the opinion that no preliminary sum should be paid on account, but that payment should await an answer from the memorandum to Louisiana. The latter advice was followed and a memorandum was forwarded to Louisiana. Some years later Sieur Le Large, Director [of the Company] at New Orleans, replied that he had received the memorandum and would forward the information requested. As yet nothing had been forthcoming. If the Gentlemen of the Company have received any such information, the fact has not been made known to the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions.

When M. Davion felt that his end was approaching, he went to Flanders. There he submitted an itemized account to the Gentlemen of the Company which amounted to three or four thousand *livres* in Letters of Exchange on the Company. Only under protest did M. Davion receive five or six thousand *livres* which he took with him to his native country without understanding that the sum was rendered in part payment for the services of Messrs. Huvé and Le Maire [as well as himself].

Concerning what was due Messrs. Calvarin, Thaumur, and Mercier, the Director of the Company at Fort de Chartres was unwilling to pay these three missionaries anything from the date of their departure from Quebec in 1718 to the death of M. Calvarin and for the five or six years Messrs. Thaumur and Mercier cared

for the mission among the Tamaroa. The Director was not even willing to approve payment to M. Mercier for his services to M. de Bourgmont<sup>34</sup> on his journey of discovery of the Missouri though M. Mercier was with the expedition the whole time it was out.

Though the Gentlemen of the Company had verbally agreed on several occasions in 1719, 1720, and even up to 1723 to contribute annually six hundred *livres* in French money for the support of each missionary, yet their Commissary at Fort de Chartres was not willing to pay anything up to 1724 and 1725. At the same time the Company paid the Jesuits and the Capuchins at the rate of six hundred *livres* in French money, besides paying passage for and giving fifteen hundred *livres* to each missionary to build chapels or rectories. Besides refusing to contribute anything to the poor Missionaries of the Foreign Mission [for building, etc.] the Company desired in these latter years to reduce the stipend for each missionary to four hundred *livres* at the rate of exchange at Fort de Chartres. In reality the missionaries would receive less than two hundred *livres* in French money to support themselves in a country where everything is two thirds as expensive as it is in France. When M. Thaumur went back to Quebec (where he died in the odor of sanctity) to recruit new laborers, he procured Messrs. Gagnon and Courier, two young priests from Canada to come to the aid of M. Mercier. No one knows whether the Commissary at Fort de Chartres intended to continue the rate of remuneration on the same unfair basis from the time of their departure till their arrival and up to the present.

It is evident from what has been said why the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions are discouraged about these missions. It explains why several have left the field (one in which they cannot exist regardless of all their labors) despite the violent death of several of their brethren and the edification they have given constantly wherever they were. They still continue to do so in the small corner left to them where the French wish them to continue. They stay only because they hope that their little center may serve as an emporium, a nursery to supply missionaries for the Indians of the Missouri River where they were the first [to spread the Faith] and with which they can easily communicate from their establishment.

The Gentlemen of the Foreign Mission of Paris and Quebec hope that His Majesty may direct the Company of the Indies to pay all that is due since and including 1718, when the Company

<sup>34</sup> Etienne Veniard, Sieur de Bourgmond, who established Fort Orleans on the Missouri River in 1723.

came into possession of this country until the time they returned it to His Majesty. In the future it is hoped that His Majesty will direct that there be drawn, annually, an order for three thousand livres on his Royal Treasury, as did his grandfather, Louis XIV of happy memory, unless His Majesty would prefer to settle on them a benefice of equal value for the support of these missions.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN AND SETTLEMENT OF THE SEIGNIORY  
OF THE MISSION TO THE TAMAROA, 12 APRIL 1735 <sup>35</sup>

The island of the Holy family, which conceals the view of the Mississippi from the French settlement as well as from the Indian village of the Kaokias, measures one league or more in length by nearly one half of a league in width [and] is completely covered with a forest of full grown trees good for building purposes or for fuel, especially quantities of cottonwoods but very few walnut and mulberry trees. It is almost everywhere covered with rushes [horse-weed], which our horses seek greedily. When the waters of the Missouri and the Mississippi rise very high the greater part of the island is flooded.

The little river of the Kaokias which has its source in lakes [marais] about a league and a half from this place, together with a small branch of the Mississippi, forms the river that separates us from the island. It would be possible to erect a mill on the said river of the Kaokias, if during high water the Mississippi did not force back its current for quite a distance. Both sides of the river are covered with trees.

The river of the bridge [riviere du pont] also rises in a lake and flows quite gently into the Mississippi almost opposite the old village of the Kaskaskias. The Mississippi never backwaters far enough to obstruct a mill placed a little above the point where the bridge is indicated. It is the cost of a dam and the scarcity of water during dry weather that has kept us from erecting a mill here rather than on the bluff.

The river Platin [riviere du Platin] issues from the foot of a rock of some height, runs through a chain of little hills, and drops to the foot of the bluff with very little current. Its bed sometimes becomes dry but never the basin from which it draws its water. We had at first thought of building the mill on the said river at a suitable distance above the foot of the bluff but we changed our opinion

<sup>35</sup> Polygraph IX, No. 18, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec; a collated transcript of this document rests in the Archives of the Bishop of Belleville.

because of the expense of a dam which great storms and downpours of rain might easily carry away, for there is nobody in this country who has the skill to build one strong enough to withstand these torrents. This is what renders useless to the Jesuit fathers the mill which they built in the midst of similar hills; it can operate only during great [rain] storms, yet in less than 24 hours 7 or 800 *livres* of damages are done. Since its construction three years ago they have not been able to grind more than 150 *minots*<sup>36</sup> of flour and its construction and repairs have cost at least 20,000 *livres*. The dam of the one built between Fort Chartres and the Kaskaskias, like that of the fathers, has been carried away by the heavy rains; it is believed, however, to be better than the former [better than the mill of the Jesuits].

The waterfalls where we place our mill issues from the middle of the rock that forms the bluff; it may be thirty feet in height; the opening through which the water rushes is large enough to enable a man to enter; the hollow in the said rock is spacious and encloses a sort of small lake the depth of which nobody has yet ventured to sound and far less to measure its extent on every side. After the heavy showers of rain or when the snow melts, the opening of the rock not being large enough for the excess water, a loud noise is heard in the cavity and then the water rushes out with great violence both through the said opening and also another crevice in the said rock which serves as overflow to the first outlet. The way we are placing the mill building all the fury of the water cannot injure it because the first trough [*dalle*], about five feet wide, placed crosswise to receive the whole fall of water, will give to the other troughs only what is required for the mill. The troughs are a hundred feet long, the large wheel is 18 feet in diameter, and the mill stones five feet, not having found any larger ones.

During the great droughts, we believe there will not be enough water to turn the said mill; it will be in operation, nevertheless, about six months in the year which may suffice to grind 8000 [*minots*] of wheat.

Number thirty-two shows the domain we have reserved for ourselves in the prairie of the Kaokias. It has six *arpents* frontage. In the prairie where the mill is built we have reserved another domain of 20 *arpents* in the very place where the mill is situated, leaving it in about the center of the second domain, the depth of which shall run from the bluffs to the Mississippi, or from the Mississippi to the bluffs, taking for direction a line running north north west. On both sides of the said first domain seven pieces of land

<sup>36</sup> The *minot* was a dry measure equal to about one and one-tenth bushels.

have been granted by warranty deeds to 7 settlers [*habitants*] of whom four only, the nearest to the French village, are in full possession; the other three, as well as ourselves, sow in the farther part of their fields fifteen to twenty *minots* of wheat for this year in uncultivated fields that they have bought from said Indians and which have three *arpents* frontage. Our domain as well as three fields belonging to settlers being occupied by the Kaokias whom we have been unable to persuade to move farther than a league away, because they fear that they might be attacked by some tribe who would destroy them if they went too far from the French, we can only sow in the farther end of our fields, where we have land enough for sowing 200 *minots*. More than 3 weeks ago we placed 170 *minots* in the earth. The twelve *arpents* of land, granted without title, on this side of our domain, that is, on the side near our village, belong to the men named Pichard, Blondin, Louis gault, La Source; the nine *arpents* on the other side of the said domain belong to Rolet, Francois Mercier, and Robillard, who is the farthest away. All these fields should run north north west, we think, which may be changed a trifle, when a sworn surveyor, of which there are none yet in the country, shall come to make an official survey.

The said *habitants* having absolutely insisted that their lands begin at the bank of the little river that separates the island from this prairie and that they must be granted in depth to the bluffs, as they have been granted by all the concessioners or *seigneurs* to all the settlers of the Illinois, we could not refuse them, not only so that we would not live alone at this mission, which would not be expedient for us, but also not to give occasion of crying out against us, which would not have failed to happen. As for the *cens et rentes*<sup>37</sup> no settler has yet paid any in all this country; that will no doubt be done later.

The whole extent of the land belonging to the mission on the bluffs is almost exclusively covered with white oak; the woods there are quite open and there are many little prairies of from 5 or 6 *arpents* to 20 or 25. Those who are good judges say that the grape would thrive admirably on those slopes; if we had a vine-dresser, we would make an attempt, for wild grapes of several varieties are not lacking in this country. It is said also that sheep would find fat pasturage here, to which I agree. In that case, one could bring them up from the sea [Gulf], where there is no lack of them, nevertheless that would mean considerable expense for transport by water.

<sup>37</sup> *Cens* was a nominal tax in recognition of the seignior's rights; *rente* was the actual ground-rent.

The former village of the Kaskaskias is rightly considered a very advantageous spot to place the stone fort which the crown has ordered built in the Illinois country. The limestone, the stone and wood for building, a river in which to shelter boats, the view on the Mississippi for about two leagues above and below, the rock which slopes gently almost to the Mississippi, a beautiful prairie which adjoins the rock, the Mississippi which would be protected by this fort as well as the Missouri which empties into this river from the west five leagues from here, and the river of the Illinois which there mixes its waters eleven leagues from here on the eastern side—all that would seem indeed to invite the building of the said fort in that place, as is much spoken of, and in that case it is not difficult to foresee that the signiory of the Tamaroa will soon be settled from one end to the other.

You will find, gentlemen, several erasures in this common letter which we wrote more than a month ago. These erasures come in part from changes in *habitants* who take land today and leave it tomorrow. If the messenger who leaves tomorrow gave us more time we should have recopied it, but he is so pressed that we have not even time to write several private letters. As for the plan which we have the honor of sending you, we have drawn it the best we could, it is sufficiently correct for the distances from one place to another. If M. Renault<sup>38</sup> had not been sick, he would have done us the pleasure to draw it himself and without doubt it would have been better done. However that may be, it can always give you an idea of the location of your signiory of the Tamaroa. We have the honor to be, with much respect and submission,

at the Tamaroa  
this 12th April 1735

Gentlemen,  
Your very humble and  
obedient Servants  
J. P. MERCIER *ptre*  
J. COURIER *Ptre*

FATHER J. P. MERCIER TO GOVERNOR VAUDREUIL,  
20 APRIL 1743 <sup>39</sup>

Sir,

I have the honor of writing you this second letter concerning the land which was granted to our mission of the Kaokias or Tamaroas by Messrs de Boisbriant, the King's lieutenant in Louisiana, then commandant at the Illinois, and des Ursins, who was filling the position of Director of the Royal Company of the Indies, of which

<sup>38</sup> Philippe François Renault, on whose concession the village of St. Philippe was located.

<sup>39</sup> Collated transcript, Archives of the Bishop of Belleville.

concession I have the honor, Sir, to send you herewith a copy from the hand of the notary of the Illinois. It is in consequence of this grant that the mission has made such great disbursements to establish firmly the little French village of Kaokias. In seventeen hundred and thirty-one we bought from the Indians the land on which we would wish to locate the settlers who might come here (it is thirty *arpents* fronting on the bank of the river which runs past the village of the French and that of the Kaokias by some ten *arpents* deep). We have given tracts of land gratuitously to all. We then built a water mill which for the manual labor has cost us four thousand *francs*. The water supply soon failed and it was necessary to construct a windmill that has cost us a thousand crowns [*ecus*]. (Our horse mill could suffice for our own household). The charge for grinding that we get from the windmill does not suffice to pay the miller, who is engaged at the rate of four thousand pounds of flour a year; neither does it suffice to pay the cost of the mill sails which are very expensive in this country, nor to furnish the repairs which must be made from time to time to the said mill; last year we received only seventy-five *minots* of wheat from the grinding. Besides this, Sir, we have built a bridge of timbers over a little river at least half a league from here for easy communication between the two prairies in the tract of the four leagues granted to our mission. Moreover, Sir, the said mission has been forced to lay out much in presents to induce the said Indians to withdraw peaceably a short distance so as to avoid the quarrels that the close proximity of the French and Indian villages frequently occasioned. More than half of the Indians have moved about three leagues and a half from here (where we have ploughed for them as much land as they need); the rest express the hope of doing the same thing but they have so often broken their word that one cannot rely on their promises either in this matter or in any other. The Gentlemen our Superiors of the Seminaries of the Foreign Missions at Paris and Quebec expect us to lay before you, Sir, the disbursements we have made in consequence of this grant and that we should not have made otherwise, in order to obtain from your justice and your benevolence the ratification of the said concession which we beg you, Sir, to grant us so that we may not longer be exposed to trouble on this subject as happened a few months ago.

I have the honor to be with most respectful esteem and consideration,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient

Servant

MERCIER PRIEST

Superior V. G.

From the Kaokias  
this 20<sup>th</sup> April  
1743

SALE OF MISSION SLAVES BY FATHER FORGET du VERGER,  
5 NOVEMBER 1763 <sup>40</sup>

Before the royal notary at the Illinois in the presence of the undersigned witnesses hereinafter named personally appeared M. Jacques Francois Forget du Verger,<sup>41</sup> priest missionary of the Foreign Missions, vicar-general of his Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, residing at the [Parish of the] Holy Family of Caokias at the Illinois, who by these presents does acknowledge and confess to have this day sold, transferred, acquitted, assigned, and made over henceforth and forever and promises to warrant against all troubles, debts, dowers, mortgages, evictions, substitutions, and revendications generally whatsoever to Messrs Etienne Marafret Layssard and Jean Baptiste Lagrange, merchant traders now residing at the Illinois, partners, by reason of these presents, hereunto present and accepting, purchasers for themselves, their heirs and assigns, to wit: the quantity of twelve black slaves belonging to the mission of the Holy Family of the Caokias, which slaves are named as follows, viz: a negro named Lacroix and Thérèse his wife, a negro named Louis and Marie his wife, a negro named Dominique and Rose his wife, Paul their son, Agathe their daughter, Ambroise their son, Rozalie and Sophie, their daughters, a negro named Vincent, which slaves the said Messrs Lagrange and Layssard, partners, have well acknowledged to have seen and received and declared themselves content, without any reservation on the part of the said M. Forget, the vendor, acting for and in the name of the Superior of the Foreign Missions to whom the said slaves belong, having been purchased by the said missions for good and valid consideration. This present sale is thus made for the price and sum of twenty thousand *livres*, which the said Messrs. Layssard and Lagrange, partners, promise and obligate themselves jointly and severally one for the other to pay and deliver in France to the order of the said Superior of the Foreign Missions in the time and terms hereinafter explained, to wit: the sum of three thousand five hundred *livres* in one year from the date of these presents, three thousand five hundred *livres* one year after, three thousand five hundred *livres* one year after, three thousand five hundred *livres* another year after, three thousand *livres* a year after, and three thousand *livres* the sixth year, making in all six years and amounting to the said sum of twenty thousand *livres* and to be paid without any delay under penalty of losses,

<sup>40</sup> Collated transcript, Archives of the Bishop of Belleville.

<sup>41</sup> The last of the Seminary priests at Cahokia, Forget du Verger, had arrived there in 1754.



damages, and interests. In consequence of which the said M. Forget du Verger, acting for the said mission, has given up the said slaves hereabove sold for the advantage of the said Messrs. Layssard and Lagrange, willing that they dispose of them as property to them belonging, and for securing payment of the said sum of twenty thousand *livres*, the said Messrs. Layssard and Lagrange have obliged, bound, and hypothecated both and each their property movable and immovable, actually belonging or that which may belong to them hereafter, as also the said slaves who are bound and mortgaged by privilege until full payment, one obligation not to nullify another. And for the execution of these presents the parties have elected their domiciles at their places of residence herebefore declared where they consent that all legal documents be served on them on account of these presents, even for paying all costs and expenses of execution. For it was thus agreed, Promising &c., Obligating &c., Renouncing &c. Done and passed at the Illinois in the office, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, the fifth day of November, in the presence of M. de Neyon de Villiers, major commandant for the King in the country of the Illinois and of M. de Verger, infantry officer, witnesses residing at the said Illinois who have with the said parties and the notary signed these presents after due reading. Signed on the original Forget du Verger P.M. Vic. General, Layssard, Lagrange, Neyon de Villiers, de Verger fils, and the undersigned notary who originally drew up these presents. Thus signed Labuxiere, notary.

Collated with the original deposited in the office of the Superior Council of the province of Louisiana by us undersigned clerk of the said Council at New Orleans the twenty-third day of January one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

GARIC, notary

#### SALE OF MISSION REAL ESTATE BY FATHER FORGET DU VERGER

5 NOVEMBER 1763 <sup>42</sup>

Before the undersigned royal notary at the Illinois in the presence of the undersigned witnesses hereinafter named personally appeared M. Francois Forget du Verger, priest missionary of the Foreign Missions, vicar-general of his Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, residing at the [Parish of the] Holy Family of Cahias at the Illinois acting for and in the name of the Superior of the Foreign

<sup>42</sup> Collated transcript, Archives of the Bishop of Belleville.

Missions of Paris, who in the said name has by these presents acknowledged and confessed to have this day sold, transferred, acquitted, assigned, and made over henceforth and forever and promises to warrant against all troubles, debts, dowers, mortgages, evictions, substitutions, and other hindrances generally whatsoever to M. Jean Baptiste Lagrange, merchant trader residing at the Illinois here present stipulating and accepting for himself, his heirs, and assigns, to wit: a house built of stone, comprising several rooms, and also several other buildings such as barns, stables, cattle sheds, cabins, mill and generally all the buildings attached to the said house as well as the land dependent on it divided into a yard, garden, orchard planted with fruit trees, which land contains about three hundred and fifty feet in width by nine hundred in length, the whole situated at [the Parish of] the Holy Family of Caokias: and also a water mill for wheat and a sawmill with all its utensils and machinery situated on the little river of Caokias, also a tract of four *arpents* frontage situated in the territory of Caokias, the depth running from the creek [*rigolet*] to the bluffs, bounded on the one side by M. Clermont and on the other side by M. Darion, as the whole is now standing in all its dependencies which the said M. Lagrange declares to know well from having seen and visited them and with which he is satisfied, without any reserve whatsoever on the part of the said M. Forget acting for the said mission to whom the whole belonged as having been heretofore granted by his Majesty and had been settled by the missionaries who had heretofore resided there, the whole without being subject to any charges, rents, dues up to this day; to have and to hold and dispose of as property belonging to the said M. Lagrange, his heirs, and assigns, the enjoyment to commence from this day, this present sale is thus made for and in consideration of the sum of twelve thousand five hundred *livres* that the said M. Lagrange promises and obligates himself to deliver and pay to the said M. Forget du Verger for the order of the Superior of the said Foreign Missions in France, to wit: the sum of two thousand *livres* in one year from the date of these presents, two thousand *livres* one year after, two thousand *livres* one year after, two thousand *livres* one year after, two thousand *livres* one year after, two thousand *livres* the sixth year, under penalty for any delay of all costs, damages, and interests. For the payment of the sum of twelve thousand five hundred *livres* the said M. Lagrange has obligated, encumbered, and mortgaged all his property movable and immovable present and future also the said property hereabove sold by privilege shall remain mortgaged and encumbered until full payment. In consideration of which the said M. Forget

in the name of the said mission has given up and divested himself of all that which is sold above for and to the advantage of the said M. Lagrange his heirs and assigns, wishing him to be seized thereof and put in possession by all to whom it may appertain, constituting for this purpose his attorney the bearer of these presents to whom he gives full power to act, and for the execution of these presents the parties have elected their domiciles at their places of residence above declared where they consent that all legal documents be served on them for this was agreed and stipulated. Promising &c, Obligating &c, Renouncing &c. Done and passed in the office the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, the fifth day of November, in the presence of M. Neyon de Villiers, major commandant for the King at the country of the Illinois, and of M. de Verger, infantry officer, witnesses called to these presents who have with the parties and the notary signed these presents after due reading. Signed Forget du Verger P.M. Vic. General, Layssard, Lagrange, Neyon de Villiers, de Verger fils and the undersigned notary who first drew up these presents. Signed Labuxiere, notary.

Collated with the original deposited in the office of the Superior Council of the province of Louisiana by us undersigned clerk of the said Council at New Orleans the twenty-third January one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four.

GARIC, *notary*

THE DEPUTIES AND CHURCH-WARDENS OF THE PARISH MISSION OF  
CAHOS TO THE SEMINARY OF QUEBEC, 6 JUNE 1787 <sup>43</sup>

Sir,

The inhabitants composing the parish of the Holy Family of Cahos believe that they ought not leave you in ignorance of the measures M. Jautard, whose residence for several years has been Montreal, has taken to dispose of the property of this mission. In 1785 on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May he gave a power of attorney to M. Augustin Dubuque, traveling merchant from Montreal, in order to dispose of what still remained of this said mission, which consists of the four walls of a stone house with three hundred feet of land in width by nine hundred in length and a tract of three *arpents* in width by the same depth as the fields belonging to the inhabitants. This attorney has caused these properties to be sold by his own authority through the agency of a sheriff's officer [*huissier*] after three publications. We did not make any opposition, having at

<sup>43</sup> Collated transcript, Archives of the Bishop of Belleville.

the time no knowledge of the power of attorney that the Superiors of the Chapter, authorized by his Lordship the Bishop, had drawn up before Messrs. Panet and Sanguinet, notaries at Quebec, 14 May 1768, and sent to the Reverend M. Gibault<sup>44</sup> of which M. Gibault had made no use: this was communicated to us by M. de St. Pierre,<sup>45</sup> the priest serving our mission, about the month of April 1786, after the auction had been held by this *huissier*, for M. de St. Pierre, the person to whom M. Gibault has transferred his powers concerning the mission of Cahos, had only come to serve our parish after that time. By the reading of this power of attorney we have discovered that all the sales made by the Reverend M. Forget, vicar-general of his Lordship, were null, never having been authorized by the Chapter and that you intended, Gentlemen, that all the properties of the mission should remain in the possession of the missionary whom it should please you to send and of the inhabitants who compose the said parish, to be maintained and held in perpetuity for the said mission and parish and that the revenues proceeding therefrom are to be used for the maintenance of it and of the missionary, and that we should make therefrom the necessary expenditures and repairs for the restoration and maintenance of the property, the Chapter having no intention of incurring any expense. It is in consequence of this that we have judicially cancelled and annulled all the sales made by the Reverend M. Forget and others who have succeeded him and have annulled the instruments that the attorney of M. Jautard had had made concerning the auction. M. Dubuque, the attorney, had become the purchaser of the house and land, having bid 1000 *livres*; at that price the bidding stopped, for no one was willing to bid higher, and for the other lands and some other effects such as doors, windows, sashes, and planks, which the inhabitants had saved from inclemency of weather and pillage, [he bid] about three hundred *livres*. Of these properties we have now retaken possession. To lodge our pastor we have commenced building a presbytery which has cost us nearly five thousand *livres*, the stone house having been completely ruined by the British and the American troops who were lodged there and caused the dilapidations which ordinarily occur under such conditions and by the injuries of weather during the time it was abandoned so that in reality there remain only the four walls badly in need of repairs,

<sup>44</sup> Gibault came to the Illinois Country in 1768 to assist Father Meurin, the only Jesuit remaining after the expulsion. He served the French villages of the east bank of the Mississippi for more than a decade; in 1793 he became parish priest at New Madrid, where he died in 1802.

<sup>45</sup> St. Pierre left Cahokia for the west bank of the Mississippi in 1789.

without any roof or roof-timbers, without floors, the chimneys fallen down, no fences on the land, the orchard completely destroyed without any vestige of there ever having been one, all the other buildings destroyed even to the wells which have been filled in.

We have decided to build a church on the ruins of this house, the old church of wood having fallen to pieces and we being obliged to say Mass in a rented house.

We have commenced to work on our projected church which will cost us more than fifteen or sixteen thousand *livres*. Since the mission has no longer any slaves or cattle of any sort, M. Forget having pocketed the lot and carried away with him whatever monies he could collect, and since the three *arpents* of land will become a burden to the mission because of the costs of fences and maintenance, we deliberated with M. de St. Pierre about renting them, and after they had been cried three times there was bid for them only the very small sum of sixteen to eighteen *livres* for annual rent of each *arpent* and for the lots of 150 feet square from 20 to six per *arpent* annually, which will not cover the cost of maintenance. As for the other property such as slaves, mills, and animals, they were all dispersed and diverted from their uses at the departure of M. Forget either by sale or by granting of liberty or by gift of the animals so none of these things are to be found at the mission. There are still some negro families on the Spanish side who are of considerable value. They are domiciled in part at St. Louis of the Illinois and in part at New Orleans, to some of whom M. Forget gave their liberty and others he sold without being authorized to do so. There are some even here in the parish of Cahos. We have claimed those on the Spanish side from the chief commandant of the Illinois but he has refused to do anything about it. Since that is an affair of government and the Chapter is interested therein, we have been able to do nothing and have decided to remain silent especially with so despotic a government, contenting ourselves with praying you, Gentlemen, kindly to interest yourselves to cause these negroes, who have greatly increased by propagation, to be re-entered into the control of our mission. Before seeing the contents of the power of attorney addressed to M. Gibault, we were all uncertain whether the sales made by M. Forget were valid or not. We feared to make false steps and to put ourselves to needless expense. This power of attorney which has been remitted to us has reassured us and opened our eyes and we shall now work for the re-establishment of our mission as far as it shall be in our power.

We beg of you, Gentlemen, to use your influence with the Bishop and the Chapter to obtain authorization and ratification anew of the articles in the said power of attorney confirming the

abandonment which you made of the mission and its dependencies to us jointly with the missionary whom it shall please you to send to serve it.

We cannot praise too much M. de St. Pierre, our present pastor and missionary. He has all the capacity, zeal, and charity [needed] both for the edification and instruction of the faithful and for the practise of his ecclesiastical duties. We desire to be able to keep him and pray you to be kind enough to influence his Lordship to agree so that he will send to him his orders for our mission.

If you have knowledge, Sir [*sic*], of any papers or ancient title deeds relating to the mission and seigniory of Cahos, which contained four leagues square [*lieues en quarré*], we earnestly beg you to be so kind as to send them by a safe way in order to assure us complete possession [without] fear of trouble hereafter.

A year ago a M. de la Valinière,<sup>46</sup> former pastor of the parish of The Assumption and other places, arrived here. He styles himself the envoy of the Apostolic Father Prefect of Philadelphia. He assumes the rank of vicar general of all the districts north of the river Oyo [Ohio] called Belleriviere, along the Mississipy, Wabach, Miamis &c. In the letter which he has written us he further calls himself "*the envoy of God and of the Bishop of Quebec who has given us his powers if he should yet have any powers here, but above all of the Most Reverend Apostolic Prefect charged by the Pope with the administration of this country &c for the spiritual government of souls.*"

He could not show us any regular commission or order.

We have refused to recognize him in that quality, being well informed of the disturbances he has caused in the parish that he served in Canada. It is unheard of, Sir, the scandals and disturbances he has created and is continuing to create in the parish of Kas [kaskias] 20 leagues from here where he fulfills the functions of pastor and assumes the title of vicar general. He has drawn on himself the wrath and contempt of the people on both the Spanish and American sides of the river. The Reverend Father Bernard, a very worthy French monk who serves on the Spanish side, has not been able to forbear reproaching him with dishonoring the ecclesiastical robe in this country. He has even said audaciously in a letter written from Kas to M. Lacroix, inhabitant of the parish that he had served in Canada and who is about to leave here for Canada, in which he asked this gentleman in the very same terms

<sup>46</sup> For Huet de la Valinière and his controversy with St. Pierre see *Kaskia Records, passim*.

to make inquiries if the Bishop of Quebec and M. de Mongolfier, his two most cruel enemies, were dead and their persecutions brought to an end &c. By his letters written to us he had done everything he could to embroil us with M. de St.Pierre. These letters which we have in our possession are a tissue of defamations and prostitutions to the point where we have been obliged to write him not to trouble our peace in the future, that we would return his letters without opening them, and that we were resolved not to receive him in our parish as vicar general. People belonging to a creed different from ours and those on both banks of the river have the greatest contempt for him, his natural disposition to anger, and his discources in which, as in his letters, he goes beyond the bounds of decency where he gives vent to his wrath, and his fulminations, not to speak of his sordid thirst for money, have drawn down on him forever the dislike of all the people here. Should his ambition push him to ask of the Bishop the office of vicar general for this country we beg you, Sir, to oppose his attempts by telling his Lordship how the faith would be scandalized and that the turbulent nature of this man is more likely to destroy religion than to keep it up.

We have the honor to be with the most profound respect

Sir,

At Cahos

Your most humble and obedient

6 June 1787

Servants

The deputies of the inhabitants  
and the church—wardens of the  
mission of the Holy Family of  
Cahos in the Illinois

Ch. Ducharme

A<sup>t</sup> Girardin

B. Dubuc

L. Chatel

B<sup>te</sup> Dumay

f. Saucier

J. B. Lacroix

H. Biron

REGULATIONS OF THE CHURCH-WARDENS AT CAHOKIA, 1799 <sup>47</sup>

Because the lack of a wise and well-ordered set of regulations is the most common cause of disorder in all operations, and as churches in particular cannot maintain themselves on a respectable footing except insofar as their rights are assured and their revenues wisely administered, we, the inhabitants of Cahokia, have a duty to establish for our new Church the subjoined regulations. When they shall have been once approved by our Venerable Father, the

<sup>47</sup>This document is in the Archives of the Parish of the Holy Family, Cahokia, Illinois.

Lord Bishop of Baltimore, or by his vicar-general, they shall become fixed [regulations!] from which it shall not be [lawful?] to deviate.

Art. 1. The places for pews in the new Church shall be put up for auction without delay and assigned to the highest bidder [?]. The [auction] shall commence with those places nearest the altar, and each individual shall be granted not more than one year's delay in which to pay the entire ground-right. There shall be rendered a certificate of assignment of which a copy shall be preserved [in ?] the registers of the church-wardens.

Art. 2. The church-wardens shall never assign either ground-right or pew except to those who have sufficient funds [in ?] the place to answer therefor, or who shall give a good and valuable security.

Art. 3. All assignments shall be made by the accountable church-warden and he shall answer by . . . for the observance of the rules which have [been made]. Also, contracts, receipts and other assurances necessary to those who shall have business with the church, all papers . . . [submitted ?] to the church-wardens not signed by the church-warden in charge shall be held null and void.

Art. 4. The church-wardens shall have a special notebook in which shall be preserved the names and surnames of all those who shall have pews and chairs in the church with the time of the assignment and the record of what they shall have paid to the church. Besides this record there shall always be given a receipt to the individual.

Art. 5. The church-wardens shall not make any verbal agreement regarding matters which concern the church. Everything shall be in writing, and from this time forward the church-wardens shall not recognize anything which is not transacted in writing.

Art. 6. All pews shall be paid for annually by the person to whom the assignment has been made. He shall not be [granted ?] any indulgence in that regard and the responsible church-warden shall not be excused in rendering accounts unless he present the entire payment of the rent of all pews, or at least that he shall submit proof that he requested payment. Without that [proof] all pew rent which shall not have been paid shall be charged to the account of the responsible church-warden.

Art. 7. Except for pew rent, all sums due annually to the church-wardens, which for good reason were not able to be paid during the year, shall be carried by notes in due form to the order of the church-wardens authorized by the debtors and deposited into the keeping of the in-coming church-warden in charge. Following this all the preceding accounts shall be burned so that the accounts of the church-wardens shall never accumulate beyond one year.

Art. 8. Each year towards the beginning of January the church-warden in charge shall sell the accounts in the above form to the



parish convoked expressly for [this purpose ?] and there shall be kept a *procès-verbal* in a notebook or register designated for that purpose. Thereafter the retiring church-warden in charge shall nominate from the Parish three persons worthy of public confidence. Of the three, he who shall receive the plurality of voices shall become the third church-warden.

Art. 9. The incumbent pastor, being by his office [guardian ?] of all the goods of the church shall preside at all meetings held by the church-wardens. He shall review and sign accounts and *procès-verbals* thereof. He shall also have a double voice in the election of church-wardens, syndics and other persons charged with the business of the church.

Art. 10. No one shall be eligible to the office of church-warden who is not a resident of the parish, of good life and morals, professing the Roman Catholic religion and having on this shore [i. e. on the east bank of the Mississippi] sufficient funds to answer for the moneys of the church. Also, no one may refuse the office when he is elected by the voice of the people, unless he [shall have ?] good reason for this. He shall execute the duties of his office faithfully and for the welfare of religion and shall employ the [services ?] of a clerk if he has need of one to keep the accounts.

Art. 11. The retiring churchwarden in charge shall submit to his successor a list of the effects of the church [to wit ?] linens, ornaments, furniture and other valuable effects. The latter shall submit it to his successor and [he to the ?] following, so that none of the effects may be lost or alienated. He who shall enter upon this charge shall make it his business to receive the goods only in good condition.

Art. 12. It shall never be permitted for any of the church-wardens to trade or speculate with any of the effects of the church, even less to divert to his own [use !] at least of his [charge ?]. His trouble and care shall be absolutely *gratis*. He shall have charge only of current expenses and repairs. In extraordinary expenses the church-warden in charge shall consult with the pastor and his two colleagues, and if he has sufficient reason for it he shall summon the parish to deliberate with them.

Art. 12. [sic] All the effects of the church are inalienable. This is a principle from which it is never necessary to deviate. It shall never be permitted to sell, to dispose of second-hand any of the effects of the church, nor, in consequence, the pews and chairs assigned to individuals.

Art. 13. Anyone who has acquired the ground-right to a pew shall preserve the property thereof, together with the pew which shall have been placed there during his life and that of his wife, provided

the latter does not pass to other nuptials. For since the assignment thereof has been made under the name of her first husband, and this name [therefore ?] has been lost by the marriage of his widow, the property of the ground-right and of the pew shall remain then [in the possession of] the church. The pew, but not the ground-right, shall thereafter be placed at auction by the church-warden in charge and assigned to the highest and best bidder. However, the new wife shall have the privilege of using the pew on paying annually to the church the price of the assignment which has been made thereof, provided she presents herself on the same day.

Art. 14. No assignment shall be made of the effects of the church except after being cried three times in the space of a week. The cries may be made twice in the same day, but always at the door of the church and at the end of divine services.

Art. 15. The first pews, whereof the ground-right shall have been assigned, shall pay to the church two dollars in annual rent. The others shall diminish by twenty *sous* down to one dollar.

Art. 16. If the owner of the ground-right of a pew should leave the parish, the pew remains in the church, except that the owner may be allowed to keep [his title to] it on paying the rent. If he should later return to live, or for several years, he shall return to the possession of his pew, and shall continue to pay the rent after the time of its assignment, that is to say, the entire rent of the year wherein he returns. The person to whom his pew shall have been assigned shall come into possession of the first vacant pew in the church and shall not pay a rent than that of the pew which had been assigned to him.

Art. 17. All important deliberations of the church-wardens, resolutions which they shall take, new regulations which they [feel ?] ought to be prescribed, decisions of the Bishops or their vicars-general; all these shall be put in writing and preserved with care in order to be made use of in [future ?].

Art. 18. The maintenance and fencing of the cemetery being one of the obligations confided to the administration of the church-wardens and being an object sacred in the eyes of religion, the honorable church-wardens shall give to this particular [attention ?]. The following shall be observed in this regard:

1. Except for strangers who die in the place, no one shall be buried in the cemetery unless he maintains a part in the fencing, or unless he at least promises to take and maintain a part. Otherwise he shall be absolutely refused burial in the cemetery. They shall be obliged to [rebuke ?] those who have [failed to do their] part in the fencing; they shall take the people leaving mass and lead them

to the places so that all may know exactly those who have refused to fulfill so just a duty.

2. Every year, towards the end of Lent, there shall be read at the parish mass a list of those who shall have died since the preceding Lent; and they shall proceed to some means of ascertaining whether the family of the deceased has a part in the fencing. If not, the church-warden in charge shall constrain them, using legal means. This shall be observed with vigor, and the pastor is requested to return each year the charge under this article until it shall be entirely executed.

3. There shall be preserved an exact list of all those who have brought pickets to the cemetery; and by the number which have been brought by this means it may easily be determined those who are of good will.

4. The beadle of the parish shall clean the cemetery twice each year, and when pickets are fallen he shall take care to replace them before the breach becomes larger or the pickets be buried. Without this there would be a basis for refusing him part of the payment agreed upon between him and the parishioners, regarding the cemetery.

Art. 19. From hence forward there shall be preserved an exact list, not on loose notes, of all those who have done something in favor of the church. Everything shall be recorded in writing, nothing ought to be left any longer to unrecorded memory regarding services rendered to the church. If possible, in the case of notable services the church might testify her recognition thereof by an annual service for her benefactors.

Art. 20. We neglected to state above that there should be no chairs carried into the church to aisles of pews except with the consent of the responsible church-warden and that for each chair placed in the church for use the particular person shall pay the church-wardens one dollar annually for rent and the chair shall remain later for the use of the church without being reclaimed by the one who shall have brought it. Also, the pews which particular persons shall cause to be made, remain later as the property of the Church.

Such is the set of regulations which we have adopted and do adopt for the use of our new church and which shall be general law wherefrom it shall no longer be permitted to deviate.

At Cahokia this thirteenth day of September, the year one thousand seven hundred ninety-nine.

Joseph Trotier	Michele Beaulieux	1st Church-Warden
2nd Church-Warden	his	
B. Saucier	Louis x Pensonceau	
his	mark	3rd Church-Warden
Louis xle Compte		August Trotier.
mark		Etienne pinsono
	J. OLIVIER	Pastor of the [ . ? . ]

Seen and approved the set of regulations herein above and ordain that it be executed in its entirety without any change made therein, except with our consent and the [consent?] of the pastor and church-wardens to direct its execution.

Ordain further that the same set of regulations shall be authorized in two other parishes of the Illinois in all the points which shall be agreeable for the churches of these parishes.

Given under our hand at the Village of Cahokia, Parish of the Good Shepherd, this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year 1799.

J. FR. RIVET  
Vic. Gen.

We approve the regulations herein above as the only one which ought to be maintained in vigor.

St. Louis, January 29, 1832  
X JOSEPH, Bishop of St. Louis

## CHAPTER III

### LIFE IN CAHOKIA AS ILLUSTRATED BY LEGAL DOCUMENTS, 1772-1821

*Edited by* ROSE JOSEPHINE BOYLAN

The legal documents of a community are always rich in information about the prevailing mode of life. No manuscript source can supply more interesting detail of affairs in Cahokia during the early years than the records kept by its succession of French, British, and American officials. These papers illustrate not merely the continuity of administration of private law, which is of interest to the legal historian, but, what is more important to the student of social history, they show the people in the act of buying, selling, or exchanging property, making marriage contracts and wills, managing community business, entering agreements to farm together. No documents are more valuable than the inventories of personal property which list in detail the clothes the owner wore, the furniture, dishes, utensils, and ornaments that filled his house, the livestock and grain on his farm. Even more useful are the appraisals and sales of personalty which indicate both the values set on the possessions left by the deceased and the actual prices for which his fellow-villagers bought them. These documents so often thought of by the layman as dry, legal papers are the very ones that can give authentic, living detail about the people of the community.

During the French period such papers were always drawn up by the Royal Notary, the only lawyer in the Illinois Country being this government official. The law in force was the *coutume de Paris*; all documents were carefully prepared according to its forms and regulations. Weights and measures mentioned in the documents of French colonial times, of course, were those of the Ancient Régime. For this period of the history of Cahokia most of the

original documents have disappeared. There are, however, a few scattered legal papers extant.

The British period was a very brief one. Although the Quebec Act was intended to be applied to the Illinois Country villages, it had not been put into effect there by the time of Clark's conquest. Actual rule was by military commandant; practically, much local business was carried on in the long established French tradition and legal documents are generally in French form and the French language.

George Rogers Clark's campaign resulted in this area becoming "Illinois County of the Commonwealth of Virginia." During this Virginia period Cahokia and Kaskaskia operated as tiny city-states, each governed by a group of elected magistrates who applied a curious mixture of the *coutume de Paris* and the English common law in force in Virginia but adapted now to frontier conditions. For a few years in the 1780's, after Virginia ceded her rights to Illinois, there was no government in or for Cahokia at all except that formed by the annually elected local judges.

With the establishment of the North West Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, a new form of government came to the Illinois. By special provision of that Ordinance it was decreed that for "the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, St. Vincents and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them relative to the descent and conveyance of property" should continue in force. One of the principal acts of Governor Arthur St. Clair on his visit to the westernmost part of his territory in the spring of 1790 was the establishment of St. Clair County and of courts to be held in Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Prairie du Rocher. A few years later when the southern portion of Illinois was made into Randolph County with Kaskaskia as the county seat, the Court House at Cahokia became the center of jurisdiction for St. Clair County. In 1814 the county seat was removed to Belleville.

The most complicated and in some ways the most important legal business in the Illinois Country was the matter of land titles. In Cahokia this began with the grant by Pierre Dugué de Boisbri-

ant on 22 June 1722 to the Missionaries of the Cahokias and Tamaroas of a tract "four leagues of ground in a square in fee simple with the adjacent Islands, to be taken in ascending the Mississippi a quarter league above the little River of Cahokia situated above the Indian Village, and in returning following the length and course of the Mississippi towards Fort de Chartres [this is, southwardly], running in depth Northeast by North . . . "

The missionaries retained a tract three hundred feet by nine hundred in the village on which they erected their house, church, and outbuildings; in addition they kept two tracts of farming land. Other parcels, both building lots (*emplacements*) and strips in the Common Fields (*champs commun*) were alienated to various persons who settled from time to time on the "Seigniorship of the Mission." References appear in several places to the inhabitants as though they constituted a quasi-municipal corporation (*communauté des habitants*).

Upon the cession of the Illinois Country to Great Britain in 1763, Father du Verger, then pastor of the Cahokia Mission, attempted to sell the mission property. The legality of the sale was a subject of dispute for many years. After taking testimony on the subject a quarter of a century later, Governor St. Clair, representing the United States, concluded that the manor rights had escheated and that the then tenants of the various tracts should be confirmed in their holdings in fee simple. These holdings included:

a. Building lots in the village of Cahokia, each approximately 150x150 feet.

b. Tracts in the Common Fields laid off in arpent widths (that is, in multiples of 192 feet) along the *Rigolet* (Cahokia Creek). They ran northeastward to the foot of the bluffs. It is a common saying among the old French families, "My grandfather owned land from the river to the bluffs."

Both lots and Common Field tracts were private property, and, after confirmation by the United States Land Commissioners were held in fee simple. In this they were distinguished from

c. The Commons, intended as the common property of the inhabitants of the village for wood lot and pasture. There was a long negotiation between the United States and the inhab-

itants as to what tract should be set off as Commons. Eventually 5400 acres were settled upon. For a long time these tracts remained common property, but in time they were divided into lots, which were let on long term leases for the benefit of the school fund. The General Assembly of Illinois finally authorized the conversions of the leaseholds into fee simple titles. The villagers voted to do this in 1876.

Besides these, the United States recognized four other types of land rights held by the early residents of Illinois:

- d. Ancient grants, made by French or British commandants.
- e. Improvement rights, granted on a basis of actual occupation prior to 1783. These were allowed up to 400 acres.
- f. Donation rights, or "head-of-family" rights, granted by Act of Congress—400 acres to each man or woman who was head of a family in the Illinois Country in 1783.
- g. Militia rights under Act of Congress, by which each man in the militia service on 1 August 1790 was granted 100 acres.

Governor St. Clair made efforts to ascertain the rightful claimants of these properties; so did his successor, Governor William Henry Harrison. However, their findings were questioned and remained unconfirmed by the President. Extensive speculation in land claims by "carpetbaggers" added to the confusion. At length United States Land Commissioners were appointed to re-examine the whole situation and make findings of fact. Their report, submitted to Congress as of 31 December 1809, was accepted as conclusive. These findings were published in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Volume II. The documents on which they were based are in the custody of the State Auditor of Illinois. After the ancient rights had been settled, the remainder of the area was laid out in townships and sections according to the rectangular system of land surveys prescribed by Congress.

Twenty-four legal documents have been selected to illustrate phases of life at Cahokia from 1772 to 1821. From the Perrin Collection of St. Clair County Documents now on permanent loan to the Archives Division of the Illinois State Library at Springfield, there have been selected nine items of what one old-time scrivener called *papier volante*, "flying papers." They fall in the British



and Virginia periods. One document is from the Chicago Historical Society. Two grand jury reports of 1791 and 1792 were found among the manuscripts of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis. The remaining twelve documents were selected from the volumes in the County Recorder's Office and the files of the Probate Court in Belleville. These St. Clair County records date from 1790. Although some of the documents printed here date after the first century of Cahokia history, they are all concerned with persons living in the village before 1800.

The documents from the Perrin Collection were translated at the Archives Division of the Illinois State Library by Mr. Phillip Houy and Dr. Icko Iben. Mrs. Winifred de Brèyard Reichler is now engaged in completely indexing the collection. The documents from the St. Clair County Courthouse and that from the Chicago Historical Society were translated by the editor, with assistance from staff members of the former WPA Museum Extension Program, particularly Mrs. Lula Jannakos Anastas, Mrs. Ruth Comley Broadbent, Miss Ruth Eleanor Meyer, and Mrs. Agnes Murphy Smith. For some of these documents earlier translations in the country records have been used but they have been carefully checked and corrected.

Special attention is called to the *Alphabetical List of Old French Sales, Inventories, and Marriage Contracts* made by John Hay (who succeeded William St. Clair as County Clerk in 1799 and was for many years thereafter a county official) of pre-1790 material in the archives of St. Clair County. It is of great value for reference and is frequently cited in the notes of this chapter.

MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF J. B. H. LACROIX AND CATHERINE  
AUBUCHON (WIDOW CLERMONT), 8 AUGUST 1772<sup>1</sup>

Before the Notary Public at the post of Cahokia, residing there, in the Illinois country on the shore belonging to His Brittanic

<sup>1</sup>This document is found in the Perrin Collection, p. 54, No. 5-XIII. It was selected as a typical example of a second marriage contract. It is also noteworthy as an example of the continuance of French custom under the British regime. It is endorsed, "August 8, 1772. Marriage contract of Jean Bte. Lacroix and Catherine Aubuchon."

Majesty, were present in person M. Jean Bte. Hubert LaCroix,<sup>2</sup> bachelor of full age, inhabitant of the said Post of Cahokia, son of the late M. Pierre Hubert LaCroix and of the late Catherine Pothier, his father and mother, native of Prairie de la Madeleine, Diocese of Quebec, District of Montreal, in Canada, stipulating for himself and in his name, on one hand, and Mme. Catherine Aubuchon,<sup>3</sup> widow of the late M. Joseph Clermont,<sup>4</sup> who during his lifetime was Captain of the Militia in Cahokia, of full age, and of more than twenty-five years, daughter of the late Pierre Aubuchon and of the late Marie Bourbonnais, native of this province of Illinois, stipulating for herself and in her name, on the other hand;

Which parties, with the advice and consent of their relatives and friends, here assembled and hereinafter named: i. e., on the part of the said M. Jean Bte. Hubert LaCroix, Jacques LaCroix, his paternal cousin; Joseph Labrosse, his maternal cousin; and Antoine Girardin,<sup>5</sup> his friend, and Amable Lepage,<sup>6</sup> also his friend; and furthermore Antoine Boyer,<sup>7</sup> also his friend; and witnesses called by him;

And on the part of the said Mme. Catherine Aubuchon,

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix was magistrate of Cahokia, 1780, 1784-86. He gave financial aid to Clark. In the 1787 census he was listed as living at Prairie du Pont. Various references to almost every person whose name appears in this chapter will be found in *Cahokia Records* and for some of them in *Kaskaskia Records* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II and V).

<sup>3</sup> The Aubuchon family was identified with Kaskaskia.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Clermont was granted a tract of four arpents frontage north of the Common Fields of Cahokia in Prairie Sauvage by the British commandant, 1772. Grant confirmed by U. S. Commissioners, having been conveyed by the heirs to J. F. Perrey, 1799. Heirs included Pierre and Mary Godin, Pierre Clermont, Auguste Clermont. See Book of Deeds, (Belleville courthouse), p. 305; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 157, Claim No. 719. This tract is a narrow strip running eastward from downtown East St. Louis, Survey No. 625. Part of it has been subdivided as "Claremont." John Hay lists a public sale of Clermont's property, dated 1772.

<sup>5</sup> Antoine Girardin, born in France, 1728 (?); died 2 November 1802. Prairie du Pont, Illinois. Commandant of Village of Prairie du Pont; justice under Virginia regime; appointed Judge of Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions and surveyor by Gov. St. Clair. See *St. Clair Papers* II, 165. The inventory of his estate (1802) is printed later in this chapter.

<sup>6</sup> The Lepage family was living in St. Louis in 1768 when Amable was listed as the brother of the bride in the marriage contract of Nicholas Barsalou and Madeleine, daughter of François Lepage and Madeleine Boyer (Perin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 2). See also *Cahokia Records*, 455, 467.

<sup>7</sup> Antoine Boyer was born in Montreal before 1730 and married there; he died at Cahokia 7 September 1790.

Messrs. Pierre René Locat,<sup>8</sup> Ignace Grondine,<sup>9</sup> Philippe Gervais,<sup>10</sup> her relatives and friends and witnesses, also called for this;

Have promised to take each other by name and law of marriage and to cause it to be solemnized in the presence of our Mother Holy Church, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman, as soon as it can be done, or as it shall be determined between them. For purposes of this contract the parties have agreed to the following clauses and conditions, i. e.: The said M. Jean Bte. Hubert LaCroix, the future husband, takes the said lady, the future wife, with the property and the rights which belong to her, consisting of the recovered inheritances, dowry and *préciput* and other matrimonial agreements stated in the marriage contract between the said late M. Clermont and the said future wife, passed before the undersigned Notary the twenty-ninth of July, one thousand seven hundred sixty-five, by means of the renunciation which she has made of the community of property which existed between them before M. Viault Lesperance,<sup>11</sup> Notary Public in this Colony.

By virtue of the faculty stipulated in the said contract of marriage, these goods reverting to her shall maintain the nature of inheritances for her and for those of her side and line; and shall not enter into the community in any way.

The property of the future husband, consisting of the items carried and listed on the inventory closed and fixed today before M. Cecire acting as Judge, and the undersigned Notary, amounting to the sum of one thousand nine hundred forty-one *livres*, similarly shall not enter into the community and shall remain equally his inheritance and that of those of his side and line.

Consequently no debts shall be payable, of one or the other, made or contracted before the celebration of the said marriage; and, if there are any, they shall be paid and liquidated by him or her, who shall have made contracted them, and out of his assets, without the other or his goods being held responsible in any way.

<sup>8</sup> Locat was nicknamed "Renoche." His will, dated 24 June 1779, appears in *Cahokia Records*, 467. He married (1) Josephe Chevalier; (2) Marie Hobuchon (Aubuchon), widow of Jean B. Alary, 1776. See Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, Nos. 23, 49.

<sup>9</sup> Ignace Grondine died before October, 1775, when his widow, Mary Catherine Louisgeaule (Louisgau) married Louis Chatelle. She is listed as a native of Cahokia (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 18). Louis Gau (or Gault), one of the original grantees in the Cahokia Common Field, was probably her father.

<sup>10</sup> Philippe Gervais, born 1751 (?); died 6 August 1815; married Madeleine Louisgau. He was a master blacksmith; farmer; justice, 1780. The family is now known as Jarvis.

<sup>11</sup> See *Kaskaskia Records*, 310, where his name is shown as Joseph Viaux Lesperance.

The said widow, the future wife, declares that she has caused to be made a good and faithful inventory of her assets and goods reverting to her in accordance with her said contract of marriage with the late M. Clermont, in the presence of the said future husband, which inventory he accepts and recognizes as fair and charges himself therewith from the present;

And because of the sincere affection which the said future husband has for the said future wife, he has endowed and does endow her by these presents with the sum of eight hundred *livres* of predetermined dowry, to be paid at one time, to have and to take, as soon as the dowry shall become effective, upon all the property of the said future husband, which remains from this present liened, and mortgaged.

The *préciput* shall be reciprocal to them, to the survivor, in the amount of four hundred *livres*, to be taken by the survivor in movable goods of this community, hereinafter stipulated, following the taking of the inventory that shall be made thereof and without accrual, or the said sum in money, at the choice of the said survivor;

And in order to establish their future community, it has been expressly agreed that there will be brought into the said community only the property acquired and received, and such personal and real property as they may obtain during their future community and while it lasts, while and as long as it may exist, without the real property which may fall to them by inheritance in direct or collateral line being included; thus according to the tenor of the ancient custom, established in this colony, to which they submit themselves.

In consideration of the said future marriage the said future husband has declared and does declare that he takes and accepts the guardianship of the said children of the first marriage of the said future wife, to the number of four, who are now living, and of the one whereof she is pregnant of her said marriage, in case it shall please God to bring it into the world, to rule, govern and administer their persons and assets with the future wife, their mother, as she is naturally bound and obliged, the future husband promising even to continue the guardianship in case of the predecease of the said future wife, their mother.

In consideration of the troubles and cares that the future husband shall take in the guardianship of the said minor children of the said future wife, and in the hope that she has that he will be willing to assist these children with his good advice, even after the said guardianship has ended, in all their affairs, and to protect them in their persons and property, as their own father would do,

the said future wife makes a gift to the said future husband of such part and portion of her personal goods, acquisitions, realty, and inheritances, present and future, as the one of her children taking least shall have and shall take in her estate after her death, as it is permitted by the Edict concerning Second Marriages, followed and used in this Colony, to be enjoyed by him, his heirs, or assigns, in full property, and be disposed of as a thing belonging to him in full property.

Furthermore, it has been agreed that the said minor children of the said lady, the future wife, shall be nourished, brought up and maintained at the expense of the said future community, by the care of the said lady, their mother, without diminishing the property that may come to them from the estate of their father.

And in order to give each other mutual proof of their affection, the said future spouses make each other by these presents mutual and reciprocal donation, to the survivor, of all and each of the goods, personal and real, even the inheritances, which the first one dying shall have and shall leave at the day and hour of his death, to be enjoyed by the said survivor in full property and as a thing to him belonging according to law. This present donation has been thus made, provided, and upon the condition that there be no children living, born or to be born, of the said future marriage or of the preceding one of the said future wife and the late M. Clermont; for in case of a child, the said donation shall become void according to law;— and in order to register these presents &c.; for thus it has been agreed and covenanted between the parties, promising &c., obliging &c., renouncing &c. Done and passed at the Post of Cahokia in the house where the said widow-lady, the future wife, resides, in the year one thousand seven hundred seventy-two, the eighth day of the month of August, in the presence of the Notary Public and of the witnesses hereinbefore named, who have signed these presents after reading made.

AM Lepage witness

Grondine

Joseph LaBrosse

Widow lepage<sup>12</sup>

his

Antoine X Boyer

mark

his

Pierre X Roy<sup>13</sup>

mark

Theraise Louviere<sup>14</sup>

his mark

Vieault Lesperance, Notary

J. B. H. LaCroix

Catherine Aubuchon

his

Philippe X Gervais

mark

his

Pierre Rene X Locat

mark

his

Jacques X Hubert

mark

Labuxiere, Notary p.

## APPRAISAL OF THE ESTATE OF JACQUES COMPTE

14 DECEMBER 1773<sup>15</sup>

In the year one thousand seven hundred seventy-three, the fourteenth of the month of December, before M. Cecire,<sup>16</sup> judge and commandant of the Village of Cahokia and the undersigned Notary, accompanied by Aimé Compte,<sup>17</sup> brother of the late Jacques Compte,<sup>18</sup> [and] Jean Bte. Mercier,<sup>19</sup> father-in-law of the deceased, [appeared] the following named: Nicole,<sup>20</sup> Jean Chauvin,<sup>21</sup> Joseph Bellecour,<sup>22</sup> Francois Trotier,<sup>23</sup> Pierre Godin,<sup>24</sup> all five

<sup>12</sup> It is surmised that Madeleine Boyer Lepage and her son Amable were both present.

<sup>13</sup> Jean Pierre Roy dit Lapence married (1) Cecile Lajeunesse; (2) 16 January 1785, Marguerite Lefevre, widow of J. Bte. Lalande. See Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 41.

<sup>14</sup> The Louvière family were prominent in Prairie du Rocher.

<sup>15</sup> Perrin Collection, p. 41 (II) No. 17. This was selected as an example of a rather long inventory. It is especially interesting because of the list of tools and equipment found in a pioneer blacksmith shop. Mr. L. G. Osborn assisted in interpreting technical terms.

<sup>16</sup> Antoine Cecire came to Cahokia not later than 1753 and married Marie Françoise Borré. One of the most important citizens of Cahokia. It is stated there that he died in 1779; however, John Hay lists an inventory and public sale dated 1778. The marriage contract of Cecire's daughter is included in this chapter.

<sup>17</sup> Aimé Compte was a prominent citizen of Prairie du Rocher, Ill. See *Kaskaskia Records*, 353, 355, 419. He married Catherine Alard, widow of J. B. Barbau, 24 Jan 1761; blacksmith.

<sup>18</sup> John Hay lists this inventory and a public sale in 1774. The names Comte, LeComte, LeCompt, etc. are interchangeable.

<sup>19</sup> The Mercier family lived at different times in all parts of the Illinois country. The Kaskaskia Church Records show Jean B. Mercier, son of Jean B., Sr. and Marie Baratteo, born 23 July 1719. He lived at St. Philippe in 1740-50. Married Marie Joseph Texier; surviving children: Jean, Julien, Hubert, Genevieve. See Book of Deeds G, pp. 58-9, at Chester, Ill. John Hay lists an inventory in 1782.

<sup>20</sup> Etienne Nicolas Nicolle married Angelique Giard, 23 January 1758. He and his wife were poisoned by their servants in 1779. See *Cahokia Records*, 17, 135.

<sup>21</sup> The father of Angelique Chauvin, later Mrs. Michel Palmier dit Beau-lieu, a social leader in Cahokia. The *American State Papers* list Claims Nos. 1161 and 1163, in the Village of Cahokia as confirmed to her in right of Jean B. Chauvin, her father; it appears elsewhere that he had held them since 1744. See Book of Deeds C, p. 3 at Belleville. This property was across the street from the Court House, to the west.

<sup>22</sup> John Hay lists an inventory of Joseph Belcour dated 1777. Another, Major Joseph Lebrun dit Belcour, was killed about 1784 while on his way to present a petition to Congress, (*Cahokia Records*, 567).

chosen to appraise everything which shall be presented to them of the effects belonging to the said deceased Jacques Compte for the purpose of making an appraisal according to their best ability, following the ordinary rules, in order to avoid all misunderstanding which might arise to wit:

First,

Item: M. Francois Trotier and M. Nicole, selected as appraisers, Pierre Godin selected as third:

	Money Value
Item: one building lot with all the buildings constructed thereon, the sum of five hundred <i>livres</i> .....	500#.—
Item: one kitchen cupboard, estimated at thirty <i>livres</i> .....	30 —
Item: one feather-bed, one straw mattress with a small bedstead, estimated at forty <i>livres</i> .....	40 —
Item: one other feather-bed estimated at twenty-five <i>livres</i>	25 —
Item: one bread box, estimated at eight <i>livres</i> .....	8 —
Item: one large pot, one medium and one small, estimated together at forty <i>livres</i> .....	40 —
Item: nine pewter plates, one large bowl of the same, and three medium-sized of pewter, seven spoons, six forks, good and bad, estimated at twenty-five <i>livres</i>	25 —
Item: three crocks, estimated at six <i>livres</i> .....	6 —
Item: two copper boilers, one tin ditto, estimated at twelve <i>livres</i> .....	12 —
Item: 2 buckets, estimated at fifteen <i>livres</i> .....	15 —
Item: Two smoothing irons, one old frying pan with skimmer, estimated at ten <i>livres</i> .....	10 —
Item: one small mattock, estimated at six <i>livres</i> .....	6 —
Item: one froe to split shingles, estimated at five <i>livres</i> .....	5 —
Item: one broadaxe, two augers, twelve <i>livres</i> .....	12 —
Item: three pick-axes, estimated at six <i>livres</i> .....	6 —
Item: one tin lamp, two small old ones, estimated together at seven <i>livres</i> .....	7 —
Item: One large saw with one handsaw, five sickles, good and bad, estimated at 15 <i>livres</i> .....	15 —

<sup>23</sup> François Trottier dit Desruisseaux, born about 1725 at Grondines, Three Rivers, Quebec, Canada; died 16 January 1790. Married Marie Louise Laroche, 9 January 1758. Commandant at Cahokia at time of surrender to Clark; accepted commission under him.

<sup>24</sup> Pierre Godin, Sr., dit Tourangeau, married Catherine Laviolette; lived at Prairie du Pont. Died shortly after being elected to court of District of Cahokia, 1779. John Hay lists a public sale in 1785.

Item: One large jug, and one spade, one saber, one old candlestick, estimated together at ten <i>livres</i> .....	10	—
Item: One tobacco box, three tools for calumet pipes, one tinder lighter, estimated together at four <i>livres</i> .....	4	—
Item: two pots of crockery and tin, one ditto of tin, one funnel and three bottles, estimated together at nine <i>livres</i> .....	9	—
Item: one collar, one carriage bed and two old harnesses, estimated at thirty-five <i>livres</i> .....	35	—
		<hr/>
	820	—
(next page) Carried forward	820	—
Item: one Indian saddle with stirrups, estimated at six <i>livres</i> .....	6	—
Item: two barrels, one hooped with iron, estimated at twelve <i>livres</i> .....	12	—
Item: one pair of andirons, estimated at fifty <i>livres</i> .....	50	—
Item: one small kettle, estimated at two <i>livres</i> .....	2	—
Item: two kegs, one hooped with iron, estimated at ten <i>livres</i> .....	10	—
Item: two casks, estimated at five <i>livres</i> .....	5	—
Item: five rolls of tobacco, estimated at twenty <i>livres</i> .....	20	—
Item: about twenty pounds of nails, appraised at.....	20	—
Item: one small reed basket, one old candle mold, one piece of copper, one pump-handle, two iron hoops, estimated at six <i>livres</i> .....	6	—
Item: one sack of feathers, one pair of small scales.....	4	—
Item: one vat with one half minot, hooped with iron, estimated at ten <i>livres</i> .....	10	—
Item: one rifle with powder horn, estimated at fifteen <i>livres</i> .....	15	—
Item: one razor case with four razors, one honing stone, estimated at .....	10	—
Item: one old chest, estimated at ten <i>livres</i> .....	10	—
Item: one pruning hook for pruning trees and two catechisms, estimated at.....	5	—
Item: one silver ring, one small crucifix, one small pin, two pairs of pinchbeck buckles, one knife, one tobacco jar, one pair of old shoes, the whole estimated at twelve <i>livres</i> .....	12	—
Item: eight pairs of large breeches estimated at fifty <i>livres</i>	50	—
Item: two shirts, estimated at fifteen <i>livres</i> .....	15	—
Item: one old blanket coat and one jacket estimated at six <i>livres</i> .....	6	—



Item: one pair of brushes, thirty <i>sols</i> .....	1	.10
Item: one table with six chairs, estimated at twelve <i>livres</i>	12	.—
Item: seven hundred sheaves of wheat, estimated at one hundred fifty <i>livres</i> .....	150	.—
		<hr/>
	1251	.10

(Next page)

Carried forward 1251#.10

Item: seven loads of hay or thereabouts, estimated at seventy <i>livres</i> .....	70	.—
Item: one tumbrel, one big cart (old), one old pair of wheels .....	40	.—
Item: one pair of wheels .....	35	.—
Item: two scythes, one of which has a handle .....	15	.—
Item: one salting tub .....	4	.—
Item: one plough with all its fittings appraised at eighty <i>livres</i> .....	60	.—
Item: one chestnut horse, estimated at .....	150	.—
Item: One pair of oxen, six years old, considered broken, two hundred <i>livres</i> .....	200	.—
Item: two bulls, going on four years, estimated at one hundred fifty <i>livres</i> .....	150	.—
Item: four mother <sup>25</sup> cows with their calves, estimated together at four hundred <i>livres</i> .....	400	.—
Item: two eighteen months old steers, estimated together at eighty <i>livres</i> .....	80	.—
Item: thirteen pigs, estimated at two hundred <i>livres</i> .....	200	.—
Item: one piece of land, one arpent at Bois Coupé, <sup>26</sup> on one side bordering Mercier and on the other Renouche Locat, estimated at two hundred fifty <i>livres</i> .....	250	.—
Item: one smithy containing one anvil block, three hammers, one small ditto, one vice, one square, one draw plate, one pair of scissors for copper, one vice, two hand vices, three pairs of pincers, two rasps, thirteen files, one level, one tap wrench, one chuck, four punches, one old bellows, two scissors for iron hoops, one iron poker, one screen, one paring knife one chisel, one "hooper" for horses, one chop-punch, one pike, one gimlet, with box, one pair of mor-		

<sup>25</sup> That is, "fresh" cows.<sup>26</sup> Marais Bois Coupé is located in the vicinity of the present Centreville Station, Illinois, in the Cahokia Common Field. The name means "Stump Lake."

	tises (?), one fulling board, one soldering iron, one compass, one grindstone, the whole estimated at four hundred <i>livres</i> .....	400	..—
Item:	one box of scrap iron, estimated .....		
Item:	one iron shovel, also one rooster and one hen, estimated at four <i>livres</i> .....	4	..—
	Forwarded .....	3329	.10

(Next page)	Carried forward 3329	.10	
Item:	one wooden cradle, one small bed, without appraisal .....		

The present inventory was agreed to at the sum of three thousand three hundred twenty-nine *livres* and ten *sols*, the year and day aforesaid. Signed on the original: Aimé Comte, Pierre Godin, Etienne Nicole, Francois Trotier, J. Bte. Mercier, Cesirre, Senet notary.<sup>27</sup>

And on the reverse of the said inventory is written what follows with regard to those who are indebted to the said estate for accounts current, to wit:

	Peltries
By Jeannot Lapensee <sup>28</sup> .....	38.13
Pierre Gramont <sup>29</sup> .....	14.—
Grondine .....	13.15
Amable Lepage .....	26.7
Nicole .....	19.10
Pre Godin Tourangeau .....	27.15
Clement Langlois <sup>30</sup> .....	27.—
Paul Poupar Lafleur <sup>31</sup> .....	40.—
Joseph Rel <sup>32</sup> .....	4.—

<sup>27</sup> Senet's name appears in *Cahokia Records*, 449, 495.

<sup>28</sup> "Jeannot" Lapensee appears thus in *Cahokia Records*... He was of course, "Johnny."

<sup>29</sup> See below in this chapter Bequet's suit (1785) to collect his fee for doctoring Gramont.

<sup>30</sup> Clement Langlois born St. Thomas, Quebec; married Therese Poupard Lafleur, widow of Joseph LaChance at Cahokia, 16 April 1771 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 3). See *Cahokia Records*, 449, 624. John Hay lists an inventory, dated 1783.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Poupard dit Lafleur, Sr., died before 1775 (see second marriage of his widow, Francoise Pitre, in Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 15). Paul Poupard Jr. was born 1749 (?), married Victoire Troqué, died 20 July 1793. John Hay lists the marriage contract of Paul Poupard, dated 1779, but it is not found in the Perrin Collection.

<sup>32</sup> Rel was an ancestor of the editor of this chapter. John Hay lists an inventory and public sale in 1779. See *Cahokia Records*, 69.

Hensonne <sup>33</sup> .....	28.15
The widow Barete .....	6.8
Languedoc <sup>34</sup> .....	8.—
Bte LaCroix .....	6.—
Joseph Desloge <sup>35</sup> .....	2.—
Francois Trottier .....	6.—
Antoine Buyat <sup>36</sup> .....	3.10
Lonval <sup>37</sup> .....	1.10
Jeannot Lapensee, Jr. <sup>38</sup> .....	2.10
Joseph Clairmont <sup>39</sup> .....	1.—
Louis Gagnon <sup>40</sup> .....	4.—
Bellcour .....	35.—
	<hr/>
	342.15

Being placed in custody until the first order of Jean Baptiste Mercier, surrogate guardian, the said effects, real and personal, were left in the care of a certain René Belhumeur, as trustee of the said effects. At Cahokia, the fifteenth of December, one thousand seven hundred seventy-three, Signed René Geoffroy,<sup>41</sup> Francois Trottier, Aimé Comte, Etienne Nicole, J. Bte Mercier, Pierre Godin, Senet notary.

I certify to have delivered the present copy collated with and con-

<sup>33</sup> Evidently Hanson, a well-known merchant. Married Therese Parent (see daughter's marriage, Books of Deeds B, p. 172). John Hay lists an inventory, dated 1778.

<sup>34</sup> Probably Joseph Languedoc, cousin of Cesirre. Married Marie Joseph Lamarche at Cahokia, 16 January 1772 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 4). John Hay lists an inventory, dated 1775.

<sup>35</sup> Probably Joseph Poirier dit Desloge, born 1745 (?), died 16 January 1795 at Prairie du Pont. Married Genevieve Desnoyer at Cahokia, 29 August 1773 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 10). His father, also Joseph, married Magdelaine Pilont. John Hay lists a public sale in 1778. See also *Cahokia Records*, 75, 630.

<sup>36</sup> The Buyat family were listed at Kaskaskia in the census of 1787.

<sup>37</sup> Lonval's name appears twice; the first entry marked: "This name does not appear on the original." Francois Lonval Sr. was the head of the family. Born at Three Rivers, Quebec, Canada, about 1730; died 2 October 1790 at Cahokia. Married Marie Amable Archevêque. See *Cahokia Records*, 315, 629.

<sup>38</sup> Jeannot Lapensée Jr. was probably Jean Pierre Roy dit Lapensée. See Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 41.

<sup>39</sup> See note 4 to this chapter.

<sup>40</sup> Louis Gagnon, *volontaire*. Born about 1741; died 26 August 1787 at Cahokia.

<sup>41</sup> René Geoffroy appears as a witness in the marriage contract of Mary Jeanne Loire, widow of Charles LeCompte, with Louis LeMay, 11 May 1774. He was guardian of the bride's child by her first marriage (see Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 12).

forming to its original at the request of Pierre LeCompte<sup>42</sup> by me, Notary Public, in the department and district of Cahokia, in the Illinois country, in my office, the thirteenth of November, one thousand seven hundred eighty-six.

LABUXIERE

Notary Public

Amount of the inventory .....	3,329.10
Debts due or remitted by the guardian—peltries .....	342.15
He is accountable for 3,672.5 not including interest at 5%. <sup>43</sup>	

INVENTORY OF PERSONAL EFFECTS OF COLAN MARLEAUX, 29  
DECEMBER 1774<sup>44</sup>

In the year one thousand seven hundred seventy-four, the twenty-ninth of December, we, Antoine Cesirre, commandant of Cahokia, accompanied by the Notary and the Sergeant, have gone to the dwelling of M. Colan Marleaux,<sup>45</sup> deceased suddenly, to look into his affairs and to affix the seal, according to the usual custom, as follows:

One barrel of fifteen pots, at three/4ths of capacity<sup>46</sup>

Also one gun barrel with its fittings

One pair of spyglasses

One small pair of pliers

his press

One matched knife

One quill pen

One butter knife

One steel to sharpen knives

One small hammer with a razor in bad condition

16 bear skins

1 old pot with some nails

1 small bedstead

1 black vest

1 old pair of large cotton breeches

one buffalo robe

one pair of large breeches

one old blanket coat

one double-breasted vest

<sup>42</sup> Pierre LeCompte had evidently come of age at this time.

<sup>43</sup> This document is endorsed: "Inventory of the personal effects and real estate of the Jacques Comte minors, December 14th, 1773."

<sup>44</sup> This inventory is taken from the Perrin Collection, p. 41, No. 21. It is endorsed: "Sealing and inventory of effects which belonged to the late Colan Marleaux, 29 Decr. 1774."

<sup>45</sup> John Hay lists this inventory and a public sale dated 1775 under Marleaux' name. From the list of items, he appears to have been a *voyageur*.

<sup>46</sup> This is a guess. The original is difficult to read; it appears to say that the barrel was *aux troist (4) de courprosse*.

another small vest  
 one small Indian net  
 1 bundle of old sheeting  
 3 rolls of tobacco  
 1 bread box  
 1 earthenware pan; one wooden plate  
 two spoons; one [illegible]  
 one old pair of French shoes with buckles  
 two old kegs  
 one hat  
 one large wooden trough  
 one trough upon which there were a number of skins of  
 which we have put four into the house and the others  
 have been hung upon a line  
 three chairs  
 one small mirror  
 one [blotted]  
 18 sheets of copper<sup>47</sup> found in the mill

This is all that has come to our knowledge. In the presence of several persons at Cahokia, the day and year aforesaid,

F. TROTTIER                      CESIRRE

Mark of

X

Joseph Relle

Witnesses

A. Harmand

called Sanfacon

provost Sergeant

Senet notary

Upon which we have left and returned the keys to Rene Locatte until the first order.

MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF J. B. DUBUQUE AND

MARIE SUZANNE CESSIRRE, 10 FEBRUARY 1776 <sup>48</sup>

Before the Notary Public of the Cahokias was present Jean Bte Dubuque,<sup>49</sup> son of the late André Dubuque and Mme. Cecille Lacroix, his father and mother, of the one part, native of Montreal; And Mlle. Marie Suzanne Cesirre,<sup>50</sup> daughter of M. Antoine

<sup>47</sup> This could be either *cuivre* (copper) or *cuire* (leather).

<sup>48</sup> This document was selected as an example of a marriage contract typical of a first marriage. The principals were unusually prominent. It is from the Perrin Collection, p. 54, 1-6 No. 3.

<sup>49</sup> Jean Baptiste Dubuque was a relative of Julien Dubuque, founder of Dubuque, Iowa. J. B. D. died at Cahokia, 17 December 1800. He served there as justice and commandant.

<sup>50</sup> Susanne Cecire Dubuque was married for the second time to Louis Pel-tier, 1801. See Book of Deeds B, p. 205, in the St. Clair County Recorder's Office. Her father appears elsewhere in this chapter.

Cesirre, Captain and Commandant of this village of the Cahokias, and of the late Marie Francois Borré, her father and mother, of the other part, native of the Parish of the Holy Family of the said Cahokias;

Which parties, with the advice and consent of their relatives and friends, here present and hereinafter named, to wit: on the part of M. Dubuque, M. Augustin Dubuque,<sup>51</sup> cousin; Jean Bte Lecroix, Amable Lepage, M. Antoinne Girardin;

And on the part of the said Mlle. Susanne Cesirre: M. Cesirre, her father; Joseph Cesirre, her brother,<sup>52</sup> M. Charle Ducharme,<sup>53</sup> a cousin; Messrs. Francois Trottier, Nicolle, Pierre Godin, Mme. Magdeleine Vigé, all of them relatives and friends;

The said M. Jean Bte Dubuque has promised and does promise to take the said Mlle. Mary Suzanne Cesirre for his wife and legitimate spouse; as also the said Mlle. Cesirre to take the said M. Jean Bte Dubuque as her husband and legitimate spouse in the presence of our Mother the Holy Church, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman, within the shortest time that it can be done, or when one of parties may request it of the other;

To be, the said future spouses, one and common in all personal property: to be of common ownership, following the ordinary custom followed, kept and observed up to the present in this Colony: they shall nevertheless not be held for any debts of one or the other, incurred and created before the celebration of the said Colony; they shall nevertheless not be held for any debts of one or the other, incurred and created before the celebration of the said future marriage: and should there be found any such debts, they shall be paid and acquitted by whomsoever incurred and created them, and out of his own property, without the other or his goods being held responsible therefor;

The said future husband and wife take each other with their rights and property and belongings actually theirs and such as may fall to them by inheritance from their father and mother; as well as such which they may acquire hereafter by gift or otherwise and in any manner or form wherever they may be located; which properties, of whatever amount, size, volume or nature they may be, shall enter into the community, without exception or reserve;

And in view of the sincere friendship which the said future husband bears to the said young lady, his future wife, he has

<sup>51</sup> Augustin Dubuque, a trader from Canada, was killed by the explosion of a powder keg, 8 November 1787, while in Cahokia.

<sup>52</sup> Joseph Cecire was born 1744 (?); he died 9 December 1795 at the home of J. B. Dubuque.

<sup>53</sup> Charles Ducharme was born 1733 (?) in Canada; he died 18 August 1798 at Cahokia.

endowed her and does endow her by these presents with the sum of five hundred *livres* as a pretermind dowry, payable at one time, and to be claimed as soon as endowment shall take place, and without her being required to make demand therefor in court, upon all and each of the assets, real and personal, of the said future husband, which shall remain by special privilege liened and mortgaged therefor.<sup>54</sup>

The *préciput* shall be reciprocal in favor of the survivor of the said future spouses in the sum of two hundred fifty *livres* to be take by the survivor in personal property of their community following the taking of the inventory which shall be made thereof as of that time, and without accrual; or the said sum in cash, at the choice and option of the said survivor.

It will be permissible for the said young lady, the future wife, and for the children who may be born of the said future marriage, to renounce the said community, and in renouncing it, to take back all that she shall have brought to the said marriage, together with her clothing, linen, rings and jewelry, and her room furnishings, free and quit of all debts and mortgages of the said community, even as to the dower and *préciput*, such as they are described above; in the case of renunciation or dissolution of the community, she and her said children shall be acquitted and released of all debts and mortgages of the said community; for their heirs and upon the property of the said future husband, even though they were involved in their debts, and charged against them by the clauses and terms of this contract, they shall be a lien upon the property of any kind of the said future husband.

And to give each other some proofs of the affection that they bear to each other, they have made and do make by these presents, donation to each other, mutual, and reciprocal, and forever irrevocable, as far as such donation may be valid, to the survivor of them, of all and each of the properties,<sup>55</sup> personal and real, inheritances, *acquêts* and *conquêts*, that the first one dying shall have and leave at the day and hour of his death, to be enjoyed by the

<sup>54</sup> Note the difference between French and English common law concepts of the dower. In the latter dower referred exclusively to real estate.

<sup>55</sup> The language here is characteristic of a French gift of all one's property of every description. The word translated "inheritances" is *propres*. Larousse defines it in modern law as "Qui n'entre pas dans la communauté (en parlant des biens de deux époux)." The present translation is based on the context in several documents. The editor has had difficulty in persuading her relatives that they have a right to dispose of heirlooms, the answer being, "But those aren't mine; they were Mother's!" (twenty years after the lady's death). The terms *acquêts* and *conquêts*, found universally in French deeds, are distinguished as follows by Larousse: *Acquêt* is an acquisition generally; *conquêt* is "Biens acquis par les époux durant la communauté." The idea is practically untranslatable.

survivor in full property, and as things belonging to him according to law; this present mutual and reciprocal donation is thus made, provided, however that there be no child born or about to be born, of the said marriage; in event of a child, the said donation shall be null and void according to law; for thus it has been agreed and covenanted between the parties. Done at the Cahokias, in the year one thousand seven hundred seventy six, on the tenth of February, in the presence of the relatives and friends and witnesses named hereinabove, who have signed before the said Notary. Reading made according to the ordinance.

CESIRRE

X mark of the future husband

ANTOINE GIRARDIN

SUZANNE CESIRRE

JBH LACROIX

AUG. DUBUQUE

A. M. LEPAGE

CH. DUCHARME

f TROTTIER PIER GODIN

ETIENNE NICOLLE

mark of JOSEPH CESIRRE MADELEINE VIGE

Senet Notary<sup>56</sup>

FARMING AGREEMENT BETWEEN J. B. H. LACROIX  
AND G. CONSTANT, 31 OCTOBER 1778<sup>57</sup>

Before the undersigned notary were present M. Jean Bapte Hubert called LaCroix and Gabl Constant,<sup>58</sup> who have agreed between them as follows: J. B. H. LaCroix pledges himself to furnish the said Gabl Constant sufficient land to sow forty minots of wheat, that is to say, twenty-four minots for the said LaCroix and sixteen minots for the said Gabl and, in addition, one pair of oxen with his negro and the complete plow; and the said Gabriel Constant is to furnish one pair of oxen and his own work for the sowing; after sowing each shall take care of his wheat and shall harvest it at his own expense; and, for the threshing, it shall be the same. The said Gabriel will have it for seven or eight days and M. LaCroix will have it for twelve days; after the sowing is done, each shall take care of his own. this agreement is made only for the next year, for thus &c., promising &c., obliging &c., renouncing &c. Done and passed at

<sup>56</sup> This document is endorsed: "1776—February 10. Marriage Contract between Jean Bte Dubuque and Susanne Cesirre."

<sup>57</sup> This early example of "farming on shares" is found in the Perrin Collection, p. 44, No. 41. The original is endorsed: "J. B. H. Lacroix 1778."

<sup>58</sup> Lacroix appears elsewhere in this chapter. Constant served as a constable in Clark's court.



Cahokia this thirty-first of October 1778.

Witness present.

The one word interpolated is good.

FORECLOSURE PROCEEDINGS: CERRE VS LAPIERRE,  
SEPTEMBER, 1783<sup>59</sup>

To the Gentlemen, Magistrates of the Court of the District of Cahokia: Gabriel Cerré<sup>60</sup> petitions most humbly and has the honor to represent to you most respectfully that in 1781 he sold verbally to a certain Lapierre<sup>61</sup> a lot being, and situated in the Village of Cahokia, bordering on one side on M. Isac Levy;<sup>62</sup> and on the other side, separated by a street which crosses in the rear, bordering on the lot formerly belonging to Augustin Racette<sup>63</sup> and in front on the Main street; the said lot being 130 feet in front by 176 in depth; upon which is built a house of stone upon stone covered with shingles, floored above and below, with a double chimney; and this for the price and sum of six hundred *livres* in peltries, buckskins or beaver, at the price of and upon receipt at this Post; upon account of which sum, the petitioner has received that of three hundred *livres* in cash; and the three hundred *livres* remaining should have been paid to him one year after the sale, whereof there has not yet been a contract passed. In consequence of the purchaser not being presently upon the premises, he has addressed himself to his wife, his legal representative, and made the request for his money, which she has not been able to give him; on

<sup>59</sup> This document is from the Perrin Collection, p. 44, No. 51. The lot concerned has not been positively identified, but the description of the house is characteristic of Cahokia deeds.

<sup>60</sup> Gabriel Cerré, trader and merchant, born 12 August 1734 at Montreal; married Catherine Giard, 1764, at Kaskaskia; died 4 April 1804. Originally leader of the British party at Kaskaskia, he was won over by Clark, and furnished him financial aid. He lived in St. Louis after 1779.

<sup>61</sup> This was probably François Lapierre. He made an improvement at "the point of the prairie, 9 miles above Cahokia," which was confirmed to Nicholas Jarrot as assignee. See *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 159. This tract, Survey No. 571, was called Pointe Lapierre, and was anglicized "Rocky Point," although, as observed locally, "there isn't a rock closer than the Bluffs." It is now the "Midway" section of East St. Louis. Lapierre appears to have died before the foreclosure, although this document does not expressly so state.

<sup>62</sup> Isaac Levy was a merchant; he made an improvement on River Labbé, 12 miles about Cahokia.

<sup>63</sup> Little is known of Augustin Racette. See note 225, below in this chapter.

the contrary, she has told the petitioner to have [the lot] sold; consequently, by virtue of the agreement which they had verbally made together, and of the insolvency of the purchasers, in default of payment, the petitioner has a right to take recourse to your authority; and may it please you, Gentlemen, to order that the lot and house described hereinabove shall be sold at judicial sale to the highest and best bidder, through three consecutive Sundays and that the cash proceeds up to the amount of the debt shall be delivered to the said M. Gabriel Cerré and the balance, if there be any, shall be remitted to the wife of the said Lapierre, his legal representative; and let justice be done.

At Cahokia, the — September 1783.

In view of the above petition and the permission of the other party granted, to do as is said, and to put to execution. At Cahokia, the — of September 1783.

Quenel Notary<sup>64</sup>

SUIT FOR A FEE: BEQUET VS. GRAMONT, 15 JANUARY 1785<sup>65</sup>

To the Honorable Court of the District  
of Cahokia:

Gentlemen:

Jean Bte. Bequet<sup>66</sup> has the honor to state to you that upon the prayer and supplication of a certain Gramont, resident of this village and ill for a long time, the petitioner has been willing to undertake it in order to give him due relief, without, however, obligating himself to cure him, since his ailment appears incurable and since M. Reynal,<sup>67</sup> as well as others, has not been able to succeed. Nevertheless, the petitioner has given every care and has given him the decoctions and remedies most appropriate for his relief and perhaps his recovery, if the said Gramont had observed a system of living necessary for his ailment, since after the petitioner had treated him for several months, he had declared to him that he was getting along much better and that he hoped for his recovery: but the lack of management and restraint that the said Gramont<sup>68</sup> has used, in

<sup>64</sup> Pierre Quenel was a justice in 1783, (*Cahokia Records*, 147, 157). John Hay lists his marriage contract with Suzanne Poupar, dated 1778, but it has not been found in the Perrin Collection.

<sup>65</sup> This document is from the Perrin Collection, p. 45, No. 17. The original is endorsed: "January 15, 1785, Petition by J. Bte. Bequet." Further action in this matter is reported in *Cahokia Records*, 189-191.

<sup>66</sup> Jean Baptiste Bequet married Isabelle Marcheteaux (see the marriage contract of their daughter in Perrin Collection, No. 44).

<sup>67</sup> Dr. Antoine Reynal (of St. Louis) also sued Gramont for his bill (*Cahokia Records*, 149).

<sup>68</sup> John Hay lists a public sale and inventory for François Grandmont, dated 1786.

view of his weakened constitution, has caused him to fall back into his former condition purely by his own fault.

The said Bequet has treated the said Gramont during the space of three months and has employed his time in searching for the most beneficial medicinal plants in the woods, for him, and has made up for him herb-drinks suitable for his condition, under the promises that the said Gramont has made that he would pay him generously, and that he would have cause to be satisfied; but, getting restless about his relief and not being willing to observe any regulations, he has suffered a relapse and has gone to St. Philippe to be treated. Since his return, the petitioner has asked him for satisfaction which the said Gramont through sheer ingratitude has always refused; and has told him, for the only reason, that he would pay him when he would have some money. The petitioner has asked him one hundred twenty-five *livres*, and has asked him to give a note for the amount, which he also has refused; to which the said Bequet replied that he would have him summoned before you gentlemen, which the said Gramont received with derision and contempt for your Honorable Court, saying that he "didn't care a rap," and that there was not a ..... capable of making him pay.

Inasmuch as the petitioner has a pressing need for his pay and in view of the extreme contempt which he said Gramont shows toward your authority, he petitions you, gentlemen, to summon him extraordinarily before you, to cause him to be sentenced to pay without delay to the petitioner, one hundred twenty-five *livres*, which he requests for his labors and wages for having treated him for three months (a modest sum in view of the labors and care which he has taken); and to sentence him to a fine for his indecent remarks; and in default by the said Gramont of payment without delay, that seizure shall be made upon his cattle and furniture, to be sold up to the amount of his debt, and to assess against him all the costs of this extraordinary hearing. The petitioner hopes from your integrity that you will grant him the justice that is due him; and thus concludes. At Cahokia, 15 January 1785.

mark of

X

10 *livres* for the petition

JEAN BTE. BEQUET

REGULATIONS FOR FENCING THE COMMON FIELDS,  
6 APRIL-7 JUNE 1785<sup>69</sup>

To the Honorable Magistrates and the Inhabitants who Comprise the Community of Cahokia,

Gentlemen:

Antoine Girardin, in his capacity of commandant and citizen of this said village, states to you that for the past several years it has not been possible to keep the fences of the lands closed, due to the negligence of various individuals who to the prejudice of their own interests and of the conservation of the grain, allow same to be devoured by the cattle,<sup>70</sup> without being willing to put forth an effort to prevent, and to place their food and that of their families under protection against damage which the animals cause there daily.

That is what forces this representative to state to you that it would be advisable and even indispensable to keep the fences closed against the cattle in the winter as well as in the summer, so that they can not roam upon the tillable lands until after the grain shall be harvested and then they should open up the gates only to allow the cattle to glean, up to March 1st, when the said gates should be closed by the diligence of the syndic;<sup>71</sup> the said gates ought to be kept in repair during the winter as well as the summer against damage from the cattle, which should cut down much of the work in the spring, when everybody finds himself very busy with the sowing which should be done much earlier, and would conserve the wheat which may be sown in the fall, especially in as advantageous a prairie as that of the bridge.<sup>72</sup>

Let it be decided in the present assembly whether the fence of the lands of the village shall cross the island or whether it shall continue where it is presently.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> This document is from the Perrin Collection, p. 45, No. 32. It should be read along with the documents printed below: against trespass, 26 August 1785, and on fencing the common field, 17-20 January 1808.

<sup>70</sup> "Cattle," adopted as a translation for "bestiaux" by the original translator, has not been changed.

<sup>71</sup> "Syndic . . . Celui qui est élu pour prendre soin des intérêts d'un corps dont il est membre" (Larousse). This was the title of the overseer of the Common Field.

<sup>72</sup> Prairie du Pont.

<sup>73</sup> This question was evidently settled in favor of keeping the fence where it was. The plat of the Cahokia Common Field attached to *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, opp. p. 194 (made in 1808), shows the Common Field tracts as extending to the Rigolet, the land west of the creek being part of the Cahokia Commons (now the third subdivision thereof). There has never been a legal ruling as to whether Common Field tracts run to high water mark on the east shore of the creek or to the thread of the stream.

That the enclosure of the lands of Cahokia shall be measured from one end to the other, that is to say, up to the River du Pont; that the said fence shall be allotted upon each arpent of ground in such a way that nothing of the common shall remain for the volunteers who have animals that they often sell and leave the locality or pass them under assumed names, and always occasion confusion in the distribution of the common. But that it be ordered that the said volunteers and all others who do not have any enclosure of land shall pay a certain fixed sum for the cattle that they shall have in the common, payable upon the 1st of April of each year, without any further delay, which tax shall be applicable to the public works which are most indispensable and shall be payable into the hands of a person who shall be appointed to receive it and who shall be held responsible as a depository, for which he shall give his receipt to the Clerk's office.<sup>74</sup>

That the delinquents shall not only be held to pay the costs which the Syndic shall have incurred in order to have the fences put up, but that they shall in addition thereto be sentenced to a fine which shall be fixed by the Assembly and used as stated above.

That those who do not own any lands at the meadow of the village, and who have the lands at the Prairie du Pont, shall have their common at the said Prairie du Pont and not at the village of Cahokia.<sup>75</sup>

That the representative shall be authorized to cause fences to be put up for the delinquents at their expense and cost, if they refuse to put them up within the specified time limit. And no excuses shall be accepted under pretext of a journey, absence, or other impediment, even of sickness (in the latter case order may be given to arrange to have them put up so that no damage shall result to the public). And that it shall be taken from their most apparent<sup>76</sup> effects, either cattle or other property, to be sold without any delay, to defray the costs of their said fences and that assistance shall be given the said representative without delay.<sup>77</sup>

That inasmuch as the syndic has continually received complaints from the public with regard to the fences, that it be ordered that

<sup>74</sup> Opposite this paragraph and each of the following decisions is a marginal note, "Approved."

<sup>75</sup> The Commons of Prairie du Pont lie south of that village in T 1 N, R 10 and 11 W of the 3d P. M.

<sup>76</sup> This is the exact word used in French. "Apparent" effects are those most readily found—the literal meaning is "obvious." The idea is that those items which are most readily available should be seized to satisfy the judgment.

<sup>77</sup> Both in this paragraph and the next, the word translated "assistance" is *main-forte*, "assistance rendered to officers of justice."

without having recourse to any officer of the law, he shall be authorized to put up the fences of the delinquents or such as refuse and to cause to be sold sufficient of their effects to pay what it has cost. And that assistance shall be given by the commandant.

And as it appears that the syndic can not alone devote his attention to such a long expanse of fences, there shall be appointed two: one for the lands of the village of Cahokia and the other for the lands of Prairie du Pont.

That, inasmuch as during the sowing, the harvesting or other labors of the land, several persons leave their animals free upon their lands and that under the pretext to let them loose upon their lands, they leave them to eat and spoil the grain of their neighbors; that it be decided that all those who shall put their animals free, even those which shall be tied with rope, and which shall be found escaped and taken upon the lands of others, shall pay for the damage which the cattle shall have caused, as well as for the apprehending of such cattle.

That it shall be prohibited for all hunters and other persons who may be going or coming, to set fires in the meadow from which may result the preservation<sup>78</sup> and the burning of the fences and the feed of the cattle during a part of the winter. That it shall likewise be prohibited to make any opening, to remove the stakes, nor to scale the fences under pretext of shortening one's path (which is the ruin of the fences and causes the loss of the cattle) under penalty of a fine sufficiently heavy in order to prevent similar disorder; and in the event that it shall be discovered who was the culprit, that he shall be held for all the damages that he may have caused; and subjected to a fine. And for those who shall have set fire, in addition to the damages which they may have caused and the fine, they shall be put in irons for eight days. That it shall be enjoined upon the masters to notify their slaves, under penalty of answering for all the wrong that they may do.

By agreeing unanimously to the proposals of the representative, one can see thereby that work will be much shortened in the spring and the sowing of wheat in the fall safeguarded from the loss of the cattle.

That if there be found opposition to such just and equitable representations, and if it be refused to organize a society of inhabitants so advantageous to each one, then all union of community and society of inhabitants shall cease; each one shall be free to fence in the grain that he wishes to sow, if it is possible for him. And all shall be exempt from fencing in their lands in common,

<sup>78</sup> There is evidently a clerical error, probably an omission of a few words, in the original.

it not being just that one part of the industrious inhabitants should put forth all the efforts for the preservation of the grain, while the others remain in inaction and cause annually the eating up of the grain by their negligence and laziness.

Concluded at Cahokia 6 April 1785.

A. GIRARDIN

Today, Sunday, seventh day of June, one thousand seven hundred eighty-five, at the close of the parish mass of the village of Cahokia, the public being assembled, the representations of M. Girardin mentioned on the other side have read in a loud and intelligible voice; and after mature deliberation between all of the gentlemen, the inhabitants, they have approved by common voice the said representations in all their details and have promised to conform exactly, under the penalties and fines mentioned therein and which shall be inflicted thereafter, after recognizing unanimously that it is to their advantage and the public welfare, that that anyone whomsoever may derogate therefrom under any pretext.

In consequence they have taxed, to wit:

	<i>In Money</i>
The Commons, for the Volunteers, each .....	15 <i>livres</i>
For the Setting of fires to the fences or in the meadow.....	150 "
For those who make breaches in the fences in order to shorten their path, or who knock them down.....	20 "
For those who climb the fences and cause the pole to fall, or who crush them.....	10 "
For those who shall refuse to put up their fences within the specified time limit, besides what the Syndic has agreed upon to have them put up, shall pay a fine of.....	30 "
For apprehending animals, be it cattle or horses, not including the damage, shall pay.....	10 "

Pigs shall be killed in the wheat and rye fields without remission and without the owner of the pigs being allowed to claim indemnity<sup>79</sup> unless the opening through which the pig shall have passed be recognized; the master to whom the opening belongs shall pay for the pigs and the damage.

The fines shall be paid into the hands of Francois Courier who will answer for them as a sacred trust and shall present them as soon as he shall be requested and will give his receipt at the Clerk's office when receiving them, upon the Clerk's Register.

Concluded the present, to serve and be executed according to its contents, with the notation on the margin on the otherside, and we have signed and made our ordinary marks the said day and year.

<sup>79</sup> The remainder of the paragraph appears as a marginal note in the original.

Dubuque	joseph	LaCroix
des loges	X	X
X	Cecire	blacksmith
Leon page	piere	antoine
pre	Lafleur	armand
X	X	
picard	macarty (?)	LaChanse
	X	X
deslonchamps	Baron	vaudry
X	Gagne	X
Bte	X	pre
X		X
dumay	gabriel	Roy
fc gerome	X	
X	merlau	des haye
amable		X
X		
Chartrand	Louis	pre
Bissonet	X	X
X	giroux	cabassier
Louis pilet	frs	
sindic	X	X
	Alexandre	Groslet
gabriel	Louis	pere
X	X	H BI
tillier	Le Compte	Biron
oste	Gervais	joseph
X	X	Cabassier
mercier		X
Govart	Cabasier	Louis
X	X	X
Baron	Bte.	Chatel
	joseph	francoix lapenci
	X	
	Lapensee	pre
	Etienne	X
	X	veronaux
Fr Mucier	ardouin	amant
At GIRARDIN		X
		telier



JURY VERDICT: SUIT FOR DAMAGES, 9 JUNE 1785<sup>81</sup>

Today the ninth of June one thousand seven hundred eighty-five, we, Antoine Girardin, Philippe Engel, Paul Hubert LaCroix, Jean Bte Bergeron, Henry Biron, Jean Bte. Gaffe, Jean Bte. Morel, Charles Ducharme, Francois Courier, Joseph Labuxiere, Antoine Boyer, Jean Bte. Dubuc, all jurors named by sentence of the Court of the District of Cahokia,<sup>82</sup> under date of the sixth of June, the present month, and by virtue of the citation which has been given us yesterday to assemble ourselves this said day and after having taken oath before the Court held extraordinarily this said day, we have assembled ourselves in one room at the home of the said Francois Saucier in order to deliberate between us on the validity or nullity of a sale made at auction by M. Ceré as guardian of the minors Nicole<sup>83</sup> of a negro named Pompée to M. Antoine Harmand dit Sansfacon, inhabitant of Cahokia, which Negro the justice of Cahokia has seized around seven to eight months after the said Harmand . . . [line torn] . . . found after a mature examination between us, the parties having retired, that it has been badly and abusely judged against the said Harmand for the judgement of payment of the said Negro, and that the crime of poisoning whereof he was accused discharges him from the payment; the justice by its authority having taken custody of him on account thereof, from the hands whereof the said criminal has escaped; and having committed the crime before he was in the possession of the said Harmand, that is why we have discharged the said Harmand from the sum of fifteen hundred five *livres* in money, price of the said Negro at the public sale of the land and interest. The present sentence

<sup>80</sup> This document is endorsed: "7 June 1785. Regulations between the inhabitants of Cahokia Concerning the Enclosure of Lands." It is an unusually good example of democracy in action. The signatures are reproduced as closely as possible as they appear on the original.

<sup>81</sup> This document is from the collection of the Chicago Historical Society. It has been endorsed by at least three persons: (1) contemporary, "June 9, 1785—Sentence of the Jury against Messrs. Cerré & Harman." Below this endorsement is a sticker marked "48." (2) In the same handwriting as in other comparatively modern notes, possibly Mr. Perrin's, appears the words "Cahokia 1785—Jury—," followed by a list of names and then the words "Negro 'Pompee' poisoned his master & mistress." (3) At the bottom of the outside sheet is the notation of the Chicago Historical Society: "Ill. Misc. Schmidt."

<sup>82</sup> Most of the jurors are found elsewhere in this chapter. For the others consult *Cahokia Records*.

<sup>83</sup> The Nicole case is treated at length in *Cahokia Records*, 13 ff. Two Negroes, Manuel and Moreau were convicted, while Pompee "escaped from the hands of justice."

having been seen by the Court, we ordain that it shall go into full and entire effect and be approved by judicial authority this said day and year.

MUCIER

B. SAUCIER<sup>84</sup>

ORDINANCE AGAINST TRESPASS IN THE COMMON FIELD,

28 AUGUST 1785<sup>95</sup>

We, Antoine Girardin, Commandant at the post of Cahokia and Jean Bte Lacroix, President and Magistrate in the District of the said post:

It being necessary to remedy the evil of robbery and stealing which is committed as much by night as by day time in the fields sowed and cultivated in wheat, rye, corn, peas, beans, pumpkins, melons and other vegetables, as well as in the orchards or gardens where these same thieves desolate, ravage, and ruin entirely the work and labors of the good citizens who take great pains to obtain their subsistence and enjoy the fruit of their labors; it being indispensable to stop the course of disorder so pernicious to the public welfare, it is very expressly forbidden to all persons, no matter of what quality they may be, whether inhabitants, their wives, children and slaves, or volunteers, vagrants, vagabonds, or others, to enter the fields seeded with grain or vegetables which do not belong to them, as well as the orchards or gardens and to steal or take anything, whatever it may be, on penalty of one hundred *livres* fine, applicable one-half to the public welfare and the other half to the informer; to be put eight days in irons and paraded through the Village of Cahokia with the marks of their theft hanging from their collar, for the first offense; and heavier punishment in case of recurrence. It is also very explicitly forbidden to pass across seeded lands; whether on horse-back or in a cart. We order people to follow the road, under penalty of fifty *livres* fine against those who shall violate the present ordinance and to pay damages, which shall be enforced without leniency; and these presents shall be read and posted at the door of this Church and registered at the Office of the Clerk of the Court for the purpose of reference.

At Cahokia, 28 August 1785.

J. B. H. LACROIX, Pres.

At. GIRARDIN

LABUXIERE Clerk of the Court

<sup>84</sup> The signatures of the jurors appear on the margin. This document is typical of court proceedings during the period of autonomy between the close of the Revolution and the organization of St. Clair County, 1783-1790.

<sup>95</sup> This document is from the Perrin Collection, p. 46, No. 43. It is endorsed: "1785 Ordinances which prohibit any trespass on cultivated lands (other people's lands)."

WILL OF JOSEPH BISSONET, 6 JANUARY 1786<sup>86</sup>

Before me, Joseph Labuxiere Notary Public in the County of the Illinois,<sup>87</sup> and District of Cahokia, in the presence of the witnesses hereinafter named, undersigned, was present in person Joseph Bissonet,<sup>88</sup> inhabitant dwelling in the Village of Cahokia in the Illinois, lodged for the present at the home of M. Jean Bte. LaCroix, trader of the said place, confined to his bed, sick of body, sane of mind, memory and understanding, thus as it has appeared to me, the Notary and witnesses undersigned; who, considering that there is nothing more certain than death nor more uncertain than its hour, fearing to be overtaken thereby, without having disposed of the little goods which God has been pleased to give him, has made, dictated, and named to me the said Notary and witnesses undersigned his present testament and ordinance of last will, in the manner which follows:

First, as a Christian and Catholic, has recommended his soul to God, supplicating His Divine Bounty by the merits of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the intercession of the Glorious Virgin Mary and of Saint Joseph his Patron and of all the holy men and women of the Celestial Court, to place his soul in the Kingdom of Heaven, in the number of the Blessed.

Wishes and intends the said testator that all his debts be paid and wrongs by him done, if any shall be found, redressed by his heirs hereinafter named.

Wishes that his body be interred in the Cemetery of this Parish in the number of the faithful departed and that there be said in the course of the year twelve solemn services with masses, whereof eight for him and four for his deceased wife, of whom he has not had any children nor issue, who could claim right to the estate; and in regard to all his goods, as much personal as real, generally whatsoever, which shall be found to belong to the said testator on the day of his decease, *acquets*, *conquets*, and inheritances of

<sup>86</sup> This document is filed with the Clerk of the Probate Court of St. Clair County at Belleville, Illinois, Will No. 17. The original is in French, the language being characteristic. The will was not admitted to probate, for reasons which appear in the codicil.

<sup>87</sup> Joseph Labuxiere, notary under the French regime, returned to Illinois during the Virginia period. He served as attorney and as clerk of the court at Cahokia. The sale of his real and personal estate is printed later in this chapter.

<sup>88</sup> Joseph Bissonet was born 1743 (?) and died 6 November 1789. Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 22, shows the marriage of Joseph Bissonett, native of La Bay St. Peaul, Canada, and Marie Polite Favre, widow of Michel Girardin.

such nature as they may be, and in whatever places and spots they may be found situated without anything being reserved, the said testator gives and bequeaths to M. Jean Bte. LaCroix, trader of the said place of Cahokia and to Mme. Catherine Aubuchon, his wife, his good friends, for the affection and true friendship which he bears them, to the end that he be remembered by them in their prayers and in recognition of the good offices he has received from them, and which he hopes to receive from them during his sickness, making and constituting them his heirs universal, in whose hands he disseizes himself of all his goods.

And for all others claiming right to his succession, he gives and bequeaths to them the sum of five sous one time paid.<sup>89</sup>

This was thus made, named and dictated by the said testator to me the said Notary and witnesses undersigned, and to him read and reread; as he has said that he well understands, willing that it be executed according to its form and tenor; in the house of the said M. LaCroix in the chamber of the said testator, and in the year one thousand seven hundred eighty-six, the sixth of January in the presence of Francois Courier, Charles du Charme, Michel LaGrave, Pierre Antoine Thabaut, trader, Louis LeBrun, Philippe Gervais, Thom Brady, witnesses, before whom the said testator has made his ordinary mark, not knowing how to sign this document and the said M. Thabeault, Bredy and du Charme have signed with me the Notary, except the four other witnesses who have made their ordinary mark, not knowing how to sign, the said day and year.

Mark of  
X  
Lagrange

Mark of Joseph  
X  
Bissonet, Testator

Mark  
X  
of Gervais

Mark  
X  
of LaBrun  
Bredy

Mark  
X  
of Courier  
P. Tabeaux

LaBuxiere

Delivered a copy at the request of La Croix.

Today the sixth day of May one thousand seven hundred eighty-six in the presence of the witnesses undersigned was present Joseph Bissonet named in the testament on the other side, who being in perfect health has said and declared to me the notary in the

<sup>89</sup> Evidently equivalent to "cutting the heirs off with a shilling." The estate, however, did eventually go to his heir-at-law.

presence of the said witnesses that he annuls and revokes the will on the other side in all its conditions, willing that it be reputed as of no value and as though not made and that these intentions are no longer the same, willing and intending that his said testament may not serve nor be reputed valid from now and in the future for anything. This is why he has betaken himself today to the study of the notary for the annulment of the said Testament. Done and passed at Cahokia in the study the year one thousand seven hundred eighty-six, the day aforesaid in the presence of Messrs. Francois Saucier, and Matthieu Saucier, witnesses, dwelling in the said place, who have with me the Notary signed these presents; and the said Joseph Bissonet has said he does not know how to sign, and has made his ordinary mark; reading made.

Fr. Saucier  
Mth. Saucier

Mark of  
X  
Joseph Bissonet

LaBuxiere, Notary

MORTGAGE BY P. MARTIN AND WIFE IN FAVOR OF  
AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU, 17 OCTOBER 1787<sup>90</sup>

In the presence of the Notary Public for the district of Cahokia, and in the presence of the witnesses hereinafter named and undersigned were present in person Piere Martin, inhabitant dwelling at the Village of Cahokia, and Marie St Yve his wife,<sup>91</sup> whom he authorizes well and duly for the purpose of these presents, who jointly and severally, the one for the other, without partition, judicial sale, or security, renouncing the benefit of partition, have by these presents acknowledged and confessed that they well and legitimately owe and promise to pay M. Auguste Chouteau,<sup>92</sup> merchant dwelling at St. Louis on the Spanish shore, now present and accepting, the sum of two thousand nine hundred forty *livres* two *sols* six *deniers* in good deer skins upon receipt, and subject to inspection, or beaver at the current price, upon maturity of the

<sup>90</sup> This mortgage is recorded in Book of Deeds A, pp. 37-39, in the St. Clair County Recorder's Office. The original is in French. It is one of several instruments of the preceding few years which were recorded after St. Clair County was formally organized. It also shows the commerce across the international boundary line, despite efforts on both sides to maintain a "wall."

<sup>91</sup> Pierre Martin was born about 1745 at LaRivienne, Quebec, Canada, and died at Cahokia 1807. English (*Conquest of the North West*, II, 1065), lists him as a private under Clark. Marie Saint Yve was born about 1736 and died 10 December 1806.

<sup>92</sup> Auguste Chouteau (1749-1829) is famous as the co-founder of St. Louis. He engaged extensively in the fur trade.

present obligation, and this for good and dependable merchandise and equipment, which the said M. Chouteau has this day furnished and advanced to the said Piere Martin and his wife to carry on their commerce at Post Vincennes or other places to which they shall come, upon their demand and satisfaction; thus as the said Piere Martin and his wife, declare, acknowledge and are content; which said sum of two thousand nine hundred forty *livres* two *sols* six *deniers*, in deer skins, the said Piere Martin and his wife promise and oblige themselves jointly and severally, the one for the other, each for both, and the best for all, thus as it is explained hereinbefore, to deliver and pay to the said M. Chouteau or order and bearer of these presents on the first day of the month of May of next year one thousand seven hundred eighty-eight, for all delays, upon penalty of all expenses, damages, and interest; and for security of which said sum, the said Piere Martin and Marie St. Yve his wife have obligated, liened, and mortgaged generally, all their goods, movable and immovable, present and to come; and, by special privilege, a house which they have at Cahokia, bordering on Mathieu Saucier, and on a cross street which separates the piece of land coming from Buteaux, at present belonging to LaCroix; further, especially and as a privilege over all other creditors of M. Martin and his wife, one young negro named Louis, aged around sixteen to fourteen years, actually in the hands of said Martin and his wife, who will keep him until the fifteenth of next November of this present year, which time being passed, they shall be obliged and do promise to send back the said negro to the said M. Chouteau, who shall go across to St. Louis to his house, and shall deliver him to him, or upon his demand; and the said negro shall remain as security of part of the said sum until perfect and entire payment thereof. It is understood and agreed between the parties that the said negro shall be held upon the risk and peril of Piere Martin and his wife, without the said M. Chouteau being answerable in any way therefor; and, upon default of payment by the said Martin and his wife in the said time explained heretofore, the said M. Chouteau shall keep, and the said negro shall belong to him, for the sum of fifteen hundred *livres* in deer skins as a deduction upon the principal sum mentioned in the present obligation; and shall belong to him according to law, unless the said Martin or his wife returns to the said M. Chouteau the amount of the said sum at the said day of maturity; for this it is covenanted and agreed; promising, &c., obliging, &c., renouncing, &c. Done and passed at Cahokia in the study in the year one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, the seventeenth of October, in the presence of M. Francois Trotier, Commandant of the said Village of Cahokia, and of Francois Saucier,

Magistrate, witnesses to this document; who have with the said M. Chouteau and me the said Notary signed these presents; and the said Piere Martin and his wife have said that they do not know how, have made their ordinary mark after reading had been made.

Fr. Trottier

Marque de

f. Saucier

X

Piere Martin

Aug Chouteau

Marque de  
Marie Ste Yve

Labuxiere Nre<sup>93</sup>

Recorded 24th Octr 1790

A True Copy from the original

William St. Clair

Recorder

Indorsed on the back Viz.—<sup>94</sup>

Today, the seventh of September, one thousand seven hundred eighty-eight, in the presence of me, the Notary undersigned, has appeared Piere Martin named in the obligation on the other side, who declared that, not having been able to discharge his entire obligation, he has agreed with M. Chouteau; that is why he has ceded, quitclaimed and conveyed the negro mentioned here for the said sum of fifteen hundred *livres* in deerskins, which he declares he has received following the said obligation; and makes an abandonment to the said M. Chouteau, consenting that he may dispose of him as shall seem good to him; acknowledging that he finds himself debtor owing a balance to the said M. Chouteau, on the present obligation, according to the accounting made between them this day, for the sum of one hundred twenty-six *livres* twelve *sols* six *deniers* in peltry, which he promises and obliges himself to pay to him or to his order and first demand, without detracting from the mortgage for the remainder of the said sum; thus as it is stated in the said obligation. Made and passed at Cahokia in the Study of the Notary. The said M. Martin does not know how to sign, has made his ordinary mark after reading had been made.

AUG. CHOUTEAU

LABUXIERE Ne

MARQUE d

PIERRE X MARTIN<sup>95</sup>

MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF MICHEL PILET AND MARIE JOSETTE  
LANGUEDOC, 1 MAY 1791<sup>96</sup>

In the presence of a Judge of the County of St. Clair and in

<sup>93</sup> This instrument is typical of those drawn by Mr. Labuxiere and undoubtedly of eighteenth century French legal phraseology.

<sup>94</sup> This notation was made in English by Mr. St. Clair.

<sup>95</sup> Document torn off at bottom of page.

<sup>96</sup> This marriage contract is recorded in the St. Clair County Recorder's Office, Belleville, in Book of Deeds A, pp. 52-55. The original is in French.

the presence of the witnesses hereinafter named, undersigned, was present in his own person Michel Pilet,<sup>97</sup> a bachelor of full age, aged around twenty-seven years, native of the Isle of Montreal, Province of Quebec in Canada, son of Francois Pilet and of Catherine Lapence, stipulating for himself and in his name, of the one part;—

And Marie Josette Languedoc, aged around eighteen years, born at Cahokia, County of St. Clair, daughter of Joseph Languedoc and of Marie Josette Larche,<sup>98</sup> stipulating for herself and in her name of the other part,—

Which parties, with the advice and consent of their relatives and friends here assembled and hereinafter named, to wit: On the part of the said Michel Pilet, Louis Pilet, brother of the said bridegroom, M. Jean Bapt. Dubuc, Charles Pilet, also brother the said bridegroom, and M. Nicolas Boismenu, M. Pierre Tabau and Joseph Lapencie;<sup>99</sup> and on the part of Marie Josette Languedoc, Messrs. Louis Lecomte, stepfather of the future wife; Bazile LaFlame, uncle of the said Josette Marie Languedoc; Thomas Bready, also a relative; Messrs. Piere Laperche, Henri Biron, all relatives and friends;<sup>100</sup> have made and agreed upon between them the contract and conventions of marriage which follow, to wit: That the said Michel Pilet and Marie Josette Languedoc have promised and do promise to take each other, the one and the other, in the name and law of marriage, to have it celebrated and solemnized in the fact of our Mother Holy

<sup>97</sup> Michel Pilet dit St. Ange was born 1762 (?) and died 5 February 1810. His name appears in the Cahokia census of 1787.

<sup>98</sup> The bride's family made an improvement north of the present East St. Louis in the vicinity of Cahokia Mound at a very early date. John Hay lists an inventory, dated 1775, under her father's name.

<sup>99</sup> Of the bridegroom's relatives, Louis Pilet was a justice in 1784. Charles Pilet was listed by English as a private under Clark. Nicholas Boismenu, ancestor of the well-known East St. Louis family of that name, served in Mottin de la Balme's expedition against St. Joseph, Michigan; he was born in 1752 (?) and died 1 July 1811. Pierre Antoine Tabeau was a merchant; for him consult Annie Heloise Abel (editor), *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri* (Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939).

<sup>100</sup> This list of relatives, read together with the other documents, throws doubt on the tradition of "Madame LaCompt" as related by Governor Reynolds in his *Pioneer History of Illinois* and as copied by others. It is the editor's belief that Reynolds combined facts concerning two women, mother and daughter, into one legend. The situation was this: Marie Josephe Larcheveque married (1) Jacques LaMarche; (2) Charles LeBoeuf; (3) Thomas Brady of Maryland (in 1779). Her daughter, Marie Josephe Lamarche, married (1) Joseph Languedoc, merchant, in 1772; (2) Louis LeCompte, in 1775. See Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 4, 14, and 26. Reynolds represents his heroine as being born in 1734 and dying in 1843. Which one was it?



Church, as soon as it may be done and as soon as one of the two may request it of the other.

In order that the said future spouses may be a community in all movable goods and immovable acquisitions, following the custom of Paris, followed and used in this County, according to which their said community shall be regulated, even though they may make hereafter their dwelling, or transfer their domicile, into a country of laws, usages and customs contrary thereto, which they have expressly put aside and renounced. They shall not be, however, held for debts, the one of the other, made and created before the celebration of the said marriage; and if any shall be found, they shall be paid and acquitted by him or her who shall have made and created them, without the other or his assets being in any way held responsible therefore. The said future spouses take each other with their goods and rights belonging to them, actually and in due course, as much by inheritance, donations, legacy, or otherwise, of whatever nature they may be, and in whatever place they may be found situated, which shall enter for the whole into the community without any reservation.

And on account of the sincere affection which the said future husband bears to the said future wife, he has endowed her and does endow her by these presents, with the sum of three hundred *livres* of predetermined dowry, to be paid at one time, to have and to take as soon as the endowment shall take place after the death of the said future husband, and on all his goods, present and to come; and for the security of which dowry, there shall be a mortgage from this day forward, on all the goods, present and to come, of the said future husband—

The *préciput* shall be reciprocal to the survivor in the goods of the said future spouse, in the sum of one hundred fifty *livres* to be taken by the said survivor in the personal goods of their said community, following the taking of the inventory, which shall be made thereof; or the sum in money, at the choice or option of the said survivor.

It shall be lawful for the said future wife and for the children who may be born of the said marriage to renounce the said community; and in renouncing it, to take back, free and clear, all that the said future wife shall have brought to the said marriage, and by a special privilege her dowry and *préciput* as above explained; still she may divide the said debts; and, if she had obligated herself, or a judgment has been entered against her, in such case she shall be acquitted, she and the said children, by the heirs or creditors; and the goods of the said future husband shall remain liened and mortgaged for all the clauses and conditions of the present contract

from this day forward. And for the mutual and reciprocal affection which the said future spouse bear the one for the other, they have made to each others, as they make by these presents, mutual and reciprocal donation to the survivor of them, of all and each of the goods, movable and immovable, which the first one dying shall have and shall leave at the day and hour of his passing, to be enjoyed by the survivor in full property without rendering any account towards anyone, whoever he may be; this present mutual and reciprocal donation is thus made, provided and upon condition that there be no child living or to be born of the said future marriage, for in case of a child the said donation shall be void according to law.

All the above has been arranged and agreed between the parties, promising, &c., obliging, &c., renouncing, &c., done and passed at Cahokia, County of St. Clair, the first of May, one thousand seven hundred ninety-one, in the presence of the relatives and friends who have signed with the exception of Michel Pilet, future husband; Marie Josette Languedoc, future wife; Louis Pilet, Charles Pilet, Louis Lacompte, Basile Laflame, Nicolas Boismenu, Joseph Lapence, who have made their ordinary mark after reading had been made.

mark	mark
of Louis X Pilet	Michel X Pilet
mark	mark
of Charles X Pilet	Marie X Josette
mark	Languedoc
of Bazile X Laflame	Louis X LeCompte
mark	mark
of Nicolas X Boismenu	B Dubuque
Mark	Piere Laperche
of Josph X Lapense	P Tabaux
h B <sup>101</sup>	Jn Dumoulin
Brady	J of C P <sup>s</sup>

Entered on Record the thirteenth day of march  
one thousand Seven hundred and ninety two

WILLIAM ST. CLAIR

Recorder

AUCTION OF THE REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE OF THE LATE

JOSEPH LABUXIERE, 24 JULY, 8, 9, 15 AUGUST 1791<sup>102</sup>

In the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, the twenty-fourth of July, we, John Dumoulin, substitute Judge of the

<sup>101</sup> This is the signature of Henry Biron, for so it appears in several places.

<sup>102</sup> This document is the record of sale in the estate of Joseph Labuxiere,

Prerogatives<sup>103</sup> in place and stead of B. Tardiveau<sup>104</sup> for the district of Cahokia, County of St. Clair, have transported myself to the house of the late Joseph Labuxiere in order to hold the sale and Auction of the same, accompanied by Mr. Wm. Arundel and by Fran. Lapencée, and after three consecutive Sundays at the door of the Church, we have proceeded to the Auction, thus as follows, to wit:

1. Land Situated at the big Hill <sup>105</sup> of one arpent's width; adjudged to Mrs. Labauxiere for one hundred <i>livres</i> thus.....	100: #
One piece of Land of Two Arpents, also situated at the big Hill, adjudged to Mrs. Labuxiere at two hundred <i>livres</i> , thus .....	200:
1. House situated in the Village of Cahokia with the Lot and all outbuildings &c., adjudged to Mrs. Labuxiere	507:
Thirty Minots wheat seed grain which she has taken following the appraisal, that is to say, Mrs. Labuxiere, at six hundred <i>livres</i> , thus .....	600:
One large quantity of such articles as are allowed her, which Mrs. Labuxiere has taken, following the appraisal, at one hundred <i>livres</i> , thus .....	100:
Balance brought forward .....	1517:

Royal Notary under the French regime, state's attorney under Virginia, who died 28 April 1791, aged about 62. He was born in Limoges, France. A year before his death he was commissioned notary for the District of Cahokia by Governor St. Clair in order to carry out the provision of the Northwest Ordinance which guaranteed to the French inhabitants their customs concerning the descent and conveyance of property. His own estate was one of the earliest administered under this provision. The administratrix was Mrs. Anne Catherine Labuxiere, *née* Vivarenes, born 1742 (?) at Fort de Chartres; died 19 Dec 1792. It will be noted that Mrs. Labuxiere exercised the rights, often referred to in marriage contracts, of selecting articles for her share of the estate immediately after the appraisal. The papers are filed in the office of the Clerk of the Probate Court of St. Clair County, Series C, Box 381, No. 69.

<sup>103</sup> Used as equivalent to Judge of Probate. In old English law, the Court of Prerogatives was a court established for the trial of all testamentary causes where the deceased left property in two different dioceses. The term is still used in New Jersey for a court of appeals in probate matters (*Black's Law Dictionary*).

<sup>104</sup> Bartholomew Tardiveau served as agent for the inhabitants of Illinois with Congress. He died in New Madrid, Missouri. Governor St. Clair appointed him Judge of Probate. For an interesting account of Tardiveau see Howard C. Rice, *Barthélemy Tardiveau, A French Trader in the West*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press (for the Institut Français de Washington), 1938.

<sup>105</sup> The "Big Hill" is Sugar Loaf Hill, on Illinois S. B. I. Route Three, about six miles south of Cahokia.

Balance brought forward <sup>106</sup> .....	1517: #
One new carriage with old wheels which Mrs. Labuxiere took following the appraisal at one hundred Twenty-Five <i>Livres</i> .....	125:
One large Cart with wheels which Mrs. Labuxiere took according to the appraisal of the Inventory at Eighty <i>livres</i> , thus .....	80:
One old bedstead with one pair of sheets and one old feather bed, which Mrs. Labuxiere took following the appraisal at one hundred <i>livres thus</i> .....	100:
One pair of oxen, aged five to six years, the one black and the other spotted, adjudged at Two Hundred seventy-five <i>livres</i> to Mrs. Labuxiere .....	275:
One pair of the same, of three years, the one broken, the other not at all, at One Hundred Fifty-One <i>livres</i> .....	151:
One old bull of nine to ten years, at one Hundred Fifty <i>livres</i> .....	150:
One large plow fitted with small wheels, at one Hundred and One <i>livres</i> , adjudged to Mrs. Labuxiere.....	101:
One old Horse, gray hide .....	108:
One brown cow with her calf, adjudged to Mr. Jn. Dumoulin at eighty-one <i>livres</i> , thus .....	81:
One black cow adjudged to Mrs. Labuxiere at one Hundred and eleven <i>livres</i> , thus .....	111:
<hr/>	
Balance brought forward .....	2799:
Amount carried forward .....	2799:
One red bull, adjudged to Mr. J. Dumoulin at ninety-five <i>livres</i> , thus .....	95:

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2894:

Stopped the present sale amounting to the sum of Two Thousand eight hundred and ninety-four *livres*, after having continued<sup>107</sup> up to nearly seven o'clock.

Wm. Arundel

John Dumoulin

Francois Lapencée

Judge of Ptes.

The eighth day of August one Thousand seven Hundred and Ninety one, I, John Dumoulin, Substitute Judge of the Prerogatives, in the place and stead of B. Tardiveau, Esq., have transported myself anew to the house of the late Joseph Labuxiere, in order to continue the Auction of the Goods and Effects of the estate of the aforesaid, and have commenced the Sale thus, as follows, to wit:

<sup>106</sup> This page is verified on the margin by "W. Arundel" and "F. Lapencee."

<sup>107</sup> Literally, "wandered."

The conditions of the Auction are that credit will be given up to the first of February, one Thousand seven Hundred and ninety two, payable in Money or Peltries at the Current price upon giving good and sufficient security.

Amount of the sale brought forward .....	2894: #
One black and white cow, adjudged to Mr. Fran. Saucier for the sum of Eighty three <i>livres</i> , thus <sup>108</sup> .....	83:
One pr. of bulls, aged, the one, one year, and the other two years, to Mrs. Labuxiere for one hundred and ten <i>livres</i> , thus .....	110:
1. pr. of little bulls, aged one year, to Mr. Pre. Vatieu at Thirty four <i>livres</i> , thus .....	34:
One little brown Heifer, aged fifteen to eighteen months, to Louis Labuxiere for Thirty Two <i>livres</i> <sup>109</sup> .....	32:
One little red and white Heifer to Louis Labuxiere at Thirty five <i>livres</i> , thus .....	35:
One little Ox Cart for Nineteen <i>Livres</i> to Pre. Gatieu.....	19:
One Church Pew <sup>110</sup> to Mrs. Labuxiere for Ten <i>Livres</i> , thus .....	10:
One old harness with its fastening, to Mr. Frans. Saucier for Twenty Seven <i>livres</i> Ten <i>sols</i> .....	27:10
One Saddle to Mrs. Labuxiere for four <i>livres</i> , thus.....	4:
One large cask to Mrs. Labuxiere for Three <i>livres</i> , thus .....	3:
One fan for winnowing grain to Jn. Dumoulin for Ten <i>livres</i> ten <i>sols</i> , thus .....	10:10
	<hr/>
	3262:

Sale continued

Amount brought forward .....	3262:
One large leaded soup Tureen to Mrs. Labuxiere for Seven <i>Livres</i> Five <i>Sols</i> .....	7:5
One ditto soup tureen, smaller, to Mrs. Labuxiere for six <i>livres</i> , Ten <i>sols</i> .....	6:10
One other Soup tureen, smaller, to Mrs. Labuxiere for Seven <i>Livres</i> Ten <i>sols</i> , thus .....	7:10
Two Broken Earthenware dishes to Mrs. Labuxiere for Twenty <i>Sols</i> , thus .....	1:
Two Crystal Salt cellars, broken, for Three <i>Livres</i> to Nicho-	

<sup>108</sup> A note in the margin shows that Louis Lebrun was security for Saucier.

<sup>109</sup> Mrs. Labuxiere was entered as security in the margin.

<sup>110</sup> *Reglement de la Fabrique de l'Eglise des Kahokias* (see this document in Chapter II) shows that it was customary to auction off the ground right for a pew in the Cahokia Church to the highest bidder. A widow had first right to her deceased husband's location. The pewholder furnished his own pew.

las Boismenu <sup>111</sup> .....	3 :
One medium-sized pan, two little pewter porringers, to John Dumoulin for Forty Five sols .....	2:5
One pair Candlesticks, that is to say, an old one of Copper; and One meat-grinder at Three livres fifteen sols, thus <sup>112</sup> .....	3:15
Three empty bottles and One Pint measure for Two livres Five sols to Nicholas Boismenu .....	2:5
Two Medium sized earthenware pots to Jn Bap̄t Baron for six livres thus <sup>113</sup> .....	6 :
One other little Earthenware pot for Thirty Five sols to Mrs. Labuxiere .....	1:15
One large Chest to Mrs. Labuxiere for Eight livres Ten sols .....	8:10
One medium sized desk with shelves for Twenty Five livres Ten sols to Mr. Xavier Lapencee .....	25:10
	<hr/>
	3337:5
Carried forward .....	3337#:5
One Old broken Cupboard, Xavier Lapence for ten livres, thus <sup>114</sup> .....	10
One tin Box to Xavier Lapence for ten livres ten sols .....	2 :10
Two little Chests for Twenty sols to Mrs. Labuxiere .....	1 :
One Medium sized chest Covered in wolf skin <sup>115</sup> (?) for two livres five sols . . . Xavier Lapencee .....	2 :5
One other larger chest for one Hundred Ten Sols to Xavr. Lapencie .....	5 :10
About three Doz. hens & pullets four twenty-eight livres to Mrs. Labuxiere .....	28 :
	<hr/>
	3386 :10

And after having continued until noon, we have adjourned the sale to four o'clock in the afternoon, the effects being sold amounting to the sum of . . . . .

W. Arundel

Continuation of the sale of the eighth August 1791

<sup>111</sup> Louis Lebrun is shown in the margin as security.

<sup>112</sup> The original shows *boudiniere* (pudding-maker) for the word here rendered "meat grinder." The type of sausage most commonly made by the farmers of the Cahokia district is "blood pudding," which they called *boudin*.

<sup>113</sup> Nicolas Boismenu appears as security both for this purchase and for Xavier Lapencee in the purchase of the desk, below.

<sup>114</sup> Nicolas Boismenu is shown as security in the margin.

<sup>115</sup> This is a guess. The original says that the chest was *couverte en Loup Marin*.

1. Hogshead of Vinegar containing about Thirty pots for Twenty-Seven Livres to Mrs. Labuxiere .....	27:
one Bedstead, that is to say, an old one; and one old feather bed to Mrs. Labuxiere for Thirty six livres, thus .....	36:—
one pair of old Sheets of Russian Linen to Mrs. Labuxiere for Thirty Livres .....	30:
	3479:10
Carried forward .....	3479:10
One Table with its Drawer adjudged to Mr. Xavier Lapen- cee for one hundred Sols, thus.....	5 #:
Two volumes of Civil Statutes to Mr. Wilm Arundel for Twelve livres Ten sols, thus .....	12:10
two old grammars, <sup>116</sup> English and French, to Mrs. La- buxiere for Thirty sols, thus .....	1:10
one pr. of old wooden Scales to Forget Lapencé for Ten sols .....	10:10
four old Pewter spoons to Mrs. Labuxiere for Fifteen sols, thus .....	15:
One little feather Bed to Joseph Demaret for Twenty Livres, thus <sup>117</sup> .....	20:
one Buffalo Robe to Forget Lapencé at eleven Livres, thus	11:—
one other Buffalo Robe for one Hundred sols, to Forget Lapencee thus .....	5:
one iron Spit to Mr. Wilm Arundel for six livres, thus .....	6 —
one large iron fork <sup>118</sup> to J. Dumoulin for Five Livres five Sols .....	5:5—
one old rack for drying Tobacco, In Dumoulin for Five Sols, thus .....	:5
one old set of dishes to Mrs. Labuxiere for eleven livres Ten sols .....	11:10
one large frying pan to Mr. Francis Saucier for eleven livres five sols .....	11:5
one medium sized frying-pan with a hole in it to Mrs. Labuxiere for Three livres ten sols, thus <sup>119</sup> .....	3:10
one old Table to Mr. Wm Arundel for six livres fifteen sols	6:15
	3580:5
Carried forward .....	3580:5

<sup>116</sup> The original has a curious homonym; it refers to English and French grandmeres. Incidentally, Mr. Labuxiere's law library was evidently of the smallest.

<sup>117</sup> Xavier Lapencee appears as security for both this item and the next.

<sup>118</sup> Probably a pitchfork.

<sup>119</sup> The original says *poele perce*. From the prices shown elsewhere for broken articles, it would appear that leaky ones would also be valuable.

Carried forward .....	3580:5
one old Table to Mrs. Labuxiere for four livres, thus .....	4:—
one old Broken Table, Mr. Wm. Arundel for twenty sols	1:—
one bread box in bad condition to Mrs. Labuxiere for twenty sols, thus .....	1:—
one Wash hand basin to Mrs. Labuxiere for ten livres fifteen sols, thus .....	10:15
one churn to Mrs. Labuxiere for Twenty Sols, thus .....	1:—

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3598:0

After having continued until half-past seven in the evening, we have adjourned the sale to the next day, the 9th of the current month, the effects being sold amounting to the sum of  
W Arundel

Continuation of the Auction of the ninth of August one Thousand Seven hundred ninety one.

Sold on account for the sum of one Hundred Seventy Eight, inas-  
much as there remains due to Mrs. Labuxiere on her dowry and  
*preciput*, to wit:

Ten Sacks of Maize at fourteen sols the Sack, Mrs. La- buxiere .....	7:—
Ten Sacks Do. to Mrs. Labuxiere for Seventeen, thus .....	8:10
Ten Sacks Do. to Jn. Dumoulin for twenty and one-half sols .....	10:5

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3623:15

Carried forward .....	3623:15
One Male Pig adjudged to Jean Dumoulin for Thirty two livres ten sols, thus .....	32:10
One Sow with Five little ones to Mrs. Labuxiere for Forty five Livres Ten sols .....	45:10
Three little Pigs to Mrs. Labuxiere for Thirty Three Livres .....	33:—
Three little Ditto to Jean Dumoulin for Thirty Three Livres, thus .....	33:—
Two little Do to Wilm. Arundel for Twenty Livres Ten sols .....	20:10
1. little Pig to Mrs. Labuxiere for eleven livres, thus .....	11

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3799:5

The articles hereinafter have been sold on six months' credit for  
money or peltries, to wit:



One salting tub hooped with iron to Xavier Lapencee for eleven livres Ten sols, thus .....	11:10
One large iron Saucepan to Jn Dumoulin for twenty five livres, thus .....	25:
One large Earthenware Pot to Wilm. Arundel for Four livres, thus .....	4:—
one large Pot, Ditto, to Jean Dumoulin for one Hundred Ten Sols .....	5:10
One Middle sized Saucepan to Jean Dumoulin for Eighteen Livres, thus .....	18:—
One other Saucepan to Mrs. Labuxiere for Twenty two livres, thus .....	22:—
	3885:5
Carried forward .....	3885:5
One Saucepan with one foot, set down to the account of Mr. Wilm. Arundel for Six livres five Sols, thus .....	6:5
one other small Saucepan to Mrs. Labuxiere for Seven Livres Ten sols, thus .....	7:10
One Medium sized Tart-dish with its cover to Xavier Lapencee for Thirty one livres, thus .....	31:
One small Tart dish to Jean Dumoulin for Thirty sols, thus .....	1:10
one old Saucepan <sup>120</sup> to Xavr Lapencee for Six Livres .....	6:
One other Tart dish to Mr. W <sup>m</sup> Arundel for Twenty Three Livres Ten Sols, thus .....	23:10
One Colander to Jean Dumoulin for one Hundred sols, thus .....	5:—
One cooking Spoon and One Skimmer at Forty Five livres, thus to Mrs. Labuxiere .....	2:5
One copper Sauceboat to Jn Dumoulin for Thirteen livres, thus .....	13:—
One old gridiron and one old Dripping pan to Mr. Wilm Arundel for Eight Livres, thus.....	8:
Three old smoothing irons to Mrs. Labuxiere for three livres, five sols, thus .....	3:5
One large dish of leaded crockery to Mrs. Labuxiere for one Hundred sols, thus .....	5:
One other medium sized crockery dish to Jn Dumoulin at Fifty Five sols, thus .....	2:15
One Medium sized utility dish, <sup>121</sup> one crockery dish, two dishes & one broken plate to Jn. Dumoulin for Four	

<sup>120</sup> The word used is *poêlon* (misspelled *pollon*) instead of the usual *mar-mite*.

<sup>121</sup> *Plat de gré*; literally, "free-will dish."

livres, ten sols, thus .....	4:10
Two Pewter plates and One Broken one to Wm Arundel for Thirty, thus .....	1:10
One yellow Copper strainer to Jn Dumoulin for Four livres, thus .....	4:—
	4008:—
[torn]	4008:5
Brought forward .....	4008:5
One Paddle <sup>122</sup> for the oven to Jn. Dumoulin for Fifteen livres, thus .....	15:—
One large Cart with its wheels to Xavier Lapence for forty One Livres five sols <sup>123</sup> .....	41:5
One Demijohn to Mr. Ducharme for nine livres ten sols, thus .....	9:10
One Middle sized cask to Mrs. Labuxiere for forty Five sols, thus .....	2:5
four Hooks <sup>124</sup> to Joseph Demaret for Twenty two livres, thus .....	22:—
About four pounds of Nails for floors to Mr. Wm. Arun- del for Thirteen livres, thus .....	13:—
One earthenware jar of $\frac{5}{4}$ capacity, one Ditto $\frac{3}{4}$ capa- city, and One Knife with 2 handles, to Mrs. La- buxiere for twenty five livres, thus .....	25:—
one earthenware pot of $\frac{3}{4}$ capacity & two old kettles, with holes in them, to pre Gatien for eleven livres, thus .....	4008:—
Two pickaxes and one spade to Mrs. Labuxiere for Three livres, thus .....	3:
one Spit, one pickaxe in bad condition, two old <sup>125</sup> to Mr. Wm Arundel for thirty sols .....	1:10
three axe-hammers in bad condition and one old handsaw to Mrs. Labuxiere for seven livres, thus .....	7:
one pothanger, one winch, and one grill for baking bread to Forget Lapence for Nine livres Ten sols, thus .....	9:10
Two old locks and several pieces of old iron in bad con-	

<sup>122</sup> Dr. Osborn suggested that this expression (*pile a four*) refers to an iron paddle for taking loaves of bread out of brick ovens.

<sup>123</sup> Forget Lapence is noted as security.

<sup>124</sup> The word is *Virgules*, literally, "Commas," but used familiarly for articles of comma-like shape. Dr. Osborn suggests that these were fireplace hooks for hanging a crane (the price paid for them being one guide to interpretation). Xavier Lapencée is noted as security.

<sup>125</sup> Mr. Arundel bought two *Tomes de Sciot*, whatever they were. A *Sciotte* is defined by Larousse as a stonemason's saw—which does not seem to help much.

dition, to Mr. Arundel for Eight livres ten sols .....	8:10
two anvils for sharpening scythes, two hammers & one pair of scissors to Mrs. Labuxiere for eight livres .....	8:
One Syringe to Mrs. Labuxiere for three livres .....	3:
Two files, one rasp, 1 pr. of pincers, two <i>Etoc</i> <sup>126</sup> , two pieces of sword, and one foot measure <sup>127</sup> to Michel Beaulieu for seven Livres ten sols, thus .....	7:10
	<hr/>
	4181:15
Carried forward .....	4181:15
One padlock in bad condition & 3 old ——— <sup>128</sup> to Michel Beaulieu for five sols .....	:5
Several pieces of iron in bad condition to Demeret for Fifty sols, thus .....	2:10
Two old pots to Mrs. Labuxiere for Thirty five sols .....	1:15
One Covered jar <sup>129</sup> of 2¼ pts, half worn out, to Louis Clermond for six livres, thus .....	6:—
One old Covered jar of 3 pts to Jn Bapte Baron for six livres, thus .....	6:—
One Cane to Mrs. Labuxiere for three livres .....	3:—
Four sacks of skins to Mrs. Labuxiere for six livres, thus .....	6:—
Two Chairs and One little one to Mrs. Labuxiere for six livres, thus .....	6:
one complete Harness & one Collar to Mrs. Labuxiere for Fifty livres ten sols .....	50:10
one old Cart to Mrs. Labuxiere for Three livres, thus .....	3:
one pepper mill to Jn Dumoulin, Three livres ten sols .....	3:10
one scythe to Mrs. Labuxiere for Ten livres .....	10:
one pair Shackles to Jn. Dumoulin for Three livres .....	3:
one axe to Mrs. Labuxiere for Twelve livres, thus .....	12:
one Handsaw, one Knife with two handles, one [ <i>Ecaire</i> ] to Mr. Arundel for Five livres .....	5:
one blankbook & one new Testament, much worn, to Mr. Wm. Arundel for Twelve livres ten sols, thus .....	12:10
	<hr/>
	4321:[5?]

<sup>126</sup> *Etoc* is defined by Larousse as a sailor's expression signifying *tête de rocher* or promontory.

<sup>127</sup> *Pied du Roy*—"the King's Foot." The French foot was equal to about twelve and four-fifths English inches.

<sup>128</sup> The word appears to be *verilles*, which could be a misspelling for several different articles.

<sup>129</sup> Xavier Lapencée is noted as security. The word in this line and the next is simple *couverte* but it appears to be a vessel intended for liquids.

after having continued until seven o'clock we have adjourned the present sale to the fourteenth.

Cahokia, 9 Aug 1791

Jn Dumoulin

W Arundel

Continuation of the sale 15 August 1791

	Carried forward .....	4321 #5
4 pos of Maize, to wit		
1 pos to Franc's Lapence for .....		28:10
1 pos to Ls. Lecomte for .....		51:10
1 pos Do. to Wm. Arundel .....		29:—
1 pce Do. ————— Do .....		8:—

#4438:5

For the Two arpents of Land sold at the door of the Church, situated at the Big Hill, outside of the Enclosures of lands, three times adjudged to Phile Engel for Jean Claudius .....

55:

#4493.5

End<sup>130</sup>

Sale 38 fo.

GRAND JURY REPORT: ROADS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES,  
INDIAN TRADE, JAIL, 4 OCTOBER 1791 <sup>131</sup>

County St Clair ) General Court Quarter Sessions<sup>132</sup>  
District Cahokia ) 4th October 1791

We the Grand Jury are of Oppinnion that the Streets of this Villiage should be repaired and all other roads leading into said Villiage. Particularly the road leading to the Mississippi

That the weight and measures of this Villiage be examined<sup>133</sup>

That the Millers be required and ordered to render Good Merchantable<sup>134</sup> Flour according to the wheat they receive into

<sup>130</sup> The liabilities of the estate were 4500.1 *livres*, including 3000 *livres* due Mrs. Labuxiere as her share. She was also allowed 210 *livres* as an expense of administration for keeping the animals from her husband's death until the sale.

<sup>131</sup> This document was found among the Illinois Papers of the Bixby Collection in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. The original is in English.

<sup>132</sup> A good, brief account of "The Government of Illinois, 1790-1799" by May Allinson is found in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1907 pp. 277-292. The following is quoted therefrom: "The records of the Court of Quarter Sessions . . . show this court sitting and transacting business every year during this period . . . both the grand jury and traverse [petty] jury were employed. The court had a two fold character, judicial and administrative . . ." This report is chiefly of administrative matters.

their mills and the Quantity. And they the millers ordered to have sufficient and Lawful Scales and weights<sup>135</sup>.

That to prevent our Neighbours the Spaniards from having all the Indian trade to themselves, that the Citizens of this County be allowed to carry on their trade as Usual in this Villiage with all indians who may come in a peaceable Manner into this Villiage to trade Goods Liquors &ca &ca<sup>136</sup>.

That for the Support of the Laws & Government of our County the Speediest Means be taken to have a propper Jail in this Villiage, Such as the State of this District may Afford, in its present Situation on an immediate examination<sup>137</sup>.

That a county road be laid from this to the end of the District to meet the prarie Du Rocher road and all Bridges be repaired in our District

The three last lines rais'd out — are of oppinnion the Streets of the Villiage cannott not be repaired at present

Mh Saucier <sup>138</sup>	Pr X Guion <sup>142</sup>	mque
Ch Avinand (?)	dit Guitar	Ch X Germain <sup>144</sup>
dit Sanfacon <sup>139</sup>	mque	de
Perre Le Perche <sup>140</sup>	Lt X Amelin <sup>143</sup>	J. K. Simpson <sup>145</sup>
mque	de	Shadrach Bond <sup>146</sup>
	mque	Geo. Hendricks <sup>147</sup>
Henry h BI Byron <sup>141</sup>	Jannoi Lapanse	Isaac West <sup>148</sup>
de	de	William Arundel <sup>149</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Interlined note: "to be done 3 of October."

<sup>134</sup> Interlined note: "ordered."

<sup>135</sup> Interlined note: "ordered."

<sup>136</sup> Interlined note: "Liquors sold to Indians to be convoyed at least two leagues."

<sup>137</sup> "The first sessions of the county courts were held in a private dwelling house in Cahokia. In 1793, this building with its surrounding tract of land was purchased by the judges, Antoine Girardin, John Dumoulin and Philip Engel, for one thousand dollars and converted into a court house and prison in compliance with the territorial law of 1792 . . ." Allison, cited above. The Old St. Clair County Court House at Cahokia has been restored on the original foundations with part of the original materials. It is now an Illinois State Memorial. At the end of this paragraph were inserted the words "to be done by 30 Decr to be set up to the lowest bidder."

<sup>138</sup> The grand jury is noticeably representative in its personnel. Mathieu Saucier was one of the sons of the engineer who built Fort de Chartres. John Hay lists his marriage contract dated 1785, but it is not found in the Perrin Collection.

<sup>139</sup> Probably Harmand dit Sansfacon, but no Charles has been found in this family.

<sup>140</sup> Pierre LaPerche dit St. Jean was born 1738 (?) at Assumption, Montreal, Canada, and died 9 February 1812. He married Marie Thereze Chrestien 25 February 1786 (Perrin Collection, Mariage Contacts, No. 47). He was a cousin of Matthieu Saucier and a stepson of Henry Biron.

GRAND JURY REPORT: ST. LOUIS INTERFERES WITH THE  
INDIAN TRADE, 7 AUGUST 1792<sup>150</sup>

We the Grand Jury of the District of Cahokia in the County of St. Clair, Present the practice made use of by his Most Catholic Majestys Subjects at St. Louis of ferrying the Indians from the American Shore to the Spanish Side at a Place not appointed and established by the Governor as a Public ferry over the mississippi, but at a Distance above this Villiage. Which we present as a Public Grievance and prejudicial to the interests and Welfare of the Inhabitants of this County and interfering with the Governement

<sup>141</sup> Henry Biron, Sr., was a justice in 1788-90. See *Cahokia Records, passim; Kaskaskia Records*, 561. John Hay lists a marriage contract in 1784, but it is not found in the Perrin Collection.

<sup>142</sup> Pierre Guion Guitarre appears to have come to the Illinois after 1776 from Isle Jésus, near Montreal (see his daughter's marriage contract, Perrin Collection, No. 57).

<sup>143</sup> Laurant (H)amelin dit Grondine resided at Prairie du Pont, as did several others of the grand jurors. See Book of Deeds B, p. 435, St. Clair County Recorder's Office.

<sup>144</sup> Charles Germain, Sr., was born 1751 (?) and died 17 October 1796. He married Marie Catherine Grondine 12 October 1783 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 38).

<sup>145</sup> John K. Simpson does not appear in either of the lists of Americans who were in Illinois in 1787. However, he is listed in the *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Volume II, as a militiaman in 1790.

<sup>146</sup> Shadrach Bond, Sr. was an uncle of Shadrach Bond, first Governor of Illinois. He came to the Illinois country in 1779 with Colonel Clark and remained there. He served in the legislature of the Northwest Territory and of the Territory of Indiana. *Kaskaskia Records*, 421.

<sup>147</sup> George Hendrick is listed in the Census of 1787 as having arrived in Illinois in 1780. He filed Claim No. 2647 for a donation right and Claim No. 523 for an improvement right, which were confirmed by the U. S. Land Commissioners.

<sup>148</sup> Isaac West came to Illinois in 1786, according to the census of 1787. See also *Cahokia Records*, 295. The St. Clair County Recorder has records of deeds to lands south of Cahokia, dated 1796 (Book of Deeds A, pp. 218-221) and also of a house and outhouses on three hundred acres near Canteen Creek, dated 1809 (Book of Deeds B, pp. 508-509). This is an indication of the northward movement of American settlers towards central Illinois.

<sup>149</sup> William Arundel was an Irish merchant from Canada. He lived successively at Peoria, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia, where he died in 1816. He traded extensively in land claims. On 10 December 1798 he married Elizabeth Raine (Book of Deeds B, p. 31). The *Belleville Advocate* on 21 March 1863 characterized him as "one of the worthy respectable citizens [who] was identified with the French population in habits, manners and customs . . . They were scholars and performed . . . most of the public business of the country."

<sup>150</sup> From the Illinois Papers of the Bixby Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

of the Indians inhabiting the United States Dominions. Which we Conceive to be dangerous in its consequences and calculated to Allienate the affections of the few indians in friendship with the United States and to promote and encourage the Antipathy which other Nations of indians have against the Government and Citizens of America.<sup>151</sup>

We beg this Worshipfull Court to forward this our presentement to his Excellency the Governor and Superintendant of Indian Affairs with the wishes of this Jury that he shou'd make use of Such measures as he May in his Wisdom think proper to put a Stop to these Grievances. And that this Worshipfull Court do in the mean time use their utmost endeavours for the same purpose——  
Cahokia 7th August 1792——

THOMAS TODD<sup>152</sup> foreman

AUCTION OF THE REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY OF THE LATE  
MICHEL GIRARDIN, 27 FEBRUARY, 18 MARCH, 12 MAY 1794 <sup>153</sup>

In the year one thousand seven hundred ninety-four, the

<sup>151</sup> Governor St. Clair wrote to President Washington as follows, in his *Report of Official Proceedings in the Illinois Country from March 5th to June 11th 1790*: "The commerce of the Illinois country is of some importance in itself, but more so when considered as connected with the Spanish side of the Mississippi. The villages on that side of the river having been originally settled by the French and under the same government as that part which is now in the possession of the United States, the connection between them is still very intimate, and favors a commercial intercourse which, though illicit, might be carried on by the citizens of America without risk. It is carried on at present without risk, but is, unfortunately, almost entirely in the hands of the British. Even much the greatest part of the merchandise for the trade of the Missouri River is brought from Michilmackinac by that of the Illinois, partly by the Spanish subjects themselves, and partly by British traders. The manner is this: The Spanish subjects either introduce them at once, in consequence of a secret connection with their commandants, or they are brought down to Cahokia and landed there, and afterwards carried over to St. Louis, as opportunities can be found. What is brought by the British traders, the Spanish subjects purchase and pay for on the American side, taking all risk that attends the introducing them into their own country upon themselves. The furs in which these goods are generally paid for (deer skins answering better than furs at the New Orleans market), are carried to Canada by the same communication [the Chicago portage] . . ." (*St. Clair Papers*, II, 174). Evidently trading Indians were handled in the same way as trade goods.

<sup>152</sup> Thomas Todd settled originally at New Design, Monroe County, Illinois, and later removed to the American Bottom (in Monroe County), according to Reynolds. His improvement right was sold to Jacob A. Boyce (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 218). Claims No. 1764 and 596 are listed for him.

<sup>153</sup> This document appears in Book of Deeds A, pp. 100-113, in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds of St. Clair County at Belleville, Illinois. The original is in French.

twenty-seventh day of February, the estate of the late Michael Girardin in community with the late Marie Rocheleau having become vacant, the same being deceased, the seventh of the current month having espoused in second marriage Mr. Jean Baptist Chartran & as it is to the interest of the children of the said late Michael Girardin that there be an executor named, we, Jn. Dumoulin, Antoin Girardin, Philip Engel, Esquires & in default of a Judge of Prerogatives, the place being vacant by the departure of Mr. Bar. Tardiveau, we have proceeded to the sale of the assets personal and real, of the aforesaid estate & we have named and do name by these presents as administrator, Antoine Girardin, Esquire, their paternal uncle.<sup>154</sup>

[line torn]  
Jn Dumoulin  
At Girardin  
Philippe Engel

The Conditions of the Sale are that the first payment for the House & the Land shall be one-third in the month of October next, the Second third in the Month of October one Thousand Seven Hundred ninety-five and the third payment in the month of October one thousand seven hundred Ninety Six & all other personalty, animals, &c. shall be payable the Half in the Month of October next, and the other Half in the Month of October one Thousand seven hundred ninety-five, the whole being payable in Peltries or money upon giving good and sufficient Security.

Firstly:

Two crockery butter-boats to Mr. Jn. Bt. Chartran for six livres ten sols .....	6:10
One crockery "milkmaid" to Joseph Marie three livres ten sols	3:10
One Crockery Teapot to Mr. Girardin for three livres ten sols .....	3:10
Two Little Pots for milk to Mr. Phillip Engel for Four livres ten sols .....	4:10
One Little Pot for milk with a Pepper-box to Mr. Philip	

<sup>154</sup> Michel Girardin, brother of the judge, was born 1759 (?) at St. Joseph, Michigan, and died 11 December 1789. He married Marie Rocheleau 18 February 1781 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 29). It was he of whom Father Gibault wrote that he was "a good husband, a good father, a good citizen, and a still better Christian." Marie Rocheleau (born 1760?) married (2) Jean Baptiste Chartran dit Labecasse, 10 June 1790, and died at Prairie du Pont on 7 January 1794. She left three surviving children: Antoine Girardin II (?—1811); Victoire Girardin, later Mrs. Louis Chatel (1787-1807); and Jean Baptiste Chartrand Jr. The Court of Prerogatives in this case was held by the three judges of the Court of Common Pleas residing in the Cahokia district.



Engel for Five livres five sols .....	5:5
Four Saucers to Mr. Engel for Thirty sols .....	1:10
Two pots of flowered crockery to Mr. Engel for Seven livres fifteen sols .....	7:15
Carried forward .....	32:10
Brought Forward <sup>155</sup> .....	32.10
Three Bottles to Mr. Frs. Lapence for Six livres ten sols .....	6.10
Three Bottles to Mr. Josiah Ryan for six livres .....	6.
Three Pint flasks to Mr. Josiah Ryan .....	1.10
One Crockery Pot, to Mr. Philip Engel for Fifty-five sols .....	2.15
One Crockery Pot to Mr. Engel for four livres five sols .....	4.5
One Crockery Shaving Dish to Mr. Dumoulin Twenty Sols .....	1.
One Soup Tureen with its Cover of crockery to Mr. Du- quer for thirty-six livres .....	36
Three large frames <sup>156</sup> to Mr. frs. Lapence for thirty-two livres ten sols .....	32.10
four medium sized frames to Joseph Marie for Twenty-one livres .....	21.—
Six Little Frames to Mr. Dumoulin for twenty livres .....	20.—
three little Frames to Mr. Frs. Lapence for seven livres .....	7.—
Six Little Frames to Mr. Dumoulin for Twenty livres .....	20
Six Little Frames to Mr. frs. Lapence eighteen livres fifteen sols .....	18 15
Six little frames to Mr. Frs Lapence eighteen livres ten sols .....	18 10
Two Little Frames to Mr. Lapence for ten livres, thus .....	10—
One medium sized saucepan with its Cover to Rene Bouvet for sixteen livres ten sols .....	16 10
	254.15
Brought forward .....	254.15
Four mattocks to Mr. Wm Arundel for ten livres .....	10—
Two axes to Mr. Engel for seven livres .....	7—
one axe to Mr. Lalancette for Fifteen livres ten sols .....	15 10
One clock to Mr. Dumoulin two hundred seventy five livres .....	275
One Indian woman named Marguerite to Mr. Girardin for three hundred twentyseven livres .....	327
one large axe <sup>157</sup> to Mr. Lapence for eleven livres .....	11
One Saucepan with its cover to Mr. Bte. Chartran for twenty- seven livres ten sols .....	27 10

<sup>155</sup> Notations such as "brought forward" are in English in the original.

<sup>156</sup> The French word is *cadre*. These numerous frames were probably used for drying various kinds of produce.

<sup>157</sup> *une grou hache*.

One Large Saucepan to Mr. Louis LeCompte for Sixteen livres 10 sols .....	16 10
One Saucepan with an iron hoop and a cover, Mr. Thos. Todd for twelve livres, thus .....	12 —
One other Saucepan with its cover to Mr. Thos. Brady for seven livres ten sols .....	7 10
1 Small Saucepan for coffee to Mr. Thos Brady for eleven livres ten sols .....	11 10
One large Kettle of Red Copper to Thos Brady for seven livres fifteen sols .....	7 15
One larder to Mr. W <sup>m</sup> Arundel for fifty livres .....	50
One set of dairy equipment <sup>158</sup> to Mr. Joseph Marié for seventy-five livres, thus .....	75
Eight pewter plates to Mr. Girardin for thirty-two livres ten sols .....	32 10
Eleven Crockery plates to Mr. Germain for Nineteen livres ..	19
Six Porcelain plates to Mr. Jno. Dumoulin for Twenty livres ten sols .....	20 10
Six porcelain plates to Mr. Bte Chartran for twenty-one livres .....	21 "
Twelve iron forks to Mr. Bte Chartran for Thirteen livres five sols .....	13 5
Twelve pewter Spoons to George Zip for Six livres ten sols ...	6 10
	1220.15
Amount brought forward .....	1220.15
One dozen pewter Spoons to Isaac Inex <sup>159</sup> for ten livres, thus	10 "
One large pewter Basin to Bellibeloux for sixteen livres .....	16
One Large Crockery dish to Mr. Josh Trotie for fourteen livres .....	14
One pewter dish to Joseph Marie for six livres .....	6
One Crockery dish with its Gridiron to Francois Trotie for Twelve livres Ten sols .....	12 10
One Large Crockery dish to Mr. Bapt. Chartran for ten livres, thus .....	10
One large pewter dish to Mr. Frs Lapence for sixteen livres fifteen sols .....	16 15
Four tin Pans to Josh Marie for Twelve livres .....	12 —
Four other tin Pans to Mr. Lambert for Fourteen livres ten sols .....	14 10
Four other tin Pans to Rene Beauvet for Seventeen livres ten	

<sup>158</sup> The word literally means a "dairy" or a "dairy-room."

<sup>159</sup> Isaac Enoch, an early American settler.

sols .....	17.10
Four other Tin pans to Louis Buisson for Eighteen livres ten sols .....	18.10
Four other tin pans to August Girardin for Nineteen livres fifteen sols .....	19 15
Two little tin Pans to Mr. Frs Lapence for four livres fifteen sols .....	4 15
Four little tin Pans to Mr. Chartran (that is to say, Bap <sup>t</sup> ) for Fifteen livres .....	15
	<hr/>
Carried forward .....	1421#.10
Brought forward .....	1421 10
Two candlesticks to Mr. Piere Laperche dit St. Jean for Sixty livres .....	60 —
One small Candle holder of Copper to Mr. Bap <sup>t</sup> Chartran for three livres Ten sols .....	3 10
Two axes and one round axe-hammer to Piere Durebois for Twenty-Five livres .....	25 —
One coffee mill to Mr. Xav <sup>r</sup> Lapence for Twenty-two livres ten sols .....	22 10
One Large iron Saucepan to Mr. Marie, eighty livres ten sols	80 10
One Handsaw to Hubert Delorme for Fifteen livres .....	15
One Coffeepot of Red Copper to Mr. Girardin for Seventeen livres, thus .....	17 —
Five Sickles to Mr. Guitar for Seven livres Fifteen sols .....	7 15
One old copper Kettle, one copper <i>canard</i> , <sup>160</sup> and one old lantern to Clemand Trotie for four livres ten sols .....	4 10
One red Copper <i>Canard</i> to Mr. Girardin for seven livres ten sols .....	7 10
One heap of old iron to Mr. Guitare for Twenty-three livres	23
One <i>bogueau</i> of cotton to Mr. Frs Lapence for six livres .....	6 —
One other cask of cotton not staved, to Frs Lapence for three livres .....	3 —
One heap of <i>fil d'alton</i> <sup>161</sup> to Joseph Trotie for Thirty-three livres, ten sols .....	33 —
One grill for baking bread to Mr. Girardin for Ten livres .....	10 —
One double dish of pewter to Augt Girardin for Nine livres	9 —
One tin watering-pot to Mr. Dumoulin for three livres fifteen sols .....	[torn] 3
One tin Kettle with a strainer, Mr. Porter for 15 livres .....	15
Two smothing Irons to Francois Labbe dit Martin for Eleven	

<sup>160</sup> Literally, "duck."<sup>161</sup> Probably some kind of rope.

livres ten sols .....	11 10
Three smoothing irons, same, to Mr. Chartran for 12 livres	12
One <i>Antonaine</i> and one Colander to Josiah Ryan .....	5
One Frying-pan to Mr. Girardin for Twenty-one livres .....	21
	[torn]
Amount brought forward .....	1834 10
One Old Harness with all its rigging <sup>162</sup> to Mr. Engel for thirty livres .....	30 —
One butchers' gambrel <sup>163</sup> to Thos Chartran for seven livres fifteen sols .....	7 15
One large jug containing two pots, and a valance to Mr. Lambert that is to say, Joseph) for eight livres .....	8 —
Two bowls to Denis Valentin for seven livres ten sols .....	7 10
One large trunk to Mr. Frs Lapence for Twenty livres .....	20 —
One iron oven to Mr. Girardin for sixty-two livres .....	62 —
Two Spoons for the Pot and one large fork to Isaac Inox for six, five sols .....	6 5
One Earthenware Pot to Mr Bapt Chartran for Five livres .....	5 —
One Salt-box to Mr. Bapt Chartran for forty livres .....	40 —
One quart-measure hooped with iron to Thos Todd for five livres .....	5
One other quart measure, same, to Thos Todd for five sols .....	5
One Scythe, one hammer and one saw to Andre Marlaux, fifteen livres, ten sols .....	15 10
One Large Mirror to Charles Germain one hundred fifty livres .....	150 —
One pewter pot to Elias Mits for nine livres fifteen sols .....	9 15
One Barrel of Vinegar (16 pots) to Mr. Wm Arundell for thirty-six livres ten sols .....	36 10
One bridle to Mr. Bapt Chartran for thirty livres ten sols .....	30 10
One barrel of five pots to Francois Arnous for four livres .....	4 —
One Earthenware Pot to Raphael Daubichon for Twenty five sols .....	1 5
One Indian Saddle to Gabriel Marlaux for Fifty sols .....	2 10
Two Cow Hides to Mr. Dumoulin for thirty one livres ten sols .....	31 10
One saddle and one bridle to Thos Todd for eighty seven livres ten sols .....	87 10

<sup>162</sup> *Agrez*—ordinarily a nautical expression.

<sup>163</sup> *Tinet evase*.

One <i>berline</i> <sup>164</sup> to Frs Labbe dit Martin, fifty-nine livres .....	59 —
One horse cart with its wheels to Joseph Marie for fifty livres	50 —
One ox cart with its wheels to Joseph Manegre for one hundred livres .....	100 —
	2604.5
Brought forward .....	2604.5
One Cupboard (that is to say, large Wardrobe) to Mr. Bapt Chartran for one hundred fifty-one livres .....	151 —
One Frying pan to the late Mr. William Biggs, ten livres five sols .....	10 5
One pair of Andirons to Mr. Dumoulin for Sixty nine livres	69 —
One Valance, one Counterpane, two pillow cases to Rene Bouvet for three hundred eighty-two livres .....	382
One Large Tablecloth to Mr. Bapt Chartran for twenty-one livres ten sols .....	21 10
One folding Table to Mr. Gabriel Marlaux for Twenty livres	20 —
One Green Table cover to Gabriel Marlaux for Five livres .....	5 —
One Harness of Red Leather with its reins (?) to Mr. Engel for sixty-one livres .....	61 —
One pr. of Traces with a Large Leather Cord to Mr. LeBrune for Nine livres Fifteen sols .....	9 15
One iron spit to Josiah Ryan for Seven livres .....	7 —
Three Chairs to Michael Petit for Seventeen livres five sols ...	17 5
One spit to John Moor for three livres, thus .....	3 —
Four chairs to Mr. Bapt Chartran for thirty livres ten sols .....	30 10
One Plow with all its rigging to Mr. Josiah Bleakly for one hundred forty-one livres .....	141 —
One axe-hammer to Laurt Jeuneberger <sup>165</sup> for twelve livres fifteen sols .....	12 15
Two Candle Molds to Piere Godin for fifteen livres .....	15 —
Two Candle Molds to Piere Durbois for fourteen livres ten sols .....	14 10
Two candle molds to Mr. Girardin for seventeen livres .....	17 —
Two <i>tireurs</i> of seals to Robert Sibord for seven livres .....	7 —
One buffalo robe to Mr. B. Chartran for twenty-six livres, thus .....	26 —
One pot-hanger to Wm Biggs for forty sols .....	2 —

<sup>164</sup> " . . . not the European . . . traveling carriage, but the modern Canadian *berline*, a rectangular four-wheeled cart" ((Dorrance, *The Survival of French in Old Sainte Genevieve*, 22).

<sup>165</sup> Evidently a misspelling of Schoenberger, a well-known St. Clair County family; Schoenberger Creek is in the Caseyville-French Village area.

One axe to Mr. Levadoux for twenty livres .....	20 —
One tart-dish with a Tripod to Mr. Bapt Chartran for eleven livres ten sols .....	11 10
Two Bulls aged around two years, one black and one brown to Mimi for seventy-seven livres fifteen .....	77 15
Two Bulls, Black, 2 years, to Mr. Dumoulin for eighty-two livres .....	82 —
One Black Cow without calf to Lauret Jeuneberger for one hundred thirty two livres .....	132 —
	[torn]
Brought forward .....	3950
One Black Heifer 3 years old, Francois Arnous for one hun- dred Thirty-Five livres .....	135 —
One spotted Bull <sup>166</sup> for Josh Poupard for sixty livres .....	60 —
Two little spotted Bulls to Charles Germain for thirty-two livres .....	32 —
One Red bull 3 years old to Joseph Chienier for One hundred Twenty four livres .....	124 —
One brown Bull three years old to August Girardin for one hundred Forty livres .....	140 —
One shorthorned Cow to Jean Lourse for one Hundred Fifty livres ten sols .....	150.10
One heifer, Black and spotted, touched with white on the forehead to Piere Martin for one Hundred Forty livres .....	140 —
One spotted Heifer, the back white, to Joseph Chienie dit Chovan for Fifty-five livres .....	55 —
One Heifer, Black and brown, to Mimi one hundred Nine- teen livres ten sols .....	119.10
One Black and Spotted cow, the tail white, to Louis Labuxiere one Hundred forty-five livres, ten sols .....	145 10
One Black and spotted Cow touched with white on the fore- head to Frs Lapence one Hundred forty-five livres .....	145 —
One Cow, yellow and spotted, to Joseph Desmaret for one Hundred forty-four .....	144 —
One Heifer, black, the belly white, to Nicholas Boismenu for seventy-one livres ten sols .....	71 10
One Red Cow with its calf to Andre Bequet for one hun- dred Sixty two livres Ten sols .....	162 10
One brown spotted Cow with her Calf, Andre Marlaux one Hundred ninety-nine livres .....	199 —
One black Cow with her Calf to Bapt Chartran one hundred	

<sup>166</sup> The word here translated "Spotted" is *caille*—"similar to a quail."

Eighty-Five livres .....	185 —
One pair of red Oxen with their yoke and thongs to Bapt Muttot four hundred seventeen livres .....	417 —
	6375.10
Brought forward .....	6375.10
One pair bulls 3 years old, 1 spotted & 1 black, to Mr. Char- tran two hundred Fifty livres .....	250 —
One horse, brown skin, to Mr. Chartran two hundred Eighty- four livres .....	284 —
One Little Cow, short-horn, to Mr. Girardin for one Hun- dred Fifty-six livres .....	156 —
One Little Heifer, spotted brown, to Mr. Girardin for sixty livres, thus .....	60 —
One Cow, white back, to August Clermond one Hundred Twenty-One livres .....	121 —
One Heifer to Mr. Bapt Chartran for Fifty livres, thus .....	50 —
One Saucepan to Mr. Girardin for thirty-two livres .....	32 —
One Double padlock to Mr. Dumoulin for six livres .....	6 —
One pr. of shackles to Piere Guittar for eighteen livres ten sols .....	18.10
One pr. same to Mr. Bapt Chartran ten livres ten sols .....	10.10
One Candlestick plated with yellow copper to Mr. Lambert for three livres ten sols .....	3.10
One wheelbarrow <sup>167</sup> to Pierre Durebois for ten livres ten sols	10.—
One sled to Bapt. Chartran for Six livres ten sol .....	6.10
One sieve for fanning grain to Mr. Dumoulin for one Hun- dred Fifteen livres .....	115.
One counterpane of white cotton to Mr. Girardin for Seven- ty-three livres .....	73.—
One bed sheet of Beaufort Linen to Piere Cabassie for Thirty- nine livres .....	39.—
One case of Indian cloth, about 6 <i>aines</i> <sup>168</sup> to Mr. Girardin for fifty livres .....	50.—
One remnant of Irish Linen to Pre. Clermont <i>dit</i> LaCroix for Twenty-six livres .....	26.
One tablecloth to Bapt. Chartran for Fifty sols .....	2.10
One Same to Mr. Raphael Dauigeon Five livres ten sols .....	5.—
One parcel of Cotton for lace-making <sup>169</sup> to Mr. Fras. La- pence ten livres .....	10.—
One small circle plow to Frs Trottier for forty-two livres .....	42.—

<sup>167</sup> *Berouette*.

<sup>168</sup> The old French *aune* was equivalent to the old English ell.

<sup>169</sup> Literally, "for knotting."

One Wash-hand basin, oval, to Toust Chartran for Twelve livres .....	12.—
One half-minot, with iron hoops, to Mr. Jaraux eight livres [torn]	
	[torn]
Brought forward .....	[torn] 7767
One double feather bed of ticking, Two Blankets, two sheets & one Bedstead, One Bolster & two Pillows to Mr. Bapt. Chartran for two hundred sixty-three livres .....	263
One feather bed to Jn. Bapt. Cadot for one hundred Thirty eight livres .....	138.—
One Large Pig No. 1 at choice, to Denis Valentin for One hundred eight livres .....	108
One Ditto, No. 2 to Frs. Duquet for Eighty-two livres .....	82
One Ditto, No. 3, to Denis Valentin, eighty-three livres .....	83
One Ditto, No. 4, to Ls. LeCompte, Eighty-one livres ten .....	81.10
One Pig, No. 5, to Frs. L'abbe dit Martin for forty & four livres, thus .....	44.—
One Ditto, No. 6, to Thoms. Chartran for thirty-two livres .....	32 —
One Ditto, No. 7, to Mr. Jareux for Twenty-six livres .....	26 —
One Ditto, No. 8, to Mr. Jareaux for thirty livres .....	30 —
One Ditto, No. 9, to Piere Durebois for Fifty-two livres .....	52 —
One Ditto, No. 10, to Jos. Marie for Sixty livres .....	60 —
One Ditto, No. 11, to Piere Clermont dit LaCroix, fifty livres .....	50 —
One Ditto, No. 12, to Gabriel Marleaux for fifty-one livres .....	51 —
One Ditto, No. 13, with little ones, for Fifty-one livres to Mr. Girardin .....	51 —
One Ditto, No. 14, eighty-five livres ten sols to Mr. Du-moulin .....	85 10
One Ditto, No. 15, to Mr. Frs. Lapence for Sixty-five livres .....	65 —
One Ditto, No. 16, to Frans. Trotie for fifty-seven livres ten sols .....	57.10
One Ditto, No. 17, to Mr. Bapt Chartran for Fifty-one livres .....	51
Two Little Pigs to Mr. Bapte. Chartran for Thirty-five livres .....	35 —
Two other little Pigs to Mr. Jareaux for Twenty-five livres .....	25 —
Two others, Ditto, to Mr. Thos. Brady for Sixteen livres ten sols .....	16.10
Four Ditto, at choice, to Piere Durebois for thirty-eight livres .....	38 —
Four Ditto at Choice, afterward, to Pr. Martin, Twenty-nine livres .....	29
Four Ditto, Ditto, to Pre. Martin for Twenty-eight livres .....	28
Four Ditto — Ditto to Raphael Daubichon for Twenty-three livres .....	23



Four Little Ditto, to Piere Martin for Twenty livres, five sols	20 5
	93[torn].15
Brought forward .....	9392 15
Three Little Pigs to Mr. Frs. Xavier Lapance for Eleven livres	11 —
The sowing of Fifteen Minots, three-quarters, of Wheat sowed in the park and behind the House for Three Hundred Twenty livres to Mr. Bapt Chartran .....	320 —
Twelve hens and one Rooster to Mr. Girardin for thirty livres	30 —
Twelve Hens and one Rooster to Frans. Grondine for thirty-one livres .....	31 —
Twelve Hens to Hubert Delorme for thirty livres fifteen sols	30 15
One Minot of Peas to Mr. Dumoulin for Fifteen livres .....	15 —
One Minot Ditto to Mr. Lapence (that is to say, Frs.) for Sixteen livres .....	16 —
One Minot Ditto to Mr. Girardin for Sixteen livres .....	16 —
The House & the Outbuildings & the Lands & all the Appurtenances to Mr. William St. Clair <sup>170</sup> for Five Thousand Three Hundred Twenty livres .....	5320 —
One Sheet of Russian Linen to Raphael Daubichon for thirty-seven livres ten sols .....	37 10
One large axe to Mr. Bapte Chartran for Twelve livres .....	12 —
One plough-share and one chain <i>de proux</i> to Mr. Thos Brady for thirteen livres .....	13 —
One pewter plate & one plate to Mr. Bapt. Chartran for fifty sols, thus .....	2 —
One earthen-ware pan to Mr. Josiah Bleakley for five livres	5 —
One Knife with two handles to Mr. Bapt. Chartran for ten livres .....	10
Two pocketbooks to Mr. William Arundel for Seven livres ten sols .....	7 —
Four horse shoes to Mr. Bapte Chartran for three livres .....	3 —
	15273 # —

Stopped the present Sale Amounting to the Sum of Fifteen [torn] Two Hundred seventy two livres Five Sols in presence of the

<sup>170</sup> Mr. St. Clair mentioned in his will that the property he had acquired in Illinois consisted chiefly of lands and debts. It is to be noticed that a large portion of the persons who held office in the North West Territory resided in Prairie du Pont rather than in Cahokia proper.

Undersigned, at Prairie du Pont, the eighteenth [torn] of March  
One Thousand Seven Hundred ninety-four.

Jn Dumoulin

At Girardin

Philippe E [torn]

William St. Clair

Brought forward .....	15273
Since the Auction, have Sold to Bapt. Chartran the Fol- lowing Articles, to Wit:	
The Half of a <i>Passe partout</i> , <sup>171</sup> 13 Muskrats & half of the buckskins .....	62
94 $\frac{3}{4}$ <sup>te</sup> bacon, 1 <sup>te</sup> .....	94 15
39 Minots of Maize @ 3 <sup>te</sup> .....	117
2 little Pigs .....	10
9 Minots of Wheat @ 6.134 .....	60
10 Do. of Maize & 1 Load delivered to Lambert .....	55
1 lot of hay sold to Mr. St. Clair .....	75
80 <sup>te</sup> of bacon .....	80
4 Minots $\frac{3}{4}$ of Maize, 3 <sup>te</sup> 10 .....	16.126

[15843.7.6]

To be Deducted

$\frac{1}{2}$ Dozen Chickens Sold to Delorme, in place of One Dozen, he found only $\frac{1}{2}$ Doz. ....	15.7.6	
1 Pig to Piere Clermand dit Lacroix .....	50	65.7.6
		<hr/> 15778.0.0 <hr/>

Active Debts due by various persons to the afore-  
said Estate, to wit:

By Simpson .....	27.10	
Do. by George .....	20.—	
Do. by Wordly .....	8.—	
by Thos. Chartran .....	7.90	
Tousaint Chartran by Note .....	341.10	404.10

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16182.10

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Passive debts due by the aforesaid Estate to Wit,  
to Messrs.

Robideaux .....	30 —
Do. Wolsey .....	15

<sup>171</sup> *Passepartout* means literally a "master key." It evidently refers here to a standard trader's outfit.

For the Auction previously ordered .....	40 —	
. . . Du[mou]lin for inasmuch as he .....	30 —	
Brought forward .....		16182 10
Passive debts <sup>172</sup> brought forward .....	115 —	
to Thos. Brady for several crying at the Door of the Church .....	5	
for four Cryings for the Auction .....	60	
to Mr. Dumoulin for several notices in English and French, for several <i>vacations</i> <sup>173</sup> and holding the Auction .....	100	280.—

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15902.10

Stopped the present Auction<sup>174</sup> Amounting to the Sum of Fifteen Thousand Nine Hundred one livres Fifteen Sols. Cahokia, the Twelfth of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred ninety-four

Jne. Dumoulin

Philipe Engel

Recorded in Register A Pages 100. 101. 102 103 104. 105. 106. 107. 108, 109, 110, 112, 113 at Praire du Pont this 14th day of May in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred and Ninety four being as in the Original in the french Language

William St. Clair

Register of

Deeds for the Cy

<sup>172</sup> *Dette passive*, according to Larousse, is "ce que nous devons par opposition à ce que l'on nous doit (*dette active*)."

<sup>173</sup> *Vacation* is defined by Larousse as "temps employé par un officier public ou ministeriel à une opération et, par ext., l'émolument qui lui est dû à raison de ce temps."

<sup>174</sup> Following this document in Book of Deeds A are others pertaining to the *succession* of Marie Rocheleau, as follows: pp. 114-120, Inventory taken at the request of Marie R. 9 August 1790, following her second marriage; pp. 125-126, note from Pierre Martin to the Guardian; pp. 126-127, election of guardian for Antoine, 11 and Victoire, 7, Judge Girardin being elected with Judge Engel as surrogate, 9 March 1794; p. 128, decision of relatives to sell goods at auction, 9 March 1794; pp. 129-130, election of guardian for Jean Baptiste Chartran, Jr., aged 3, 9 March 1794, his father being named guardian with Toussaint Chartran as surrogate; p. 130, election of guardian for Girardin children, 9 August 1790, their mother being elected guardian with J. B. Dubuque as surrogate. See also the inventory and appraisal of the estate of Antoine Girardin, 1802, printed later in this chapter.

REAL ESTATE TRANSFER: LEPAGE FAMILY TO BLEAKLEY, 10 DECEMBER  
1795<sup>175</sup>

This Indenture made the tenth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Ninety five Between Genevieve Lepage<sup>176</sup> of Cahokia in the County of St. Clair in the Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio Widow of Joseph Lepage of the Same yeoman, Joseph Lepage<sup>177</sup> of the Same yeoman, August Cleremont of the Same yeoman and Maranne his Wife,<sup>178</sup> Joseph Demarre of the Same Blacksmith and Julie his wife,<sup>179</sup> and Angelique Lepage of the Same Spinster and which said Genevieve Lepage widow is the widow and the Said Antoine Lepage<sup>180</sup> Joseph Lepage, marianne the wife of august Cleremont and Julie the wife of Joseph Demarre and Angelique Lepage spinster are the Children and Heirs at Law of Joseph Lepage late of the same place Deceased of the One part And Josiah Bleakley<sup>181</sup> of the same Merchant of the Other Part Witnesseth that the said Genevieve Lepage Widow Joseph Lepage Joseph Lepage August Cleremont and Marianne his wife Joseph Demarre and Julie his wife and Angelique Lepage Spinster for and in Consideration of the sum of forty Dollars<sup>182</sup> to them in hand paid at or before the Sealing and Delivery of these presents the Receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge Have and each of them Hath Granted bargained and Sold And by these presents Do and each of them Doth grant bargain and Sell unto the Said Josiah Bleakly his heirs and assigns for ever All that Certain Tract or Quantity of four hundred acres of land which by a Certain Law of the United States was Granted

<sup>175</sup> This instrument is recorded in Book of Deeds A, pp. 276-279, at the Recorder's Office of St. Clair County at Belleville, Ill. It is an example of the numerous conveyances of unconfirmed and/or unlocated donation rights (see introduction to this chapter) by the original claimant or his heirs to speculators. A similar trade was carried on in militia rights. The original of this deed is in English.

<sup>176</sup> Mrs. Lepage was born Genevieve Frichette in the Province of Quebec (see Book of Deeds B, pp. 530-531).

<sup>177</sup> Joseph Lepage Jr. married Therese Godin, widow of F. X. Lapencée, 18 April 1796 (see Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 64). Freeholders were commonly designated "yeoman" in the English style in deeds of this period in Illinois.

<sup>178</sup> Auguste Clermont was a son of Joseph Clermont and Catherine Aubuchon. He married Marianne LePage 24 February 1794 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 61). In 1787 he was living in Prairie du Pont.

<sup>179</sup> Joseph Desmaret (numerous alternative spellings) was born about 1763 and died 7 January 1812, his wife surviving him. He was a farmer.

<sup>180</sup> Antoine LePage appears in the Cahokia census of 1787.

<sup>181</sup> Mr. Bleakley engaged extensively in land speculation. This particular claim was confirmed to him by the U. S. Land Commissioners. See *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 164, Claim No. 645.

<sup>182</sup> \$40 was the standard price for an unlocated 400 acre donation right; \$10 for a militia right of 100 acres.

and given to each of those persons who were heads of Families in the Illinois County in the year one thousand seven hundred and Eighty three of which number the Said Joseph Lepage deceased was one Together with all rights members and appurtenances thereunto belonging And all the Estate Right Title Interest property Claim and Demand whatsoever either at Law or in equity of them the said Genevieve Lepage Widow Antoine Lepage Joseph Lepage August Cleremont and Marianne his wife Joseph DeMarre and Julie his wife and Angelique Lepage Spinster and each and every of them either as widow and Heirs at Law as aforesaid of the said Joseph Lepage deceased or otherwise howsoever of in or to the said tract or Quantity of Land and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances To have and to hold the same Tract or Quantity of Land and every part thereof with the appurtenances to the said Josiah Bleakly his heirs and assigns for ever and to and for no other use Intent or purpose whatsoever And the said Genevieve Lepage Widow Antoine Lepage Joseph Lepage August Cleremont Joseph Demarre and Angelique Lepage Spinster for themselves their heirs Executors and administrators and for the said Marianne the wife of said August Cleremont and Julie the wife of Joseph DeMarre and for every of them do hereby Jointly and Severally covenant and agree to and with the said said Josiah Bleakly his heirs and Assigns by these presents that they the said Genevieve Lepage Widow Antoine Lepage Joseph Lepage August Cleremont Joseph Demarré and Angelique Lepage Spinster and their Heirs the said tract or quantity of land above bargained and Sold and every part thereof with the appurtenances to the said Josiah Bleakly his heirs and Assigns for ever against themselves the said Genevieve Lepage Widow, Antoine Lepage Joseph Lepage august Cleremont and the said Marianne his wife Joseph Demarré and Julie his Wife and Angelique Lepage Spr and each and every of them and their and each and every of their Heirs and against all and every Other person or persons whomsoever Claiming or to Claim by through from or under them or any or either of them Shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents.

In Witness whereof the said Parties have to these presents set their hands and Seals the Day and year first above written

Sealed and Delivered )  
 in the presence of )  
 William Arundel )  
 Brady )

The Markof (SS)  
 GU  
 Lepage Widow

his  
 Simon X Lepage<sup>183</sup>  
 mark  
 his  
 Louis Lepage  
 X  
 mark

the mark of  
 X  
 Antoine Lepage(SS)

the mark of  
 X  
 Joseph Lepage(SS)  
 the mark of (SS)  
 X  
 August Cleremont

mark of (SS)  
 X  
 marianne his wife

J. Demarets (SS)

the mark of  
 X  
 Julie his wife (SS)

the mark of  
 LePage X Sr (SS)

We do hereby acknowledge to have received of the within named Josiah Bleakly the sum of forty Dollars being the full Consideration Money within mentioned to be by him paid to us, We say received the same by us

Witnesses  
 Wm. Arundel  
 Brady

The Mark of  
 GU  
 Lepage Widow  
 the mark of  
 X  
 Antoine Lepage

<sup>183</sup> It will be noted that Simon and Louis LePage are not listed among the grantors. They may have been cousins acting as witnesses. Both are listed as residents of Cahokia in the census of 1787.

the mark of  
X  
Joseph Lepage

the mark of  
X

August Cleremont  
the mark  
X  
of Marianne his wife  
[[next entry obliterated]]  
the mark of  
X  
Julie his wife

the mark of  
X  
Angelique Lepage

his  
Simon Lepage  
X  
mark

his  
Louis Lepage  
X  
mar

St. Clair County SS<sup>184</sup>

Be it remembered that on the first day of aprile one thousand Seven hundred and ninety Six Personally appeared before me the Above Subscribers who acknowledged the above as their act and Deed in Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand at Cahokia this Day and Year Above Writen

Registered this sixth day  
of April 1796  
William St. Clair  
Rrgtr

<sup>184</sup> Allowing for variations, this is a usual common law deed. Note particularly the use of the scroll in lieu of seal.

## SPECULATION IN LAND CLAIMS

REAL ESTATE TRANSFER FROM JEAN DUMOULIN TO  
JOHN EDGAR,<sup>185</sup> 25 APRIL 1796<sup>185</sup>

This Indenture made the twenty fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Ninety six Between John Dumoulin of Cahokia in the County of St. Clair in the Territory of the United States North West of the River Ohio Esquire of the one part and John Edgar<sup>186</sup> of Kaskaskia in the County of Randolph<sup>187</sup> in the said Territory Esquire of the other Part, Witnesseth that the said John Dumoulin for and in Consideration of the sum of five thousand four hundred and seven Dollars and twenty Cents good and lawful Money of the United States to him in hand paid by the said John Edgar at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents The receipt whereof he doth hereby acknowledge, and thereof and therefrom and of and from every part and parcel thereof he doth hereby acquit release exonerate and discharge the said John Edgar his heirs Executors administrators and assigns and every of them by these presents, He the said John Dumoulin Hath granted bargained and sold and by these presents doth grant bargain and sell unto the said John Edgar his heirs and assigns for ever All that certain tract or quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by a certain Law of Congress was given and granted to Louis LeCompte<sup>188</sup> as one of those who was a Head of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the year one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty three and which said Land was by the said LeCompte granted and sold to the said John Dumoulin in fee. and also all that other certain tract or quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was given and granted to

<sup>185</sup> This instrument is recorded in Book of Deeds B, pp. 245-248, in the St. Clair County Recorder's Office. It is an example of large scale land speculation, trading in unlocated and/or unconfirmed donation rights. For an extended discussion of this subject and particularly of John Edgar's activities, see *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXI. The original of the present document is in English.

<sup>186</sup> Edgar is a controversial character. He was a native of Belfast, and, according to his own account, he was at one time an officer in the British navy. He joined the American cause and had many adventures in the American Revolution; then he engaged in trade and settled in Kaskaskia in 1784. He filled various county and territorial offices; yet he engaged on questionable land speculations on a large scale. See Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*; *Illinois Historical Collections*, XXI; *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1907, pp. 64-73. He died in 1830.

<sup>187</sup> Randolph County was established 5 October 1795.

<sup>188</sup> This claim was eventually confirmed to William Morrison (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, 164, claim No. 437).



the named Francois Gerome<sup>189</sup> as one of such heads of families in Cahokia aforesaid the said year and which was by him granted and conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was given to Baptiste Allary<sup>190</sup> as one of such heads of families in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was given to Charles LaCroix<sup>191</sup> as one of such heads of families in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year, and which by him was conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or parcel of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Michel Peltier Antailla<sup>192</sup> as one of such heads of families in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that certain tract or parcel of land containing four hundred Acres which by the said Law was given to Joseph Poirier dit Desloge<sup>193</sup> as one of such heads of families in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him the said Joseph Poirie dit Desloge conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or parcel of Land Containing four hundred Acres which by the said Law was granted to Antoine Harman as one of such Heads of families in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other tract or parcel quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was given to the widow Gabriel<sup>194</sup> Baron as one of such head

<sup>189</sup> Francois Gerome, nicknamed LaFleur des Pois (Sweet Pea), was born in Quebec 1728 (?) and died 13 February 1798. He married Marie Louise Lemire 16 April 1787 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 52). This claim was confirmed to William Morrison, (ASP, PL, II, 163, claim No. 438).

<sup>190</sup> Jean Baptiste Allary Sr. was born 1747 (?) and died 17 February 1815. He married Catherine Laviolette 16 April 1781 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 31). This claim was confirmed to William Morrison (ASP, PL, II, 164, claim No. 439).

<sup>191</sup> Charles LaCroix's claim was confirmed to William Morrison, (ASP, PL, II, 164, claim No. 440).

<sup>192</sup> Michel Peltier dit Antailla took his surname from an Indian ancestress. This claim was confirmed to William Morrison (ASP, PL, II, 164, claim No. 441).

<sup>193</sup> Joseph Poirier dit Desloge conveyed his donation right to Dumoulin, 4 September 1790 (Book of Deeds B, p. 166). It was confirmed to his legal representatives (ASP, PL, II, 228, claim No. 1257).

<sup>194</sup> Gabriel Baron was born at Cahokia about 17 December 1752 and died 25 December 1789. He married (1) Marie Louise Buteau (1769?—26 May 1787); (2) Marie Thereze Harmand, widow of Alexis Tabeau, who survived him. She conveyed this donation right to Dumoulin, 4 September 1790. See Book of Deeds B, pp. 118-119. This claim was confirmed to William McIntosh (ASP, PL, II, 227, claim No. 193).

of families in Cahokia aforesaid in the said Year and which was by her Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract of Quantity of four hundred acres of Land which by the said Law was given to Joseph Peltier<sup>196</sup> as one of such heads of families in Cahokia aforesaid and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was given to Francois Saucier<sup>196</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain Tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Joseph Biguier dit Grole<sup>197</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was given to Pierre Martin<sup>198</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which was by the said Law granted to Joseph Buteau fils<sup>199</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Louis Lebrun<sup>200</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four

<sup>196</sup> Joseph Pelletier sold his donation right to Dumoulin, 26 August 1790 (Book of Deeds B, p. 144). John Hay lists an inventory for him, dated 1792. This claim was confirmed to Edgar (ASP, PL, II, 228, claim No. 2089).

<sup>196</sup> Francois Saucier conveyed his donation right to Dumoulin 12 June 1791 (Book of Deeds B, pp. 119-120). It was confirmed to William McIntosh (ASP, PL, II, 228, claim No. 193).

<sup>197</sup> Joseph Biguier dit Groslé was born 1706 (?) and died 10 January 1797. He came to Cahokia from Prairie du Rocher (see son's marriage contract, Perrin Collection, No. 50). He sold his donation right to Dumoulin 4 September 1790 (Book of Deeds B, p. 142). It was part of Edgar's claim No. 2089 and was confirmed (ASP, PL, II, 227).

<sup>198</sup> Pierre Martin conveyed his donation right to Dumoulin 4 September 1790 (Book of Deeds B, p. 120). It was confirmed to William McIntosh (ASP PL, II, 228, claim No. 193).

<sup>199</sup> Joseph Buteau was born 1737 (?) and died 8 October 1812. He was a farmer. The conveyance to Dumoulin was dated 4 September 1790 (Book of Deeds B, 145); it was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

<sup>200</sup> Louis Lebrun ("Mimi") was born 1752 (?) and died 23 April 1812. A farmer, he married Marie Louise Trottier 12 February 1776 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 21). He conveyed his donation right to Dumoulin 14 September 1790, (Book of Deeds B, p. 136). It was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Jean Baptiste Baron<sup>201</sup> as one of such heads of a family in the said year in Cahokia aforesaid and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred acres of Land which was by the said Law granted to Charles Germain<sup>202</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Louis Pilet<sup>203</sup> as one of such heads of families in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Gabriel Marleau as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by the said Gabriel Marleaux Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of land which by the said Law was granted to Isabelle Marcheteaux widow of Jean Baptiste Bequet<sup>204</sup> deceased as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said years, and which said Land was by Andre Bequet her son and heir at law conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Clemand Allary<sup>205</sup> as one of such Heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by said Law was granted to Joseph Dutremble as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the year said and which was by Marguerite Dutremble<sup>206</sup> his daughter and Heir at Law Conveyed to

<sup>201</sup> Jean Baptiste Baron Jr., brother of Gabriel, was born in Cahokia; he married Marie Poupard, 27 June 1773 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 8). He was living at the time of his daughter's marriage in 1797. He conveyed his donartion right to Dumoulin 1795 (Book of Deeds B, pp. 120-121). It was confirmed to William McIntosh (ASP, PL, II, 227, claim No. 193).

<sup>202</sup> Charles Germain conveyed his donation right to John Dumoulin 19 December 1795 (Book of Deeds B, p. 142). It was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

<sup>203</sup> Louis Pilet sold his donation right to Dumoulin 22 December 1795 (Book of Deeds B, p. 121). It was confirmed to William McIntosh (ASP, PL, II, 193, 228, claim No. 193).

<sup>204</sup> The conveyance to Dumoulin is dated 7 December 1795 (Book of Deeds B, p. 147). It was confirmed to John Edgar as part of claim No. 2089 and was listed as the donation right of Jean B. Bequet's widow.

<sup>205</sup> Clemand Allary's donation right was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

<sup>206</sup> Joseph Dutremble's donation right was sold to Dumoulin by Marguerite Dutremble, wife of Baptiste Chartran, 15 January 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 146). It was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Catherine Gasem widow deceased as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by Jean Baptiste Chartrand dit LaBecasse and Alexis Chartrand<sup>207</sup> Children and heirs of the said Catherine Gasem conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Jean Baptiste Milot deceased as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by Jacques Milot<sup>208</sup> his Brother and heir at law conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Jean Baptiste Lacroix<sup>209</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Antoine LaCourse<sup>210</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said law was granted to Jean Marie Dorion<sup>211</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain Tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was

<sup>207</sup> The nickname *LaBecasse* attached to this branch of the Chartran family means "woodcock." The deed from her heirs, covering the donation right of Catherine Gascon, widow Chartran, to Dumoulin, is dated 30 December 1795 (Book of Deeds B, p. 87). The property was confirmed to John Rice Jones (ASP, PL, II, 162, claim No. 1257).

<sup>208</sup> Both Milots are found in the census of 1787. Jean Baptiste was born 1747 (?) at Pointe Claire, St. Joachim Parish, near Montreal, and died 10 November 1789. He married Francoise Pilet (1752?-1792) at St. Louis 15 January 1781. Jacques' deed is dated 30 December 1795 (Book of Deeds B, p. 122). The claim was confirmed to William McIntosh (ASP, PL, II, 228, claim No. 193).

<sup>209</sup> The deed from Lacroix to Dumoulin is dated 16 April 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 147). The claim was confirmed to William Morrison (ASP, PL, II, 164, claim No. 440).

<sup>210</sup> Antoine LaCourse was born 1754 (?) and died 11 March 1794. He married Marie Anne Cadron (John Hay List). His claim was confirmed to William Morrison (ASP, PL, II, 264, claim No. 443).

<sup>211</sup> Jean Marie Dorion was born 1735 (?) in Canada and died 19 March 1799. He married Magdelaine Buteau, widow of Alexis Buiette 19 November 1773 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 11). His deed to Dumoulin is dated 8 March 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 89). The claim was confirmed to John Rice Jones (ASP PL, II, 163, claim No. 1250).

granted to Leon Lepage<sup>212</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain Tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Raphael Gagné<sup>213</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by Joseph Pepin dit LaChance Heir at Law of the said Raphael Gagné Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was given to Laurent Amelin<sup>214</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year, and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Jea Lapencé <sup>215</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or parcel of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Therese Parent<sup>216</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which by Francois Pancras her son and heir at Law was conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Philipp Engel <sup>217</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in

<sup>212</sup> Leon Lepage was born 1762 (?) and died 2 November 1810. He was a son of Joseph Lepage and Magdelaine Vigé and married Felicité Picar 10 April 1785 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 42). His conveyance to Dumoulin is dated 24 June 1795 (Book of Deeds B, pp. 386-387). It was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

<sup>213</sup> Raphael Gagné was born 1736 (?) and died 12 January 1787. He married Marie Françoise Pitre, widow Poupar, 22 June 1775 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 15). The deed to Dumoulin is dated 14 January 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 123). The claim was confirmed to William McIntosh (ASP, PL, II, 228, claim No. 193).

<sup>214</sup> Laurent Amelin's deed to Dumoulin is dated 3 November 1795 (Book of Deeds B, p. 123). It was also part of claim No. 193.

<sup>215</sup> The deed from Jean Lapencé to Dumoulin is dated 4 February 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 88). The claim was confirmed to John Rice Jones (ASP, PL, II, 163, claim No. 1255).

<sup>216</sup> Therese Parent was born at Michillimackinac 1745 (?) and died 19 August 1790. She married (1) Pancrasse, (2) Joseph Hanson. Francois Pancrasse dit Martin died 28 May 1805. He is listed as a private under Clark in English's *Conquest of the North West*, II, 1065. He conveyed his mother's donation right to Dumoulin 5 December 1795 (Book of Deeds B, pp. 86-87). It was confirmed to Chequire & Holmes (ASP, PL, II, 164, claim No. 1469).

<sup>217</sup> Philip Engel was well known as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas of St. Clair County. He conveyed his donation right to Dumoulin 6 June 1795 (Book of Deeds B, pp. 143-144). It was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

fee And also all that other certain tract or parcel of land which by the said Law was granted to Michel LaGrave<sup>218</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Marie Louise Lemay dit Theophile widow of Louis Lemay dit Theophile<sup>219</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which Jean Baptiste Mercier, Hubert Mercier, Julien Mercier and Genevieve Mercier her Brothers and Sisters and her heirs at Law conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other tract or Quantity of four hundred acres of Land which by the said Law was given to Joseph Bissonet as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said Year and which Susanne Allarie<sup>220</sup> his heir at Law Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Joseph Boisver<sup>221</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which Louis Bergeron and Claude St. Aubin heirs at Law of the said Joseph Boisver conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted Paul Poupard dit Lafleur<sup>222</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to

<sup>218</sup> Michel Lagrave was born 1736 (?) at Detroit and died 24 September 1806. He conveyed his donation right to Dumoulin 28 November 1795 (Book of Deeds B, p. 124). It was confirmed to William McIntosh as part of claim No. 193.

<sup>219</sup> Louis LeMay was born 1723 (?) at Marie de St. Lorau, Canada, and died 25 December 1789. He married Marie Jeanne Loire, native of Cahokia, widow of Charles LeCompte and half sister of the Merciers, 11 May 1774 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 12). The deed from the Merciers to Dumoulin was dated 26 May 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 124). The claim was confirmed as that of "Louise LaMay widow" to William McIntosh (ASP, PL, II, 228, claim No. 193).

<sup>220</sup> Suzanne Alaïre was born in Cahokia and married (1) Claude Marleaux; (2) Louis Bissonet, 28 May 1773; (3) Georges Blin, 21 October 1775. She was a stepdaughter of René Pierre Locat (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, Nos. 7 and 17). The relationship to Joseph Bissonet is not clear. This donation right was conveyed to Dumoulin (Book of Deeds B, pp. 89-90). It was confirmed to John Rice Jones as that of "Joseph Bissonet" (ASP, PL, II, 162, claim No. 1252).

<sup>221</sup> The conveyance from the Boisver heirs to Dumoulin is dated 9 April 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 141).

<sup>222</sup> Paul Poupard dit LaFleur conveyed his donation right to Dumoulin 17 February 1790 (Book of Deeds B, p. 146). It was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

Mathieu Saucier<sup>223</sup> as one of such Heads of a family in the said year in Cahokia aforesaid and which the said Mathieu Saucier conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Joseph Cecire<sup>224</sup> as one of such Heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which was by him Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Veronique Denoi<sup>225</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said Year and which by her was conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or Quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Marianne Laurent widow LeBouf<sup>226</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia Aforesaid in the said year and which Philipp LeBouf and Francois LeBouf her Children and heirs at Law conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other certain tract or quantity of four hundred acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Therese Poupard widow Langlois<sup>227</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which Gabriel Langlois, Raphael Langlois, Francois Langlois and Joseph Pepin dit LaChance conveyed as heirs at Law to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that undivided moiety or half part or share the whole into two equal parts or shares to be divided of and in all that other tract or quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Francois Lefevre dit Courie<sup>228</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia in the said year and which Catherine Lefevre and Marguerite Lefevre his heirs at Law conveyed to

<sup>223</sup> Mathieu Saucier conveyed his donoation right to Dumoulin 4 September 1790 (Book of Deeds B, p. 125). It was confirmed to William McIntosh as part of claim No. 193.

<sup>224</sup> Joseph Cecire sold his donation right to Dumoulin 28 January 1795 (Book of Deeds B, p. 86).

<sup>225</sup> Veronique Denois was the widow of Augustin Racette (Rasset). She sold her donation right to Dumoulin 3 March 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 148). It was confirmed to Edgar as part of claim No. 2089.

<sup>226</sup> John Hay lists an inventory of the Widow Laflamme (alias for LeBoeuf) dated 1783. The conveyance by the heirs to Dumoulin is dated 1 March 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 125). It was confirmed to William McIntosh as part of claim No. 193.

<sup>227</sup> Therese Poupard Lafleur married (1) Joseph LaChance; (2) Clement Langlois, 16 April 1771; (3) Joseph Bellefeuille, 22 February 1783 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, Nos. 3 and 335). She was born 1747 (?) and died 1 January 1791. Her heirs sold her donation right to Dumoulin 18 April 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 126). It was confirmed to William McIntosh as part of claim No. 193.

<sup>228</sup> Francois Courier (Lefebvre) was born 1734 (?) and died 12 March 1787. The conveyance by his heirs to Dumoulin is dated 8 February 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 127). The claim was confirmed to William McIntosh (ASP, PL, II, 164, claim No. 194).

the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that four undivided six parts of shares the whole into six equal parts or shares to be divided of and in all that other certain tract of quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Francois Trotier<sup>229</sup> deceased as one of such settlers and heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the said year and which Joseph Trotier, Clemon Trotier, Auguste Trotier and Victoire Trotier his Children and heirs at Law Conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that undivided four six parts or shares the whole in to six equal parts or shares to be divided of and in all that other tract or quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Francois Lonval<sup>230</sup> deceased as one of such heads of a family in Cahokia aforesaid in the year and which Charlotte Lonval, Josette Lonval, Polite Lonval, and Louis Lonval his Children and heirs at Law conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all other tract or quantity of four hundred Acres of Land which by the said Law was granted to Catherine Lonval widow Dora<sup>231</sup> as one of such heads of a family in Kaskaskia aforesaid in the said year and which Joseph Marie and the said Catherine his wife conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. And also all that other tract or quantity of four hundred and forty Acres of Land or thereabouts and containing twelve acres in breadth and half a league in Depth Situate at a place called "la petite prairie" bounding on one side to Lands of Paul Poupard and on the other side to vacant Lands, the front line running about North and South, which said Land was granted by the Court of Cahokia to Pierre Martin, and the Title to which has been approved of by the Governor of the said Territory and which the said Pierre Martin conveyed the same to the said John Dumoulin in fee.<sup>232</sup> And also all that other tract or quantity of four hundred acres of Land which by the said Law of Congress was granted to Jean Baptiste Dumay<sup>233</sup> as one of such heads of a family in

<sup>229</sup> This conveyance of four-sixths of Francois Trottier's donation right was made 15 January 1796 (Book of Deeds B, p. 149). The entire claim was confirmed to James O'Hara (ASP, PL, II, 228, claim No. 158).

<sup>230</sup> The deed from the heirs of Francois Lonval Sr. (1730 ?-1790) to Dumoulin appears in Book of Deeds B, pp. 90-91. The claim was confirmed to John Rice Jones (ASP, PL, II, 163, claim No. 1256).

<sup>231</sup> Catherine Lonval married (1) Joseph Doza of Randolph County, Illinois; (2) Joseph Marié. This deed to Catherine Lonval Doza Marié's donation right is dated 13 December 1795 (Book of Deeds B, pp. 141-142). It was confirmed to Edgar (ASP, PL, II, 227, claim No. 2055).

<sup>232</sup> This property was classified by the U. S. Land Commissioners as a "governor's confirmation." It was confirmed to William Cairns' Heirs, Claim No. 823, Survey No. 774. It is located on the bluffs southeast of Cahokia.

<sup>233</sup> Jean Baptiste DuMay was born 1760 at Ste. Genevieve near Montreal and married Felicite Pelletier, native of Kaskaskia and widow of Pierre Picart, in June 1786 (Perrin Collection, Marriage Contracts, No. 48). His widow sold his donation right to Dumoulin 15 January 1796 (Book of Deeds B,



Cahokia aforesaid in the said year one thousand seven hundred and Eighty three and which Felicité Antailla Heir at Law of the said Jean Baptiste Dumay conveyed to the said John Dumoulin in fee. Together with all Houses outhouses Edifices Buildings, Barns Stables, Gardens orchards, Lands arable and unarable meadows Leasows Pastures feedings Woods Underwoods Ways Waters Watercourses Rights Members Priviledges Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever to the said several tracts and Quantities of Land above mentioned and hereby bargained and sold or mentioned or intended to be belonging or in any wise appertaining and the Reversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders Rents Issues and Profits thereof and of every part and parcel thereof with their and every of their appurtenances Together with all deeds writings and Evidences touching or concerning the same premises and every or any part or parcel thereof with their and every of their appurtenances And all the Estate Right Title Interest Property Possession Claim and Demand whatsoever either at Law or in Equity or otherwise howsoever of him the said John Dumoulin of in or to the said several and respective Tracts or Quantities of Land above bargained and sold and every of them with their and every of their Appurtenances To Have and To Hold the several tracts or quantities of Land and other the premises above bargained and sold and every part and parcel thereof with their and every of their appurtenances to the said John Edgar his Heirs and Assigns To the only proper use and behoof of the said John Edgar his Heirs and Assigns for ever and to for no other use Intent or purpose whatsoever. In witness whereof the said Parties have to these presents set their Hands and Seals the day and year first above written.

Sealed and delivered ("the words Gabriel Marleau" in the first side of this sheet, and the word "Gatherine Gasem widow deceased" on the second side, and the Gabriel" twice on the same of this sheet being first wrote on an erasure.) in the presence of

JN DUMOULIN (L.S.)

Wilm McIntosh  
James Edgar  
Jno. Rice Jones  
Indiana Territory Sct.

Before me the Subscriber one of the Judges in and over the said Territory personally came James Edgar Esquire one of the subscribing witnesses to the within Indenture who made oath according to Law that he did on the day of the date thereof see the within named Johe Dumoulin Esquire Sign Seal and as his act and deed deliver the samn Indenture, and that the names Will Mc Intosh James Edgar and Jno

Rice Jones subscribed hereto as Witnesses are the proper handwriting of the said persons respectively In Testimony whereof and to the Intent the said Indenture may be recorded I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the twenty sixth day of December one thousand Eight hundred and three.

JOHN GRIFFIN<sup>234</sup> (SEAL)

Recorded the third day of January one thousand Eight hundred and four

JOHN HAY Recorder<sup>234</sup>

SALE OF FARM BY JOSEPH PEPPIN AND WIFE TO WILLIAM MORRISON,  
20 JANUARY 1801<sup>235</sup>

This Indenture made the twentieth day of January in the Year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and one Between Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife<sup>236</sup> of Cahokia in the County of St. Clair Indiana Territory<sup>237</sup> of the one part and William Morrison<sup>238</sup> of same place Merchant of the other part. Witnesseth that they the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife for and in consideration of the sum of Seventy one dollars and twenty five Cents lawful money of the United States to them in hand paid by the said William Morrison at or before the Sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof they doth hereby acknowledge and therefore and therefrom and of and from every part and parcel thereof they doth hereby release acquit exonerate and discharge the said William Morrison his Heirs Executors Administrators and assigns for ever by these presents they the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife, Hath granted, bargained and sold and by these presents doth grant bargain and sell unto the said William Morrison his heirs and assigns for ever all that tract of Landlying and situated in the Common field East the village of Cahokia of one french Arpent and a half in front from the Creek Known by the name of the Rigollet and thence to the Hills; eastwardly joining the Lands of Baptiste Ladouceur and Westwardly joining the

<sup>234</sup> John Hay succeeded William St. Clair as recorder when the latter was named judge in 1795. He held offices in St. Clair County until his death in 1842.

<sup>235</sup> This instrument is recorded in Book of Deeds B, pp. 187-188 in the St. Clair County Recorder's Office, Belleville. The original is in English.

<sup>236</sup> Note the translation of the expression *dit* before a surname as "alias." Joseph Peppin *dit* LaChance traded considerably in real estate. His wife was Josephine Rupalay *dit* Gonville who died 21 December 1808.

<sup>237</sup> Indiana Territory was established in 1800. Illinois Territory was separated from it in 1809.

<sup>238</sup> William Morrison is ordinarily identified with Kaskaskia where he and his brother Robert were prominent both as merchants and in public affairs.

Lands of Francois Pancrasse alias Marain Likewise a suggarry at the Creek Known by the name of Riviere Plattin, Sixteen french Arpents in depth and five french arpents wide, joining northwardly the Suggarry of Jean Francois Perry Esquire and Westwardly the Suggarry of Joseph Poupard alias Dormeur and Eastwardly the Suggarry of Francois Grondine and southwardly vacant lands.<sup>239</sup> All the above Land and Suggarry comes to the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance from his deceased Father and Mother<sup>240</sup>—And now in the occupation of the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife with all rights members Priviledges Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever to the said Land and Suggarry above bargained and sold and every part and parcel thereof with the Appurtenances belonging or in any wise appertaining, and the Reversions and Remainders Rents Issues and Proffits thereof and of every part thereof with the Appurtenances and all the Estate Right Title Interest Property Possession Claim and Demand whatsoever either at Law or in Equity or otherwise howsoever of them the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife of in or to the same premises and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances. And in as full and ample a manner as they the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife can do. To have and to hold the same Land and Suggarry above bargained and sold and every part and parcel thereof with the Appurtenances to the said William Morrison his heirs and assigns, to his and their own proper use and behoof for ever. Subject nevertheless to the Proviso and Condition of Redemption hereafter immediately contained and mentioned of and concerning the same, that is to say. Provided always nevertheless and it is hereby agreed and concluded upon by and between the said Parties to these presents and it is their true intent and meaning hereof and of the said parties hereto. That if the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife or assigns shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said William Morrison his Executors administrators or assigns the sum of Seventy one Dollars and twenty five cents lawful money of the United States nine months after date and that without any deduction Defalcation or abatement whatsoever then these presents and every clause article matter and thing herein contained shall from thenceforth cease determine and become absolutely null and

<sup>239</sup> This "Suggary" appears to have been located in the present Sugar Loaf township, in the bluffs east of Sugar Loaf Hill. Riviere Plattin was so called by the early inhabitants because it was believed to contain sugar. It was probably the same as a creek (now undesignated) which traverses the bluffs east of Sugar Loaf Hill through "Cement Hollow." "Suggary" claims were recognized as a form of improvement claim by the United States Land Commissioners, but only for restricted acreage. The purpose was to extract sugar from sap.

<sup>240</sup> John Hay lists an inventory of Joseph Pepin dit LaChance under date of 1788.

void to all Intents and purposes whatsoever any thing herein before contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding, and they the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife for themselves their heirs Executors Adminsitrators and Assigns and for every of them doth Covenant promise and agree to and with the said William Morrison his Executors administrators and assigns by these presents in manner and form following that is to say, that they the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife their Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns or someone of them do and shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto him the said William Morrison his Executors Administrators or Assigns the said sum of seventy one Dollars and twenty five cents lawful money of the United States with Lawful Interest on the same, in the above proviso or Condition of Redemption mentioned and appointed for the payment thereof and that without any Deduction Defalcation or Abatement whatsoever according to the true intent and meaning of the same Proviso and Condition of Redemption. And that they the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife and their heirs the said land and Suggary above bargained and sold and every part and parcel thereof with the Appurtenances to the said William his heirs and assigns for ever. (Subject nevertheless to the Redemption as aforesaid) against themselves the said Joseph Peppin alias LaChance and Josette his wife and their heirs and against all and every other person or persons whomsoever claiming or to claim by thro, from or under them or theirs or any of them, shall and will warrant and for ever defend by these presents. In witness whereof the said parties have to these presents set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Sealed and delivered  
in the presence of

his  
Joseph X Peppin alias  
mark

William Arundel

William Atchison

her  
Josette X wife of LaChance  
mark (S.)  
Wm. Morrison (S.)

We do hereby acknowledge to have received the full consideration money within mentioned to be by him paid to us. We say received by us.  
Witnesses.

William Arundel  
William Atchison

his  
Joseph X Peppin alias LaChance  
mark  
her  
Josette X wife of LaChance  
mark

Indiana Territory )  
 St. Clair County Sct )

Be it remembered that the within named Joseph Peppin alias La-Chance and Josette his wife came before me one of the Justices of said County who acknowledged the within Indenture to be their and each of their act and deed, so as the same may be recorded as such. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at Cahokia this twenty fifth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and one.

W. M. BIGGS JP (L)

Recorded the Seventeenth day of April one thousand Eight hundred and two.

JOHN HAY Recorder

INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF THE ESTATE OF THE LATE ANTOINE  
 GIRARDIN, 5 NOVEMBER 1802<sup>241</sup>

Inventory of the propriety Left by the Late antoine Girardin Esq Deceased, made by john francis perrey Executor of the Last Will of the said antoine Girardin and appraised by jacques mayot<sup>242</sup> and philipe Gervais inhabitants of prairie du pont Being first duly sworn D C<sup>243</sup>

one Bed Steed, one feather Bed, another Linen	
Bed, two sheets, two pillows one Blanket, appraised to.....	30
another Bed steed and two feather Bed.....	20
one Cupherd <sup>244</sup> .....	40
one joiner Bench.....	8
four joiner tools.....	
thirteen others.....	20
three hand saws.....	8

<sup>241</sup> This appraisal, the original of which is in English, is on file in the office of the Clerk of the Probate Court of St. Clair County, Series C, Box 380, No. 4. The file jacket shows the names of Antoine and Victoire Girardin, nephew and niece of the Judge. Judge Girardin's will was executed at Prairie du Pont, Ill. on 20 October 1801. He requested that he be buried at Cahokia, and made his nephew and niece residuary legatees. J. F. Perrey was executor. Judge Girardin died 2 (?) November 1802 at the age of 75, and was buried as he requested. His will was proved and admitted to probate 14 February 1803. (Book of Wills, A, No. 10, p. 7). One of the problems of the executor was to separate the property already belonging to the young people from their parents' estate, from that which belonged to Judge Girardin, and was chargeable with his liabilities and those of the administration. (See Note 249 below).

<sup>242</sup> Jacques Mayot married Marie Magdelein Grondine, 1790, according to John Hay.

<sup>243</sup> "Dollars" and "cents." Note that American money is beginning to be used.

<sup>244</sup> Judge Girardin sometimes described himself as *menuisier* (cabinetmaker). He evidently was skilled in several trades.

six gouges.....	6	
five chezels.....	5	
two others.....	2	
three fails.....	4	
one ax.....	4	
one harnes one maillet.....	1	50
one pair of Snoffer and a candle Steek.....	1	
One Coffe meel.....	6	
two joiner tools.....	1	
one mortar.....	4	
one paire of Smouse iron.....	4	
two Candle mould.....	1	
one Box.....	1	
another small one.....		30
another do.....		25
two Syringus.....	6	
two foot measures.....		23
one compass & one Chaine <sup>245</sup> .....	20	
one electric machine.....	20	
one Small box with Sundrys articles in it.....	3	
one small pocket Compass.....	6	
one Serinete.....	8	
one hink horn.....	1	
two paires of Spectacles.....	1	
two razors Strap and two razors.....	4	
		<hr/>
	246D	30c
Contrer.....	246	90
one matiral Case.....	6	
two Boxes with colors in them.....	2	
a play of Cards.....		23
one Siel.....		23
one Clock with his box and a table.....	40	
another with his box only.....	40	
another Do.....	40	
Sundry old articles.....	1	
Seventeen pictures with their frames & glass.....	10	
one Long Box with Watch Cristals in it.....		25
two Canes Steeks.....	1	
a Small Box with Some phisies.....	1	
another old one.....		30

<sup>245</sup> Governor St. Clair referred to Judge Girardin as "the only person who could be found in all that country who understood anything of surveying" (*St. Clair Papers*, II, 171).

one map.....		30
fifty found [[bound]] Books.....	13	
three Cots.....	20	
six jackets.....	12	
four paires of Breeches.....	8	
six paires of overhols.....	4	
three shirts.....	4	
one pre of Seelk Stockings.....	2	
two old Capots.....	4	
Some glue.....	1	
Divers small stools <sup>246</sup> of Watch makers.....	20	
one paire of Boots.....	4	
two paire shoes.....	2	
one pre of wood scales with his Weights.....	2	
two tin Boxes.....	1	
one Dutch oven.....	6	
one empty Box.....	1	
Some pewter.....	1	50
one meat tub.....	1	50
one old trunk.....	1	50
one table.....	1	
one pre of iron Dogs.....	4	
one Shevel.....	1	
one Tin Retto.....	1	30
five tin cups.....	1	
		<hr/>
	507D	23c
Contrer.....	507	23
Sundry old tin articles.....	1	
four Dishes.....	2	
one thee pot.....	1	
three tumblers.....	1	
one Coffee pot.....	1	
one Sugar pot.....		50
one Decanter and three old Botles.....	1	
nine plates.....	1	50
one Large Boll and a Small one.....		50
six Bassins.....	3	
five pewter Dishes.....	5	
one Cullender.....		30
two Seelk handkerchiefs.....		30

<sup>246</sup> Obviously, small tools. The whole appraisal is written in a Frenchman's English.

one hat.....	1	
two iron Kettle.....	3	
one Small Dutch oven.....	1	30
one Guitard.....		27
some iron.....		90
a small Glob.....		90
one green stone.....	6	
two Boxes.....	1	90
one optye.....	1	90
two well Bukets.....	1	90
Some old pieces of iron.....	9	
About one hundred Bushels of Corn.....	90	
one Box.....	1	
Divers things for a meel [mill].....	2	
three Sickles.....	2	
three Sizes.....	6	
two Leather Collars.....	4	
two others & two harness.....	10	
one Saw.....	2	
two hids.....	2	
one Cable.....	4	
Sundry tools.....	1	
one Scru augur.....		90
two axes.....	3	
two Complete ploughs.....	23	
one horse cart.....	13	
two prs of Cast Weels.....	10	
one Large iron Kettle.....	3	
	<hr/>	
	683D	30c
Contrer.....	683	30
one old Spielk.....		90
Six old Chairs.....	3	
one small Bellows.....	2	90
one gray mare.....	100	
one three years old mare.....	30	
two yoks.....	2	
two prs. Leather Straps.....	3	
Six Bushels of Wheat at 80 C Bushel.....	4	80
twenty pounds of home made Sugar in a tin box.....	8	
about fifteen pounds Do.....	3	75
thirty pounds of tallow.....	6	
fifteen pounds of greess.....	3	
nineteen Cows the greatest part with therr Calfs at fifteen Dollars piece.....	285	



two paires of Brok oxen at fifty dollars paire.....	100
two six years old Do. not Brok.....	40
two five years old Do.....	40
four four years old Do at forty dollars paire.....	80
three three years old Do .at fifteen dollars piece.....	45
three three years old heffers at twelve dollars pie.....	36
five two years old Bull at twelve dollars piece.....	60
thirty three oggs.....	36
five two years old Bull at twelve dollars piece.....	60
Sixteen Loades of hay at two Dollars Load.....	36
twelve hundred Sheafs of Wheat.....	160
About four hundred Do to be divided between arnousse and the Estate <sup>247</sup> .....	24
Divers notes of Lamarche, Zip, roubieux, Wm Biggs jos ogle isaac Enoch george hendrix ch denis David Guide Clement Trotier, isaac West, jn moor, Desfond joseph cecire hubert delorme, Louis Buisson, john Suliven, Charles germain, mathieu Saucier, Samuel judith, pierre martin makin the all of them notes part in pro- duce <sup>248</sup> .....	215

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2003D 5c

The above appraisalment made at the two thousand three dollars and five Cents at pelletries weight two pounds and a half of Shaved deer Skin to the dollar

prairie du pont november the fifth 1802<sup>249</sup>

Lonval

Perrey

his  
jacques X mayot  
mark

his  
philipe X Gervais -  
mark

<sup>247</sup> Evidently a share-cropping arrangement similar to that of Lacroix and Constant printed earlier in this chapter.

<sup>248</sup> Of these debtors to Judge Girardin, about half are American settlers from the present Monroe County, as follows: Peter Zipp, William Biggs (first sheriff of St. Clair County), Joseph Ogle, Isaac Enoch, George Hendricks, David Guise (Guice), Isaac West, John Moore, John Sullivan, Samuel Judy (Judith), later prominent in Madison County. For further information on them, consult Reynolds, *Pioneer History*. Most of the French names mentioned have appeared before.

<sup>249</sup> Another inventory was taken 11 January 1803 of the property belonging to Antoine and Victoire, at the request of their guardian, Nicolas Jarrot, which amounted to 1091 *piastres* and 90 *sols*. Out of the inventory of Judge Girardin's property, amounting to \$2003.05, payments to preferred creditors totalled \$1516.23, leaving a balance of \$486.82, which made possible a dividend of 85 per cent to general creditors.

## AGREEMENT ON FENCING THE COMMON FIELD,

17, 20 JANUARY 1808<sup>250</sup>

The Existence of all the Individuals of Cahokia exacts absolutely that the Common Field be well enclosed Constantly for the conservation that all and each of them shall sow or plant in the said common Field; that is why the undersigned proprietors of the Field promise and engage themselves by these presents to make good enclosure of the height of five feet, french measure, and to maintain them always in this condition:

- 1st The distribution of the said Enclosure shall be made in the following manner, to wit: Each one shall enclose first the front of His land in the manner aforementioned;
- 2nd As for the three other faces, they shall be equally enclosed in the same manner as the front in order that the Common Field may be sheltered from animals;
- 3rd There shall be a Clerk appointed for each year by the proprietors undersigned, to whom shall be paid a half-minot of Wheat by each Proprietor during two years, which clerk shall keep a register of all the lands of the proprietors and of their brands<sup>251</sup> which brand shall be placed on the enclosure of each individual. The Clerk shall accompany the Honorable Syndics to make the distribution of the three faces of the enclosure mentioned in proportion to the lands of each individual; there shall be named to this assembly Six Syndics, who from the day after their nomination shall make with the Clerk the distribution of all and each of the enclosures to the end that each may know their part by right of their land, each is to work there; and this shall be entirely finished on the twenty-fifth of March<sup>252</sup> next, and as for the years following, two Syndics shall suffice, who shall be named the sixth of January annually.<sup>253</sup>
- 4th The Barrier of the Field shall be fixed in face of the Main Street, where it may be heretofore, for the purpose of leaving the High Road outside the enclosures<sup>254</sup>.

<sup>250</sup> This revised agreement on the fencing of the Common Field was recorded in Book of Deeds B, pp. 421-423, in the St. Clair County Recorder's Office. The original is in French. It should be compared with the agreement of 1785 printed earlier in this chapter.

<sup>251</sup> The brand record is found in the Perrin Collection.

<sup>252</sup> Lady Day, or Feast of the Annunciation. During the Middle Ages, this was the first day of the year.

<sup>253</sup> Epiphany, Feast of the Three Kings, a holyday much celebrated by the early French settlers. The first of series of balls lasting until Lent was held on this evening.

<sup>254</sup> There are three roads from Cahokia to East St. Louis. The one here referred to is probably State Aid Route Ten, familiarly known as "The Lower Cahokia Road," which runs alongside the creek bed at the western

5th The Barrier shall always be guarded by him or her who shall put it to the lowest price; it shall be cried the sixth of January annually; and he or she who shall have had it the preceding year shall not quit until the eighth of the same month, the time at which the latter shall receive it.

6th Rescinded

7th In order to prove that the proprietors hereinafter undersigned desire and promise to fulfill all the Clauses and Conditions mentioned in the present Act, they have by these presents freely and voluntarily mortgaged by special privilege and for always, each one their land which they have in the Common Field for the Conservation and maintenance of a good enclosure, such as mentioned in the present Act; and he or she who shall refuse to make the Enclosure in the manner mentioned, the Honorable Syndics shall cause it to be made at the expense of him or her to whom the land shall belong after having been one time notified by the Syndics; and shall further pay all the damage which the bad enclosure shall have caused, and if he or she to whom the bad enclosure belongs insists on not doing it, not to repair it, after two notices by the Syndics, the said land shall be posted up in a public notice, and cried before the door of the Church on three consecutive Sundays, on which last it shall be sold to the highest and best bidder by the Honorable Syndics and if the sum that the land shall produce exceeds the expense of Enclosure and other damages, the Honorable Syndics shall reimburse the surplus to the Proprietor to whom the said land belongs.

In order to prove nevertheless how much the undersigned proprietors desire to accomplish all the Clauses and Conditions mentioned in the present Act, they desire it be registered at the office of the Clerk of this County. In Testimony whereof they have signed the present in full Assembly convoked at Cahokia, County of St. Clair, Indiana Territory, this seventeenth day of January, one thousand eight hundred eight.

The High Road shall follow the ancient Indian trail.

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end of the Commonfields strips. The others are State Aid Route 56, known as the "Upper Cahokia Road," or the "Common Fields Road" which later divided the Common Fields strips into eastern and western portions. The present principal highway, S. B. I. Three traverses the Third Subdivision of the Cahokia Commons.

Bt Saucier	his	his	Michel X Gamlin
X	Pierre X LaPerche	Henry X Biron	mark
his mark	mark	mark	his
his	his	his	Antoine X Bellcour
Joseph X Poupart	Joseph X Chenier	Louis X	mark
mark	mark	Pinsonneau	Jean Palmier
Joseph Trottier	his	mark	his
his	Joseph X Touchette	his	Michel X Gamlin
Clement X Trottier	mark	Pierre X Laperche	mark
mark	her	al. St. Jean	Louis X LeConte
his	Widow X Godin	mark	Michel X Pilette
Jean X Meunier	mark	Mrs. Widow X	Louis X
mark	Louis X Pilette	LePage	Pinsonneau
his	Jean X Dehee	mark	his
Louis X Peltier			Louis X Jervais
mark			mark

Jean Palmier	Joseph Trottier	Jean Palmier for Mother
for his Mother	his	his
Michelle X Pilette	Pascal X Letems	Pierre X Guerin
Pierre X Martin	mark	mark
Pierre X Laperche	N. Boismenu X	his
his	Joseph Desmarits	Joseph X Manegle
Bazil X Beaulieu	Joseph X Ruelle	mark
mark	his	his
Jarrot	Joseph X Poupart	Louis X Pinconneau, Jr.
his	mark	mark
Joseph X Trottier	Joseph Trottier	Fr his Dupré
mark	his	mark
Louis X Peltier	N. X Boismenu	
	mark	

Nicholas Jarrot offers himself to be Clerk for the first year only, gratis. The assembly has named for Syndics Messrs.

Jean Beaulieu  
 Louis Pilette  
 Louis LeCompte  
 Pierre Lize al Mimi  
 Macatey Trottier for one year only  
 Bte. Saucier  
 Joseph Poupart, Jr.  
 Pierre Ruelle have assisted the  
 Syndics and Clerk to carry the  
 chain.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>266</sup> Of the six syndics, Jean Beaulieu was a son of Madame Angelique Palmier dit Beaulieu, Louis Pilette was the brother of the bridegroom p. 127 above. Louis LeCompte was the "husband of Madame LeCompte." Pierre Lize was a son-in-law of Capt. Francois Trottier and Joseph Trottier (Makate) a son. The next generation was beginning to come up. This list gives Baptiste Saucier as the sixth syndic, but the proceedings of 20 January are signed by Pierre Laperche.

By an Assembly held this day the 20th of January at the house of Jean Meunier, it is agreed by the Proprietors of the said Common Field that the six Syndics above mentioned may amend any part of the act herein abovementioned, or add any clause that they shall find appropriate for the public welfare. We have thereupon amended as follows:

- 1st That the barrier shall be opened from the 15th of November until the 20th of March annually;
- 2nd That no person shall have any animals in the Field to pasture, whether horses, oxen, etc., unless the proprietor shall be himself in the field at work.
- 3rd That all persons who shall wish to make garden or orchard shall Enclose it at their own expense.

N. Jarrot in presence of the assembly retires from this community. John Hay offers himself as Clerk gratis and he is chosen.

Pierre X Laperche  
 Louis X Pilette  
 Louis X Le Compte  
 Pierre X Lize  
 Jean Palmier  
 Joseph Trotier

Witness

John Hay

Recorded the twenty first day of January

One Thousand eight hundred & Eight

John Hay Recorder<sup>256</sup>

INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF THE ESTATE OF THE LATE JEAN DUMOULIN  
 12 DECEMBER 1809<sup>257</sup>

Inventory of the property of John Dumoulin Esquire Deceased, appraised by Jacques Mayot & Michel Lonval<sup>258</sup> Duly sworn Valued in pelletries at the rate of three pounds of Shaved Deer Skeen to the dollar

<sup>256</sup> William Rector's plat of the Common Fields, which is attached to the ASP, PL, II, is dated 12 May 1808, just a few months after this document. The United States Land Commissioners commented: ". . . From the first [it] has been enclosed by a common fence. The original boundaries of this tract have been found by the present surveyor; and there seems to be no dispute between the individuals claiming here about their titles or their boundaries."

<sup>257</sup> Dumoulin died without a will, leaving his affairs in a very involved condition. This inventory and appraisal is filed in the office of the Clerk of the Probate Court of St. Clair County, No. 498. J. F. Perrey was administrator. The original is in English.

<sup>258</sup> Lonval was a merchant and resided at Prairie du Pont.

	D	c
one old black Coat appraised .....	2	
four old jackets .....	2	
one nankeen Coat & Casimir jacket .....	4	
two old pantaloons .....	2	
two old breeches & one jacket .....	2	
two pres of Coton Stockings .....	1	
one velvet Coat .....	4	
one old blue Coat .....	2	
one blue Coat & pre of Casimir breeches & jacket .....	5	
two old muslin handkerchiefs & three old shirts .....	2	
one pillow one old coton blanket & a woolen one .....	3	
three window Curtains .....	2	
one table Cloth .....		23
one old Sheet .....		30
nineteen books .....	6	
one Caparisson .....		30
one red box .....		30
nine Small pictures .....	2	
one pre of pistols .....	2	
one sword .....	2	
Six yd of Cutting Cloth .....	9	
two prs of spectacles .....		30
two hats .....	2	
one Watch .....	8	
	<hr/>	
	60	23
brought over .....	60	23
one pr of old Candle steeks .....	2	21
Eleven old forks & knives <sup>269</sup> .....		30
one old pre of Scales .....		23
ond old tea kettle .....		30
one pre of old iron dogs .....	1	
one old Coffee pot two old tin boxes .....		30
pariel of old pieces of iron .....		30
one old Copper kettle & tin mug one old Coffee mill .....		30
one old ax .....		30
three old Dishes & two plates .....		23

<sup>269</sup> One receives the definite impression that the appraisers were trying to hold the inventory as low as possible. For instance the bill for this cutlery, found among the claims filed against the estate, lists "1 set silver handled knives & forks 60#" and "1 set common ditto." Numerous other items of luxury were purchased, some of them ten years before Judge Dumoulin's death and unpaid. It is possible, of course, that he was forced to sacrifice considerable part of his personal effects during his lifetime.

one old frying pen one old dutch oven & one pot.....	1
one ssaw & Crow bar.....	3
two old bed steeds & six old chears.....	1
one old saddle one old Sadle bag & a martingale .....	6
two small tumblers.....	11
one paire of knees buckles.....	11
ten yds of indian Callico received from Michel LaCroix <sup>260</sup> .....	9
one pre of blankets.....	3
one gun.....	3
one old trough.....	10
one old spade.....	9
a young steer.....	3
	<hr/>
	94 62

Amount of notes<sup>261</sup>

## Desperate

Do james Dun.....	300
Do pointe De sable.....	146 37½
Do van miles for 140 bushels of wheat.....	
Do robert morrison.....	400
amt of inventory.....	
amot of notes bt over.....	

## Desperate

John Edgar.....	9373 49
Do victoire poupart in pelletries.....	
39 9.....	
Do jsaac Darneille in Wheat.....	
80 B ¼.....	
Do amt of two judgments agt Strong.....	119
Do amt of boucher's note assigned by laurent in pelletries .....	1388
Do amount of Laurent durocher's draught on Wm Grant's <sup>262</sup> favor of jn Dumoulin Pounds 9 S9 d	

<sup>260</sup> Michel LaCroix was a prominent merchant who spent considerable time at Cahokia but made his headquarters at Peoria. He married Catherine Du-  
buque, later Mrs. John Reynolds.

<sup>261</sup> Note how many prominent persons were rated as "Desperate." Of Du-  
moulin's debtors, Dunn was Sheriff of Randolph County. Jean Baptiste  
Point de Sable resided at Peoria. Robert Morrison was one of the well-  
known Morrison brothers of Kaskaskia. Isaac Darneille was a lawyer at  
Cahokia and a candidate in the first territorial election. Boucher is probably  
Francois Boucher of Peoria. Strong is undoubtedly Warham (sometimes  
called William) Strong, an early American settler at Cahokia.

<sup>262</sup> William Grant was a merchant at Montreal as shown by other papers  
in the same file. Durocher was a St. Louis merchant.

york Currency.....  
 amt of one order of Elihu Mather<sup>263</sup> fr of john du-  
 moulin on the County..... 21  
 December the 12th 1809

jacques Mayot  
 X  
 his mark  
 Lonval<sup>264</sup>

SALE OF THE PERSONAL PROPERTY OF THE LATE NICHOLAS JARROT, 13 JUNE  
 1821<sup>265</sup>

A List of the Sale of the personal property of Nicholas Jarrot de-  
 ceased taken by Julie Jarrot Executrix of the said deceased at Cahokia  
 the Thirteenth day of June A. D. 1821<sup>266</sup>.

		D c
Shafts of Calash	John Eckert	56¼
2 Juggs of Oil	Joseph Trotier	1 12½
a Quantity of smal Oil		
Keggs	Joseph Trotier	4 00
2 Socketts and old Cup- board	Thomas Foster	56¼
2 Split bottomed Chairs	James Riley	50
1 Cotton Jinn	Tusant Trombley	25

<sup>263</sup> Elihu Mather married Mrs. Lettice Mophet 12 June 1802 (Book of Deeds B, p. 189). They were Protestants. They purchased land in the Cahokia Common Fields. The nature of the claim here has not been determined. Mather was appointed adjutant of the St. Clair regiment in 1809 and served through the War of 1812.

<sup>264</sup> The administrator's report on Judge Dumoulin's estate was filed at the March term, 1810. It showed assets of \$7307.67, of which amount \$6277.41 consisted in "desparate notes," leaving net assets of \$1030.26. Privileged debts took \$862.86 of this sum, leaving \$167.40 for general creditors. The estate had outstanding liabilities of \$3300.73. The general creditors received a dividend of 5½c on the dollar.

<sup>265</sup> This report of sale is of the papers in the voluminous files of the Estate of Nicholas Jarrot, in the office of the Clerk of the Probate Court of St. Clair County at Belleville, Series B, Box 369, No. 638.

<sup>266</sup> For a detailed study of the life of Nicholas Jarrot, see *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1924. Born 1764, Vesoul, Franche Comte, France; died 8 December 1820 at Cahokia. Prosperous merchant and land owner; major in War of 1812. Julie Beauvais Jarrot (1780-1875) was his second wife. His will dated 6 February 1818, after making charitable bequests of \$300, designated her as residuary legatee and executrix. She was to educate the children and to convey portions of the real estate to them at her discretion, but always to manage the estate so that she herself would "live in a manner altogether independent." The will was probated 12 March 1821.



a Quantity of bannister rounds	Thomas Foster	1 75
an Old Calash	Joseph Ruell	4 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Empty Flour Barrell	Snider	25
1 Old plough	Louis Pelette	1 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
a Quantity of Lumber	Thomas Foster	2 37 $\frac{1}{2}$
An Old Harrow	Judge Reynolds	5 00
A Quantity of Flour Barrells	Bapt. Merchant	13 00
[[List torn at fold of sheet]]		1 00
1 Pr. Wawful Irons	Francis Coleen	1 25
1 Large Saw	William Small	6 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Ditto ditto	Daniel D. Smith	1 50
1 Saw in Frame	Aaron Faulk	62 $\frac{1}{2}$
12 lbs Wool	Howard	36 00
41 lb ditto	William Howard	20 50
1 Old Collar & 2 Pr Har- nes	John Eckert	50
3 Deme Jons	Daniel D. Smith	3 25
1 Spinning Wheel	Bapt LeFrambois	1 62 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Pair Wool Cards		
1 Reel (Check)	Tusant Trombley	37 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Pr Fire Irons Shovell &c	Narcess Trotier	4 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Pr Ditto and Shovell	Henry Mace	2 25
1 Brest Chain	Aaron Faulk	68 $\frac{3}{4}$
Iron Hobbles	James Riley	62 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Lott of old iron, chains	William Small	1 00
2 old Sickles		
2 Hand Saws	Isadore LeCompt	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Pr Steelyards	Parker Jarvis	1 00
1 Ditto Ditto Large	Doct. Kerns	2 54 $\frac{1}{4}$

	Amount carried	[torn] 75
	Amount Brought over	\$123 75
1 Watering Pot and Can- ister	Duvaloux	50
an old Kegg of iron ar- ticles	Thomas Foster	50
Slips for swingle—Trees	James Riley	62 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Lott of Iron Rods	Simeon Bertrand	75
1 Ditto of various articles	Hawk	1 00
1 Ditto Ditto	West	2 56 $\frac{1}{4}$
1 Pr. Scales and Weights	William Small	75
1 Pot with Old Iron	John Eckert	1 31 $\frac{1}{4}$
1 Kegg old Iron	Henry Mace	81 $\frac{3}{4}$

2 Locks Vice Rule &c	Parker Jervis	1 37½
“ Candle Molds Copper Dishes	John Eckert	2 06¼
1 Coffee Pot powder Horn	William Small	37½
1 Kegg with various Ar- ticles	Daniel D. Smith	3 18¾
1 Warming Pan	Narcess Trotier	1 31¼
1 Ditto Ditto	Daniel D. Smith	68¾
1 Old Sythes	Henry Mace	25
Looking Glass &c	Francis Coleene	10 00
2 Mouse Traps & Steel Ditto	West	31¼
3 Pr. Sheep Sheers	{torn}	
2 Coffee	{torn}	
12 Dozen Boteles	{torn}	
1 Musquitoe Bar	Cash	12½
1 Surrenge Box &c	Daniel D. Smith	4 00
4 Old Sythes	Simeon Bertrand	31¼
4 Ditto Ditto	Cash	25
1 Pr. Cotton Cards &c	Doctor Kerns	68¾
1 Map	Daneil D. Smith	68¾
1 Black Cow and Calf	John Reynolds	9 75
1 Small Yoke of Oxen	Joseph Cornelius	17 37½
1 Bay Mare and Colt	William Howard	10 00
1 Small Bay Colt	William Howard	5 12½
1 Lott of Sheep	M. C. Gary	58 50
1 Brown Mare	Samuel Victmore	25 00
1 Barrel Vinegar	Francois Farrier	2 00
2 Small Dishes	Henry Mace	15
2 Large Ditto	Henry Mace	1 62½
12 Plates and Blue Dish	Narcess Trotier	2 00
12 Ditto Green	Francis Farrier	1 12½
12 Ditto Blue	Snider	2 00
12 Ditto Green	William A. Beaird	1 12½
12 Ditto Blue	Joseph Ruill	3 00
	Amount carried {over}	\$298 69
	Amount Brought over	298 69¾
12 Ditto Green	Doctor Green	1 12½
12 Ditto Ditto	Joseph A. Beaird	1 12½
1 Case of Instruments	Mr. McCracken	1 62½
A Quantity of Platters	Mr. Snider	1 37½
A Quantity of Cordage	Joseph A. Beaird	1 25
12 Bunches of Ditto	Bapt Merchant	2 25
12 Ditto Ditto	Daniel D. Smith	2 00
1 Bunch Ditto	Bapt Merchant	1 37½

1 Cumpass & 3 Chains		
3 Slates	Cash	25
2 Candle Sticks	Abraham Prickett	5 75
1 Plat and Coffee Pot	Daniel D. Smith	1 18 $\frac{3}{4}$
2 Glass Jarrs	John Hays	4 00
1 Yellow woman Mary <sup>267</sup>	West	355 00
1 Black Man Francis	William Montgomery	550 50
1 Ditto John Mary and his Wife Suset & Child	McCracken	900 00
1 Black Girl Kezzett	Abraham Prickett	351 00
1 Ditto Louis	James Mason	533 00
Torn	Willaam A. Beaird	530 00
[[Next line completely torn on fold]]		
[[Torn]]	Simeon Ogleway	20 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
[[Torn]]	Parker Jervis	14 75
4 Maps	Daniel D. Smith	5 50
1 Side Board	John Hays	32 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Clock	Abraham Prickett	57 00
14 Green Chairs	Snider	16 50
1 Feather Bedstead &c	Robert Reynolds	27 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Ditto Ditto	Simeon Ray	27 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Glass Preserving Box	John Hays	1 50
1 Silver Watch	Phillip Creamer	5 00
1 Ditto Ditto	William Montgomery	5 00
1 Stone Jarr	Joseph A. Beaird	4 00
1 Cupboard	Phillip Creamer	8 25
1 Ditto	Thomas Foster	2 62 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 Augers	Joseph A. Beaird	62 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 Ditto and Gauge	John Eckert	37 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Plane and Adds	Jack Martin	2 62 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 Saws	Jack Martin	2 00
2 Large Augurs		
1 Churn	Obediah Osborn	3 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Shot Gun	Obediah Osborn	1 12 $\frac{1}{2}$

<sup>267</sup> The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery. However, in dealing with the French settlements, Governor St. Clair interpreted this provision as meaning "that it did not go to the emancipation of the slaves they were in possession of and had obtained under the laws by which they had formerly been governed, but was intended simply to prevent the introduction of others." The "French slaves," as they were called, and their descendants continued to be held in Illinois in bondage through a transition period of more than 50 years which did not finally terminate until 1843. At that time one of Madame Jarrot's colored servants sued for his wages and won the case in the Supreme Court of Illinois. See Jarrot v. Jarrot, 2 Gilman 1. This case reviews the history of slavery in Illinois from 1720.

1 Frow	Bapt Merchant	41 $\frac{3}{4}$
1 Shot-Gun	Mr. McCracken	2 06 $\frac{1}{4}$
1 pr Fire Irons & Shovel	Mr. West	2 37 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Amount carried over	[[torn]] 36 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Amount brought over	\$4083 36 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Pick Axe	McCracken	
2 Currying Knives	Richard Newell	75
1 lot of old iron wedges &c	Joseph Trotier	2 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Broad axe	George Swigard	4 87 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Whip Saw	Richard Newell	2 00
1 Lot Iron large Screws &c	Obediah Osborn	1 00
1 Ditto do Iron Bands &c	Parker Jarvis	2 00
1 Old Sythe	Francis Coleen	62 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Ditto Ditto	Francis Coleen	1 00
1 Large OxCart	Richard Newell	54 00
2 Brown Steers	Richard Newell	22 25
2 Red Steers	Richard Newell	18 00
1 Large black Ditto	William A. Baird	26 25
1 Yoke Cattle one black other red and white	Richard Newell	50 00
2 Two year old heiffer one red & white other black and white	Richard Newell	14 50
1 Brindled Cow and Calf		
2 Steers one black other black and white		15 00
1 Brindled Cow and Calf	Richard Newell	10 50
1 Black Heiffer	Richard Newell	5 00
1 Spreckled black and wh te Cow	Richard Newell	[[torn]]
1 Red Heiffer [[torn]] one black with white face	Richard Newell	13 00
1 Yellow Cow and Calf		13 50
1 Black Cow and black Calf	Richard Newell	12 75
1 Two Year old Steer white spots	Richard Newell	10 50
1 Bobb-tail heiffer white spots	Richard Newell	6 00
1 Dark brown heiffer	Richard Newell	8 00
1 Small black ditto	Richard Newell	3 25
1 Red Cow and Calf	Richard Newell	12 00

1 Brown Cow and Calf	Richard Newell	12	50
1 Plough and Log chain 2 iron pins	Richard Newell	9	75
1 Bunch Shingles	Joseph Trotier	13	50
1 Lot of Brick	Francis Farrier	2	25
1 Ditto fo Slabbs	Joseph Trotier	2	00
19 Head of Hogs	John Reynolds	20	62½
1 Black and white Cow and Calf	Richard Newell	14	00
40 Oak plank on a Pole	Joseph Trotier	5	50
1 Pile of walnut plank at at 2.12½ per hundred	Joseph Trotier	33	40½
1 Ditto Ash " "	Joseph Trotier	1	00
14 Heads of Hogs on the opposite side of the Creek <sup>268</sup>	Thomas Brady	18	50
300 Feet of Ash plank	Robert Reynolds	7	50
300 Ditto ditto in grounds	Henry Mace	6	00
1 Pot and oven	Joseph Trotier	2	62½
1 Tea Kettle	Jack Martin	1	37½
1 Pot	John Eckert	2	06¼
1 Feather Bed and Pillow	James Sully	11	00
	Amount carried over	\$4595	58¼
	Amount brought over	\$4595	58¼
1 Bed Bedstead & Cur- tins	George Swigard	17	25
1 Small Table	Parker Jarvis	1	50
8 Bunches of Staves	Joseph Trotier	6	12½
15 Ditto Ditto	Bapt Merchant	6	50
	Total Amount	\$4626	95¾

The foregoing list exhibits a true statement of the amounts of the articles sold belonging to the estate of Nicholas Jarrot deceased<sup>269</sup> Cahokia June 13th 1821

Witness

S. C. Christy

Julie Jarrot Executrix

<sup>268</sup> In the Third Subdivision of Cahokia Commons, which lies between the Creek and the Mississippi River.

<sup>269</sup> This sale was unusually successful. The appraised value of the personalty was \$4517.75 and many items were not placed on sale.

## CHAPTER IV

### A BUSINESS VENTURE AT CAHOKIA: THE LETTERS OF CHARLES GRATIOT, 1778-1779

*Edited by* BRENDA R. GIESEKER

At the age of twenty-two Charles Gratiot in 1774 saw for the first time the Illinois country where he was to spend an important period of his life. He went there as the agent of his uncle Bernard of Montreal with whom he had lived since 1769. His reactions and impressions can best be seen in a letter to his father, David Gratiot, at Lausanne, Switzerland, 8 October 1774.

I am just returned from the Illinois country, part of Louisiana, an extremely hot and feverish country—I went there as a Clerk with three canoes of Merchandize belonging to my uncle, which we traded off partly with Indians, and balance with the people of the country—trade there is done mostly by contraband, the two shores, Spanish and English sides, being near together separated only by the Mississippi river. My uncle's partner at that place had all his effects seized by the Spanish, goods and peltries confiscated. This necessitated my remaining there a year longer than I had expected when I went there, to endeavour to make up in part the loss he had sustained.

That country abounds in wheat and all other provisions, the swamps and rivers are covered with game, Swans, Bustards, Cranes, Geese, Ducks and of all varieties, which added to the heat, makes the people very lazy, and having besides in the immense prairies numbers of Deer and Buffaloes enormous in size, they hunt these with horses that are trained to this chase, the most of the Canadians that go to this country remain there, there being no better country for a lazy man than that, food and clothing being easy to get, the men ordinarily wear but a blanket capot, wide trousers, and cotton shirts and a handkerchief around the head—The females are pretty enough although a little tawny, and dress in the French fashion, generally coquetish, aspiring after pleasure, amusing themselves, and dance much in spite of the summers' heat.

Three years later in August, 1777, he left Montreal permanently for the Illinois country, having formed his own trading

connection. His first Ledger has been lost but the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, is in possession of his *Journal des Cahos* which dates from 6 August 1778 to December, 1781. His original letter books were at one time in the possession of Frederick L. Billon, whose careful copies of the first and third have fortunately survived. These translations (now also in the possession of the Society) form the basis for this paper. Together with the *Journal* they form an important block of information about early Cahokia and the part played by the French inhabitants in the occupation of the country by George Rogers Clark.

Gratiot had only been at Cahokia seven months when on 4 July 1778 Clark surprised Kaskaskia. Although the Illinois country was remote from the seat of the Revolutionary War, the inhabitants were largely warmly attached to the American cause. Clark's instructions were to raise seven companies of men, fifty in each company, and proceed to Kaskaskia to attack the British garrison at that place. However, the final number participating in the campaign was only 153 men. After the initial success, Captain Bowman was despatched to capture the post of Cahokia, and it was seized shortly after Kaskaskia without resistance. Gratiot was personally much affected by the American occupation. The American troops were destitute of money and provisions, and Gratiot furnished them to the amount of all his available fortune and so incurred the displeasure of the English government. The *Journal des Cahos* is full of entries "*Les Etats de Virginie doit.*"

After the War he journeyed to Virginia to urge his claim for indemnification. To settle the liability he had to take ten negroes, some hogsheads of tobacco, and a large amount of land warrants [thirty thousand acres] to be located in Kentucky. The land office records in Frankfort and Richmond were later burned and he spent much time and effort trying to locate his lands; the balance of the \$18,000 still due him was irretrievably lost. Looking back through the years John Todd's letter to him on 19 December 1779 must have seemed very ironic indeed. "Pray do not be scrupulous concerning the payment of debts contracted in behalf of the State. Rest assured that rewards are in store for the spirited patriot who will act nobly in her cause."

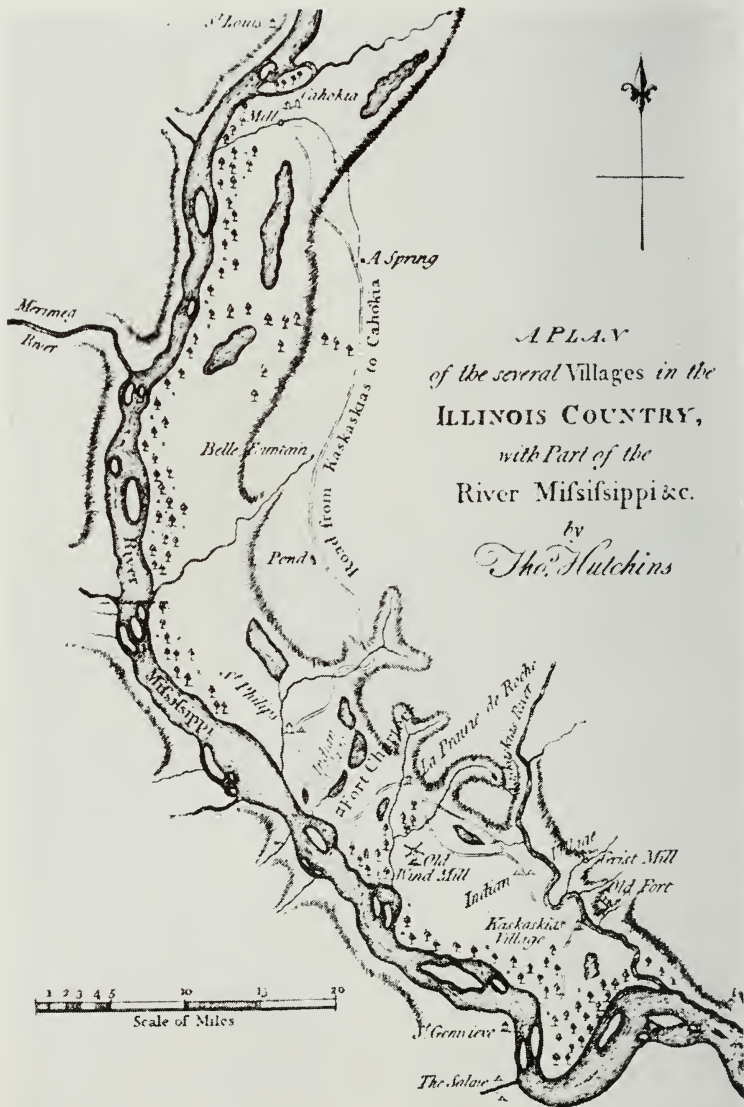
Charles Gratiot was born at Lausanne, Canton of Vaud, Switzerland, in 1752, the only son of David and Marie Bernard Gratiot. His ancestors were French Huguenots who were compelled to leave France after the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV at the close of the seventeenth century because of the persecutions they experienced for their religious views. As a young boy he was sent to an uncle Bernard in London, his mother's brother, where he received training in a mercantile house. Then at the age of 17 he was sent to Montreal, Canada, arriving 30 May 1769, where he worked as a clerk for five years in the business of another uncle Bernard. This uncle was largely engaged in trade with the Indians of the northwest. In 1774 Gratiot made a business trip to the upper country as far as Michilimackinac. This trip was so successful that his uncle persuaded him to go on a trading venture for himself.

He left about 1 May 1775 with a partner who had a knowledge of the Indians of the region. His uncle furnished about one-half of the merchandise which amounted to about 40,000 livres and offered to honor certain drafts for expenses. The venture, however, ended in failure because of his partner's extravagant expenditures and the plunder of his fort by Indians. Despite these difficulties he was able to meet two-thirds of his indebtedness, but he and his uncle came to an open rupture over the selling of his peltries and over the fact that his uncle had injured his credit by not honoring the drafts he had promised to meet. As he explained to his father "I found him at all times inexorable, and each time I supplicated him, he appeared to have as much pity as if I had spoken to a Bronze-Statue." A suit finally resulted when his uncle refused to give up his peltries.

Finally in an effort to straighten out his affairs he decided to try his luck again in the Illinois country where he had been successful in 1774. He left Montreal in August, 1777, having formed a partnership with John Kay, David McCrae and Pierre Barthe to be known as David McCrae & Co. His partners, being Indian traders, stopped at various places in the Illinois country to pursue their trade while Gratiot continued on to Cahokia where he opened his store early in December, 1777.







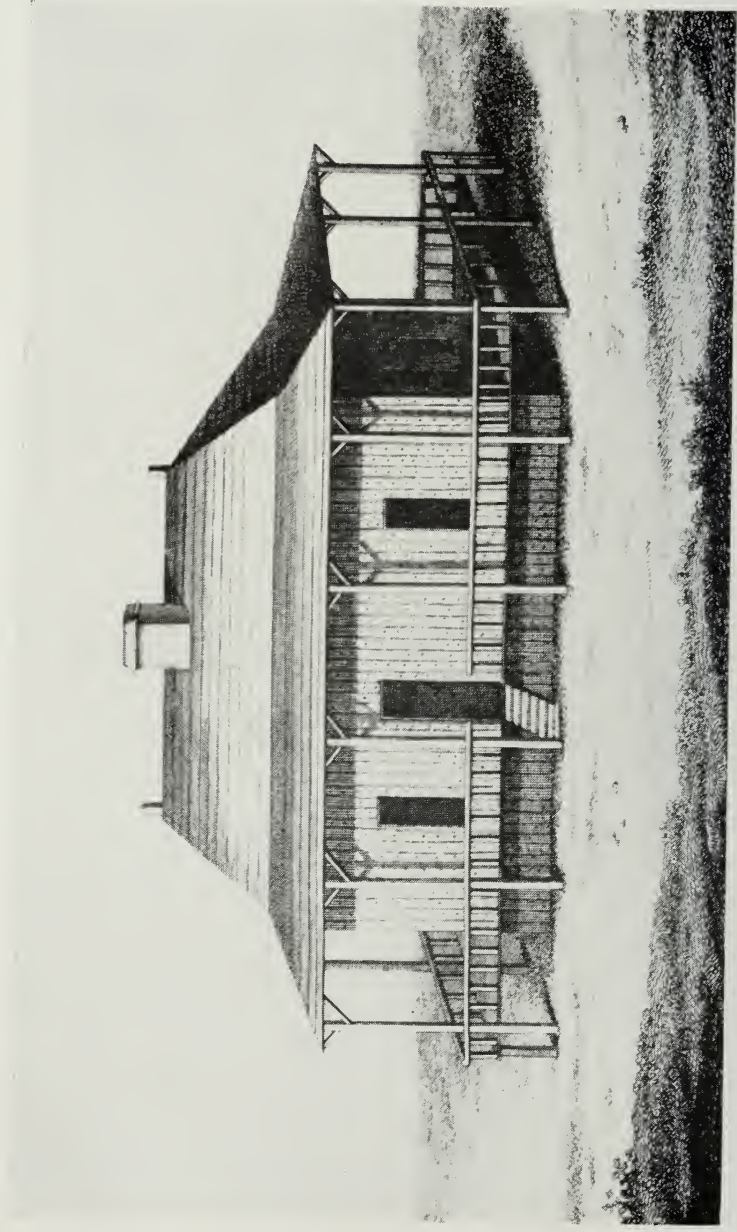
A PLAN  
of the several Villages in the  
**ILLINOIS COUNTRY,**  
with Part of the  
River Mifsissippi &c.  
by  
*The Hutchins*

The Illinois Country in 1766



Vicinity of Cahokia, 1796

From the Collet Atlas



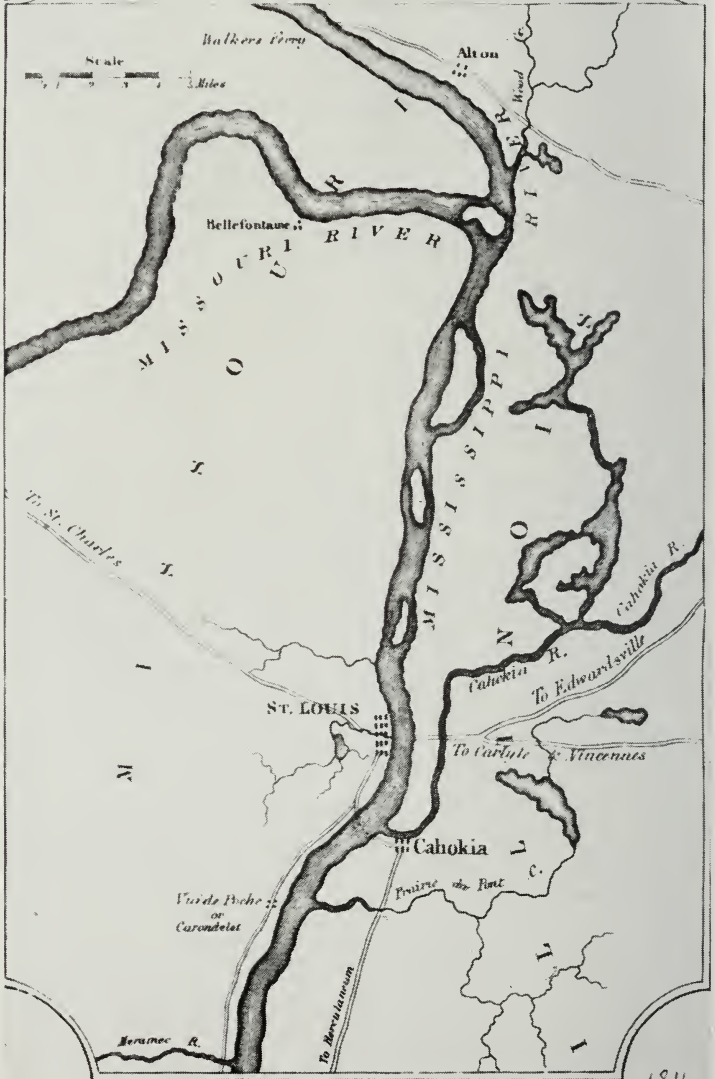
French Habitation in the Country of Illinois

From the Collot Atlas



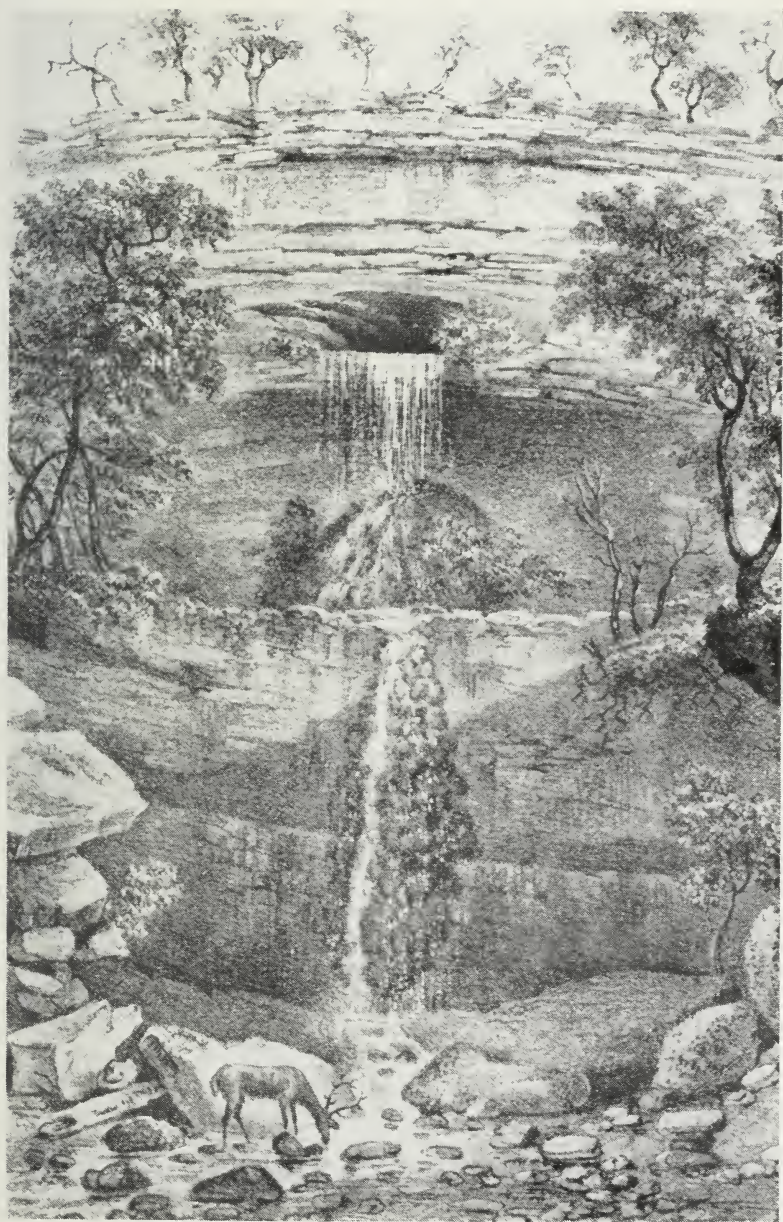
Jarrot Mansion, 1944

ST LOUIS and adjacent Country



Engraved for J. Melish's Description of the United States

1816



Falling Spring near Cahokia  
From J. C. Wild, *Valley of the Mississippi*, illustrated



Monk's Mound, St. Clair County

From J. C. Wild, *Valley of the Mississippi*, illustrated



A suggestion of an early love affair with a Miss Besotte at Lachine, Wisconsin, in 1777 is to be found in a letter written on his way to Cahokia. In September of that year he wrote to her: ". . . at whatsoever distance I may be, I will not cease to think of you, whom I so justly love and honour, lamenting my unhappy lot of being so far from you . . . When I think of that pleasant night's watch, where I for the first time learnt the sentiments of your heart, I would give everything to often repeat it . . ." But since no further letters exist, we must regard it as only a pleasant interlude.

William Kay, elder brother of John, furnished most of the goods used by the partners. An inventory taken by Gratiot on 6 August 1778 shows us the kinds of goods carried in his store. Included were utilitarian as well as luxury items:

88 yards cotton	13 iron pots
1 $\frac{3}{4}$ yards grey frieze cloth	31 razors
21 yards flowered flannel	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen combs for curling hair
16 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards Irish linen	25 pair eye glasses
6 yards common printed calico	2 dozen big knives
2 pairs black knitted breeches	3 pencils
8 dozen muslin handkerchiefs	Assorted buttons
6 dozen cambric handkerchiefs	10 pewter goblets
5 hats with piping	1 curry-comb
80 yards gold and silver lace	1 brush
Silver, rose, red, black, yellow, green and flowered ribands	14 pair satin shoes
2 artificial flowers	3 pair shoes of woollen stuff
42 assorted files	2 Candle sticks
2 bridles	1 sack of lead
	1 seal

Disagreement and dissension among the partners was inevitable because of business difficulties created by the constant pressure of the war and the threat of invasion and seizure. In the spring of 1778 five canoe loads of merchandise valued at four thousand pounds was obtained by Gratiot at Michilimackinac but upon his return to the Illinois country he found Clark in control and it became impossible for him to make remittances to John Kay and David McCrae. In April, 1780, he tried under a Spanish and American pass to send off a large boat loaded with furs, provisions, etc., but it was

seized at Prairie du Chien by the British Lieut. Alexander Kay. In June, 1779, Pierre Barthe was killed by Indians, and unwise moves by McCrae and John Kay led Gratiot to decide that it would be best to end the partnership. To William Kay he expressed his dissatisfaction with existing conditions and the lack of cooperation of all the members of the partnership. He felt that he would rather do a more limited business and regulate it himself. To John Kay he wrote "I forsee that it is impossible for our partnership to continue bound together any longer . . . I would like to have your decision in regard to dissolving our copartnership, as early as possible, and in what manner, as we should use the present time to accomplish our liquidation."

Shortly after two other incidents occurred and one of these was probably the determining factor in Gratiot's ultimate removal to St. Louis where he foresaw greater trading and business opportunities. With the continuance of the war it became increasingly difficult for him to obtain supplies and he had an unfortunate experience with Charles Sanguinet which resulted in a suit finally settled in Gratiot's favor. Another tilt with Sanguinet occurred when the latter was given permission in November, 1779, by Richard McCarty to trade on the Illinois River. Gratiot strongly opposed this move, declaring this was the only region of trade open to Illinois traders and that the Spanish did not allow similar privileges on their side.

That his removal to St. Louis in early spring, 1781, was the best for him is evidenced by his subsequent successful career. Through marriage he allied himself with the powerful Chouteau family. He amassed a considerable fortune and was held in high esteem by his fellow citizens whom he served in public office, first as Judge of the First Court of Quarter Sessions from 1805-1807, then as Justice of Peace, and from 1811-1813 as Trustee of the Town of St. Louis and Chairman of the Board. He died of paralysis on April 20, 1817, at the age of 65 years.

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 5 MARCH 1778, TO THOMAS MORGAN  
AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

Cahokia Mar 5, 1778

Mr. Thos Morgan,<sup>1</sup> Prairie du Chien<sup>2</sup>

I seize the opportunity by Mr St John who will take it, to write you this, which I hope will find you in perfect health — Enclosed I send you a copy of the note of Mr. Joseph Roy,<sup>3</sup> which I have had registered at the Commandants & Judge of Said Post, and left in his hands—

I hope you will use all diligence to collect all the peltries he may have as promptly as possible — Should you perceive that the conduct of this young man is not steady, and that he has not completed his payment in full, get back the goods that may remain in his hands — I leave all this to your management and hope you will give it your attention —

You will also find enclosed an order of Mr Richard McCarty<sup>4</sup> dated Feby 25 at sight on Mr Lefevre<sup>5</sup> to the order of [David] McCrae & Co. for the sum of three thousand and eighty livres, ten sols in peltries which you will please receive for me, as soon as it comes to hand — and as [I] foresee that something may occur in the future, I advise you to get what is due you, and appraise

<sup>1</sup> Listed in Draper MSS. as resident of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, in 1777 (Louise Phelps Kellogg, *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, [Madison, 1935], 171). In 1784 he was listed as a resident of Illinois and on 27 August 1787 he petitioned with a number of others for a grant of land in the Illinois Country (*Illinois Historical Collections*, V, 422, 444).

<sup>2</sup> The beginnings of this settlement are difficult to trace. Traditional date is often given as 1781 but there are evidences of a French fort there as early as 1755. In addition to Thomas Morgan other residents in 1777 are listed as Joseph Roy, Laurent Bajador, Francois Perrier, and one Lefevre (Kellogg, *British Régime*, 171).

<sup>3</sup> Joseph and his brother Amable, natives of Montreal, were pioneer settlers of Green Bay, Wisconsin. Joseph married a Menominee woman Marguerite and had two sons and four daughters. He died shortly after 1818 (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, III, 243; XIX, 127). Census of St. Louis 1791 lists a Josef Roy. Louis Houck. *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, (Chicago, 1909, II, 378, 383) identifies this Roy as the same and states he married Josette Cailloux.

<sup>4</sup> He came from Connecticut and settled in Cahokia before 1776. On some land he preempted he built a mill. He joined the Illinois battalion under George Rogers Clark and participated in the Vincennes expedition. In the fall of 1779 he was appointed commandant of Fort Bowman at Cahokia but made himself very unpopular with the inhabitants with his tyranny. Later he joined the French party and was killed in the spring of 1787 while carrying a petition from the inhabitants to the governor of Virginia (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 2, n. 3).

<sup>5</sup> Possibly Lefevre mentioned in note 2.

you of this so that you may lose nothing from my silence, without compromising me — I hope you will use the same diligence with the note of Messrs. Pierier & Bajadonnes,<sup>6</sup> which I left in your hands last fall — I rely on your correctness and attention to omit nothing for my interests, to collect all these matters which I hope to find with you at my arrival by the first chance — I send about a barrel of brandy, which is up to 500 livres the barrel, as to provisions and rum which you asked me to bring you, all are at exorbitant prices, the crops having totally failed, so I did not buy any, as with the expenses all would cost too much —

I will write by the first chance to Mr. Berthe<sup>7</sup> and Mr. Marchand, give them my compliments if they arrive before me — If Mr. Marchand has arrived before this letter, you will please communicate it, so that you can act together in my interest — I have the honour to be with consideration &c.

Please forward the letter of Antoine Donay<sup>8</sup> —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 22 MARCH 1778, TO  
WILLIAM KAY AT MONTREAL

Cahokia Mar 22, 1778

Mr. Wm Kay,<sup>9</sup> Montreal

I take the opportunity presented by Mr Degroselliers to give you news of this country, which unfortunately are not very favorable at present, seeing that no peltries can now be had, the Missouri men not having yet come from their wintering places, nor the hunters either, who are accustomed to hunt here and there, about the rivers of the neighboring country — for which reason I will have but few bales to take with me on my hurried departure for Prairie du Chien — There remain to me but 40 or 50 bales, which from appearances I can only gather on my return in the fall —

Business has much changed in these parts since I came here,

<sup>6</sup> Possibly Laurent Bajador and Francois Perrier mentioned in note 2.

<sup>7</sup> This may be Jean Baptiste Barthe, son of Charles, one of the early colonists of Detroit, and born there in 1753. He was a brother-in-law of John Askin and in 1778 was employed in the shipping business with headquarters at Sault Ste. Marie. After some difficulty with British officers, he left the Sault and in 1782 was settled at Mackinac. Gratiot in September, 1777, advised Durand to "contract engagements with . . . solid persons, such as M. Berthe or M. Askin . . ." (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIX, 235).

<sup>8</sup> Charles Gratiot's Account Book, hereinafter referred to as *Journal des Cahos*, frequently mentions Antoine Dauné.

<sup>9</sup> William Kay was the elder brother of John Kay with whom Gratiot, David McCrae, and Pierre Barthe were associated. They procured the largest portion of their goods through him. He died in 1787 or early 1788 and his executors sued Gratiot and others to collect debts due him (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 523-525).

it [is] very brisk for those who trade to New Orleans — these gentlemen have all the advantages of this trade, and have from their Rum, which they sell at up to 500 francs the Barrel, costing but 20 dollars at New Orleans, all the ready money in the place, and often they get it at a lower price — I perceive that so long as we continue to trade with Canada only we shall only tread water, and perhaps be very happy to come out even, on account of heavy expenditures of business &c, which will eat up all the little profit we may make — If we could have our goods brought from London to New Orleans, your brother having just began to keep house at Manchac,<sup>10</sup> which is an English fort 30 leagues above New Orleans on the Mississippi, I venture to say we could do a brilliant and lucrative business — There is no year but that we could dispose of 12 to 15,000 Louis of Indian Goods, seeing they are very high at New Orleans, there being but Mr. De Macksan [Maxent], Merchant in that City who alone has the Governor's permission to sell Indian goods — One of my friends here assures me that he was obliged to pay twenty eight dollars cash a pair for Indian blankets, and all other things in proportion — I would be able then here, to disgust all those traders who come from Mackinac, and who spoil the business by their rivalry, because I would be able to sell at prices they could not afford to do, and with greater profit by the convenience of obtaining good at any season we could wish, and at less cost and expenses, advantages not to be had by way of Canad — We could equip the traders on the Spanish Side, who equip again those who go to trade up the Missouri — They are people who are not to be suspected of misconduct in business — in a word, one could establish a certain and more splendid trade than any other — There would be no disbursements for any thing what so ever, seeing that this place could furnish all the supplies and other necessaries, except those of the Boat from New Orleans to this place, which would be 6000 livres — there boats carry a freight of 60,000 lbs (30 tons) they have room for 40 barrels of Rum in the first row at the bottom, 120 pieces of Indian Cloth 1200 blankets as well as the other goods for the trade — Judge how much it would cost to bring a like assortment by the way of Canada, and how much the expenses would exceed that of 6000 francs — The profit on the rum alone would exceed the expense of the Boat, and then our assortment of goods would cost us no more landed here than the usual cost at Montreal, Deerskins at New Orleans never sell over 35 cents the lb, I think that at those prices, we can without

<sup>10</sup> Manchac was originally a post in West Florida, near Baton Rouge.

risk of loss send a cargo to London, as to the Furs I would make them all go by Detroit as more advantageous —

It is very easy to arrange the plan I propose — If you would assist us, this I doubt not knowing your good heart, and the course you pursue towards your friends (I have received marks of it too recently to ever forget them) unless this unfortunate war should continue as there is too much appearance —

The Rebels have taken a boat loaded with goods in the Ohio, belonging to an Inhabitant of this side, and took it and crew to New Orleans — Several of my friends coming from that city have assured me that all the vessels belonging to the Bostonians, were admitted into the ports of the French and Spanish, that they are openly protected by the two Nations, they obtain all they want of ammunition or anything else necessary, which proves how long the war will endure —

The Governor up here of the Spanish Side [Fernando de Leyba<sup>11</sup>] has received a letter from Mr. Morgan<sup>12</sup> a member of Congress, in which he thanks him on behalf of Congress for the supplies and safe conducts he gave their people who came here for the purpose, saying he desired him to continue these dispositions, he would but follow the intentions of his King and Sovereign — After so many indications of this nature I would be highly flattered if you would write me by return, your views of what is to be thought of this unfortunate war, and to inform me of public news — if notwithstanding this, it would be worth while to work at the plan suggested —

I am engaged here in encouraging the people to make a quantity of tobacco for next fall, to show them the method of making it in rolls like that which comes from London, and think they will attain it easily, seeing the tobacco of this country is of a very good quality, I think I run no risque in this speculation, as it is very dear in Canada, and it seems to me to be much more advantageous to obtain it from here, rather than to bring it from Europe, if it can be produced as low —

Please send me by first chance a flask of vitriol with the price, it is a remedy very efficacious for horned animals, who often die for want of this remedy — That unfortunate canoe conducted by L'ardoise,<sup>13</sup> has not yet arrived, it wintered at St. Joseph where she

<sup>11</sup> He was appointed Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis by Governor Bernardo Galvez, 17 June 1778. He died in office 27 June 1780.

<sup>12</sup> I can find no record of a Morgan who was a member of the Continental Congress in 1778.

<sup>13</sup> Montreal trader. Gratiot had apparently had difficulty in collecting from him, for in Gratiot Letter Book, 15 August 1777, he wrote to William Kay,

was stopped by ice — I expect it daily, which is the reason why I cannot start for the Prairie du Chien until it is here — I hope that your brother [John] and McCrae will have left when you receive this, that they will use all diligence possible, to not compel me to wait for my assortment, which would injure me much, on account of the Missouri people to whom I could sell some small assortments — I have nothing more to say to you except to present my humble respects to Made Kay and that her health may be better than mine at present, having kept my room since twelve days for a fever almost constant —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 23 MARCH 1778, TO  
 MARCHANT AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

Cahokia Mar 23, 1778

Mr Marchant,<sup>14</sup> Prairie du Chien

You will find here inclosed a memorandum of the contents of the Canoe I send you — You will see that flour is very high here, it costs me 20 livres the hundred, and think that as there is not much going up, you can sell it advantageously — If Dauné is at the prairie du Chien, you can accommodate him with a part of provisions, as I desire to continue to furnish him what he may want, if he comports himself according to my wishes, and tell him that I was not willing to fill the memorandum that he had given, all being so excessively high it would have been prejudicial to him —

There are four small bales of Tobacco that you will keep, unless you can sell them at three livres in peltries the pound cash, and I recommend to you that all that you sell be paid for right down — You will deliver a barrel of Brandy to Mr Reilhe,<sup>15</sup> and the other to Thos. Morgan, for those they lent me last autumn — I wrote this Spring to Thos. Morgan, and sent the copy of a note of

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<sup>14</sup>"I suggest again about L'ardoise, if you advance him goods to make him execute a Bond which I can have paid to me on the Spanish side in case of need and where I can seize the goods if I perceive that he mismanages."

<sup>14</sup>In 1785 a young man named Marchand was at Green Bay with a store of Indian goods as an agent of a Mackinaw trading company. Joseph Roy was also there at that time (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, III, 241).

<sup>15</sup>Antoine Reilhe was one of the prominent early merchants and fur traders of St. Louis. He first appears in the St. Louis Archives in 1778. In 1783 he was located at Two Rivers, one of the proprietors of the general store at Michilimackinac. He married Estella Camp, daughter of the Rev. Ichabod and Mrs. Ann Camp. In 1790 he lived on the River des Peres. His daughter Margaret married Alexander McNair, first Governor of Missouri. He died at age of 67 in St. Louis in 1802 (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI, 164; Houck *Spanish Regime*, II, 379; Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri* [Chicago, 1908] II, 54). See *Journal des Cahos* for accounts with Charles Gratiot.

Roy's of 1225 livres in peltries, I recommend that you assist him in obtaining the payment of it, as also of a draft of Mr Rich'd Macarty of 308 liv 10 sols, and a note of Bazadonna and Pierre for the sum of 441 livres — I enclose you also the 2nd of Exchange of Mr Macarty 308.10 in case the first is lost, a note order of Cesire<sup>16</sup> for 102 livres, of Thos Brady<sup>17</sup> 127 l. of Francheville 80 l. of Louis Laperche called St. Jean<sup>18</sup> 10.8-657.18 total six hundred & fifty seven livres eighteen sols, do not neglect to press the payment of which I rely on your vigilance, spare no pains to make packages —

I hope to be up at the Prairie by the end of April, and hope you will not have left it until I am there — I have the honor &c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 30 APRIL 1778, TO  
ROCHEBLAVE AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia April 30, 1778

M. DeRocheblave,<sup>19</sup> Kaskaskia —

You will excuse the dislike I feel to disturb you for a matter

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Cesirre frequently mentioned in *Journal des Cahos*. His father Antoine came to Cahokia in September, 1753, and by 1778 was one of its most important citizens. He died in 1779. Joseph married Marie Alarie on 9 February 1777 and became one of the justices in 1781, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 625, N. 12).

<sup>17</sup> Accounts are conflicting as to his place of birth; one account says Maryland and another Pennsylvania. His interests, however, seemed to lie with the French party in Illinois rather than with the American, since in 1780 he with Jean Baptiste Hamelin led an expedition against St. Joseph which was commissioned by De la Balme. He was captured by Indians but later escaped and returned to Cahokia. In 1779 he married Marie Larcheveque, widow of Charles Le Boeuf called Laflame, (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII, 416; *Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 627, n. 40; and John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois* [Chicago, 1887], 89-90).

<sup>18</sup> The family was in Boucherville, Canada, as early as 1684, (*Missouri Historical Collections*, II, 628, n. 51).

<sup>19</sup> Philippe François de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave, was the son of Marquis de Rocheblave, seigniorial lord of Savoudon in the province of Dauphiné in southeastern France. He arrived in New Orleans in 1751 with his brother. Both were immediately inducted into the military department of the French colony and Philippe received first an ensignship and then a lieutenantcy. In 1760 he was in command of Fort Massac and in 1763 he married Michel Marie Dufresne at Kaskaskia. When the Illinois country was occupied by the British, he crossed to the Spanish side and became commandant of Ste. Genevieve. About 1774 he left the Spanish service and re-established himself in Kaskaskia. The British had confidence in his abilities and willingness to serve them. His powers as a British agent, however, were inadequate and the money allowed him was insufficient to enable him to accomplish what was necessary to the British cause. In July 1778 he was captured by Clark's expedition against Kaskaskia and was taken prisoner to Virginia. He never returned to Illinois but spent the balance of his life at Lexington, Kentucky. Consult Clarence Walworth Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, (Springfield, 1920), I, 318-320; Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 143.



as unpleasant at this — you can hardly imagine my surprise at the receipt of the letter of Mr. Hanson,<sup>20</sup> of which I send a copy of the original in English, with the answer I made him, but which he could not have received, he having left for your village — I beg you to examine it well, and to learn on what subject matter he threatens me, concerning a case “so infamous that I have espoused,” and what are the risks I may run of meeting persons who watch closely and will make me “repent of having involved myself in matters” of which I am ignorant —

I would like to know who are these persons, are they rebels or himself? I ask you then to set aright all this matter, as from all appearances, I am in danger as long as he is here —

He does not seek to pursue the course of honourable persons, to try to arrive at a just understanding, on the contrary to act only by violence — I cannot be responsible for what I may do after such threats —

I expect from you such marks of justice as you have always extended to me — your humble and devoted servant

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 12 NOVEMBER 1778, TO  
MME. LAURENT AT ST. LOUIS

Cahokia Nov 12, 1778

Made Laurent,<sup>21</sup> St. Louis —

I was much surprised to learn by my Clerk last evening, that you would not deliver to him the two barrels of Rum which Ferrar<sup>22</sup> bought from you — I should much desire to know what may be your reasons, and what you may think I keep my clerks for, certainly not for amusement — You may rest assured that as regards business they do nothing but by my orders, and that the bargain that Ferrar made with you, I will carry out to the letter, be it for money or peltries, and on such terms as were agreed on —

You will please send them to me immediately, if you do not desire to incur more expense in my sending for them, which might be charged to your account — I have the honor &c

<sup>20</sup> A Richard Hanson was in Kaskaskia in November, 1777. He came to the Illinois country as a clerk for Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, V, 43, n. 1).

<sup>21</sup> St. Louis Archives, Nos. 345, 372, show that she owned property in St. Louis in 1783 and 1784.

<sup>22</sup> François Ferran or Ferrant, clerk of Charles Gratiot. He died in October or November, 1779, and Gratiot was executor of his estate. According to a statement presented in court by Gratiot in June, 1780, he owed Gratiot 568 livres and 16 sols (*Journal des Cahos and Illinois Historical Collections*, V, 59).

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 25 NOVEMBER 1778, TO  
LAMARCHE AT RIVER DES MOINES

Cahokia Novr 25, 1778

Mr. Lamarche,<sup>23</sup> River des Moines —

I received your letter by Mr. Laroche, by which I learn that you have your goods in company with the other parties with whom you wintered together — I approve your method of acting on that head, seeing that it is the true way to not spoil the Indians, and to sell his goods to more advantage, provided the combination is based on solid principles, that it tends to the general profit, and that it is attended with no difficulty in its dissolution —

If there remain in your hands any goods, I advise you if you can trade them off, to do so only at very high prices, because they are very scarce and high here — If you should happen to find any that you can purchase at low prices this ensuing Spring, you will do well to take them and bring them to me, either French or Indian goods so that they are assorted, but I suggest to give in payment but deer & cat skins, as I do not wish you to part with other peltries that you may have—Keep this to yourself, tell no one, as these chances can only be secured by silence —

I wish you good health, and much success, and am &c  
N. B. In advising you to not sell your goods but at a high price, I don't mean that you are not to get shut of them, when you can do so for good peltries, and as I know that those who still have goods left in the spring, usually sell them cheap rather than bring them back, when you find a good chance do not miss it, you know all that are good for this place.

My respects to all the gentlemen at your winter quarters, and your men

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 1778, TO HIS FATHER  
AT LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND

Sir and respected father—<sup>24</sup> Cahokia 1778

I received late this autumn your cherished letter of May 11th last, which in all things gave me great satisfaction, in learning that you were all well, as also by your approval concerning my course

<sup>23</sup> Accounts in *Journal des Cahos* are in name of Antoine Lamarche. He was son of Antoine of the Montreal district and married 17 April 1781 Magdeleine Buyat. He was a justice in 1783, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 626, n. 29).

<sup>24</sup> In his letters he addressed his father as David Gratiot (of Lausanne, Canton of Vaud, Switzerland). However, his marriage contract mentions his father as Henry, (Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, 419).

with my uncle—for to confess the truth I feared you had received his statement, and might have thought that the hot-headedness of youth aggravated by some discontent might have caused me to push the matter with too much heat on my part; but if you had witnessed the treatment I received from him, and the steps I had to take to please him and obtain some favour in regard to my interests, you would have been indignant, as were the majority of the people of the City of Montreal, who had knowledge of that matter, and would have caused you to cry out & exclaim “Cruel Brother, is that the way in which you treat a boy entrusted to your care, are these the promises you made to his parents, is this the friendship you exhibit to a brother and sister who always loved you & who thought you worthy of esteem—No, I see with grief that I confided my son to a tyrant, instead of a man who should have stood in the place of a father to him”—

I have however since I left Montreal, received from him a very polite letter, with a power of Attorney to settle and receive in his name, the debts due him — he expresses to me a thousand assurances of friendship, and wishes me all sorts of prosperity, In hoping that I will remit to him funds to liquidate with him; it shows that he still has use for me, since he writes me in this style — no other one would have served him so disinterestedly — I see his thoughts and know him well, no one on earth can acquire his friendship, and interest alone animates him — I will hold to what I promised him that I would have no more business *with* him — Aside from this promise, I would be pleased to show him on all occasions the respect I owe him as an uncle, and would on any proper occasion show him as much generosity as he ingratitude —

I learnt with chagrin some time since, in a letter from a correspondent at Montreal, that I lost my cause in the Supreme Court at Quebec, by want of formality on the part of my Advocate, consequently I shall be constrained to begin anew at additional costs — When shall I get out of the clutches of these gentlemen, who seek only to eat up in costs those who unfortunately are compelled to have recourse to them I can say with truth with Monsr. the Marquis D’argens (Silver) in his cabalistic letters to Lawyer, “If the Courts treated the Lawyers in the Turkish fashion, we would see all your fraternity pride themselves as much on probity as eloquence—They would occupy themselves more in presenting pure truth to the light of day, than in ornamenting their pleadings with flowers of Rhetoric, often misapplied”—It is sorrowful that the counsellor of the Courts and the Ministers of State, do not think as the Viziers & Cadis, then we would not see so many Lawyers, who, animated by a vile interest muddle the clearest cases, ruin the best established families, and re-

duce the widow and orphan to beggary, we would see none of those instruments of which chicanery makes us of to its advantage, to ruin all the individuals of a Kingdom and which are unknown with the Turks—

I am now in the Illinois Country, where I have been since last year, and where I expect to be for some time, with the brother of my generous benefactor with whom I am in partnership and bound in sincere friendship, we are four partners two Scotchmen [David McCrae and John Kay<sup>25</sup>] and two Swiss [Pierre Barthe and himself], we have formed this partnership for three years, we occupy several posts in the country above, we send up each year from Montreal from 150 to 200 thousand livres of Merchandise, we distribute ourselves each one of us in various ports we occupy, thus we are every where found at the head of our affairs, for myself I was chosen among them to reside in the Illinois,<sup>26</sup> as having more knowledge of this country than either of the others, Mr. Barthe, Grison [Greybeard, an old man?] occupies the northern part being the one that knows best the tribes there and knows perfectly their language — There is not one of my partners but has as much capacity, and can work as myself, they have all as myself made a long enough apprenticeship; it was only after I thought I knew them thoroughly, from the reputation they had earned that I formed the partnership — I may hope dear Father that the period is not distant when I can fall into the arms of yourself and my dear family, & prove to you my gratitude, good luck may give me that gratification — I wait but for peace between America & England, and a treaty of commerce between them — the credit we have added to the extended trade we could carry on, would enable me in a few years to enjoy that happiness, for which I have aspired for a long time — The English side of this country is taken by the Americans since July last, I much fear that Canada will experience the same fate in the course of the winter; this might occasion us much injury, in that we could not send our peltries to England.

<sup>25</sup> John Kay was still listed as a merchant living at 3 St. Antoine St., Montreal, in 1819, (Thomas Doige, *An Alphabetical list of Merchants, Traders and Housekeepers residing in Montreal* [Montreal, 1819], 117).

<sup>26</sup>In September, 1779, Charles Gratiot, Isaac Levy, and Jean Baptiste Hubert Lacroix were granted until April 1st next the sole and exclusive power of trade and free traffic in the following limits: "commencing at the village of Cahokia, from there ascending the Mississippi up to the mouth of the Illinois river; and from each point and place of the said boundaries we extend their limits on the side of the west [east?] twenty leagues in depth." It was stated they had gone to considerable expense to procure and collect a capital for trade with the savages and it would also be in their power to furnish the States with provisions and other necessary things which are difficult to obtain, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 463-465).

I conclude with vows to heaven for the perfect re-establishment of your health and the preservation of that of my dear mother and sister, and will never cease to be with profound respect, your very humble and devoted Son —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA [1778?] TO HIS SISTER  
AT LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND

My dear Sister,<sup>27</sup> Lausanne

Cahokia

It is with very great pleasure that I receive praises of your conduct from a father and mother of whom it appears that you are the chief delight — I can not sufficiently recommend it to you to endeavour by your care, to give them all the satisfaction in your power; You are yet perhaps too young and too tender an age to appreciate what we owe them — Apply yourself diligently to your education as also to all other occupation which they would wish you to learn — Seek only the companionship of some young ladies, who can give you good examples, In a word my dear Sister, endeavour to acquire by your abilities and good conduct, all the rare qualities that constitute the glory of your sex, without contracting the defects — It is the most stable fortune that we can receive — So that when I shall have the happiness of meeting you, I shall need but the sweet satisfaction of toiling for your welfare — Such is the earnest desire of a brother who cherishes you & c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 31 JANUARY 1779, TO . . .  
AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia Jan'y 31, 1779

Mr . . . . . Kaskaskia

Sir, I received by Mr. Saucier<sup>28</sup> the honour of yours, in which you signify to me that you had settled accounts with Mr. Kay, and that he would not credit you in the settlement with the 72 dollars

<sup>27</sup> This sister Isabelle was born in 1770 after he had gone to America. There was seventeen years difference in their ages and he did not see her until she was 22 when he revisited his home in the winter of 1791 (Billon's notes in Charles Gratiot letter book).

<sup>28</sup> The Saucier family was a prominent pioneer family in Illinois, the first of the name there being the military engineer who in the 1750's rebuilt Fort de Chartres. He had three sons J. Bte., François, and Matthieu, all of whom became important men in their communities.

you had handed over to Mr. Winston<sup>29</sup> — I do not see that he could do so unless he recalled your a/c, from the moment of the arrival of Ferran with my goods in your village — I remember very well that said note was given to me by you in passing accounts — in this case Mr Kay in your general account will assuredly account to you for the amount of the note you paid over to Mr Winston, and will write him of course — &c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 26 APRIL 1779, TO

JOHN KAY AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

Cahokia April 26, 1779

Mr J. Kay, Prairie du Chien

Dear friend, I received your letter, by which I was greatly pleased to see you enjoyed good health, as to my own it is a little better than it was some time ago, having had an attack of "Fosse Puresie" arising from I believe overheating myself, but which fortunately had no bad consequences —

I have at last been able to start off that boat, with as much provisions as I could put on her, I hope that what there is will be sufficient for some time except pork and salt, of which it is impossible to obtain a[ny] at present — I send you for the present 60 packages merchandise well enough assorted, as you will see by bill of lading enclosed —

I saw with much disappointment the returns of Lamarche, which are very far from the expectations we had entertained — I also fear for additional misfortune, that the reports afloat that Roy sold all his goods to other parties to be paid for this fall is but too true, and that we will not have great returns from him, Reilhe has his bond, I hope you take all the necessary measures —

I trust that our friends Barthe and McCrae have done their business well, which may idemnify us for the loss we sustain on the other hand — I much fear that after the return of my boat, I will not be able to send more than the load of two canoes by Chicago — You will take care to send me men, for fear I cannot get them here at less than 150 to 200 livres, so to reduce the number of our

<sup>29</sup> Richard Winston came originally from Virginia in 1766 as agent of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan. During the occupation of Kaskaskia he won the favor of Clark and in August, 1779, Todd appointed him his deputy. His nature, however, inspired distrust rather than confidence and he was frequently suspected of dishonesty by men with whom he had business or political relations. His wife was Margaret Sinclair née Turgerson of Philadelphia. In 1783 he left for Virginia to collect debts due him but he died in Richmond in 1784, (Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, 347, 361; *Illinois Historical Collections*, V, lxxxv-vi, 1, n. 1).

packages, you can send some ten or so with the persons in the front & stern of the canoes.

I had hoped to receive also some packages of Beaver from Kaskaskia, but after the blunder of Capt George,<sup>30</sup> who, as you may have learnt destroyed a Lodge of the "Wolfs" and plundered them of 7 or 8 packages of their Beaver, destroyed all my hopes, and I doubt if from that cause, Winston can send me any peltries this year unless he has kept his goods —

As to our paper currency it won't buy a cat at Paincourt (St. Louis — Chouteau<sup>31</sup> has arrived from New Orleans loaded with drinkables, coffee and sugar, without a cents worth of goods, he reports that the bills of Exchange were accepted, but not paid, there being no funds provided to meet them — I shall find myself from this cause unable to pass my paper for peltries, this will hurt our remittances — I must sell the few goods that remain in my hands to make returns, if there are any remaining to us above you had better send them to me, as they are selling here at very high prices, and then I will be able to send the products by our Bark Canoes —

Col. Clark was angry at the way they treated him on our account, and advised me to prosecute Capt George, to make him give an account of his conduct, because he said his intention is to facilitate trade as much as he is able, and to protect all under his government as far as in his power — I received all the satisfaction I had expected, he was sorry he had not seen you before your departure —

I have not yet had time to collect any of our Kaskaskia debts, but I propose to go down there as soon as I shall be a little cleared of my business here — Nor do I send you the balance Sheet of my business in this place, not having had the time to draw it up, but between this and the departure of the canoes, I will find the time to do it and I hope gather up the most of the debts due us — You

<sup>30</sup> Captain Robert George was a native of Virginia and a kinsman of George Rogers Clark. He was a skilled gunner and enlisted in the regular army. With James Willing he was sent to attack the British posts on the Mississippi in 1778. He joined Clark in Illinois and served throughout the war. He was allotted 3234 acres in Clark's grant in Indiana, near present Utica, for his services in the Illinois campaign and was said to be one of very few soldiers who lived and died on the land granted, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 478-479, n. 1; William Hayden English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, [Indianapolis, 1897], 336).

<sup>31</sup> Auguste Chouteau, one of the founders of St. Louis, was born in New Orleans, 17 September 1749, and died 24 February 1829 (Hyde and Conrad, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, [St. Louis 1899] I, 358-361). Gratiot later became his brother-in-law by marrying his youngest sister, Victoire, on 21 June 1781.

must have learnt that Linctot<sup>32</sup> has left here, as Agent of the State for the Indian Department — I gave him two barrels (kegs) of Rum to raise me up some horses, you know the price here, and if he can gather me an hundred, I propose this summer to take them to Williamsburg — if I receive no goods — With all the money I can raise here invested in the products of the country and go and sell them at New Orleans, for I don't know how I can get over the Summer with nothing to do, nor what I can do with so much paper money which I can not use here — I must finish this letter, although it seems to me that I have yet many things to say to you — I dont write to our friends Barthe and McCrae, as I suppose they have started from the Prairie, but when you see them, assure them of my friendship, and inform them of our affairs — Adieu, and am for life your faithful friend —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 14 JUNE 1779, TO

WILLIAM KAY AT MONTREAL

June 14, 1779

Mr Wm Kay Montreal

Dear Sir, I received yours at the moment of starting for this country, without having had time to make any reply to it, but how much mortification did I feel, in seeing the upbraidings you make me in your letter, after having laboured in a manner to endeavour to avoid them, in charging me with a wretched Canoe, that I never should have taken charge of — It is useless to endeavour to justify myself, in the present situation of our business, and I must assume the injury that my fault has occasioned you — The gratitude I owe you on every account compels me to be silent, and to labour on all occasions for your satisfaction — But alas! what benefit can you expect from us this year, what returns can we make after the reports I receive which I fear are too true that Mr Barthe is dead and all his goods pillaged by the Indians — If this post had responded to the hopes I had of it, and I had been able to convert all the American paper money at present in my hands into peltries as we did last autumn, and that the Barge that I sent this Spring to Prairie du Chien after the departure of your brother could reach Michili-

<sup>32</sup> Daniel Maurice Godefroy de Linctot was one of the most active French adherents to the American cause in the West. He was the first to raise a company for Clark at Cahokia. He was originally a trader among the Indians and his knowledge of Indian languages made him a very useful officer. When Clark was expecting to attack Detroit, he sent Linctot to reconnoiter on the Illinois River. He rose to the rank of major, but was killed before the end of the war, (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI, 105; *Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 102; English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I, 373).



makinac we would I think have settled up, notwithstanding our losses — But your Brother acted without due reflection in leaving prematurely Prairie Duchien, after having promised me that he would wait for the Barge I sent freighted with 18 packages of Beaver, 1 of Otter, 13 of Redskins, 5 of Cats, 1 of Pichoux and Fox and 16 of Bearskins — 54 packages — 7 to 800 lbs of Carot Tobacco, 1500 lbs flour, 60 minots (bushels) Wheat, Oat-meal and Lesive, with a tierce of Rum — with all these supplies, he would not have been obliged to buy any at Mackinac, which I am sure must have cost excessive prices, not at all reflecting that it was not necessary he should start at once for Mackinac, he gave orders to Reilhe to send the Barge back whenever he might meet it, and wrote to me to send the things by Chicago, that he could wait no longer for his business called him to Mackinac — If he had waited a little longer McCrae would have arrived at the Prairie before your Brothers' departure, that he should not have left without waiting a little longer for our boat from this port — I learnt afterwards that the Boat I sent was but 20 leagues from the Post, when he left with 3 canoes loaded with the sad remains of Mr Barthe and effects —

As Mr Reilhe did not meet the boat, and those in whose charge I sent it had no other orders from me but to deliver her and cargo to your brother or some of his clerks, I fear that they may have left the boat with some one and do not return here, or perhaps have continued on their voyage, which they cannot complete with so large a boat and heavy a load, on account of the low water at this season — in short by this blunder, I do not know that we can this year enable you to receive one cent of that load, and may be under the necessity of additional large expenses in sending to find and preserve them from moths, which would cause a total loss in the course of the summer, unless soon found and care taken to preserve them —

I foresee that in our co-partnership we can hardly expect to be successful in all our speculations, seeing that when one undertakes one thing, relying on the others to co-operate in its success, his plan is destroyed by the actions of the others — besides I see that the expense we incur separately, amounts in the whole to so great a sum, that however large our profits, it will all be expended in living, besides the inconveniences and inquietudes of never knowing on what footing our business matters stand — If they were all of my way of thinking, I would rather do a more limited business and regulate it myself — I should however be always pleased to continue with your brother, knowing well that although he has other interests in these parts, that he would be sorry to cause any injury to mine — I do too much justice to his disposition to suppose for a single mo-

ment that it would not be always a pleasure to me to be bound to him as well in interest as friendship —

I send by this opportunity a canoe loaded with 36 bales of hair peltries, I will send in a short time another if I can gather enough of same — if not, I will have to give up hair peltries, as I know it will cost a least half the canoe load before the other could reach you, by the scarcity of men & food —

I am almost determined that so soon as my business here is finished, to start for Williamsburg,<sup>33</sup> with all the American money which I have on hand, and expect shortly to receive, and which I cannot convert into peltries, as I had hoped — seeing that all the Bills of Exchange that Col. Clark has drawn on New Orleans have not been paid — all the vessels that the State of Virginia sent to said City were captured by Six or Seven English Frigates at Pensacola, which cruise constantly at the entrance to the river — which make us apprehensive that we shall obtain no advantages for this part of the country until that place is taken — Had it not been for these occurrences I should have been enabled to send the handsomest lot of Peltries that ever left the Illinois seeing that all the merchants of the Spanish side generally will have disposed of their peltries for our currency, of which I find myself with Six or Seven thousand dollars, which I do not know what to do with at present — These are the reasons that impel me to set out for that Capitol —

Either in provisions, tobacco, or other commodities, I flatter myself that I will take with me from here 15000 to 20,000 dollars belonging to inhabitants who have much and can't use it — I hope that with so considerable a capital, if this unfortunate war can come to an end, and that I can pass to France or to England with a cargo of tobacco, I could remit or have remitted to your correspondent, the proceeds of all the funds belonging to our corporation, and for the balance convert it into merchandise that I would bring to these parts, and with which I would pay all the sums which I received from the inhabitants — I do not know Sir if you will approve this plan I propose, but you may be persuaded it is solely to guarantee to you the funds in my hands you so liberally advanced us, I would be grieved to undertake anything to your injury, on the contrary, I flatter myself than on all occasions where I can be of service to you, dont spare me, these are the wishes of him who will be for life with gratitude the most affectionate of your servants —

<sup>33</sup> He did not get to go until 1783 at the end of the Revolutionary War. His claims were largely for supplies and assistance furnished by him to George Rogers Clark and the Americans. He returned to St. Louis in summer of 1784.

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 10 [?] JUNE 1779, TO  
JOHN KAY AT MICHILLIMACKINAC

Cahokia June 10 [?] 1779

Mr. Jno Kay Michilimackinac

Dear Friend — I received Kay's letter of May 5th but how pained I was to see that you left for Mackinac without having arranged for the peltries and provisions I sent you in the Barge to be forwarded on as I had promised, that you gave no other directions than to Reilhe that wherever he would meet said Barge to send her back — What manner of acting is this? what expense and loss will a mistake like this not saddle on us? Reilhe did not meet La Marche who has charge of her, consequently he continued his route, his only instructions being to deliver you the goods, or to some one else that you might have put in your place — Some days after the arrival of Reilhe, St John arrived who told me that Mr McCrae had arrived in a canoe, that he had been wrecked, but I received no letter from either of you two — Duroche the guide arrived since then with Mr. Bently's<sup>34</sup> canoe, who tells me he saw you both in good health, informs me of the death of Mr Barthe, and that the Indians had pillaged all his goods, that he had seen Mr McCrae at the mouth of the Wuisconsin conducting three canoes, nearly light that Mr Barthe's men had brought back, but what surprises me is to see that neither one or the other deigned to give me any of his news, bad as they appear to be — I further learnt that La Marche was at the little Makokite at the time Mr McCrae was at the mouth of the Wuisconsin, if he had waited 3 or 4 days longer, he would have been able to take up the cargo of the Boat —

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Bentley came to West Florida from London soon after the French and Indian War and established at Manchac a store as a center for trading up and down the Mississippi. In the '70's he transferred his headquarters to Kaskaskia. There he managed a successful and profitable business. In 1777 he married Marguerite Bauvais, a daughter of one of the richest and most important French families in the community. During the Revolution, actuated mainly by motives of his own interest, he attempted to play off the British agents against the Americans for profit. He was so adept in double-dealing and so careful to cover all traces of his duplicity that it is difficult to trace his machinations. He became the leader of the opposition to Rocheblave and in later years Rocheblave attributed to Bentley's intrigue the subsequent loss of the Illinois country by Great Britain. While on a journey to Mackinac in 1777, he was made a prisoner and carried off to Quebec where he was accused by Governor Hamilton of furnishing supplies to American boats. He managed to escape in 1780 and returned to Kaskaskia. In 1783 he went to Virginia to settle his accounts and appears to have died in Richmond. Consult Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 321-322; Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio*, (Madison, 1912), 288.

In what a position will we find ourselves? in what manner can we justify ourselves with the firm of Wm & John Kay? how shall we ever recover from so considerable a loss? we who work only on the confidence reposed in us — when I think on the situation of my unfortunate destiny, that the harder I work, the deeper I plunge in a mass of debts, of which it looks as if I shall never be relieved, but when I think that perhaps I may drag after my own ruin my generous benefactors I re-assure myself with the hope I entertain that in time I may shew them that although unfortunate, I am not unworthy of their confidence —

I send you in charge of Reilhe a canoe of which you will find enclosed the memorandum, I am awaiting daily, impatient to know if he is bringing back the Barge and cargo — If I can exchange hair peltries for deer-skins, I will send you another canoe as soon as I can but it will cost one half the cargo of deer skins to have the other half delivered owing to the scarcity of men and provisions, who are all taken up for an expedition which is preparing — I have no news to give you but unlucky. Mr Chouteau has arrived from New Orleans, he reports that our bills of Exchange were not paid, in consequence of the vessels that the State of Virginia sent there have been taken by 6 or 7 English frigates from Pensacola, which are all the time cruising in those Seas, this determines me to go myself to Williamsburg, seeing that the amount I have and that I am about to receive, as you may see by the Inventory here enclosed, as I cannot at this time convert it into peltries to make returns, I hope that in taking it myself to the place I might there use it in suitable objects, where I might realize the proceeds either at Montreal or in England — Col Clark and Mr Todd<sup>35</sup> Governor of the Civil Department of this country lately arrived from that Capital have promised me all the necessary recommendations —

I send you herewith McCarty's note belonging to M. Tours & Bannerman, when presented it he offered to give me American paper money which I did not accept fearing they might not be satisfied with it — I think they will see him shortly in Detroit, and will then be able to make him pay it —

Lamarche has just arrived and gives me the agreeable news that

<sup>35</sup> John Todd was born in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, and educated in Virginia by his uncle, the Reverend John Todd. He participated in Dunmore's War and was among the first settlers of Kentucky, where he was elected to the Virginia legislature in 1777. On 12 December 1778 Patrick Henry commissioned him county lieutenant of Illinois. He was only 28 when he reached Illinois in May, 1779, and organized the civil government. He lost his life in the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks, 19 August 1782. Consult English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, 252-253; Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 335-336; *Illinois Historical Collections*, II, V, Passim).

he sent the packages to Mackinac under the care of Paul Lavigne, who was willing to take charge of them, but he had been compelled to leave the most of his provisions in the hands of Dorion,<sup>36</sup> the canoes not being able to carry them — I would like to make 20 packages more in hair, I will make shortly another Canoe with what I have here, but they cannot be had now, the Missouri traders have not yet arrived — I could have sold my goods well, but only in exchange for deer skins — I offered some packages of hair peltries to Reilhe, but I doubt that he will take charge of them, although he has but 30 bales a canoe —

I greatly desire that you can arrange all our business about Mackinac, so that you can send a balance sheet of what our partnership can realize, so that we may work in a manner, or take some steps for the payments — I foresee that it is impossible for our partnership to continue bound together any longer, on my part, in the interim, I will endeavour to collect all that is due us, settle and balance all our matters in this section — It is impossible for me to make you an exact balance at this time, not knowing if the other debts due me here, can balance the amount we owe, and so soon as these matters are regulated, I will employ myself solely to the best of my abilities for the advantage of the firm —

I would like to have your decision in regard to dissolving our copartnership, as early as possible, and in what manner, as we should use the present time to accomplish our liquidation — As soon as I shall be informed of your decision. I shall sell all we have in my possession here, if you think it expedient — If our Virginia script would be accepted by our creditors, I could make enough to pay all our debts — I think that money must succeed, in view of the flourishing condition of the Americans — Mr Reilhe sent for one of my Bark canoes, his own having given out, I gave him the one we got from Mr. Linctot, which you will make him pay for, or he will return you a new one if you have need for it, he would not receive any packages to carry, saying his canoes were already too heavily loaded — I desired to find a chance to send you some ten that remain to me here baled & pressed of Bear & Red Skins —

<sup>36</sup> This is probably the Pierre Dorion who was a trader among the Sioux tribe above Prairie du Chien. In May, 1780, he lived in St. Louis and offered his allegiance to Colonel George Rogers Clark and requested permission to remove all his property to Cahokia. However, if he moved he did not remain long, as on January 26, 1781, Francisco Cruzat sent him among the Sioux to win them over to the Spanish alliance. He spent six months among his former customers. In 1804 he was among the Sioux on the Missouri when Lewis and Clark passed there, (Kellogg, *The British Regime*, 174-175; *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, 420-421).

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 15 JUNE 1779, TO  
CHARLEVILLE AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia June 15 1779

Mr Chas. Charleville,<sup>37</sup> Kaskaskia

Sir — As Mr Linctot sends a messenger to Col Clark, and his time is so occupied by the Indians, coming in from all parts, he charged me to request you to send him by this opportunity nine thousand dollars, for which he has pressing need at this moment for some matters he wishes to terminate — In case that the other two barrels of Taffia that you have at your house, cant complete that amount, he will reimburse you the balance by the hire of a horse that he desires you to obtain from the said man in case the Col gives him none, and to send him back at once with all diligence.

If you have had drawn the Bill of Exchange for fifteen thousand livres and more, and you have arranged the little affair of my own, that you had the politeness to undertake, we desire you to send it by the same occasion, and if I can serve you here in any way, freely dispose of him who has the honour to be —

Your Servant —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 15 JUNE 1779, TO  
BERNARD AT MONTREAL

Cahokia June 15, 1779

Mr Bernard,<sup>38</sup> Montreal

I received your letter of date May 11th, of the last year, at the moment of my departure for this country, with the accounts and notes enclosed in the same — I am sorry to apprise you that there is no recourse on either of them to recover payment of these debts, seeing they are people who possess nothing here, and from whom there is no hope of ever getting any thing, except Mr Girar-

<sup>37</sup> The family of Chauvin dit Charleville was in Kaskaskia as early as 1737. Charles was the son of Joseph Chauvin, who died in 1778, and with his two brothers, Jean Baptiste and François, was prominent during the Virginia period. On 12 May 1779 he was elected justice from Kaskaskia. He was also captain of the Kaskaskia company that went to Vincennes. The family gave timely financial aid to Clark and were favorable to the American cause, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, lxi; V, 414 n. 2). Charles married Marie Louise Lionval (or Lionnois) on 1 June 1776. Their two sons Jean Baptiste and Charles, afterward removed to Ste. Genevieve, (Houck, *History of Missouri*, I, 342).

<sup>38</sup> This is Charles Gratiot's uncle, brother of his mother, with whom he served as a clerk for five years. In 1774 he sent Gratiot in the Indian trade to Michilimakinac and in 1775 to the Illinois country. The relationship was not a happy one, as evidenced in his letters home, (Gratiot Letter Book).

din<sup>39</sup> by whom I could have been paid in American paper, which I think you would still possess, knowing that it has at present no circulation in your parts, for this reason I did not receive it in payment, until I had first received your instructions — but I hope before then I can obtain several things from him for the amount, if so I will send it to you in peltry —

I return you the notes of Barsalou, 28.10 sols and N Martot 27.15 both dead the last year, leaving no estate but debts — I would have been pleased to have collected for you all these sums without charge or commission from the sole desire to oblige you and serve you as I always did and will do on all occasions that my duties may permit me —

As to Mr Papin<sup>40</sup> at St Louis, when I called on him, he said he would not pay the balance, until you sent his note which you hold, which he will pay to the presenter, that he desired to pay it long since, as to seeing him, you can't be ignorant that he is on the Spanish side, and sheltered from any prosecution from this, besides not having his note, I doubt if the Spanish Court could compel him, except he who holds his note, if it was here I have no doubt he would pay it, and if not it could easily be negociated with some one on that side —

With these observations you can act as you think best, and am respectfully

Your Servant

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 10 [19?] JUNE 1779, TO

FORESTIER AND ORILLAT AT MONTREAL

Cahokia June 10 [19?] 1779

Messrs. Forestier & Orillat, Montreal —

I received the honour of yours of 29th last, by which I learn

<sup>39</sup> Antoine Girardin was one of the most important men of Cahokia. In 1764 he bought the plantation and mill belonging to mission of St. Sulpice at Prairie du Pont. He was justice in Clark's court and was elected a justice of the Court of the District of Cahokia in 1779, 1785, and 1787, serving until 1790. During the last years he was president of the court. He died in 1802, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 632, n. 100). The inventory and appraisal of his estate is printed in Chapter III, above.

<sup>40</sup> This must be Joseph Marie Papin who came to St. Louis from Montreal with his father, Joseph, in 1766. His father was at Fort Chartres and Cahokia when Laclède arrived to establish St. Louis. He became interested in the new colony, bought land in the town, and died there in 1772. Joseph Marie was born in Montreal 6 November 1741. He married Marie Louise Chouteau in January, 1779, and died 18 September 1811, (Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 192; Hyde & Conrad, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* III, 1691).

that you received from Durand<sup>41</sup> only the sum of four thousand and some livres, which is much less than I had hoped, as I thought it would be at least six thousand — I have received no letter from him to know what he did with the balance of the amount he took with him, I only know he gave nothing to my uncle, from a letter he wrote me — But if you will have the kindness to ask Mr Chas. Patterson<sup>42</sup> if he has collected anything of the debts due me at the Grand Portage, amounting in all to 2075 livres 8 sols, payable in Beaver, at prices current at that place, of which I sent him all the bills and notes, I think it very doubtful if those debts can be collected in Beaver as stipulated but you might manage through some of the gentlemen of the Grande Societé who might employ some of these people in their service, and give you the money at Montreal — I do not know in truth gentlemen, which way to twist to make you remittances — the offer you make me in your letter to give me time is very gratifying, but how can I expect my partners to make themselves responsible for debts which are strictly my own, unable from all appearances after the misfortunes which this year overwhelmed our firm to fulfill the engagements we have contracted — I am sensible gentlemen of the injury your confidence has caused you from our delay in remitting you, but feel assured that so soon as I shall be able to settle with you, that I will let no opportunity escape me, recognizing true happiness, only in being out of debt —

<sup>41</sup> In September, 1777, Gratiot had correspondence with Durand at Lachine, Wisconsin. He stated that Durand had been sent to build a fort at Fort of the Prairies but had later sold it to Frobisher when he found that Gratiot was not going to use it. The sale of the fort and the goods on hand should amount, in Gratiot's estimation, to 6000 livres, (Gratiot Letter Book). One Pierre Durrand was required to post a bond with Patrick Sinclair in October, 1779, not to dispose of his property to rebels. He was said to have been in the Illinois country for about four years. Durrand stated that he had petitioned De Leyba at St. Louis to allow him to become a Spanish subject so that his property would be safe, (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI, 143). Gratiot brought court proceedings against Durrand at Cahokia in June and July, 1780, for collection of debts, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 53, 55).

<sup>42</sup> Charles Patterson was with the Frobishers in the northwest by 1775 and was one of the founders of the North West Company. Gratiot wrote him also in September, 1777, and cautioned him against letting Durand have any money, (Gratiot Letter Book). In 1785 The General Company of Lake Superior and the South was organized and Patterson was made a director of the upper Mississippi. In 1788 he was drowned in Lake Michigan, some sixty miles from Mackinac, at a place since known as Patterson's Point, (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIX, 235; Kellogg, *British Regime*, 199-201).



GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 20 JUNE 1779, TO  
MAILLET AT PEORIA

Cahokia June 20, 1779

Mr Maillot,<sup>43</sup> Payoria (Peoria)

You have here your commission as Captain and commandant of the militia of Payoria, also the law for the establishment of the County of Illinois (State of Virginia) which I could have sent you translated into French, if I had had the time —

Col Todd approved the selection of Mr. Linctot who chose you with the consent of the people, to fill the honour of the commission I send you, and we expect that after the good report of Mr Linctot to us of your good qualities and capacity, that on all occasions you will uphold the position with firmness and fidelity, more from a desire to be useful to your fellow citizens, than from interested motives —

As you are too far off to present your commission to the Court of the district of Cahokia to be recorded, after you have taken oaths of allegiance and office, these oaths can be taken by you before Mr. Linctot who is duly authorized to qualify you — after which you will proceed to assemble the people of your district to choose a Lieutenant, an Ensign and Sergeants, to establish and maintain the militia under lawful regulations —

In regard to Civil disputes and dissensions which may at times occur between citizens of your village, you will cause to be selected by the parties, arbitrators of good reputation for integrity, good faith & intelligence who, after being sworn on their consciences, will hear the case, and make an impartial decision to the best of their knowledge and Judgment —

Mr Linctot, the bearer of this, in his official capacity as Genl Agent of Indians affairs, having been selected to command the camp of Volunteers, we hope you will aid & assist him in all he may need, you can rest assured that he will render satisfaction to all who will voluntarily make themselves useful to him for the good of the State — Trusting entirely in his prudence and capacity, and to the love he bears his country, in a word in the confidence reposed

<sup>43</sup> Information about this man is as confusing as the spellings of his name. These include Mailhet, Mallet, Mayet: his first name is sometimes given as Jean Baptiste but by Reynolds as Paulette. About 1778 he settled without authorization at the site of Peoria and soon became a prominent trader there. The village was called after him Ville de Maillet. He had many relations with Cahokia traders and magistrates there considered Peoria as a dependency of the district and Mailhet as commandant of the post. He seems to have extended his trading ventures to the Rocky Mountains. He was killed about 1801, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, V, 230, n. 2).

in him you may feel assured that by the authority confided to his care, that all sums that he may draw for or certify to, in the name of the State will be punctually accepted and paid —

I trust that by the first news we may receive of his arrival in your village, that it will conform to the hopes we entertain of you and other citizens who compose it, that I shall have the satisfaction of making a report to our Superiors in authority which will be to your advantage — present to all your people the compliments of Col Clark and Col Todd, and my own, and am respectfully —

Your Servant

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 18 AUGUST 1779, TO  
ROY AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

Aug't 18, 1779

Joseph Roy, Prairie Du Chien —

I received your letter of May 1 last, by which I learn that you gave an account to Mr Reilhe of 621 livres in peltries, and an account of Riccard of 90 livres, of which I credited you and endorsed your note — I am much mortified to see that you did not pay all the amount, for having sold your goods payable in the fall, you should feel the harm done me by the delay — I am also told here, what I can hardly believe, that you would not pay me in peltries that you had promised me, viz, beaver and otter, which is all you could do with them —

I think you have too much honour to fail in the word you gave me, after the manner and confidence with which I sold you my goods — I think that your credit and reputation are too dear to you, not to maintain them in discharging your obligations to those with whom you made contracts; it is the only way for a man to pursue to feel assured that if he fell into adversity, he would always find some friends who would take pleasure in assisting him to procure the means of relief — I send your bond to Mr. Dorion which I hope you will protect, that you will pay it all in beaver, as you promised me by agreement in selling you my goods — I trust I shall reason to be satisfied with your manner of acting, awaiting this I am &c —

GRATIOT [AT CAHOKIA], 18 AUGUST 1779, TO  
DORION AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

Aug 18, 1779

M. Petr. Dorion, Prairie du Chien —

I have the honour of yours of date July 15th last, by which I am pleased to learn that you delivered to Mr. Angé<sup>44</sup> a bag of flour

<sup>44</sup> Augustine Ange was supposed to have been a son of Jean Baptiste

& two of oatmeal, according to the directions left you by M. La Marche, respecting the balance of the provisions of mine in your hands, and the tobacco, I am pleased that you should have them in preference to any other, but I could not without loss sell flour below 40 livres the hundred, wheat 15 l. the minot, and the tobacco 5 livres the lb — Of all those articles if they can suit you, or in selling them to others you can get a better price, I wish you to dispose of them, and to bring the proceeds with the bags when you come down this fall — I don't send your note nor that of Tessié as you tell me that you will come down here, you can get them here at that time, and if I can be of any use to you here &c —

I send you enclosed Roy's obligation, which you will do me the favour to demand payment of — you will please observe that my agreement calls for all the beaver and otter that he can get at the price stated, to the amount of what he owes me, and as I know that he has as much as 8 or 9 bales at the Prairie, I hope you will do your best to secure my amount — You will hand him the enclosed letter which I write him to that effect, persuade him in the mildest manner to carry out his word, in default of which if you cannot persuade him, use all the vigor you can to rid me of the matter — I can take no other peltries than beaver, seeing I would lose too much on other kinds, and that in selling him goods, he positively agreed that I was to have all the Beaver & Otter he could get to the extent of his obligations, in default of his having a sufficiency to pay me, he then could complete the payment with other peltries — I hope to receive his payment by you in the fall, and acquit myself to you all for the trouble I have given you, and also the freight

GRATIOT [AT CAHOKIA], 25 AUGUST 1779, TO  
DUBOIS AT OUIATANON

Aug 25, 1779

M. [Louis] Dubois, Ouyatanon<sup>45</sup>

Sir and dear friend,

The Belle will deliver you 8 barrels of Rum marked L. D.

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Lefevre and to have some Indian blood. There is no record of his ever having held title to land in Prairie du Chien but he was one of the traders there in 1779. The church records of St. Gabriel's church as Prairie du Chien show he had daughters born there of Pelagia, a Sioux, as well as two sons. In 1781 he filed suit against Gratiot for accounting of property of the late Dubois, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 109, 111; Peter Lawrence Scanlan, *Prairie du Chien* [Menasha, Wis., 1937], 71).

<sup>45</sup>Ouiatanon. This post was on the site of an earlier trading house at the mouth of Wea River. It was established as a military garrison between 1715 and 1718, being located on the north bank of the Wabash, about four miles

containing in all 36 Pots (Quarts)<sup>46</sup> — I am much vexed at not being able to carry out my promise to send you barrels of 18 pots, but it was impossible to get one, and obtained these with great difficulty — The Belle also takes you a horse to carry a part of your drinkables —

I hope on your part you will keep *your* promise to come and see me in the course of the Summer — I wait for you about that time, with Mr Gamelin,<sup>47</sup> and hope in case he needs your assistance in any thing that you will that you will give it him — and you shall have my gratitude —

You will do me the favor to bring with you in company with M. Gamelin the horses I left with you — I wish you to bring them well loaded with the goods of M. St. Marie<sup>48</sup> —

As to the horse speculation of which I spoke to you, to bring here to sell — I think it not worth the trouble, so many have since been brought from several places — It would be a better speculation to bring Salt-petre, than any thing else — a certain number of Horses would be requisite to carry the things most convenient to you.

If however you find a handsome horse, I wish you to purchase it for my own account, should you not need it for yourself —

I have nothing more to tell you, but that all the reports I heard of your section are confirmed, the last boats arrived say they think that Jamaica is now blockaded by the French —

I wish you perfect health &c

Augt 25, 1779

M. Gamelin, Ouyatanon

Sir and very dear friend,

The Belle who carries you this will also deliver you 4 small barrels of Rum, marked I G, and 150 lbs of Flour in two bags —

GRATIOT [AT CAHOKIA], 25 AUGUST 1779, TO  
GAMELIN AT OUIATANON

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below the present city of Lafayette, Indiana, (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVII, 131).

<sup>46</sup> Shipment cost 176 livres, (*Journal des Cahos*, 97).

<sup>47</sup> Ignace Gamelin was from Montreal and married the daughter of Captain de la Jesnerie. His son Antoine was a resident of Vincennes in 1770. The latter was a man of some education, a trader among the Indians in Indiana, and acted as interpreter and Indian agent for General Clark in 1778 and 1779. In 1790 he was sent by Governor St. Clair as a messenger to the Wabash Indians. He removed to New Madrid about 1791 where he died in 1796, (Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 139).

<sup>48</sup> There were St. Maries, residents of Vincennes, Joseph and Stephen, who came to New Madrid and are listed among new settlers in 1791, (Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 328).

Several reasons prevent me from sending you more, first the boxes necessary for more horses to carry, barrels (kegs) which cannot be had, and flour which I had hard work to borrow, the inhabitants (farmers) being all busy with their field labours — You will have learned of the death of poor Ferrand, who was buried about eight days before my arrival here, his death was a great loss to me in my business — I would have liked to send you more horses, in case you have arranged with M. St. Marie to bring me my goods, notwithstanding I hope that you not be at a loss, as there are yet four of my horses, which with those you have, and those Dubois can get for you, coming here himself with you as I expect him, also as the French of your place will be obliged to send horses here for flour to subsist on, you can arrange with them for the use of said horses —

I can't recommend you too much diligence in regard to Ste. Marie, try to get from him the amount he has received if you can't do better, if not, make him sensible that if he will not agree to any arrangement, that they will break their agreement, that I will make them pay dearly for their refusal, and that day is not far off — There are no goods here, and they can't get them any where —

I do not know if Mr Linctot has arrived at Oyas or not, in that uncertainty I do not write him, but if you see him — “make him feel the uneasiness he causes me by his absence, as well as from the interests we have in common, to which I would suppose that on his part he would work to do honour — that I do not know where to turn myself at the present moment, as much by derangement to my business caused by the death of my clerk, and the disappointment he causes me himself.” I hope at all events that he will not delay in coming here himself —

The Belle will also deliver to you ten lbs of Coffee, that you will do me the favour to hand to M. Magnans, I can send you neither salt nor sugar, they are scarce here — I sent you however a little salt I borrowed, of which you will try to be sparing to have some until your return — I debit you with 350 livres 10 sols in peltries, for the amount of what was due on the account of Labelle, and for what I had furnished to Paneton when I sent him to the Post of which you received the payment in a bill of exchange, I advise to please bring that amount in shaved skins to relieve me from the embarrassment in which I find myself from the absence of Linctot —

I do not know in what animal species to classify this man Labelle, never did I meet with one so difficult to satisfy, and of so strange a humour — I saw him the moment he started on his return without taking the least thing either of his own or yours — I had more trouble in hooking up some barrels and in satisfying him, than

I would had in a transaction of 100,000 livres with some others, he was not inclined to do the least service for any one for the empire of the Grand Turk — Now you want a horse as he reports, and then starts off — I am at a loss what to do, not having a single horse at home to replace it, nor can I get one without sending to hunt one up far off — I am pondering what I shall do, send you the Rum, or the flour, because as to our original, he cannot as he says take anything else on his own horse.

Good bye, I look for you at the latest about the 15th October next, I comend myself to your vigilance and assiduity, as also on the friendship you have always manifested towards me —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 15 OCTOBER 1779, TO  
MAILLET [AT PEORIA?]

Cahokia Oct 15, 1779

Mr Maillet

St Jean told me that he had left in your care three horses that Mr Linctot sent to me, that he was obliged to leave them at your place with your clerk Mr Troge,<sup>49</sup> they being too poor to bring them here — I would be much obliged if you would send them to me by Mr Deneau, who I learn is coming by land bringing horses, or some other favorable opportunity — you will infinitely oblige, &c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 18 OCTOBER 1779, TO  
DATCHURUT AT STE. GENEVIEVE

Cahokia Oct 18, 1779

Mr. Datchurut<sup>50</sup> Misere (Ste Genevieve)

On of Mr Motards' boat desires me to request you to send me a fourth of five minots of salt by this same opportunity — I will

<sup>49</sup> In 1785 Pierre Trogé was appointed *huissier* of the first American court at Cahokia. He may be from the Montreal family Troché called Lafleur. An Andre Trojot in the Montreal militia in 1663 may be his ancestor. By 1791 Pierre had moved to St. Charles where on 9 July 1793 he was appointed sub-lieutenant of the St. Charles militia, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 627-628; Houck, *Spanish Regime*, II, 30).

<sup>50</sup> This is probably Jean Datchurut who was an early Ste. Genevieve merchant. In April, 1765, Laclède's officers seized a boat load of merchandise on the Missouri river belonging to Datchurut and Louis Viviat. A suit was finally taken before Superior Council at New Orleans where it was decided against Maxent, Laclède & Company. In 1767 he owned salt works on the Saline. In September, 1779, he brought suit in court at Kaskaskia against Gabriel Cerré, as executor, for payment of notes of Louis Viviat. (*Illinois Historical Collections*, V, 123-124; Houck, *History of Missouri*, I, 339, 341, 342, 346). The first line of this letter is worse than confused but so the translation reads and the French original is not extant.

pay you in peltry in the course of the next month; hoping that since your return from New Orleans, we would have the pleasure of seeing you in our section, but I hope that you will come shortly &c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 18 OCTOBER 1779, TO

CHARLEVILLE AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia Oct 18 1779

Mr Chas Charleville, Kaskaskia

M. Alvarez leaves at the end of the month for New Orleans, and is getting very impatient that I do not finish to pay him; I hope that you will soon relieve me of that matter which disquiets me much as you promised me, I should be glad to be in a condition to not press you so much in regard to that matter, but the painful circumstances in which I am placed compels me — Yours &c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 18 OCTOBER 1779, TO

CERRE AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia Oct 18, 1779

Mr Cerré,<sup>51</sup> Kaskaskia —

I send you by Mr Bourgigon, old deer skins, containing in all 195 skins as I think, if there are any among them much eaten if you think they are not worth the trouble of being passed, you will throw them aside. do as you would for yourself — I bought a pig of lead to make balls, but I can't send them to you now as they are not run, I don't know what I shall do for powder. I have so little now and it is so scarce that I might find myself embarrassed if much is needed — I would be obliged, if you are not soon coming here, that you let me know the number of pounds I might need — I hope that you on any occasion will spare me, any more than I do you —

I see that all the means on which I relied to pay Beaulieu<sup>52</sup> fail

<sup>51</sup>Jean Gabriel Cerré was one of the most influential citizens of Kaskaskia and became one of the most important in St. Louis. He was born in Montreal, 12 August 1734. As early as 1755 he was established at Kaskaskia. In 1764 he married Catherine Giard. Clark considered his support essential to the American cause, and under Col. John Todd he was elected one of the judges of the district of Kaskaskia. However, as early as 17 June 1779 he had made preparations for his removal to St. Louis by purchasing a lot from Louis Perrault. He probably removed there in late 1779 or early 1780. He died April 4, 1805. (Walter B. Douglas, "Jean Gabriel Cerre — A Sketch," *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, II, 58-76).

<sup>52</sup>Michel Palmier called Beaulieu was one of the justices of Clark's court and was elected justice of the Court of the District in 1779 but he died in 1780, *Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 627-628).

me there is no one but you on whom I found my hopes, I leave with Mr Motard<sup>53</sup> — No news here from any quarter, my respects &c —

Do not forget my salt —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 23 OCTOBER 1779, TO

REYNAL AT ST. LOUIS

Cahokia Oct 23, 1779

M. Renald,<sup>54</sup> St. Louis

It was not without surprise that I read your letter, seeing the amount you demand of me for a man who is altogether a stranger to me, for a dweller of this village to whom the accident of having his leg broken happened to occur at my house — where is the man who in so sad an accident would not have gone to give relief? When you say that you amputated his limb at my request, permit me to say to you that it is not true, and that if on your arrival at my house you had asked me if I would pay the sum of three hundred livres in deer skins that you demand, I would then have told you my way of thinking —

I admit that all the men I found near I despatched at once to seek a Surgeon, and think that had I been well, I would have run myself, with the hope of being sooner back to give relief to the unfortunate man, had the accident occurred to a slave of mine or to a servant in my employ, I would consent to pay your demand as it would be legitimately due you, but for a dweller of the village, you can as I myself endeavour to collect your debts —

May God preserve me and those who may belong to me from your hands forever — As to what Rasset<sup>55</sup> tells you, that Ferrand had told him that he thought I had paid you, I maintain is false,

<sup>53</sup>Joseph Motard is mentioned in the St. Louis Archives as early as 1769 as a merchant and goldsmith. Houck, (*The Spanish Regime*, II, 159) states he came from Avignon, France. He died about 1802. He participated in the expedition against Jean Marie Ducharme in 1773, a trader from the English side who had entered the Missouri River illegally, (Abraham P. Nasatir, "Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri." *Missouri Historical Review*, XXIV, 420 ff).

<sup>54</sup>Dr. Antoine Reynal was probably the third surgeon in St. Louis and came here about 1776. In 1777 he purchased land from Jean Hugé on east side of Third Street from Market to Chestnut Streets. He lived in St. Louis for about twenty-five years until 1799 and then moved to St. Charles where he died in 1821 at the age of 80 years, (J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County*, [Philadelphia, 1883], 1517).

<sup>55</sup>Jean Racette called Parisien. Reynal sued Gratiot in Cahokia in December 1779, for the payment of the 300 livres for the amputation stating that Gratiot, in the presence of Baptiste Alarie, had promised to pay him. However, Alarie testified that he was not present at the time of the accident, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 27, 29, 31).



because there is not a lb of skin taken which is not written down and of which he had no knowledge —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 23 OCTOBER 1779, TO  
PAPIN AT ST. LOUIS

Cahokia Oct 23, 1779

Mr Papin, St Louis

I presented to Mr Girardin his account, who said that instead of 30 lbs of nails you charge him with in one item it was but 23 lbs, and as to the Bolting cloth as it was an odd one, you let him have it before you left for the Missouri for the sum of 72 livres, and it was your cousin Julie (Mrs V)<sup>56</sup> who delivered it to him in your absence — He says you forgot to charge him with a head of cheese, and a flask of apricot fruit while he was sick —

I would be much obliged if you could find opportunities to sell Rum for peltries cash, but don't give it for less than 450 livres, if you could sell of it to the amount I owe you, I would be greatly pleased that you sell enough to pay you —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 23 OCTOBER 1779, TO  
PERRAULT AT ST. LOUIS

Cahokia Oct 23rd 1779

Mr Perrault<sup>57</sup> St Louis

Dean's account that you sent me I presented to Mr Lacroix<sup>58</sup> his employer but he would not accept it until he had finished his time, and for as much as may be coming to D on his wages — I think it is a doubtful debt am not sure to make him pay it, I therefore send it back to you — Please let me know if you prefer flour or peltries for what I owe you, and at what time you wish to have it.

As that cursed fever has returned, I would be obliged if you can send me a little sage — yours &c

<sup>56</sup> Julie Papin of Quebec married Benito Vasquez of Galicia, Spain, in St. Louis, 27 November 1774. She died at the age of 67 on 23 August 1829, (Oscar W. Collet, Index to the St. Louis Church Registers).

<sup>57</sup> Journal des Cahos has accounts only in name of Mr. Perault. About this time there were three of this name living in Cahokia. J. B. was a trader there but also lived in St. Louis; Joseph also lived there; and Michel was a Captain of Infantry in Cahokia. Two other brothers, Louis and James, were merchants in St. Louis and Quebec, respectively, (Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 95).

<sup>58</sup> Journal des Cahos carries an account with Jn. Bte. Lacroix in October, 1799, p. 125. He was the son of Pierre Hubert Lacroix of Quebec and his full name was Jean Baptiste Hubert Lacroix. He married Catherine Aubuchon, widow of Joseph Clermont. In September, 1778, he assisted Clark by treating with the Indians. He was one of the justices in 1780, 1784, 1785, and 1786, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 632, n. 101; English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II, 1045).

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 9 NOVEMBER 1779, TO  
McCARTY AT CAHOKIA

Cahokia Nov 9, 1779

M. Richd. McCarty, pres't

I received your letter night before last about 12 or 1 o'clock, which very much surprised me — I am at home since last evening very much fatigued from both the dancing and ride on horse-back — You must know that I had the honor to give a ball with one of our daughters of the Church, and coming out from the ball I set out for home —

I learn with much surprise that you gave a permit to Mr Sanguinet<sup>59</sup> to go up the Illinois river, I am at a loss to conceive what could have been the motive for such permission after the way the Spanish act toward us, above all since I and all other subjects of this shore who send goods up that river, which is almost the only region of trade we have, you send there strangers who assuredly will not allow you similar privileges on their side, after the recent indications which we have had to take from us nearly all the trade, to the great injury of the people of this, our side — You know besides that it is not your privilege to grant a permit to any one who is not of your district but is a matter for the Court — Consequently as I hope that your feelings are not to labour to the injury of the people of this bank, that you will suggest to him not to trade there, notwithstanding the permission he received from you —

In awaiting your reply — I am &c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 15 NOVEMBER 1779, TO  
MONTGOMERY AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia Novr 15, 1779

Col. Montgomery,<sup>60</sup> Kaskaskia

As having sent goods of all descriptions up the Illinois river to trade with the Indians up there, I learnt with much surprise on

<sup>59</sup> Charles Sanguinet was born in 1740 at Quebec Canada, the son of Simon, a notary there. He came to St. Louis in 1775, a widower, and in 1779 married Marie Condé, daughter of Dr. Condé. He died in St. Louis in 1818 at the age of 78, (Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 196). In 1790 Gratiot sued him for recovery of goods deposited with him but which he refused to give up, claiming Gratiot was indebted to him. DeLeyba decided the case in favor of Gratiot, (Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 205-206).

<sup>60</sup> John Montgomery was a native of Botetourt County, Virginia, of Irish descent, and was born in 1748. He was one of the "long hunters" who were in southwest Kentucky in fall of 1771. He also participated in the Point Pleasant campaign in Dunmore's War. In the spring of 1778 he was in the

my return to my house, that Mr McCarty had given a permit to Mr Sanguinet, Merchant on the Spanish side of the country to go up the same river to trade — In consequence I wrote him the letter, of which you have herewith a copy, and to which I had for reply the letter enclosed —

You know how M. DeLeiba [De Leyba] acted towards a citizen of this side, who for having entered a small river ten leagues above the Missouri, where there were some Indians; had seized upon all his property in the King's name, and the Clerk of said citizen, whom he kept in a dungeon until this day, and if the owner of said goods had not fortunately escaped he would undoubtedly have been in the dungeon also —

Mr McCarty is surprised that I make such a demand of him to withdraw his permit, for the reason that I have not sufficient merchandise to supply the State and to satisfy the Indians; How does he know what goods I have sent, and those I have to send in case they are needed? what benefit would the citizens of this side have, if they have not the privilege of their legitimate trade, if they are to be interfered with by strangers, who would not grant us permission to go and kill a deer on their side — How could I be able, after purchasing the merchandise at exorbitant prices and expending the money to send them to the winters trades to pay the capital that I sent? No! I think otherwise from your equity, that you will not allow strangers to trade in a river, which is *our* only resource of trade, as long as we are able to do it ourselves; and that you are as jealous of the rights of your citizens, as our neighbours over the river are of theirs — If we could send nothing to that river, I would strongly approve of Mr McCarty's action, but it seems to me to be working to the injury of our shore in such manner of acting, seeing we are able to supply them without the help of our neighbors —

I hope for all from your generosity and equity, and look to receive from you by return of this messenger an order or signification to the party in question to refrain from entering the Illinois river under penalty of confiscation, & as it is always better to proceed mildly to have him notified not to go there —

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Holston country and was ordered to join Clark for the protection of the Kentucky settlement. After the capture of Kaskaskia, Clark sent him to Virginia with prisoners and dispatches. He returned to the Illinois country in May, 1779, as a lieutenant-colonel. He proved very tyrannical towards the inhabitants and on 18 October 1780 departed for New Orleans. He was later elected sheriff in Tennessee but finally settled in southwestern Kentucky where he was killed by Indians in November, 1794, (English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, I, 137-138; *Illinois Historical Collections*, II, V, *passim*).

I have but to thank you for all the kindness you have lately extended to me at Kaskaskia — if I can on any occasion be of use to you don't spare him who has the honour to be — &c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 25 NOVEMBER 1779, TO  
CARBONNEAU AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia Nov 25 1779

Mr Carbonneau,<sup>61</sup> Kaskaskia

I have at last succeeded in sending you two fine barrels (kegs) of Rum, which Mr Cerré promised me to have delivered to you, you will tell me by the first chance if they are fine, if they are olion [?] (oillic) [?] or to be handled with fingers, so that I may return them as you will receive them — As soon as you shall have bargained for four thousand dollars worth, you will stop the sale until you have informed me, but not for flour, which you will make as much as you can; and deliver to the Fort, and take receipts from Col Montgomery in my name —

I recommend to you to accept no obligations of the officers, unless signed by the Col. you will not sell a bottle for less than 30 dollars paper; as to the balance you may sell it at 5 livres the bottle, if you can get no more, in peltries or deerskins, or flour which you will deliver all to the Fort, and draw receipts for it —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 15 DECEMBER 1779, TO  
CARBONNEAU [AT KASKASKIA ?]

Cahokia Dec 15 1779

Mr Carbonneau

I received yours somedavs since with your watch, which is not yet repaired, but which I will carry to you so soon as I go to your village, if I can have it in order, for Mr. Girardin is very negligent —

I am very sorry that Mr Cerré did not deliver you the two barrels of Rum. as he had promised me, as it occasions me a great disappointment, in a little arrangement I had with Col. Montgomery for about four thousand dollars which I am to deliver him in the month of March next — In case Mr Cerré has not been to Kaskaskia since that time, and you can find a barrel to borrow somewhere to be returned by Mr Cerré, or by myself at the first

<sup>61</sup> Francois Carbonneaux began acting as notary in Illinois during the British period. He became a follower of Richard Winston and was chosen clerk of the court of Kaskaskia in 1779. In 1783 he went with Winston to Virginia to collect money due on loans. Before 1790 he had moved to Spanish territory on the western bank of the river, (Alvord, *Illinois Country*, 361; *Illinois Historical Collections*, II, xcliv, V, 6, n. 3). In 1801 he is listed by Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 87), as a resident of St. Charles.

favorable opportunity when they have my money ready at the stated time if the affair fails — As respects the paper and bitter powders that you ask of me, it was impossible to get them since I received your letter, the communication with St. Louis being entirely cut off by the ice — for the widow Degagné's<sup>62</sup> bill, I have looked over the Kaskaskia book, where I find no account with her son, and I am ignorant if he has ever sold a barrel of Rum to Kay — As respects the bills I left with you, they are those Mr Kay sent me at his departure, and made out by himself — I have the honour to be —

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, 16 DECEMBER 1779, TO  
MONTGOMERY AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia Dec 16, 1779

Col Montgomery, Kas

I write you in haste by Mr Girardin to apprise you of the sad chances with which we are threatened at every moment — This night about midnight I was awakened and informed that the cantine<sup>63</sup> (soldiers dramshop) at . . . of Mr Labbé<sup>64</sup> was taken by Indians — I got up at once and went to Mr Lacroix's to learn the correctness of the report —

Reaching there I found a Payoria Indian, a hand of the said Cantine, who told me, that "yesterday he started with Charley [Charloc] the interpreter,<sup>65</sup> and the son of the 'Wolf chief of the Kickapoos,' to go to the mamelles on the hills, about a league distant from the said Cantine, that when they reached there, they found a large Indian Lodge with a number of Indians in it, who immediately seized Charley and tied him, as for himself an Indian woman warned him that if he did not escape at once he would be killed with

<sup>62</sup> This is probably Marie Louise Ulim, widow of late Jean Baptiste Degagné, who in November, 1779, petitioned for a guardian to be placed over children of Lapiere, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 27, III).

<sup>63</sup> The Cantine was also a stream near Cahokia.

<sup>64</sup> This is probably Nicholas Noiset called Labbé who married Marie St. Yves at Cahokia, 16 January 1758. He died before February, 1780. The river Labbé or Cahokia creek was evidently named after the family which had a mill on the stream, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 627, n. 37).

<sup>65</sup> One of several attempts by the British to arouse the Indians and drive the Americans out of Illinois. There had been disorder at the Cantine in November, 1779, and John Henson, a trader, was accused of bad conduct in his trading with the Indians. His wife was also declared guilty of evil speech and she was to be withdrawn from the Cantine. For court record and proceedings of disturbance of 16 December 1779 see *Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 31-33. As a result the court decreed that the officers of the militia should be given orders for a general inspection of all houses to see that everyone had arms in proper condition and necessary ammunition for defense, (*Ibid.*, II, 35).

the others," he also said that the "Wolf's" son was implicated with the other Indians of the party — According to what I see they are Wabash Indians, and may number about 50 or 60 men having eight Lodges all united as one — Whereupon to be prepared against so pressing a danger, I immediately assembled all the people at my house, to deliberate on what we should do — where we determined to at once despatch twenty of the bravest and most resolute of our young men, well mounted and armed, with a written order to Mr Saucier as their commandant, to demand from these Indians the reasons they made a prisoner of Charley; if they have any intention to make war, that they declare it formally without fear — I also told him to seize the person of Charley and bring him to the village, and if the Indians opposed it, to charge on them as brave soldiers — and if they wanted to enter into a discussion, to have no argument with them further than to tell them to send with you two or three of their principal men to confer with the old inhabitants of the village —

I have just this moment despatched the said horsemen, well armed, with a white flag to offer them peace or war —

I am much mortified to see that Mr Gibeau will not wait to see the result of the expedition, and inform you of it, as he is preparing to depart at day break; but you may calculate that if anything new or prejudicial to the public welfare occurs, I will send a messenger to you immediately —

I have nothing further at present to inform you of and beg you to believe me &c

GRATIOT AT CAHOKIA, DECEMBER 1779, TO  
MONTGOMERY AT KASKASKIA

Cahokia Decr 1779

Col Montgomery, Kaskaskia

I am much chagrined that M. Gibeau left without having taken my letter as he had promised me, so I send you appended the details of the fright we had which fortunately was not well founded —

I confronted the Peoria Indian in presence of many, who said that the Indians had done nothing to harm him, the Wolf came and stated that he still worked at the Cantine, and that all that had been told us was untrue — I am at a loss what to believe, either the Wolf's son is a great hypocrite who does not give us the truth or that in reality he knows nothing of the other Indians — But a great defect I perceive in Charley is that he gets drunk with the Indians, to which he is too much addicted — All has been quiet since then, and we hear no rumors of the approach of enemies —

You have doubtless heard of the death of M. Tourangeau,<sup>66</sup> one of our militia captains —

N. B. I forgot to say to you that as soon as I received your last letter, I sent it to Cardinal<sup>67</sup> who lives at some leagues above the village on the Mississippi, translated into French, with a recommendation I made him to caution all persons of the other side, who had entertained intentions of entering into the Illinois River, to not expose themselves to it, in view of the danger with which they are menaced in doing so — Mr Sanguinet having found himself there notwithstanding the opposition made to him, on the strength of the permit of Mr McCarty by which he thought himself sufficiently authorized to go there, saying "that if they desired to seek him, they had but to provide themselves with powder & balls, seeing that he had plenty for the reception of those who desired to come and take him, in a word, he had disregarded the notice and refuses to conform to it, and is in our river to the great injury of several parties of this side, who like myself have great reason to complain, from appearances it may do me harm enough to prevent me fulfilling my engagements — the sole enterprise from which I had calculated to receive my peltries early from that river —

I learnt that my clerk had remained with my unsold goods, and think that if business continues any longer on this footing, I shall be obliged in spite of my inclinations to become a Spaniard,<sup>68</sup> so as to be able to participate in all the advantages of the trade of both sides — Seeing that it will be impossible to carry on any business here, without running the risk of ruin —

This is all I have to say at present, and beg you to believe me &c

<sup>66</sup> Pierre Godin called Turanjeau came from a family located in Canada as early as 1651. Pierre was one of the prominent inhabitants of Cahokia and served as justice in Clark's court. In 1779 he was appointed captain of the militia by John Todd, (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 631, n. 90).

<sup>67</sup> Jean Baptiste Cardinal was in St. Louis by August 1777, where he married Marie Anne Souigny. Under Clark he was a captain of the militia of Post Vincennes. In March, 1780, he conducted a boat belonging to Gratiot up the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien where it was attacked by a band of Menominee, stripped of its cargo, and all hands made prisoners, (St. Louis Archives; Kellogg, *British Regime*, 167; English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, II, 1036). For further information about seizure of the boat and substantial trial of Gratiot in St. Louis on charge of collusion with the enemy see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI, 151; Houck, *History of Missouri*, 34-35.

<sup>68</sup> He moved to St. Louis early in 1781 and on 21 June 1781 married Victorie Chouteau, youngest daughter of Marie Therese Chouteau, née Bourgeois. The *Journal des Cahos* continues until December, 1781.

## CHAPTER V

### AFFAIRS AT FORT BOWMAN, 1778-1780: ACCOUNTS AND LETTERS

*Edited by* CHARLES VAN RAVENSWAAY

With the outbreak of the American Revolution, the British from their headquarters at Detroit, and the Americans from their posts at Fort Pitt and the Kentucky settlements, exerted all the diplomatic finesse of white men to gain control over the Indians of the Northwest, and through their aid to win control of the region for their respective nations.

The year 1777 was a bloody one for the American settlements along the frontier, because of the British-inspired Indian raids. Twenty-six year old George Rogers Clark of Kentucky felt that aggressive action was needed by the Americans, first to take the French villages along the Mississippi and gain control of the Indians; and then to move against Detroit. The government of Virginia empowered him to raise the necessary army and with great secrecy Clark and his small force captured Kaskaskia by surprise on 4 July 1778. He immediately sent his trusted officer, Captain Joseph Bowman, with some forty men and a party of Kaskaskians, to take the villages to the north. Cahokia was peacefully occupied on July 6.

In Cahokia Bowman found an old stone house built in 1763 to serve as the parish house which the British had later used for a barracks. Bowman occupied the building, repaired it, and it became known as "Fort Bowman." However minor the part it played during the war, it was nevertheless the westernmost post of the American government.

A civil court was soon established with Bowman elected the first president, and soon the first jury trial in the Northwest territory was held in the village. But despite the attempts at winning over the populace to the American cause, inevitable frictions soon developed between the military and the civilian population. Conti-



mental currency became worthless, accounts went unpaid; the citizens increasingly resented having to provision and quarter the troops. Some of the officers and men were undisciplined, restless and unconscious of their responsibilities as citizens and soldiers in a new Republic.

Even during the early years of the Revolution when they were nominally at peace with Britain, the Spanish officers on the West bank of the Mississippi aided the Americans in every way short of open warfare. Later in the war St. Louisans joined with the Cahokians in projects of mutual defense.

With Spain's declaration of war on England in 1779, a new phase began in the war in the West. The British immediately planned a vast strategy for capturing the valley, sending a British and Indian army to attack St. Louis and Cahokia on 26 May 1780. Their defeat ended the last serious British attempt to conquer the region, but the threat of further attacks continued until after peace was made.

Finally, near the close of the war, a mysterious Frenchman named Mottin de la Balme appeared in the Illinois Country, suggesting to the frustrated Creoles that a return to the peaceful days of the old regime might be achieved. An attack on Detroit was planned, but de la Balme and many of his party were killed while enroute to their objective.

When the war ended Clark had achieved his original objectives, to win and to hold the Northwest territory. But the Creoles of the Illinois villages, as the pawns in the international struggle, were bankrupt and embittered, discouraged by the social and political anarchy about them. Some in desperation moved across the Mississippi into the more ordered Spanish colony.

Cahokia never recovered. The growth of St. Louis, the decline of the fur trade which had long sustained the village, all combined to relegate the village to the status of a quiet, country village.

The documents that follow give some idea of military affairs at Cahokia during those troubled years.

ACCOUNT. DANIEL MURRAY TO THE UNITED STATES  
KASKASKIA, 14 AUGUST 1778<sup>1</sup>

The United States of America to Dan Murray. Dr.	
To 20 Bottles Rum furnished Colo. George Rogers Clark's Detachment for a Refreshment after their taking possession of the Illinois Country .....	100.
To 4 Bottles ordered by Colo. Clark to Refresh Captn. Bowmans party on their Arrival from Caho .....	20.
To Colo Clarks ord in favr. of Michael 1 pint .....	2.10
To 5 quarts Rum furnished the Party that came from Caho by Water .....	25.
	<hr/>
	147.10

August 14th - 78

DAN MURRAY<sup>2</sup>

RECEIPT. JOSEPH BOWMAN, CAHOKIA, 17 SEPTEMBER 1778<sup>3</sup>  
Sept. 17th 1778

Then Recd. of Colo. Clark one Bagg & two pounds of Jasuits Bark twenty pounds of sugar & One Kegg of wine which I Delivered the Doctor for the use of the Hospital at Cahocas, likewise one Kegg of Brandy for the use of the fatigue of my Compys.

JOS. BOWMAN<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original of this document is in the Virginia State Library.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Murray, a brother of the better known William Murray, was in Kaskaskia at the time Clark occupied that village and gave Clark valuable help. He remained in Kaskaskia during the following years and was shot in a quarrel over money matters. Cf. *Illinois Historical Collections*, V, note 2 p. 4; note 1, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>4</sup> Three of the Bowman family were Kentucky pioneers, who came originally from Frederick County, Virginia. Joseph, born in 1752, early joined Clark's army for the conquest of the Illinois and raised a company for the expedition. He was commissioned major of a battalion of volunteers, and rendered Clark notable service at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, winning the respect of the French by his forthright and able leadership. He established the first popular court of justice in Illinois (at Cahokia) in 1778, and was himself elected the first president by the inhabitants. Bowman died at Vincennes, 14 August 1779. Cf. *Illinois Historical Collections*, II, note 4, p. 2; VIII, note 2, p. 22; and note 1, p. p. 155. W. H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, (Indianapolis, 1897), I, 108.

RECEIPT FOR CONTINENTAL STORES TAKEN FROM ST. LOUIS TO  
KASKASKIA BY LIEUT. MICHAEL PERRAULT, 17 SEPTEMBER 1778<sup>5</sup>

List of the Goods taken out of the Continental Store at St. Louis By order of Collenel Clark & sent to Kaskaskia under the care of Lieut Perault 17th Sept. 1778.

6 Dozen of Knives	}	out of Trunk No. 5
11 Pieces of Binding		
6 Gun Locks		
11½ Dozen Combs		
12 Dozen Buttons		
2 Bags of Barks		
I Bale Cloth to Contain the above articles		
7 Barel of wine		
7 Barel of Brandy		
I Case of Sugar		
1 piece of coarse Linnen		
out of the Above for Captn. Bowman		
1 Barel Wine —		
1 Do of Brandy		
1 Piece coarse Linnen		
2 Knives		
abt 20 lb Sugar out of the case		
1 Bag of Barks given to the Doctor by his order part of the		
Other Bag for himself		
1 Gun Lock to Brady which he will acct for to Col. Clark or		
return if required		

JN GIRAULT, LT

RECEIPT. AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU, KASKASKIA, 19 NOVEMBER 1778<sup>6</sup>

Received from George Rogers Clark Esqre the sum of one thousand six hundred & eighty Dollars in a sett of Bills drawn by him on Oliver Pollock<sup>7</sup> Esqre at New Orleans for sundries furnished to the State of Virginia, being in full of all accts to this Date —  
Kaskaskias Nov. 19th. 1778.

AUG. CHOUTEAU.

<sup>5</sup> Document in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>6</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>7</sup> Oliver Pollock (about 1737 — 17 December 1823), trader, planter, financier, was born in Ireland, and when twenty-three years old emigrated to Carlisle, Pa. Soon he became a trader in the West Indies, moving to New Orleans in 1768, where, during the Revolutionary war, he became the commercial agent for the United States. Largely through his aid, Clark was able to obtain needed supplies, and thus was able to hold the Northwest. Pollock bankrupted himself in the interest of the government and it was not until many years later that he was repaid for his personal losses.

RECEIPT FOR CONTINENTAL STORES DELIVERED TO  
ST. LOUIS, 20 APRIL 1779<sup>8</sup>

[Upper left corner of  
document torn].

St. Louis 20 April 1779 of Monsr  
a Christ, to the Address of  
nd —

Signed

G. R. CLARK

ult. rec'd ten dollars for frt  
of orriginal rect. Viz  
ly acknowledge to have received  
Batteau by the hands of Mons

command a Chist marked I. C. to deliver to the bearer of the present  
a St. Louis on the Illinois, this I oblige myself to do. The danger  
of the River only excepted for consideration of Ten dollars horrd  
money freight I having recd the sd. sum at New orleans 27 Augt.  
1778.

Signd

PERAULT.

ACCOUNTS DUE BY MEN IN CAPTAIN JOSEPH BOWMAN'S COMPANY  
TO CHARLES GRATIOT, CAHOKIA, 6 MAY 1779<sup>9</sup>

Sundry Accounts of the men belonging to Capt Bowmans  
Company in full With Charles Gratiot

Sergt. [Daniel] Darst .....	16 2/5 Dollars
Michel Sinclair .....	2 3/5
Pierre Coggar .....	1
George Levinston .....	3 7/10
Patrick Conroy .....	9/10
Ths. Clifton .....	10 1/2
William Montgomery .....	6 1/5
Habraam Lewzader .....	6 1/10
Barnal [Bernard?] Watter .....	15
James White Cotton .....	6
Sergt. [Abraham] Keller .....	82 3/5
Telleman Kampher .....	13 3/5
Philipe Long .....	15 2/5
Samuel Humphris .....	1/2
James McIntosh .....	14 1/2
William Berry .....	6 4/5

<sup>8</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>9</sup> Original in the Virginia State Library.

James Curry .....	11 1/2
Dominique Flanigen .....	1/2
Philippe Alburn .....	2
Cornelius Roddelle .....	1
George Hite .....	3 1/5
Ch. McGlochland [?] .....	7 1/2

Dollars 227 1/2

Je Certifie tous les compter juste et veritable Sous erreurs ou  
omission —

Au Calhos le 6 May 1779

Dan'l McCrae & Company.

INVENTORY OF GOODS TAKEN FROM THE CONTINENTAL  
STORES IN ST. LOUIS, BY JOSEPH BOWMAN, CAHOKIA  
[24 MAY 1779 ?]<sup>10</sup>

An Inventory of Sundray Goods Taken from the Continantle  
Store at St. Louis at Different times.

Sept. 5, 1778.

- One Piece of brown Linen.
- 2 Pieces of coarse Linen No. 5.<sup>11</sup>
- I Do. . . . Oo. . . . not numbered.
- 6 pieces of Gartering
- 150 hats
- 15 Bails of Cloath white & blue
- 4 Pieces of white [torn]
- 4 Pieces of blue [torn]
- 29 pr. of Shoobuckles —
- 150 pr. of Shoes.
- 1 Case of Pewter buttons larg & small
- 164 pr of Sleeve buttons
- 130 Shirts of white & Check
- 69 fine white Do.
- 92 pr of white thred stockings
- 89 Doz of small buttons for jackits
- 18 pr of fine Shoes
- 36 Packs of white thred
- 1 Table Cloath
- 12 Horn Tumblers

<sup>10</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>11</sup> This document is of particular interest for its information relating to the clothing used by the soldiers in Clark's army. The numbers apparently refer to chests in which the items were found.

- 2 Trunks
- 1 Emty Case
- 29 fusees
- 1 piece of Cambrick No. 35
- 1 piece of Linen No. 36
- 1 Do No 35
- 5 Pieces gartering
- 3 Hats —
- 13 Doz of large buttons
- 4 Doz of small Do

---

Ocotbr 27

- 1 piece of sarge for lining of Cloaths
- 2 Double Bridle gun Locks
- 1 Horn Tumbler
- 4 [torn]
- 5 [torn]
- 2 [torn]
- 1 [torn]
- 1 pr of Scissors

---

Januy. 4, 1779	1 Piece of white Cloath
Apl 23	1 Piece of Coarse Linen
May 24th	3 Hats

Received of Mr Bosalee [?] out of the Continantle stores at St. Louis at Sundry times the above mentioned articles for the use of the State of Virginia I say Receivd by me

JOS. BOWMAN.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK [?] TO GODEFROY LINCTOT [?]

JUNE, 1779 [?] <sup>12</sup>

You are to take Charge and of a Voluntier Company Raised at Cohas (and soon as possible) March by way of the Illinois River to the British post Called Ome<sup>13</sup> which I make no doubt but that you can Easily get possession of by which Means you probably may

<sup>12</sup>Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection. Missouri Historical Society. In May, 1779, Clark was busy with plans for an attack on Detroit. Godefroy Linctot, an Indian trader and resident of Cahokia, was elected to command of a Cahokia company for the expedition and probably at Linctot's request, Clark sent him the above orders. This copy is unsigned, and undated, and may have been the original draft which Clark retained.

<sup>13</sup>A British post on the Miami River, which was variously spelled Ome, Omie, Mawmy, Minami, etc. — from the French *Aux Mis*, i. e. the post at or among the Miamis.

be Safe while you will have an opportunity of treating with the Indians in that Quarter, and probably bring them to peace, as I shortly Expect to be at that post myself if you find that you Can get subsistance for your Troops, you will Remain their untill I join you but if you find that you Cant possibly get supplies of provisions you will take your Rout down the Ouabash untill you Meet me, on your Rout you will Ingage all the Men you Can to Join you and for defraying the Expences you Consequently will be at (in supporting your Troops) you must draw Bills on me, which I shall be Honoured, If you should be fortunate on your Expedition you will arrive at the Meamme<sup>14</sup> long before me If it should be the case, you will amediately send Expresses to me Down the Waubash River leting me know how you are and what news is stiring Espetially from Detroit It may probably lay in your power to Collect a number of Horses on your Rout if you should find that the waters is too Shallow for Barges to pass from Weaugh<sup>15</sup> to Ome you will send the Horses to Weaugh, be Carefull that our Reall Intention is Keep as secrt as possible as our success will greatly depend on it, I make no doubt but that your Virtue and Experience will Carry you through the Task you have undertaken with Honour to your Self and Cuntrey

I am with Esteem your  
 Very Hbl Servt  
 [no signature]

EXPENSES FOR CAPTAIN JOSEPH BOWMAN'S COMPANY,  
 STATIONED AT CAHOKIA, 5 AUGUST 1779 <sup>16</sup>  
 The State of Virgin[ia] for the expences of the  
 Troops Stationt at Kohoas under Majr. Bowman  
 To Geo. Rogers Clark . . . . . Dr.

1778				
	th			
July	27	To paid Charles Cadran for furnitures as per acct. No. 83 .....		76
Augt.	12	To paid Mr. Volsey for 100. lb Gun- powder as pr Rect. No. 84 .....		100
Sept.	19	To paid for Hire of Horses as pr Rect of Major Bowman No. 85 .....		8   2   10

<sup>14</sup> See note 13.

<sup>15</sup> Weaugh, Weau, Weaughtinon, Ouiatanon, etc. A point 120 miles up the Wabash.

<sup>16</sup> Original in the Virginia State Library.

26	To paid Lecroix <sup>17</sup> as pr acct. of expenses certified by Ditto No. 86 .....	115	2	
	To pd. Ditto as pr acct of Provisions Certified by Ditto No. 87 .....	254	3	15
	To pd. [Thomas] Brady for Provisions as pr acct Certified by Ditto No. 88.....	560	3	15
Octr. 16	To pd Lecroix for Ditto as pr Ditto . . . . Ditto No. 90 .....	359	3	15
31	To pd. Capt. McCarty Ditto . . . Ditto . . . Ditto No. 91 .....	76	4	12
Novr. 10	To pd for Horsehire as pr Majr. Bowmans Certificate No. 92 .....	8		
14	To pd. for Ditto . . . as p. Ditto. rect No. 93 .....	2	2	10
24	To pd. for wood & stone as pr Ditto . . . Ditto No. 94 .....	3	2	10
	To pd. for Ditto . . . as pr Ditto . . . Ditto No. 95 .....	7	3	
Decr. 2	To pd. for Ditto . . . as pr Ditto . . . Ditto No. 96 .....	3	4	
9	To pd Lecroix for Provisions as pr acct Certified by Majr Bowman No. 97 .....	470	2	5
Janr. 20	To pd. Capt. McCarty for expence of Volenters as pr Certificate acct expenses No. 98 .....	3	1	
19	To pd. Majr. Bowmans Certified acct of Provisions No. 99 .....	20	4	
	To pd . . . Ditto . . . Ditto for expences No. 100 .....	10	3	
28	To Majr. Bowmans Certificate of sundry expences at Kahoas No. 102 .....	88		
	To pd. Barbeaus acct of Provisions certified by Majr. Bowman No. 103 .....	20	1	
nd				
May 22	To pd. Lecroix as pr acct. of Ditto . . . Ditto . . . Ditto No. 104 .....	708	1	15
	To pd Ditto as pr acct Certified as above No. 105 .....	159	1	5
	To pd. Lecroix for a Piroque as pr acct. certified as above No. 110 .....	30		

<sup>17</sup> Lecroix' initials are given as "I. B." in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, XIX, 275, but this is probably in error for "J. B."



	To pd. Capt McCarty for provisions as pr acct No. 254 .....	139		
	To pd Ditto . . . for Ditto as pr Ditto (twice charged see above) .....	76	4	12
	To pd. Beuferer for making Cloths for the soldiers pr acct. No. 250.....	148		
	To pd. Hanson for sundries as pr acct. No. 249 .....	124	2	10
	To pd. Harmond for Ditto as per Ditto No. 251 .....	60	4	0
omited	To pd. Kinell for making sundry Flags for Indians No. 252 .....	22	2	10
May 6	To pd. Majr. Bowmans Drft on me for Furnitures No. 253 .....	454	2	10

Fort Patrick Henry Augt. 5th 1779

This is to certify that the above acct of Four thousand One Hundred & Fifteen dollars & Fourteen soles is Just & true as appears by accts passd through my hands at Kahoas

JOS. BOWMAN

RETURN OF OFFICERS IN THE ILLINOIS BATTALION, VINCENNES.  
5 AUGUST 1779<sup>18</sup>

RETURN of the Officers Belonging to the Illinois Battallion and their Rank's vizt.

Colol. G. R. Clark

Lieut Colol. John Montgomey<sup>19</sup>  
Captain John Williams<sup>20</sup>

Major Joseph Bowman  
Lieut Roberts

<sup>18</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>19</sup> John Montgomery was born about 1748 in Botetourt County, Virginia. "He was raised on a farm, and his education extended only to the common branches then taught in the country." He spent some time in southwestern Kentucky in the fall and winter of 1771-1772. In the spring of 1778 he joined Clark. After the capture of Kaskaskia, Clark sent him to Virginia with prisoners and dispatches. He returned to the Illinois country in May, 1779, as lieutenant-colonel with some troops he had raised on the Holston. He "fraternized" with "an infamous girl," and departed with her down the river. Later he apparently cleared himself for he returned to the Illinois country. He was killed by Indians in Kentucky, November, 1794. Cf. W. H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio, 1778-1783*, II, 137-138.

<sup>20</sup> Captain John Williams, together with Lieut. John Rogers, was given charge of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton and other British prisoners taken at Vincennes and sent to Virginia. In 1780 Williams succeeded to the command at Cahokia. Cf. *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, note 1, p. 99.

	T Quirk <sup>21</sup>	Barshires
Artillery	Evans	Girault <sup>25</sup>
	Shelby	Crocket
Capt Robert George	McCarty <sup>22</sup>	Willson
Capt. Lt. Harrison	Todd	Perault <sup>26</sup>
first Lt. Robertson	Taylor	Bayley
2d Lt Dolton	Wortherington <sup>23</sup>	Ramsay
	Keller <sup>24</sup>	Ensignes Calvit
		Clark <sup>27</sup>
	Ensg Montgomery	
	Williams	
	Slaughter	

Fort Patrick Henry 5th Aug 1779

RICHARD MCCARTY Brigd Major

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Quirk was commissioned a major in the Illinois Regiment, 17 August 1779, having previously served in the eastern army. In 1781 he went to Kentucky where he served as a major of the troops stationed at Louisville. Cf. *Illinois Historical Collections*, XIX, 22; note 1, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> Richard McCarty, if we may judge by his despondent and often surly letters, was a trouble-maker with whom Clark seems to have been unusually patient. He came from Canada to Cahokia before 1776. In August of 1779 Clark appointed him in command at Fort Bowman where McCarty soon made himself unpopular with his old friends and neighbors by his tyranny. Later he joined the French party and was killed [2 June ?] 1781, while carrying a petition from the inhabitants to the governor of Virginia. His will, dated Kaskaskia, 25 April 1781, lists as his heirs, his wife, Ursule Benoist McCarty; a son Richard, and a daughter Ursula, then living in Montreal. (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II, 2 231; VIII, note 1, p. 99: XIX, 395).

<sup>23</sup> Edward Wortherington (or Worthington).

<sup>24</sup> Abraham Keller (or Kellar).

<sup>25</sup> Jean Girault (London, England, 24 February 1755-1813). Emigrated to New York, where as a clerk he is said to have mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, Spanish and Choctaw! In 1777 he was in Cahokia. Clark found Girault very useful as an interpreter. On 16 July 1778 Clark commissioned him a lieutenant in Worthington's company of light horse. In 1781 Clark made him commissary. Girault remained in the army until 1783 when he received his honorable discharge. He then moved to New Orleans, and sometime after 1786 settled at Natchez. (*Cahokia Records*, note 2, p. 20).

<sup>26</sup> Michael Perrault, not to be confused with Joseph Francois Perrault, the St. Louis and Kaskaskia merchant.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Clark, younger brother of George Rogers Clark, was 19 years old in 1779. On 15 June 1779, George Rogers Clark wrote his father that "dicky" had arrived at Kaskaskia, that he had given him [on June 4] a "Lieutenant Commission if I can get him to Imbrace the Air of an officer I dont doubt but he may make a good appearance in a short time. I think he already improves." He lost his life in 1784 while traveling alone through the frontier. (*Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII, note 1, p. 355; XIX note 2, p. 12).

CHARLES GRATIOT TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,  
KASKASKIA, 6 MAY 1780<sup>28</sup>

Kaskaskia the 6th May 1780

Sir

I This moment go off for Kahos, with the sorrow to see that all the operations that we had began and seemed go on so well are totally fell thro — Colonel Montgomery assembled yesterday afternoon all the Officers Military and Millitia in order to take thier oppinions with regard to the Expedition I mentioned to You and it was Unnanimously Determined to Proceed, as It was thought the best means of Scattering the Enemy and Striking Terror in the Indians.

But when part of the Necessary Provisions was Required of them, they all said that it was Intirely out of thier Power, and Concluded to Keep but about Thirty Men to be garrisoned here for there Deffence —

I cannot help regreting the Time and trouble I have lost in trying to serve a People so Destitute of Patriotic Sentiments, who are totally guided by a vile Particular Interest never doing any thing for or even caring about the General Benefit of a Country, for I am very Certain the necessary Provisions for the Expedition might have been easily procured if they would have all Helped a little —

I go to give an account of my mission to the Inhabitants of Kahos who I am very certain will be much displeased that the Expedition failed on a like Motive. I cannot ommit returning you many thanks for them and in thier names for what you have been good enough to do for them, and can in thier names assure you of thier gratitude —

I am very sorry not to be able to send you a Little Taffia from here on account of its extream scarcity in this Town, but as soon as I find an opportunity from Cahos I will send you some as I hope I have some left of what I reserved for my own use, and since I cannot have the Pleasure of Drinking it with you that I may have that of deviding it between us, That is all my Desire except that of proving you at every Occasion that I am with much respect

Sir

your very Obdt &

Hum Servt

& affectionate Friend

CH GRATIOT

<sup>28</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

P. S.

Please to present my humble respects to all the Gentlemen & tell them that all the Garden seeds were sent down by Mr. Lindsey & that there are nomore here, I recommend to you the Care of my Lott.

JOHN ROGERS TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,  
KASKASKIA, 9 MAY 1780<sup>29</sup>

Dr. Col. . . . Kaskaskias May 9th 1780

I got to this place on Sunday and shall set off Tomorrow for Kaho with my Company. Mr. Dodge the Bearer has purchased some horses he Informs me for which he has given me an Order to receive them and it is possible if you was to Give him Instructions to purchase necessaries that I may want such an Indn Saddles and dressed Bear skins to cover them from the Indians he would do it much Cheaper than I Can on account of his being better acquainted Than my self

You mentioned that I might probably furnish my self with horses while here but Did not Instruct me how to make payment whether by Bills on you or the Treasury or otherwise I shall be glad of some Instructions respecting it before I can proceed

Pray hurry Mr Carney<sup>30</sup> about having the Skins Dressed for the use of my Troops and should the goods Come up soon I hope I may get Timely notice so that I may get the rendr of the Cloathing for my men it being my wish to get them Cloathed as soon as possible so that we may be in order for Business a Soldier well Cloathed is worth two Naked ones it Inspires them with Corage Whereas a Naked man is Cowd and ashamed of himself

From Sir your Obedient Servt

Col. Clark

JOHN ROGERS <sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>30</sup> Martin Carney, the quartermaster.

<sup>31</sup> Rogers, a cousin of Colonel Clark, and the son of George Rogers after whom Col. Clark was named, was born in Virginia in 1757, and died in

JOHN MONTGOMERY TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,  
FORT CLARK, 11 MAY 1780<sup>32</sup>

Fort Clark May 11th 1780

Dear Colol I now Write you of My departure for kaho in order To prevent the Anemey aproching in to the Vilige and if The nues is Certen I will dispach an express amediately. Mr. Cartebona<sup>33</sup> is likewise Marched with 65 Men To Join dunliba<sup>34</sup> Sir Mr. Dupre from the other Sid amachant there Come and aplied to Me for purches one of the Battows heere But I did not think proper to Sell her to With out your Consent he porposes to Supply you in nesaceryes that I Expect you are in Much want of pray sir Give a answer wither or not you Can spear her and if you Can send a list of The nesearays you stand in need of that I may be Able to supply you In hast I am sir your Humble

Servent JNO. MONTGOMERY

To Col. Clark

JOHN ROGERS TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,  
CAHOKIA, 15 MAY 1780<sup>35</sup>

Dr Colonl — Kahocos May 15th 1780

Agreable to your Instructions to me I have set Down to give you an account of my proceedings Sence my arrival to this place which has not been any thing Extrodinary I have taken possession of the Fort which I found out of repair and very Dirty but have had it Cleaned and shall Put it in some [poster?] of Defence.

---

Richmond in 1794. He served as a lieutenant under Clark in the Illinois campaign and accompanied him on the expedition against Vincennes. Together with Captain Montgomery, he was given charge of Governor Hamilton and the other prisoners who were sent to Virginia. Governor Thomas Jefferson sommissioned him captain of calvary, and he served in that capacity in the West until the close of the War. (English, *op. cit.* 1, 280-281; *Illinois Historical Collections*. XIX note 2, p. 12).

<sup>32</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>33</sup> Don Silvio Francisco de Cartabona de Oro was a lieutenant in the Spanish service. He was commandant at Ste. Genevieve until 1787, when his name disappears in upper Louisiana. Cf. Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, (Chicago, 1909), I, note 1, p. 171.

<sup>34</sup> Fernando de Leyba, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, from 1778 until his death in St. Louis, June 28, 1780.

<sup>35</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

I was to day over on the Spanish Side with Colo. Montgomery and some of his Offrs who are now at this Place the Col. Proposed an Expedition to the Commandant who seemed to be fond of it and says he will send on Hundred men well Equiped under the Comand of Col. Montgomery but he the Col. has yet to send to Kaskaskias for my two Boats to Carry his Troops and no provision yet laid in for an Expedition that I dout if the Enemy are on the way as Said they will be here before an Expedition can take place.

The Col. Intends to order me on the Expedition but in Consiquence of your Instructions to me wherein you Direct me to remain here till Orders to the Contrary from yourself but at the same time Left me to consult the Sivell Cort what Method best to fall on for their Safety I shall not go unless with the voice of the aforesaid Coart but I think it will be their Desire for me to go my Men are Belited out and appear well satisfied at Maintaining them

My Compliments to the Gentlemen

I am Sir your Obdt Servt.

JOHN ROGERS

JOHN MONTGOMERY TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,  
CAHOKIA, 15 MAY 1780<sup>36</sup>

Fort Bowman Kahos May 15 1780

Dear Colol.

Sir as the Bad nues of the Enemy Aproching in our Villiges incites me To Exert My Self With the hand full of Troops I have to try to prevent there desires I thot it of An advantage to try to incorporate With the Spanish Trupes Which desine I put in practus By Going over & consulting with the Commt. Telling how Necessary it Was to Meete them and to Try to provent them from atacting the Viliges he Accgreest with Me in a pinion that It Mite Be atended with Meney advantages and proposed to furnish one hundred Men With Botes arms Artillery Amonition & provision & Every thing the stud in need of for The Expedition Which offir I could Not Refuse I there fore intend to Start in afew days from this place With two hundred & Fifty men To troy to prevent their [illegible] on the inhabitants & should I Meate With them if they prove two hard for us it is only to Retreate down Streeme But should their number Note be more than two for one — Nothing but death Shall yeald the Surrender I Recd your letter By John Duff I should be glad to Complyed With your Request if the Bad nues had not Compelled me to March without los of Time to the

<sup>36</sup> Original in the George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society. Montgomery's letters are the ultimate in phonetic spelling.

asistance of the inhabetents of kaho ho have distingished them Selves more like Vitrons then on desiplened men and are Readey to turn out to a man to go — Aney Where they are Requested I Have sent orders for Everey tool to be Sent to you But the ornt of much Account I have no Other nues to inform you of But what Mr. libas letter in formed you of I am your Humble Sarvt

JNO MONTGOMERY

To Colo G. R. Clark

REQUISITION. RICHARD HARRISON TO QUARTERMASTER,  
CAHOKIA, 25 MAY 1780<sup>37</sup>

Sir, Please to Deliver to Sargt Walker Twenty one pounds of  
Led for the use of Forty two men of my Company

Cohos, May 25th 1780

RD. HARRISON<sup>38</sup>

G. R. Clark.

RETURN FOR AMMUNITION OF CAPTAIN McCARTY'S COMPANY,  
CAHOKIA, 25 MAY 1780<sup>39</sup>

Return for ammuniton for Capt. McCartys Comp. Fore pounds  
and Three Quarters of pounds, and nine Pound and half of Led  
it being for 19 men.

Fort Bowman may 25th 1780.

R McCARTY Capt.

REQUISITION FOR SUPPLIES, SIGNED BY JARRET WILLIAMS,  
CAHOKIA, 31 MAY 1780<sup>40</sup>

Kohoes May 31 1780

Sir

Please to Deliver ten yeards of flanel to Ensign Williams for  
the use of his men going on the Expidition

JEARRET WILLIAMS, En.

G. R. Clark

To the Qt Mr.

REQUISITION FOR SUPPLIES, SIGNED BY RICHARD McCARTY,  
CAHOKIA, 31 MAY 1780<sup>41</sup>

Sir —

<sup>37</sup> Original in the Virginia State Library.

<sup>38</sup> Lieutenant Richard Harrison, was from Caroline County, Virginia, the county of Clarks. Early in 1779 Captain George and Lieutenant Harrison were given command of the company of men who had been with Willing and took them up the river to Kaskaskia to join Clark. During 1780-1781 he was in command at Fort Jefferson. He served in the West during the remainder of the war and afterward settled on Clark's Grant in Indiana. (English, *op. cit.*, 935-936; *Illinois Historical Collections*, XIX, note 1, p. 77).

<sup>39</sup> Original in the Virginia State Library.

<sup>40</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>41</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

Please to issue the Bearer Twelve yards of flannell for the use of the men of my Company at Cahos 31st May 1780.

RICHD McCARTY

To the Qm Master.

G. R. Clark.

REQUISITION FOR SUPPLIES, SIGNED BY RICHARD BRASHEAR,  
CAHOKIA, 31 MAY 1780 <sup>42</sup>

Kahos May 31st 1780

Sir —

Please to Let Captn Brashear have 15 yards of flanel for the use of his Party going on the Expidition —

RD. BRASHEAR, Capt.

G. R. Clark.

To the

Qut. Mstr.

MUSTER ROLL OF TROOPS ENLISTED BY RICHARD BRASHEAR,  
CAHOKIA, 1 JUNE 1780 <sup>43</sup>

Kahoes June 1st 1780

A Report of my Company of Reglars raised for During the war and a List of there Names raised by me.

RD. BRASHEAR.

1. John M Chever
2. Charles Morgan
3. Jesse Ross
4. Francis Robedoe
5. And. Henderson
6. James Heany
7. David Wallis
8. . . . Mayfield
9. Wilm Skiper
10. John M. Cheek
11. Danl. Bolton
12. John Folare
13. . . . Howel
14. Thomas Semlock
15. . . . Curry
16. . . . Fowley
17. Charles Hounsetr
18. Danl. Tygard
19. Saml. Allen
20. Isaac Allen
21. John Cowen

To

Colo G. Clark Esqr.

Commander of the Illinois

Rigement &c &c &c.

<sup>42</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>43</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.



REQUISITION. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, CAHOKIA, 3 JUNE 1780<sup>44</sup>  
Sir

Please to issue the Bearer three yd flanel for the Use of the  
artillery Cahos 3 June 1780.

G. R. CLARK

To the Q. Master.

JOHN ROGERS TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK, KASKASKIA, 6 JUNE 1780<sup>45</sup>  
Dr. Colonel — Kaskaskias June 6th 1780

I take the Liberty of writing to you on a subject that perhaps  
you may be surpris'd at Sir I am but young in Service and Conse-  
quently not so well Acquainted with War affairs as I would wish  
to be what Indus'd me to Enter the Service was to Serve my Cuntary  
in an active Capacity which I cannot do in Garison. Neither Can  
I make my self acquainted with the Executive part of Service which  
an Offer. ought undoubtedly to Inform himself of. I can conceive  
no better way for A young Offsr. to Gain Experienc than Going on  
Expeditions and Dangerous Enterprises. I therefore beg should you  
Carry an Expd. and you think it not prejudicial to the Service to  
Leave an Offsr. In my room to Garison as I expect there is Some  
that would prefer staying and Direct me to Join you at such time  
and place as you think but which I have to have the honour of  
doing well Equir'd after the Expedition up the River. I hope you  
will consider me as one who wishes to Signalise myself in the Service  
of my Cuntary which I was In hopes I should have had in my  
power to do I having the Comand of an only Troop in the Cuntary  
but Sir you deprive me of that chance while you Keep me to Garison  
Towns. I hope you will onsider of the matter and Let me know  
by Letter no more but have the Honour of Subscribing my Self

Your obdt. Servant

JOHN ROGERS.

JOHN ROGERS TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,  
KASKASKIA, 22 JULY 1780<sup>46</sup>

Dr. Colonel — Kaskaskia July 22nd 1780

I am here on my way from Camp Jefferson where the people  
seem much Disturbed at Col Montgomerys not sending the Troops  
Down as they Expected, the Indians are continually about there  
Endevouring to cut off the communication between that and this  
by water they have killed several persons on the River and have  
chased severall Boats, in Counoes, and I fear they the Inhabitants

<sup>44</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>45</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>46</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

will be more uneasy as the Col. when he was down there promised the Cort to Send them Fifty Men Imediately but seems now to Signify he Shall Not Send them the Troops after our return from our famous Expedition were all Left at Kahoes by order of Col. Montgomery where they still remain. I shall say but Little about the above mentioned Expedition till I see you I only say there was no thing done Except burning a Sax Town on the River Orush<sup>47</sup> [?] which had been Evacuated somedays. for my part I am very Sorry that an Expedition Ever attempted for reasons I may hereafter give you I was in hopes to have been supplied with horses by the Expedition but as that has failed I shall have all the Cuntary horses Collected and take such as will Do till I can get others I shal all so purchase some on the Best Terms I can but hope on your return you will be able to furnish me with as many as I may want if you should have success in your Expedition which is now my greatest Dependence I am geting saddles made and other things wanting that I may be ready should it be in your power to furnish me to Mount My Men and Teach them something of Duty — There has a boat arrive from Orleans a few Days ago by which we are Informed the Spaniards are in possession of Mobeel and had besieged Pensacola with Eight Thousand Men which by Every circumstance has fallen in their Hands before now

Capt. Lebar<sup>48</sup> Comdt of Pencore is dead since you Left this who was appointed a Colonell Mr. Cartterbone<sup>49</sup> now commands in the place of Mr. Lebar

Govenor Galvist [Galvez] tis said by the above boat Comands both by Land and Sea in America and is a Genrall in the Army

No more from Sir

Your Obedient & Humbl

Servt.

JNO ROGERS

N. B. Isac Bowman who was thought to have been killed is Living and has got to the Nochees having been taken by the Choctaw Indians

Col

Clark

JOHN ROGERS TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,

CAHOKIA, 2 AUGUST 1780<sup>50</sup>

Dr. Colonell — Cahoes August the 2nd 1780

We' last Night received Intelegence of a large party of White

<sup>47</sup> Rock River, Illinois.

<sup>48</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Fernando de Leyba.

<sup>49</sup> See note <sup>33</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

and other Savages being on their way to Thiss place again; much larger than the former if they come I expect they will meet with a reception Sootable for Such Cattle as they are, I have wrote to you by Mr. Galasby and requested you if possible you Can fall on any Method to furnish me with Horses thiss fall from your quarter pray do it or Write me word where you will be and permit me to Come and See you and fall on Some method of Getting them if by going to virginia for them or other wise as may be thought best for I begin to Get very Uneasy to see no Likely hood of being furnished and my Men are geting much more so; as to the way I am situate here tis the most Disagreable I ever was in with the sight of confusion hussle bussle Neglegence & regular Irregularity and Lastly No Subordination whatever, so that I think unless the case alters to Leave the Service after this campaign is Ended to serve in a place where there is neither Credit Honour reputation nor Eaven the Good will of the very people you are defending tis hard Serving, two hard for me and perhaps at the risk of a Offrs caractor, had the Troops went way as you Directed I should have done well enough or should they now go I could mänge mine so as to Give general satisfaction my detirmynation has been to Endeavour to require the best carector of our Troops in this Cuntary by Strict Decipline, which I still shall endeavour to do if Ever I have the Honour to comand any of the Viliges of this cuntary I shall say no more about Maters but refer you to Mr. Meriwether who can tell Enough of Neglegence &c Tis not my desire to Leave the service if I thought I could stay in it with any kind of Honour but without a change it cant Be Done but I hope for the best — Camp Jefferson<sup>51</sup> was attacked the 17th of Last Month very violently by a great Number of Indians who calld themselves the Chicasaws the Block & Wilys houses sustained the atack almost entirely we had two men killed by them by light one the [?] Sentinal the other sleep by a fire, wounded one and one wounded in the Blockhouse in the Battle in there retreat they killed the Horses & cattle the Loss on their side not known but much Blood and sign where they dragd them off Capt Baley & your Brother gone to reinforce them Govenor Galvist has Taken Mobiel and has besieged Pensacoly with 6000 Men Boats from Orleans says Thiss I must refur you to Mr. Meriwether for Every other affair Especially our Expedition that T—Kd. Me first

<sup>51</sup> Fort Jefferson was on the Kentucky side of the Mississippi River, at Iron Banks, some 12 miles below the mouth of the Ohio. Clark established the fort in the spring of 1780 to aid his control over the Illinois country and to protect his commerce with New Orleans. He was forced to evacuate the fort in June of 1781, owing to the numerous desertions both by his soldiers and the neighboring settlers.

tis now late and I have been very sick for a few days past and am much redused

From Sir your Most Obedt Servt  
JHN ROGERS

Col. Clark  
Esqre.

RICHARD McCARTY TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK,  
KASKASKIA, 12 DECEMBER 1780 <sup>52</sup>

Cascakia 12th Decr. 1780

As I am informed that my letters have not yet reached you on Acct. of the impossibility of getting People to go from Au Poste to the falls of Ohio; I am now to inform you of the Defeat of this famous Colol. Dela Balme after the taking of aumies<sup>53</sup> with a Great Store of Goods, Powder &c they Disputed Rangled &c for Eleven days at the place for the Division of them, untill the Indians had time to assemble &c and attacked them, the second day on their way hear, with 80 horse Load of Goods, and about 1200 lbs of powder; they stood, that is some of our old Voluntiers & got themselves Killed and some of our soldiers Poor Lavoine lost his life there; the rest to a man quit there horses and Plunder and run for it; it is said this Mighty Colol. was quite Stupified and Calld out, what doth these Indians mean to Hollow so tell them to be Quiet, and was shot down like a sullen Bull, had there Been twenty of our people there with an Officer the Indians would have been Beat; there was an English Officer with thirty men to guard a Brass field piece & two Mortars not thirty Leagues from Aumies sent as it is said last fall to attack you at the falls of Ohio but the waters being to low was left there for spring it is likewise said that there is arrived in Cannada 15000 men russians & Prussians for the English these are the General run of the news Brought by the run aways from that Defeat, how true God knows, the people in Short are in a Great Consternation and on the whole my Opinion is that it is lucky on Several Accts. that la Balme was Defeated. It is said likewise that Dejean having had leave from Colol. Montgomery to write to Detroit has abused the Trust and wrote our Situation hear that is of the Country Distitoute of Amunition &c, and it is said Capt Rogers Grants him leave to now send a flag of Truce there for which I think him mad, but he is Intrely Govond by Dodge Bently — Dejean—Notwithstand, what I wrote in my former letter I shall write your orders or Arrival which would be much more for the happiness of this Country, as acts of

<sup>52</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

<sup>53</sup> See note 13 above.

Arbitrary Power are Carryed now to the Highest pitch they can be every Second day a Bullock killed in the Commons &c &c. the People Curse us, and pray for your arrival; — Capt. Cruzat<sup>54</sup> is fortifying St Louis to the utermost, they Expend two thousand Dollars pr month there; the Cahos have concluded to enclose their village with Pickets and are at work at it Cascakia Remains sunk with their fears, all their Petions to the french agent &c are fell into the hands of the English at the overthrow, with a liste of every mans name that furnished for La Balms Expedition No news from New Orleans or any where else, Except that the English were Gathering Provisions at the Carrying Places of Ouisgonsaint above the prairie du Chien for Some Maneuver in the Spring, the Country never had more need of the Exertion of your Abilities then now for the ensuing Campaign every thing that comes to my Knowledge shall be forwarded to you If Possible, and shall waite your orders at Cascakia; whether I remain in the Service or have leave to resigne after being Justified for the Insults I havè received, the Particulars I shall omit mentioning untill a proper Occasion. the Spanish Command hath forbid any Boats going down this Year I am

Sir

with Respect

Your Most obedt &c

very humble Servt

R MCCARTY

#### INVENTORY OF GOODS TAKEN FROM THE CONTINENTAL STORES

[AT ST. LOUIS ?] TO KASKASKIA. N. D.<sup>55</sup>

MEMORANDUM of Goods taken out of the Continental Store and sent Down to Kaskaskia by Wm Myers of Captn. Worthingtons Compy. of Light Horse then to be Delivered to Coll. Clark—

77½ Dozn. of Small Brass Buttons

1 yd Cambrick

16½ Bales of Blue & White Cloth

59 fine white Shirts

121 Comon do

102 Check do

1 Table Clothe [Dyper]

2 Bolts Linin

<sup>54</sup> Francisco Cruzat, who had served as Lieutenant-Governor from 1775 to 1778, was reappointed to that office following the death of De Leyba in June, 1780. Cruzat assumed command of the province on 24 September 1780.

<sup>55</sup> Original in George Rogers Clark Collection, Missouri Historical Society.

- 1 flat Bolt of Broader kind Linin
- 24 tt Common Tread
- 114 Hats
- 127 pr Coarse do.
- 7 Horn Tumblers & 1 for Coll Clark makes 8
- A Great Quantity of Large pewter Buttons the Exact quantity  
Unknown
- 3 Doz Prs. of Cotton Hose
- 114 Hatts
- 2 Trunk & 1 Large Case.

## CHAPTER VI

### BURIAL RECORDS OF THE HOLY FAMILY CHURCH, 1784-1794

*Edited by* JOSEPH P. DONNELLY, S. J.\*

It has often been said that if one wishes to know the spirit of a people, an examination of vital statistics most clearly portrays it. This is especially true of interment records, for to walk in a burial ground is to become acquainted with inhabitants of all ages and stations and to gain, as in no other way, an impression of the nature of the whole village. The ecclesiastical records of the Parish of the Holy Family in Cahokia are far from complete. Baptismal records which extended from the late seventeenth century, together with the record of marriages and burials, were destroyed by a disastrous fire in 1783. The earliest burial record begins in 1784.

In 1938 the Illinois Museum Extension Project, cooperating with the Cahokia Memorial Survey Committee, undertook the task of making the burial records of the village available for study. A typescript of one hundred and nineteen pages was prepared, which carried in parallel columns the original French entries and an English translation. Mrs. Nicholas Anastas, who was chiefly responsible for the actual work of translation, was careful to respect the French original. Spellings, obvious errors on the part of recorders, mistakes in accents, and such other variations were carefully preserved. It is from this transcript that the present edition of the first portion of the burial record has been prepared.

Even the simplest of statistical analyses reveals some interesting information about Cahokia. If we take the whole period covered by the manuscript, i. e. 1784 to 1818, we are surprised at the information we glean. Over the thirty-six years six hundred and fifty people were buried in the cemetery. Of these, two hundred and twelve were children under twelve years, many of whom had died

\* Material edited by Father Donnelly is published with the permission of his ecclesiastical superiors.

at birth. There were two hundred and eighty-three native inhabitants of the village buried. Twelve Americans and seventy-eight Canadians found their last resting place in Cahokia during the years recorded. The Indians residing near the village must have been few, for only twelve of them are noted, of whom most were wives of native Cahokians. The negro population of Cahokia seems to have been surprisingly large for thirty-nine died and were buried there. Most of these were slaves, of whom one was a centenarian. Over the years only nine native Frenchmen were buried. One lone German is recorded.

The death rate, while varying, remained fairly close to twenty a year until 1813, when it began to rise sharply, probably due to an increase in the population. This fact would seem to deny the usual opinion that the American Bottoms area was quite regularly visited by an annual plague which decimated the population. Even contemporary literature seemed to support the idea that every summer there was to be expected an epidemic of fever which would cause the death of many. The burial records do not, however, support this opinion.

It is surprising how staunchly the people of Cahokia clung to their religion when one summarizes the actual number of years they were without a pastor to minister to them. For thirteen of the thirty-six years covered by the record there was not a resident priest at Cahokia. During the other two-thirds of the period the pastor probably was absent for long periods, visiting neighboring missions.

Through the thirty-six years Cahokia had a new pastor on the average of every three years. Seventeen priests cared for the spiritual needs of the village during the period. Father Bernard de Limpach, a Capuchin, visited Cahokia once in 1784. We have no record of a pastor for the village again until Father Paul de Saint Pierre came in 1786 to remain until September, 1789. Father F. Ledru, a Dominican from Canada, succeeded Father Saint Pierre, working in Cahokia for only two months, September and October of 1789. Then the village was cared for by the famous Father Pierre Gibault from November of 1789 to October, 1791. For the next two years there is no entry in Cahokia's burial record made by a priest until in 1793 Father Michael Levadoux arrived, staying in residence from



March, 1793, to June, 1796. Father Gabriel Richard, who did so much for Michigan, took care of Cahokia from June 1796 to March of 1797. He was followed by Father H. F. J. Didier, who stayed during April and May of 1797. Cahokia had no priest then until Father C. Lusson came in December of 1797 and left in April, 1798. During August and September of 1798 Father J. F. Rivet ministered to the village. For the next nearly ten years the only entries made by a priest are those of Father Donatien Olivier, whom we know resided at Prairie du Rocher. In those ten years Cahokia had a pastor for approximately six months, and he evidently only a visitor. In the meantime Trappist monks had located nine miles north of Cahokia. Two entries were made by Father Urban Guillet, superior of the group, one in 1809 and another in 1810. In December, 1811, Father Francis Louis Savine came to Cahokia where he stayed for the following nine years, closing the record of burials in the parish up to 1819.

Despite the inherent sombre character of the record one can read between the stilted lines and see little comedies and tragedies being enacted. We find, for example, a Marie Reine, trying the soul of the pastor with her illegitimate children. On Christmas Day, 1786, a bleak entry says "I have buried in the cemetery of this parish Elizabeth, Indian . . ." We frequently note a young couple losing a child two and three years in succession. Again, the death of a young mother with her child tells us a sad little story. Only two violent deaths are recorded in the ten years here presented. The first of these came to Augustin Dubuque from the explosion of a keg of gun powder. The second was brought about at the hands of an Indian. On the whole the record shows normal village life much as it is today. People usually lived a good three score years, intermarried with the same families, lost their children from the usual, normal causes and mourned their dead.

In the absence of the pastor one of the elected church-wardens carried on the recording of vital statistics. The records made by these men are actually more revealing than those of the priests. One can detect how earnestly they strove to supply the lack of the priest. They carefully indicate whether the person in question was considered a good Christian and whether there were signs of penitence.

The lay recorders usually strove to have co-signors to records, an indication of how important the matter was to them.

One can see the gradual influence of our Revolution and the influx of Americans on the area. Previous to 1789 titles are the old French *Sieur* and *Madame*. After that period people become Mister Andre, for example. These are possibly the most fragile of straws in the wind, but titles to the French were the breath of life.

In preparing the material for presentation, it was considered proper to present spellings and accents as they appear in the original. An effort has been made to maintain the style of the French record rather than to adopt rearrangements of names and so forth within individual records to have correct English sentences as a result. The French style is naturally terse, choppy, and quite rough, for the recorder strove to offer the most essential information in the briefest possible space. This same sort of style would be adopted by a person making records of a similar nature in English.

In the following pages then is offered the record of the passing of Cahokia's great and small during ten interesting, transitional years of her history. To the citizens of Cahokia the most important single fact at the moment of demise persistently remained whether the person who died was at peace with his Maker.

[1784]

. . . 84, the 21st of June by us . . . has been buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of . . . Francois Saucier,<sup>1</sup> aged four years. In token of which I have signed.

F. Bernard.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The most helpful source in identifying names found in the present document is the notes appended by C. W. Alvord to his reproduction of the census taken in Cahokia 27 August 1787, published in the *Cahokia Records* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, II), 624-632. The Saucier family, which settled first in Louisiana and then moved to the Illinois Country, was among the most prominent in Cahokia; Natalia M. Belting (*Kaskaskia under the French Regime* [Urbana, 1948], 29) corrects some long-established errors concerning this family's history.

<sup>2</sup>We take this to be Father Bernard de Limpach, O. M. Cap. See John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928), I, 141.

In the year 1784, by us the undersigned sexton<sup>3</sup> has been buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a negro belonging to Couvette. In token whereof I have signed the day and year above.

Pierre Troge<sup>4</sup>

. . . 784 by us, the sexton, has been buried in the cemetery of this parish . . . legitimate son of Pier Ma . . . <sup>5</sup> aged six year. In token whereof . . .

Pierre Troge

. . . 784 by us the undersigned sexton, . . . buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Pierre, legitimate son of Louis Trotie,<sup>6</sup> aged six years, in token whereof I have signed.

Pierre Troge

. . . 84 by us [remainder obliterated]

[1786]

After having taken possession of this parish of the Holy Family the 20th of July of the aforesaid year I, the undersigned Missionary priest, have buried on the thirteenth of August, in the cemetery of this village Claire Franchville, legitimate daughter of the late L'Anglois<sup>7</sup> and Therese, aged four years, in token whereof I have signed.

De Saint Pierre,<sup>8</sup> Miss.

August 25—I, the undersigned have buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Joseph Giro,<sup>9</sup> inhabitant of this village fortified by all the Sacraments instituted for the dying, aged about 50, died the preceding evening. In token whereof I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September . . . I have buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie Catherine Saucier, legitimate daughter of Francois

<sup>3</sup> The writer styles himself *Chantre*, which in this context is best translated "sexton."

<sup>4</sup> Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 626, note 23.

<sup>5</sup> This name was probably Pierre Martin.

<sup>6</sup> The correct spelling was Trottier. He was probably a cousin of François Trottier.

<sup>7</sup> Alvord (*Cahokia Records*, 624) lists two Langlois males as living in 1787.

<sup>8</sup> Father Paul de St. Pierre was a Carmelite who came to America as a chaplain in Rochambeau's army. After the Revolutionary War ended he remained in America, following Catholic emigration westward. See J. G. Shea, *Catholic Church in the United States* (D. H. McBride, 1892), II, 262-272.

<sup>9</sup> The name should be Giroux. See Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 627.

Saucier and Angelique Lepense, aged about six years. Died the preceding evening. In token whereof I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

December 25—I have buried in the cemetery of this parish Elizabeth, Indian of the Nation of the . . . whereof I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

[1787]

January 14—I have buried in the cemetery of this parish Raphael Gagne, inhabitant of this village fortified by the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, aged about 50 years, died the preceding evening; and Francois Bellan called . . . inhabitant of this village, died the preceding evening, aged 23 years, fortified with all the Sacraments instituted for the dying. In token whereof I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March . . . I have buried in the cemetery of this parish Catherine Beaulieu, legitimate daughter of Michael Beaulieu<sup>10</sup> and Angelique Chauvin aged . . . 4 and ½ years. Died the preceding evening, whereof I have signed

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 14—I buried in the cemetery of this parish Francois Lefevre<sup>11</sup> called Courier, an inhabitant<sup>12</sup> of this village, fortified with all the Sacraments of the dying, aged about 53 years. Died the preceding day. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 21—I buried in the cemetery of this parish, the body of Marie Joseph Pillet,<sup>13</sup> wife of the Sieur Milord,<sup>14</sup> aged 27 years, fortified with all the Sacraments of the dying, died yesterday, which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Beaulieu was a justice of Clark's court. His wife was prominent in urging education. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 627, note 47.

<sup>11</sup> See Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 626. This man was dead before the census was taken.

<sup>12</sup> The French word *habitant* should in the Mississippi Valley generally be translated "farmer." See J. F. McDermott, *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850*, (St. Louis, 1941), 86

<sup>13</sup> Alvord (*Cahokia Records*, 626) tells us that the family came to New France in 1680.

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps this should be Milot.

April 5—I buried in the cemetery of this parish, the body of Alexi Tabeau<sup>15</sup> legitimate son of Alexi Tabeau and Marie Therese his wife, aged 3 months. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

May 28—I buried the body of Archange Dubuc, legitimate daughter of Jean Baptiste Dubuc<sup>16</sup> and Marie Cecire,<sup>17</sup> aged 16 months. In token of which I have signed

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

April 17—I buried,<sup>18</sup> in the cemetery of this parish the body of Angelique Lapensé, wife of Sieur Francois Saucier, fortified with all the Sacraments of the dying, aged 25 years, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

April 27—I buried in the cemetery of this parish, Marie Louise Piquard, legitimate daughter of the deceased Piquard and Catherine Andaya<sup>19</sup> aged 7 years, fortified by the Sacrament of Penance. Died Yesterday

De Saint Pierre

May 4—By Pierre Troge, the sexton, . . . parish in my absence was buried in the cemetery Agathe Lanourge, legitimate daughter of . . . Lanourage and Marie Anne Corderon,<sup>20</sup> aged 2 years. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

May 27—I buried in the cemetery of this parish Marie Louise Buteau,<sup>21</sup> wife of Gabriel Baron,<sup>22</sup> aged 28 years, fortified by all the Sacraments of the dying. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

<sup>15</sup> Of this family it is only known that the original home was Lachine in Canada (Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 629, note 62).

<sup>16</sup> This name is Dubuque. During this year he was commandant at Cahokia. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 629, note 67.

<sup>17</sup> The Cesire family was prominent in Cahokia during this period.

<sup>18</sup> The chronological disorder is explained by Father De Saint Pierre's brief absence from the parish.

<sup>19</sup> The family name was Pelletier. Alvord says the name Andaya or Antaya was assumed from the name of an Indian woman who married a Pelletier more than one hundred years earlier (*Cahokia Records*, 632, note 99).

<sup>20</sup> Since the name of neither parent is found in the census of 1787, nor elsewhere in the *Cahokia Records*, this was not apparently a Cahokian family.

<sup>21</sup> The census of 1787 lists a Joseph Buteau. Alvord reports nothing about him, but he appears in documents printed in Chapter III above.

<sup>22</sup> He was a resident of and commandant at Prairie du Pont. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 230.

May 31—I buried in the cemetery of this parish Jacques, a negro, belonging to Madam Beaulieu, aged 100 years, died suddenly. In token of which I have signed below.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

May 31—I buried in the cemetery of this parish Augustin, illegitimate son of Marie Reine<sup>23</sup> an American, aged 2½ years. In token of which I have signed below.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

June 3—of Marie Josephe Theophile, marked below.<sup>24</sup>

July 14—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Elizabeth Methot legitimate daughter of Jean Methot<sup>25</sup> and Marie Locate, aged 10 years, died suddenly yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

July 8—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Catherine Saucier, legitimate daughter of Francois Saucier and Angelique Lapensé,<sup>26</sup> aged 3 months. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

August 1—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Jean Bte. Andre, legitimate son of Jean Bte. André and Josephe Artoine,<sup>27</sup> born May 7 of last year, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

August 24—There was buried in my absence, by the sexton, Pierre Troge, the body of Joseph Giron<sup>28</sup> a farmer of this parish aged about 40, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

August 27—There was buried in the cemetery of this parish by Pierre Troge, sexton, in my absence, the body of Louis Gagnon, a volunteer<sup>29</sup> aged 46, fortified by the Sacrament of Penance. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

<sup>23</sup> Possibly this name should be Mary Ryan.

<sup>24</sup> The complete entry. But see the entry for 3 June 1787 on page 264 below.

<sup>25</sup> Not in the census of 1787. However, both Jacques and Joseph Methot figure elsewhere in the *Cahokia Records*. Marie Locate was probably a relative (sister?) of René Locat of Cahokia.

<sup>26</sup> Spelled Lampensee in the 1787 census.

<sup>27</sup> Neither of these names appear in the census nor elsewhere in the *Cahokia Records* — unless the present manuscript reading should be Ardouin (Hardouin).

<sup>28</sup> Giroux?

Sept. 22—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Ignace Gaut, legitimate son of Louis Gaut,<sup>30</sup> and Charlotte Longvalle, born the 8th last, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

October 14—I, the undersigned, buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of George Elinger, a volunteer, native of the Archbishopric of Mayance from the village called Rullstaet, aged about 50, died suddenly yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

October 14—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie Susanne Cecile, born September 7, 1783, daughter of the legitimate marriage of Joseph Cecile<sup>31</sup> and Marie Alarie. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed

De Saint Pierre.

October 18—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Francoise, a negro girl belonging to Madam Bredy,<sup>32</sup> born the 15th last. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre.

November 5—I buried the body of a legitimate boy of d'Arcoide . . . born the 3rd last, baptized the same day because of danger. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

November 7—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie Louise a negro woman belonging to Charles Cartron,<sup>33</sup> aged about 100 years, fortified with all the Sacraments of the dying. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

November 9—I buried in the cemetery the body of Augustin Dubuc,<sup>34</sup> who yesterday towards eight o'clock in the morning, being

<sup>29</sup> *Volontaire*. Not a military man but, apparently, one who owned no land.

<sup>30</sup> This family (Gau, Gaud, Gaut, Gault) had been in Cahokia at least since 1732.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Cecire (Cecirre, Cesire, Cesirre).

<sup>32</sup> The wife of Thomas Brady, one of the very few Americans settled at Cahokia. He was in that place by 1779, for in that year he married Marie Larcheveque (widow Laflamme).

<sup>33</sup> This probably should be Cadron. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 624.

<sup>34</sup> Dubuque. The family was from the area about Three Rivers in Canada; its most famous member was Julien, for whom Dubuque, Iowa, was named. Augustin was quite prosperous, but given to litigation. See Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 625, note 15.

deprived of the use of his senses by the explosion of a keg of powder, gave me before death some probable signs of penitence, by pressing my hand at the question whether he regretted his sins, and received the Holy Absolution and Extreme Unction, surviving still an hour. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

[1787]<sup>35</sup>

January 7, 1787—I buried in the cemetery of this parish Susanne Marlot, aged 29 fortified by all The Sacraments of the dying. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

June 3, 1787—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie Joseph Theophile,<sup>36</sup> aged 2 years, dying the same day.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

November 22—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Francois Benoit called Laguerre, aged about 50 years fortified with all the Sacraments instituted for the dying. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

[1788]

January 7—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Angelique Boisvenu,<sup>37</sup> legitimate daughter of Nicholas Boisvenu and Margaret Beaulieu born October 10, 1786, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

January 19—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Isidore Scavoie,<sup>38</sup> legitimate son of Isidore Scavoie and Catherine Pengrace, born December 27 last. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

January 21—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of

<sup>35</sup> These are evidently supplemental entries for this year.

<sup>36</sup> See note 24 above. This entry was evidently made to complete the fragment already given.

<sup>37</sup> In the census of 1787 the name is spelled Boismenu. We are told by Alvord (*Cahokia Records*, 628, note 48) that Nicolas married Marguerite Beaulieu on 28 January 1786. He took part in the expedition against St. Joseph.

<sup>38</sup> The name is spelled Savoy in the 1787 census. The family resided at Prairie du Pont and by 1791 had moved to St. Charles, Missouri. The wife's name should be spelled Pancrasse.



Claud Chernier,<sup>39</sup> aged about 60, fortified with all the Sacraments instituted for the dying, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

February 11—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Francois Dany,<sup>40</sup> aged 50, died yesterday suddenly after having been to the parish Mass in the morning. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

February 19—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Augustin, illegitimate son of Reine, the American, born and baptized the 6th last. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

May 31—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Joseph Lacouture, legitimate son of Joseph Lacouture<sup>41</sup> and Therese Roche de l'Eau, aged 6 months. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September 27—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Michael Charlits, an inhabitant of this village, aged 25 or 26 years, fortified with the Sacrament of Penance and Extreme Unction, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

On the 17th of the month of May I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Isidore Cherleslits legitimate son of the deceased Michael Charleslits and Josephe Locate, born the 9th last, died yesterday.<sup>42</sup> In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

The 4th of the month of August I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Michael Andre,<sup>43</sup> legitimate son of Jean Baptiste Andre and Josephe Ardoine, born January 20th last. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

<sup>39</sup> Spelled Chesnier in the 1787 census.

<sup>40</sup> The Danis family is associated chiefly with Kaskaskia.

<sup>41</sup> This is Joseph Chatigny dit LaCouture. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 631.

<sup>42</sup> The death of the father seems to have called to the pastor's attention the fact that he had not recorded the burial of the son. This record is completely confused regarding chronology. Father De Saint Pierre tells us in a subsequent record that he was ill. This may explain the errors.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 262 above. At almost the same time in the previous year this couple had lost an infant son.

August 30—There was buried in the cemetery of this parish by Monsieur Troge, sexton, the body of Jeanne Louise, wife of Theophile, fortified with all the Sacraments, died yesterday, I being sick. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September 1—There was buried in the cemetery of this parish by Sieur Troge, sexton, the body of Marie Louise Durbois,<sup>44</sup> wife of Joseph Lambert,<sup>45</sup> fortified with the Sacraments instituted for the dying, died yesterday, I being sick. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September 23—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Felicité Jerome,<sup>46</sup> legitimate daughter of Francois and Elizabeth Mire, born January 4, 1787, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September 24—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Amelie, illegitimate daughter of Angelique, a Christian Indian woman, born January 12 last, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

October 9—There was buried by Sieur Troge, sexton, in my absence, Catherine Hubert Lecroix, legitimate daughter of Jean Baptiste Hubert Lecroix<sup>47</sup> and Catherine Aubichon, born December 9th last. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

[1789]

February 5—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a little negro, aged 2½ years, belonging to Monsieur Labussiere,<sup>48</sup> died last night. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

<sup>44</sup> The name is probably more correctly spelled Dubois.

<sup>45</sup> Joseph Lambert appears in the 1787 census.

<sup>46</sup> The family located at Prairie du Pont in 1787. In the census of that year the name is spelled Gerome. Mme. Jerome had been twice previously married, her other husbands being Louis Giroux and François Biguier called Groslé. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 632, note 98.

<sup>47</sup> He was a justice in 1786 and was an inhabitant of Prairie du Pont; his wife was the widow of Joseph Clermont. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 632, note 101.

<sup>48</sup> Joseph Labuxière, who held the first grant of land issued in St. Louis. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 625, note 16. The auction record of his estate in 1791 is printed in Chapter III above.

February 24—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a slave child belonging to Madam Beaulieu, baptized by the mid-wife because of danger at the hour of his birth, aged 2 months, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 4—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a girl, born, baptized by the mid-wife and died a quarter of an hour after birth, the legitimate daughter of marriage of Joseph Lachange<sup>49</sup> and Therese Paquete. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 5—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of André Lemarche, legitimate son of Antoine Lemarche<sup>50</sup> and Marie Pequete, born October 2nd last and died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 12—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Jean Bte. Vaboncoeur, <sup>51</sup> bachelor, aged 15, fortified with The Sacrament of Penance. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 16—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Alexi Chartran,<sup>52</sup> legitimate son of Jean Bte. Chartran and Marguerite Dutremble, born January 2nd last, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 18—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Therese Pequete<sup>53</sup> wife of Joseph Lachange, aged 20 years, fortified with all the Sacraments of the dying. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 26—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Jean

<sup>49</sup> This probably should be Lachanse or Lachance, a name that figures in the census. His wife's family name may have been Becquet.

<sup>50</sup> Antoine Lamarche's father came from Canada. In the census of 1787 Antoine and his son and namesake are both noted. Yet the infant seems to have been born five weeks after the census was taken. Since Antoine was twice married he may have had an older son who was also a namesake.

<sup>51</sup> This name is correctly spelled Vadeboncoeur. See also note 58 below.

<sup>52</sup> This family came to Montreal in the middle seventeenth century.

<sup>53</sup> This young mother had lost her new-born child on 4 March.

Bte. Martel,<sup>54</sup> volunteer, who had lived here several years, mortally wounded by the savages while working, fortified with the holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, aged 50 years, died last night. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

March 27—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Francois Isidore Savoie<sup>55</sup> legitimate son of Isidore Savoie and Catherine Pangrace born January 22 last, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

May 6—There was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a legitimate child born and baptized yesterday by the mid-wife, died the same day, belonging to Jean Bte. André and Josephe Ardoine. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

May 30—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Jean Bte. Chenier,<sup>56</sup> upwards of 20 years, fortified with all the Sacraments instituted for the dying, died yesterday.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

June 2—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Victorie Lebrun, the legitimate daughter of Louis Lebrun<sup>57</sup> and Marie Trottier, born the 16th of March last, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

June 22—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marguerite Valboncoeur,<sup>58</sup> widow of the deceased Francois Alaxandre, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

<sup>54</sup> In the 1787 census there is a Martel listed whose Christian name could not be deciphered by the editor of the census (*Cahokia Records*, 626).

<sup>55</sup> This is the second infant lost by the couple. See the entry above for 19 January 1788.

<sup>56</sup> There were members of this family in New France in 1649. The census of 1787 lists Claude, the father, and two sons, Joseph and Jean Baptiste (Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 628).

<sup>57</sup> This was a common name in New France. Louis married Marie Trottier, daughter of Francois Trottier.

<sup>58</sup> The Vadeboncoeur family seems to have had no male members in 1787. The father apparently was dead before 1780. A Louis of this family was sued by Gabriel Baron on 1 March 1787, but he refused to appear in court. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 45, 269.

July 22—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Bte. Poupar, the legitimate son of Joseph Poupar<sup>59</sup> and Marie Louise Chenier, born December 28, 1788, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

July 23—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Catherine Pillet, widow of the deceased Lionais, aged 45, fortified with the Sacraments of the dying. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

August 17—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Julienne Locate, wife of Alexi Brisson, aged 37 years, fortified with all the Sacraments of the dying. Died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September 6—There was buried in the cemetery of this parish, by the sexton in my absence, the body of Louis Engel,<sup>60</sup> legitimate son of Phillipe Engel and Marie Josephe Rocheleau, born February 3rd last. In token of which I have signed

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September 7—There was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Euproisie Liebert, legitimate daughter of Phillipe Liebert and Helen Sauvage, born March 18th last, died yesterday. The sexton made the interment in my absence. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September 8—There was buried by the sexton the body of the deceased Brichette, fortified with the holy Sacraments instituted for the dying, aged 55 years, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.

September 24—I buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of N. Gagnes volunteer, native of Canada, aged upwards of 20 years, fortified with all the Sacraments instituted for the dying. In token of which I have signed.

De Saint Pierre, Miss.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> There were five Poupar (Poupard) males in Cahokia in 1787. Cf. Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 627, 628.

<sup>60</sup> Alvord tells us that Philippe Engel, the father of Louis, was a native of Germany (*Cahokia Records*, 631, note 96).

<sup>61</sup> This is the last entry made by Father De Saint Pierre.

September 25—I have buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of N. Martel, volunteer, *voyageur*, aged about 30 years, fortified with the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, died yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

Ledru, Miss<sup>62</sup>

In the year 1789, in September, was buried for lack of a pastor by Pierre Troge, in the cemetery of this parish the body of Michael Pichet, an inhabitant to whom were administered the Sacraments. In token of which I have signed.

Ledru, Miss.

In the year 1789, the 7th day of November, I, the undersigned, buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Joseph Bissonnet, aged about 56 years to whom the Sacraments were administered. In token of which I have signed

Ledru, Miss.

In the year 1789 in October was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Angelique Lecompte, wife of Pierre Buteau, aged about 25 years to whom the Sacraments were administered. In token of which I have signed.

Ledru, Miss.

November 12, 1789—By us, the undersigned Missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Jean Bte. Mulot<sup>63</sup> deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, his malady not permitting him to be given Holy Viaticum, aged 42 years, native of the parish of St. Joachim de la Pointe Claire, District of Montreal, Diocese of Quebec in Canada. There were present Messrs. Francois Trottier, Francois

<sup>62</sup> Father F. Le Dru was a Dominican from Canada who had been sent as a missionary to Detroit. After 1788, when ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Illinois country was transferred from the Bishop of Quebec to the See of Baltimore, Father Le Dru moved to Cahokia where he remained about three months. He was then found in St. Louis where he was, of course, in Spanish territory which was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Spanish Bishops. Father Le Dru seems not to have been a wholly successful missionary. Both Rothensteiner in his *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* and Shea in his *Catholic Church in the United States* are rather vague concerning the man. It is known that Bishop Carroll referred to him as "that apostate," a phrase which probably referred to Father Le Dru's change of civil allegiance rather than to his personal life. When Father Le Dru left Cahokia for St. Louis he placed the burden of finding a pastor for part of the Illinois country squarely back on Bishop Carroll's shoulders. Actually, Father Le Bru seems to have been a zealously active priest in St. Louis. For his work there consult Rothensteiner, *op cit.* I, 210.

<sup>63</sup> The name should be spelled Milot.

Saucier, Pierre Troge, Charles Du Charme and several others of both sexes. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.<sup>64</sup>

November 18, 1789—By us, the undersigned Missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish, the body of Catherine Cecirre, wife of Joseph Lapense, deceased the day before yesterday, fortified with all the Sacraments of the church, about 24 years old, native of this parish. There were present Messrs, Francois Saucier, Jean Bte. and Isidore La Croix, Louis LeBrun and several others of both sexes, [in token] of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

December 2, 1789—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a little slave child of Thomas Brady's negress, died yesterday after his baptism. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

December 3, 1789—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Michael Girardin,<sup>65</sup> deceased the preceding day, native of St. Joseph, aged around 30 years. Because his death was almost sudden, he received none of the Sacraments. He had fulfilled his Easter Duty and was a good husband, father and citizen and a still better Christian. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

December 17, 1789—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Gabriel Barron,<sup>66</sup> deceased

<sup>64</sup> Pierre Gibault, the son of Pierre Gibault, was born at Montreal 7 April 1737. He was educated for the priesthood in the Seminary at Montreal and destined for the mission at Cahokia. Ordained in 1768, he immediately came west settling at Kaskaskia, a much more thriving center than Cahokia. Using this village as his headquarters he carried on his ecclesiastical duties with great zeal, and at times not too great judgment, throughout the Illinois country. In 1788 he removed to Vincennes where he remained about a year. Then he returned to Cahokia. Here he acted as pastor for two years. In October of 1791 he left Cahokia and established himself at New Madrid where he lived out his days. For the greater part of his life he had to contend with jurisdictional problems both civil and ecclesiastical. This fact probably accounts for the controversial character of the opinions concerning him. Father Gibault signs himself — P. Gibault Ptre, Msre. The abbreviations mean, Priest, Missionary.

<sup>65</sup> The auction record for Girardin's estate (1794) is printed above in Chapter III.

<sup>66</sup> Baron was born in Cahokia, 17 December 1752, the son of Jean Baptiste Baron.

the preceding day, native of this parish, aged around 35 years, fortified with the Sacraments of the Church. There were present at his funeral Messrs. Jean Bte. LaCroix, Isidore LaCroix, Francois Xavier Lapense, Jean Bts. DuBuque and several others of both sexes. In token of which we have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

December 22, 1789—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish, the body of a child, died one hour after its birth and baptized by Mme. Longval<sup>67</sup> mid-wife of this parish, born of the marriage of Anger, of Augustin Anger<sup>68</sup> and a heathen Indian woman.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

December 27, 1789—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Louis Le May,<sup>69</sup> deceased the preceding day, fortified with all the Sacraments of the Church, aged about 66 years, native of Lotbiniere in Canada. There were present Messrs. Germain Cabassier, Chartran, Gervais<sup>70</sup> and several others of both sexes. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

[1790]

January 3, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Angelique Lamarche, widow of Joseph Giroux, aged about 30 years, native of this parish, deceased the preceding day fortified with the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

January 15, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a child belonging to La Couture and to . . . Rocheleau his wife, died the preceding night, having been baptized by the mid-wife. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

February 3, 1790—By us, the undersigned missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie Jeanne Mercier, wife of Charles Cardon dit St. Pierre, deceased on the preceding day, fortified with all the Sacraments of the Church, aged

<sup>67</sup> This name is spelled Lonval in the census. Augustin Angers figures in some law suits in Cahokia.

<sup>68</sup> The repetition of the name Anger is in the text.

<sup>69</sup> Of this man we know from a court record that he was forbidden to reside at Prairie du Pont (Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 109).

<sup>70</sup> These are all names of families from Prairie du Pont as shown in the census of 1787.



about 50 years, native of the little village of St. Phillipe.<sup>71</sup> There were present Messrs. Jean Bte. Hubert, Isidore LaCroix, LeBrun Dion and several others. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

February 14, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of the parish the body of a child of the legitimate marriage of Clement Trottier and Marie Picard, his wife, baptized by the mid-wife and died a short time afterwards, being premature. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

July 16, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried the body of Pierre Poupart dit Lafleur, deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. His malady prevented him from receiving Holy Viaticum. He was a native of the city of Montreal, aged 42 or 43 years. In token of which I have signed the present record.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

August 19, 1790—By us, the undersigned missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Sulpice Gusson, deceased the preceding day, dying suddenly from sun stroke. He was born and married in St. Sulpice parish of the district of Montreal, Diocese of Quebec in Canada, aged 42 years. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

August 21, 1790—By us, the undersigned missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Therese Parent, deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, continual vomiting preventing her from receiving Holy Viaticum. She was the widow of . . . Pancrasse and of Joseph Hanson, native of Michillimakina, aged about 45 years. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

September 8, 1790—By us, the undersigned missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Antoine Boyer, deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of the Church. He was a native of the city of Montreal in Canada, Diocese of Quebec, where he was married. He was aged 60 and some years. At his funeral were present Messrs. Francois, Jean Bte.

<sup>71</sup> This was a small village about forty miles below Cahokia; most of its inhabitants had moved across the Mississippi to St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve after the cession to Great Britain.

and Matheu Saucier, Jean Bte. La Croix, Francois Dion and several others. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

September 12, 1790—By us, the undersigned missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Joseph Fâche, deceased the preceding day after having received the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. He was a native . . .

October 4, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Francois Longval, deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of the Church, a native of the city of Three Rivers in Canada, aged about 60 years. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

October 10, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Francois Godin, deceased the preceding day after having gone to Confession only, not being sufficiently instructed to make his first Communion, although he was 12 years old, a native of this parish. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

October 15, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Joseph Fach, deceased the preceding day, aged nearly one year, illegitimate son of the deceased Joseph Fach. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

October 24, 1790—By us, the undersigned missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of . . . Martin,<sup>72</sup> legitimate son of Pierre Martin, inhabitant of this parish, deceased the preceding day, aged about 3 years. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre, Misre.

November 9, 1790—By us, the undersigned missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Barthelemy Dumas, deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of the Church, aged around 70 years, native of Sainte Genevieve on Montreal Island in Canada. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

November 23, 1790—By us, the undersigned missionary priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie-Catherine Lafrance, widow of Phillipe LaBoeuf, deceased the preceding day,

<sup>72</sup> The census of 1787 shows that Pierre Martin had two sons, Pierre and Hyacinthe.

fortified with all the Sacraments of the Church, aged about 45 years, native of . . .

December 7, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie, an Indian woman, of the tribe of Sauteurs,<sup>73</sup> baptized a few days ago by ourselves, aged about 30 years. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

December 10, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Joseph Picotte, deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, native of Assumption, District of Montreal, Diocese of Quebec, aged about 35 years. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

December 11, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Francois Isidore Andres, aged one month, deceased the preceding day. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

December 16, 1790—By us, the priest carrying on the pastoral duties in the parish of the Holy Family of Cahokia, undersigned, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Sieur Francois Trottier,<sup>74</sup> former Commandant of the post and Captain of the Militia, deceased the second day preceding at 9:00 o'clock in the evening, fortified with the Sacraments of the Church, aged about 65 years, native of Les Grondines, District of Three Rivers, Diocese of Quebec. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

December 28, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie Sans Chegrin, wife of Joseph Pelletier, deceased the preceding day fortified with the Sacraments of the Church, aged about 35 years, native of Ste. Anne de Fort Chartres. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

December 29, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried the body of Charles Cadron dit St. Pierre, deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of the Church, aged about 88, native

<sup>73</sup> This should be Saulters, the French name for the Chippewas.

<sup>74</sup> François Trottier was in Cahokia as early as 1758, in which year he married there (Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 624, note 2). Reynolds said that he was trading out of Cahokia with New Orleans as early as 1775 (*Pioneer History of Illinois*, 35).

of La Valterie, District of Montreal, Diocese of Quebec in Canada. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

December 29, 1790—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Elizabeth Desnoyers, wife of Jean Bte. Bequet, fortified with the Sacrament of Penance, deceased the preceding day, aged about 60 years, native of Montreal, Canada. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

[1791]

January 2, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Therese Poupart Lafleur, widow of Frencheville, deceased the preceding day fortified with the Sacraments of the Church, aged about 43 years, native of this parish. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

April 12, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Felecite Pilet, wife of Louis Trottier, deceased the preceding day, fortified with the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. Her malady prevented her from receiving Holy Viaticum. She was a native of La Chine, Canada, aged . . .

April 29, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Sieur Joseph LaBuxiere,<sup>75</sup> Notary in this district, deceased the preceding day, fortified with all the Sacraments of the Church, native of Limoges or thereabouts, aged nearly 64 years. There were many people at the solemn service chanted in the presence of the corpse before the interment. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

July 13, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Angelique Lapensée, daughter of Jean Lapensee and Marguerite Lefevre, deceased the preceding day, aged about 17 months. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

July 26, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Angelique LeBrun, aged one month and some days. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

<sup>75</sup> See note 48 above.

August 19, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Charles Bergan, aged 1½ years. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

August 29, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Joseph Lapensée, deceased the preceding evening, aged about 7 months. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

October 2, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Joseph Dubuc,<sup>76</sup> deceased the preceding day, son of Jean Bte. Dubuc and of Susanne Cecirre, his father and mother, aged 8 days. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.

October 17, 1791—By us, the undersigned priest, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Michael Rhoc, aged 7 years and almost nine months, deceased the preceding day. In token of which I have signed.

P. Gibault Ptre.<sup>77</sup>

[1792]

January 7, 1792—By us, the Church Warden in charge, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Charles Pillet, native of La Chine, Canada aged about 38 years. In token of which I have signed.

Francois Lapencé, Warden.<sup>78</sup>

January 15, 1792—By us, Francois Lapancé, Church Warden in charge, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Thomas Wen, aged about 50 years. In token of which we have signed.

Francois Lapanche

January 20, 1792—By us, Francois Lapanse, Church Warden in charge, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Peltier,

<sup>76</sup> See note 16 above.

<sup>77</sup> This is the last entry made by Father Gibault.

<sup>78</sup> The French term is *marguillier*. The wardens were elected officials, usually four for each parish, who collected tithes, cared for church property, served in lesser ecclesiastical capacities such as chanter, sacristan, etc. Cf. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 247. Often the wardens considered themselves directors of the parish, interfering in purely ecclesiastical matters.

native of Canada, aged about 55 years. In token of which I have signed.

Francois Lapancé  
Warden in Charge.

January 25, 1792—By us, Francois Lapancé Church Warden in charge, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of the widow Milliot, native of Canada, aged about 40 years. In token of which I have signed.

Francois Lapancé  
Warden in Charge.

July 20, 1792—By us, Simon Toilon,<sup>79</sup> sexton of the parish, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a child named Marguerite Laye, aged about four months. In token of which I have signed.

Simon Toilon  
Sexton.

July 27, 1792—By us, Simon Toilon, sexton of the parish, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Nicolas Vidmere, aged about 50 years, native of la Mascousen in Canada. In token of which I have signed.

Simon Toilon  
Sexton.

August 6, 1792—By us, Simon Toilon, sexton of the parish, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a natural child of the legitimate marriage of Francois Quenet aged about 14 months. In token of which I have signed.

Simon Toilon  
Sexton.

August 26, 1792—By us, Simon Toilon, sexton of the parish, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of André Blay, died the preceding day at 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon, aged about 22 years, native of La Prarie de Madeleine, Diocese of Montreal in Canada. In token of which I have signed.

Sm. Toilon  
Sexton.

September 13, 1792—By us, the sexton of the parish, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a child named Auguste

<sup>79</sup> A Simon Toilon resided in Prairie du Rocher in 1787. It seems reasonable to presume that he moved to Cahokia. Cf. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 420.

Troquier, aged about 4 months, native of this parish. In token of which I have signed.

Sm. Toilon  
Sexton.

September 19, 1792—By us, the sexton of the parish, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Francois Boiver, died the preceding day, aged about 60 years, native of Canada. In token of which I have signed.

Sm. Toilon  
Sexton.

October 28, 1792—By us, Simon Toilon, sexton of the parish, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of a child born of the legitimate marriage of Charle Pillete, aged about 3 months. In token of which I have signed.

Toilon  
Sexton.

The same day of the present year, we buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Jean Baptiste Armant, native of this parish, aged about 20 years. In token of which I have signed.

Toilon  
Sexton.

November 12, 1792—By us, the undersigned sexton of the parish, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Antoine Arment, deceased the preceding day, having given marks at his death of a true Christian, aged 59 years, a native of Nantes. In token of which I have signed.

Sm. Toilon  
Sexton.

December 17, 1792—By us, the undersigned, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Gabriel Paradie, Bachelor, volunteer, deceased the preceding day, aged about 24 years, native of Mouraska, Diocese of Quebec. In token of which I have signed.

Sm. Toilon  
Sexton.

December 20, 1792—By us, the undersigned, was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Anne Vivarenne, widow of Sieur Labusiér.<sup>80</sup> She gave marks of a good Christian at her passing. She departed this life on the preceding day, aged 30 years, native of Fort Chartres. In token of which I have signed.

Sm. Toilon  
Sexton.

<sup>80</sup> See note 48 above; cf. also Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), II, 17.

[1793]

January 15, 1793—About three hours after noon was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Amables Chevalier,<sup>81</sup> widow of Sieur Lonval, deceased the preceding day, aged about 50 years, native of St. Joseph. In token of which I have signed.

Sm. Toilon

Sexton.

February 6, 1793—About four hours after noon was buried in the cemetery of this parish the body of Marie Louise Lévy,<sup>82</sup> aged about 35 years, native of Montreal, Canada. In token of which I have signed.

Sm. Toilon

Sexton.

March 31, 1793—By us, the parish priest undersigned was buried in the cemetery of this church Joseph Ch . . . aged about 2½ years, deceased yesterday, in the presence of Leon Lepage, who did not know how to sign.

Levadoux, Cure.<sup>83</sup>

April 2, 1793—By us, the undersigned, was buried Hypolite Lepage<sup>84</sup> wife of . . . of the parish of Detroit. She was buried in the cemetery of this church, aged about 50 years. In the presence of Leon Lepage and others who have declared that they do not know how to sign hereafter.

Levadoux, Cure.

April 23, 1785—Was buried by M. Toilon, the sexton, the body of a native Indian woman, wife of Joseph Lecompte.<sup>85</sup>

Levadoux, Cure.

April 26, 1793—Was buried Joseph Lapencé, dit [Suiget?] aged 60 years by M. Toilon.

Levadoux, Cure.

<sup>81</sup> She may have been the daughter of Pierre Chevalier of Kaskaskia. Cf. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 8.

<sup>82</sup> She seems to have been the wife of Joseph Cesire (Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 625, note 12).

<sup>83</sup> Father Michael Levadoux was one of a group of Sulpicians who came to America at the request of Bishop Carroll to care for the French in the Mississippi Valley (Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 379).

<sup>84</sup> Though there were four Lepage men registered in 1787, none had this Christian name.

<sup>85</sup> There is no Joseph Lecompte in the census of 1787.



May 10, 1793—Was buried in the cemetery of this church by M. Toilon, sexton, Jean Touranjou.<sup>86</sup>

Levadoux, Cure.

Joseph, a negro belonging to Mr. Pierre Laperche,<sup>87</sup> deceased yesterday was buried May 30 1793 in the cemetery of this church.

Levadoux, Cure.

July 21, 1793—Was buried in the cemetery of this church by us, the undersigned, Paul Poupard,<sup>88</sup> aged about 44 years, deceased yesterday, in the presence of his relatives and friends. In token of which I have signed.

Levadoux, Cure.

September 11, 1793—Was buried in the cemetery of this church, Marie Louise Lajeunesse, aged about 1½ months, deceased the preceding day, in the presence of Pierre Lajeunesse,<sup>89</sup> her father. In token of which I have signed.

Levadoux, Cure.

October 27, 1793—Was buried in the cemetery of this church, Joseph Cecire aged about 76 years, died at the house of Mr. Desloges,<sup>90</sup> dit Poirier in the presence of his relatives and friends. In token of which I have signed.

Levadoux, Cure.

November 3—There was buried in the cemetery of this church, Francois Dubuque,<sup>91</sup> aged about 6 years, in the presence of Math. Charles Ducharme and Simon Toilon, who have signed with us.  
Toilon Ch. Ducharme Levadoux, Cure.

November 3, 1793—There was buried in the cemetery of this church Josephine Locat, wife of Charles Charly<sup>92</sup> dit Wataps, aged about 26 years, died at the home of Mde. Champain yesterday. In token of which I have signed.

Levadoux, Cure.

November 29, 1793—There was buried in the cemetery of this

<sup>86</sup> This man was presumably of the Godin dit Touranjeau family.

<sup>87</sup> Laperche held public office in Cahokia.

<sup>88</sup> See note 59 above.

<sup>89</sup> He appears in the census of 1787.

<sup>90</sup> Alvord says the name of this family was Poirier. The census of 1787 shows a Joseph Poirier at Cahokia and a Joseph Desloges at Prairie du Pont.

<sup>91</sup> See note 16 above.

<sup>92</sup> The census of 1787 records Michael Charly and his son Michael. One of these died on 27 September 1788; see note 42 above.

parish the body of Marie Alarie,<sup>93</sup> a child of about 8½ years, deceased yesterday at Prairie du Point, in the presence of Augustin Girardin, Pierre Desloges.

Levadoux, Cure.

. . . 1793—There was buried in the cemetery of this church the body of Francois Biron, a child of about 3 months, deceased the preceding day.

Levadoux, Cure.

December 11, 1793—There was buried in the cemetery of this church the body of Paul Alaïre, aged about 5 years, deceased the preceding day, in the presence of J. B. Alaïre, his father, who declared that he did not know how to sign.

Levadoux, Cure.

[1794]

January 2, 1794—There was buried in the cemetery of this church the body of Amable Cabassier<sup>94</sup> aged about one year, son of Joseph Cabassier, his father, who declared that he did not know how to sign.

Levadoux, Cure.

. . . about 60 years old, died yesterday at Prairie du Pont, was buried in the cemetery of this church January 4, 1794 in the presence of his relatives and friends.

Levadoux, Cure.

January 8, 1794 at noon was buried in the cemetery of this church the body of Marie Rochellot, wife of J. B. Chartran, aged about 34 years, deceased at Prairie du Pont, in the presence of Mr. Phillipe Engel,<sup>95</sup> her brother-in-law, also her relatives.

Levadoux, Cure.

Marguerite Valentin, aged 6 days, deceased yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church, February 17, 1794 by us the undersigned.

Levadoux, Cure.

Amable Lemay, wife of Francois Xavoir Cabassier, deceased yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church March 11, 1794, in the presence of her relatives and friends, by us the undersigned.

Levadoux, Cure.

Antoine Lasource,<sup>96</sup> aged about 40 years, deceased yesterday at

<sup>93</sup> In the census of 1787 the name is spelled Alary.

<sup>94</sup> Six brothers are recorded in the census; all lived at Prairie du Pont.

<sup>95</sup> Phillipe Engel's wife's name was Marie Josephe Rochellot.

<sup>96</sup> There was a Lasource family at Kaskaskia in 1787 (Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 415). A Jacques Lasource figures in public life in Cahokia (*Cahokia Records*, cvii).

Prairie du Pont was buried in the cemetery of this church in the presence of his relatives and friends.

Levadoux, Cure.

Joseph, a Negro of Mr. Michel Palmier Beaulieu,<sup>97</sup> aged about one month was buried in the cemetery of this parish on April 16, 1794, by us the undersigned.

Levadoux, Cure.

Marguerite Lafevre,<sup>98</sup> wife of Jean Lapense,<sup>99</sup> deceased yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church, June 10, 1794, by us the undersigned.

Levadoux, Cure.

Pierre Malbeauf, an orphan, aged about one year, entrusted to Mr. Gervais<sup>100</sup> deceased yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church, July 17, 1794 by us the undersigned.

Levadoux, Cure.

Francois [*blank in original*] de [*blank in original*] of the Diocese of Quebec [*sic*], deceased yesterday in the home of J. B. Alarie,<sup>101</sup> was buried in the cemetery of this church July 26, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

Marie, aged 2 years, deceased yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church, August 8, 1794 by us the undersigned.

Levadoux, Cure.

. . . Mabot of the parish of . . . Diocese of Quebec, deceased yesterday in the home of J. B. Saussier,<sup>102</sup> was buried in the cemetery of this parish by us the undersigned, August 16, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

The little daughter of Mde. Jeanny Millord,<sup>103</sup> aged about one year, deceased at the home of her mother yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church August 27, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

<sup>97</sup> The census of 1787 lists Michel Beaulieu, a son of the Palmier *dit* Beaulieu who died shortly after 1779. See also note 10, above.

<sup>98</sup> Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 625, note 17. She was the widow of J. B. Lalande when she married Lapensée.

<sup>99</sup> Lapensée.

<sup>100</sup> A Philippe [*sic*] Gervais is listed in the 1787 census with three sons.

<sup>101</sup> Jean Baptiste Alarie, who had been a magistrate in 1782. See note 93 above.

<sup>102</sup> Jean Baptiste Saucier. See note 1 above.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. note 14 above.

August 29, 1794 was interred the son of Madame Lasource,<sup>104</sup> widow, aged about two years.

Levadoux, Cure.

Bazil Maiton, born at Cote St. Paul, Diocese of Quebec, deceased yesterday in the home of Toussaint Poupard,<sup>105</sup> was buried in the cemetery of this church September 11, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

Dubois, an elderly Canadian, died in the home of his brother<sup>106</sup> Pierre [?] on . . . of the present month and was buried in the cemetery of this church, September 30, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

Pierre Bisson, a Canadian, died in the home of Mr. Germain at Prairie du Pont yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church September 17, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

Amable [*blank in original*] a young man from Canada, died in the home of Mathieu Saussier, aged about 20 years, was buried in the cemetery of this church, September 27, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

Josephine Chartier,<sup>107</sup> wife of Thomas Brady, deceased yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church October 1, 1794, by us the undersigned, in the presence of her relatives and friends.

Levadoux, Cure.

Therese Rochelot, wife of Mr. Lacouture, deceased yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church in the presence of her relatives and friends, October 10, 1794, by us, the undersigned.

Levadoux, Cure.

Pierre Durbois,<sup>108</sup> aged about 35 years, deceased yesterday at his home, was buried in the cemetery of this church in the presence of his relatives and friends, by us, the undersigned, October 28, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. note 96 above.

<sup>105</sup> The census of 1787 lists Joseph Poupard and his two sons, Joseph and Paul. The latter were probably adult, for Paul served as juror in 1784 (Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 207). There is no record of a Toussaint Poupard.

<sup>106</sup> A Pierre Dubois is listed in the census 1787.

<sup>107</sup> Alvord tells us that Brady married Marie Larcheveque, widow of Charles LeBoeuf dit LaFlamme, in 1779, (*Cahokia Records*, 627, note 40).

<sup>108</sup> The name is spelled thus in the census of 1787.

Marie Genet Piret, aged about 2 months, the daughter of Courent, deceased yesterday was buried in the cemetery of this church by us, the undersigned, November 2, 1794.

Levadoux, Cure.

Genevieve McNabb, wife of William St. Clair,<sup>109</sup> deceased yesterday, was buried in the cemetery of this church, November 18, 1794, in the presence of her relatives and friends.

Levadoux, Cure.

Francois Duchesnard, a native of Canada, aged about 50 years, deceased yesterday in the home of Charles Trottier, was buried in the cemetery of this church November 24, 1794, by us, the undersigned.

Levadoux, Cure.

<sup>109</sup> William St. Clair was the youngest son of the Earl of Roslin and a distant cousin of Arthur St. Clair, first governor of the Northwest Territory. William came to North America, apparently seeking his fortune. When Arthur became governor, William received appointment to office and took up residence at Cahokia.

## CHAPTER VII

### LETTERS FROM MONKS' MOUND: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DOM URBAN GUILLET WITH BISHOP PLESSIS OF QUEBEC, 1809-1812

*Translated and Edited by* JOSEPH P. DONNELLY, S. J.\*

The letters of Dom Urban Guillet to Jean-Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, were chosen for inclusion in the present volume because they form a most interesting series of documents illustrating the efforts of a group of men to spread the refining influences of religion and culture in the Cahokia area. A brief explanation of the presence of a community of Trappists in mid-America in the early nineteenth century seems called for. At the outbreak of the French Revolution, that portion of the Cistercian Order familiarly called Trappists, from the name of their most famous monastery, La Trappe, was forbidden by the government to dwell any longer in community. Preferring exile to dissolution, the monks of La Trappe fled to Switzerland and eventually to Hungary. There it was determined to send a group to America where there was hope for peace, a permanent monastic establishment, and an opportunity to do educational and apostolic work among the American aborigines as well as among Americans of European descent. Dom Urban Guillet, a young man of thirty-nine and a member of the community for fourteen years, was selected as leader of the band of twenty-five Trappists and eleven students who were chosen to go to Kentucky in 1802 to establish a new monastery on land which tradition maintains was offered to the monks by England's Prime Minister, William Pitt. This little group had before it eleven years of hardship and wandering. For despite several attempts, the community never established permanently in America.

\*Material edited by Father Donnelly is published with the permission of his ecclesiastical superiors.

Dom Urban first obtained permission to locate his men in Pennsylvania on land given for a pious purpose by a Frenchman who had left America. When success did not crown this venture, the group migrated to the vicinity of Bardstown in Kentucky. A second failure caused the closing of the establishment and a move further westward. The next stopping place was at Florissant, Missouri, where the Trappists had been given an option on 120 acres of land and two houses by John Mullanphy, a philanthropic citizen of St. Louis who had met Dom Urban in Baltimore. Abandoning their location in Kentucky, the community arrived at Florissant in May of 1809. In the meantime the superior had received an offer of 400 acres of land *gratis* from Nicholas Jarrot, a wealthy citizen of Cahokia. It was decided to locate permanently on this land in Illinois, nine miles north of Cahokia at the foot of a vast artificial earth mound which has since been locally known as "Monks' Mound." There the monks erected some cabins, began farming the acreage, established a clock factory, and opened a school for boys. For three years the monastery of Notre Dame de Bon Secours struggled to gain a permanent foundation in a raw country where the citizenry found the monks a constant source of wonderment.

Man and nature conspired to make the venture a failure. Recurrent fever, lack of proper shelter and diet brought on constant illness among the community, causing the religious men to be almost unable to support themselves by their own labors. The title to the Jarrot property was not clear, a fact which enabled squatters to settle on the land which the monks had hoped would be theirs. In an effort to clarify his title and to add to the holdings of the monastery Dom Urban Guillet made the trying journey to Washington to petition Congress in person for a clarification and also to request either a grant of land or the opportunity to buy up unclaimed military lands in his neighborhood.

By 1812 it became apparent that the effort must be abandoned. The struggle to observe the Rule, to bring religious assistance to the neighborhood, and to carry on the school was too great a burden for a small group of men who were aliens in an alien land. Dom Urban himself, though an exemplary Trappist, was none too practical. In

1813 the monks gave up their American venture and returned to Europe.

A few facts should be offered about the author of the letters. Urban Guillet was born at Nantes on 13 February 1764, the youngest of three brothers. The mother, a Creole from Santo Domingo, left France when Urban was a mere baby to return to her native place to collect her extensive patrimony. While in the Islands M. Guillet died and the mother married again. It was thirty-nine years before mother and children were to meet.

The children were reared in France by maternal aunts who seemed to have inspired Urban to the profession of medicine. In 1788 he surrendered that career in favor of the life of a contemplative at La Trappe. He had hardly begun his new life when the community was moved. From 1790 until 1803 the Trappists wandered through central Europe and into Russia to return to Holland and Belgium. A part of the group was sent to England. Finally Dom Urban was directed to lead a band of his confreres to America. Leaving Europe in 1803, the community settled temporarily in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Cahokia, Illinois, whence they returned to France. There the intrepid Urban set himself the task of re-establishing his brethren. He spent the four remaining years of his life gathering funds for the purchase of a permanent home. Misfortune dogged his path, for when he had collected sufficient money, the whole sum was stolen. He began again, but never saw the realization of his dream. One natural consolation came to him. He met his mother when she lay dying and administered the Sacraments to her. Dom Guillet died at Cholet on 2 April 1718.

The letters, here completely presented in English for the first time, were originally published serially in *La Nouvelle France* by the editor of that periodical, the Reverend Lionel St. George Lindsay. The original manuscripts are preserved in the archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec. Interest in them was aroused in 1910 when Dom Jean-Marie Chouteau, Abbot of the Trappist Monastery of Bellefontaine par Saint-Leger-sous-Cholet, came to Canada to visit the monks of his Order in that country. He revealed that among the documents preserved in his archives was a life of Dom Urban recounting the years of struggle endured by the Trappists in Amer-



ica. Investigation unearthed a series of letters by Dom Urban to the Bishop of Quebec, eight of which were written while the monk was residing near Cahokia. These eight are presented here.

One might be led to believe that Dom Urban was subject to the episcopal authority of Quebec. Such, however, was not the case. The leader of this group of Trappists in America looked to the Bishop in Canada for advice and encouragement, but not for authority to exercise ecclesiastical functions. This he received from the Bishop in whose See he worked as a missionary. For matters purely internal to the Order and its members in America, the superior was directed by his Order's supreme authority in Europe.

Though we lack the Bishop's half of the correspondence, an absence which frequently causes some confusion, the letters show us Cahokia in an interesting light. Life is simple, rugged, and precarious. Viewed through the eyes of Dom Urban, the religious life of the area was at a low ebb. The letters show us a deeply religious, humble man, sincere and godly, who willingly gave of himself for humanity. His efforts seemed to have been wasted; but his example, both for his contemporaries and the future, was not.

#### DOM URBAN GUILLET TO THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC

CAHOKIA 14 DECEMBER 1809<sup>1</sup>

Cahokia December 14, 1809.

Monseigneur,

Your excellency was not mistaken in thinking that a letter dated August 2 would no longer find me in Kentucky, for I left there that very day. Apparently you had not received my last two letters at that date. The last was very long, containing in conformity with a request you made some time ago to offer some few details about our Reform.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible for me to tell you the exact date on which our monastery burned.<sup>3</sup> All I can say is that it happened towards the end of October, 1808. By God's grace our clocks had

<sup>1</sup> For the publication of the original French letter cf. *La Nouvelle France*, XIV (1915), 122 ff. The fullest account of this matter is Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., "The Trappists of Monks Mound," in his *Chapters in Frontier History* (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1934), 94-135; he included a considerable bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> The writer refers to the reform of the Cistercians begun at LaTrappe in the late seventeenth century by the Abbot de Rance.

<sup>3</sup> The building used by the monks in Kentucky was destroyed by fire.

not as yet been moved there, or at least only a small number of them.<sup>4</sup> The fire did not destroy any expensive instruments, except a surveyor's compass which would be very useful to us now. Only three clocks in the building were burned. One was saved. The fire consumed the books brought by the Father Prior. They were a fourth of our library, but the best part. Eleven volumes were saved, seven of which were the Conferences of Angers. Our clothing, bedding, carpenter's tools etc., our kitchen utensils, bread, provisions of food, met the same fate as the house, of which there remained only ashes, except a few potatoes in the bottom of the cellar, which were cooked. These served us as food for three days.

Even though Father Marie Bernard<sup>5</sup> might have predicted that we were about to be separated again, I should not have been displeased with him. Though his prediction could be believed, in order to pacify those of the monks who wished to remain in Kentucky I said nothing to disillusion them. Also, because Father Marie Bernard, who dreads the work inseparable from beginning a new foundation, wanted to believe that we could hope to stay permanently in Kentucky, a quite natural hope for which he should not be held culpable.

It is only too true, Your Excellency, that as long as we are not settled permanently we shall do no good. Yet we are again divided. Father Prior, whom I sent on ahead with the greater part of the community has fallen ill with all his people. They have taken two houses for us near St. Louis.<sup>6</sup> These are situated on 120 acres of ground. Though some of the group has established near Cahokia, they have barely begun a few little huts. In spite of the fact that we possess only 400 acres there, it is to be our true home. Father Marie Bernard remained near St. Louis with the children and two religious, waiting until the houses at Cahokia would be finished, an operation which will require a month or

<sup>4</sup>One of the means employed by the monks to support themselves was clock-making. Dom Urban advertised in the *Missouri Gazette* (St. Louis), 21 January 1811, that watches and clocks were for sale at the monastery.

<sup>5</sup>Father Marie Bernard Langlois, a Canadian who came to Kentucky to join the Trappists.

<sup>6</sup>The sequence of events was as follows: late in 1808 Father Urban with the Prior, Father Joseph Marie Dunand, made a preliminary journey to St. Louis to examine the properties offered. Without determining which site should be accepted, Dom Urban sent his community westward in April, 1809. They were instructed to leave some members at Florissant while the greater number went on to the property near Monks' Mound. This group set about building a home for the rest. Cf. Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, 107-108.

more. Not three weeks ago many were sleeping under the canvas of our wagons.

My brethren, remembering you very kindly, ask me to present their respects and to tell you that they are making it their duty to pray for Your Excellency. As for me, although I acquit myself of this duty many times daily, I acknowledge that I have not yet been able to offer the Masses this month because I have been at Cahokia for several days on business, which I mentioned above. In order to punish the people of this city, I declared to them that I did not intend to say Mass until they rebuilt the roof and fixed the windows of the church.<sup>7</sup> The Governor of Illinois [Ninian Edwards], although not a Catholic, takes to us very kindly. It is principally he who keeps me here. He is doing all that he possibly can to induce the government to survey our land. Also, he has offered me letters of recommendation of which he wishes me to be the bearer.

I pass now to our trip, omitting what I have already said about the Father Prior's journey.<sup>8</sup> He left by boat in the spring. Seeing the impossibility of establishing ourselves near St. Louis, and attracted by the beautiful solitude and the excellence of the soil which we possessed in Illinois, nine miles from Cahokia, he went there with the strongest among the group. The multiplicity of work which occupied them near St. Louis allowing them to go to Cahokia only much later [than anticipated], they had scarcely time to build a poor cabin to which they could retire after spending the day in mowing the hay to save our grain. They should have dug a well, and the lack of this precaution led them to the gates of death. The only water they had for drinking came from the river.<sup>9</sup> which was so filled with dead fish that it poisoned those who used it for any length of time. Thus, on my arrival I found them all very ill.

We left [Kentucky] by land, to the number of three religious, eight children and their teacher, and forty animals—horses, oxen and cows. Those who had so much opposed our departure, repenting their error, were the first to encourage us. But it was very late, and they did not know that by their criticism they had brought us to the necessity of leaving without the requisite money. The weather was very fine for three weeks, but so hot that the dust and the scarcity of water made us suffer very much. Our best horses be-

<sup>7</sup> Father Lionel St. George Lindsay, who edited the letters in French, inserted here a note to the effect that this is the church which is still standing.

<sup>8</sup> Father Joseph Dunand's account of this visit will be found in the "Epistle or Diary of Father Joseph Dunand," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXVI (1915), 328-346, XXVII (1916), 45-64.

<sup>9</sup> Cahokia Creek.

came ill upon leaving and remained two days lying down without eating or drinking. Towards the middle of our trip several of our mounts tired out, developed saddle sores and refused to give further service, thus forcing us, one after another, to walk. A wheel broke into twelve pieces. Twice the wagon was upset by the terrible roads and once it broke down. A large number of rascals going to Louisiana often accompanied us. They stole from us when they could and they dried up the springs. Their animals, to which they gave no grain, fell on ours during the night. The peasants along the road here and there seemed to have given one another the word to sell their supplies at three times the value. These delays, joined to the high cost of food, so exhausted our purse that at the end of the trip we were reduced to dividing one small biscuit among four and I lacked nine sous to pay for crossing the river of the Cahokias.<sup>10</sup> The trip lasted a month. Fortunately the last week was rainy, for already our horned beasts and many of our horses no longer wanted to follow us. On the other hands the people suffered because we had to sleep under a very poor canvas. However, I was the only one attacked by fever (it lasted two days), which was not surprising for I was obliged to watch every night. Besides, I made the trip nearly three times, for each time we stopped and began again or that strange animals mingled with ours, I was forced to count them. Often when half counted they became mixed again. Because our animals did not get along together, we were divided into four bands a half a mile apart. Besides, I had only three responsible persons [with me], the children requiring as much attention as the horses. Finally, without bread or money, we arrived at Cahokia where fortunately I had a good friend.<sup>11</sup> The first [of our people] whom I met announced that our Father Prior was very ill.

Although this was news not agreeable, I thought we would get off with only one invalid. But on approaching the monastery, I found quite another situation. I saw a priest, the stamp of death on his face, with difficulty carrying to others more ill than himself a little soup which he had made with still more difficulty. All were dangerously ill, lying in a poor shed without windows or chimney, where the wind entered from all sides. Three poor boards hung over a pot composed the whole kitchen. We spread some hay on the ground and covered it with the poor canvas which had served as a tent during our trip. The cloth which covered our wagon served as a roof. This was the lodging for the new arrivals. They [i. e. those arriving at the site near Cahokia before Dom Urban]

<sup>10</sup> Cahokia Creek.

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Jarrot.

had commenced to build a little, but, strength failing [them] the work remained unfinished. We finished it. In the meantime I poured into the water some good vinegar which I brought along to doctor the bad water on the road. I procured for them what relief I could, particularly some fine bread which my good friend at Cahokia, Nicholas Jarrot, furnished me up to now without accepting any payment for it. The greater part of the sick recovered and, with the help of the three religious I brought with me, they began to build. No one is very ill now except Father Prior, a priest and a lay-brother. In Father Marie Bernard's house there is only one lay-brother ill. I do not know why Father Marie Bernard is unwilling to reply for I sent him your letter a long time ago. Perhaps his confessor, who does not know the reasons for which I permitted him to write to you from time to time, has regarded it as a fault, because this permission is rare in the monastery and he is the only one to whom I have given it. I am at present in the monastery near Cahokia, thus I cannot speak for Father Marie Bernard.

I should like very much to go to Quebec for a day and consult Your Excellency, for never have I been so undecided as I am at this moment. We are on excellent land here at the Abby near the river, nine miles above Cahokia. The land we possess is far too restricted for our establishment. The Governor of Illinois, who was my neighbor in Kentucky and is a great friend, all the confreres with whom I am at present, in general all my friends advise me to ask the government for some land. I do not like to make this request, but neither do I like to go against advice from all these respected people. I could say, against the advice of all the inhabitants of Louisiana and Illinois, for such is the public wish. I have submitted a petition [to Congress] but there are many difficulties: 1. Everyone advises me to go in person to present my petition to Congress. To me it seems dangerous to go so far away from my brethren before they are reunited which cannot be until all have crossed the Mississippi. But I should have to leave at once. I should like to write, but I am assured that my presence is necessary because there will be difficulties to be overcome. 2nd. Many, no less informed of the intentions of the government, are of the opinion that the land should be asked for gratis. Those who have been members of Congress, and consequently are aware of the spirit of that body, tell me that this is the way to obtain nothing, though I should experience no difficulty in requesting [authority] to buy land on ten or twelve years credit. As to the first party, the most powerful in the government do not wish to mix in the affair, believing themselves certain of refusal. In following [the advice of] the second party, I am assured of their patronage. But how would

I dare to venture into this debt? It is very true that I am certain of getting land now at two dollars<sup>12</sup> an acre, and would be able in four or five years to sell a part of it for eight or nine dollars, which would be enough to pay for what I would keep. But again the debt will be certain and, although it might be easy to obtain another delay, it will have to be paid some day. While the sale which I hope to make would be very probable, it is not certain. 3rd. I have only one dollar and time to get more is lacking, for I should have to leave immediately. I cannot make the trip alone, a fact which doubles the expense. Besides, neither one of us has any clothes. Aside from that, I am unable to leave without paying 145 dollars which Father Prior must pay before Christmas, because having arrived too late to sow seed, our corn froze before ripening, which obliged him to buy some for 145 dollars. I should add [to my difficulties], if I may complain, the rigor of the season [for travelling] which does not agree with human nature. So far I have decided nothing. I am waiting for the Governor who is detained in St. Louis on account of the ice. Three times yesterday he tried to come over with twenty men, but the ice swept the boat away. If I remain here, and the business does not succeed, the whole country will blame me. If I make the trip, those who have criticized me so much will be scandalized, saying that they were right in calling me a gadabout. God alone knows how much, if I am not mistaken, I detest trips and the company of the world. Whatever may be the result of this petition, we are determined to remain near Cahokia on our four hundred acres of land, and, perhaps if the government does nothing, we shall be able to buy some later. For we are weary of trips on which one necessarily only half observes the rule.

I have the honor to be with sentiments of the most profound respect, Your Excellency

Your very humble and obedient servant.

FR. URBAN.

P. S. I was forgetting to reply on matter of the Masses. As I hope that the last one will be offered within six weeks, I shall be very much obliged if Your Excellency can send me some, which can always be done in the same way as the last time.

<sup>12</sup> Father Urban used the words "dollar" and "piastre" interchangeably. In the translation "dollar" has been used for all cases.

DOM URBAN GUILLET TO THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., 4 MAY 1810<sup>13</sup>

[Washington City, 4 May 1810]

Monseigneur:

A few days before leaving Baltimore, where fever detained me for 15 days, I received your letter of February 12, 1810. Mr. Hite was fortunately at Philadelphia and gave me the money immediately. I am greatly obliged to you for it because an unfortunate bankruptcy occasioned my losing a note for 500 dollars which I was to have drawn on arriving. A like sum had been lent to me by a St. Louis merchant. I gave part to my community to pay our debts, keeping only enough to make the journey most economically, hoping to reimburse in Baltimore the correspondent of the St. Louis merchant. The refusal of the note continually worries me since I must pay it as soon as my business at the Capitol is finished. I really do not lose the 500 dollars since the note did not belong to me. But the man who gave me the note knew I needed the money, for which I gave him [as security] some land I own in Kentucky. I still hope to sell the land within a month. I will have your 1,000 Masses offered, indeed I have already commenced to do so.

I clearly understand that Your Excellency holds me somewhat at fault, maintaining that if you were my Bishop you would [have] prevented me from making this trip. That opinion does not surprise me at all for when I was with my General, I did everything I could to dissuade him from leaving the monastery as often as he did before the Revolution, unless he explained the reasons for such excursions. I should likewise have tried to dissuade him from making the journey [I have just made] to Congress. When I settled at Valais, the neighboring priest invited me to dine with him whenever I came to town. I replied, and indeed I then believed, that such a visit would not occur once in four or five years. Reared in the monastery of La Trappe in France, where we lived quietly among our neighbors, on a dependable revenue of about 33,000 *livres*, I did not know what it was to leave the monastery. During the six years I lived there I saw the superior leave the monastery only once, and that was for one of those unusual occasions which happen once in a lifetime. I unthinkingly assumed that I could follow his example. But I was not long in discovering that I was mistaken. With scarcely two and a half dollars in the treasury I had to support my

<sup>13</sup> For the original French edition cf. *La Nouvelle France*, XV (1916), 134 ff. In a prenote to the letter, the writer says: "I am unaware when I began this letter, but the last 12 lines and these 3 were written today, May 1, 1810." The letter is dated, "Washington City, May 4."

brethren and build three monasteries, one for the religious, a second for the nuns, and a third for the children. You can well believe that I soon saw the necessity of leaving the monastery. The first business operation I undertook brought on a lawsuit because I unwittingly bought some stolen wood. [I ignored] five court summons, but finally I was obliged to appear, otherwise they would have taken me from the monastery by force. Shortly after that there were several novices and some children to be taken for Confirmation. I was obliged to take them myself, for the Bishop, on whom I had not yet called, sent word that he had some affairs to settle with me. The following year a deacon and a "minor"<sup>14</sup> had to be taken for ordination. Since I was the only priest in the community, I was obliged to take them myself. Soon after that the Prior and the Procurator were killed when some planks fell on them while they were working on the building. Though they were only simple religious, the Procurator was a lay-brother, the loss made it requisite for me to go out every week and even occasionally two or three times a week, since I had left to me only one deacon who was always ill, old men from sixty-five to ninety-two and some novices. Things at present are not much more favorable regarding my community. The Prior, who is the only one able to assist me, is not well. Although the others are good religious, they are unfit to assume such burdens. It is true that I am hardly fitted for such tasks myself. I can only repeat what our General told me when he appointed me Superior. Having declared to him my ignorance and inability: "My son," he replied, "for lack of a horse I must use a donkey." This poor donkey must continue to serve as a horse, but I fear that burdening him like a horse will finally bring him to succumb under a burden too heavy for him. Besides that we are surrounded by enemies. We number about twenty-five and an equal number of children. In this country the only source of income is our work on which God has seen fit to pour His blessings. At the very moment we thought we were established solidly and peacefully, the government threw us into the greatest anxiety by seizing the title to our land. Neighbors of a few days standing, more furious than bears, squatted on the land, and because we had no [clear] title to invoke against them, they seized the greater part of the tract. My community, dreading another move to a new location, have very little heart either for building or farming. They begged me to go to Congress and obtain a clear title to the land. What am I to do in these circumstances? Experience had taught me only too well how difficult it is for a religious, especially one of our Order,

<sup>14</sup> Minor Orders.



to preserve the spirit of his vocation in the midst of the world. Though God gave me the grace to keep His Presence before me in the midst of the greatest difficulties, I confess to Your Excellency that it is neither with the same ease or tranquility [that I do this] as when I was at La Trappe in France where I needed to think only of myself, a simple religious without office. But I am the Superior and a superior ought to absent himself less than anyone else, especially at the opening of a new establishment. In any case, I have done everything possible to avoid this journey, perhaps even more than I should have done. For there is reason to fear that I have come here too late to get my business finished before the adjournment of Congress. Now that it [the business] is far advanced I am clearly convinced of two things: 1. Either you would yourself obtain from Congress what I desire or you would have ordered me to come [in person] and request it. His Lordship, Bishop Carroll, when he saw me here also thought I was wrong to have made this journey. But he soon changed his mind and gave me an excellent letter of recommendation and a certificate which was of great help to me. Msgr. du Bourg,<sup>15</sup> His Lordship, the Bishop of Georgetown,<sup>16</sup> and in general all those who know the workings of Congress are agreed that I could not have avoided making the journey.

However the whole matter may be, and however strict you say you are, I beg God, my Lord, to give us a Bishop like yourself.

The second point of which I am convinced is that if I had followed my inclination to remain home and write to a few friends [in Washington about the affair] I should have wasted my time and caused our establishment to fail. The only friends on whom I could have relied are too far from the city of Washington. His Lordship, the Bishop of Baltimore, and M. du Bourg, President of the College of St. Mary's, of the same town are those whom I know to be best able to assist. Since they would have been unable to leave their posts, they would have been obliged to rely on letters. But it was frequently necessary to be present in person, at least when there was question of my petition, in order to offer to talk to those opposing the petition so that they might be brought to see the utility of our establishment. I do not believe that there is in the whole world a tribunal where one sees so many people oppose the least demands which are made. I am constantly called on to answer questions which could not have been foreseen and put into a letter.

<sup>15</sup> Louis William DuBourg, consecrated Bishop of New Orleans in 1824, the founder of St. Louis University.

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps Dom Urban refers to the President of Georgetown University. There never has been an episcopal see of Georgetown.

No one but myself can answer these questions without knowing our rule and the purpose of our establishment and without being able to promise something in the name of our community. Distances between places did not permit [me to make] many interviews.

Yesterday I was asked how much land I wanted, for I had left that matter to the discretion of Congress, lest there be embarrassment by asking either for too much or too little. Before replying it was necessary to consult with a few friends who might know the attitude of the government. This could not have been done by letter.

I was asked whether I wanted the land *gratis* with a few obligations or whether I wanted to buy it outright and have no obligations. I suppose that our friends would have believed that they were doing a service by asking to have the land presented to us *gratis*. But on inquiring from the one who is charged with land [grants] what conditions would be imposed, I found that these were incompatible with my duties. I should have 1st to rear "extern" children a condition which our rule would permit only if we had a college in some town separate from the monastery. That I shall avoid as much a possible for this sort of college soon becomes lax; 2nd to rear a determined number [of children] and maintain them until their 21st year without being allowed to select them. What should I have done with those who chose to follow no rule? 3. I would have been given four administrators, perhaps of a different religion or of no religion, who would have had the right to inspect the monastery for the government.

The community could not have accepted any of these conditions. While we were in Kentucky, a person who heard that I was dissipating the wealth of the community (what the wealth was, I do not know, for we have only what I can beg for it and what is gained by work) offered to lend me 4,000 dollars for 10 years on condition that we would pray for him and permit him to designate 3 administrators of the goods of the monastery. My best friends approved and urged me to accept the offer. The community decided that they preferred to do without money even in their great distress, rather than to violate the rule of the Order which directs that the Superior have charge of temporal as well as the spiritual affairs, allowing him to have assistance in either field from a few of his brethren when he has too many occupations. But he is never to be freed entirely [of the obligation of both].

I consulted several of the Senators and Representatives of the nation. The Federalists are of the opinion that since I wish to purchase, there is little risk of refusal if I ask for a great deal of land. Once I have a clear title I shall be able to sell part of the land at

a slightly higher price in order to pay for the rest. They add that if I ask for [only a little] my institution will be considered as meriting no attention. They are the best advisors and this decision would please me, though it has its pitfalls. The Democrats, on the contrary, are of the opinion that if I petition for a great deal of land I shall be taken for a speculator and that I shall obtain no land at all. This last consideration appears to me to be noteworthy and of as much importance as the first, for I am aware that among the people there is no love lost on land speculators, many of whom control more than 400,000 acres. I perceived the pros and cons of both opinions as well as the risks of each side. It seemed to me [wise], not following either opinion literally, to embrace the spirit of both. To petition for a little, they say, gives the idea of an unimportant foundation; to ask for a great deal would be equally dangerous. And I will add that I should certainly have a great deal of trouble in paying for it. Even if I should ask credit for 12 years, I should have to pay in the end. It is doubtful that I should wish to sell a part of the land to pay for the rest. So I replied that I needed 4,000 acres of land, but I petitioned Congress to grant our little establishment the vacant military titles which I could procure in the county. I know that there are more [of them] than I want. Those holding them are not interested, since the locations designated are very distant. These people will sell them cheaper than Congress. I could even pay for a great many in horses, of which I have a goodly number. 4,000 acres is a large enough piece to show the importance of our institution and at the same time it is too small a parcel for anyone to suspect me of speculating in land.

I am ignorant of God's designs for our little foundation, but my petition is progressing fairly well. It was received in the Senate and in the House of Representatives where two committees were named to investigate the affair and consult with me. The report of the two committees was favorable, but it is to be feared that because of the great number of important affairs of state which are urged daily there will not be time to execute my business in this session. That [i. e. the success of the petition] is what I hope to note at the end of my letter which I shall not seal until Congress has adjourned.

To return to your letter, my Lord, I shall say that you are correct in thinking that 400 acres of land is enough to supply our needs for many years. It would be enough permanently if we wanted to limit ourselves to a small community without educating children. But if the government should reject our title we would be obliged to move again. And I am aware that many titles are rejected. Besides, were the acreage to be sufficient for a time, it

would not be enough for always. For when the wood is exhausted, we should then be obliged to abandon our little foundation and seek another, uncertain one. For one must not dream of buying neighboring property after the government's decision, for there are many people interested in settling near us, a fact which will double the price of the land. You have seen above that already several families of rogues have come to settle near us and even on our 400 acres, stealing all they can from us. These are the considerations which, having once drawn from my confreres the courage to continue our establishment without having a title, urged them to beg me to undertake this journey. I could not wait for another year because the Land Commissioners having finished examining land titles and being ready to report immediately to Congress, the validity and nullity of titles will be published. Those who are on good acreage, the title of which is in doubt, are doing all they can to locate near us or even on our 400 acres in case the title should be rejected.

I foresee that in spite of my lack of ability, the monastery may suffer somewhat from my absence, for the Father Prior, though a better religious than myself, is not the person needed at the beginning of an establishment where everything is lacking. He is physically strong and very fervent. There is reason to believe that he thinks everyone to be equal to his own strength. He pushes the work too much; while I, who am weak and quite cowardly, necessarily moderate his rather inordinate activity for I cannot keep up with him. On his part, he stirs up my laziness.

I confess that Father de Rance<sup>17</sup> cordially disliked making journeys, for he was a very recollected person and travelling does not encourage that virtue. Truthfully I dare say I find them even more unpleasant than he for, being more imperfect than he, it must be much more difficult for me than for him to remain recollected. But I have a further reason, one which Father de Rance regarded as a piece of good fortune. He was mortified, a state to which my cowardice does not accomodate itself so well. I refer to the fatigue and other troubles which poverty causes to accompany my travels, since I have not the means to stay at the inns. Moreover, my companion, knowing that I had only four and a half dollars for living expenses while in the city conducting my business, and [knowing] that for several days we did not know where to eat or sleep, told me that he was not anxious to start home with so little money, since we would surely die of cold and hunger while our brethren, despite their poverty, at least had maize bread and a poor cabin for the night. I can assure you, my Lord, that if like

<sup>17</sup>The Abbot of the Trappists in France who instituted the Reform.

Father de Rance, I had enough land and a clear title to it, I should have never appeared in the city of Washington, still less at the Capitol, unless our affairs like those of Father de Rance had called me there.

I confess also that it would have been a great misfortune for me should I have happened to have died on the journey, deprived of the presence of my brethren and perhaps even of any priest. I even contracted fever on the way and still suffer from it. But would I have been well received by God if, sparing my body exceedingly and lacking confidence in God, I again made it necessary for my community to move to a new country? No, I could hardly be at peace on my deathbed if I have avoided this whole business. I have too much to be reproached with as it is for having put it off so long.

I often hear Father Gibault<sup>18</sup> spoken of, more often disparagingly than well. However, before going back to Illinois I can be certain of nothing except that he died a long time ago. I seem to remember hearing that he had obtained from the government a fairly large tract of land which had formerly belonged to the Fathers of the Mission of which [Society] he was a member and that he sold it before his death. I shall fulfill your request regarding Father Marie Bernard. The Illinois Territory is now a part of the diocese of Baltimore, but it will be a part of the diocese of Kentucky as soon as there is a bishop in that state.

The Holy Father has named four new bishops: 1. Monseigneur Malignon<sup>19</sup> to Boston, and on his refusal, Monseigneur Chevreuse<sup>20</sup> [sic] who has accepted. 2. A Recollect religious of the church of St. Mary to Philadelphia, who has accepted. I have forgotten his name.<sup>21</sup> 3. A Dominican religious to New York. The latter was consecrated at Rome by His Holiness. He was to have brought the bulls for the others, but nothing more was heard of him.<sup>22</sup> 4. Monseigneur Benedict Flaget, a priest of St. Sulpice of Baltimore, for Kentucky. He refused, but urged by everyone to accept, he appealed to the General of his Congregation, M. Emery in Paris. There he lost his cause, for M. Emery ordered him to accept the dignity. He is expected any day. I know him very well. Some time before leaving for Paris he wrote to me asking to be accepted into the monastery announcing that he had already pronounced his vows at the foot of the Crucifix and that he desired only the office of

<sup>18</sup> Father Pierre Gibault died at New Madrid in 1802.

<sup>19</sup> The Sulpician Father Anthony Francis Matignon.

<sup>20</sup> John F. Cheverus.

<sup>21</sup> This was Michael Egan, O. F. M., consecrated in 1810.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Luke Concanen, who was consecrated by Cardinal di Pietro in 1810 at Rome. He died before leaving Europe.

scullion for three days. In reply I accepted his vows of obedience and agreed that he might come to fill the office of scullion for three days after which, in virtue of obedience, since he chose me for his superior, [I ordered him] to accept the office of Bishop of Kentucky for the rest of his life. I did not hesitate to add that he was trying to escape the work more than the honor, since I am too well aware of his great humility to fear that he might be offended by my urging him to submit.

The church at Cahokia is really not ours, nor do I receive a single stipend from it. The community does not go out of the monastery to hear Mass, which is offered in our poor cabin. I send a priest to offer Mass at Cahokia on Sunday and even sometimes to St. Louis, St. Charles, St. Ferdinand, etc. I myself spent Christmas night in the Confessional from five in the evening until five in the morning, only interrupting Confessions to sing Midnight Mass which was accompanied by some rather poor music. But at least there were people to serve at the altar. Last year I was obliged to answer the prayers myself. The duties of a parish priest are not compatible with the life of a Trappist. If Bishop Flaget delays too long, or if some of the priests of our Third Order<sup>23</sup> do not arrive, we will find it necessary to stop aiding the parishes except for people in danger of death. Otherwise we shall soon be neither parish priests nor monks.

We have no priest in our neighborhood, except an old man named Olivier<sup>24</sup> who lives at the village of Prairie-du-Rocher, forty-four miles from Cahokia, who constantly begs me to allow him to enter the Trappists. He is able to do very little any more. There is another priest at St. Genevieve, which is on the other side of the river, about twelve miles from Prairie-du-Rocher in the direction of Louisiana. It would be well if he were not there at all, for he spends his time at hunting and horse racing and his nights playing cards.<sup>25</sup> Someone told me it was difficult to know when he found time to say his breviary. On Sunday he is content to offer a low Mass without having Vespers. He rarely says Mass during the week. He declares he sees no evil in this and announces that after all he will end by becoming a Trappist. He is hardly tending in that direction, but the mercy of God is boundless, for I reconciled the most scandalous possible soldier in that very village. That man's swearing made everyone who heard him tremble. When I spoke to him of amending his life, he condemned the Pope, the Bishops,

<sup>23</sup> He refers to a group of priests associated with the Trappists, but not bound by all the rules of the monks.

<sup>24</sup> Father Donatien Olivier.

<sup>25</sup> Father James Maxwell, who does not merit such criticism.

and all the Clergy to the devil and me to the bottom of the sea. I hope he will make his profession soon after my return if God allows me to go back. At Prairie-du-Rocher there is one of his comrades, even a greater sinner than he, who admitted that he had taken 85 false oaths for a joke. This man has promised to come to the monastery when I return. God knows whether he will keep his word, but up to the present I am most pleased with the first fellow. There has been no bishop at New Orleans<sup>26</sup> (I heard yesterday that the Holy Father has named one, but I doubt it very much). That country is under the jurisdiction of His Lordship, the Bishop of Baltimore who appointed Father Olivier<sup>27</sup> to care for it. He is a brother of the priest at Prairie-du-Rocher. He is unable to accomplish anything on account of a Capuchin named Antoine who has stirred up the people and wishes to be named bishop. This is causing a schism whereby many Catholics are falling away.<sup>28</sup>

At last the first of May has come and tomorrow Congress will adjourn without acting on my petition. I am secure in the 400 acres which is at least enough to have justified my journey since my brethren will not be obliged to move. Regarding the petition to annex more land, that has been put off until the next session. There are too many affairs of state for them to give time for my small business. Also, there was danger of having the petition rejected now when feelings are ruffled from disputes. Two Representatives assured me that it was agreed to grant my petition, but it must wait for a favorable moment. I asked Congress only for permission to buy up any vacant military titles which I shall be able to procure in great part by trading horses. This will suit me well for I do not know where to obtain money for 4,000 acres of land.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of sincerest gratitude and deepest respect,

My Lord

Your very humble and obedient servant

FATHER URBAN.

Near Cahokia in the County of St. Clair  
on the Illinois, Territory, in the  
United States of America.

<sup>26</sup> The first bishop appointed there was Bishop Penalver y Cardenas, consecrated in 1793; he was transferred in 1801. The area was under jurisdiction of Baltimore between 1805 and 1815. During that period Father Francisco Porro y Peinado, a Franciscan, was appointed but never actually exercised jurisdiction. This appointment may be what Dom Urban had in mind.

<sup>27</sup> Father John Olivier.

<sup>28</sup> Dom Urban refers to Father Antonio Sedella.

DOM URBAN GUILLET TO THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC  
NEAR CAHOKIA, 18 NOVEMBER 1810<sup>29</sup>

November 18, 1810

Urban Guillet, near Cahokia,  
St. Clair County in Illinois Territory

Monseigneur,

I beg pardon for postponing so long answering your honored letter of January 31. I received it some days ago, but the hope of seeing Father Marie Bernard recover made me delay in vain from day to day. For although there is no immediate danger, for some time he has had a violent fever which gives him no respite. After that it was time to dispatch my petition [to Congress] which required making certain that I had sufficient military deeds before writing Congress. With no money on hand that consumed many days. In order to present a second petition it was necessary to make a change, for instead of asking Congress to allow me to buy land, I requested that body today to grant authority to register in the name of the monastery those titles which I have been able to procure from various individuals. These title-deeds are gifts made by the nation to soldiers since the [Revolutionary] war. Since a great number were unclaimed, I was able to add them to my 400 acres of land. Otherwise we would have never driven off 7 or 8 families of rogues who, having sold the 400 acres each father of a family received as a gift from the Spaniards [sic] to attract them to settle their families, established themselves near us and even on our 400 acres off which they stole our animals at will. I have just this morning finished this business in the town of Kaskaskia, the capital of Illinois, a day and a half or two from our monastery. Being unable to take to the road today, I am taking advantage of the delay to write this letter, though I should have preferred to await my return home to give you the latest news of Father Marie Bernard, whom I have not seen for many days.

It appears that Your Excellency has not received the letter in which I gave my address. I repeat it on the top of this page. In my last [letter] I thanked you for the 200 dollars which you generously sent me. Masses offered daily pay off this indebtedness. Since the route through Detroit seems to delay mail, I prefer to write as before because Mr. Marchand<sup>30</sup> tells me that he waited many months for an opportunity to forward your letter to Post Vincennes. Also, the one which he received from Post Vincennes had a similar delay.

It is very true the Father Marie Bernard is in the dispositions

<sup>28</sup> For the original French edition cf. *La Nouvelle France*, XVI (1917), 227 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Jean-Baptiste Marchand, a Sulpician who was then at Sandwich opposite Detroit.



which you mention. This is the result of not having been sufficiently humiliated when in the novitiate. Such errors often happened when we were beginning the foundation and were obliged to carry on extraordinary labors. The [training of] novices were somewhat neglected and the paucity of their numbers deprived them of the [force of] example. I notice this even now when I have only one choir novice, whose novitiate is almost finished. Though I am not exactly displeased with him, he is not what he should be. However, he has spent his novitiate in great confusion. He is that quondam soldier, who, when I spoke to him of conversion, cursed me and all priests and religious, condemning them all to the bottom of the sea tied to the Pope's neck. He used to say that he preferred to burn quickly rather than to become a Trappist. According to him a soldier should never forgive his enemies. He says that there are four such whose heads he ought to cut off, and he maintains that he should box his cure's ears in church, etc. But he resisted God in vain. How could he be at peace and resist the Omnipotent? The very moment of his rebellion was used to conquer him. The more he laughed, the more he swore, the more he cursed, the more he heard in the depths of his soul a voice louder than his own telling him to join the Trappists. As he has since told me, though he cried out only to silence this voice, the more persistently the latter urged him until it was heard. He still resisted eight days longer, but he was obliged to surrender in spite of his pride and his grand title. God grant that he may persevere. I recommend him to your prayers as well as Father Marie Bernard to whom illness had not come in vain, but who still fears death, a thing I have seen only once at La Trappe, even among children.

If the short account I sent you edified your parishioners, the fact proves that they are better disposed than the people of Louisiana and Illinois. On leaving church they go to a dance to dry any tears they may have squeezed out in the church. They seem to have lost all religious principles because they have been so long without a priest. Also I have received no novices in the country though at the moment one offered himself who was not only the boon companion of the soldier mentioned above, but was charged with ten thousand enormous crimes. Besides perjury, drunkenness etc., he was publicly expelled from the church and everywhere recognized as the most scandalous of men. He bridled a great deal but finally the reflexion that, "If my companion is happy in the monastery why cannot I be," seems to have decided him.

I did not receive your last [letter] of December which you mentioned, but only the one of the 2nd of August. Your Excellency is not wrong in maintaining that ours is the task of praying for the Church.

Please God, we shall never be required to leave these legal boundaries. What you can do, my Lord, is to send us two or three good missionaries. It seems a cruel thing to me to have a whole populace without the Sacraments, and not only children but even [grown] men [as yet] unbaptized. This is why we have united [the part of] Martha with [that of] Mary. However, I assure you that these departures [from our Rule] do not please me at all. I keep them at a minimum. For the good of the people, however, they occur oftener than I wish.

Newspapers are not brought into the monastery, hence I know little of what is going on in the world. Yet I think that those who hold that the Sovereign Pontiff is dead are mistaken. Monseigneur Flaget, Bishop of Kentucky, who has just arrived from France, says that His Holiness is in a place of safety, but very miserable.

The territories of Louisiana and Illinois have been visited by a fever which spared few of the people. Many are dead, particularly five of our brethren, among whom was one I spoke of in my last letter written at Baltimore. However, the number of dead is very small in comparison with the number of those stricken. Due to the illness of nearly the whole community we have been reduced to the dire extremity of selling a chalice, though we had only two, some of our altar ornaments, and even the Brother Blacksmith's anvil. Since we ourselves could not do all the work, I had to have an extern build a room about twenty feet in diameter to use as an infirmary. I have given him a mare for his work. I gave another for a frying pan and some window panes for the infirmary. Thus, though without money, our sick will spend the winter a little better off than last winter. Four are still sick. God has tried us, as you see, but it seems that the trial is nearly over. To replace five brethren whom we lost, four landed at Baltimore with Bishop Flaget and one novice is asking for admission. Of the four who died three were old men. One of them was childish and three were unable to do any work. The fourth was a young watchmaker and silversmith of marvelous ability. Among the five who are coming, one is old and four are young, all good workers and among them a master watchmaker.

In vain do I ask our Bishop for missionaries, though no district has greater need for them. I have several people who are being instructed, but our situation prevents holding regular classes. Besides, our young people scarcely have the time to study. Without that they cannot hope to be properly instructed. (I hope to write this letter legibly, but a feebleness, to which I am greatly prone is beginning to make itself felt. For which reason, I beg Your Lordship to forgive my scribbling).

Bonaparte has again given us a new monastery on the Col

Sestriere, above Brainçon. It is [on] a very dangerous Pass from Piedmont. The usefulness of this monastery to travellers has prevented many from losing their lives, a fact which does not prohibit its being employed for the instruction of youth, [an occupation] which is terribly neglected.

I was very ill during my trip and was incapacitated for many months. After that I was kicked by a horse and laid up for three more months. When I was nearly well I had a bout of fever and a chest infection nearly brought me to death's door. I spent the nights sitting up because a racking cough suffocated me when lying down. Finally, God restored me to health. Before I was recovered I set out because I was too impatient to wait. The trip did me no harm. I am well at the moment except for a few chronic infirmities.

The Senate has confirmed title to my land, but a little belatedly because the Land Commissioners have already allotted 200 acres of it to another. I shall not lose those acres in the end, though I shall have to pay for them, while in the first instance they would have come to me *gratis*. I have procured nothing towards the increase of the land because Congress was occupied with the War. I have just forwarded a new petition, modified as I noted above. Everyone believes that I should have success, but I do not yet dare to be sure of it. I am determined not to return to Congress about this matter. I have placed the business in the hands of three congressmen, who are good friends [of yours]. I was sure that if I were present I could help the matter along as many wise people advise me, but I have pushed matters enough. I am forwarding, as you requested, a map of the neighborhood of the monastery. It is sketched on a very old map which cannot be exact. But I think you will not find many great errors in it. We should be located four or five miles farther north, but this area, we regret, is a little outside the map.

I have the honor of being with deepest respect, My Lord,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

FATHER URBAN.

The post left before I handed in this letter, thus it will not leave for a week. I am writing after returning to the monastery. Father Marie Bernard is about the same.

I have just received a letter from a priest of Baltimore who lives with Bishop Flaget, from which I learn that I am very wrong in declaring that the Holy Father is in a place of security, as can be learned from the extract of the letter from this priest. I have a poor understanding of the word security. Nothing can more inspire us to redouble our prayers and our fidelity.

"Our Holy Father is in chains, imprisoned in the city of Turin, the Cardinals humiliated at the Tyrant's court, the Archbishops and Bishops of Italy are exiled or in prison, those of France threatened. The whole Church is in sorrow. The Holy Father and the bishops of Europe look upon this persecution as the most serious since those of Domitian and Nero. However, the Holy Father, at the end of a lengthy prayer, assures us that the trial will not last long. He ends with the words: 'Pray and do not be afraid.' He was then at Avignon or Nice. In France they are destroying all the associations which could tend to reincarnate the spark of the dying faith. I write to urge you to pray much for the Church and for your four brethren who are going to start in a few days to join you. There is every reason to fear that they will perish from misery in undertaking such a long journey with so few resources."<sup>31</sup>

I shall add that I believe there is some exaggeration here for our General has just written me by the same Bishop Flaget that Bonaparte has again given us a new monastery. Also a young religious woman, a sister of a missionary in Kentucky writes to him that she has recently become a Carmelite at Bordeaux. It is true that she adds that Bonaparte will not allow them to take vows according to their rule. He wants them to take only simple vows, renewed annually. They are to educate the youth of their sex *gratis*. It seems, nevertheless, that he is allowing us to follow our rule entirely, provided that we educate youth, as we did before.

DOM URBAN GUILLET TO THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC, FROM THE  
MONASTERY NEAR CAHOKIA, 14 MARCH 1811<sup>32</sup>

From the Monastery of Bon Secours  
near Cahokia in the County of St. Clair  
Illinois Territory, March 14, 1810 [i. e., 1811].

Monseigneur,

I have just found a letter which is a reply to yours of last June 8th. My poor memory causes me to doubt how it came here. The erasures which are abundant make me think that I wrote another and discarded this one. But my carelessness makes me fear myself mistaken, that I have sent you another destined for someone else. However that may be, I am taking advantage of the departure of a young man of your country who has the honor of your acquaintance

<sup>31</sup> This paragraph is, of course, an extract from the letter received by Dom Urban from Baltimore.

<sup>32</sup> For the original French Edition cf. *La Nouvelle France*, XIV (1915), 172 ff. It is there dated 1810, but it is clear from context that either Dom Urban wrote down the wrong year or it was incorrectly transcribed. It belongs without doubt to the year assigned here.

to reply a second time with this difference that the first contained a letter of Father Marie Bernard's addressed to his good Ursulines<sup>33</sup> to whose prayers I recommend myself. A few months ago I told you of Father Marie Bernard's illness. Today I must tell you that God has called him to a better life on November 28th last. He told me that the true cause of his illness was the stone. Having formerly studied surgery, I know this malady well and I am aware that an operation at his age is very dangerous and always without success when the person has been suffering for many years. He suffered much, and if he did not show joy in his suffering, at least he bore it patiently. He received every spiritual help. As to medicine, he hardly wanted any of it, knowing that his illness was incurable because of the long delay. During the last two days his condition did not allow him to receive Communion as Viaticum. But he had had that happiness. He urgently recommended himself to the prayers of Your Excellency and his dear Ursulines, etc.

The cause of his delay in replying to you is not serious. He would have done so had he wished to, but only if ordered because he thought such action not suited to a Trappist. This death places me in the greatest difficulty. There was only one priest in Upper Louisiana and he has just left his place, a fact which does not pain good Catholics, for he did more harm than good. There is only one [priest] left in Illinois. He is broken with age and work and wishes to retire to New Orleans.<sup>34</sup> Father Marie Bernard used to go from time to time to help these two people. I am not able to replace him and I have no religious to whose care I can confide this [task]. Twice I have been to visit the parishes where Father Marie Bernard had begun to work. The first time I did almost nothing except at St. Charles, a village separated from St. Louis by the Missouri River. Father Marie Bernard preached so effectively against balls and dancing there that during the last carnival there was no more rejoicing than is usually had during the Lenten season. I did encounter a man who would have been very glad to dance, but he told me that he had to give up that pleasure because all the ladies had stopped it. (My stay at St. Charles stretched over three or four weeks). I had 15 or 16 children, of whom two were savages from eighteen to twenty years of age, make their first Communion and so many people came to Confession that despite the extraordinary cold weather I was never able to leave the church before nine in the evening. I used to go to church very early to offer Holy Mass, then for two hours I taught catechism. After

<sup>33</sup> Before coming to join the Trappists, Father Marie Bernard had been chaplain to a convent of Ursuline nuns in Canada.

<sup>34</sup> Father Donatien Olivier.

that I heard Confessions until two o'clock. At three catechism again until four, then Confession until nine o'clock. At three the church was still full of people. Many waited three days from morning until evening for fear of losing their turn. Returning home, I found some slaves to instruct. Fortunately they did not arrive until ten, for I needed some lunch when I reached the house. There were many communions and baptisms and a few marriages.

They have come to get me many times since, but the affairs of my monastery prevent me from absenting myself from it. Finally, however, because some of the inhabitants were in danger of death, I was obliged to return. By the grace of God my success at St. Charles was repeated. I stayed there fifteen days and on my return journey visited five other villages where I had some success. I anointed several dying people, among them three old men aged 105, 103, and 103. The first day there were so many waiting to go to Confession that eleven in the evening the crowd was still great. The next day before dawn while I was praying I found myself surrounded with people wanting to go to Confession. Only when it was time for Mass was I able to say Prime.

My presence in the monastery obliged me to leave this imperfectly completed task. These people are so ignorant that when I promised them that the Bishop of Kentucky<sup>35</sup> would come to administer Confirmation several women asked me if he were a rich merchant who would bring them beautiful dresses. What is more surprising is that a young woman believed that after she made her confession she should embrace me as a sign of her gratitude. Not expecting such a thing, when she leaned towards me, I drew nearer to her, and she really kissed me before I could draw back. It seemed to me that perhaps several others might have done likewise. To avoid this unseemly business I spoke to the young woman in such manner as to make her see her fault. The others, who could easily see me, wisely profited by the lesson.

Four of my confreres have arrived from Europe. One of these was a novice, but so good that I allowed him to make his profession shortly after his arrival. Of course he came with a Father Master who gave me a good account of him. This profession disturbed my poor grenadier<sup>36</sup> who has been waiting eighteen months for the

<sup>35</sup> Benedict Joseph Flaget, first bishop of Kentucky. Actually he was not yet consecrated at the date of this letter.

<sup>36</sup> The grenadier is said to have been an old soldier whom one of the Trappists converted while in St. Louis. This man sought admission among the religious. He could not be received until he had paid all of his just debts.

same grace. This I cannot grant him until I have settled with his creditors to whom he owes 300 dollars. Several of our pupils as well as their teacher, who has been reared from an early age in our monastery, ask for admission to our novitiate. But they are scarcely eighteen except the teacher who is twenty-four.

Monseigneur of Kentucky<sup>37</sup> informs me that the Holy Father is in prison in the palace of the bishop of Savona in Piedmont and that he is manifesting the greatest firmness; that he has cured several incurables and even restored sight to a blind man.<sup>38</sup>

I have not as yet seen M. M. . . . N. . . . whom you announce to me. He may come when he likes for he needs to do penance for his faults.

Monseigneur the Bishop of New York died before embarking.<sup>39</sup>

If I speak of our General,<sup>40</sup> it is not because he has been elected general of the whole Order. I have called him this to conveniently explain myself. He does, however, perform all the functions of that office in our Reform. His true title is that of the Immediate Father of all the monasteries of the Reform. He does not permit them to call him general. Our general is really the same as the General of the Order of Citeaux,<sup>41</sup> but he died without a successor and the Order seems to have disintegrated.

I thank you for all your kindness in offering me Masses. I take care of them willingly, if the donors are in not too great a hurry. I still have to offer 400 of the last you sent to me. Wine has become so scarce and expensive here that for a long time we have been reduced to offering only one Mass [daily]. At this time we have only one bottle [left].

I have handed the letter for young Nicholas to a marshall of St. Louis, named Valois, as it was addressed. He replied that this young man, having behaved badly, left him several years ago and that he had written shortly after, saying that he was a clerk with a rich merchant at Fort Massacre. Since then he has heard no more of him. But he will do all he possibly can to deliver the letter.

It seems, Monseigneur, that your penance surpasses that of the Trappists, which people regard as extreme, though I assure you that I suffer ten times more travelling than when I am in the monas-

<sup>37</sup> Bishop Flaget.

<sup>38</sup> Pius VII, who reigned from 1800 to 1823.

<sup>39</sup> Rt. Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, appointed in April, 1808, died at Naples in 1810.

<sup>40</sup> Dom Augustin de l'Estrange, who was the Abbot of the monks of La Trappe.

<sup>41</sup> The Cistercians.

tery. May God help us in such difficult labors. I hope that some day He will recompense you for them. Such are the most sincere wishes of all my confreres, and in particular of their unworthy superior who is with the most profound respect,

Monseigneur,  
Your very humble and obedient servant  
FR. URBAN.

DOM URBAN GUILLET TO BISHOP PLESSIS, STE. GENEVIEVE  
AND CAHOKIA, 14 JUNE 1811<sup>42</sup>

From St. Genevieve and Cahokia,  
The Tuesday and Thursday of Pentecost,  
June 14, 1811

Monseigneur,

If on the 25th of February Your Lordship was laboring under any uncertainty concerning the conditions of Father Marie Bernard, I hope that today this is not so, and that having spoken of this subject in my last three letters, one of them will have reached its destination.

I shall repeat here, without details and without even remembering the date that God called this good Father to his reward. If through weakness he feared death somewhat, his exactitude in observing the Rule made amends for this imperfection, which is unusual in our monasteries. His condition did not permit administering Holy Viaticum to him, but he received the Last Sacraments a few days previously. He died of the stone, a malady which he kept secret too long to make any remedy possible.

I am as yet unable to give you any definite news about the land which I want to purchase from Congress. The session was too brief this year, and the public business too pressing for my lawyers [agents] to find opportunity to speak in my favor.

It is most unfortunate that Your Lordship is unable to send me some priests, for there is reason to believe that I cannot much longer unite the state of a monk with that of a missionary. Besides that, the duties of missionary are beyond my strength and I have no religious capable of replacing Father Marie Bernard. Soldiers, uneducated and already old, scarcely make good missionaries. However, a short time ago I received a young Canadian, aged twenty-six, named Desmarais, but he is illiterate. While on the subject of missionaries, the old missionary from Kentucky writes me that in two months Monseigneur Benedict Joseph Flaget, Sulpician, conse-

<sup>42</sup> For the original French cf. *La Nouvelle France*, XVI (1917), 274ff.



crated Bishop of Kentucky, Tennessee and Illinois etc. will arrive in his diocese with a Canadian priest. I do not know what he can be. It is possible, also, that I do not understand the missionary's letter very well since he writes in an abridged form. Here is how he expresses himself: "Your Bishop will be here in two months with M. David and 1 P. from Canada."

My Lord, the Archbishop of Baltimore, has also ordered public prayers for the Holy Father. In the same letter, the Kentucky missionary tells me that Bonaparte holds in custody not only the Pope but also a great number of Cardinals and Bishops of Italy etc. and that nearly all the others are banished.

It seems to me I already answered you on the subject of Mass stipends which you had the kindness to offer me, that I still have a great number of these last to offer. I think that I will have finished offering them by the time the answer will have reached you. I did not then know any other route but Philadelphia. But I have just found another at St. Genevieve, where I began the present letter, having been called there by some sick people.

At St. Genevieve (otherwise known as Misere), [a town] about fifty miles from Cahokia, an old man of the greatest probity named Jean Baptiste Pratt[e] who has a son, Henry Pratt[e] (I fear I have forgotten his baptismal name, but I think it is Henry) studying at the College of Montreal. This young man is due to return to St. Genevieve shortly, his father having just sent him the money. If he had known that you planned to send me 200 dollars, he would have given them to me as soon as you had sent a receipt from his son, Henry. There would even have been a satisfaction [for you] in this meeting. Though the money had been forwarded eight or ten days ago, he assured me that as soon as I gave him a receipt from his son, he would give me 200 dollars.

God seems to wish us to suffer privation in this country. The last harvest was so bad that grain has been cut a third. Our harvest at the monastery is almost reduced to nothing as always is the case the first year the prairies are cultivated. I bought six hundred bushels of maize from a neighbor at six bushels for a dollar before we were able to determine what the harvest would yield. This man, despite his bill and witnesses, did not want to deliver a grain of it to me. Now it is impossible to buy maize for a dollar a bushel. I also bought my provisions of wheat at Cahokia where I am finishing this letter. In my absence our Brother Purveyor came to ask for some and they told him that it [all ] was sold. On the way home a short distance from the town a young rascal frightened the horse drawing the vehicle and upset the Brother who was thrown on his head and so dazed him that, though he was brought back to

Cahokia, for a whole day he did not recognize anyone or his horse or wagon. The next day, when he came back, he complained of a headache. What the consequences will be I do not know.

There is no more wheat for sale in this country. Fortunately, I found a little maize. However, no one but myself is ill. I am more than a little unwell, but far from dangerously so. I had to have help to go to St. Genevieve to say Mass and on Pentecost I offered a low Mass with great difficulty. This year the harvest is lost in many places because the water has been higher than has ever been seen with one exception. Afterwards constant rain prevented the planting of maize and many people sowed only half a crop. However, we are hoping for a good wheat crop though we have no barns in which to store it, nor time to build one. As for maize, we have hardly any. Instead, we have some oats for our horses.

On top of these misfortunes, we expect to have war with the savages who pillaged an American house last week. They carried off the horses etc., killed a young man 25 years old and took away his sister. They were pursued quickly.

We must in this adore the Providence which brings good from evil.

I thank Your Lordship for the prayers which you deign to offer for my community and I hope that we can do all in our power to render you a similar kindness. I offered my Mass a short time ago for that intention.

I have the honor of being with deepest respect, Your Lordship, your humble and obedient servant

FATHER URBAN

DOM URBAN GUILLET TO BISHOP PLESSIS, FROM THE

MONASTERY NEAR CAHOKIA, 9 NOVEMBER 1811<sup>43</sup>

[Cahokia, 9 November 1811]

Monseigneur,

In your letter of February last you told me you would send me stipends for 1,000 Masses as soon as I should have finished the previous ones provided I indicate someone to whom the stipends could be handed. I had the honor of replying to you towards the end of June. But in case my answer has not reached you, I am taking advantage of the return of a young Canadian to his country to repeat the information.

Perhaps Your Excellency is acquainted with a student of the

<sup>43</sup> For the original French cf. *La Nouvelle France*, XVII (1918), 184ff. The letter is dated at the close, November 9, 1811.

College of Montreal named Henry Pratt[e]. His father, Jean Baptiste Pratt[e], a very honest man who lives near St. Genevieve, told me that if you will give his son Henry 300 dollars, he will turn over a similar sum to me as soon as I can present him with a letter from his son to serve as a receipt. I believe that you can safely turn over 200 dollars to Henry Pratt[e]. His father has advanced me 100.

My last letter informed you of the death of four of our brethren. They were: Father Isaac, a priest, Prior and clock-master who was so named because while in the novitiate he was obliged to leave in order to prove that he had not promised to marry a young Protestant girl who maintained that he made such a promise. Not only did he prove the justice of his cause, but he brought back the girl's father who made his profession and received the name of Abraham. The girl herself abjured her heresy and entered one of our monasteries in Switzerland. 2nd, Brother Elias, a lay brother and quarter-master. 3rd, Brother Marie Joseph a young Canadian whose family name was Desmarais, an excellent farmer who was only a 'frere donne'<sup>44</sup> (not really a member of the Order). All three were essential in the monastery. Although I have other good watch makers, I am at a loss to select a Prior. I have no quarter-master and do not know where to find one. Also, I have by no means a supply of good farmers. The fourth was a young lad from Kentucky who was nearly the best of the children. I recommend all of them to your prayers and to those of your associates.

I do not know, Monseigneur, if your country has been afflicted as has ours. I hope not, for since July and even June, there has been sickness everywhere. Though the number who die is small in comparison to the number afflicted, the death toll has been high. Not a family was saved from the scourge and many were entirely wiped out.

If God has taken four of my brethren, it seems that He is about to replace them for Monseigneur, the Bishop of Kentucky, though he has not reached his diocese, has just written that three of my confreres, all priests, have arrived at Baltimore.<sup>45</sup> And here at home I am offered a young boy. Everyone has been ill but all are recovering. I have had a bout with fever for four months with only 7 days of truce, but I am not dangerously sick.

<sup>44</sup> A *donne* was a person who attached himself to the monastery, giving his time and services free, but who did not enter the monastery.

<sup>45</sup> There is probably reference here to Father Vincent Merle, who made an attempt to found a Trappist monastery in Pennsylvania. He arrived in 1811; this attempt was likewise a failure.

So many people have been sick that the farmers have not been able to cultivate their land. Many have not found it possible to gather the harvest. This makes us fear bad times. In our case, we would have been able to sell a good half of our provisions if strangers and crows had not made off with half of it. We still have enough left for our needs if the weather holds good. We have no barns and we are not strong enough to build any. Hence our grain is piled on the ground. We even left part of it unharvested for lack of hands to do so. As it is, the cold will freeze much of the potato crop and other vegetables before we finish gathering them. While this will prevent selling them, we will have enough for our own needs.

Please accept the assurances of my deepest respect, with which I am Monseigneur,

Your very humble and obedient servant

FATHER URBAN.

From the Monastery of Notre Dame de Bon Secours  
near Cahokia Illinois Territory, Nov. 9, 1811.

P. S. After finishing this letter I learned that a nun of our Order has arrived in America and that others are following.<sup>46</sup> God grant that the news is untrue, for it is impossible for me to take care of a community of sisters in my present circumstances. I learned also that a priest is coming for Cahokia. They say it is M. Savine of your diocese.<sup>47</sup> I learned also that the person in charge of my affairs in Baltimore has received 100 dollars for me from Boston. He used it to pay part of my debts in that city. For that I must offer your Masses. I have already begun on them, though I do not know whether they be those mentioned at the beginning of this letter.

DOM URBAN TO THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC,

ST. LOUIS, 18 FEBRUARY 1812<sup>48</sup>

[St. Louis, 18 February 1812]

Monseigneur,

Your letter of November 4 arrived at just the right moment for Mr. Pratt[e] whom I believed to be more rich than he is, was beginning to be worried. I was not able to call on him, but I sent him the letter from his son, Henry, with another of his sons, Bernard. That satisfied him. He would have been content if Henry Pratt[e] had been given 200 dollars. He sent word that you would

<sup>46</sup> This rumor proved false.

<sup>47</sup> Father Francis Savine, pastor of Cahokia after 1810.

<sup>48</sup> For the original French cf. *La Nouvelle France*, XVII (1918), 187 ff. This letter is dated at the close, "St. Louis, February 18, 1812."

be kind if you gave his son Henry another 100 dollars, in which case he would give the same sum to me. He even added that you could advance as much as two or 300. But I could not take care of so many Masses at one time. I believe it prudent to limit myself to 500 or to 750 more than the 500 I have already begun to offer.

I have not as yet written to Monseigneur, the Bishop of Bardstown, but I hope to do so shortly. I have not received your letter from Montreal. But I am not surprised because careless handling of mail is common here. That is the reason you were so long in learning of Father Marie Bernard's death.

Apparently you congratulated me prematurely on my European recruits. I hear almost nothing from them. Our General, who was to have embarked [for America] was seized and put in prison in a seminary. I learn that almost all the clergy have repudiated Bonaparte, with the exception of sixteen ecclesiastics who have the celebrated Abbé Mauri at their head.

I agree that it has been a source of great satisfaction to see so many non-Catholics entering the fold and so many lapsed Catholics returning. In spite of that, I have almost entirely renounced the exercise of the holy ministry outside [the monastery]. I leave it very infrequently, except for ministering to the sick, since the condition of my community, especially its temporal affairs, does not permit it. The people will lose very little because Father Marie Joseph<sup>49</sup> takes my place in fulfilling this duty and does it better than I. He has effected several conversions that I could not accomplish. M. Savine, who was the pastor of Cahokia and St. Louis, had also had success, but to it was joined the granting permission for much that he would gladly have forbidden.

An almost continual earthquake, which lasted from the night of the 15-16 of December until now, February 19, helped much to bring people back [to their religion]. A great many houses have been badly damaged, but no one was killed. The earth opened in many places, especially about three miles from our monastery. Only sand and water came from the opening. Fortunately, our poor cabins of wood and sand can withstand a great deal of shaking without much danger. Their undressed logs piled one on top of another can be separated only by considerable force. Some stone and brick houses have had to be abandoned.

I do not remember having asked you for a bell. But that would not be surprising, for I believe that they are not made in the United States, except for small ones of one or two pounds. In upper Louisiana there are no foundries but since the carrying charges

<sup>49</sup> Father Dunand, Prior of the Monastery.

would be as much as the cost of the bell, I should prefer to do without it or to have one brought from France.

I cannot undersand how you could have imagined that God destined me for something great. My letters should be enough to show you that I am capable of nothing. The lack of success of our small foundation should leave no doubt on this point. A clear miracle was necessary to make me undertake the office of superior, especially when my General told me that for lack of a horse he was obliged to use a donkey. But it would take several miracles to make me believe myself good for something. The resurrection of a dead man would not be enough.

It does not seem reasonable for me to go to Canada for the excessive heat keeps me unwell. Severe cold would be no better for me. My hands and feet are freezing the whole winter and a heavy cough gives me no rest. The day before yesterday this very cough laid me low 14 times in a single hour. Though there is a fire in the room where I am writing, the cold is the reason for my making blots at this moment.

Every day, when I am asked to sell grain, I am reminded of the harm the birds did to our harvest. We have enough for our needs, but none to sell. There is a certain consolation for those who escaped the plague last summer to reflect on the number who died. Were it not for that there would be a great shortage of food. But I hope we can weather it.

I am with sentiments of most profound respect  
 Monseigneur,  
 Your very humble servant

FATHER URBAN.

St. Louis February 18, 1812.

Mr. Bernard Pratt[e], at whose home I am writing this wishes me to ask the prayers of Your Excellency, Bernard Pratt[e], a poor priest. He thinks you will recognize him by this title.

DOM URBAN GUILLET TO THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC FROM THE  
 MONASTERY NEAR CAHOKIA, 14 MARCH 1812<sup>50</sup>

From the Monastery  
 March 14, 1812.

Monseigneur,

Although I had the honor of replying a short time ago to your letter of November 1811, I think it wise to repeat the reply because I see that letters often go astray in the mail. [Dom Urban repeats the information regarding a transfer of funds through the intermediary of Henry Pratte].

<sup>50</sup> For the original French cf. *La Nouvelle France*, XVII (1918), 219 ff.

I requested you to send me [only] 150 dollars, because I did not like to assume an obligation for a greater number of Masses. Now that I have learned of the arrival in Baltimore and Philadelphia of other priests who are to join us, it would be kind of you to send me 200 dollars. There is every likelihood that my brethren are bringing me no money, since I learned that they are hard put to it to meet the expense of their trip. Besides that, the weakened condition of the community makes it very difficult for them to work sufficiently. I hope that this increase [of priests] will help take care of the Masses.

As yet I have no confirmation of the report that the Holy Father was poisoned. I am told, however, that when several propositions were offered in council which the bishops could not accept they all rejected them, except 16 who were led, it is said, by the Abbé Mauri. The greater part [of the of the Bishops have] left the Empire.

I hope that Father Savine, who seems to be very zealous, will do good. [His influence will be felt] only among the lower classes because in preaching he sometimes uses terms which shock the supposedly important people. The trouble is that he preaches too frequently to prepare well. Though I think people exaggerate, what displeases them in his sermons is, as I have noticed, that he makes remarks which I should have preferred that he had not said.

It appears that the last of our confreres who arrived in Baltimore brought with him a good number of sisters. I certainly do not know what to do with them, hence I have written instructing them to do their best to stay in the neighborhood of Baltimore. They would have no means of livelihood here where the mothers of families do for themselves or with the help of their children what the Sisters in Europe often were given to do. They would find enough young girls to rear, but under conditions similar to those which apply to the boys I have taken *gratis*. Since they would have great difficulty in supporting themselves, how could they support a number of children?

We are impatiently waiting for Your Excellency to ordain the young Mr. Pratt[e], I more than the others. He will need firmness here.<sup>51</sup>

It is certainly a great consolation for a priest to see that God, through his instrumentality, is bringing the strayed sheep back to the fold. But I must choose between two things, one good and the other necessary. Clearly I am obliged to choose the latter. My

<sup>51</sup> Henry Pratte, born 19 January 1788, at Ste. Genevieve, was ordained 20 May 1815 and sent as a missionary to the diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky.

absence from the monastery is detrimental to my community, therefore I must give myself to them. Hence I have determined to leave the monastery only to care for those in danger of death. I have placed one of my confreres in charge of the parishes which Father Savine cannot care for. He ministers only to Cahokia and St. Louis.

Since October 16 we have felt earthquakes almost daily. They have done little damage in the neighborhood, though I was nearly crushed by a falling chimney. They say that New Madrid is entirely destroyed. The source of the disturbance was a volcano in North Carolina from which was poured forth great explosions of fire, ashes and stone.

I confess that four years ago I should never have hoped to see a monastery at the junction of the Missouri and the Mississippi. Yet it will never be possible for you to persuade me that God has great things in store for me. I know that He can create a world out of nothing and use the least of instruments to accomplish His greatest designs. But [let us remember] how great a difference there is between the least things or even nothingness and sin. God can accomplish anything, but my sins oppose him.

I am, with sentiments of most profound respect, Monseigneur,  
Your very humble servant  
FATHER URBAN.



## CHAPTER VIII

### TWO INTERESTING CAHOKIA LAW CASES

*Edited by* IRVING DILLIARD

In its two centuries and a half, Cahokia has been associated with many cases at law some of which are of no little historical significance. Certain of these cases arose from Cahokia's place as a pioneer community. Others grew out of the fact that it was a seat of law and order. Still other cases resulted from the affairs of its prominent citizens.

Decisions in these cases are not all dry-as-dust reading by any means although to find them it is necessary to turn to old territorial records and the reports of the early courts of Illinois.

A case which belongs in this category of unusual interest is *Jarrot vs. Jarrot* (7 Ill. 1), delivered at the December, 1845 term of the Illinois Supreme Court at Springfield. The plaintiff was "Joseph Jarrot, alias Pete, alias Joseph, a colored man," who brought on action of assumpsit for services rendered Julia Jarrot, widow of Nicholas Jarrot, Cahokia's most prominent citizen in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. The action was to try the question of Joseph Jarrot's right to freedom.

A jury in St. Clair County Circuit Court returned a verdict for the defendant, Julia Jarrot, in 1843 and the issue was taken to the State Supreme Court where Lyman Trumbull (1813-1896), later a prominent United States Senator, was counsel for the colored man. The Supreme Court decision, in two parts, by Justices Walter B. Scates and Richard M. Young, quotes the Ordinance of 1787 providing for the government of the Northwest Territory and the Constitution of Illinois as prohibiting slavery. The decision held that this freedom extended to descendants of the slaves of the old French settlers and that those who were born after the Ordinance of 1787 and before the admission of Illinois to the Union enjoyed the same protection as those born after 1818.

The decision at Springfield reversed the St. Clair County Circuit Court. Three Justices dissented, including Justice James Shields (1806-1879), later United States Senator successively from Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri. Justice Shields, who was newly appointed to the Supreme Court, had previously heard the case as the Judge in the St. Clair County Circuit Court. *Jarrot vs. Jarrot* is too long for reprinting here but it will repay reading by those interested in a Cahokia slavery case which antedated the famous Dred Scott case on the opposite side of the Mississippi in the years which led to the Civil War.

The two cases which have been selected for reprinting were decided in the 1800s but they actually belong to the previous century by virtue of their subject matter. The first is *Julia Jarrot vs. Joshua Vaughn* (7 Ill. 132), in which the issue was the legality of cutting timber on premises held by the same Julia Jarrot, Nicholas Jarrot's widow. The case first was heard in the Madison County Circuit Court in the October, 1845 term, before Judge Gustavus Philipp Koerner and a jury. Koerner (1809-1896), jurist, statesman, historian, was wounded in the revolutionary movements in Germany in 1833 and came to St. Clair County, from whose bar and bench he rose to the State Supreme Court, the lieutenant-governorship and the post of minister to Spain under Lincoln. *Jarrot vs. Vaughn* is particularly interesting because it incorporates the last will and testament of Nicholas Jarrot, dated Feb. 6, 1818, and then interprets his various references to the society and customs of an earlier day. The Illinois Supreme Court, in an opinion by Justice Young, affirmed the judgment of the Madison County Circuit Court.

The second case chosen for inclusion is *John B. Hebert, et al., Appellants, vs. Francis Lavalley, Appellee* (27 Ill. 448), delivered in the January, 1861 term. The issue appealed from St. Clair County was the question of right to use the historic "Cahokia Commons." Distinguished counsel argued the case and a brilliant Judge wrote the opinion. Counsel for the appellants, who lived outside the village of Cahokia, was Gustavus Philipp Koerner, previously on the State Supreme Court. One of the lawyers for the appellee, Lavalley, was Jehu Baker (1822-1903), later Representative in Congress for many years and also minister to Venezuela. The

Judge who wrote the opinion upholding the St. Clair Circuit Court decree for the village of Cahokia was Sidney Breese (1800-1878), previously United States Senator and Speaker of the Illinois House. Justice Breese reconstructed much of Cahokia's eighteenth century history in his informative opinion. His decision is particularly valuable for its description of how the commons came into being, how they were handled and who was entitled to their benefits. Here are the texts of these two interesting Cahokia law cases:

CONCERNING NICOLAS JARROT'S ESTATE: JARROT *v.* VAUGHN, 1845  
SPRINGFIELD, December Term, 1845

Julia Jarrot *v.* Joshua Vaughn.  
*Error to Madison*

1. Trespass — *cutting timber—who may prosecute.* The word "owner" has been repeatedly determined to mean a fee simple interest in the land, and a less estate will not authorize a recovery of the penalties mentioned in the statute against cutting timber.

2. Same — *who may not.* A devisee for life only, with a naked and contingent power to dispose of a portion of the real estate of the testator, if necessary, for a special and limited purpose, and with remainder over, can not maintain an action of debt under the statute, to recover the penalties for cutting timber (a).

Debt under the statute for cutting timber, etc., brought by the plaintiff in error against the defendant in error. The cause was heard at the October term, 1845, in the Madison circuit court, before the Hon. Gustavus P. Koerner and a jury. Verdict for the defendant, and judgment against the plaintiff for costs.

The pleadings and other proceedings appear in the opinion of the court.

W. Martin, for the plaintiff in error: 1. The plaintiff, under the will of Nicholas Jarrot, has such an estate in the premises, as to enable her to sustain an action of debt for cutting timber.

This court has not decided that the plaintiff, to sustain this action, must be owner in fee simple of the premises trespassed upon. Such a construction given to the law authorizing this action, would implicate the legislature in unjust and partial legislation. It would deprive tenants for years, tenants in dower, tenants by the curtesy, and all other persons who have a life estate in lands, and who have an interest in the timber thereon, of the remedy provided by said

law. An estate devised to one person for life, with the remainder in fee, would be placed beyond the remedy of this law, upon the principle, that during the life estate the fee simple is in abeyance, and resides nowhere. See 6 Mass. 251, as to the term "owner of the land;" and 1 Hilliard's Abr. 28, §45, as to an estate in abeyance.

2. The plaintiff, under the will of Nicholas Jarrot, takes a fee simple in the premises.

The plaintiff by the will takes a life estate, with power to sell in fee for her own use, and at discretion. This creates in her a fee simple estate, for the reason, that the estate in reversion appointed by the said will could not be set up to defeat the estate in fee that the plaintiff may create by executing said power. Hence the reversion to the heirs of Jarrot is void. 16 Johns. 588-9; 8 Cowen, 284; 16 Vesey, 139; 19 do. 87; Breese 46.

N. D. Strong, for the defendant in error: 1. What title has Julia Jarrot under the will of Nicholas Jarrot? If she had a fee simple, there is an end of the case. The will of the testator, his intention, is the best interpretation. He appoints his wife his executrix; gives her, not his estate, but the enjoyment of it during her life. There is no devise of it, no bequest of his property. "During her life," are the terms used; it is a simple enjoyment; nothing more.

By the seventh section, the executrix is empowered, out of this estate, immediately after his death, to allot to his children, a quantity of land, not more than three hundred and twenty acres, nor less than one hundred and sixty acres, in advance of the reversion to them, according to her judgment and discretion. It negatives the idea that the property was her own. No words could be more expressive. If she was to die before such an allotment to all, then the money was to be distributed to those who had received no allotment.

The eighth section is relied on by the plaintiff. It provides that she might sell for her support in case of a deficiency of income. He left a large estate, and wished her to be supported, and made this provision for the contingency of a deficiency of such income. Her only right was to make the application; she could not dispose of the property by will.

Then there was the provision for a remainder over to the children, in the tenth clause of the will.

The cases in Breese's, Johnson's and Cowen's Reports are against the positions of plaintiff; they do not apply to this case. The will of Nicholas Jarrot does not create an estate in fee, but simply a life estate.

2. The court is bound to take the law as they find it. There are four decisions of the Supreme court on the subject. This is a penal proceeding and intended as a punishment to the offender. 2. Scam. 460. Besides, the party may proceed for actual damages sustained. In regard to penal statutes, the court is referred to 4 Peters' Cond. R. 62.

The counsel for plaintiff contends that the legislature never contemplated that the word "owner" should mean an "owner in fee simple." He would have it apply to all kinds of estates, but the court will not extend the construction of the statute. *Wright v. Bennett*, 3 Scam. 259. This court has decided that a more possessory interest was not sufficient to maintain the action, but intimated that a fee simple was sufficient. The case in the same volume, page 537, confirms this view, as also the case in 4 Scam. 337.

YOUNG, J.\* This was an action of *debt* brought by Julia Jarrot, the plaintiff in error, to the October term of the Madison circuit court, 1844, against Joshua Vaughn, the defendant in error, to recover certain penalties imposed by the statute, for alleged trespasses by cutting timber trees on the land of the plaintiff, between the 10th day of October, 1839, and the commencement of the suit in October, 1844.

The defendant, at the same term, filed two pleas to the declaration, to wit: *nil debet* and *liberum tenementum*. The plaintiff joined issue to the country on the first plea, and the cause was continued without further proceedings, from time to time, until the October term, 1845, when the plaintiff by her attorney filed a demurrer to the defendant's second plea of *liberum tenementum*, which was joined by the defendant, and the court being of opinion, after argument, that the declaration was insufficient, sustained the demurrer to the declaration. The plaintiff obtained leave and amended her declaration at the same term, to which the defendant pleaded *nil debet* only, and issue being taken thereon to the country, the cause was submitted for trial to a jury.

The plaintiff then produced in evidence, for the purpose of maintaining her action, after making the proper affidavits of loss, etc., first the exemplification of the patent from the United States to Joseph Bartlett, dated March 19, 1819, for the land mentioned in the declaration; and secondly, the record of a deed of conveyance from Joseph Bartlett and wife to Nicholas Jarrot, for the same land, dated the 21st day of September, 1814; and then offered in evidence, for the purpose of showing title in herself as widow and executrix of Nicholas Jarrot, deceased, a copy of the last will and testament of the said Jarrot, dated the 6th day of February, 1818, and ad-

mitted to probate the 18th day of December, 1820, which is as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen; as it is certain that I must die, and that I do not know neither the hour nor the moment when it shall please God to determine my days, I, therefore, being in perfect health, have put order to my affairs in the following manner: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, so be it. I give my body to the worms and my soul to God, and supplicate his divine goodness to have pity on me. I implore the help of the Holy Virgin to be so good as to intercede for me towards the Divine Son all the days of my life, and at the hour of my death, so be it. I name for my executrix testamentary the person of Julia Beauvais, my wife, to whom I give the enjoying of all my property, as well real as personal that I may have after my death, and at the moment of my dying, for her to enjoy peaceably during her life; on condition that with my said property she will fulfill the conditions hereafter mentioned, that is to say; 1st. I request that my debts be paid by my executrix testamentary mentioned. 2d. I demand that my executrix testamentary get one hundred masses said, and one funeral high mass. 3d. I request that she give to the church the sum of one hundred dollars as soon as she can. 4th. I will that she distribute to the poor, as soon as she can, a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars. 5th. I request also, that she procure the best education which is possible to be had in the United States for my two sons, Francois and Vital. 6th. I also request that she get instructed my two daughters, named Julie and Felicity. 7th. I also request that my executrix testamentary aforesaid give to each of my children a quantity of land not exceeding more than three hundred and twenty acres, and not less than one hundred and sixty acres, to be taken off my said lands, and on the spots and places which the said executrix testamentary aforesaid may think proper to give them; which compensation and distribution, she shall make agreeably to the good behavior and situation of the said children. I will, in that case, her deliberation on this distribution be as if the aforesaid property were her own; and if, in the interim, when she would wish to make this distribution of said lands above mentioned, she was to die without fulfilling the distribution above mentioned, him or her of the children who had not received it, will have to take it in money before any division takes place. 8th. Express clause, which is if Julie, my wife, and executrix testamentary, as well as not sufficient from the revenue of my property, as well real as personal, to make her live entirely independent, after all the clauses and conditions mentioned are fulfilled, to these reasons, I desire, and I will that she sell so much of my property, real or personal, as she may

think proper, and as she may want it, so that she may live in the most easy and most independent manner. 9th. It is expressly understood, that the legacies I make to my executrix testamentary are independent of all she has a right to in my estate in community with her, according to our contract of marriage, which part and portion appertaining to her, she may dispose of as appertaining to her in full right. 10th. After the death of said Julie, my executrix testamentary, all the residue of my property, real and personal, will return to my children born, or to be born, to be divided between them in equal shares, except a sum of three thousand five hundred dollars, which my oldest daughter, named Marie Louise Clayton Tiffin, shall have less than my other children born, or to be born; and that for and because all that I received from the stock of the estate of her deceased mother, I have remitted to said Clayton Tiffin and to her, as appears by their receipt herein enclosed; another reason not less equitable to that, that the sum mentioned less than my other children is, that I have acquired a great deal of real property since I have been married with the said Julie Beauvais, my wife and executrix testamentary, coming from the estate of her deceased father, Vital Beauvais. Such are my wishes and intentions, which I request my executrix testamentary to put into execution, as being my last will and testament and act, revoking all others, etc. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal, in the presence of the subscribers, at Cahokia, county of St. Clair, Illinois Territory, this 6th of February, 1818.

N. JARROT." (Seal).

"Witness,  
Joseph Trotie,  
Raphael Widen,  
L. Lagrave."

It was then admitted by the defendant, Vaughn, that the timber trees were cut on the premises mentioned in the declaration, as therein alleged by the plaintiff. This was all the evidence produced on either side to the jury.

The court was then asked by the defendant's attorney to instruct the jury,

1. That the word "owner," in the statute under which this action was instituted, means an ownership in fee simple; and

2. That the will of Nicholas Jarrot does not create such a title in the plaintiff as will enable her to recover in this form of action; which instructions were given by the court, and a verdict returned by the jury on the issue of *nil debet* for the defendant.

The plaintiff's attorney then moved for a new trial, on the ground that improper instructions had been given to the jury, which

motion was overruled by the court, and the defendant had judgment for his costs.

From this judgment the plaintiff has prosecuted a writ of error to this court, and now, at this term, assigns the following as causes of error, to wit:

1. The circuit court gave improper instructions to the jury;
2. The court erred in overruling the plaintiff's motion for a new trial; and
3. The court erred in rendering a judgment in favor of the defendant for costs.

This case presents but two questions at all necessary to be considered by the court, both of which arise out of the instructions given by the court to the jury on the trial below, and admit of but little argument.

The first as to the meaning of the word "owner" in the statute; and second, whether the will of Nicholas Jarrot creates such an ownership in the plaintiff as will entitle her to maintain this action.

The law provides, that the penalties for which such an action as this may be brought, "shall be recoverable with costs of suit, either by action of debt, in the name and for the use of the owner or owners of the land; or by action *qui tam* in the name of any person who will first sue for and recover the same."

It will be seen by an examination of the statute referred to, that it is of a highly penal character in its provisions, and as such, has always received a strict construction in its practical application by this court. The word "owner" has been repeatedly determined to mean a fee simple interest in the land; and a less estate in the premises will not authorize a recovery by the plaintiff of the penalties mentioned in the statute. *Wright v. Bennet*, 3 Scam. 459, and *Whiteside v. Divers*, 4 do. 336.

In regard to the second question, the court is of opinion that, according to a proper construction of the will of Nicholas Jarrot, it creates a life estate only in the plaintiff to the premises trespassed upon, which, according to the opinion expressed on the former question, will not be sufficient to enable her to sustain this action. It was contended at the hearing by the counsel for the plaintiff in error, that the will of Nicholas Jarrot contained a devise to the plaintiff, Julia Jarrot, as his widow and executrix, with power to convey the land in question in fee simple, and that such a devise carries with it the fee simple estate, and several authorities were referred to as supporting that position. It is unquestionably true, that such a devise would create an estate in fee simple, if such an one existed; but no such power was either given or intended by the will in this case, as has been supposed by the counsel. The language of the



will, in the first instance, is, "I name for my executrix testamentary the person of Julia Beauvais, my wife, to whom I give the enjoying of all my property as well real as personal, that I may have after my death, and at the moment of my dying, for her to enjoy peaceably during her life," etc. This clause shows that a life estate only was in the contemplation of the testator.

The eighth clause, which was much relied upon by the counsel, as creating a fee simple estate in the plaintiff, reads as follows: "If Julia, my wife and executrix testamentary, has not sufficient from the revenue of my property, as well real as personal, to make her live entirely independent, after all the clauses and conditions mentioned are fulfilled, to these reasons, I desire, and I will, that she sell so much of my property real or personal as she may think proper, and as she may want it; so that she may live in the most easy and most independent manner." This is a special, limited and contingent power to be used in the discretion of the plaintiff, for the purpose of securing to her during her life an independent living, and to that extent we have no doubt that she would have the power to sell and convey, and that the sale would be good and valid. But it would be a palpable perversion of the language and obvious import of the will, to give it a construction, that she had a general and uncontrolled power to sell. The tenth clause of the will fully explains the testator's intentions in this respect. That clause provides "that after the death of the said Julia, my executrix testamentary, all the residue of my property real and personal will return to my children, etc." It is evident from these provisions in the will, that the testator intended, after the payment of his debts, certain legacies, etc., that the plaintiff should enjoy the use of all his property, as well real as personal, with power to dispose of so much of either as might become necessary, from time to time, to secure to her a comfortable and independent living; and that all the property remaining at her death should descend to, and be distributed among his children. And in respect to the necessity and propriety of disposing of portions of the real estate for such a purpose, she must, to a liberal extent, be allowed herself to determine, as it is very apparent, from the expressions used in the will, that it was not the intention of the testator to deal out to her with any thing like a sparing hand.

The case of *Tomlinson v. Dighton*, 1 Salk. 239, simply decides, "that a legacy for life, with a general power of appointment by deed or will, and not limited to the latter, gives the absolute interest. In this case there is no such general power of appointment, which may be exercised either by deed or will. In the case of *Barford v. Street*, 16 Vesey, 139, the master of the rolls said: "an estate for life with an unqualified power of appointing the inheritance comprehends

everything. By this unlimited power a person can appoint the inheritance." The whole equitable fee is thus subject to her present disposition; and in the case of *Jackson v. Robbins*, 16 Johns., 588, the chancellor, upon revision of these authorities, said: "we may lay it down as an incontrovertible rule, that when an estate is given to a person generally or indefinitely, with a power of disposition, it carries a fee; and the only exception to the rule, is, where the testator gives to the first taker an estate for life only by certain and express words, and annexes to it a power of disposal. In that particular and special case, the devisee for life will not take an estate in fee, notwithstanding the distinct and naked gift of a power of disposition of the reversion. This distinction is carefully marked and settled in the cases." *Tomlinson v. Dighton*, 1 Salk. 239; S. C., 1 Peere Williams, 149; *Reid v. Shergold*, 10 Vesey, 370; 2 Wilson 6.

This case fully settles the question, if any authority were wanting, that, as the plaintiff in this suit was a devisee for life only, with a naked and contingent power to dispose of a portion of the real estate of the testator, if necessary, for a special and limited purpose, and with remainder over to the children, that she took nothing more than a life estate, and, consequently, can not maintain this action.

The intention of a testator is always a cardinal point in the construction of wills, and in this case that intention is not left to doubt or conjecture.

In coming to this conclusion, however, we do not wish to be understood as deciding, either that the plaintiff is without a remedy, or that an ordinary action of trespass would not be sustainable under such circumstances as are stated in the declaration, and as were exhibited by the proofs at the trial before the jury.

Judgment affirmed with costs.

*Judgment affirmed.*



THE USE OF THE CAHOKIA COMMONS: *HEBERT v. LAVALLE*, 1861  
SPRINGFIELD, January Term, 1861.

John B. Hebert, *et al.*, Appellants, *v.* Francis Lavalley, Appellee.  
Appeal from St. Clair

The United States has, by grant, confirmed to the inhabitants of the village of Cahokia the use of the "commons" adjacent to the village. The parishioners not living in the village, worshipping at the church in the village, do not, of right participate in the use of those "commons."

Parties deriving title from original inhabitants of the village of Cahokia, do not enjoy rights of common which

might have pertained to their grantors, if the grantees have abandoned the village. The "commons" were made appurtenant to village lots, not to lands remote from the village.

Occupants of the common field lands, not inhabitants of the village of Cahokia, cannot vote for the supervisor authorized to survey parts of the "commons" into lots and lease the same, nor for the trustees of schools, under authority of the act of 1841.

A stranger cannot question the acts of "commoners" amongst themselves, even though they should enclose the "commons."

The opinion of the Court, by Mr. Justice Breese, gives a full statement of the case. The cause was heard in the Second Grand Division, by agreement of parties.

G. Koerner, for Appellants.

Jehu Baker, and N. Niles, for Appellee.

BREESE, J. The complainants filed their bill in chancery for an injunction, in the St. Clair Circuit Court, to the March term, 1860, (an injunction having been granted by the judge in vacation,) alleging, that the complainants were all citizens of St. Clair county, and residents of the Cahokia *common field*; that by certain ancient grants under the French and English Colonial Government, confirmed by acts of Congress under the Confederation, and under the present Constitution, and by the Constitution of the State of Illinois of 1818, and various Acts of the General Assembly of Illinois, the inhabitants of the village of Cahokia have enjoyed the right of pasturage, estovers, etc., etc., in common, in a certain tract of land, known from time immemorial as the *Cahokia Commons*. That by the same grants and confirmations, there was allotted to each head of family, of said village, a certain tract for cultivation, all of which tracts were enclosed under one common fence, and are known as the *Cahokia Common field*. That the grants were contemporaneous grants with the grant of lots to certain families then living in the settlement known as Cahokia, or Coes or Cahokia village, the village not being then laid out, surveyed and defined. That what is now known as Cahokia village, was surveyed and platted as late as 1808. That the village with attendant common field, which extended from Cahokia creek, to the Bluffs, east of the Mississippi river, was on the south, north and east surrounded by said commons, which commons were to support the cultivated fields of the inhabitants. That in the course of time, many of the inhabitants of the village of Cahokia, who had resided within the territory of what is now known as Cahokia village, and near there, removed into the common field,

for the purpose of better cultivating their respective allotments, and that in the course of time, a majority of families who had resided in the village, and their successors, (the grants being to the inhabitants and their successors,) had removed on to the common fields. Complainants allege, that they hold their lands in the common field by titles of the original inhabitants, and that all *inhabitants of the common field are equally entitled to the enjoyment of the commons, in the use thereof*, and whatever proceeds may be derived therefrom, and that they have so claimed, from time immemorial.

That the General Assembly of Illinois, passed an act, 17th February, 1841, providing, that the commons, or any part thereof, might be surveyed in lots, and leased for any number of years not exceeding one hundred years; that the leases should be publicly sold after notice, and that the proceeds arising from the sales, should be appropriated to the education of the children of the inhabitants of the village of Cahokia; that by virtue of that act a portion of said commons was surveyed, platted and leased, the balance thereof, being about ——— acres, remaining undisposed of; that by a subsequent act, 18th February, 1857, it was further provided, that the lots, laid out on the commons, might be leased at private sale, provided they should not be leased for a less price or sum per acre, than the average price at which the other parts of the commons were then leased.

Complainants, claiming as aforesaid, allege that they are informed and believe, that one Francis Lavelle, at present supervisor of the inhabitants of the village of Cahokia, has caused the balance, or part of the commons heretofore unsurveyed, to be surveyed, and at the instigation of, and by collusion with, certain inhabitants of the village, has already leased certain lots of said Cahokia commons at private sale, at mere nominal rates, and without reference to said average price, and is about to proceed to lease at private sale other of said lots collusively and fraudulently for a large number of years, usually ninety-nine years, to the very great detriment of all persons interested in the commons. That complainants are informed, that he has already made arrangements, with certain inhabitants of the village, who wrongfully claim the sole and entire use of the commons, and the proceeds thereof, to distribute the leases of the newly surveyed lots amongst them, at their choice, and at merely nominal rates, in a private manner, claiming, that under the last act of the legislature, no publicity whatever is necessary. Complainants allege, that by such a disposition of their valuable estate, their rights will irretrievably be prejudiced, as such leases may be assigned to innocent purchasers, and that the title of the lots may be clouded, by leases given, even to participants in the fraud. That

Lavalle refuses to account to complainants for his actings and doings and to give an account of the proceeds of the leases made by his predecessors and himself, contending, that complainants have no part or interest in the commons—that the law contemplates public leases, and private leases only in case of forfeiture, etc., etc. That the supervisor is a trustee for all who are entitled to a share in the commons, and that he is abusing his trust.

Complainants prayed an injunction restraining supervisor to lease illegally, and from applying the proceeds to the exclusive use of the few persons residing in Cahokia, and that the defendant render an account, etc., etc.

The defendant filed a general demurrer. The court sustained the demurrer, dissolved the injunction, and dismissed the bill, and from this decision the complainants take this appeal.

The only error assigned, is the decision of the court below, is sustaining the demurrer, dissolving the injunction, and dismissing the bill.

A slight glance at the early history of this State, may throw some light upon the question presented by this record, one new to our courts, and with no aid to be derived from adjudicated cases.

Anterior to the voyage of the Jesuit Priest, Father James Marquette, with the Sieur Joliet, in the summer of 1673, prosecuted under the auspices of M. Talon, the Intendant of New France, as Canada was called, and then under the crown of France, but little, if any, authentic information existed, of the river Mississippi. The Jesuit Father, with his companions, proceeding from Canada, by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin river, entered the Mississippi, on the tenth of June, 1673, and explored it to the mouth of the Arkansas, and returned, by way of the Illinois river, in September of that year. This was an exploration undertaken by the French Government, to be conducted on a larger scale subsequently, when, in 1678, Robert Cavalier De LaSalle obtained letters patent from Louis XIV, dated 12th of May of that year. By this patent, LaSalle was permitted "to endeavor to discover the western part of New France," the king having at heart this discovery, "through which, it was probable, a road might be found to penetrate to Mexico." LaSalle was permitted to construct forts wherever necessary, and to hold them on the same terms as he held Fort Frontenac under his patent of March 13, 1675. Acting under this patent of 1678, LaSalle, with a small party, reached, by way of the Illinois river, on the ninth of April, 1682, the mouth of the Mississippi, and took formal possession of it, and of the country watered by the river, in the name of Louis XIV, and in his honor, called the country Louisiana.

In virtue of the authority, under his letters patent, LaSalle constructed Fort St. Louis, at the "Starved Rock," on the Illinois river, and other forts on the lakes, and Mississippi river. He seemed to have entire control of this portion of Louisiana, establishing his government at the Fort St. Louis, where it remained until sixteen hundred and ninety.

In the meantime, Jesuit missionaries advanced into the country, from the Seminary of Quebec, one of whom, James Gravier, as early as 1695, established the village of "our Lady of Kaskaskias," and there officiated at the altar, for several years, in the midst of populous tribes of Indians, laboring to convert them to christianity.

In the month of July, 1698, the Bishop of Quebec granted letters patent to the directors and superiors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions there, for the establishment of a mission for the Tamarois and Kahokias "living between the Illinois and Arancies," their country being considered as the key and passage to more distant tribes. They were empowered to send their missionaries there, and "to make such residences, and erect such missions as they might judge proper."

In pursuance of this authority, "the Mission of St. Sulpice" was established among the Tamarois and Kahokia Indians, and a village grew up, called "the village of the Holy Family of Coaquias," populated by Indians, fur traders, and tillers of the soil, all within the shadow of the Church of the Mission. This church was the nucleus of the village, the ground necessary for it, and land for the use of the villagers, being readily granted by the native owners.

From the time LaSalle took possession of the country in 1682, we discover no trace of a control by the crown of France, over it, until the grant to Anthony Crozat, by letters patent under date of September 14, 1712, of the whole commerce of the country, then for the first time, officially, called Louisiana. The Jesuit missionaries appear, up to this period, to have exercised all the control, necessary, over its people, subject to no power other than their superiors of the Seminary of Quebec.

Crozat made efforts to develop the lead mines of Missouri, and imported many laborers and others, to the several missions on the Mississippi river, but failing to find the precious metals in which it was thought this country abounded, he, in 1717, surrendered his patent to the then occupant of the throne, the infant king, Louis XV, who ruled France, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. He, in conjunction with the celebrated Law, established "the Company of the West," or "Company of the Indies," to whom was granted all Louisiana, with power, in conjunction with an officer of the crown, to grant away the royal domain. The early records of this

State, preserved in the French language, are full of grants made by this company, up to 1732, when it was dissolved, and its powers and privileges reverted to the crown.

Among these records, is to be found a grant substantially as follows:

We, Pierre Duguet de Boisbriant, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, and First Lieutenant of the King in the Province of Louisiana, Commandant in the Illinois, and Marc Antonia de la Loire Des Ursins, Principal Commissary of the Royal Company of the Indies:

On the demand of the missionaries of the Caokias and Tamarois, to grant to them a tract of four leagues square in fee simple, with the neighboring island, to be taken a quarter of a league above the small river of Caokias, situated above the Indian village, and in going up following the course of the Mississippi, and in returning towards the Fort of Chartres, running in depth to the north, east and south for quantity. We in consequence of our powers have granted the said land to the Missionaries of Caokias and Tamarois, in fee simple, over which, they can, from the present, work, clear and plant the land, awaiting a formal concession which will be sent from France by the directors general of the Royal Company of the Indies. At the Fort of Chartres, this 22nd June, A. D. 1722. Signed Boisbriant—Des Ursins.

On this grant, documentary evidence presented by counsel in the argument of the case shows, that a village was established and village lots granted. On the explosion of "the Company of the West," on the 10th of April, 1732, their powers and privileges reverted to the crown, from which emanated, thereafter, all grants of land. In August, 1743, this grant made in 1722, was recognized by the French Government, acting through M. Vaudreuil, then Governor, and Salmon, Commissary, of the Province of Louisiana.

It will be perceived, there are no words in this grant, designating the land granted, or any portion of it, as commons—nor does it appear for what special use it was granted, but generally, for the use of the mission there established. Upon it the missionaries established their church and village—granted portions of it for cultivation, whilst the largest portion was suffered to remain for the common use of the inhabitants, for pasturage, wood and other purposes. It is a peculiarity attending the early French settlements here, that the tillers of the soil did not reside upon their cultivated lands, but in the village. There were their barns and stables and out-lots for the protection of their cattle, and appurtenant to it was the common, on which their animals could range and feed. The tillable land was granted in narrow strips, usually about one arpent in width,

and in depth for quantity, some of which arpents were situated more than four miles from the village, going north.

After the conquest of the country by England, the result of the war commenced in 1756, and terminated by the treaty of Paris of 1763, no interference was attempted with any of the grants made by the India Company, or by the crown of France, in this part of Louisiana, nor by Virginia, after its conquest by her arms, in 1778. Virginia ceded the country to the United States, by deed dated March 1, 1784, by authority of an act for that purpose, passed October 20, 1783. That act provides, "that the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskia, Saint Vincents and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties." (Scates' Comp. 19). On the 29th August, 1788, the Congress of the Confederation adopted a resolution, instructing the Governor of the Western Territory, to proceed without delay to the French settlements on the river Mississippi, and to examine the titles and possessions of those settlers, "in which they are to be confirmed." Hence originated a class of titles known in this State as "a Governor's confirmation," a specimen of which is found in the case of *Doe ex. dem., etc., v. Hill, Breese*, 236, new edition, 304.

On the 3rd of March, 1791, the Congress of the United States passed an act for granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country, in the territory north-west of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their possession, the fifth section of which provides, "that a tract of land containing about five thousand four hundred acres, which for many years has been fenced and used by the inhabitants of Vincennes as a common, also a tract of land including the villages of Cohos and Prairie du Pont, and heretofore used by the inhabitants of the said villages as a common, be, and the same are hereby appropriated to the use of the inhabitants of Vincennes, and of the said villages respectively, to be used by them as a common, until otherwise disposed of by law." Laws of U. S., vol. 1, page 221.

Here is the first recognition, by the act of any government, of a right of any of the inhabitants of the village of Cahokia, to land as common. Subsequently, commissioners were appointed by an act of Congress, to examine into this, among other claims to land in Illinois, and they examined, and confirmed this claim as a common to the inhabitants of Cahokia, on the 21st December, 1809, and so reported to the Congress, and Congress, on the 1st of May, 1810, passed an act, that all decisions made by these commissioners entered in their transcript, bearing date December 31, 1809, and transmitted



to the Secretary of the Treasury, be confirmed. 2nd vol. Laws of U. S., page 607.

This act is an operative grant of all the interest the United States may, at any time, have had in the land described in the transcript of the commissioners under that date, and confirms the land in terms, to the inhabitants of these "villages" respectively. Now it cannot be material to inquire, to what uses these lands were originally appropriated by the Priests of the Mission; the government, having power to confirm the title to them, or to grant them, having restricted the grant to the inhabitants of those villages as a common.

But it is argued, that the term village must not have the restricted signification which modern ideas of a village would place upon it, but that it may well be understood to mean "the settlement" or the parish, and in that sense it was understood by the missionaries themselves, as their letters on the subject referred to in the argument tend to show.

We do not understand, from anything in those letters, or from any facts in the case brought to our notice, that the parishioners—those who worshiped at the village church, and were under the spiritual control of its priest, and not living in the village, possessed any village rights belonging to the villagers. A parish is understood to be, the territorial jurisdiction of a secular priest, or a precinct, the inhabitants of which belong to the same church, or they may reside promiscuously, among people belonging to any church, and be resident in several villages. A village is any small assemblage of houses occupied by artisans, laboring people and farmers—in French villages, also by farmers. It is a defined locality with a name, and its inhabitants are called villagers. We have no right to suppose, that Congress, in making this grant to the inhabitants of the village of Cahokia, designed to include persons who resided on, and occupied lands, miles remote from the village, though the fact might be, that they worshiped at the parish church, and were under the spiritual teaching of the village priest. The term "inhabitants of the village," having a defined and well understood meaning, we do not see how it can be made, by any reasonable construction, to embrace other persons who are not, by their own showing, inhabitants of the village.

It is also argued by the complainants' counsel, that inasmuch as the complainants derive their titles to the lands in the common field, from original inhabitants of the village of Cahokia, they should have all the rights which, at any time, might have pertained to their grantors. This would be true undoubtedly, had they remained inhabitants of the village, and they would have been their "successors,"

in contemplation of the act of 1819. Laws of 1819, page 122. A removal from the village, by occupying their individual allotments in the common field remote from the village, was an abandonment of their village rights, for it is only to inhabitants of the village that a right of common has been granted. It was to them as inhabitants of the village, the right was granted, and we cannot see the justice of a claim which shall accord to those who have abandoned the village, rights equal to those who remain in it, as inhabitants of it. The act of Congress cited, appropriates this land as a common, to the inhabitants of the village—not to those who might own lands in the common field, and reside upon them. It was made appurtenant to the village lots, and not to arable lands remote from the village for which there were individual and exclusive grants.

It certainly could not have been in the contemplation of Congress, in conferring or granting these lands as a common, to the inhabitants of the village, that by any construction, a class of settlers living separate and apart as farmers on their own lands, should claim, or desire even the benefit of the commons. The object of the grant of commons to the inhabitants of the village, was, evidently to afford them such estovers, pasturage, etc., as they could not otherwise possess and enjoy, villagers being confined to small lots for dwellings, and the necessary outhouses. The domain of the proprietor of a farm is supposed to embrace within it, all these essentials to a comfortable subsistence, he being the exclusive owner of all he occupies. No necessity would seem to exist for such a convenience, and therefore is it, that the grant was made "to the inhabitants of the village" exclusively. In adverting to the legislation of our own State in reference to the commons, it will be found to be in harmony with the view we have taken of the question.

It is provided by section eight of article eight, of the constitution of 1818, that all lands which have been granted as a common, to the inhabitants of any town, hamlet, village, or corporation, shall forever remain common to the inhabitants of such town, hamlet, village or corporation. (Scates' Comp. 54).

Substantially the same provision is found in the constitution of 1848, article eleven. (Ib. 72).

A restriction to the inhabitants of the village, pervades all our legislation on the subject. Laws of 1819, page 122.

By the act of February 17, 1841, (Session Laws, pp. 65, 66), it is provided that the supervisor elected by the inhabitants of the village of Cahokia, is authorized to cause to be surveyed in lots, etc., any part of the commons of Cahokia, and lease the same, etc. It is a pertinent inquiry here, can the occupiers of the common field lands, not being inhabitants of the village, but residing out of it

on their individual lands, vote at the election of this officer, or vote for the trustees of schools as provided in the fourth section? Was such a claim ever advanced? We think this inquiry, answered, as it must be, in the negative, goes far to dispose of the case. They cannot vote for a supervisor of the commons, because they are not inhabitants of the village, nor, for the same reason, can they enjoy the benefit of the proceeds of the common to be derived from the leases; they are isolated from it by their residence.

The principle is well settled that a stranger cannot question the acts of commoners among themselves, no matter how subversive they may be of the objects of the grant, even if extending to an actual enclosing of the commons. And the complainants here being strangers, not inhabitants of the village, cannot be allowed to interfere with the acts of the commoners of which complaint is made. The demurrer goes to the very substance of the bill, and was properly sustained. The decree is affirmed.

*Decree affirmed.*



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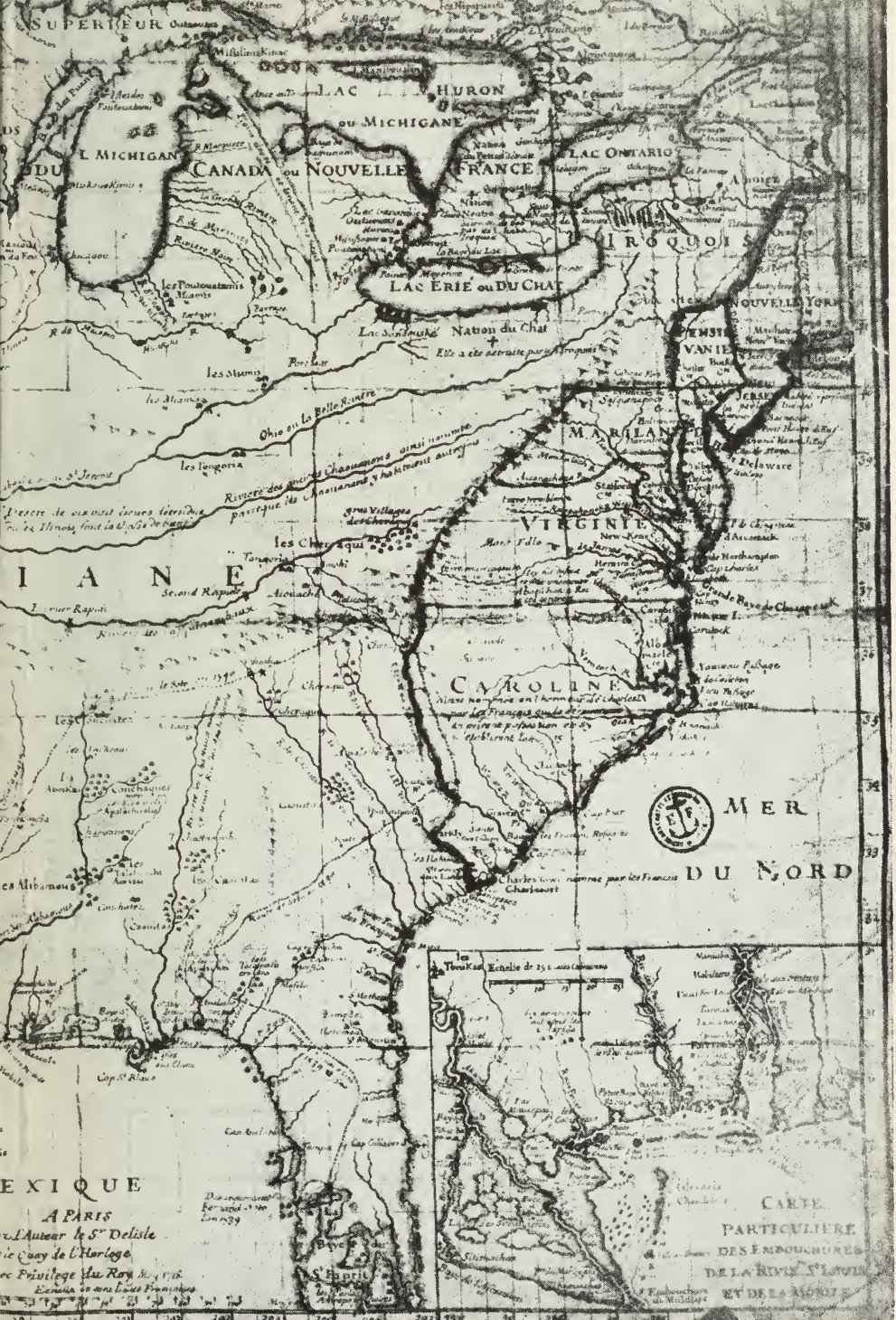
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